

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES:

O R A

C O U R S E of L E C T U R E S

On the Three FIRST BOOKS of

G O D W I N ' S M O S E S and A A R O N .

To which is annexed,

A

D I S S E R T A T I O N

O N T H E

H E B R E W L A N G U A G E .

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By the late Rev. *DAVID JENNINGS*, D.D.

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V O L . II.

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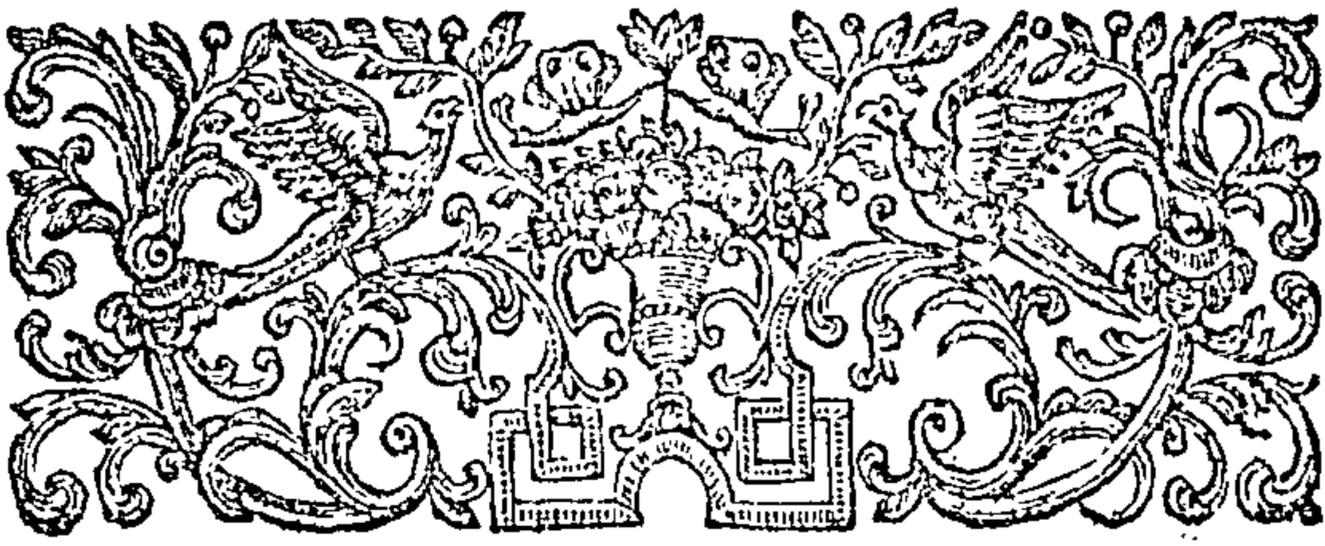


# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES:

BOOK the SECOND

Concerning Places.





## CHAP. I.

### Of the tabernacle and temple.



HAVING in the last book, given an account of the most remarkable civil and ecclesiastical persons, officers and sects among the Jews, we now proceed to the consideration of the most eminent structures, or places, which were esteemed sacred, or held in high veneration amongst them. On this head, Godwin treats first of the tabernacle and temple, though indeed but imperfectly, especially of the former: On the description of whose structure and sumptuous furniture Moses has bestowed almost as many pages, as he has lines on his account of the creation of the world; no doubt, because the tabernacle was a designed emblem of the blessings of the new creation, which far excelled those of the old; or, as the apostle styles it, was “a figure for the time then present (a).”

We have an account of three publick tabernacles, before the building of Solomon's temple;

(a) Heb. ix. 8, 9.

The first which Moses erected for himself, וּנְתַחֲלוּ *venatah lo* (*a*); and this the septuagint calls τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ. In this tabernacle he gave audience, heard causes, and enquired of God; and perhaps, also, the publick offices of religious worship were performed in it for some time, and therefore, Moses stiled it the tabernacle of the congregation.

The second tabernacle was that which Moses built for God, by his express command, partly to be a palace of his presence as the king of Israel (*b*), and partly to be the medium of the most solemn publick worship, which the people were to pay to him (*c*). This tabernacle was erected on the first day of the first month of the second year of the Israelites migration out of Egypt (*d*).

The third publick tabernacle was that which David erected in his own city, for the reception of the ark, when he received it from the house of Obbedom (*e*).

It is the second of these tabernacles we are now to treat of, called the tabernacle κατ' ἐξοχὴν, by way of distinction and eminence. It was a moveable chappel, so contrived as to be taken to pieces, and put together, at pleasure, for the convenience of carrying it from place to place, during the wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness for forty years.

The learned Spencer \* has fetched this tabernacle, with all its furniture and appurtenances, from Egypt; suggesting, that Moses projected it after the fashion of some such structure, which he

(*a*) Exod. xxxiii. 7.    (*b*) chap. xl. 34, 35.    (*c*) ver. 26, — 29.    (*d*) ver. 2, 17.    (*e*) 2 Sam. vi. 17. 1 Chron. xvi. 1.

\* De legibus Hebr. Dissert. 1.

he had observed in that country, and which was in use among other nations; or at least that God directed it to be made with a view of indulging the Israelites in a compliance with their customs and modes of worship, so far as there was nothing in them directly sinful. And he quotes both sacred and profane writers, to prove that the heathens had such portable temples, in which they deposited the most valuable sacred or religious utensils. Such a temple or tabernacle we read of in the prophecy of Amos: “Ye have borne the tabernacle of Moloch and Chiun, your images, the star of your god which ye made to yourselves (a).” It is indeed past dispute, that the heathens had such tabernacles, as well as many other things, very like those of the Jews, but that they had them before the Jews, and especially that God condescended so far to the humour of the Israelites, as to introduce them into his own worship, is neither proved, nor is it probable. It is more likely, that the heathens took these things from the Jews, who had the whole of their religion immediately from God, than that the Jews, or rather that God, should take them from the heathens. Besides, this account of the origin of the Jewish tabernacle and its furniture evidently thwarts the account which the apostle gives of the typical design and use of them, in the ninth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. And further, supposing those heathen tabernacles to have been more ancient, than that built by Moses by divine direction, yet, so far from there being any design of complying with the idolatrous heathen, the contrary rather appears,

(a) Amos v. 26.

in that this tabernacle was ordered to be directly the reverse of theirs, both in its form and situation. In its form : for, whereas the heathen tabernacles were carried about whole upon the shoulders of the priests, this was to be taken to pieces whenever it was to be removed. And as to the situation : whereas it was the general practice of the heathens to worship with their faces towards the east, God directed his tabernacle to be so placed, that the people should worship towards the west ; for to that point the holy of holies stood, in which were the more special symbols of God's presence, and which the people were to face as they worshipped in the court at the east end of the tabernacle, where was the altar of their sacrifices : as will appear hereafter. This detects a mistake of Godwin's, who makes our cathedral churches answer to the jewish tabernacle or temple, the sanctuary resembling the body of the church; the *sanctum sanctorum* the choir; and the court round about the tabernacle the church-yard; it being evident, that the form of these churches, in which the choir or chancel is placed towards the east, is directly contrary to the jewish tabernacle and temple, and it is borrowed from the heathens, who placed their *velos* to the east, and the *προναος* to the west \*. That the heathen idolaters worshipped towards the east, appears from the following passage of the prophet Ezekiel, " And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house ; and behold at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men with their backs towards the temple of the Lord,

\* Vid. Vitruv. lib. iv. cap. v.

C. I. The tabernacle. 7

Lord, and their faces towards the east, and they worshipped the sun towards the east (*a*):” And from Virgil, who, giving an account of Æneas’s sacrificing before the battle with Turnus, saith,

Illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem,  
Dant fruges manibus falsas, et tempora ferro  
Summa notant pecudum, paterisque altaria li-  
bant, Æneid. xii. l. 172,—174.

And accordingly many heathen temples have been converted into christian churches, without any alteration in the form of the building.

The tabernacle we are now to describe, though otherwise called a tent, because it was a moveable fabric, and because it had no proper roof, but was only covered with curtains or canopies of cloth and skin, was nevertheless built with extraordinary magnificence, and at a prodigious expence, that it might be in some measure suitable to the dignity of the king whose palace it was to be, and to the value of those spiritual and eternal blessings of which it was also designed as a type or emblem. The value of the gold and silver only, used for the work of that holy place, and of which we have an account in the book of Exodus (*b*), amounted, according to bishop Cumberland’s reduction of jewish talents and shekels to english coin, to upwards of one hundred eighty two thousand five hundred sixty eight pounds. If we add to this the vast quantity of brass, or copper, that was also used about this fabric, its court and furniture; the shittim wood, of which the boards of the tabernacle, as well as the pillars which sur-

B 4 rounded

{*a*} Ezek. viii. 16. {*b*} Exod. xxxviii. 24, 25.

rounded the court, and other utensils were made, (which, though we do not know what name the same wood bears now, was no doubt the best and most costly that could be got,) as also the rich embroidered curtains and canopies that covered the tabernacle, divided the parts of it, and surrounded the court;—and if we further add the jewels that were set in the high priest's ephod and breastplate, which are to be considered as a part of the furniture of the tabernacle; the value of the whole materials, exclusive of workmanship, must amount to an immense sum. This sum was raised, partly by voluntary contributions and presents (*a*), and partly by a poll tax of half a shekel a head for every male Israelite above twenty years old (*b*); which amounted to a hundred talents, and one thousand seven hundred seventy five shekels, that is, thirty five thousand three hundred fifty nine pounds, seven shillings and six pence sterling (*c*).

We may here remark that this tax of the half shekel a man was, in after times, levied yearly for the reparation of the temple, and for defraying the charge of publick sacrifices, and other necessaries of divine service. This, as I have before observed\*, was probably the tribute, demanded of our Saviour (*d*); from which, as it was paid to God for the service of his house, and the support of his worship, Christ, as being the Son of God, might, according to the custom of all nations, have pleaded an exemption (*e*). However, that he might give no offence, he chose to pay it, though he was obliged

(*a*) Exod. xxv. 2, &c.

(*b*) ch. xxx. 11,—16.

(*c*) ch. xxxviii. 25.

\* See p. 86. Vol. I.

(*d*) Matt. xvii. 24.

(*e*) ver. 25, 26.

obliged to work a miracle to raise so small a sum (a).

Upon this general view of the prodigious expence of building the tabernacle, it may naturally be enquired, whence had the Israelites, who had not been come a year from their slavery in Egypt, and from labouring at the brick-kilns, riches enough to defray it? To this it may be answered †,

1st. That though the bulk of the people had been reduced to the condition of slaves, yet it may be reasonably supposed, that some, especially of the posterity of Joseph, had preserved, and, it may be, concealed their wealth, till they had an opportunity of escaping with it out of Egypt.

2dly. Perhaps the wilderness, where they now were, might supply them with some part of the materials for this building; in particular, the wood. Some tell us of a grove of shittim trees near mount Sinai, from whence they had their wood, with no other expence, then that of labour.

3dly. Abarbanel conjectures, that the neighbouring nations came and traded with the Israelites in the wilderness, and that God blessed their commerce to the very extraordinary increase of their opulence. But the scriptures give no account of any strangers resorting to them at this time, besides Jethro and his family; probably the fate of their egyptian enemies terrified the other neighbouring nations, and made them afraid to come near them.

4thly. The spoil of the Egyptians, who were drowned in the red sea, and whose dead bodies were

(a) Matt. xvii. 27.

† Vid. Witii Miscell. tom. i. lib. ii. Dissert. i. § x.

were providentially cast upon the shore, where the Israelites were, might very considerably enrich them (*a*).

5thly, But we are chiefly to account for their riches by their having brought out of Egypt a very large quantity of gold and silver jewels, or vessels, as the word <sup>ל</sup>כֶּלֶךְ chelè signifies, which were lent, or rather given them, by the Egyptians at their departure. For by the command of God (*b*), they “borrowed” or required “of the Egyptians jewels,” or vessels “of silver and vessels of gold, and raiment. And the Lord gave them favour in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent,” or gave “them such things as they required (*c*).” The verb <sup>ל</sup>שָׁאָל shaal, which in Kal our translators have rendered “borrow,” signifies more properly, petere, to require or demand; and in Hiphil, where they have rendered it “to lend,” it denotes, mutuū dare, to give \*. This sense of the verb, in both the conjugations, is warranted by the following passage, “The Lord, saith Hannah in reference to the birth of Samuel, hath given me my petition, which I asked of him, <sup>ל</sup>שָׁאֲלֹתִי shaalti; therefore also I have lent, <sup>ל</sup>הִשְׁאֲלֹתֶיהוּ hishiltihu, given him to the Lord as long as he liveth. He shall be lent, <sup>ל</sup>שָׁאֲלוֹ shaul, given to the Lord (*d*).” Now some of those vessels, which were given to the Israelites, might probably be the silver bowls and chargers and golden spoons, which were offered by the princes for the service of the tabernacle (*e*). By this means the divine prediction and  
promise

(*a*) Exod. xiv. 30.

(*b*) ch. iii. 21.

(*c*) ch. xii. 35, 36.

\* Vid. Stockii Clav. in verbum.

(*d*) 1 Sam. i. 27, 28.

(*e*) Numb. vii.

promise to Abraham was signally accomplished, “The nation whom thy seed shall serve, and who shall afflict them four hundred years, will I judge, and afterwards they shall come out with great substance (a).”

Having cleared the ground, and provided the proper funds for building the tabernacle, we come now to erect the edifice, or rather to take a view of it, as it was erected by Moses according to the visionary model shewed him in the mount (b).

The tabernacle was an oblong rectangular figure, thirty cubits long, ten broad and ten in height, which reduced to english measure, according to Dr. Cumberland, who supposes it the egyptian cubit, nearly equal to twenty two inches \*, was fifty five feet long, eighteen broad, and eighteen high. The two sides and one end were composed of broad boards, standing upright; each board being about two feet nine inches broad, fastened at the bottom by two tenons in each board, fitted into two mortices in the foundation; at the top by links or hasps, and on the sides by five wooden bars, which run through rings or staples in each of the boards. The thickness of these boards is not determined in scripture. Dr. Lightfoot makes it to be very great †; he supposes about nine inches, because the middle bar is said to shoot “through the boards from one end to the other (c);” that is, † as he conjectures, through a hole in the body of the boards. And no doubt they must be of a very considerable thickness, if

(a) Gen. xv. 13, 14. (b) Exod. xxv. 40.

\* Essay on jewish measures, chap. 2. p. 56.

† See his Handful of gleanings upon Exodus, §. xxxiv.

(c) Exod. xxxvi. 33.

if they were pierced with a hole big enough to receive a wooden bar which, considering its length of fifty five feet, could not be slender. But as boards or timbers of such a length and breadth, and of such a supposed thickness, would be almost unmanageably heavy; may we not rather conceive, that the middle bar, shooting through the boards from end to end, denotes only that it reached the whole length of the tabernacle, whereas the other bars reached but about, or little more than, half way. For though it is said “the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall reach from end to end (*a*),” there was no occasion they should all do so.

Each side consisted of twenty of these boards; and the end, of eight; which comes to about three feet more than the breadth of the tabernacle. Therefore if these eight boards stood together in a right line, the end must project considerably on each side of the building. But, perhaps the two end boards of the eight stood in an angular position to the sides, and the end of the building; for which reason they are distinguished from the other six, and called “the two boards of the corners of the tabernacle (*b*).” These boards and these bars were all overlaid with gold; and their rings for the staves, and their hasps at top, were all of the same metal.

The foundation on which they stood, was also very costly and magnificent. It consisted of solid blocks of silver, two under each board; they were each about sixteen inches long, and of a suitable breadth and thickness; each weighing a talent, or about an hundred weight. Of these there were about an hundred in number,  
ninety

(*a*) Exod. xxvi. 28.

(*b*) ver. 23.

## C. I. The covering of the tabernacle. 13

ninety six of which were laid for the foundation of the walls of the tabernacle, under the forty eight boards ; and the other four were the bases of the columns that supported the veil or curtain, which divided the inside of the tabernacle into two rooms (*a*).” From hence some have derived the ancient fashion of setting porphyry columns on bases of white marble.

The tabernacle, thus fitted and reared, had four different coverings, or curtains, or carpets thrown one over the other, which hung down on the side near to the silver foundation.

The first and lowest carpet was made of fine linnen, richly embroidered with figures of cherubim, in shades of blue, purple and scarlet. It is reasonable to suppose, that the right side of this carpet was undermost, and so it formed a beautiful cieling in the inside of the tabernacle. This carpet consisted of ten breadths, which were joined together with blue loops and clasps of gold.

The next carpet, which lay over the embroidered one, was made of a sort of mohair ; the breadths of these were joined together with clasps of brass.

The third carpet was made of ram’s skin dyed red ; and the uppermost of all, which was to fence the rest from the weather, was made of tachash skins. What beast this was is not certain ; it appears that shoe-leather was made of its skin ; for God saith concerning Jerusalem, “ I clothed thee with broidered work and shod thee with badger’s (tachash) skin (*b*).” It is conceived the latin word taxus, and the german tachs, may come from the hebrew תַּחַשׁ tachash ;

(*a*) Exod. xxxviii. 27;

(*b*) Ezek. xvi. 10.

tachash; therefore we translate it badger. However the Jews hold this to be a clean beast, which the badger is not.

Thus we have seen the outside of the tabernacle compleat, on the top, the two sides, and one end, namely, that which was set towards the west, when the tabernacle was reared (*a*). As for the east end, it had no boards; but was sheltered with a fine embroidered curtain, hung upon five pillars of shittim wood overlaid with gold (*b*). The text does not tell us how low this curtain hung. Philo makes it to touch the ground\*; but Josephus will have it to come only half way down, that so the people might have a view of the inside of the tabernacle, and of what was done there; but then he says, there was another curtain over that, which came down to the ground, and was to preserve it from the weather, that was drawn aside on the sabbath and other festivals †. Philo's opinion is the more likely, since we find, by the story of Zechariah's ministry (*c*) in the temple, (which was built after the model of the tabernacle,) that the people who were without, could not see into the sanctuary.

The inside of the tabernacle was divided into two rooms, by means of a veil or curtain, hung upon four pillars mentioned before. This veil was made of the richest stuff, both for matter and workmanship, and adorned with cherubim and other ornaments, curiously embroidered

(*a*) Exod. xxvi. 22.

(*b*) ver. 36, 37.

\* Philo Jud. de vitâ Mosis, lib. iii. p. 516. D, E. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. vi. §. 4. p. 134. edit. Haverc.

(*c*) Luke i.

C. I. Court of the tabernacle. 15

ed upon it. It does not appear, in the scripture account, at what distance from either end of the tabernacle this veil was hung; but it is reasonably conjectured, that it divided the tabernacle, in the same proportion in which the temple, afterwards built according to its model, was divided; that is, two thirds of the whole length were allotted to the first room, and one third to the second; so that the room beyond the veil, which was called the holy of holies, was exactly square, being ten cubits each way; and the first room, called the sanctuary, was twice as long as broad.

Round the tabernacle there was a spacious area, or court, of an hundred cubits long and fifty broad, surrounded with pillars, set in bases of brass and filleted with silver, at the distance of five cubits from one another. So that there were twenty pillars on each side, and ten at each end of the court. These pillars had silver hooks, on which the hangings were fastened, that formed the inclosure of the court. These hangings were of fine twined linnen (a). The word קלעים kelangnim, which we render hangings, is supposed to mean open or net work, from קלע kalang, sculpsit. Accordingly the Targum translates it grate-work. So that this inclosure did not wholly conceal the view of the tabernacle, and of the worship performed in the court, from the people that were without.

The entrance into this court was at the east end, facing the tabernacle; where richer hangings, for the space of twenty cubits, were supported by four of the pillars; and these were not fastened like the rest of the hangings, but  
made

(a) Exod xxvii, 9.

made either to draw or lift up; the text does not say which, but the Jews believe the latter.

It is made a question, whether there was only one court; or more, surrounding the tabernacle. Moses mentions but one; yet David speaks of "the courts of the Lord" in the plural number (*a*). Which hath led some people to imagine, there were at least two; one for the Levites, and the other for the people. But this cannot be inferred with any certainty from the word being in the plural number, which is so often used in the hebrew with a singular signification, to denote the excellency of the thing spoken of. Or otherwise, Moses's account of but one court may be reconciled with David's mentioning more than one, by an easy supposition, that after the settlement in Canaan, when the tabernacle was no longer to be moved about as formerly, they inclosed it and its court with a strong fence, at some distance without the pillars and hangings; which formed an outward court, besides that in which the tabernacle stood.

Though the court surrounded the tabernacle there is no reason to suppose that the tabernacle stood in the centre of it; for there was no occasion for so large an area at the west end, as at the east; where the altar of burnt offering stood, and several other utensils of the sacred service. It is more probable, that the area at this end was at least fifty cubits square; and indeed a less space than that could hardly suffice for the work that was to be done there, and for the persons who were immediately to attend the service.

Having

(*a*) P<sup>sal</sup>. lxxxiv. 2, 10. lxxv. 4. et alibi.

Having described the tabernacle and the court that surrounded it; we proceed now to take a view of the furniture that belonged to both.

The chief things in the court were the altar of burnt offering, and the brazen laver. The altar of burnt offering, which is described in the beginning of the twenty eighth chapter of Exodus, was placed towards the east end of the court, fronting the entrance of the tabernacle; and we must suppose, at such a convenient distance from it, that the smoke of the fire which was constantly burning on the altar, might not sully that beautiful tent; its veil and curtains.

The dimensions of the altar were five cubits, or about nineteen feet square, and three cubits, or about five feet and an half high. It was made of shittim wood plated over with brass, and it had four brass rings, through which two bars were put, by which it was carried upon the priests shoulders. It is described with horns at the four corners, but what was the shape and use of these horns is not now known; perhaps they were for tying the victims, according to the allusion of the Psalmist, " Bind the sacrifice with cords even to the horns of the altar (a)."

The fire was kept upon a square grate, suspended by rings at the corners, and, it may be, by chains in the cavity of the altar. The scripture account does not determine the dimensions of this grate; but if we suppose it to be five feet square, which probably was large enough for the use it was designed for; and if we allow six inches for the thickness of the sides of the altar, there would be a space of one foot

(a) Psal. cxviii. 27.

and an half betwixt the grate and the altar on every side; which was sufficient to preserve the wooden sides, (especially as they were plated over with brass,) from being damaged by the fire on the grate.

This grate is said to be put under the compass of the altar, as we understand the word **כַּרְכֹּב** *carcobh*, in the only two places where it occurs (*a*). The meaning of it, therefore, can hardly be conjectured, for want of parallel places by which to fix it. Mr. Saurin supposes the **כַּרְכֹּב** *carcobh* might be a copper vessel, hung by rings or chains to the altar over the fire on the grate, in which the flesh of the victims was consumed\*.

But it is a material objection against this conjecture, that there are some passages, in which it is enjoined, that the victims with the head and the fat should be laid upon the wood, that is, upon the fire, which is on the altar (*b*).

Others, therefore, conceive the **כַּרְכֹּב** *carcobh* to be nothing but a kind of cincture to the grate. Others, again, have imagined it to be a sort of dome over the fire, contrived to collect the flame, and center the heat; so as to consume the vapour that would arise from the flesh in burning, and thereby to prevent that offensive smell which the burning such quantities of flesh and fat must otherways have caused. To strengthen this conjecture, the authors of the universal history tell us, they have seen in France a kind of portable hearth, not unlike a chaffing dish, so artfully contrived, that

(*a*) Exod. xxvii. 5. and xxxviii. 4.

\* See Saurin's discours sur la Pentateuch, disc. liv. or Chamberlayne's translation, p. 458.

(*b*) Levit. i. 8.

that the fire within (though not very fierce to outward appearance) consumed feathers, brimstone, and other like fetid materials, without causing the least smell \*. Now if such a thing is possible, it is not at all unlikely, there might be some such contrivance in the altar, to prevent any offence from the smell of the sacrifices.

The fire on this altar was looked upon as sacred, having first descended upon it from heaven (*a*). It was, therefore, to be kept constantly burning, and never to go out (*b*). From hence, probably, the Chaldeans and Persians borrowed their notion of their sacred fire, which they preserved and nourished with religious care and attention; a custom which afterwards passed from them to the Greeks and Romans.

The rabbies have recourse to a miracle, to account for the preserving of the sacred fire in their marches in the wilderness, when the altar was covered with a purple cloth and a covering of badger's skins (*c*). But it may be as well accounted for, by supposing, that the grate with the fire, was on these occasions taken out of the altar, and carried by itself.

The other considerable utensil in the court of the tabernacle, was the brazen laver, described in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus (*d*). The place of this laver was betwixt the altar and the east end of the tabernacle. Neither the shape, nor size of it, is mentioned by Moses; probably it was considerably capacious, since it was

C 2

for

\* Univers. history, Vol. 1. part 2. p. 662. folio edit.  
 (*a*) Lev. ix. 24.                    (*b*) chap. vi. 13.                    (*c*) Numb.  
 iv. 13, 14.                    (*d*) Exod. xxx. 18,—21.

for the use of all the priests to wash their hands and feet, before they performed their ministry.

It is said, that Moses “made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the looking glasses of the women, who assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (a).” Such were the ancient mirrors, made of polished brass, or other metal \* ; which gave but a dark or obscure image, in comparison of glass mirrors. Hence we read of “seeing through a glass darkly (b),” or rather “in or by a glass,” as *δι' ἑσθητρῶν* signifies.

As for the custom of the women's assembling at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, that is, the tabernacle of Moses, (for it was before the tabernacle of the Lord was reared) some derive it from a custom of the egyptian women, who, (if we may credit Cyril of Alexandria,) used to go to the temple with looking glasses in one hand, and a timbrel in the other †.

The rabbies have represented it as very meritorious in these jewish women, devoutly to sacrifice the most precious ornament of their toilets to holy uses (c). Others have suspected a graphical error in the word *במראות* bema-roth, “of the looking glasses,” namely, that the prefix *ב* beth may have slipped into the text, instead of *כ* caph, by reason of the similitude

(a) Exod. xxxviii. 8.

\* Vid. Ezek. Spanheim. Observ. in Callimach. hymnum in Pallad. v. 21. p. 548,—550. edit. Ultraject. 1697. octav. The targum of Jonathan renders the text last quoted, *ex æreis speculis*.

(b) 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

† Vid. Cyril. de Adoratione in spiritu et virtute, tom. 1. lib. 2. p. 64.

(c) Vid. Aben-ezra in Exod. xxxviii. 8.

litude of those letters; and to strengthen this conjecture they observe, that ב beth is very seldom used to express the metal or stuff of which any thing is made; though sometimes, it must be owned, it is\* ; as, on mentioning the bras which David collected, it is added, wherewith, בַּב bah, “Solomon made the brazen sea, &c (a).” And it is said of Aza, that “he carried away the stones and timber of Ramah, wherewith Baasha was a building, and therewith, בַּבֶּה baham, built Geba and Mizpah (b).” They suppose, however, the true reading of this place was כְּמַרְאֵת chemaroth, and if so, the proper rendering would be “Moses made the laver of bras AS OR LIKE the looking glasses of the women,” that is, he finely polished it.

Having thus taken a view of the two most considerable things in the court, let us now enter into the tabernacle; where in the sanctuary, or first room, we see the altar of incense, the golden candlestick, and the table of shew bread.

1st, The altar of incense (c) was made of shittim wood and overlaid with gold. It was one cubit square, and two high, with an ornament of gold, in the nature, we may suppose, of a carved moulding, round the top of it. The use of it was to burn incense upon every morning and evening. It was also to be sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifices, that were offer-

C 3

ed

\* Vid. Noldii Concordant. Particul. in partic. ב, signif. 14, ex, è, Materiæ. And Aben-ezra vindicates this sense of ב in the place before us. Vid. Cartwright. Electa targum. rabbin. in loc.

(a) 1 Chron. xviii. 8. (b) 2 Chron. xvi. 6.

(c) See the description of it in Exod. xxx. 1,—10.

22 Candlestick & table of shew bread. B. II  
ed for the sins of ignorance, committed either  
by particular persons, or by the people in ge-  
neral (*a*).

2dly, The golden candlestick (*b*) was the  
richest piece of furniture in the tabernacle. It  
was made of solid gold, to the weight of a  
talent; and exclusive of the workmanship,  
which was very curious, it was worth, accord-  
ing to Cumberland, upwards of five thousand,  
seventy six pounds. It contained seven lights,  
six branching out in three pairs, from the up-  
right stem, and one on the top of it. This was  
a most useful, as well as most ornamental,  
piece of furniture in a room that had no win-  
dows.

3dly, The table of shew bread (*c*) was made  
of the same sort of wood with the altar of in-  
cense, and like that overlaid and ornamented  
with gold. Its dimensions were two cubits  
long; one broad, and one and an half high.  
It is said to have a golden border, or crown,  
which may be supposed to be a kind of rim  
round it, something like that of our tea-tables.  
Upon this table were set two rows or piles of  
loaves, or cakes of bread, six in a row or pile,  
which were changed for new ones every sabbath.  
The stale bread belonged to the priests.

This table was also furnished with golden  
dishes, spoons and bowls, of the use of which  
we have no certain account. Perhaps they were  
used about the holy oil, which was kept in the  
tabernacle (*d*), and very probably upon this ta-  
ble. Perhaps, also, this was the place of the  
book

(*a*) Exod. xxx. 10. Lev. iv. 3, 7, 13, 18.

(*b*) Described Exod. xxv. 31, et seq.

(*c*) Described Exod. xxv. 23,--30.

(*d*) See 1 Kings i. 39.

book of the law of the kingdom, which Samuel wrote, and laid up before the Lord (a).

We now go, through the second veil, into the holy of holies; where we are to view the ark of the testimony, and its lid or cover, called “the mercy seat (b).”

The ark was a chest of fine proportion, two cubits and an half long, one and an half broad, and one and an half high. It was made of shittim wood, but plated over with gold, both within and without, and richly ornamented with curious workmanship. Its chief use was to be a repository for the two tables of stone, on which were engraven the ten commandments by the finger of God himself, and which he gave to Moses on mount Sinai (c). These are called the tables of testimony (d), not only as they were a witness and lasting monument of the covenant between God and the people of Israel, but as they would in effect testify against them, if they kept not that covenant. For this end also the book of the law, which Moses wrote, is ordered to be laid in or by the side of the ark; that it “might be there for a witness against the disobedient (e).” From these tables the ark, in which they were preserved, is called the ark of the testimony (f); and the lid of this chest, which covered these tables of the law, is called “the mercy seat,” as fitly representing the effect of God’s mercy to the transgressors of his law; or the covering, (as it were) of their transgressions. And hence the word *κλυπηριον*, by which the septuagint renders

C 4

the

(a) 1 Sam. x. 25.

(b) Both these are described in Exod. xxv. 10,—21.

(c) Exod. xxv. 16. (d) chap. xxxi. 18. (e) Deut. xxxi. 26. (f) Exod. xxx. 6.

the mercy seat, and which is used for it by the apostle, in the epistle to the Hebrews (*a*), is likewise given to Christ in the epistle to the Romans (*b*); inasmuch as, by his death, he hath so covered the transgressions of his people, that they shall not be punished for them.

The upper face of the mercy seat was adorned with two figures of cherubim, either in chased work, as some think, or in statuary, as it is more commonly understood, and as seems most agreeable to the description of them in the book of Exodus (*c*).

We have no sufficient light in scripture absolutely to determine the form, the posture, or the size of these cherubim.

As to their size, indeed, since they are described as having wings, and their wings are said, when stretched forth on high, to cover the mercy seat, of which we know the dimensions, upon the reasonable supposition that their wings were in a just proportion to their bodies, we may form some idea of their bigness.

As to their posture, their faces are said "to be towards one another and towards the mercy seat;" which probably means that they stood in an erect posture on the mercy seat, with their faces towards each other, and both of them with their heads somewhat inclined, as looking down upon, contemplating and admiring the mysteries typified by the ark and mercy seat on which they stood. This may give occasion to the allusion of St. Peter, when speaking of the myste-

(*a*) Heb. ix. 5.

(*b*) Rom. iii. 25. where our translators render it, propitiation.

(*c*) Exod. xxv. 18, — 20.

mysteries of redemption he says “ which things the angels desire to look into (a).”

But we are at the greatest loss of all to determine the true shape and form of these cherubim. Some, upon observing that the verb **כָּרַב** charabh, in the syriac language, sometimes means, simulavit, conceive the noun **כְּרֻב** cherubh, signifies no more than an image, figure, or representation of any thing. Aben Ezra is of this opinion \*. Josephus says, they were flying animals, like none of those which are seen by men, but such as Moses saw about the throne of God †. In another place he says, “ As for the cherubim, nobody can tell or conceive what they were like ‡ .” However, the generality of interpreters both ancient and modern, suppose them to be of a human shape, only with the addition of wings §. The reason of which supposition is perhaps, chiefly, because Moses describes them as having faces; though that will by no means prove the point, because faces are attributed to beasts as well as to men. It is certain, that what Ezekiel, in one place, represents as the face of an ox, in another he represents as the face of a cherub (b). From whence others have conceived the cherubim to be rather of the shape of flying oxen; and it is alledged in favour of this opinion, that

(a) 1 Pet. i. 12.

\* See the reasons on which Aben-ezra grounds his opinion in Christoph. Cartwright. electa targum. rabbin. in Exod. xxv. 18.

† Antiq. lib. iii. cap. vi. §. 5. p. 135, 136. edit. Havercamp.

‡ Antiq. lib. viii. cap. iii. §. 3. p. 424. edit. Haverc.

§ That this was the opinion of several rabbies, see in Cartwright ubi supra.

(b) Ezek. i. 10. compared with chap. x. 14, 15.

that the far more common meaning of the verb **כָּרַב** charabh, in the Arabic, Syriac and Chaldee, being to plow, the natural meaning of **כְּרֻב** cherubh is a creature used in plowing, which in the eastern countries was generally the ox\*. This seems to have been the ancient opinion, which tradition had handed down, concerning the shape of the cherubim with the flaming sword, that guarded the tree of life (*a*). And Ovid's fable concerning Jason's golden fleece being guarded by brazen-footed bulls, which breathed out fire, was, perhaps, grounded upon it.

Ecce adamanteis Vulcanum naribus efflant  
Æripides tauri.

Metamorph. lib. vii. l. 104.

We observe further, that as Ezekiel describes the face of a cherub and the face of an ox as the same, so St. John, in his description of the four ζῶα or living creatures, which he saw in his vision, and which seem in all respects to answer to the four living creatures in Ezekiel's vision, calls that the calf, which Ezekiel calls the ox or cherub (*b*). From hence we may give a probable account of the strangest part of the story of Jeroboam's idolatry, his setting up the two golden calves for objects of worship in Dan and Bethel (*c*). I call it the strangest part, because it appears wonderful, not only that Jeroboam himself should be so stupid as to set up calves for gods, but that the  
bulk

\* Bochart. Hierozoic. part. i. lib. ii. cap. xxxv. oper. tom. 2. p. 358. edit. 1712.

(*a*) Gen. iii. 24.

(*b*) Rev. iv. 7.

(*c*) 1 Kings xii. 28, 29.

bulk of the nation should so readily fall into such senseless idolatry: but it relieves our conceptions, if we consider these calves as nothing but cherubim, the very same sort of figures that were placed in the temple by God's own appointment; so that Jeroboam not only set up the worship of the same God, and in the same modes and forms that were practised at Jerusalem, but the same symbols of the divine presence, to which the people had been accustomed. It is therefore no wonder they so generally fell in with him in some little alterations, particularly as to the place of their most solemn publick worship; especially if we attend to the plausible things he might alledge on this head: namely, that it was an usual practice of the holy patriarchs to build altars, and to worship God, wherever they came and made any stay. Abraham sacrificed in Shechem, and at Bethel, in the plain of Mamre; and at Beersheba. The ark and the tabernacle were many years at Shiloh, and there the people sacrificed. It was from thence moved to Kirjath-jearim, and after that to several other places; in all which sacrifices were offered to God with acceptance. At length David, and then Solomon his son, having chosen to fix their court at Jerusalem, and to have the temple near to the royal palace, it was built in that city. However, the whole land is holy; and they should not be so superstitious, as to imagine the presence of God is limited to one place more than another; but wherever his pure worship is performed, he would meet his people, and bless them. Or if it should be alledged, that Solomon had built the temple at Jerusalem by the express appointment of God, might  
not

not Jeroboam reply, that Solomon had so defiled that city by his lewdness and his idolatries, that it was now become an impure place; and any other therefore might surely be as proper for the most solemn worship, especially Bethel, the house of God, the place where he had anciently chose to dwell\*? Thus might Jeroboam vindicate his conduct, perhaps as well as any will worshipper could ever do. Nevertheless, as he went contrary to a divine institution, his cherubim are contemptuously called calves, and he is frequently branded, as that great sinner who made Israel to sin; which should be a caution to us by no means to depart from, but to keep close to, divine institutions in all matters of religious worship †.

To

\* The greatest part of the speech which I have put into the mouth of Jeroboam is taken from Josephus, who seems to have supposed, that the sin of this prince was not worshipping another God; but, for political reasons, worshipping the true God in a manner contrary to his institution. Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. viii. p. 445. edit. Havercamp.

† Concerning the figure of the cherubim, and the sin of Jeroboam, in erecting such in Dan and Bethel, in imitation of those at Jerusalem, see Monæus de Vitulo aureo, cap. iv,—ix. apud Criticos sacros, tom. ix. p. 4429 et seq. In cap. x, et seq. he answers the objections to his opinion. A short abstract of what he offers on the subject, may be seen in Pool's synopsis on 1 Kings xii. 29. It is remarkable that the author, who was a papist, takes occasion from this sin of Jeroboam, to harangue the protestants, and the king of Great Britain in particular, on the heinous guilt of schism. There would have been more propriety in his addressing the church of Rome, and her infallible head, the Pope, on the guilt of abrogating, or dispensing with divine institutions.—Consult likewise on this subject Bochart. Hierozoic. part. i. lib. ii. cap. xxxv. oper. tom. 2. p. 354,—360.

To return to the cherubim. Clemens of Alexandria seems to have been of opinion, that the egyptian sphynx, and other hieroglyphical beasts, were borrowed from these cherubim and those in Ezekiel's vision \*. Hence it appears that he did not take them to be, entirely at least, of a human form and shape †.

It was betwixt these two cherubim over the mercy seat, that the Schechinah, or miraculous light, used to appear, as the visible token of the special presence of God ‡. From whence  
he

\* Strom. lib. v. apud oper. p. 566, 567. edit. Paris: 1641.

† On this head consult Dr. Watts on the figure of a cherub, in his remnants of time improved, in his works, vol. 4. and Witfii *Ægyptiaca*, lib. ii. cap. xiii.

‡ This Schechinah, or visible glory of Jehovah after it had conducted the Israelites through the wilderness, (see vol. 1. p. 23.) had its more stated residence in the tabernacle, and the temple. For a further account of this miraculous phænomenon, consult part ii. chap. ii. of Mr. Lowman's rational of the hebrew ritual. There are some remarkable things in Lord Barrington's dissertation on God's visible presence, at the end of the second edit. of his essay, and in p. 39, of his essay, note 12. where he hath endeavoured to trace this divine appearance from the creation till a little after the flood, and from the giving of the law to the destruction of the first temple. Toland's attempt to prove that this apprehended miraculous appearance had nothing miraculous in it, but was only a kind of beacon made use of by the Israelites for their direction in their journey, (see his "Hodegus, or pillar of cloud and fire not miraculous," in his piece, called *Tetradymus*;) was answered in a pamphlet, called "Hodegus confuted, or a plain demonstration, that the pillar of cloud and fire, that guided the Israelites in the wilderness, was not a fire of human preparation, but the most miraculous presence of God;" published 1721. 8vo. And likewise in "A Discourse upon the pillar of cloud and fire, &c." inserted in the *Bibliotheca literaria*, 1723. Numb. v. p. 1. and following. The sentiments of the jewish writers upon this subject may be seen in Buxterf. exercitat. de arcâ fœderis.

he is said to “ dwell between the cherubim (*a*),” and “ to sit betwixt the cherubim (*b*).” In consequence of which the people are called upon to worship at his footstool (*c*), that is, the ark and the mercy seat.

We have before observed, that the two tables of the law, which God gave to Moses, were deposited in the ark under the mercy seat; and with them were laid up; it should seem in the same chest, the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron’s rod that budded. For the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, speaking of the tabernacle, *σκηνή η λεγομένη αγια αγιων*, which is called the holiest of all, which had the golden censer, and the ark, *την κιβωτον*, of the covenant, adds, wherein *εν η*, was the pot, that had manna, and Aaron’s rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant (*d*). But how to reconcile this passage, if we understand it to assert; that the pot of manna, and Aaron’s rod were laid up in the ark, with the assertion in the first book of kings, that there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb (*e*), is somewhat difficult. Some say, the apostle speaks of the ark as it was in the time of Moses; the text in kings, as it was in Solomon’s time, when upon some occasion or other the pot of manna and Aaron’s rod had been taken out of it. But this is hardly probable. Therefore *εν η*, in which, must either signify, “ near to which;” in which sense the particle *εν* is sometimes used\*: or rather, I apprehend, *εν η*, in which, refers, not to *κιβωτον*,  
the

(*a*) Psal. lxxx. 1.

(*b*) Psal. xcix. 1.

(*c*) ver. 5.

(*d*) Heb. ix. 3, 4.

(*e*) 1 Kings viii. 9.

\* See Whitby in loc.

the ark, immediately preceding, but to the remote antecedent, σκηνη η λεγομενη αγια αγιων the second tabernacle or holy of holies; and is parallel to the expression, which just before occurs, σκηνη γαρ κατασκευασθη η πρωτη, “there was a first tabernacle made, wherein, εν η, was the candlestick, and the table, &c.”

That the tabernacle and all its furniture were typical and emblematical of spiritual blessings\*, we are assured by the apostle (a). But for the particular meaning of these several mysteries we refer to Witfius’s dissertation de tabernaculi mysteriis, in the first volume of his miscellanea †.

### Of the temple.

Having taken a survey of the tabernacle, we proceed to the temple at Jerusalem, which was built much after the model of the former edifice, but every way in a more magnificent and expensive manner.

According to the opinion of some persons, there were three different temples; the first built by David and Solomon; the second, by Zerubabel and Joshua the high priest; and the third by Herod, a little before the birth of Christ. The Jews acknowledge only two ‡; for they do not allow the third to be a new temple, but only the second rebuilt. And this best agrees with

\* Vid. Deyling. observ. sacr. part. i. obser. xvii. p. 68.

(a) Heb. ix. 9. x. 1. et alibi.

† On this subject consult Buxtorf’s exercitat. de arca fœderis. And with respect to the tabernacle, as well as all its furniture, read Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. vi.

‡ Vid. Reland. antiq. hebr. part. i. cap. vi. §. ii. p. 58. edit. 1717. and the passages of the talmud there quoted.

with the prophecy of Haggai (*a*), that “the glory of this latter house, namely, Zerubbabel’s temple, should be greater than that of the former;” which undoubtedly was said in reference to the Messiah’s honouring it with his personal presence and ministry.

The first temple was built by David and Solomon. David provided materials for it before his death, and Solomon raised the edifice. It stood on mount Zion (*b*), which was the general name of a range of hills in that neighbourhood. The name of that particular hill, on which the temple stood, was Moriah (*c*). The Jews will have it to be the very spot, on which Abraham went about to sacrifice Isaac; and where Adam paid his first devotions after his creation, and sacrificed after his fall. This hill had been purchased by David of Araunah, or Ornan, king of the Jebusites (*d*).

It is remarkable, that though in the second book of Samuel, we have an account that “David purchased the threshing floor of Ornan, with the oxen, for fifty shekels of silver (*e*);” in the first book of Chronicles it is said, “he gave to Ornan for the place, six hundred shekels of gold (*f*).” To solve this difficulty, some learned men, observing that the words קַסָּפָה *kassaph* and זָהָב *zahab* which we render silver and gold in these two passages, are both used, sometimes, for money in general, imagine that the former sum was fifty shekels of gold, and the latter six hundred shekels

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(*a*) Hag. ii. 9.

(*b*) Psal. cxxxii. 13, 14.

(*c*) 2 Chron. iii. 1.

(*d*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 23. where the literal version is, “All this did Araunah the king give unto the king.”

(*e*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.

(*f*) 1 Chron. xxi. 25.

of silver; and if so, both amount to much the same value, about five hundred forty seven pounds. But it seems an easier and more natural supposition, that the former sum was for the floor, oxen and wooden instruments only, and the latter was afterwards paid for the whole hill, whereon David chose to build the temple\*.

The expence of erecting this magnificent structure was prodigious; and indeed, according to the common acceptation of the scripture account, next to incredible; the gold and silver only, which was provided for that purpose, amounting to upwards of eight thousand millions sterling (a); which, says Dr. Prideaux; was sufficient to have built the whole temple with solid silver †; and greatly exceeds all the treasures of all the monarchs in christendom:

But it may be observed that the number of these talents, by which the gold and silver is computed, is mentioned only in the book of chronicles; which was undoubtedly written after the return from the babylonish captivity, as appears from its mentioning Cyrus's decree for the building the temple (b), and from its

VOL. II.

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\* Capel in his *Critica Sacra*, lib. i. cap. x. §. x. p. 37. supposes, that these different numbers are owing to the blunder of some transcriber, and are therefore most easily reconciled by admitting a various lection. And many of this learned man's conjectures, to his immortal honour, are confirmed by the hebrew manuscripts, as Dr. Kennicott hath had occasion to observe; and perhaps this may appear in various other instances, when that gentleman hath finished his great work of the collation, in which he is now engaged.

(a) 1 Chron. xxii. 14. xxix. 4, 6, 7.

† Prideaux's connect. part 1. book 1. vol. 1. p. 7, 8; note (q).

(b) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23.

carrying the genealogy beyond Zerubbabel, who was one of the chiefs that returned from Babylon (*a*); and it is not therefore improbable, that at the time of writing this book the Jews might compute by the babylonish talent, which was little more than half the mosaic talent, or perhaps by the syriac talent, which was but one fifth of the babylonish; and thus the whole mass of gold and silver would be reduced to a comparatively moderate quantity, and yet be abundantly sufficient to build a most magnificent temple.

The plan, and the whole model of this structure was laid by the same divine architect, as that of the tabernacle, namely, God himself (*b*). We may reasonably therefore conclude, it was the compleatest building that was ever erected; and it is no improbable conjecture of those who are for deriving all the grecian orders, and just ornaments in architecture from this temple.

It was built, as was said before, much in the same form with the tabernacle, only every way of larger dimensions. It was surrounded, except the front, or east end, with three stories of chambers, each five cubits square, which reached to half the height of the temple; and the front was graced with a magnificent portico, which rose to the height of an hundred and twenty cubits. So that the shape of the whole was not unlike some churches we have seen, which have a lofty tower in the front, and a lower isle running along each side of the building.

The utensils for sacred service were the same as in the tabernacle; only several of them, as  
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(*a*) 1 Chron. iii. 19.

(*b*) chap. xxviii. 11, 12;

the altar, candlestick, &c. were larger, in proportion to the more spacious edifice to which they belonged. This first temple was at length plundered by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon of all its rich furniture; and the building itself destroyed, after it had stood, according to Josephus, four hundred and seventy years six months and ten days from its dedication\*. Though other chronologers, as particularly Calvifius and Scaliger, reduce the number of years to four hundred twenty seven or eight; and Usher to four hundred twenty four, three months and eight days †.

The second temple was built by the Jews upon their return from the babylonish captivity, under the influence and direction of Zerubbabel their governor, and of Joshua the high priest, with the leave and by the encouragement of Cyrus the persian emperor, to whom Judæa was now become a tributary kingdom. This is that Cyrus, of whom Isaiah had prophesied by name two hundred years before he was born, and had predicted his encouraging the rebuilding Jerufalem and the temple (*a*). It is probable, that Daniel had shewed Cyrus this prophecy, and that Cyrus refers to it in his proclamation for rebuilding the temple: "The Lord God, saith he, hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and charged me to build him a house in Jerufalem (*b*)."  
He also restored the sacred utensils, which Nebuchadnezzar had put in the temples of his God; and not only gave leave to the Jews to rebuild their temple, but

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\* Antiq. lib. x. cap. viii. §. 5. p. 528. edit. Haverc.

† Usher. Annal. A. M. 3416. p. 71. and Scaliger. de emend. temp. p. 400. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1629.

(*a*) Isai, xlv. 28. xlv. 1.

(*b*) Ezra i. 2.

encouraged his own people to assist them with presents, for carrying on the work (*a*). Upon which the foundation of a new building was laid with great rejoicing of the people; only some old men who remembered the glory of Solomon's temple, and had no expectation that this, which was erecting by a few poor exiles, just returned to their own country, could ever equal that in magnificence, wept with a loud voice, while others were shouting with joy (*b*). However, the work, which was thus cheerfully begun, went on but slowly, partly for want of zeal for God's honour and worship, for which they were reprov'd by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah; and partly also, through the envy and malice of their neighbours, the Samaritans, who by their ill offices at court prevailed with the emperor to put a stop to the work (*c*). At length, after an intermission of about thirteen years, it was vigorously reassumed under the encouragement of the emperor Darius, and compleatly finished in the sixth year of his reign (*d*). Upon which the new temple was dedicated with great solemnity and much rejoicing (*e*).

That there was really a very considerable difference and disparity betwixt the old, and this new temple, is very certain, not only from the old men's lamentation before mentioned, but from the following passage of the prophet Haggai, "Who is left amongst you, that saw this house in its first glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison  
of

(*a*) Ezra i. 4.

(*b*) chap iii. 12, 13.

(*c*) chap. iv. 23, 24.

(*d*) chap. vi. 15.

(*e*) ver. 16, 17.

of it, as nothing (*a*)?" And also from the promise which God gave them, in order to comfort them on this occasion, that he would raise the glory of this latter temple above that of the former, by the presence of the Messiah in it (*b*).

The Jews tell us, the second temple wanted five remarkable things, which were the chief glory of the first temple:—the ark and mercy-seat:—the divine presence, or visible glory in the holy of holies, which they call the Shechinah:—the holy fire on the altar, which had been first kindled from heaven:—the urim and thummim:—and, the spirit of prophecy.

This temple was plundered and wretchedly profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes, who not only rifled it of all its riches, but caused it to be polluted by sacrificing swines flesh upon the altar. He also caused the publick worship in it to cease\*.

It was afterward purified, and the divine worship restored, by Judas Maccabeus; on which occasion the temple, or at least the altar, was dedicated anew; and an annual festival was instituted in commemoration of this happy event. This is the feast of dedication, which we read of in the gospel of St. John (*c*), and which is said to be in winter; and could not therefore be kept in remembrance of the dedication of the temple of Solomon; for that was in the seventh month, which is just after harvest (*d*): nor of Zerubbabel's temple, which was dedicated in the month Adar, in the spring.

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(*a*) Haggai ii. 3.                      (*b*) ver. 9.

\* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. v. §. 4. p. 609. edit. Ha-  
verc. and 1 Maccab. i. 20,—24, 45,—47.

(*c*) John x. 22.

(*d*) 1 Kings viii. 2.

It must, therefore, be the festival, which was instituted by Judas Maccabeus on his having purified the temple and altar from the pollution of Antiochus. This feast was celebrated for eight days successively, from the twenty fifth day of the month Casleu, answering to our december (a). And it is also mentioned by Josephus, as a festival to which great regard was paid in his time \*. This festival is still observed by the Jews; yet not as a time of rejoicing, but of mourning, on account of the destruction of their temple, and the calamities which have befallen their nation.

When this second temple was grown old, and out of repair, having stood five hundred years, king Herod, in order to ingratiate himself with the Jews, and to perpetuate his own memory, offered to rebuild it: Which brings us

Thirdly, to Herod's temple; which was a far more magnificent structure than Zerubbabel's, and came much nearer to the glory of Solomon's. Tacitus, the roman historian, calls it "Immensæ opulentiaë templum," a temple of immense opulence †. Josephus says it was the most astonishing structure he had ever seen or heard of, as well on account of its architecture as its magnitude, and likewise the richness and magnificence of its various parts, and the fame and reputation of its sacred appurtenances §. As for rabbi Jehuda, the compiler of the talmud, and other more modern writers, who have given us descriptions of this temple,

(a) 1 Maccab. iv. 59.

\* Antiq. lib. xii. cap. vii. §. 7. p. 617. edit. Haverc.

† Tacit. histor. lib. v. §. viii. p. 202. edit. Glasg. 1743.

§ Joseph. de bell. judaic. lib. vi. cap. iv. §. 8. p. 386: edit. Haverc.

ple, which none of them had ever seen; we can have little dependence on their accounts; especially as they differ so much from one another, each having in a manner erected a separate edifice; to which one cannot help suspecting that the strength of imagination has sometimes contributed more largely, than the knowledge of history. But Josephus was himself a priest in the temple he describes, and wrote soon after its destruction, when if he had given a false, or remarkably inaccurate account, he might have been contradicted by numbers, who had viewed it as well as himself. For that reason, he is to be credited beyond any of the rest\*; though one cannot avoid suspecting, that even in his description, there is some panegyrick exceeding the bounds of truth, intermixed with faithful and exact narrative; for instance, when he tells us of some stones in the building, forty five cubits long, five high, and six broad. That there were, indeed, some extraordinary large stones may be collected from the following passage of the evangelist Mark, “And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here! (a)” And in Luke they are stiled “goodly stones (b).” But I apprehend, it would puzzle all the mathematicians of the present age, to contrive machines by which stones of such prodigious weight and size, as those mentioned by Josephus, could be raised and managed. We are to consider, he wrote before the invention of printing, when books

D 4 could

\* See his description of the temple, de bell. judaic. lib. v. cap. v. p. 331 et seq.

(a) Mark xiii. 1.

(b) Luke xxi. 5.

could not be soon and easily published and dispersed into many hands, as they now are. It is possible, therefore, a vain desire of exalting the glory of his nation, might prevail with him, in some cases, above a strict regard to truth, when it was probable none who were able to contradict him, might ever see his book; or if they should, and were of his own nation, they would not be inclined to do it\*.

Hitherto we have only considered the temple itself, which consisted of the portico, the sanctuary, and the holy of holies. But this was only a small part of the sacred building on the top of mount Moriah; for the temple was surrounded with spacious courts, making a square of half a mile in circumference.

The first court, which encompassed the temple and the other courts, was called the court of the Gentiles; because Gentiles were allowed to come into it, but no further. It was inclosed with a wall, twenty cubits high, on the top of which were chambers or galleries, supported by the wall on the outer side, and by rows of columns on the inside; as the sides of the Royal Exchange, or the piazzas in Covent Garden are. These piazzas of the temple are called *soai* by Josephus, and in the new testament; which we translate porches, though not very properly, for the english word porch, conveys a very different idea from the greek word *soa*, which is better rendered, piazza. That

on

\* There is, however, a surprising account in Mr. Maundrel's travels, p. 138. edit. 1749. Oxon. of the size of some stones, which he saith he saw himself in a wall which encompassed the temple of Balbec; one stone was twenty one, and two others, each twenty yards long, four yards deep, and as many broad. And the authors of the universal history quote De La Roque, a french author, as giving the same account.

on the east side was called Solomon's piazza (*a*), because it stood upon a vast terrass which he built up from the valley beneath, four hundred cubits high, in order to enlarge the area on the top of the mountain, and make it equal to the plan of his intended building. As this terrass was the only work of Solomon's remaining in Herod's temple, the piazza, that stood upon it, still retained the name of the former prince.

Of the same kind with these piazzas were doubtless the five *soat*, which surrounded the pool of Bethesda (*b*). The pool was probably a pentagon, and the piazzas round it were designed to shelter from the weather the multitude of diseased persons, who lay waiting for a cure by the miraculous virtue of those waters.

Within this outward great court was a less court, of an oblong rectangular figure, near to the west end of which the temple stood. Into this court none but Israelites might enter. It was also surrounded with a wall, and adorned with piazzas, in the manner of the great court. The rabbies speak of two walls, and a space betwixt them of ten cubits broad, which they call the חֵל חֵל, that parted the court of the Israelites from the court of the Gentiles. This is what they understand by the word חֵל in the lamentations of Jeremiah (*c*): "He made the chel and the wall to lament; they languished together\*." But however that be, the wall that divided betwixt the court of the Gentiles

(*a*) See John x. 23. Acts iii. 11.

(*b*) John v. 2. (*c*) Lament. ii. 8.

\* Vid. Maimon. de ædificio templi, cap. vii. §. iii. p. 39. Crenii fasciculi sexti. There is, however, a mistake in the translation; instead of being altitudine, in height ten cubits, it should be latitudine, in breadth. Vid. Mishn. tit. Middoth. cap. 2. §. 3. L'Empereur. not. 3. in loc. tom. 5. p. 326. Surenhus.

tiles and the court of the Israelites, is evidently alluded to in the following passage of St. Paul, "But now in Christ Jesus, ye who sometime were afar off are made nigh by the blood of Christ: for he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us (*a*):" which expresses the union of the Jews and Gentiles in one Church by Jesus Christ.

In the outer court was probably kept the market of beasts for sacrifice, which is mentioned by St. John (*b*); and there likewise were the money changers, which he also speaks of, who for a small gratuity furnished people, in exchange for other coin, with half shekels, for payment of the annual tribute which every Israelite was to give into the sacred treasury.

The court of the Israelites was divided into two parts. The first, entering at the east end, was called the court of the women, because they were allowed to come no nearer the temple than that court. Of this indeed we have no account in scripture, except it be the same that was called, in Jehoshaphat's time, the new court (*c*). There seem to have been but two courts originally belonging to Solomon's temple; one called "the court of the priests;" the other, "the great court (*d*);" and we read that "Manasseh built altars for all the hosts of heaven, in the two courts of the house of the Lord (*e*)." In the great, or outward court, devout Gentiles were allowed to pay their devotion to the God of Israel; and in the court of the priests, or the inner court, the priests and  
other

(*a*) Eph. ii. 13, 14.

(*b*) John ii. 14.

(*c*) 2 Chron. xx. 5.

(*d*) 2 Chron. iv. 9.

(*e*) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5.

other Israelites worshipped. And as in those times there seems to have been no other distinction of courts but these two, the setting the women at a greater distance from the temple, and from the special tokens of God's presence, than the men, must have been the contrivance of some later ages, without any divine institution, that we find, to support it.

In this court of the women there was placed one chest, or more, the Jews say eleven, for receiving the voluntary contributions of the people towards defraying the charges of public worship: such as providing the publick sacrifices; wood for the altar, salt and other necessaries. That part of the area where these chests were placed, was the *γαζοφυλακιον*, or treasury, mentioned by St. Mark (*a*). And perhaps the whole court, or at least the piazza on one side and the chambers over it, in which the sacred stores were kept, was from hence called by the same name; as the following passage of St. John seems to imply, "These words spake Jesus in the treasury, as he taught in the temple (*b*)."

From the court of the women, which was on higher ground than the court of the Gentiles, they ascended by fifteen steps into the inner court, in which the temple and altar stood. Into this court, not only the priests, but all male Israelites might enter. Nevertheless, in this court there was a distinction made in Herod's temple, of which we read nothing in Solomon's, betwixt the court of the priests, and that of the people. The court of the priests was nothing but an inclosure of a rail or wall of one cubit high, round about the altar, at a

con-

(*a*) Mark xii. 41.(*b*) John viii. 20.

convenient distance from it, to which the people were to bring their offerings and sacrifices; but none beside the priests were allowed to come within that enclosure.

From hence probably the papists have taken the hint of railing in their altars.

Herod began to build the temple about sixteen years before the birth of Christ, and so far compleated it in nine years and an half, that it was fit for divine service. In all which time, the Jews say, it never rained in the day time, but only in the night, that the sacred building might not be retarded. However, the outbuildings of the courts were not finished till several years after our Saviour's death; so that when he was about thirty years old, the temple had been forty six in building: which is the meaning of this passage in the evangelist John, "Forty and six years was, *ωκοδομηθη*, which should rather be rendered, hath been, this temple in building (a)."

The external glory of this latter temple consisted not only in the opulence and magnificence of the building, but in the rich gifts, *αυαθηματα*, with which it was adorned, and which excited the admiration of those who beheld them (b). The hanging up of *αυαθηματα*, or consecrated gifts, was common in most of the ancient temples; as we find it particularly was in the temple at Jerusalem; where, among the rest, was a golden table given by Pompey, and several golden vines of exquisite workmanship, and of an immense size, with clusters, saith Josephus, *αυθροικηεις*, as tall as a man\*.

This

(a) John ii. 20.

(b) Luke xxi. 5.

\* Joseph. de bell. judaic. lib. v. cap. v. §. 4. p. 333. edit. Haverc.

This magnificent temple was at length, through the righteous judgment of God on that wicked and abandoned nation, who had literally turned it into a den of thieves, utterly destroyed by the Romans; on the same month, and on the same day of the month, on which Solomon's temple was destroyed by the Babylonians.

On this subject may be consulted Lightfoot's description of the temple, and Capel's *Templi Hierosolymitani triplex delineatio ex Villalpando, Josepho, Maimonide et Talmude*, prefixed to Walton's *Polyglot*.





## C H A P. II.

### Of the fynagogues, schools and houfes of prayer.

**T**HE term fynagogue, primarily fignify-  
ing an affembly, came, like the word  
church, to be applied to places in which any  
affemblies, especially thofe for the worfhip of  
God, met, or were convened. The Jews ufe  
it in the primary fenfe, when they fpeak of the  
great fynagogue; meaning the court of feventy  
elders, which they pretend to have been infti-  
tuted originally by Mofes, and the members of  
which they afterwards increafed to one hundred  
and twenty.

We are now to treat of fynagogues, chiefly,  
in the latter fenfe; namely, as denoting places  
of worfhip. And thus they were a kind of  
chapels of eafe to the temple, and originally in-  
tended for the convenience of fuch, as lived too  
remote ftatedly to attend the publick worfhip  
there. But in the latter ages of the jewifh  
ftate, fynagogues were multiplied far beyond  
what fuch convenience required. If we may  
believe the rabbies, there were no lefs than  
four

four hundred and eighty, or according to others four hundred and sixty\*, of them in Jerusalem, where the temple stood. So great a number indeed exceeds all reasonable belief. Nevertheless it is easy to imagine, that as the erecting synagogues came to be considered as a very meritorious work of piety (*a*), the number might soon be encreased, by the superstition of religious zealots, beyond all necessity or convenience.

The almost profound silence of the old testament concerning synagogues hath induced several learned men to conclude, that they had a very late original. Mr. Basnage supposes them to be coeval with the traditions in the time of the asmonean princes, but a few ages before Christ. Dr. Prideaux does not admit, there were any synagogues before the babylonish captivity †. Vitringa is of the same opinion, and hath said a great deal in support of it ‡. In favour of which sentiment Reland also quotes some passages from the rabbies §. But I cannot think their arguments are conclusive. For in the seventy fourth psalm, which seems to have been written on occasion of the babylonish captivity, there is mention made of their enemies having burnt or destroyed “all the synagogues

\* Gemar. Hierosol. tit. Megill. cap. iii. fol. 73. col. 4. and tit. Cethuboth. cap. xiii. fol. 35. col. 3. Vid. Selden. prolegom. in librum de successione in bona defunctorum. p. xv, xvi. apud Opera, vol. ii. tom. 1. Or Lightfoot. Centur. chorograph. Matt. xxvi.

(*a*) See Luke vii. 4, 5.

† Connect. vol. 2. p. 534, — 536.

‡ Vitring. de synag. vet. lib. i. part. ii. cap. ix. — xii.

§ Reland. Antiq. sacr. part. i. cap. x. §. iii. p. 128, 129. edit. 3. 1717.

nagogues of God in the land," כָּל-מוֹעֲדֵי-יְהוָה בְּאֶרֶץ col-mongnadhè-èl baarets (*a*): In which passage not only מוֹעֲדֵי mongnathè, from יָעַד jangnadh, convenire fecit ad locum tempusque statutum, seems to be properly translated synagogues, where the people were statedly to meet for divine worship; but the words כָּל col and בְּאֶרֶץ baarets, all the synagogues of God in the land, being added, prevent our understanding this expression, as some do, only of the temple, and the holy places belonging to it at Jerusalem. Vitringa seems sensible of the force of this argument, and endeavours therefore to show; that the phrase may either mean all the places throughout the land; where God had occasionally met his people in old time, and which on that account were had in peculiar veneration; or at least, the schools and academies of the prophets. An interpretation, which seems not very natural; and indeed this learned author himself was so doubtful of it, that he adds; Discerning persons will not imagine, that this one passage, which is of an uncertain sense, is sufficient to counterbalance the arguments I have produced, to prove that synagogues were of a later original.

Again, I observe that St. James speaks of Moses being read in the synagogues "of old time (*b*)."<sup>1</sup> And indeed it can hardly be imagined, that the bulk of a nation which was the only visible church of God in the world, should in their purest times, in the days of Joshua, Samuel, and David, seldom or never pay him any publick worship: and this must have been the case, if they had no other places for it, be-

sides

(*a*) Psal. lxxiv. 8.

(*b*) Acts xv. 21.

sides the tabernacle; and on this supposition likewise the sabbath could not be kept according to the law, which required a holy convocation **מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ** mikra-kodhesh, on, or for, that day, in, or among, all their dwellings, or throughout the whole land (*a*). The word **מִקְרָא** mikra, which we render a convocation, seems more naturally to import a place of public worship in which the people assembled, than the assembly itself. As in the following passage of Isaiah, “And the Lord will create upon every dwelling place of mount Zion, and upon her assemblies **מִקְרָאֶיהָ** mikrajeha, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night (*b*).” In which there is a manifest allusion to the tabernacle, whereon the cloud and pillar of fire rested in the wilderness (*c*). And what then could these **מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ** mikrè kodhesh be, but synagogues, or edifices for public worship \* ?

However, the dispute, perhaps, may be compromised, if we allow that the custom of erecting those sorts of chapels, in later ages called synagogues, and appropriated to public worship alone, first began after the return from the captivity; and that in former times, from their first settlement in the land of Canaan, the people used to meet either in the open air, or in dwelling houses, particularly in the houses of the prophets, (as seems to be intimated in the husband of the Shunamite enquiring of her, when she was going to Elisha’s house on occa-

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sion

(*a*) Lev. xxiii. 3.  
xl. 38.

(*b*) Isai. iv. 5.

(*c*) Exod.

\* See on this subject Leydecker, de Republ. Hebr. lib. viii. cap. v. §. ii.

sion of the death of her son, “ Wherefore wilt thou go to him to day? It is neither new moon nor sabbath (*a*): ” ) . or in any other place or building convenient for the purpose.

But though we cannot help concluding, they had extempore synagogues, if we may so stile them, without which religious assemblies could not be ordinarily held, from their first settlement in Canaan; nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, these assemblies were sometimes neglected, and in a manner laid aside, for years together; which made it necessary for Jehoshaphat to send Levites, a sort of itinerant preachers, with a book of the law with them, throughout the cities of Judah (*b*). And from the long disuse of reading it in such publick assemblies the knowledge of the law was at a very low ebb in Josiah’s time; which may be supposed, in part, to have occasioned the pleasure and surprize of the king and of Hilkiah the high-priest, when the book, or autograph of the law, which had been long neglected and lost, was found, as they were repairing the temple (*c*).

In the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles there is mention made of the synagogue of the libertines (*d*); concerning whom there are different opinions, two of which bid fairest for the truth. The first is that of Grotius and Vitringa\*, that they were italian jews or proselytes. The ancient Romans distinguished betwixt libertus and libertinus. Libertus was one who had been a slave, and obtained his freedom;

(*a*) 2 Kings iv. 23.

(*b*) 2 Chron. xvii. 9.

(*c*) 2 Kings xxii. 8.

(*d*) Acts vi. 9.

\* Grot. in loc. Vitring. de Synag. vetere, lib. i. part. i. cap. 14. p. 254, 255.

dom \*; libertinus was the son of a libertus †. But this distinction in after ages was not strictly observed; and libertinus also came to be used for one not born, but made free, in opposition to ingenuus, or one born free ‡. Whether the libertini mentioned in this passage of the acts, were gentiles, who had become proselytes to judaism, or native Jews, who having been made slaves to the Romans were afterwards set at liberty §, and in remembrance of their captivity called themselves libertini, and formed a syna-

E 2

gogue

\* *Cives Romani sunt Liberti, qui vindicta, censu aut testamento, nullo jure impediante manumissi sunt. Ulpian. tit. 1. §. 6.*

† This appears from the following passage of Suetonius concerning Claudius, who he says, was *ignarus temporibus Appii et deinceps aliquamdiu Libertinos dictos, non ipsos, qui manumitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatos. In vitâ Claudii, cap. xxiv. §. 4. p. 78. Pitisci.*

‡ *Quintilian. de institutione oratoriâ, lib. v. cap. x. p. 246. edit. Gibson. 1693. Qui servus est, si manumittatur fit Libertinus.—Justinian. Institut. lib. i. tit. v. Libertini sunt, qui ex justâ servitute manumissi sunt. Tit. iv. Inge-nuus est is, qui statim ut natus est, liber est; sive ex duobus ingenuis matrimonio editus est, sive ex libertinis duobus, sive ex altero libertino, et altero ingenuo.*

§ Of these there were great numbers at Rome. Tacitus informs us (*Annal. lib. ii. cap. lxxxv.*) that four thousand Libertini, of the jewish superstition as he styles it, were banished at one time. by order of Tiberius, into Sardinia; and the rest commanded to quit Italy, if they did not abjure, by a certain day. See also Suetonius in *vitâ Tiberii, cap. xxxvi.* Josephus (*Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. iii. §. 5. edit. Haverc.*) mentions the same fact. And Philo (*legat. ad Caium, p. 785. C. edit. Colon. 1613.*) speaks of a good part of the city beyond the Tiber, as inhabited by Jews, who were mostly Libertini, having been brought to Rome as captives and slaves, but being made free by their masters. were permitted to live according to their own rites and customs.

gogue by themselves, is differently conjectured by the learned\*.

It is probable, the Jews of Cyrenia, Alexandria, &c. built synagogues at Jerufalem at their own charge, for the use of their brethren, who came from those countries; as the Danes, Swedes, &c. build churches for the use of their own countrymen in London; and that the Italian Jews did the same; and because the greatest number of them were libertini, their synagogue was therefore called the synagogue of the libertines.

The other opinion, which is hinted by Oecumenius on the Acts †, and mentioned by Dr. Lardner, as more lately advanced by Mr. Daniel Gerdes ‡, professor of divinity in the university of Groningen; is this, that the libertines are so called from a city or country called Libertus or Libertina in Africa, about Carthage. Suidas in his lexicon, on the word *λιβερτινος*, says it was *ονομα εθνης*, nomen gentis. And the Glossa interlinearis, of which Nicolas de Lyra made great use in his notes, hath, over the word Libertini, *è regione*, denoting that they were so stiled from a country.

In the acts of the famous conference with the Donatists at Carthage anno 411. there is mentioned one Victor, bishop of the church of Libertina; and in the acts of the Lateran council, which was held in 649. there is mention of Januarius gratia Dei episcopus sanctæ ecclesiæ Libertinensis; and therefore Fabricius, in his geographical index of christian bishopricks, has placed

\* Vid. Selden. de jure nat. et gent. lib. ii. cap. v. oper. vol. 1. tom. 1. p. 200, 201. et Alting. de profelytis.

† In loc. tom. 1. p. 57.

‡ Vid. ejus Exercit. Academ. lib. iii. Amste!. 1728. 410.

placed Libertina in what was called Africa propria, or the proconsular province of Africa. Now as all the other people of the several synagogues, mentioned in this passage of the Acts, are denominated from the places from whence they came; it is probable, that the Libertines were so too; and as the Cyrenians and Alexandrians, who came from Africa, are placed next to the Libertines in that catalogue, it is probable they also belonged to the same country. So that, upon the whole, there is little reason to doubt of the Libertines being so called from the place from whence they came\*; and the order of the names in the catalogue might lead us to think, that they were further off from Jerusalem than Alexandria and Cyrenia, which will carry us to the proconsular province in Africa about Carthage †.

When Godwin mentions it as a Jewish tradition, that wheresoever there were ten men of Israel, there ought to be a synagogue built; he is somewhat mistaken in the meaning of the tradition, which was, that a synagogue ought to be built where there were ten **בטלנים** batlanim, that is, men of leisure, who could take care of the affairs of the synagogue, and give themselves to the study of the law. So saith Lightfoot, understanding it to be a general name for the elders or officers of the synagogue ‡. How-

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ever,

\* It is surprizing that this opinion should be rejected by Mr. Selden, since he hath not only mentioned it, but quoted on the occasion the passages here produced out of Suidas, the Glossa interlinearis, and the Acts of the conference at Carthage. De jure nat. et gent. ubi supra.

† See Dr. Lardner's Case of the Demoniacs, p. 152, —156.

‡ Vid. Lightfoot. hor. hebraic. in Matt. iv. 23.

ever, others are of a different opinion; particularly Rhenferdius, who hath wrote a large dissertation, chiefly against Lightfoot, in order to prove that they were persons, who at a stated salary were obliged to attend the service of the synagogue at proper hours, that whoever came might find a sufficient number to make a lawful congregation, which the Jews imagine must consist, at least, of ten\*.

In the synagogue, saith Godwin, the scribes ordinarily taught; but not only they; for Christ himself also taught in them. It is queried by what right Christ and his apostles, who had no publick character among the Jews, taught in their synagogues? In answer to which Dr. Lightfoot observes, that though this liberty was allowed to no illiterate person or mechanic, but only to the learned; they nevertheless granted it to prophets, and workers of miracles, and such as set up for heads and leaders of new sects †; I suppose, in order that they might inform themselves of their dogmata, and not condemn them unheard and unknown. And under all these characters, Christ and his apostles were admitted to this privilege.

He that gave liberty to preach was termed *Ἀρχισυναγωγός*. Which word is sometimes used in a larger sense, for any one of the officers, who had power in the affairs of the synagogue. Thus

\* Vid. Rhenferdii Dissertationes philolog. de decem Otiosis Synagogæ. Franckeræ, 1686. 4to. Vitring. de Decem-viris Otiosis, Franck. 1687. in defence of what he had advanced in his Archisynagog. Francker. 1685. cap. ii, iii. et eundem de Synagog. vetere, lib. ii. cap. vi, vii, viii. where he shews at large the grounds of Lightfoot's opinion, more fully than he had done himself, but leaves the dispute undetermined.

† Lightfoot, hor. hebr. in Matt. iv, 23. ad finem.

Thus in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts (*a*) we read of the *Ἀρχισυναγωγοί*, rulers of one synagogue. Sometimes it is used, in a stricter sense, for the president or chief of those officers. As in the following passage of St. Luke, “And the ruler of the synagogue, *Ἀρχισυναγωγός*, answered with indignation, because that Jesus had healed on the sabbath day (*b*).” And perhaps in these passages of the Acts, “And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, *Ἀρχισυναγωγός*, believed on the Lord with all his house (*c*).” Again, “All the Greeks took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, *Ἀρχισυναγωγός*, and beat him before the judgment-seat (*d*).”

Next to the *Ἀρχισυναγωγός*, was an officer, whose province it was to offer up publick prayer to God for the whole congregation, and who on that account was called *שליח צבור* Sheliach Zibbor, the angel of the church\*, because as their messenger, he spoke to God for them. Hence the pastors of the seven churches of Asia, in the book of the revelation, are called by a name borrowed from the synagogue, “Angels of the churches.” Dr. Lightfoot makes this officer to be the same with the *ὑποπαιτής* †, mentioned in the fourth chapter of St. Luke, and by our translators rendered “minister (*e*).” He also confounds it with the *חזן* chazan ‡, as Vitranga did when he wrote his *Archisynagogus*,

E 4

gus,

(*a*) Acts xiii. 15.      (*b*) Luke xiii. 14.      (*c*) Acts xviii. 8.      (*d*) ver. 17.

\* *Mish. roth haishanah*, cap. 4. § 9. *Maimon. et Bartenor. in loc. tom. 2. p. 353. edit. Surenhus. et Vitrang. de Synag. vetere, lib. 3. part. 2. cap. i. p. 889, 895. et cap. ii. p. 905, et seq.*

† See his *Harmony on Luke iv. 20.*

(*e*) Luke iv. 20.

‡ See his *Harmony on Luke iv. 15. §. iv.*

gus\*, but on maturer consideration he afterwards altered his opinion.

The Chazan, I apprehend, was, generally at least, a different officer from the Sheliach Zibbor, and inferior to him. Some understand the word Chazan to answer to the greek *διακονος* †; but according to the account the rabbies give of his office ‡, it should answer to the english word sexton; for he was the servant of the synagogue, as Dr. Doddridge on the forecited passage of St. Luke translates the word *Υπηρητης*, seeming to understand it, as most interpreters do, of the Chazan.

The worship performed in the synagogue consisted of three parts, reading the scriptures, prayer, and preaching.

The scriptures they read, were the whole law of Moses, and portions out of the prophets, and hagiographa.

The law was divided into fifty three, according to the Masorets, or according to others, fifty four פְּרָשׁוֹת parashoth or sections. For the jewish year consisted of twelve lunar months, alternately of twenty nine or thirty days, that is, of fifty weeks and four days. The Jews, therefore, in their division of the law into Parashoth or sections, had a respect to their intercalary year, which was every second or third, and consisted of thirteen months; so that the whole law was read over this year, allotting one Parashah, or section to every sabbath. And in  
com.

\* Archisyntag. p. 58, et seq.

† Vitring. de Synag. vetere, lib. 3. part. 2. cap. iv. p. 914, et seq.

‡ Vid. Mishn. Sotah, cap. 7. §. 7. Bartenor. et Wagenfeil. in loc. tom. 3. p. 266. edit. Surenhus. Vitring. de Synag. vetere, ubi supra. cap. ii. p. 895. et seq.

common years they reduced the fifty three or fifty four sections to the number of the fifty sabbaths, by reading two shorter ones together, as often as there was occasion. They began the course of reading the first sabbath after the feast of tabernacles; or rather, indeed, on the sabbath day before that, when they finished the last course of reading, they also made a beginning of the new course\*; that so, as the rabbies say, the devil might not accuse them to God of being weary of reading his law †.

The portions selected out of the prophets are called חֲפָטָהּ haphtaroth. The tradition ‡ is, that when Antiochus Epiphanes forbade them reading the law in their synagogues, they picked out portions of the prophets, somewhat answering in sense to those of the law §, and read them on the same days when the others should have been read ||.

The

\* See Vitringa de Synag. vetere, lib. iii. part. 2. cap. viii. p. 964, et seq. Leusden. Philolog. hebræ. dissert. iv.

† Leusden. ubi supra, §. xx.

‡ Elias Levita in Thilbi ad rad. חֲפָטָהּ. See the passage quoted by Vitringa de Synag. vetere, lib. iii. part. 2. cap. xi. p. 1006. This tradition of the origin of reading the haphtaroth, is very improbable, as Vitringa shews, p. 1007, 1008.

§ That the passages of the prophets were to be similar to those of the law, we are informed by Maimonides, de precibus, cap. xiii. §. iii. See Vitring. p. 985, 986.

|| See a table of the Parashoth and Haphtaroth in Maimon. de ordine precum. in de Voisin. Observat. ad Raymundi Martini Pugionem fidei, præm. p. 80, et seq. p. 108, et seq. or at the end of Athias's Hebrew Bible.

It is debated among learned men, whether the greek version of the septuagint was anciently used in the synagogues of those Jews, who were not well versed in the hebrew; or whether the original alone was read to them, and then interpreted. We have already declared our opinion that the Hellenists mentioned in the Acts were Jews, who used the greek version in sacris, or in their synagogues.

The second part of the synagogue service was prayer. For the performance of which, saith Dr. Prideaux, they had liturgies, in which are all the prescribed forms of the synagogue worship. The most solemn part of these prayers are eighteen collects, which, according to the rabbies, were composed and instituted by Ezra, in order that the Jews, whose language after the captivity was corrupted with many barbarous terms, borrowed from other languages, might be able to perform their devotions in the pure language of their own country. This is the account which Maimonides gives out of the Gemara, of the origin of the jewish liturgies\*. And the eighteen collects, in particular, are mentioned in the Mishna †. However some better evidence than that of the talmudical rabbies is requisite in order to prove their liturgies to be of so high an antiquity; especially when some of their prayers, as Dr. Prideaux acknowledges, seem to have been composed after the destruction of Jerusalem, and to have reference to it ‡. It is evident they were

gogues. See on the other side of the question Vitringa, (de Synag. vetere, lib. iii. part. 2. cap. 7. p. 950,—958.) who hath laboured to prove, against Scaliger (animadvers. ad Eusebii Chronicon, p. 134.) and Walton (prolegom. ix. §. 14. p. 60.) that no greek version was ever used in any jewish synagogues. In support of the opinion we have espoused, besides Scaliger and Walton, see in particular, Hody de Bibliorum textibus, lib. iii. part. 1. cap. 1. p. 224,—233.

\* Maimon. de precibus et benedict. sacerdot. cap. i. §. i,—ix. ex Gem. tit. Barachoth, fol. xxxiii. col. 1. et Megill. fol. xviii. col. 2. See Vitringa, lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 12. p. 414,—416.

† Mishn. tit. Barachoth, cap. 4. §. 3. p. 14. edit. Surenhuis.

‡ Connect. part 1. book vi. vol. 2. p. 538. note d. edit. 10. 1729.

were composed, when there was no temple, nor sacrifices; since the seventeenth collect prays, that God would restore his worship to the inner part of his house, and make haste with fervour and love to accept the burnt sacrifices of Israel, &c \*. They could not, therefore, be the composition of Ezra, who did not receive his commission from Artaxerxes to go to Judea, till more than fifty years after the second temple was built, and its worship restored. However, Dr. Prideaux not doubting but they were used, at least most of them, in our Saviour's time; and consequently, that he joined in them †, whenever he went into the synagogues, as he did every sabbath day (a); infers from hence two things, as he saith, for the consideration of dissenters.

1st, " That

\* Prideaux, *ubi supra*, p. 541, 542. The fifth, tenth, eleventh, and fourteenth collects have the same allusion and reference as the seventeenth. See the original prayers in M. imonides de Ordine precum, or in Vitringa, (*de Synag. vetere*, lib. iii. part. 2. cap. xiv. p. 1033,—1038.) who observes, that the Talmudists will have the seventeenth collect, which prays for the restoration of the temple worship, (*reduc ministerium Leviticum in Adytum Domus tuæ*, as he translates it) to have been usually recited by the king in the temple at the feast of tabernacles; which is such an absurdity, that it confutes itself, and shows how little the jewish traditions concerning the antiquity and use of their liturgies are to be depended upon.

† Supposing these forms were used in our Saviour's time, it will not follow, that he joined in them, or worshipped God by them, because he frequently attended the jewish synagogues; which he might do for other reasons. And indeed many of them, as the author of the letter to Dr. Prideaux in the Occasional paper (vol. 3. numb. 3. p. 14,—17.) justly observes and shews, were such as he cannot be supposed to have joined in, not being consistent with his character and circumstances.

(a) Luke iv. 16.

1st, "That our Saviour disliked not set forms of prayer in publick worship."

2dly, "That he was content to join with the publick in the meanest forms (for such he allows these jewish forms to be) rather than separate from it." "And this, says he, may satisfy our dissenters, that neither our using set forms of prayer in our publick worship, nor the using of such forms as they think not sufficiently edifying, can be objection sufficient to justify them in their refusal to join with us in the use of them\*."

As both these inferences are built upon the supposition, that forms of prayer were used in the jewish church in our Saviour's time, if that cannot be satisfactorily proved, they stand upon a very precarious foundation. And though the doctor is pleased to say, there is no doubt of it, yet, unless he could produce some better and earlier evidence than the talmudical rabbies, I think there is great reason to withhold our assent. If they were in use so early as the jewish writers pretend, it is strange there should be no hint of it in the Old Testament, and in the Apochrypha; and if they came into use in or before our Saviour's time, some intimation of it might naturally have been expected in the New Testament. Nor is the total silence of Josephus and Philo, and all other writers, previous to the talmudical rabbies, easy to be accounted for on supposition that such liturgical forms were then in use.

How-

\* The same argument is used by Dr. Whitby on Luke iv. 16. by Archbishop Tillotson, Serm. 135. vol. 3. p. 227. fol. by Dr. Benner, in his brief history of forms of prayer, chap. 1, 2, and 3. and by several others.

However granting they were then used, and that our Saviour ordinarily attended the jewish publick worship, at that time very corrupt and loaded with ceremonies of mere human invention; it may nevertheless be doubted how far his example in this case will oblige us to join with a national church in any forms of worship, which we apprehend to be corrupted from the divine institution: For

1st. Though our blessed Saviour for wise reasons was present at the corrupt worship of the jewish church, he frequently remonstrated against their corruptions. The argument, therefore, drawn from hence, for our complying with human inventions and corruptions in the worship of God seems not quite remote from that which Cardinal Bellarmine uses for the worship of angels; “ St. John fell down before an angel, in order to worship him; and why are we blamed for doing what St. John did?” To which Archbishop Tillotson properly replies, because St. John was reprov'd by the angel for doing what he did. In like manner when we are asked, why we cannot comply with corrupt forms and human inventions, as Christ did? We may reply, because he remonstrated against such corrupt forms and human inventions, and reprov'd the Jews for them. Indeed if this argument proves any thing, it proves too much; it proves that we must not only comply with corrupt modes and forms in divine worship, but that we must at the same time continue to bear our testimony against such corruptions; and this, we apprehend, would not only be disagreeable to our christian brethren, with whom we differ, but would ordinarily be the cause of more uncharitable contentions, and  
give

give a more mortal wound to the peace of the church, for the sake of preserving which the example of Christ is so strongly urged upon us, than a quiet and peaceable separation. Not to add,

2dly. That if we are under an obligation, from the example of Christ, to comply with the established worship in any nation, I apprehend, we must be under the like obligation to comply with it in every nation, to be episcopalian, or presbyterians, papists, or protestants, according to the law and constitution of the country in which we reside.

3dly. Though our Saviour for a time complied with the corrupt worship of the jewish church, he nevertheless afterwards dissented, and set up another church and another form in opposition to theirs; injoining on his disciples a nonconformity to the rites of the jewish church, and a strict and close adherence to him as their lawgiver, and to his institutions as their rule, and not to suffer themselves to be again entangled with the yoke of carnal and ceremonial ordinances, but to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free; to own and submit to his authority alone as obligatory on conscience, and to oppose every usurpation on his sovereignty, and every invasion of the rights of his subjects. Which leads me to observe,

4thly, That the argument is built on this mistaken principle, that the church of England is a national established church, on the same, or as good, authority as the jewish church was. That indeed was a divine establishment; and all persons born in the land of Israel, and of jewish parents being considered as members of  
it,

it, were therefore bound to conform to its rites, and worship, at least so far as they were consonant to the divine institution. But is there a divine establishment of any national church under the gospel dispensation? If the New Testament gives us no other idea of the churches of Christ, but their being voluntary societies, uniting, under the laws of Christ, for publick worship, and other purposes of religion; then is no man born a member of any church, but every one is at liberty to join himself to that, whose constitution and worship appear to him most agreeable to the rule of scripture, and most for his own edification. And since the unity which the gospel recommends, does not consist in the uniformity of rites and modes of worship, but in harmony of affection, and in the mutual love of all christians; it follows, that the peace of the church is not broken by quiet and conscientious nonconformists, but by those who are bitter and violent against their fellow christians for not approving those human forms of which they are fond and tenacious\*.

The third part of their synagogue service was expounding the scriptures, and preaching to the people. The posture, in which this was performed, whether in the synagogue, or other places (a), was sitting. Accordingly, when our Saviour

\* See Mr. Robinson's Review of the case of liturgies, in answer to Dr. Bennet, chap. iii. p. 49, et seq. and the letter to Dr. Prideaux in the Occasional Paper, vol. 3. Numb. iii.

If any are desirous of being acquainted with the jewish forms, and with their manner of discharging the duty of publick prayer, as described by the rabbies, they may have ample satisfaction in Vitringa de Synag. vetere, lib. iii. part. 2. cap. xiii,—xviii. or in Buxtorf. de Synag. judaicâ.

(a) See Matt. v. 1. and Luke v. 3.

Saviour had read the **הַפְּטֵרוֹת** hapteroth in the synagogue at Nazareth, of which he was a member, having been brought up in that city; and then instead of retiring to his place, sat down in the desk or pulpit, it is said, "the eyes of all that were present were fastened upon him," as they perceived by his posture that he was going to preach to them (*a*). And when Paul and Barnabas went into the synagogue at Antioch, and sat down, thereby intimating their desire to speak to the people, if they might be permitted; the rulers of the synagogue sent to them, and gave them leave (*b*).

The synagogues were used, not only for divine service, but for holding courts of justice, especially upon ecclesiastical affairs. And as among us, lesser punishments are often inflicted in the court, as soon as judgment is given; for instance, burning in the hand; so among the Jews, the punishment of beating or whipping was often inflicted in the synagogue, while the court was sitting (*c*).

To this use of the synagogues for holding judiciary courts, Dr. Whitby thinks, St. James refers, when he says, "If there come into your assembly, *εις τῶν συναγωγῶν ὑμῶν*, a man with a gold ring; in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man, in vile rayment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay cloathing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool; are ye not partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts," or judges who think  
and

(*a*) Luke iv. 20.

(*b*) Acts xiii. 14, 15.

(*c*) See Matt. x. 17. Luke xii. 11. Acts xxii. 19.

and reason ill (*a*)? That the apostle here speaks of consistories for civil judicature, is argued, 1st. From the use of the word *συναγωγή*, which never signifies in the New Testament an assembly of christian worshippers. 2dly. From the word *προσωποληψία* being used to express the partiality here censured, in the clause immediately preceding: “My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons, *ἐν ταῖς προσωποληψίαις* (*b*).” Now this term is most commonly, if not always, used for a partial respect of persons in judgment; like the instance here mentioned, favouring a rich man’s cause before a poor man’s. 3dly. The phrase “Sit thou under my footstool (*c*),” most naturally refers to courts of justice; where the judge is commonly exalted upon a higher seat than the rest of the assembly; but it cannot be well applied to assemblies of worshippers. 4thly, The Apostle’s accusing them, on account of this conduct towards the poor, with being partial judges (*d*); and reminding them, that the rich were the persons, who “drew them before the judgment-seats (*e*),” seems very natural, if we understand him in the preceding passage, as discoursing concerning courts of judicature. 5thly, The Apostle says, such a respect of persons, as he here speaks of, is contrary to the law, and those who are guilty of it, are “convinced of the law as transgressors (*f*).” Now there was no divine law against distinction of places in worshipping assemblies, into those which were more or less honourable;

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this

(*a*) James ii. 2,—4.      (*b*) ver. 1.      (*c*) ver. 3.  
 (*d*) ver. 4.      (*e*) ver. 6.      (*f*) ver. 9.

this must therefore, no doubt, refer to the law of partiality in judgment, “Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment; thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty (a).” The talmudists say\*, it was a rule, that when “a poor man and a rich man pleaded together in judgment, the rich should not be bid to sit down, and the poor to stand; but either both shall sit, or both shall stand.” To this rule, or custom the Apostle seems to refer, when he insinuates a charge against them, of saying to the rich man, “Sit thou here in a good place, and to the poor, Stand thou there (b).”

So that, upon the whole, by the synagogue is not here meant, as is commonly understood, the church assembly for worship, but a court of judicature, in which men are too apt to favour the cause of the rich against the poor.

With respect to the schools amongst the Jews, it should be observed, that besides the common schools, in which children were taught to read the law, they had also academies, in which their doctors gave comments on the law, and taught the traditions to their pupils. Of this sort were the two famous schools of Hillel and Sammai, and the school of Gamaliel, who was Paul’s tutor (c). In these seminaries the tutor’s chair is said to have been so much raised above the level of the floor, on which the pupils sat, that his feet were even with their heads. Hence St. Paul says, that “he was brought  
up

(a) Lev. xix. 15. See also Deut. i. 17.

\* Vid. Hottinger. de juris Hebræor. legibus, leg. ccxlii. p. 364. edit. Tigur. 1655.

(b) James ii. 3.

(c) Acts xxii. 3.

up at the feet of Gamaliel.” These academies were commonly furnished with several tutors, of whom one was president, and from whom the school was denominated. They were called בֵּית־רַבִּיִּין beth-rabbonin, whereas the inferior schools were called בֵּית־רַבְּבַן beth-rabban, as having only one master.

The doctors in these academies not only read lectures to their pupils, but held disputations or conferences, at which other persons might be present, and propose questions to them. It was perhaps in one of these schools; which were kept in some apartment in the courts of the temple, that Mary found her young son Jesus, “sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing and asking them questions (*a*).” Or it might be even in the sanhedrim, which, Dr. Lightfoot says, was the great school of the nation, as well as the great judicatory\*.

In order to prove that these schools were different from the synagogues, Godwin observes, that Paul, having disputed for the space of three months in the synagogue, “because divers believed not, but spake evil of that way, then departed from them, and separated his disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus (*b*).” This argument is grounded on a supposition, that this school of Tyrannus was a Jewish academy; which is very unlikely, considering it was at Ephesus. Besides, it does not seem probable, that on account of the Jews opposing and blaspheming the gospel, St. Paul should merely retire from a Jewish synagogue

(*a*) Luke ii. 46.

\* Lightfoot. Harmony on John iii. 10;

(*b*) Acts xix. 8,—10.

to a jewish school. Was he likely to meet with less opposition amongst the same people by teaching in a different place? The truth seems to be, that he departed from the Jews, as being under obstinate and invincible prejudices, and taught among the Gentiles, in the school of one Tyrannus; and that for the space of two years: so that all the inhabitants of Asia heard the word of the Lord, Greeks as well as Jews. Some take Tyrannus to be the proper name of a gentile philosopher, who favoured St. Paul, and lent him his school to preach and dispute in; others, to be a title or name of place or office, *Τυραννος* signifying, in the greek language, a king or prince; and accordingly the chaldee paraphrase, which often borrows words both from the greek and latin, renders the hebrew word זָרְנֵי *zarnè*, which we translate lords in the books of Joshua and Judges (*a*), by טֹרְנֵי *turnè*. Thus Phavorinus interprets *Τυραννος* by *αρχων πολεως*: It may therefore, in this place signify a magistrate; which interpretation seems to be favoured by the addition of *τινος*. Nevertheless it must be owned, *τις* is sometimes joined with a proper name; as *τινα Σιμωνα* (*b*), and *Τερτυλλας τινος* (*c*). However, if by *τυραννος τινος* we understand a certain magistrate of Ephesus, *σχολη* may signify his hall or gallery, in which people used to meet for discourse: a sense, in which the word is very commonly used both by the Greeks and Latins. Others, again, take *σχολη* here to signify a *γυμνασιον*, in which wrestlers and other combatants in the publick games exercised them-

(*a*) Josh. xiii. 3. Judg. xvi. 5, 8.  
 (*b*) Mark xv. 21. (*c*) Acts xxiv. 1.

themselves; and which perhaps had been built at the expence of one Tyrannus, and therefore bore his name\*.

With respect to their oratories or *προσευχαι*, it is a question among the learned, whether they were different from their schools or synagogues. It is said, that our Saviour “went up into a mount to pray, and continued all night” *εν τη προσευχη τῷ Θεῷ*, which can hardly bear the sense our translators have put upon it, “in prayer to God (a).” Beza indeed renders it, “pernoctavit illic, orans Deum;” but acknowledges he is forced to depart from the Greek, “ut planius loqueretur.” But Dr. Whitby infers from the use of parallel phrases, such as “the mount of God,” “the bread of God,” “the altar of God,” “the lamp of God,” which are all of them things consecrated or appropriated to the service of God, that *προσευχῆ τῷ Θεῷ* might in like manner signify “an oratory of God,” or a place that was devoted to his service, especially for prayer. In the same sense he understands the word in the passage of the Acts, wherein we are informed, that Paul and his companions, on the sabbath day, went out of the city by a river side, *ἔνομιζέτο προσευχῆ εἶναι*, which we render, “where prayer was wont to be made.” But the Syriac renders it, *quoniam illic videbatur Domus precatationis*; because there was perceived to be an house of prayer; and the Arabic, *ad locum quendam qui putabatur esse Locus orationis*, to a certain place, which was supposed to be a place of prayer: *ἔνομιζέτο*,  
F 3
where

\* Vid. Stephani Thesaurus in verb. Scholæ.

(a) Luke vi. 12.

where there was taken, or famed to be \*, or where according to received custom there was †, or where there was allowed by law ‡, a proseucha, or oratory, and where therefore they expected to meet an assembly of people. Mr. Mede observes, that it should have been ενομιζετο προσευχῶ γινεσθαι, not ειναι, to express where prayer was wont to be made. And De Dieu seems to be of the same opinion.

That the Jews had houses, or places for prayer, called προσευχαι, appears from a variety of passages in Philo §; and particularly in his oration against Flaccus, he complains, that their προσευχαι were pulled down, and there was no place left in which they might worship God, and pray for Cæsar ||. And Josephus, in his life, mentions the proseuchæ more than once, and speaks of the people's being gathered εις την προσευχην \*\*. To the same purpose is the following passage of Juvenal, if he be rightly understood by Godwin, Vitringa † †, and others,  
Ede

\* Mede's Diatrib. Disc. xviii. p. 67. of his works. And De Dieu, Animævers. in Acta xvi. 13.

† Elfner. Observ. Sacr. in loc. where he opposes Bos, who (in his Exercitat. philolog. in loc.) had endeavoured to show, that ενομιζετο was redundant, and that the passage ought to be translated simply, "where there was a Proseucha."

‡ Lardner's Credibil. part 1. vol. 1. book 1. cap. iii. §. iii. p. 239. edit. 3. p. 1741. Erasmus Schmidius (in loc.) supports this sense of ενομιζετο by some passages in Aristophanes. Consult Scapula and Constantine in verb.

§ Vid. in Flaccum, et Legat. ad Caium. passim

|| Phil. in Flacc. apud Opera, p. 752. F. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

\*\* Joseph. in Vit. §. 54, et 56. p. 27. tom. 2. edit. Haverc.

†† Vitring. de Synag. veteri, lib. 1 part. 1. cap. 4. p. 119.

Ede ubi consistas; in quâ te quæro Proseuchâ?

\* Sat. 3. l. 296.

F 4

Among

\* The late learned Mr. Samuel Jones of Tewkesbury, in his MS lectures on Godwin hath the following note on this passage of Juvenal:

Autor noster et etiam Vitringa aliique poetam his verbis Synagogam Judæorum innuisse putant. Sed aliter mihi videtur. Nam in hoc loco de Judæis nil habet; inducit verò Umbrinium, Romanum quidem, non Judæum, de contumeliis, quibus pauperes afficiebant ebrii petulantesque juvenes, conquerentem, et referentem verba talium juvenum rogantium pauperem quendam, à quo conches et porra mendicasset, et quo in loco ad medicandum stare assuetus erat. Quinetiam haud verisimile est Romanos mendicandi causâ synagogas frequentasse, quum ipsi tunc temporis pauperrimi habebantur et mendici, ut ex hoc ipso aliisque constat poetis. Insuper quum poeta dicit; in quâ te quæro Proseuchâ? innuit, quod plurimæ erant tunc temporis Romæ Proseuchæ. Non autem verisimile est plurimas ibi fuisse synagogas, quia Judæi tunc temporis pauperes erant et exosi et sæpe ab Imperatoribus longè ab urbe discedere jussi.

Turnebus, ut hanc quæ autoris est sententiam præbet, citat locum Cleomedis. Extat ille locus, lib. ii. p. 204. Κυκλικῆς θεωρίας μεθεωρῶν, ubi Epicurum in suâ, de quâ gloriabatur, locutione vocibus corruptis, ridiculis et absurdis usum fuisse dicit; quarum quasdam perstringit; quasi ἀπο μέρους τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς προαιτουμένων Ἰουδαϊκὰ τινὰ καὶ παρακεχαράγματα καὶ κατὰ πολὺ τῶν ἐρητύων ταπεινότερα. Sed de Synagogis Judæorum non videtur loqui. Tempore enim Epicuri, nempe circa Ptolomæi Philadelphiatem, lingua græca in synagogis, dum precabantur, usos fuisse Judæos, haud verisimile est; et si usi fuissent, an eas Epicurus, homo gentilis et irreligiosus, frequentaret, ut inde verba depromeret? et si ita fecisset, an necesse esset eæ voces essent corruptæ et humiles? Porro, quod non de synagogis, sed de locis ubi mendicantes stabant, egit, constare mihi videtur ex voce προαιτουμένων, quæ non in synagogis precantibus, optimè verò alibi mendicantibus, convenit. Nec quicquam est hoc in loco, quod cujusquam in animum suspicionem induceret, Cleomedem de Judæis egisse, nisi sola vox Ἰουδαϊκὰ. Sed ut ea vox hîc videtur absurda,

Among those who make the Synagogues and Proseuchæ to be different places, are the learned Mr. Joseph Mede \*, and Dr. Prideaux †; and they think the difference consists, partly, in the form of the edifice; a synagogue, they say, being *ædificium tectum*, like our houses, or churches; and a proseuchæ being only encompassed with a wall, or some other mound or enclosure, and open at the top, like our courts ‡. They make them to differ in situation, synagogues being in towns and cities; proseuchæ in the fields, and frequently by the river side §. Dr. Prideaux mentions another dis-

surda, et à contextu aliena, ita nullus dubito, quin corrupta est. In versione de Judæis ne verbum quidem; *Ἰουδαϊκὰ* autem redditur “vulgaria;” versionis igitur autor non legit *Ἰουδαϊκὰ*, sed *Ἰδιωτικὰ*, aut talem aliquam vocem. Eodem modo ex *Ἰδιῶν*, Act. xxiv. 23. aliqui conflaverunt *Ἰουδαίων*, ut in quibusdam editionibus extat, et ad locum notat Eras- mus.—*Προσεύχῃ* ideo apud profanos hosce autores erat locus publicus, in quo pauperes stipem petebant.

\* Ubi supra, p. 65, et seq.

† Connect. part. i. book vi. vol. 2. p. 556, et seq. edit. 10.

‡ See the account which Epiphanius gives of the Jewish Proseuchæ, Hæres. lib. iii. tom. ii. hæres. lxxx. §. 1 Oper. vol. 1. p. 1067, 1068. edit. Petav.

§ See a decree of the people of Halicarnassus, in favour of the Jews, (Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. x. §. 23. p. 712. edit Haverc.) in which are the following words,—*δεδόκται ἡμῖν Ἰουδαίων τῆς βυλομένης—τῆς προσευχῆς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴ θάλασσαν κατὰ τὸ πατριὸν εἶδος*. The custom of building Proseuchæ by the water-side seems to have been derived from another custom of the Jews, namely, their washing before prayer. (vid. Elsner. Observ. sacr. in Act. xvi. 13.) though De Dieu supposes it to be derived from the example of Isaac. There is a remarkable passage in Philo, which shows how fond the Jews were of praying by the sides of rivers, or on the sea-shore, Phil. in Flacc. p. 760. D, E. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613. See also de vit. Mosis, lib. 2. p. 510. F. and Tertullian (ad nationes, lib. 1. cap. 13. Oper. p. 50. edit. Rigalt.) among several Jewish rites mentions *Orationes litorales*.

distinction, in respect to the service performed in them; in synagogues, he saith, the prayers were offered up in publick forms in common for the whole congregation; but in the proseuchæ they prayed, as in the temple, every one apart for himself. And thus our Saviour prayed in the proseucha into which he entered.

Yet after all, the proof in favour of this notion is not so strong, but that it still remains a question with some, whether the synagogues and the proseuchæ were any thing more than two different names for the same place; the one taken from the peoples assembling in them, the other from the service to which they were more immediately appropriated; namely, prayer. Nevertheless the name proseuchæ will not prove, that they were appropriated only to prayer, and therefore were different from synagogues, in which the scriptures were also read and expounded; since the temple, in which sacrifices were offered, and all the parts of divine service were performed, is called *οικος προσευχης*, an house of prayer (*a*). And we find St. Paul preaching in the proseucha at Philippi, in the forecited passage of the Acts (*b*). Dr. Prideaux acknowledges, that in our Saviour's time synagogues were called by the same name with the proseuchæ; and so both Josephus\* and Philo† seem to use the word,

(*a*) Matt. xxi. 13.

(*b*) Acts xvi. 13.

\* See the passages before quoted from the life of Josephus, where the Proseucha in which the people assembled in a great multitude, seems to have been the great synagogue at Tiberias.

† Philo speaks of many Proseuchæ in the city of Alexandria: *πολλαι δε (προσευχαι sc.) εισι καθ εκασον τμημα της πολεις.* (Legat. ad Caium; p. 782. F.) and of one in particular,

word\*. Mr. Mede lays great stress upon that passage in the book of Joshua, wherein he is said “to set up a pillar under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord (a);” to prove, that there were proseuchæ, even in Joshua’s time, distinct from the tabernacle; arguing, that because the law expressly forbade planting trees near to God’s altar (b), therefore this sanctuary of the Lord, by the oak could not be the tabernacle, which had the altar by it, but was one of the proseuchæ, which were very often inclosed with trees †. But Bishop Patrick observes, that though it was sinful to plant trees near to God’s altar, it was not so to set up the sanctuary under or near the trees which had been planted before, especially when it was done only for a short time. And he further remarks, that the words, “by,” or, as it may be rendered, in “the sanctuary of the Lord,” do not necessarily refer to the oak, but may be connected with “the book of the law of God,” mentioned in the former clause: “Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God, (and took a great stone, and set it up under an oak) that was by, or in, the sanctuary of the Lord:” that is, he wrote these words in the book of the law of God, that was in the sanctuary of the Lord; the intermediate

words

icular, which he stiles *μεγίστη και περισσημοτατη*, (p. 783. A.) and it was, no doubt, that very celebrated and magnificent synagogue, of which the Jerusalem Talmud gives a very pompous description. Vid. Vitring. lib. 1. part. 1. cap. 14. p. 256.

\* Vid. Vitring. de Synag. vetere, lib. 1. part. 1. cap. 4. p. 119, — 129. et Witsii Meletem. de vit. Pauli, sect. v. iv. p. 70, 71.

(a) Josh. xxiv. 26. (b) Deut. xvi. 21.

† Philo legat. ad Caium, p. 782. F. *τας μεν (προσευχαι) εδεδροτορησαν.*

words being inserted in a parenthesis. There is a similar instance of a remote connection in the following passage of the book of Genesis, "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar (a):" where the connection is, he "beheld all the plain of Jordan, as thou comest unto Zoar, that it was well watered every where, &c."

(a) Gen. xiii. 10.





### C H A P. III.

## Of the gates of Jerusalem and of the temple.

**J**ERUSALEM, saith Godwin, had nine gates; or rather, according to the authors of the universal history, ten; five from west to east by south, and five from west to east by north.

By south	By north
1. Dung-gate,	1. Valley-gate,
2. Fountain-gate,	2. Gate of Ephraim,
3. Water-gate,	3. Old-gate,
4. Horse-gate,	4. Fish-gate,
5. Prison-gate, or Miphkadh.	5. Sheep gate.

This account is very little, if any thing, different from the plan of the city prefixed to the Polyglot. But Hottinger in his notes on Godwin\*, hath given a very different description of the situation of these gates, which he endeavours to trace by the account of the order in which they were erected after the captivity, in the book of Nehemiah. Where the sheep-gate is mentioned first, which he places on the west side

\* Thomæ Godwini Moses et Aaron &c. illustrati, emendati et præcipuis thematibus aucti, studio Joh. Henr. Hottingeri. p. 392 et seq. edit. 2. Francof. ad Mænum 1716.

side of the city, and towards the fouth; principally for thefe two reafons, becaufe he fup-  
 pofes it was the fame with the gate which Jofe-  
 phus calls *πυλη εσσηνων*, that is, not the gate of  
 the Effenes, it being improbable, that a gate of  
 the city, which muft of courfe be common to  
 all forts of perfons, fhould be called by the  
 name of a particular feft; but the word Jofe-  
 phus uſes, is, he imagines, only the hebrew  
 word *חַטְּסָן* hatfan, ovis, with a greek termi-  
 nation; and if fo, *πυλη εσσηνων* which Jofephus  
 faith was on the weft ſide of the city, literally  
 ſignifies the ſheep-gate. Another reaſon for  
 his aſſigning it this ſituation is, that the fiſh-  
 gate, which is next mentioned in Nehemiah,  
 is placed by moſt on the weft, with great pro-  
 bability, ſaith Hottinger, becauſe large quanti-  
 ties of fiſh were brought into the city from that  
 quarter; and becauſe this ſituation ſeems to be  
 aſſigned it in the following paſſage of the ſecond  
 book of chronicles: “ Now Manaffeſe built a  
 wall without the city of David, on the weft ſide  
 of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering  
 in at the fiſh-gate.” Thus beginning at the  
 ſouth-weſt, he proceeds to the weſt, and ſo by  
 the north, quite round the city; aſſigning the  
 ſeveral gates their ſituation according to the or-  
 der in which they are mentioned in the ſacred  
 hiſtory.

Spanheim places the ſheep-gate on the eaſt\*,  
 Lightfoot on the ſouth†; and in this and ſeveral  
 other reſpects, the topography of Jeruſalem is,  
 a matter of great uncertainty.

Godwin informs us, that near the ſheep-gate,  
 was ſituated the pool of Bethſeda; *επι τη προβα-*  
*τικη,*

\* Spanheim. Hieroſol. veteris topograph. descrip. p. 50.  
 Oper. Geograph. &c. Lugd. Bat. 1701.

† Lightfoot's Harmony on John v. 2.

ἑκὴν, saith the evangelist John, where our translators take the word ἀγορὰ to be understood; and accordingly have rendered it; “by the sheep-market;” others with Godwin supply the noun πύλην, and render it “the sheep-gate;” which is the more probable sense, referring to the gate mentioned under this name by Nehemiah. And if this gate was situated near the temple, as is most commonly supposed, perhaps it was so called, because the sheep and other cattle for sacrifice, were usually drove in through it.

This pool of Bethesda demands our particular attention, on account of the miraculous cures, which are ascribed to it in the gospel of St. John (a). It is there called Κολυμβήθρα: a word, which though it be rendered piscina by Beza and the Vulgate, yet does not properly signify a fish-pond, but rather a bath or pool for swimming, from κολυμβάω, nato. The Syriac therefore renders it, according to the Polyglot translation, locus baptisterii. Its proper name in the hebrew or syriac language, was Bethesda; which Bochart\*, Gomarus and some others derive from בית bath domus vel locus, and שֶׁשׁ אֶשְׁחֵד אֶשְׁחֵד effudit. So that according to this etymology, Βηθεσδα est locus effusionis; that is, as they conceive, either a reservoir for rain water, or a kind of cess-pool, that received the waste water which run from the temple. Wagenfeil † produces a passage from the talmud concerning a small stream issuing from the sanctuary, and proceeding to the gate of the city of David, by which time it was become so considerable; that persons in particular cases, especially

(a) John v. 2,—4.

\* Bochart. Geograph. lib. i. cap. xxxiv. oper. tom. i. p. 614. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1707.

† Sotah, cap. i. §. xlvii. annot. 4. p. 308.

cially women, used to bathe in it. And as he supposes the water daily used in the temple service, in washing the hands and feet of the priests, the victims, vessels, &c. was somewhere or other collected into a reservoir; if that was called the pool of Bethesda, he professes he should incline to explain the word by *effusionis domus*. But on the whole, he declares himself uncertain.

Others, with greater probability, derive the word from *בית* beth domus, and the syriac *ܟܫܕܐ* chesdo, gratia vel misericordia; and so the name signifies the house or place of mercy, because of the miraculous healing virtue, with which God mercifully endowed the water of that pool; and this is indeed the most extraordinary thing to be observed concerning it.

The Evangelist says, that “an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water; whosoever then, first after the troubling the water, stepped in, was made whole of whatever disease he had;” and therefore there lay at this pool, in the five porticos that surrounded it (of which we have already taken some notice) “a multitude of impotent folks, as blind, halt, withered, waiting for the moving of the water.” Now it is disputed, whether the virtue of these waters, and the cures performed by them, were miraculous or natural? Dr. Hammond contends for the latter, and imagines that the healing virtue of this bath was owing to the warm entrails of the victims being washed in it: that the angel who is said to come and trouble the water, was only a messenger sent by the high priest to stir up the bath, in order to mix the congealed blood and other grosser particles that were sunk to the bottom;

bottom, with the water; that so they might infuse their virtue into it more strongly. By *κατα καιρον*, which we render “at a certain season” he understands at a set time, that is, at one of the great feasts, when a vast multitude of sacrifices were killed and offered, and by that means the waters of this pool were impregnated with more healing virtue than they would have at other times. But this sense of the passage, in which Dr. Hammond thinks himself countenanced by the authority of Theophylact\*, appears improbable from almost all the circumstances of the story †. As

1st, From the healing virtue of this water extending to the cure of all manner of diseases. For it is said, “he that stepped in was made whole of whatever disease he had.” Dr. Hammond indeed supposes, that “whatever disease he

\* An attentive reader of Theophylact’s commentary in loc. will easily perceive that Dr. Hammond hath mistaken his meaning; for Theophylact never intended to assert, that these miraculous cures were owing to the washing the entrails of the beasts slain for sacrifice in the waters of this pool, which thereby acquired, in a natural way, a sanitive virtue. All he saith, is, that by this washing the water was sanctified, and become thereby the more fit (for what? for healing diseases by any natural quality hereby imparted to it? no; but) for receiving *δυναμιν θειοτεραν* a divine power by the operation of the angel, who came to it not as to common water, but as to chosen water, *υδατι ως εκλεκτω*, and wrought the miracle, *θαυματουργειν*. He says expressly, that the water did not heal by any virtue in itself, otherwise these cures would have been constant and perpetual; but solely through the energy *ενεργεια* of the angel, who imparted to it its healing virtue.

† See also an attempt to account for the virtue of these waters in a similar manner from natural causes, in a tract published by Bartholine a learned foreign physician, entitled, *Paralytici Novi Testamenti medico et philologico commentario illustrati*; and republished in Crenius’s *Fasciculus quintus*. Vid. p. 313,—333. and p. 390,—411.

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he had," refers only to the three sorts of diseased persons beforementioned, namely, "the blind, lame and withered." But that will not remove the objection, since no such healing virtue could ever be communicated to any other water by the same means, by washing the warm entrails of beasts in it, so as to render it effectual for the cure of all these diseases, or indeed of any one of them.

2dly, It is highly improbable, that the troubling or stirring up the water should increase its healing virtue; but rather, the stirring up the blood and fœces, that were sunk to the bottom, must make the bath so foul and fetid, that it would be more likely to poison than cure.

3dly, No good reason can be given on this supposition, why these medicinal waters should not have cured many persons as well as one only, the first that stepped in. The doctor is indeed aware of this objection, and endeavours to evade it, by supposing the bath might be so small, that it would hold but one at a time; and by the time one was cured, the healing particles were subsided, and therefore it could not heal another. But then, why could it not be stirred up a second time, and a third, and as many as there were persons to be cured? However,

4thly, The whole foundation of this supposition appears to be a mistake; namely, that the entrails of the victims were washed in this pool out of the temple; for Dr. Lightfoot shows that it was done in the temple, in the washing room as it was called, appointed for that purpose\*.

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And

\* See Dr. Lightfoot's Description of the temple, chap. 31. And he supposes, (Hor. Heb. Joh. v. 2.) that the pool

And indeed, if this pool was near the sheep-gate, and if we suppose Hottinger's, or even Lightfoot's account of the situation of that gate to be true, it was then at too great a distance from the temple, to be used as a washing-place for the entrails of the beasts slain for sacrifice.

Upon the whole therefore, there is reason to conclude, that the healing virtue of this pool was miraculous; that the angel was a heavenly angel, and that the design and use of his coming was either to work the miracle, as God's instrument, by the use of the water; or at least, by troubling the water, and giving it some unusual motion, to give notice to those who were waiting for a cure, when they might seek it.

It is further enquired, when this miraculous pool first received its healing virtue? I take the most probable opinion to be, that it was about the time of, or not long before, our Saviour's coming; and very likely the chief intent of the miracle might be, to give notice, by an illustrious type, of the speedy accomplishment of Zechariah's prophecy, "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness (a)." Thus the fountain of the blood of Christ to take away all sin, was afresh typified by the miraculous virtue, which God put into this pool to heal all manner of diseases. And as the fountain of Christ's blood was to be opened at the passover, at which feast he was crucified, so Dr. Lightfoot imagines

of Bethesda was a bath, *καλυβηθσα*, in which those who were unclean purified themselves.

(a) Zech. xiii. 1.

gines, that the miraculous cure was effected by this pool at that feast only\*.

It may seem a little strange, that there is no mention made of this miracle, either by Josephus, or the writers of the talmud; who on all other occasions are ready enough to celebrate the miracles which God wrought for, and which did honour to their nation. But supposing, which is highly probable, that the miraculous virtue was first imparted to this pool about the time of our Saviour's coming, and that it ceased at his death; whereby it plainly appeared that this miracle was wrought in honour of Christ; we need not wonder, that Josephus passes it over in silence; since he could not relate it without reviving a testimony to Christ, greatly to the discredit of his own nation, who rejected and crucified him. And as it is not recorded by Josephus, it is not unlikely, that the memory of it was lost among the Jews at the time when the talmud was written, which was not till several hundred years afterward †.

Concerning the gates of the temple Godwin observes, that there were two of principal note, both built by Solomon; the one for those that were new-married, the other for mourners and excommunicated persons. The mourners, he saith, were distinguished from the excommunicated by having their lips covered with a skirt of their garment; none entered that gate with

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their

\* Horæ hebraic. Joh. v. 4.

† There are two very learned dissertations on this subject in the second volume of the *Thesaurus novus theologico philologicus*; one by Joan. Conrad. Hottingerus de *piscinâ Bethesda*; the other by David Ebersbach, de *Miraculo piscinæ Bethesdae*. The last contains a full reply both to Bartholine and Hammond. See also *Witii Miscell. tom. 2. Exercitat. vi. §. liv, -lx. p. 314, —320.*

their lips uncovered, but such as were excommunicated. The Mishna saith, “ All that enter according to the custom of the temple, go in on the right hand way, go round and go out on the left hand way ; except a person, cui accidit aliquid, who is rendered unclean by a particular circumstance, who goes round and enters on the left. And being asked why he does so ; if he answers, because I mourn, they reply, he who inhabits this house comfort thee. If he answer, because I am excommunicated, the reply is, according to R. Jose, he who inhabits this house, put it into thy heart, to hearken to the words of thy companions, or brethren, that they may receive thee\*.” It appears from hence, (at least according to the opinion of the mishnical rabbies,) that excommunicated persons were not excluded from the temple ; though they were from the synagogue, as we learn from several passages in the evangelist John (*a*), where such persons are said to be *αποσυναγωγοι*, excluded from the synagogue. Not that we are to infer from this, that the Jews accounted their synagogues more holy than the temple ; but it shows what was, and should be, the true intent of excommunication, namely, the shaming and humbling an offender, in order to bring him to repentance ; on which account he was excluded the society of his neighbours in the synagogue : but not his eternal destruction, by driving him from the presence of God in the temple, and depriving him of the use of the most solemn ordinances, and the most effectual means of

grace

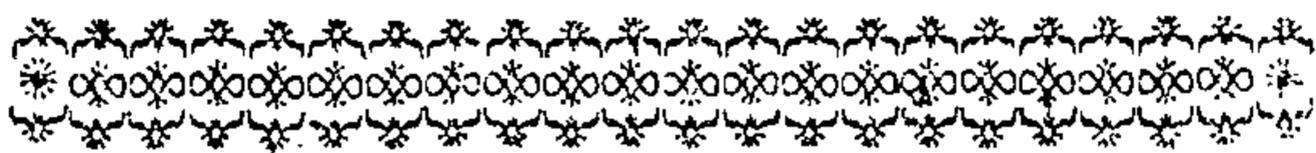
\* Mish. tit. Middoth. cap. 2. §. 2. et Maimon. in loc. tom. 5. p. 334, 335. edit. Surenhus. Lightf. Hor. hebr. 1 Cor. v. 5.

(*a*) John ix. 22. xii. 42. xvi. 2.

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grace and falvation. The temple was the common place of worship for Israelites ; by allowing him to come thither they signified, that they did not exclude him from the common privilege of an Israelite, though they would not receive him into their familiarity and friendship. How much heavier is the yoke of Antichrist than the jewish yoke of bondage ! How much more cruel is the excommunication of popery, which deprives persons of all their liberties and privileges, of their goods and lives, and consigns over their souls to be tormented in hell for ever ! How infinitely more cruel, I say, is this modern excommunication, than even that of the wicked and barbarous Jews, who crucified the Lord of glory !





## C H A P. IV.

### Of their groves, and high places.

**W**E have several times had occasion to observe, that in order the more effectually to guard the Israelites from idolatry, the blessed God in instituting the rites of his own worship, went directly counter to the practice of the idolatrous nations. Thus, because they worshipped in groves \*, he expressly forbade “ the planting a grove of trees near his altar (a)” Nor would he suffer his people to offer their sacrifices on the tops of hills and

moun-

\* Hæc (nemora sc.) fuere numinum templa, priscoque ritu simplicia rura Deo præcellentem arborem dicant. Nec magis aurò fulgentia atque ebore simulacra quam lucos et ipsa silentia adoramus. Plin. nat. hist. lib. xii. cap. 1. p. 4. tom. 3. edit. Harduin. 1685. See also Lucian. de Sacrif. tom. 1. p. 355. C, D. edit. Salmur. 1619. These groves Plutarch calls *αλση θεων*, the groves of the gods, which he saith Numa frequented, and thereby gave occasion to the story of his commerce with the goddess Egeria. Plutarc. in Numa, p. 61. F. oper. tom. 1. edit. Francof. 1620. They are expressly enjoined by the laws of the twelve tables, as a part of the publick religion, *Lucos in agris habento*. Vid. *Duodecim Tabular. Fragm. tit. Ubi colendi. ad calcem Cod. Justiniani* p. 751. apud Corp. Juris Civil. edit. Lips. 1720.

(a) Deut. xvi. 21. See Spencer's learned dissertation on this and the following verse, de Leg. Hebræor. lib. ii. cap. xxvii, xxviii.

mountains, as the heathens did \*; but ordered that they should be brought to one altar in the place which he appointed (*a*). And as for the groves, which the Canaanites had planted, and the idols and altars which they had erected on the tops of high mountains and hills for the worship of their Gods, the Israelites are commanded utterly to destroy them (*b*).

The groves and high places do not seem to have been different, but the same places, or groves planted on the tops of hills, probably round an open area, in which the idolatrous worship was performed; as may be inferred from the following words of the prophet Hosea, “they sacrifice upon the tops of mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and elms (*c*).” The use of groves for religious worship is generally supposed to have been as ancient as the patriarchal ages; for we are informed that “Abraham planted a grove in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the Lord (*d*).” However, it is not expressly said, nor can it by this passage be proved, that he planted the grove for any religious purpose; it might only be designed to

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shade

\* Sophocles introduces Hercules asking Hyllus, whether he knew mount  $\text{\textcircled{E}}$ ta, which was sacred to Jupiter? Yes, saith he, for I have often sacrificed upon the top of it. Trachin. v. 1207, 1208. tom. 2. p. 325. edit. Glasg. 1745. And Strabo saith of the Persians, *αγαλματα και βουμυ; ει ιδρουνται, θυσαι δε εν υψηλω τοπω του εραϊου ηγεμενοι Δια.* Geograph. lib. xv. p. 732. C. edit. Casaub. 1620. See also Herodot. Clio, cap. cxxxi. p. 55. §. 131. edit. Gronov. Xenophon. Cyr. lib. viii. p. 500. edit. 3. Hutchins. And Appian (de bello Mithrad. p. 361, 362. §. 215. edit. Tollii, Amstel. 1670.) saith, that Mithridates sacrificed to Jupiter according to the custom of his country, *επι ορει υψηλε,* upon a high mountain.

(*a*) Deut. xii. 13, 14. (*b*) ver. 2, 3. (*c*) Hos. iv. 13.  
(*d*) Gen. xxi. 32.

shade his tent. And this circumstance perhaps is recorded to intimate his rural way of living, as well as his religious character; that he dwelt in a tent under the shade of a grove, or tree, as the word *עֶשֶׂל* *eshel*, may more properly be translated; and in this humble habitation led a very pious and devout life.

The reason and origin of planting sacred groves is variously conjectured; some imagining, it was only hereby intended to render the service more agreeable to the worshippers, by the pleasantness of the shade\*; whereas others suppose it was to invite the presence of the gods. The one or the other of these reasons seems to be intimated in the forecited passage of Hosea, “they burn incense under oaks, and poplars and elms, because the shade thereof is good (a).” Others conceive their worship was performed in the midst of groves, because the gloom of such a place is apt to strike a religious awe upon the mind†; or else, because  
such

\* This seems, according to Virgil, to have been the reason of Dido’s building the temple of Juno in a delightful grove,

*Lucus in urbe fuit mediâ, lætissimus umbrâ:*

*Hic templum Junoni ingens Sidonia Dido*

*Condebat.*

*Æneid. lib. i. v. 445.*

(a) *Hos. iv. 13.*

† *Si tibi occurrit, fâit Seneca, (Epist. xli.) vetustis arboribus, et solitam altitudinem egressis frequens lucus, et conspectum cœli densitate ramorum aliorum alios protegentium submovens: illa proceritas sylvæ, et secretum loci et admiratio umbræ, in aperto tam densæ atque continuæ, fidem tibi numinis facit. Et si quis specus saxi penitus ex eis montem suspenderit, non manufactus, sed naturalibus causis in tantam laxitatem excavatus: animum tuum quadam religionis suspicione percutiet. See also a remarkable passage in Virgil. Æneid, viii. v. 347, et seq.*

such dark concealments suited the lewd mysteries of their idolatrous worship\*.

I have met with another conjecture, which seems as probable as any; that this practice began with the worship of demons or departed souls. It was an ancient custom to bury the dead under trees, or in woods. “Deborah was buried under an oak, near Bethel (*a*);” and the bones of Saul and Jonathan under a tree at Jabesh (*b*). Now an imagination prevailing among the heathen, that the souls of the deceased hover about their graves, or at least delight to visit their dead bodies; the idolaters, who paid divine honours to the souls of their departed heroes, erected images and altars for their worship in the same groves where they were buried †; and from thence it grew into a custom afterwards to plant groves, and build temples, near the tombs of departed heroes (*c*),  
and

\* For proof of the lewdness and obscenity of many of the religious rites of the heathen, vid. Herodot. Euterp. cap. 64. p. 112, 113. edit. Gronov. et Clio. §. 199. p. 80. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 4. init. Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. vi. §. 15. p. 185. 186. edit. Thyfii, Ludg. Bat. 1655. Juvenal. Sat. ix. v. 24. and what Eusebius saith of a grove on mount Libanus, dedicated to Venus, in his life of Constantine, lib. iii. cap. 55. Compare 1 Kings xiv. 23, 24.

(*a*) Gen. xxxv. 8.      (*b*) 1 Sam. xxxi. 13.

† Plato, after having declared his approbation of the sentiment of Hesiod, that when any of the golden age died, they became demons, and the authors of great good to mankind; and after having asserted that all who died bravely in war, were entitled to be ranked in the same class; reckons among the honours they deserved, their sepulchres being esteemed and worshipped as the repositories of demons.—*ως δαίμονων ἕτω θεραπεύσομεν τε καὶ προσκυνήσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς θήκας.* De Republ. lib. v. p. 662. D, E. edit. Ficini. Francofurt. 1602.

(*c*) 2 Kings xxiii. 15, 16. See Arrian’s description of the tomb of Cyrus, de Expedit. Alexandr. lib. vi. p. 435. edit. Blancard. Amstel. 1678.

and to surround their temples and altars with groves and trees \* ; and these sacred groves being constantly furnished with the images of the heroes or gods that were worshipped in them, a grove and an idol came to be used as convertible terms (a).

We have before observed, that these sacred groves were usually planted on the tops of hills or mountains ; from whence they are called in scripture, **במות** bamoth, or “ high places.” Perhaps such an exalted situation was chosen by idolaters, in respect to their chief god, the sun, whom they worshipped, together with their inferior deities, on the tops of hills and mountains, that they might approach as near to him as they could †. It is no improbable conjecture concerning the Egyptian pyramids, that they were intended as altars to the sun, as well as very likely for sepulchral monuments, like these ancient groves. Accordingly they are all flat at the top, to serve the purposes of an altar. It is said, that altars to the sun, of the same form though not so large as the pyramids, were found among the American idolaters ‡.

There might be another reason for planting the sacred groves on the tops of hills and mountains ; namely, for the sake of retirement from noise and disturbance in their acts  
of

\* On account of the custom of planting trees near temples, “ the poets, as Strabo informs us, stiled all their temples groves, even those which had no plantations around them.” Geograph. lib. ix. p. 412. D. edit. Casaub. 1620.

(a) 2 Kings xxiii. 6.

† Tacitus speaks of some places, which were thought *maximè cœlo propinquare, precesque mortalium à Deo nusquam proprius audiri.* Annal. lib. xiii. §, lvii. p. 281. edit. Glasg. 1743.

‡ See Young’s Historical Dissertation on Idolatrous corruptions in religion, vol. 1. p. 222,—228.

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of worship\*. And on this account, probably, the worshippers of the true God had also their *proseuchæ*, or places of retirement for worship, generally on hills or high places. Accordingly we read, that Christ “went up into a mountain apart to pray (*a*).” And at his transfiguration, he retired with three of his “disciples to the top of a high mountain apart (*b*).” I see no reason therefore to conclude, that those high places, of which we read in the Old Testament, where holy men and worshippers of the true God paid their devotion, were the sacred groves of the idolaters; but rather they were Jewish *proseuchæ*, or synagogues. Such were the high places by the city where Samuel lived, and where he sacrificed with the people (*c*); and upon the hill of Gath, where was either a school of the prophets, or they had been thither to pay their devotion, when Saul met them (*d*). And of the same sort was the great high place at Gibeon, where Solomon sacrificed, and where God appeared to him in a dream (*e*).

The grand difficulty on this head is how to reconcile their sacrificing in other places beside the national altar, as Gideon did at Ophrah (*f*), Manoah in the country of Dan (*g*), Samuel at Mizpah (*b*), and at Bethlehem (*i*), David in the threshing floor of Ornan (*k*), and Elijah on mount Carmel (*l*); with the law in the book of Deuteronomy, “Take heed to thyself, that thou

\* *Lucos et ipsa silentia adoramus*, saith Pliny in a passage before-cited.

(*a*) Matt. xiv. 23.      (*b*) Matt. xvii. 1.      (*c*) 1 Sam. ix. 12,—14.      (*d*) See 1 Sam. x. 5,—13.      (*e*) 1 Kings iii. 4, 5.      (*f*) Judg. vi. 24.      (*g*) Judg. xiii. 16,—20.      (*b*) 1 Sam. vii. 10.      (*i*) chap. xvi. 5.      (*k*) 1 Chron. xxi. 22.      (*l*) 1 Kings xviii. 30, et seq.

thou offer not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest. But in the place, which the Lord thy God shall choose, there thou shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee (a).”

The best solution, I apprehend, is, that it was done by special divine direction and command, God having an undoubted right to supersede his own positive laws, when, and in what cases he pleases; and as this is expressly asserted to have been done in David's case beforementioned (b), it may the more reasonably be supposed in all the rest.

This may intimate to us the true solution of another difficulty, how to reconcile the law which prescribes an altar “of earth only to be made in all places where God should record his name (c),” with the order, which Moses received to make a brazen altar in the court of the tabernacle.

Some have supposed, that the brazen altar was filled with earth and stones, and so was an altar of earth, though cased with brass. But the real solution I take to be this: “In all places where I record my name,” means, in whatever particular place beside the national altar, I shall cause my name to be recorded, by commanding my servants to sacrifice unto me, there thou shalt make an altar of earth.

The reason of God's appointing such plain and inartificial altars on these special occasions, was in all likelihood to prevent that superstitious veneration, which the people would probably have entertained for them, as having a more than ordinary sanctity in them, if they had

(a) Deut. xii. 13, 14.  
(c) Exod. xx. 24.

(b) 1 Chron. xxi. 18.

had been more expensive and durable ; whereas being raised just to serve a present exigence, and presently pulled down, or falling of themselves, they could not administer any temptation to superstition or idolatry.

But to return : Though some places were called by the name of high places, which had never been polluted with heathen idolatry, and in which God was acceptably worshipped ; nevertheless, all which had been actually so defiled, the Israelites are commanded utterly to destroy ; infomuch that it is left upon record, as a stain and blemish upon the character of some of the more pious kings of Judah, that they did not destroy them, but suffered the people who were very prone to idolatry, to sacrifice in them. Which is the case of Asa (*a*), Jehoshaphat (*b*), and several others.

(*a*) 1 Kings xv. 14.

(*b*) chap. xxii. 43.





And God's altar appears to have been the asylum of the Jews, before the cities of refuge were appointed (*a*). Some persons have imagined that all the cities of the Levites, in number forty two, were asyla. But that appears to be a mistake; for in the book of Numbers (*b*), among the cities that were given to the Levites, only six are mentioned, as appointed to be cities of refuge.

These asyla were not only intended for Jews, but for Gentiles, or for strangers, who dwelt among them (*c*).

They were not designed as sanctuaries for wilful murderers and all kinds of atrocious villains among the Jews, as they were among the Greeks and Romans \*, and now are in roman catholic

sepulcrum fuisse asylum dicit, in vitâ Thesei, sub fin. He observes, that God never appointed his altar for an asylum; nevertheless, it was so considered before the giving of the law in Exodus concerning the cities of refuge. On which account he imagines, that the origin of asyla was not a divine institution; but that God, by his appointment of cities of refuge, perhaps intended to check and restrain the superstitious and idolatrous use of groves and altars for this purpose. Annot. MS. in Godwini Mos. et Aaron.

(*a*) Exod. xxi. 14. (*b*) Numb. xxxv. 6. (*c*) ver. 15.

\* Privilegia asylorum, inquit Jonesius, summa erant, certa enim in illis supplicibus salus, nec ullus inde sub quovis prætextu ad pœnam extrahendus, *δεδωκεν γὰρ δε ὑβριων εἴταλθα κρητελθει*. Pausan. lib. 2. p. 108. l. 45. edit. Xyland. Hanov. 1613. nec de eo qui in asylum confugerat, judicium instituebant, nec examinabant, an talis vitæ dignus erat, an non. Eum verò Diis relinquendum censebant. Ita Leotycidam, quamvis proditionis reum, nunquam extrahere conati sunt Lacedæmonii. Pausan. lib. 3. p. 171. l. 44, et seq. Ita Livius, lib. 44. cap. 29. Sanctitas templi insulæque inviolatos præstabat omnes. Et idem de cujuscumque generis maleficis, quin etiam obæratibus, testatur Tacitus, Annal. lib. 3. cap. 60. Verum est quod aliqui aliquando hæc violarunt privilegia; sed ii

catholic countries\* ; but merely for securing those who had been guilty of involuntary homicide (*a*) from the effects of private revenge; until they were cleared by a legal process. And it is observable, that the Israelites are commanded to “prepare the way,” that is, to make the road good, “that every slayer may flee thither” without impediment, and with all expedition (*b*). And as Godwin observes, the rabbies inform us, among other circumstances, that at every cross-road was set up an inscription, *Asylum, Asylum*. Upon which Hottinger remarks, that it was probably in allusion to this custom, that John the Baptist is described as “the voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight (*c*).” He was the Messiah’s forerunner, and in that character was to remove the obstacles to men’s flying to him as their asylum, and obtaining *σωτηριον τῷ Θεῷ*, the salvation of God.

For any thing further on this subject we refer to Godwin’s *Moses and Aaron*, especially with Hottinger’s notes.

habebantur hominum scelestissimi, nec à pænâ ab hominibus erant liberi, nisi nimia eos tuebatur potentia. Vid. Thucyd. lib. i. §. 126. p. 69, 70. et §. 134. p. 174, 175. edit. Hudson. Saltem verò violatorum horum privilegiorum acerrimi vindices habebantur Dii. Vid. Justin. lib. 8. cap. 1, 2. Pausan. lib. 1. p. 36. l. 20. et seq. et lib. 7. p. 445. l. 50, et seq. p. 447. l. 37. edit. Xyland. Hanov. 1613.

\* Middleton’s Letter from Rome, p. 156,—158 of his miscellan. works, vol. 5, octav.

(*a*) Deut. xix. 4,—10.      (*b*) ver. 3.      (*c*) Luke iii. 4,—6.

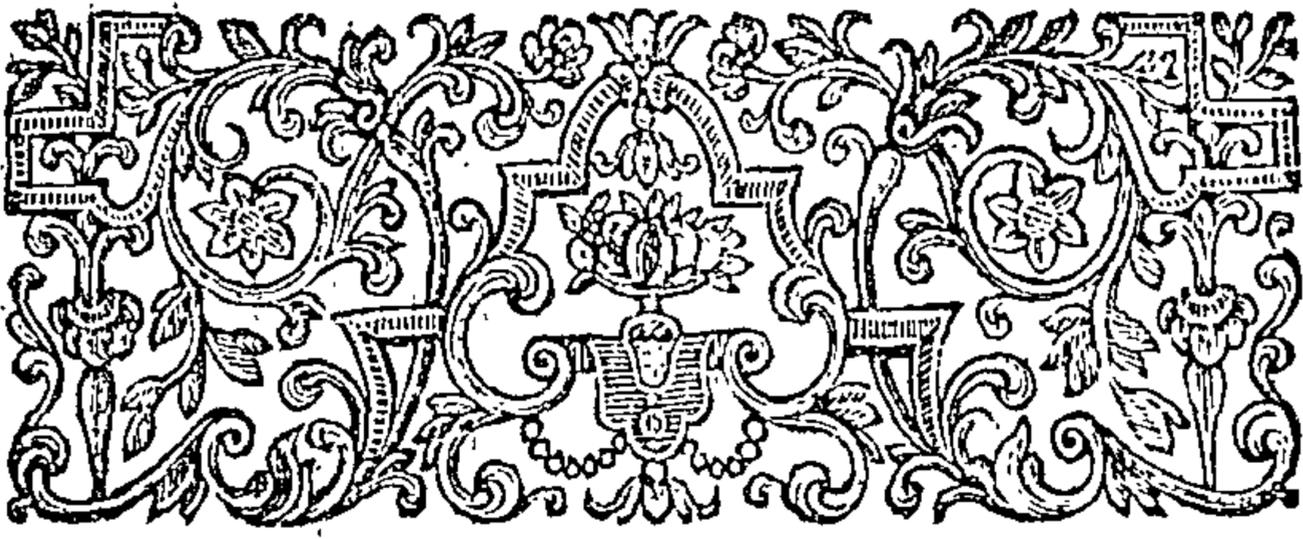


# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES:

BOOK the THIRD

Concerning Times.





## CHAP. I.

### Of days, hours, weeks and years.

**B**UT THE Hebrews, in common with other nations, distinguished their days into natural, consisting of twenty four hours; and artificial, that is, from sun-rise to sun-set.

Concerning the natural day, it is enquired, when it began and ended.

Godwin conceives the ancient Jews had two different beginnings of the natural day; one of the sacred or festival day, which was in the evening; the other of the civil or working day, which was in the morning. That the sacred day began in the evening, is certain from the following passage of Leviticus: "From even unto even shall ye celebrate your sabbaths (a);" and also from the following words in the book of Exodus, "In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at even, ye shall eat

(a) Lev. xxiii. 32.

unleavened bread, untill the one and twentieth day of the month at even (*a*).” Nevertheless, the passage which our author alledges out of the evangelist Matthew, “In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week (*b*);” does not so certainly prove that the civil, natural day began in the morning. For, “the first day of the week” may there be understood of the artificial day; as indeed the word *επιφωσκουση*.\* seems to imply. In like manner, though we begin the natural day at midnight, yet we speak of the day breaking or dawning a little before sun-rise. That the Jews began the day, not at evening, but at midnight, or in the morning, at the time of their migration out of Egypt, appears from hence, that the fifteenth day of the month, in which they departed from Egypt, is said to be the morrow after the passover, which was kept on the fourteenth day in the evening (*c*). But neither will this prove, that they reckoned the beginning of their civil, and sacred day, from a different epocha. It is more probable, that, before their departure out of Egypt, they began all their days, both civil and sacred, with the sun’s rising, as the ancient Babylonians, Persians, Syrians, and most of the eastern nations did †. And, at the time of their migration, God ordered them to change the beginning, not only of the year and of the week, but likewise of the day, from the morning to the evening, in opposition to the customs of the idolatrous

(*a*) Exod. xii. 18.

(*b*) Matt. xxviii. 1.

\* See on this word Dr. Macknight’s Commentary in loc.

(*c*) Numb. xxxiii. 3. compared with Exod. xii. 6.

† Petav. de doctrinâ temperum, lib. vii. p. 609.

trous nations, who, in honour to their chief God, the sun, began their day at his rising.

Cocceius, who supposes, that only the sacred day began in the evening, finds out this mystery in it; that God appointed the sabbath of the jewish church to begin with the night, in order to signify the darkness of that dispensation, compared with the subsequent one of the Gospel; the light of divine knowledge being in those times like that of the moon and stars in the night, but under the christian dispensation, like that of the sun in the day\*.

It has been commonly supposed, that the epocha, or beginning, of the natural day was originally in the evening; "the evening and the morning, saith Moses, in the book of Genesis, were the first day (a)." And if so, we are to conclude, that the idolaters had changed the beginning of the day to the morning, in honour of the sun; and that God restored it, by the law which he gave to the Jews, to its original epocha. But learned men are not agreed about the meaning of this passage, and the reason of Moses's setting the evening before the morning. Le Clerc † begins the first day from the creation of the chaos, and by the evening he understands all the time it remained in darkness, before the production of light. But this opinion does not well agree with the import of the hebrew word עֶרֶב gnerebh, the evening, from אֶרֶב gnarabh, miscuit; which therefore denotes twilight, in which there is a kind of mixture of light and darkness; rather

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than

\* Vid. Cocceii Comment. in Lev. xxiii. §. 18. oper. tom. 1. p. 173.

(a) Gen. i. 5.

† In loc.

than total darkness, such as there was before light was produced.

Others think it more natural, to date the beginning of time, and the succession of day and night, from the first production of light. But as for the reason of Moses's setting the evening before the morning, the most probable opinions are those of Cocceius and Lyra. Cocceius understands the words in the following manner, that the light moved away from the place or hemisphere, on which it first appeared, and was succeeded by darkness; and when it returned to enlighten the same hemisphere again, the first day was compleated\*. So that, according to him, the evening signifies the light moving away, which it began to do from its first appearance.

The other opinion is, that the two parts of the natural day, namely, the artificial day and artificial night, are denominated from the terms which compleat them, from the evening which is the end of the day, and from the morning which is the end of the night; and so the evening and the morning make up one natural day; namely from morning to morning †.

But whatever were the reasons of Moses's setting the evening before the morning, or the night before the day, his expression has plainly been followed by other writers, and in other languages. Hence days are expressed in the book of Daniel, by ערב-בקר gnerebh-boker, evening and morning (a). Hence also is the use of the greek word *νυχθημερον* (b). And may we not observe some faint traces of the same original

\* Vid. Cocceii Cur. prior. in Gen. i. 5.

† Vid. Lyr. apud Poli Synops. in loc.

(a) Dan. viii. 14.

(b) 2 Cor. xi. 25.

ginal in the english language, in our computing time by nights rather than by days ; as, in the words se'n-night, fortnight, &c.

With respect to the artificial day and night, I observe, that the Hebrews divided the night into four watches, as appears from St. Matthew, who speaks of the fourth watch of the night (*a*); and from St. Mark, who stiles these watches, the even, midnight, cockcrowing, and the morning (*b*). Nevertheless it should seem, that they anciently divided the night into an odd number of watches, probably into three ; since we read in the book of Judges, of “ the middle watch (*c*). ”

It is probable, these watches had their rise, and their name, from the watchmen, who kept guard at the gates of the city and of the temple by night, and who relieved one another by turns. And if anciently there were but three watches, then each watched four hours ; and more, in the winter, when the nights are above twelve long. But that being found too tedious and tiresome, the number of watches was afterwards increased to four. We, therefore, never read of the middle watch in the new testament.

The day was divided into hours ; which are reckoned to be of two sorts, less and greater. The lesser hours were twelve, as appears from the following question in the evangelist John, “ Are there not twelve hours in the day (*d*) ? ” Each of these was a twelfth part of the artificial day. Herodotus observes, that the Greeks

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learned

(*a*) Matt. xiv. 25.      (*b*) Mark xiii. 35.      (*c*) Judg. vii. 19.      (*d*) John xi. 9.

learned from the Egyptians, among other things, the method of dividing the day into twelve parts. But whether the Hebrews derived it from the Egyptians, or the Egyptians from the Hebrews, cannot now be known. Nor does it appear how ancient this division of the day into hours, among the Hebrews, was. The first hint in scripture, which seems to imply such a division, is a passage in the second book of Kings (*a*), where we read of the shadow's going back twenty degrees on the sun-dial of Ahaz. But the history gives us no intimation, what those degrees were, or what portion of time was marked by them.

The mention of this dial suggests a question which has occasioned much dispute among the learned: Whether the miracle of the shadow's going back was wrought upon the sun, or only upon the dial? Vatablus, Montanus, and several moderns observe, that there is not a word said of the sun's going back, but only of the shadow upon the dial; which might be effected by the divine power, perhaps by the ministry of angels, obstructing or retracting the rays of the sun, or altering the position of the dial, so as to make the shadow retire without changing the motion of the sun itself. The Jews in general are of the contrary opinion, with which archbishop Usher agrees; who says, that the sun and all the heavenly bodies went back, and as much was detracted from the next night, as was added to this day\*.

The arguments on this side of the question are

1st, The

(*a*) 2 Kings xx. 9,—11.

\* Usher. Annal. A. M. 4004.

1st, The words of Isaiah (*a*), that “the sun returned ten degrees.” But this may possibly be meant only of its shadow, especially in so poetical a writer as Isaiah.

2dly, That the miracle was observed at Babylon, from whence Meradach-Baladan sent to enquire about it (*b*). Which could not have been the case, unless it had been wrought on the sun itself, and not merely on the dial of Ahaz. To this it is answered, that it does not appear the miracle was observed at Babylon; rather the contrary. For it is said, “The princes of Babylon sent to enquire of the wonder that was done in the land;” not as a thing they themselves had seen in their own country, which must have been the case, if the miracle had been wrought on the sun; but which they had heard reported as done in the land of Israel\*.

To return to our subject: the first mention we have of hours in the Old Testament is in the book of Daniel, particularly in the fourth chapter; where Daniel, upon hearing Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, is said to have been astonished for one hour (*c*), שַׁנְנָה shangnah. But that word is of too general a signification, to prove that hours, in the modern sense of the term, were then in use; it seems rather to import any portion of time; and perhaps, in the decree of Nebuchadnezzar, that all who refused to worship his image should be cast into the fiery furnace, it might as well be rendered that minute or moment, as “the same hour (*d*).” And  
in

(*a*) Isai. xxxviii. 8.

(*b*) 2 Chron. xxxii. 31.

\* Vossius de Origine et Progressu Idololatriæ, lib ii. cap. ix. p. 179. Amstel. 1668.

(*c*) Dan. iv. 19.

(*d*) Dan. iii. 15.

in the present case, it is not very likely, that a poor jewishi slave, as Daniel was, should stand as one stupid, a whole hour, in the presence of so great a monarch as Nebuchadnezzar. On the whole, I do not find that the antiquity of the jewishi hours can be traced and ascertained, by any thing that is said in the Old Testament.

Besides the twelve lesser hours, (which, as they are supposed to be equal divisions of the artificial day, must be of different lengths at different times of the year, and which are the same that we now call jewishi hours;) Godwin, with many others, speaks of the greater hours; which are said to be four, each containing three of the lesser hours; the first beginning at sunrise, (and not at six o'clock, as Godwin erroneously says,) and holding till about nine. The second ended at noon, the third in the middle of the afternoon, and the fourth at sun-set. However, this division of the day into greater hours, is not sufficiently supported by the passages of scripture, which Godwin quotes in proof of it. And several learned men, very skilful in these matters, have doubted, whether any such hours were in use among the Jews.

Mayer\* thinks he has proved, that the greater hours were in use in the days of Nehemiah, from the following passage, "they read in the book of the law one fourth part of the day, and another fourth part they confessed and worshipped the Lord their God (a)." This, however, will prove no more, than that they had skill enough, in those times, to divide the day,  
upon

\* Johannis Mayeri Tractat. de temporibus et festis diebus Hebræor. part. 1. cap. x. §. xiv,—xvii. p. 68,—70. edit. 2. Amstel. 1724.

(a) Nehem. ix. 3.

upon occasion, into four parts; but that these divisions were called the greater hours, or that this was a stated division of the day, does not appear.

Since then the use of the greater hours is so uncertain, even in our Saviour's time, we must not rely on them, as Godwin does, for reconciling the different accounts of the evangelists concerning the time of our Lord's crucifixion. St. Mark says it was at the third hour (*a*); whereas, according to St. John (*b*), it was about the sixth hour, when he was arraigned before Pilate. Some endeavour to remove this difficulty by the supposition that St. John's gospel was written after the destruction of Jerusalem \*, and that he therefore uses the computation of the Romans, who began the natural day, as we do, from twelve o'clock at night; accordingly the sixth hour, when Pilate condemned Christ to be crucified, was six in the morning: But St. Mark uses the jewish computation, according to which the third hour answers to our nine in the morning, at which time Christ was nailed to the cross.

This is an ingenious way of reconciling the two evangelists; and provided it could be made appear, that St. John uses the roman computation in any other part of his history, we should readily acquiesce in it. But, I apprehend, the contrary is very probable from the following passage in the fourth chapter (*c*), “ Jesus there-  
fore

(*a*) See Mark xv. 25.

(*b*) John xix. 14.

\* That St. John's gospel was written, not after, but before the destruction of Jerusalem, see proved by Dr. Lardner, in his Supplement to the Second part of his Credibility, vol. 1. chap. ix. §. 9, 10. p. 391,—445.

(*c*) John iv. 6,—8.

fore being wearied with his journey, sat thus on the well, and it was about the sixth hour.” “There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water; Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink. For his disciples were gone away into the city to buy meat.” Now it is not so probable, that the disciples should be gone to procure provisions for their refreshment on their journey at six in the morning, as at twelve at noon; much less is it likely, that Christ was wearied with his journey at so early an hour; and if St. John uses the jewish computation in this part of his history, it is hardly consistent with the character of a good historian to use the roman in another part of it; at least, without giving notice of the change. Perhaps therefore an easier way of solving this difficulty is to admit the reading of the Cambridge manuscript, which has *τριτη*, the third, instead of *εκτη*, the sixth hour, in the preceding passage. And this reading is confirmed by Nonnus’s paraphrase\*, and by Peter of Alexandria, or whoever was the author of the fragment prefixed to the Chronicon Paschale†; who expressly asserts, that it was *τριτη* in the original copy‡, which, he saith, was at that time preserved with great care in the church of Ephesus||.

Before

\* See the passage in Dr. Lardner’s Credibility, part 2: chap. 128. vol. 11. p. 63.

† Consult Cave, Hist. literar. ad init. §. 4.

‡ Chronicon Paschale, in Præf. auctoris de paschate, p. 5. edit. Du Fresne, Paris 1688.

|| See this matter discussed by Dr. Whitby in his Annotations on Mark xv. 25. and by Pfaffius in his Dissertatio critica de genuinis librorum Novi Testamenti lectionibus, cap. viii. p. 154,—162. edit. Amstel. 1709. who particularly considers what Mill hath advanced against this reading on Mark xv. 25. and John xix. 14.

Before we quit the subject of the Jewish hours, it is proper to take notice of the hours of prayer, which we find mentioned in scripture. Peter and John, it is said in the Acts, “went up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour (*a*).” This indeed refers to the publick prayers, offered up in the temple at the time of the evening sacrifice. But the Jews had also stated hours for private prayer, at least when they did not attend those which were publick. It was Daniel’s custom to pray three times a day, which he would not omit, though he was liable, on that account, to be cast into the den of lions (*b*). The same was the practice of David, “Evening and morning,” saith he, “and at noon will I pray (*c*).” From whence we learn not only how frequently, but at what times of the day that duty was commonly performed. It is generally supposed, that the morning and evening prayers were at the time of offering the morning and evening sacrifice, that is, at the third and ninth hour. And the noon prayer was at the sixth hour, or twelve o’clock. For it is said, that “Peter went up on the house-top to pray, about the sixth hour (*d*).” Though Ludovicus Capellus makes the morning and the noon prayer to correspond to the morning and evening sacrifices. According to him, the morning prayer was performed any time betwixt sun-rise and the fourth hour; the noon prayer, betwixt the sixth hour and sun-set; and evening prayer, any time betwixt sun-set and  
break

(*a*) Acts iii. 1.

(*b*) Dan. vi. 10, 12.

(*c*) Psal. lv. 17.

(*d*) Acts x. 9.

break of day \*. We find in scripture, no express institution of the stated hours of prayer. The Jews say, they received them from the Patriarchs; the first hour, from Abraham; the second, from Isaac; and the third, from Jacob †.

From hence, the papists have borrowed their canonical hours; as they call certain prayers, which are to be repeated at certain times of the day, namely, matins, lauds, vespers, and complins. Cardinal Baronius fancies they were instituted by the apostles; of which he imagines, that Peter and John going into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour, is proof sufficient. Indeed, if we reject this evidence, there is none to be produced, of their being instituted earlier than the ninth century, in a capitular ‡ of Hatto, or Hetto, bishop of Basil, directed to his curates, injoining that none of them be absent at the canonical hours ||.

From the Jews the Mohammedans have borrowed their hours of prayer, enlarging the number of them from three to five; which all Mussulmans are bound to observe; the first in the morning before sun-rise; the second when noon is past, and the sun begins to decline from the meridian; the third in the afternoon, before sun-set; the fourth in the evening after sun-set,  
and

\* Ludov. Capell. in Act. iii. 1. apud Crit. Sacr. See also Mishn. tit. Berachoth, cap. 4. Bartenor. et Maimon. in loc. et annot. Guisii et Surenhus. tom. 1 p. 13, 14. edit. Surenhus.

† Vid. Drusii Præter. in Act. iii. 1. five apud Critic. Sacros.

‡ A capitular is an act passed in a chapter, that is, in an assembly held by religious or military orders, for deliberating on their affairs, and regulating their discipline.

|| Du Pin's Eccles. Hist. cent. ix. vol. 7. p. 142.

and before the day be shut in; the fifth after the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night\*. To these some of their devotees add two more, the first an hour and an half after the day is shut in, the other at midnight; but these are looked upon as voluntary services, practised in imitation of Mohammed's example, but not enjoined by his law †.

We now proceed to consider the Jewish weeks; which, Godwin observes, were of two sorts; the one ordinary, consisting of seven days; the other extraordinary or prophetic, consisting of seven years.

As for the ordinary week of seven days, it is a division of time, which appears to have been observed by all nations, probably from the beginning of the world ‡. It was first made by God himself, who, after he had created the world in six days, “rested on the seventh, and blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it (a).” From whence every seventh day has been ever held sacred.

To prove that this distinction of time prevailed in the first ages of the world, some allege the following passage of the book of Genesis, “In the end of the days, מִקְצֵי יָמִים mikkèts jamim, Cain and Abel brought their offering to the Lord (b):” that is, say they, at the end of the week, or on the sabbath-day; for according to the learned Gataker, there was then

\* See Sale's Preliminary discourse to his translation of the Koran, Sect. iv. p. 107, 109. edit. 1734.

† De Dieu, Animadversiones in Act. iii. 1.

‡ See Grotius de Veritate Christianæ Religionis, lib. 1. §. 16. p. 45, 46. notis Clerici, Glasg. 1745. Selden. de Jure nat. et gent. lib. iii. cap. xvi.—xix.

(a) Gen. ii. 2, 3.

(b) Gen. iv. 3.

then no other distinction of days but into weeks \*. We may however observe, with deference to so great an authority, that it is not impossible, nor improbable, that by this time they might have learned to distinguish time, by the changes of the moon, into months; and by the course of the sun, and the revolutions of the seasons, into years. It is very evident, that the phrase מִקֵּץ יָמִים mikkèts jamim does not always import the end of a week, from the use of it in the second book of Samuel (*a*), where it is said, that “at the end of the days, Absalom polled his head, because his hair was heavy on him; and he weighed it at two hundred shekels.” It cannot be imagined, his hair should grow so heavy, as to need polling every week. Probably in this place, the phrase means, as we render it, “at every year’s end.” In the same sense the learned Ainsworth understands it in the passage in Genesis which we are now considering: “At the end of the year,” when the fruits of the earth were ripe, “Cain brought of the fruits of the ground an offering unto the Lord.” So God afterwards appointed “a feast of ingathering,” to be observed by the Jews in the end of the year, when they had gathered in their labours out of the field (*b*).” The same custom prevailed among the Gentiles, who at the end of the year, when they gathered in their fruits, offered solemn sacrifices, with thanks to God for his blessings. Aristotle says †, that the ancient sacrifices and assemblies were after the gathering in of the fruits, being  
design-

\* Vid. Poli Synops. in Gen. iv. 3.

(*a*) 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

(*b*) Exod. xxiii. 16.

† Aristot. Ethic. lib. viii.

designed for an oblation of the first fruits unto God. Again, days are put for years in the twenty fifth chapter of Leviticus (*a*): “within a year shall he redeem it:” in the hebrew יָמִים *jamim*, which yet is immediately explained to signify a whole year. It is therefore probable, that it was at the end of the year, Cain brought of his ripe fruits an offering unto the Lord.

Nevertheless, though the evidence of this passage, in favour of the antiquity of distinguishing time by weeks, fail us; we have other sufficient proofs of its being used in very early ages. It appears, that Noah divided his days by sevens, in sending the dove out of the ark (*b*); and that the same division was used in Jacob's time; for in the history of his marriage with Leah and Rachel, we meet with this expression, “Laban said, fulfill hēr week, שָׁבַע *shebhuang*, and we will give thee this also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years (*c*).” That the word שָׁבַע *shebhuang*, here signifies a week of days, is plain from its being expressly distinguished from seven years; and also because it was the custom in ancient times to keep marriage feasts for seven days. It is said of Samson's wife, that “she wept before him the seven days, while their marriage feast lasted,” in order to obtain from him the interpretation of a riddle, for explaining which “within the seven days of the feast,” he had offered a reward to his guests (*d*).

As for the extraordinary or prophetic weeks, they consisted of seven years each. And it is not unlikely, that this sort of computation by

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weeks

(*a*) Lev. xxv. 29.    (*b*) Gen. viii. 10, — 13.    (*c*) Gen. xxix. 27.    (*d*) Judg. xiv. 12, 17.

weeks of years, which is used in the prophetick writings, owed its origin to the expressions in which Moses records the institution of the year of jubilee: "Thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years, and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years; then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound,—and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year (a)." Accordingly a day is put for a year in Ezekiel, where three hundred and ninety days means as many years, and forty days forty years: "I have appointed thee, saith the Lord, each day for a year (b)." In the same sense seven days, or a week, is in the prophetick stile seven years. Of this sort are the seventy weeks in the ninth chapter of Daniel's prophecy (c), which appears from hence, that having occasion immediately after this prophecy, to mention weeks in the ordinary acceptation of the word, he expressly calls them, by way of distinction from the weeks he had been before speaking of, "weeks of days (d);" for so is the expression in the original, which we render, "three full weeks\*." Besides, it is certain, that so many great events, as are predicted to come to pass in the space of seventy weeks, could not be crowded into seventy weeks of days, which is less than one year and an half. The seventy prophetical weeks, therefore, amount to four hundred and ninety years.

Months,

(a) Lev. xxv. 8,—10. (b) Ezek. iv. 5, 6. (c) Dan. ix. 24. (d) Dan. x. 1, 2, 3.

\* Mayer. de temporibus et festis Hebræor. part. 1. cap. x. §. v. p. 65. edit. Amstel. 1724. Marshall's Chronological treatise on the seventy weeks of Daniel, p. 8, 9. Lond, 1724.

Months, with the Hebrews; take their name from the moon; the word  $\text{חֹדֶשׁ}$  chodhesh, being used by them to signify both a new moon, and a month; because their months began with a new moon. And therefore they consisted of twenty nine or thirty days; for since the synodical lunar month is nearly twenty nine days and an half, they made their months to consist of twenty nine and thirty days alternately; so that what one month wanted of being equal to the synodical course of the moon, was made up in the next; and by this means their months were made to keep even pace, pretty nearly, with the lunations. Thus was the jewish calendar regulated by the law of Moses, which appointed the day of the new-moon, or rather perhaps the first day of its appearance; to be a solemn festival, and the beginning of a month. But it should seem, that at the time of the deluge they were not come to this regulation; but then the years consisted of twelve months, and each month of thirty days. That the year consisted of twelve months, may be inferred from the time that Noah lived in the ark, namely, a year and ten days; for the flood began on the seventeenth day of the second month of the six hundredth year of Noah's life (a), and on the twenty seventh of the second month, in the six hundred and first year of his life, was the earth dried (b). Now if the month consisted of thirty

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days,

(a) See Gen. vii. 11.

(b) Gen. viii. 13, 14. In the thirteenth verse it is said, that "in the six hundred and first year, the first day of the month, the waters were dried from the earth, and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and behold the face of the ground was dry." This must be understood of the waters being so far dried from off the face of the earth,

days, as we shall presently shew that it did; and if the year then in use was nearly either lunar or solar, there must have been twelve months in the year; for thirty multiplied by twelve is three hundred and sixty, that is, six days more than the lunar year, and five less than the solar. Perhaps the form of the year then used was the same afterwards used by the Egyptians, consisting of twelve months and five days.

That the month, in Noah's time, consisted of thirty days, is made out thus. It is said in the account of the deluge, that in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the fountains of the great deep were broken up (*a*); and afterwards it is said "the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat (*b*)."  
From the beginning of the flood, therefore, to the time of the ark's resting, was just five months. Now the waters are said to have prevailed upon the earth one hundred and fifty days (*c*), that is, till the time of the ark's resting; and one hundred and fifty divided by five, the number of the months, gives just thirty days for each month.

From this account of the antediluvian months and years, we may infer the absurdity of the supposition, which Varro and others have made, in order to take off the wonder of men's living so long before the flood, as the scripture history relates; namely, that their ages are to be com-

earth, that they no longer stood on the ground; nevertheless the earth was not sufficiently hardened to be fit for habitation till near two months after, when on the twenty seventh day of the second month Noah left the ark.

(*a*) Gen. vii. 11.      (*b*) Gen. viii. 4.      (*c*) Gen. vii.  
34. viii. 3, 4.

computed, not by solar years, but by months ; whereas it plainly appears, that they computed by months and years before the flood, as we now do, and that their years were nearly equal to ours ; and it cannot be thought so good an historian as Moses, would use the word years for months only, in some part of his antideluvian history, and for twelve months in other parts of it. Besides, this way of computing will reduce the lives of the ancient patriarchs to a shorter period than ours. Peleg, who is said to have lived two hundred and thirty nine years (*a*), will be found in reality to have lived only about twenty years ; and Serug, who is said to have lived two hundred and thirty years (*b*), must have lived but a little more than nineteen ; and both of them must have begot children before they were three years old, instead of thirty, according to the scripture account.

Godwin is undoubtedly mistaken, when he saith, that “ the Jews, before their captivity, counted their months without any names, according to their number, as the first, the second month, &c.” For we meet with the names of months in the scripture history, long before that period ; as the month Abib (*a*), the month Zif (*b*), the month Bul (*c*), and the month Ethanim (*d*).

We proceed now to consider the jewish year, which was partly lunar and wandring, and partly solar and fixed. It consisted sometimes of twelve, and sometimes of thirteen synodical months ; ordinarily it consisted of twelve syno-

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dical

(*a*) Exod. xiii. 4.      (*b*) 1 Kings vi. 1, 37.      (*c*) ver.  
38.      (*d*) 1 Kings viii. 2.

dical months, amounting to three hundred and fifty four days. As the years of this form fall eleven days short of the solar year, had they used them constantly, their months and festivals would have wandered in thirty two years through all the seasons. But since the rites they were to perform at some of their festivals had a necessary connection with a particular season of the year; as the offering the first fruits of the wheat harvest at the feast of pentecost, which must necessarily be kept in the summer, and their dwelling in booths at the feast of tabernacles, which would have been highly inconvenient in winter; it was necessary, by some means to reduce the lunar years to the solar, that their months, and consequently their festivals, might always fall at the same season. This therefore they did by adding a whole month to the year, as often as it was needful, commonly once in three, and sometimes once in two years. This intercalary month was added at the end of the year, after the month Adar, and was therefore called וַעַדָּאָר veadar, or a second Adar\*.

The year was also distinguished into the civil and sacred year; each of which had a different beginning. The civil begun with the equinoctial new moon in autumn; the sacred or ecclesiastical, with the equinoctial new moon in spring. The civil, according to which all political matters were regulated, was the more ancient, and was perhaps the same with the patriarchal year, which we gave an account of before, and which is supposed to have originally com-

\* Maimon. de Consecratione Calendarum, cap. iv. §. 1. p. 356. ad calcem tractatus de sacrificiis, edit. et vers. De Veil, Lond. 1683.

commenced at the creation. Hence, since this year began in autumn, some have thought it probable the world was created at that season; or in its autumnal state, with respect to that hemisphere in which Adam was placed\*. But the premises, from which this inference is drawn, are somewhat uncertain, namely, that the ancient year was a fixed solar year, always beginning at the same season; whereas we have before shewn, that the patriarchal year consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, which fell about five days short of the true solar year. Unless, therefore, we suppose, as some have done †, that they added five days to their last month, according to the form of the Annus Nabonassaricus, or the Egyptian year ‡; which five days were called *ἡμέραι επαγομεναι*: this year must have been wandering, and the beginning of it have run through all the seasons. Nay, even supposing the addition of the *ἡμέραι επαγομεναι*, yet the neglect of five hours forty nine minutes, by which the Egyptian year fell short of the true solar year, would make the beginning of it wander through all the seasons in about fourteen hundred years; so that, though it happened to begin at the autumnal equinox at the time when Moses regulated the Jewish calendar, it might have begun originally at an-

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other

\* Vid. Meyer. de temporibus et festis Hebræor. part. 1. cap. 1. p. 4,—17. Amstel. 1724. et Fred. Spanhemii Chronol. Sacr. part. 1. cap. 1. Talmud. tit. Rosh hashanah, cap. 1. Abarbanel de principio anni et consecratione novilunii, ad calcem lib. Cozzi, p. 443,—445. edit. Buxtorf. 1660.

† Vid. Spanhem. Chronol. Sacr. part. 1. cap. iii. p. 8. oper. Geograph. Chronolog. &c. Lugd. Bat. 1701.

‡ See Strauchius's Chronology, by Sault, book iv. chap. xviii. p. 261. Lond. 1722.

other season. However, it is thought, that the feast of ingathering of the harvest, which must certainly be at autumn, being said to be “in the end of the year (*a*),” favours the opinion that the ancient year began at that season. Therefore, though some have supposed, that the world was created in spring\*, the more commonly received opinion is, that it was created in autumn. In support of which some alledge the following passage in the first chapter of Genesis, “The earth brought forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself (*b*);” which, they say, must be in autumn, when the fruits are ripe.

As for the jewish sacred, or ecclesiastical year, it began with the month Nisan, the seventh of the civil year, about the vernal equinox (*c*). By this year the order of all their religious ceremonies was regulated; so that the passover, which was kept in the middle of the first month of this year, was as it were the mother of all the other festivals.

While the Jews continued in the land of Canaan, the beginnings of their months and years were not settled by any astronomical rules or calculations, but by the phasis or actual appearance of the new moon. When they saw the new moon, they began the month. Persons were therefore appointed to watch on the tops of the mountains for the first appearance of the moon after the change. As soon as they saw  
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(*a*) Exod. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22:

\* Jacobi Capelli Observ. in Gen. i. 14. p. 583. edit. unâ cum Lud. Capell. Comment. et not. critic. in Vet. Test. Amstel. 1689.

(*b*) Gen. i. 11.

(*c*) Exod. xii. 2, et seq.

it, they informed the sanhedrim, and publick notice was given by lighting beacons throughout the land; though after they had been often deceived by the Samaritans, who kindled false fires, they used, say the mishnical rabbies, to proclaim its appearance by sending messengers. Yet as they had no months longer than thirty days, if they did not see the new moon the night following the thirtieth day, they concluded the appearance was obstructed by the clouds, and without watching any longer, made the next day the first day of the following month\*. But after the jews became dispersed through all nations, where they had no opportunity of being informed of the first appearance of the new moon, as they formerly had, they were forced to make use of astronomical calculations and cycles for fixing the beginning of their months and years †. The first cycle they made use of for this purpose was of eighty four years. But that being discovered to be faulty, they came afterwards into the use of Meto's cycle of nineteen years, which was established by the authority of Rabbi Hillel Hannasi, or prince of the sanhedrim, about the year of Christ 360. This they still use, and say, it is to be observed till the coming of the Messiah. In the compass of this cycle there are twelve common years, consisting of twelve months, and seven intercalary years, consisting of thirteen months ‡.

We find the Jews and their ancestors computing their years from different eras, in different

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\* Vid. Mish. tit. Rosh. hashanah, cap. 2. §. 1,—7. Maimon. de Consecratione Calendarum, cap. iii. §. v,—viii. p. 352.

† Maimon. de Consecratione Calendarum, cap. v. §. 1, —iii. p. 362.

‡ See Prideaux's Connect. part 1. preface,

ent parts of the Old Testament; as from the birth of the patriarchs; for instance, of Noah (*a*); afterwards from their exit out of Egypt (*b*); then from the building of Solomon's temple (*c*), and from the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel. In later times the babylonish captivity furnished them with a new epocha, from whence they computed their years (*d*). But since the times of the talmudical rabbies, they have constantly used the era of the creation, which according to their computation \*, in this present year of the christian era 1762, is A. M. 5522. They usually in writing contract this by omitting the thousands, writing only  $\text{הקפ"ב}$ , 522 †. If to the jewish year, thus expressed, you add 1240 it gives the year of the christian era, as 522 with the addition of 1240 makes 1762 ‡.

If it be enquired, why God appointed a new beginning of the year to the Israelites at the time of their deliverance out of Egypt; the answer may, perhaps, be

1st. The more effectually to distinguish and separate his own people from the idolatrous nations, and detach them from their customs; to which end the beginning their days, their weeks, their months, and their years at a different time from

(*a*) Gen. vii. 11. viii. 13. (*b*) Numb. xxxiii. 38.  
 1 Kings vi. 1. (*c*) 2 Chron. viii. 1. (*d*) Ezek.  
 xxxiii. 21. xl. 1.

\* The Jews reckon only 3760 years from the creation to the birth of Christ. See Scalig. de emendat. tempor. lib. vii. p. 628. and Strauchius's Chronol. by Sault, book iv. chap. ii. p. 168,—171.

† This is called the computus minor; when the thousands are expressed at length, it is called computus major.

‡ Reland. Antiq. Heb. part iv. cap. 1. §. viii. p. 428, 429. edit. 3.

from those of the idolaters, was undoubtedly subservient.

2dly, Because the month, in which they were delivered out of Egypt, and in which such a surprizing series of miracles was wrought in their favour, might be well accounted a sort of *mensis natalis* of that nation, in which God as it were revived them from a state of death, and took them under his future special protection and providence; on which account, to set a particular mark upon that month, and to perpetuate the memory of so great a mercy, he ordered, that it should stand at the head of the months, and be reckoned the first of the year.





## C H A P. II.

### Of their feasts.

AS, among the Jews, their ordinary meals, saith Godwin, were not many in a day, so neither were they costly; and therefore they were called ארוחת aruchoth, which properly signifieth such fare as travellers use on their journeys; whereas the extraordinary and more liberal kind of entertainment was commonly called מִשְׁתֶּה mishteh." There is no doubt, but the word ארוחה aruchah, as it comes from the root ארח arach, iter fecit, properly and primarily signifies provisions on a journey, or such a meal as was common with travellers, which can hardly be supposed to have been either elegant or plentiful in those countries where there were no inns or houses of entertainment on the road, and where travellers used to carry their provisions with them; and though, as Godwin observes, the word is used for a mean and scanty meal in the book of Proverbs (a), where ארוחת ירק aruchath jarak, a dinner of herbs, stands in opposition to a stalled or fatted

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(a) Prov. xv. 17.

ox: nevertheless, as the whole life of man is represented as a pilgrimage or journey, the word אֲרוּחָהּ aruchah, in an allusive sense, is used for a meal in general, whether sumptuous or mean, whether plentiful or sparing. In the book of Jeremiah (a) it is used for the daily provision, which the king of Babylon allotted to Jehoiakim king of Judah, after he had brought him out of prison, and set his throne above the thrones of all the kings that were with him in Babylon, and admitted him to eat bread continually before him (b); and no doubt the provisions of his table were plentiful and elegant.

The word מִשְׁתֶּה mishteh, from שָׁתָה shathah, bibit, answers to the greek συμπόσιον, and primarily signifies compotatio; or perhaps as we call it, a drinking bout. And as delicious liquors were always supposed to make a considerable part of an elegant entertainment, the word מִשְׁתֶּה mishteh, is used, by a synecdoche, for a feast in general; such as Abraham made at the weaning of Isaac (c); Pharoah on his birth-day (d); Samson at his wedding (e); and Isaac for Abimelech and his friends, who, it is expressly said, eat as well as drank (f). “A feast of fat things” is called מִשְׁתֶּה mishteh, as well as “a feast of wine (g).” And as the Hebrews sometimes denominated their feasts from drinking, so likewise from eating: “Jacob offered sacrifice on the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread, &c (h).” Belshazzar made a great feast, לֶחֶם lechem (i), which primarily signifies bread. At other times it was deno-

(a) Jer. lii. 34. (b) ver. 31,—33. (c) Gen. xxi. 8. (d) Gen. xl. 20. (e) Judg. xiv. 10. (f) Gen. xxvi. 30. (g) Isai. xxv. 6. (h) Gen. xxxi. 54. (i) Dan. v. 1. See also Eccles. x. 19.

denominated from both: "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled (a)."

It is Godwin's opinion; that the agapæ; or love-feasts, of the primitive christians, were derived from the  $\text{ד'ג'ג'ג'}$  chiggim, or feasts upon the sacrifices, at which the Jews entertained their friends and fed the poor (b).

There were also feasts of much the same kind, in use among the Greeks and Romans. The former were wont to offer certain sacrifices to their gods, which were afterwards given to the poor. They had likewise publick feasts for certain districts, suppose for a town or city, towards which all, who could afford it, contributed, in proportion to their different abilities, and all partook of it in common. Of this sort were the  $\text{Συσίτια}$  of the Cretans; and the  $\text{Φιλίτια}$  of the Lacedemonians, instituted by Lycurgus; and so called,  $\text{παρα της φιλιας}$ ; (the  $\lambda$  being changed into  $\delta$  according to their usual orthography,) as denoting that love and friendship which they were intended to promote among neighbours and fellow-citizens\*.

The Romans likewise had a feast of the same kind, called *charistia*; which was a meeting only of those who were akin to each other; and the design of it was, that if any quarrel or misunderstanding had happened among any of them, they might there be reconciled †. To this Ovid alludes in the second book of his *fasti*,  
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(a) Prov. ix. 5. See also Eccles. ix. 7. (b) Deut. xii. 18. xxvi. 12.

\* Vid. Cragium de Republ. Lacedæm. lib. i. cap. ix. apud Gronov. Thesaur. Græc. Antiq. vol. 5. p. 2541. et Stuckii Antiquitat. convivial. lib. 1. cap. 31.

† Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. i. §. 8. p. 136. edit. Thyssi, Lugd. Bat. 1655.

Proxima cognati dixere charistia chari,  
Et venit ad socios turba propinqua deos.

v. 617.

In imitation either of these jewish or gentile love feasts, or probably of both, the primitive christians, in each particular church, had likewise their love-feasts, which were supplied by the contribution of the members, according to their several abilities, and partaken of by all in common. And, whether they were converts from among the Jews or Gentiles, they retained their old custom with very little alteration, and as their *αγαπαι* had been commonly annexed to their sacrifices, so they were now annexed to the commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ at the Lord's supper; and were therefore held on the Lord's day, before or after the celebration of that ordinance. It should seem at Corinth, in the apostle's days, they were ordinarily held before; for when the Corinthians are blamed for unworthily receiving the Lord's supper, it is partly charged upon this, that some of them came drunk to that ordinance, having indulged to excess at the preceding love-feast: "Every one taketh before, *προλαυβανσει*, his own supper, and one is hungry and another is drunken (a)." This shows, saith Dr. Whitby, that this banquet, namely, the love-feast, was celebrated before the Lord's supper. But Chrysostom gives an account of it, as being in his time, kept after it\*.

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(a) 1 Cor. xi. 21. See Whitby in loc.

\* Vid. Suiceri Thesaur. in verb. *αγαπη*. This opinion is maintained by Mr. Hallet in his Notes and Discourses, Vol. 3. Disc. vi. and by Dr. Chandler in his Account of the  
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It is commonly supposed, that when St. Jude mentions certain persons, who were spots in the feasts of charity, *ἐν ταῖς ἀγαπαῖς* (*a*); he means, in the christian love-feasts; though Dr. Lightfoot and Dr. Whitby apprehend the reference in this passage is rather to a custom of the Jews; who on the evening of their sabbath had their *κίνησις*, or communion, when the inhabitants of the same city met in a common place to eat together\*. However that be, all antiquity bears testimony to the reality of the christian *ἀγαπαί*, or love-feasts. Indeed Suicer conceives they are referred to in the following passage of the Acts, “They,” that is, the apostles, “continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart (*b*).” And when it is said, that “the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables (*c*),” he supposes the tables mean these love-feasts; which expression, I think, primarily refers to the tables of the poor of the church, or to the making a proper provision for them; as appears from its having been mentioned as the ground of complaint of “the Grecians against the Hebrews, that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration (*d*).” To the love-feasts he likewise refers the following

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the Conference in Nicholas-Lane Feb. 13, 1734-5. between two romish priests and some protestant divines, p. 55,—62.

(*a*) Jude, ver. 12.

\* Whitby in loc. and Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*. 1 Cor. x. 16.

(*b*) Acts ii. 46.      (*c*) Acts vi. 2.      (*d*) ver. 1.

ing passage concerning St. Paul, “When he had broken bread and eaten and talked a long while even till break of day, he departed (a).” But this may very naturally and properly be understood of the Lord’s supper. Indeed how far St. Paul might join in these love-feasts with other christians, before they were abused, does not appear. But when he blamed the scandalous irregularities of the Corinthians, in their participation of the Lord’s supper, which were very much occasioned by their preceding love-feasts, and in order to bring them back to its original simplicity and purity, gives them a very particular account of the primitive institution (b), in which there is not one word of these agapæ; he evidently condemns the addition they had made to this ordinance, which had occasioned so much sin, and so many disorders and confusions.

However the agapæ were not wholly laid aside till some ages after. For they are mentioned by Ignatius \*, by Clemens of Alexandria †, by Tertullian ‡, and even by St. Jerom § and St. Austin || in the fourth century, as practised in their times.

Dr. Lightfoot hath a peculiar notion concerning these christian agapæ, that they were a sort of hospitals for the entertainment of strangers, in imitation of those which the Jews

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had,

(a) Acts xx. 11. (b) 1 Cor. xi 23, et seq.

\* Epist. ad Smyrn. §. 8. apud Coteler. Patres Apostol. p. 37. vol. 2. edit. Clerici 2. 1724.

† Pædag. lib. ii. p. 141. B. et Strom. lib. iii. p. 430. C, D. edit. Paris. 1641.

‡ Apolog. cap. xxxix. p. 32. edit. Rigalt. Paris 1675.

§ Ad Eustoc. de Custod. Virgin. Epist. xxii. p. 286. D. Paris 1579.

|| Contra Faustum Manich, lib. xx. cap. xx.

had, adjoining to their synagogues. And Gaius, who is called “the host of the whole church (*a*),” he supposes to have been the master of such an hospital; and that Phœbe, who is called the *διακονος* of the church at Cenchrea (*b*), and those other women, who in the epistle to the Philippians, are said to labour in the gospel (*c*), were servants attending these hospitals. Nevertheless he does not call in question the ancient use of love-feasts together with the eucharist: to doubt of that, he says, would be to contradict all antiquity. But he seems to question, whether they were so ancient as the days of the apostles\*. However, notwithstanding all the doctor has said, on the authority of the rabbies, of these jewish hospitals, which he supposes the christians to have imitated in their agapæ, it may reasonably be doubted, whether they had ordinarily such hospitals adjoining to their churches so early as the days of the apostles; for as yet they had hardly any churches or buildings appropriated to christian worship, but were forced to meet in private houses, and often secretly, to avoid the rage and violence of their persecutors. Nor can I think it so probable, that the Corinthians, who were for the most part gentile converts, should borrow the institution of such hospitals from the Jews, as that they should follow their former custom, and that of their ancestors, in annexing love-feasts to their sacrifices, and so adopt them into christian worship.

Godwin hath discoursed pretty largely on the ceremonies used by the Jews at their feasts.

And

(*a*) Rom. xvi. 23,  
iv. 3.

(*b*) Rom. xvi. 1.

(*c*) Phil.

\* See Hor. Hebraic. 1 Cor. xi. 21.

And under the head of salutation, as one of their preparatory ceremonies, he occasionally mentions the prophet Elisha's order to his servant Gehazi, "If thou meet with any man, salute him not; and if any man salute thee, answer him not again (*a*)."

It is enquired, whether this is to be taken for a general prohibition of all ceremonies betokening civil respect, according to the usage of the modern quakers; or only as an injunction peculiar to the present occasion? I apprehend, there is no reason to take it for a general prohibition, since in the scripture history, we find such ceremonies of civil respect practised by good men, without any censure passed upon them; as by Moses to his father in law (*b*); by Abraham to the three angels, whom he took for three men (*c*); and afterwards to the children of Heth (*d*). Besides, when our Saviour sent forth the twelve apostles to preach, he enjoined them to pay to all persons and families, where they came, the usual tokens of civility and respect: "When ye come into a house salute it (*e*)."

The reason then of Elisha's forbidding his servant either to give, or return, a salutation to any man, was probably either on account of the expedition which the prophet supposed his journey to the Shunamite required, (for perhaps he did not understand her child was quite dead, when he ordered Gehazi to go and lay his staff on it;) or else, it might be to keep the child's death, out of tenderness, a secret to the father, till he was raised to life again; and if the ser-

K 2

vant

(*a*) 2 Kings iv. 29.

(*b*) Exod. xviii. 7.

(*c*) Gen. xviii. 2.

(*d*) Gen. xxiii. 7.

(*e*) Matt. x. 12.

vant so much as spoke to any person on the road, he might imprudently divulge it.

This may enable us to account for a prohibition of the same kind, given by Christ to the seventy disciples, when he sent them "two and two before his face, to every city and place, whither he himself would come (*a*)."<sup>1</sup> "Carry, saith he, neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes, and salute no man by the way." We may, with equal reason suppose, that our Lord intended to forbid his disciples and ministers, the use of shoes and purses, as the customary tokens of civil respect. His design was only to prohibit them while they were employed on that particular message. It is further enquired, why he forbid it at this time? Dr. Lightfoot, from the rabbies, observes, that it was the custom of the Jews, during the days of their mourning, not to salute any one. He conceives, therefore, that our Saviour would have his disciples appear like mourners; partly, as representing himself, who was a man of sorrow, that so from these messengers the people might guess, in some measure, what sort of person he was who sent them; partly, as they were to summon the people to attend upon Christ, in order to be healed, both of their spiritual and their bodily diseases; and it was, therefore, fit their behaviour should be mournful and solemn, in token of their fellow-feeling with the afflicted and miserable\*.

But the testimony of the rabbies is too weak a foundation to support this interpretation. The custom mentioned might have prevailed in their times,

(*a*) Luke x. 1, 4.

\* Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. Luc. 3. 4.

times, without being near so ancient as our Saviour's. It may also be objected, that our blessed Lord was so far from desiring his disciples should appear as mourners, that he represents this to be unsuitable to their condition, while he, the bridegroom was with them (*a*).

Perhaps, therefore, the prohibition of saluting any man by the way, may be taken in a more general sense, as a caution against trifling away their time in compliment and ceremony. Or if we understand it more literally, it might be designed to make the disciples appear as men in haste, and fully occupied, whose minds were intent on the dispatch of the most important business; to awaken the people's attention to their message, and at the same time, like the symbolical actions of the prophets, to represent in a sensible manner, the main drift and tenor of it, namely, that sinners should make all possible speed to fly from the wrath to come, and lay hold on eternal life, and for that end should apply to Christ in earnest and without delay.

The second preparatory ceremony, mentioned by Godwin, is washing the feet of the guests. However, it does not appear in the institution of any of the Jewish feasts, nor by any scripture examples, that this was ever used, except when persons had defiled their feet by travelling. And indeed, if it had been a constant custom, I can hardly think, that Simon the pharisee, who civilly invited our Lord to an entertainment at his house, would have omitted it (*b*).

The instance produced, namely, our Saviour's washing his disciples feet (*c*), is quite beside the

K 3

pur-

(*a*) Matt. ix. 15.    (*b*) Luke vii. 44.    (*c*) John xiii. 5.

purpose; since that was plainly an extraordinary case, performed, not out of respect to any custom, but with a particular intent of instructing them in the duties of humility and condescending benevolence (*a*). Besides, this was not done before they began supper, but in some interval of the meal, as appears from its being said of our Lord, that “he rose from supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a towel and girded himself (*b*).” We conclude from hence, that the disciples had not washed their feet before supper; for it is highly improbable, that Christ should chuse to set them an example of mutual condescension and benevolence, by an action, which, if they had been washed before, was altogether needless\*.

It is Godwin’s apprehension, that the six water pots of stone, mentioned on occasion of the marriage at Cana in Galilee (*c*), and said to be “after the manner of the purifying of the Jews,” were designed for these complimentary washings. But as the word καθαρismus is commonly, if not always used, for the purifying or washing the whole body; as for the purifying of a woman after child-birth (*d*), and of a leper after his cure (*e*); in both which cases the law prescribed that the body should be washed or bathed all over; some have thought it more probable, that these water pots were such as were used for that purpose. And if we consider,

(*a*) John xiii. 13,—15.      (*b*) ver. 4.

\* That washing the feet was not an usual preparatory ceremony, is shewn at large by Buxtorf, in his *Dissertationes philologico-theolog. Dissert. vi. de Cænæ Domin. primæ ritibus et formâ*, §. xxx. p. 302,—306. Basil. 1662.

(*c*) John ii. 6.  
v. 14, Mark i. 44:

(*d*) Luke ii. 22,

(*e*) Luke

der, how many legal pollutions, unavoidably and frequently contracted, required this larger purification, especially among the women, it is likely, that all persons, who could provide conveniencies for it, would keep sufficient quantities of water in their houses ready for such occasions. According to this opinion, these water pots must have been large vessels. How large, is not certain. The text says, they “contained two or three *μετρηται* apiece;” a word, which though it properly signifies a measure in the general, was yet, doubtless, in common use for some particular measure; otherwise, this account of the contents of these water pots would be altogether indeterminate, and convey no idea at all. It is probable, therefore, that as the word rod, in english, which primarily signifies a stick to measure with, of any length, is yet appropriated to that particular measure of length which is most used in measuring lands, namely, five yards and an half, so the word *μετρητη* was particularly appropriated to that measure of capacity, which was most used by the Jews in measuring liquids, and that was the *בא* bath. This is still more probable, because the septuagint renders the word, bath, by *μετρητη*, in the fourth chapter of the second book of Chronicles (*a*). Now the bath, according to Dr. Cumberland, contains seven gallons and a quarter. Each water pot, therefore, may be supposed to contain about twenty gallons, and all of them when filled to the brim, as they were when our Saviour turned the water into wine, about an hundred and twenty\*.

K 4.

As

(*a*) 2 Chron. iv. 5.

\* See on this subject a dissertation of Hostius, in the *Critici Sacri*, vol. ix.

As to the design of this miracle, we are not to suppose that Christ produced so great a quantity of wine, merely, or chiefly for the use of the guests at that entertainment. Besides the grand purpose of displaying his divine power, he might hereby intend to make a handsome present to the new married couple, as such a quantity of excellent wine undoubtedly was, in grateful return for their favour in inviting him and his disciples to the marriage feast.

As to the third preparatory ceremony, pouring out oil, I can find no sufficient evidence of this being in common use. The woman's anointing our Saviour's head with ointment, which St. Luke mentions (a), and to which Godwin refers, was without doubt an extraordinary case.

As to the ברכה barachah, or benediction of the bread and wine, from whence many others suppose, as well as Godwin, that our Saviour borrowed the rites which he used in the celebration of his supper; the authority of the rabbinical writers, who mention this barachah, is too precarious, to furnish a certain conclusion, that it was in use among the Jews in our Saviour's time. The correspondence betwixt the sacramental rites, and those of the jewish barachah, as practised in the days of the talmudical rabbies, may be seen at large in Buxtorf on this subject\*.

The last thing which Godwin mentions as remarkable in the feasts of the Jews, was their table gesture †. And this was reclining on couches

(a) Luke vii. 37, 38.

\* Buxtorf. *Dissertationes philolog. theolog.* dissert. vi. de Cænæ Domin. primæ ritibus et formâ.

† Vid. Buxtorf. *ubi supra*, §. xxxii, — xl. p. 306, — 309. et Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr. in Matt.* xxvi. 20.

couches after the manner of the Romans \*, the upper part of the body resting upon the left elbow, and the lower lying at length upon the couch. When two or three reclined on the same couch, some say the worthiest or most honourable person lay first, Lightfoot says in the middle †. The next in dignity lay with his head reclining on the breast or bosom of the first; as John is said to have done on the bosom of Jesus at supper (a). And hence is borrowed the phrase of Abraham's bosom, as denoting the state of celestial happiness (b). Abraham being esteemed the most honourable person, and the father of the Jewish nation, to be in his bosom signifies in allusion to the order in which guests were placed at an entertainment, the highest state of felicity next to that of Abraham himself.

\* Plutarchi sympos. lib. v. problem. vi. p. 769, 780. edit. Francofurt. 1620. See the Accubitus of the Romans described, with a delineation from some antique marbles, by Hieron. Mercurialis, de Arte Gymnast. lib. 1. cap. xi. Amstel. 1672.

† Horæ hebr. Joh. xiii. 23.

(a) John xiii. 23. (b) Luke xvi. 22.



## C H A P. III.

### Of the S A B B A T H.

**T**HE word sabbath, from שַׁבָּת *shabath*, quievit, is used in scripture, in a limited sense, for the seventh day of the week, which by the jewish law was peculiarly consecrated to the service of God; and in a more extensive sense, for other holy days, as for the annual fast or day of atonement on the tenth of the month tizri (*a*); and, in the new testament, the word *σαββατον* is sometimes used for a week: “I fast twice in a week,” “*Νηστευει δις τε σαββα-τε (b)*,” and “*μια σαββατων*” signifies the first day of the week (*c*). But commonly the word sabbath is peculiarly appropriated to the seventh day.

In the sixth chapter of St. Luke, we read of the *σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον (d)*, the explaining of which has given the critics and commentators not a little trouble. Some alledge there were two sabbaths in the year, each of them called the first, in respect to the two different beginnings of the year, the civil and the sacred.

That

(*a*) Lev. xxiii. 32.      (*b*) Luke xviii. 12.      (*c*) Matt. xxviii. 1.  
 (*d*) Luke vi. 1.

That the Jews had some peculiar regard to the first sabbath in the year, appears from a passage in Clemens Alexandrinus; “*εαν μη σεληνη φανη, σαββατον εκ αγουσι το λεγομενον, πρωτον* \*.” *Nisi luna appareat, sabbatum non celebrant quod primum dicitur, &c.* Now as their year had two different beginnings, one with the month tizri in autumn, the other with the month nisan in spring, there were consequently two first sabbaths; of which this, according to the computation of the civil year, was the second, and is therefore called *δευτεροπρωτον*, or the second-first sabbath.

Grotius, whose opinion is followed by Dr. Hammond, conceives, that when any of the solemn yearly feasts fell on the sabbath day, that sabbath had a special respect paid to it, and was called *μεγα* or (which Dr. Hammond saith is the same thing) *σαββατον πρωτον*. Now of these prime or first sabbaths there were three in the year, at the passover, at pentecost, and at the feast of tabernacles. The first of them, that is, when the first day of the passover fell on the sabbath day, was called *πρωτοπρωτον σαββατον*, or the first prime sabbath. The second, that is, when the day of pentecost fell on the sabbath, was called *δευτεροπρωτον*, which, he apprehends, was the sabbath here intended †. But as neither Grotius nor Hammond have produced any passage, in which either the word *πρωτοπρωτον* or *τριτοπρωτον* occurs, this interpretation remains doubtful and uncertain. Sir Isaac Newton imagines this *σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον* was the second great day of the feast of the passover: as we call easter day high easter, and its octave low easter,

\* Strom. lib. vi. p. 636. A. edit. Paris. 1741.

† Grotii et Hammondii Annot. in loc.

easter, or low funday, so it seems, St. Luke stiles the feast on the seventh day of the unleavened bread, the second of the two prime sabbaths\*. To this sense Dr. Doddridge objects, that though the seventh day of unleavened bread was to be an holy convocation, yet the law expressly allowed the Jews to dress victuals on it (*a*); and therefore the pharisees could have had no pretence for charging Christ's disciples with breaking the sabbath by their plucking and rubbing the ear of corn on that day, as they did (*b*).

Theophylact †, who is followed by J. Scaliger ‡, Lightfoot §, and Whitby, makes the *σαββατον δευτεροπρωτον* to be the first of the seven sabbaths betwixt the passover and pentecost, or the first sabbath after the second day of unleavened bread, from whence the fifty days to pentecost were computed (*c*). There want only instances of the word *δευτεροδευτερον* being used for the second, and *δευτεροτριτον* for the third of these sabbaths, to confirm this sense beyond dispute. However, though it be not quite free from uncertainty, it seems to stand as fair in point of probability as any of them ||. Thus much for the word sabbath: we proceed to treat of the thing.

It hath been controverted both among Jews and christians, whether the sabbath was first  
insti-

\* Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, p. 154.

(*a*) Exod. xii. 16.      (*b*) Luke vi. 2.

† Comment. in loc.

‡ Scalig. de emendat. temp. lib. vi. p. 557. edit. Colon: Allobr. 1629.

§ Lightfoot, Horæ hebraic. in loc. et in Matt. xii. 1.

(*c*) Lev. xxiii. 15, 16.

|| See Whitby and Doddridge in loc.

instituted immediately after the creation, and given to Adam and Eve in paradise? or, whether the account, of God's blessing the seventh day and sanctifying it, which Moses mentions in connection with God's resting on the seventh day when the work of creation was finished (*a*), is to be understood proleptically, of his appointing that day to be observed as a sabbath, not at that time, but by the Israelites many ages afterwards.

Limborch\*, Le Clerc†, and some other learned men are of the latter opinion. But surely it is more natural to understand this passage as relating to the time in which it is placed in the series of the history, that is, to the first ages of the world, previous to the fall. The chief reason for understanding it proleptically is, that there is no mention of the sabbath afterwards, in the sacred history, till the time of Moses; that is, for about two thousand five hundred years. However, the same argument will hardly be admitted in the case of circumcision, of which there is no express mention in scripture, or however no instance recorded of the observation of it, from the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, to the circumcision of Christ. Nevertheless, as this rite was the sign of the covenant with Abraham and his posterity, and the characteristic of the peculiar people of God, its being constantly observed, cannot reasonably be called in question; especially as the heathen are called "the uncircumcised" in contradistinction to the Israelites, which implies, that it was practised constantly by the latter. The silence of history with respect to the continuance  
of

(*a*) Gen. ii. 3. \* Limborc. Theolog. Christian. lib. v. cap. xxviii. §. vii,—ix. p. 478, 479. edit. Amstel. 1715.

† Clerici Annot. in Gen. ii. 3.

of a rite or custom; well known to have been instituted or adopted, is no argument against such continuance; provided the reason on which the institution was originally grounded; remains the same. It can by no means be concluded, that because there is no express mention of the observation of a sabbath in the patriarchal history, therefore no sabbath was observed in those times. On the contrary; that the sabbath was instituted at the time, to which Moses's relation of the institution of it refers; and was in consequence hereof observed by the patriarchs, is at least probable, from their distinguishing time by weeks of seven days (*a*); for which it is not easy to account on any other supposition, than of some positive divine appointment, there being no ground in nature for such a division\*. The changes and quarters of the moon would not occasion it to be adopted, a lunar month being more than four times seven days, by above a day and an half.

It is a further confirmation of this argument, that all heathen nations, many of whom cannot be supposed to have had any knowledge of the law or history of Moses, divided their time in the same manner as the patriarchs and the Jews did, by weeks of seven days. And it appears by their most ancient writers, Homer and Hesiod in particular, that they accounted one day of the seven more sacred than the rest. Hesiod styles the seventh day the illustrious light of the sun:

Εβδοματη δ' αὐθις λαμπρον φαιος ηελιοιο.

Homer

(*a*) Gen. viii. 10,—12. xxix. 27.

\* See a remarkable passage, to this purpose, of Johannes Philoponus in Witsii Ægypt. lib. iii. cap. ix. §. ii. p. 241, 242.

Homer saith,

Εβδοματη δ' ἡπειτα κατηλυθεν ἱερον ημερα :

then came the seventh day, which is sacred or holy\*.

Now can we suppose, they should all agree in this division of time, unless from a divine institution imparted to our first parents, from whom it was derived by tradition to their posterity.

Some have apprehended, as we have already observed, that “the end of the days,” when Cain and Abel are said to have “brought their offerings to the Lord (a),” means the end or last day of the week, that is, the sabbath-day. But should this expression be thought to signify more probably the end of the year, when the fruits of the earth were ripe; it is not however unlikely that the day, when “the sons of God” are said in the book of Job to come to “present themselves before the Lord (b),” was the sabbath, when pious persons (stiled in Genesis “the sons of God (c),”) assembled for publick worship.

It is further observed by Dr. Kennicott, that when the sabbath is first mentioned in the time of Moses, namely in the sixteenth chapter of the book of Exodus, it is not spoken of as a novel institution, but as one with which the people were well acquainted: “To morrow, saith he, is the holy sabbath to the Lord:” and then he informs them, not of their general duty at such a season, of which they were perfectly apprized, but only how they should act on that day

\* See Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. v. p. 600. edit. Paris. 1641. et Selden. de Jure nat. et gent. lib. iii. cap. xvi.

(a) Gen. iv. 3. (b) Job i. 6. (c) Gen. vi. 2.

day with respect to the manna, which was not to fall on the seventh, as it had done on the six preceding days\*.

Indeed it cannot be supposed that God left the world destitute of so salutary an institution, and consequently that no sabbath was observed, for so many ages as intervened between Adam and Moses. The observation of a sabbath, of some particular season for rest and devotion, is primarily a moral law, or law of nature; certain intervals of respite from business and labour being necessary for the preservation both of our intellectual and corporeal frame; and it being highly reasonable, that those, who are wholly dependent on God, from whom they receive many publick as well as private blessings, should present him not only private, but publick and social worship; which cannot be done unless certain days or times are appointed, when they may assemble for that purpose.

And for this end the blessed God hath been pleased to establish a due proportion of time, namely, one day in seven. "God blessed the seventh day, it is said, and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work, which God created and made." He sanctified it, that is, he separated and distinguished it from the days of the week, setting it apart for the purposes of a sabbath; agreeable to the primary meaning of the verb *קדש* *kadhash*, separavit or consecravit. What is meant by his "blessing the day," may be understood by the opposite phrase, "cursing a day." Both Job (*a*) and Jeremiah (*b*) in the warmth and bitterness of their spirits "curst the day of their birth,"  
that

\* Kennicott's two Dissertations on the tree of life, and oblations of Cain and Abel, dissert. 2. p. 141. Oxford 1747.

(*a*) Job iii. 1, &c.

(*b*) Jer. xx. 14.

that is, wished no favourable or agreeable event might happen on that day, that it might not be a time of rejoicing, but of mourning: "Let the day be darkness; let a cloud dwell upon it; let no joyful voice come therein (a)." The Greeks had their *αποφραδες* \*, and the Romans their dies infausti, that is, certain days, which had been distinguished by some great calamity; on which, therefore, they did not indulge themselves in any mirth or pleasure, and expected no good event to happen to them. Tacitus relates, that the senate, to flatter Nero, decreed, ut dies natalis Agrippinæ inter nefastos esset †. To bless a day on the contrary, is to wish that it may prove happy, and to devote it to joy and pleasure. And by God's blessing the seventh day, we are naturally to understand his appointing it to be a sacred festival, a day not only of rest, but delight, as the sabbath is called by the prophet Isaiah (b); and perhaps it might have a further respect to some happy event, which was afterwards to happen on this day of the week, I mean the resurrection of Christ. For if, as we shall presently make appear to be probable, the jewish sabbath was appointed to be kept the day before the patriarchal sabbath, then the first day of the week, or the christian sabbath, is the seventh day, computed from the beginning of time, and the same with the sabbath instituted, and observed by the patriarchs, in commemoration of the work of creation.

Thus much with respect to the patriarchal sabbath: As to the jewish we shall consider

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1st, The

\* Lucian. Pseudologista seu *περι της Αποφραδος*, præsertim ab init. cum not. Cognati in loc. Etiam Lexico. Constantini in voc. *Αποφραδες ημεραι*. (a) Job iii. 4, 5, 7.

† Annal. lib. xiv. §. xii. p. 289, edit. Glasg. 1743.

(b) Isai. lviii. 13.

1st, The institution of it :

2dly, The duties that belonged to it : And

3dly, The design and end of it.

1st, As to the institution of the jewish sabbath : The first account we have of it is in the sixteenth chapter of the book of Exodus, where the day that God appointed to be kept by the Jews for their sabbath, was marked out by its not raining manna, which it had done for six days before (*a*). The observation of a sabbath was probably not wholly new to the Jews ; it is not likely they had entirely omitted this weekly day of rest and devotion. Nevertheless the manner of keeping the sabbath by a total cessation from labour, and the particular day on which it was to be kept by the Jews, seems to have been a new institution ; otherwise, as to the day, there would have been no occasion for its being so particularly marked out by Moses, as the reason of there being a double quantity of manna on the sixth day (*b*), for it must have immediately occurred to the people, that it was intended for their provision on the sabbath, if the next day had been the sabbath in course. And the expression which Moses useth is remarkable, “ See, or take notice, for that the Lord hath given you the sabbath, (as if this day were then first appointed to them,) therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days (*c*).” And it seems to have been too trivial a circumstance to be recorded in the sacred history, that the people “ rested on the seventh day (*d*),” if this had been merely what they and their fathers had always done.

It

(*a*) Exod. xvi. 23,—26.

(*b*) See verses 23, 25.

(*c*) ver. 29.

(*d*) ver. 30.

It moreover appears, that that day week, before the day, which was thus marked out for a sabbath by its not raining manna, was not observed as a sabbath. On the fifteenth day of the second month they journeyed from Elim, and came at night into the wilderness of Sin (*a*); where, on their murmuring for want of provisions, the Lord that night sent them quails; and the next morning, which was the sixteenth day, it rained manna, and so for six days successively; on the seventh, which was the twenty-second, it rained none, and that day they were commanded to keep for their sabbath; and if this had been the sabbath in course, according to the paradisaical computation, the fifteenth must have been so too, and would have been doubtless kept as a sabbath, and not have been any part of it spent in marching from Elim to Sin.

Again, that the jewish sabbath was on a different day from the paradisaical is probable, from its being appointed as a sign between God and the people of Israel, by observing which they were to know or acknowledge Jehovah as their God (*b*). Agreeable to which is the opinion of the jewish doctors, that the sabbath was given to Israelites, and none else were bound to observe it. But how could it be a sign between God and the people of Israel, more than any other people, if it had been merely the old paradisaical sabbath, which had been given to all mankind?

The jewish sabbath being declared to be instituted as a memorial of their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this being super-

L 2

added

(*a*) ver. 1.      (*b*) Exod. xxxi. 13, 17. Ezek. xx. 20.

added to the reason for keeping the ancient paradisaical sabbath, makes it highly probable it was appointed to be on a different day; otherwise how could it be a memorial of a new event, or with what propriety could it be said, as it is, that because God “had brought them out of the land of Egypt, therefore he commanded them to keep the sabbath day (a)?” Some learned men have endeavoured to compute that the jewish sabbath was appointed on the same day of the week, on which they left Egypt; or rather, on which their deliverance was completed by the overthrow of Pharoah in the red-sea; but whether that computation can be clearly made out, or not, this new reason assigned for keeping the sabbath, makes it very likely that it was so.

To the foregoing arguments it is replied,

1st, That the Israelites had probably lost the ancient sabbath during their slavery in Egypt, if not before\*; for that it cannot be thought their egyptian task-masters would suffer them to rest from their labours one day in every week; and that therefore the sabbath having been laid aside or forgot, the institution of the jewish sabbath, was only, by a new order, reviving the ancient sabbath.

But to this it may be answered, That if the Israelites had forgot the original sabbath, God certainly had not; and it is very improbable he would have commanded them to travel from Elim to Sin on the day he had consecrated to sacred rest, before he had either repealed the law of the sabbath, or declared his will that any alteration should be made in it. For the children

(a) Compare Exod. xx. 11. and Deut. v. 15.

\* This was the opinion of Philo, de vitâ Mosis, p. 491, E. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

dren of Israel never journeyed, but at the command of God (*a*).

Again, it is not probable, the Egyptians would be so blind to their own interest, as by subjecting the Israelites to excessive and incessant labour, to wear out and destroy their constitutions \*. It is more likely, they allowed them a weekly day of rest, as is allowed by their masters to the negroes in the West-Indies, more for the sake of their health, than out of any regard to religion.

But if there is reason to believe, that the Egyptians themselves observed the ancient paradisaical sabbath, it is still more probable they would allow the Israelites to do the same; and as the Egyptians and other heathens received the law of the sabbath by tradition from Noah and Adam, it is reasonable to suppose they kept the day of the week originally appointed; for what should alter it as long as men measured their time by a regular succession of weeks, but a new divine institution?

It is a very probable conjecture, that the day which the heathens in general consecrated to the worship and honour of their chief god the sun, which according to our computation was the first day of the week, was the ancient paradisaical sabbath. What, but the tradition of a divine institution, should induce them to consecrate that day to their principal deity, and to esteem it more sacred than any other?

The reason perhaps for God's changing the day might be to take off the Israelites more effectually from concurring with the Gentiles in their idolatrous worship of the sun. For the

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same

(*a*) Exod. xiii. 21. Numb. ix. 18.

\* See Selden de jure nat. et gent. lib. iii. cap. xiii. oper. vol. 1. tom. 1. p. 344.

same reason, as the heathens begun their sabbath, and other days, from the sun-rising, the Israelites are ordered to begin their sabbath from the sun-setting (*a*): “from evening to evening shall ye celebrate your sabbath.” As the worshippers of the sun adored towards the east, the point of the sun’s rising, God ordered the most holy place, in which were the sacred symbols of his presence in the tabernacle and temple, and towards which the people were to worship, to be placed to the west.

2dly, It is objected, that the paradisaical sabbath was appointed to be kept on the seventh day; and so, in the fourth commandment, was the jewish; and they are supposed, therefore, to have been kept on the same day. But this consequence will not follow from the premises. It is by no means certain, that the seventh day of the jewish week coincided with the seventh of the paradisaical. For upon their migration out of Egypt, God appointed the Israelites a quite new computation of time. The beginning of the year was changed from the month Tizri to the opposite month Abib (*b*); and the beginning of the day from the morning to the evening; for whereas the fifteenth day of the month, on which they departed from Egypt, was reckoned to be the morrow after the evening in which they eat the passover, that is, on the fourteenth day (*c*),- they were, for the time to come, to compute their days, at least their sabbaths, from evening to evening; by this means the fifteenth day was changed into the fourteenth, and the seventh into the sixth; and the

(*a*) Lev. xxiii. 32.      (*b*) Exod. xii. 2.      (*c*) Numb. xxxiii. 3. compared with Exod. xii. 6.

the change of the sabbath made a change likewise of the beginning of the week, it always beginning the next day after the sabbath, which was still the seventh day of the week, or the seventh in respect of the preceding six of labour, though not the seventh from the beginning of time.

We may further observe, that the law of the sabbath is limited, not only to the people of Israel, but to the duration of their state and polity. “Thy children shall observe the sabbath throughout their generations (*a*):” that is, as long as their political constitution should endure, to the days of the Messiah; so long the sabbath was to be kept for a “perpetual covenant” without interruption, and was to be a “sign between God and the children of Israel for ever (*b*),” or while they were his peculiar people, and only visible church in the world. In the same sense the priesthood of Aaron and his sons is called an everlasting priesthood (*c*); and God promised that he would give to the seed of Abraham all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession (*d*).

This law or institution of the sabbath was enforced by the threatening of capital punishment to such as violated it: “Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death; and whoever doth any work thereon, that soul shall surely be cut off from among his people (*e*).” These two clauses of the threatening are generally understood in the following manner: the first, as referring to any open violation of the sabbath; which was to be punished by the magistrate

L 4

with

(a) Exod. xxxi. 16.

(b) ver. 17.

(c) Exod.

xl. 15.

(d) Gen. xvii. 8.

(e) Exod. xxxi. 14.

with death, but it was not yet declared by what kind of death. Accordingly a person being afterwards convicted of this crime, he was put in ward, “because it was not declared what should be done to him (a).” And God being afresh consulted on this occasion, it was now determined the execution for this offence should be by stoning (b). The second clause of the threatening, “that soul shall be cut off from among his people,” is commonly supposed to relate to secret violations of the sabbath, of which there being no witnesses, they could not be punished by the magistrate; and therefore they should be punished by the immediate hand of God. The same phrase is used concerning the punishment of incestuous and unlawful conjunctions, which are generally practised secretly, and therefore can be punished by none but God (c).

Thus much for the institution of the jewish sabbath. We now proceed

2dly, To consider the duties that belonged to it; which are to remember to keep it holy, to abstain from all work and worldly business on that day, and to sanctify it.

The first duty of the sabbath is to remember to keep it holy (d); which may import two things.

1st. The commemoration of blessings formerly received. And

2dly. Preparing themselves for the due observance of it.

1st. The word “remember” hath naturally a retrospect to those former blessings, which they were particularly to recollect and commemorate

(a) Numb. xv. 34.  
xviii, 29.

(b) ver. 35.

(d) Exod. xx. 8.

(c) See Lev.

morate on the sabbath. And they were chiefly two, God's creating the world, and his delivering their nation from bondage in Egypt. The first was a blessing common to the Jews and the rest of mankind; and is accordingly assigned as the reason of God's appointing a sabbath to be kept by Adam and all his posterity (*a*). This reason, therefore, for the observation of the sabbath was not peculiar to the Jews, but common to them and all others, on whatever day it was kept. But besides this reason mentioned in the book of Exodus, on occasion of the institution of the Jewish sabbath (*b*), there was a further reason assigned in the book of Deuteronomy (*c*) which was peculiar to themselves; namely, their deliverance from their bondage in the land of Egypt.

2dly. To "remember the sabbath, to keep it holy," may further imply, that they should not forget to prepare themselves beforehand for the right observance of it. The sabbath began at six, the preparation at three o'clock in the afternoon, and then they got every thing in readiness, for which they had occasion, and the procuring or providing which was prohibited on the sabbath, or inconsistent with the strictness which the law required on that holy day. The whole preceding day, according to Godwin, was a kind of preparation, which, faith he, will appear by the particulars then forbidden: First, on this day they might go no more than three paras; ten of which a man might go in an ordinary day: Secondly, judges might not sit in judgment upon life and death: Thirdly, all sorts of artificers were forbidden to work, three only excepted, shoemakers, taylor, and scribes

(*a*) Gen. ii. 3.

(*b*) Exod. xx. 11.

(*c*) Deut. v. 15.

scribes, who were allowed to employ themselves during half the time allotted for preparation, the two former in repairing apparel, the last in getting ready to expound the law\*.

It was usual to give notice of the approach of the sabbath, by blowing the trumpet from some high place †. Rhenferd concludes that the מוסף השבת *mussak hassabath*, or, as our version renders it, the covert for the sabbath, which king Ahaz took away from the temple (*a*), was some kind of watch tower, from the top of which the priests used to proclaim in this manner the approach of the sabbath ‡. But it may as well signify a canopy, under which the king used to sit in the court or porch of the temple on the sabbath-day; which Ahaz probably took away, to express his contempt of the sabbath, and his not intending to come to the temple any more.

The second duty of the sabbath was to abstain from all manner of work or business; from the labour of their trades and callings (*b*), buying and selling (*c*), carrying burthens (*d*), and travelling. The law enjoins, that “no man should go out of his place on the sabbath-day (*e*);” which could not be meant to confine them to their houses, since the sabbath was to be celebrated by a holy convocation (*f*), or by the peoples assembling for publick worship. It can only therefore be understood as forbidding them to travel any further than was necessary for that purpose; how far that might be, the law

\* Concerning the preparation for the sabbath, see Buxtorfii Synag. judaic. cap. xv.

† Maimon. in tract. Sabbath, cap. 5. §. 18, 19. Leusden. Philolog. hebræo-mixt. Dissert. xxxvi. sub fin.

(*a*) 2 Kings xvi. 18.

‡ Vid. Rhenferd. opus philolog. dissert. xviii.

(*b*) Exod. xxxi. 15. (c) Nehem. x. 31. (d) Jer. xvii. 21. (e) Exod. xvi. 29. (f) Lev. xxiii. 3.

law does not determine ; but leaves it to every one's discretion, according as the synagogue or place of worship, when the Jews came to be settled in Canaan, might be nearer or more remote. But the rabbies, the expounders of the law, have fixed it at two thousand cubits\*, or about two thirds of an english mile. This they ground, partly, on Joshua's appointing the space of two thousand cubits between the ark and the people, when they marched into Canaan (*a*) ; and partly, on two thousand cubits being assigned for the suburbs of the cities of the Levites all around them (*b*) ; beyond which, say they, it was not lawful for them to travel on the sabbath-day. The chaldee paraphrase † says, “ Naomi said unto Ruth, we are commanded to keep the sabbath and good days, and not to go about two thousand cubits.” The same measure is assigned in the babylonish talmud ‡. This, in all probability, was the distance of mount Olivet from Jerusalem, it being said (*d*) to be a sabbath-day's journey §.

Again, the Jews were forbid “ doing and finding their own pleasure on the sabbath ;” which, I conceive, is to be understood of recreations and diversions ; and “ speaking their own words,” that is, talking about worldly matters, making bargains, &c. (*e*)

They

\* Vid. Meyer. de temporibus et festis diebus Hebræor. part. ii. cap. ix. §. xxxix, xl. p. 188, 190. Hottinger. Juris Hebræor. leges, leg. xxiv. p. 32.—34. Lightfoot, Horæ Hebraic. in Luc. xxiv. 50. et Act. x. 12.

(*a*) Josh. iii. 4. (*b*) Numb. xxxv. 5. † On Ruth i. 16.

‡ Cod. Gnerubin, fol. 48. 1. et fol. 51. 1. Vid. Meyer. Hottinger. et Lightfoot ubi supra. (*d*) Acts i. 12.

(*e*) Isa. lviii. 13. § See Voightii Dissert. de viâ Sabbathi, et Waltheri Dissert. de itinere Sabbathi, in Act. i. 12. pud Thesaur. theolog. philolog. tom. 2. p. 417, et seq. p. 423, et seq. Amstel. 1702.

They were likewise forbid kindling fires in their habitations on the sabbath-day (*a*). This law it is supposed was not intended to prohibit their having fires on the sabbath, to keep them warm in cold weather, but only to dress their meat, or for any other work. They were to dress their victuals for the sabbath the day before, that no servile labour, or as little as possible, might be done on the day itself, and that their servants might rest as well as themselves (*b*). Nay, the sabbatical rest was ordered to extend even to the beasts of labour; they were not to be set to work on that day (*c*). The ancient doctors inculcated the rest of the sabbath with a very superstitious rigour, forbidding even all acts of self-defence on that day, though assaulted by their enemies. Upon this principle a thousand Jews suffered themselves to be slain on the sabbath, not making the least resistance, in the beginning of the maccabean wars (*d*). Upon which Matathias and his followers, reflecting, that if they went on to act upon this principle, they must all be destroyed in like manner, decreed, upon a full debate of the matter, that for the future, if they were assaulted on the sabbath, they should defend themselves, and it was lawful for them so to do (*e*). However, though they would defend themselves against a direct attack, they would do nothing to hinder the enemies works: which Pompey observing, as he was besieging Jerusalem in favour of Hyrcanus against his brother Aristobulus, ordered that no assault should be made on  
the

(*a*) Exod. xxxv. 3.      (*b*) Exod. xvi. 23.      (*c*) Exod. xx. 10.  
 (*d*) 1 Mac. ii. 31,—38. Joseph. lib. xii. cap. vi. §. 2. p. 612. edit. Haverc.      (*e*) ver. 39,—41. Joseph. ubi supra, et §. 3.

the sabbath, but that the day should be employed by his army in carrying on their works, such as filling up the ditches with which the temple was fortified, placing their battering engines, &c. by which means he took the city, and brought the Jews under subjection to the Romans, who at length took away both their place and nation\*. Thus their traditionary precepts, by which, in many cases, they made void the law of God, proved in the end to be one means of their utter destruction.

Nevertheless, the modern or rabbinical doctors have regarded the rest of the sabbath, if possible, more superstitiously still: they advance thirty-nine negative precepts concerning things not to be done on that day, besides many others which are appendages to them. Two of these may serve as a specimen of the whole: grass might not be walked upon, lest it should be bruised, which is a sort of threshing; and a flea must not be caught, while it hops about, because that is a kind of hunting. They acquaint us also with many positive precepts, which run much in the same strain; that they should put on clean linnen, wear better cloaths than on any other day, eat once in six hours, &c †. But the true key for understanding the law of God concerning the sabbatical rest was given us by our Saviour, when he said, “The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath (a);” it was intended for his benefit,

\* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. iv. §. 2,—4. p. 689. See the story in Prideaux's Connect. part ii. book vi. sub. anno 63. vol. 4. p. 620, 621.

† Munster. in Exod. xx. 2. Mishn. tom 2. tit. Sabbath. Maimon. tract. Sabbath, passim. Leusden. Philolog. hebræo-mixt. Dissert. xxxiv, xxxv. de Sabbatho, præsertim. §. vi. p. 235. edit. 2. and Buxtorf. de Synag. judaic. cap. xv. p. 322. cap. xvi. p. 351,—364. edit. Basil. 1661. (a) Mark ii 27.

fit, for his rest and religious improvement, and not as a yoke of bondage, restraining him from works of necessity or mercy. And this leads to the consideration of

The third duty of the sabbath, which is to “sanctify it (*a*).” It is enquired, what this means? Some would have it to import no more than abstaining from work and labour. Le Clerc contends for this opinion, and alledges in support of it the following passage of Jeremiah, “Neither carry forth a burden out of your houses on the sabbath-day, neither do ye any work, but hallow ye the sabbath-day, as I commanded your fathers (*b*).” Doing no work on the sabbath, and hallowing or sanctifying it are plainly used as expressions of the same import. As for what is called in Leviticus “the holy convocation to be kept on the sabbath (*c*),” he supposes it means what the Greeks call *πανηγυρις*, an assembly for feasting and pleasure\*. Vitringa espouses the same sentiment †. The Jewish doctors are of a contrary opinion; they make the sanctification of the sabbath to consist, not merely in rest and idleness, but in meditation on the wonderful works of God, in the study of the law, and in instructing those who are under them ‡. They tell us further, that the ninety-second psalm was composed by Adam for the devo-

(*a*) Deut. v. 12.      (*b*) Jer. xvii. 22, 24.      (*c*) Levit. xxiii. 3.

\* Clerici Comment. in Exod. xx. 8.

† De Synag. vetere, lib. i. part. ii. cap. ii. especially p. 289,—294. Spencer maintains the same opinion, de Legibus Hebræor. lib. i. cap. v. §. viii,—x. vol. 1. p. 67,—88. edit. Cantab. 1727.

‡ Vid. Meyer. de temporibus et festis, part. ii. cap. ix. §. ix. et seq. p. 197, &c. Christoph. Cartwright. Electa targum. rabbin in Exod. xx. 8.

devotion of this day\*. We shall not insist on the last particular; in other respects their opinion seems to be agreeable to scripture and the reason of things, because,

1st, The word sanctify, applied either to persons or things, usually imports not only the separation of them from common use, but the dedication of them to the more immediate service of God. To sanctify the sabbath therefore, according to the true import of the word, is not only to refrain from common business, but to spend the day in the peculiar service of God, or in religious exercises and acts of devotion.

2dly, Double sacrifices being appointed to be offered on the sabbath (*a*), is an intimation that it was intended to be a day of extraordinary devotion.

3dly, The מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ mikre kodhesh, or holy convocations to be held on the sabbath (*b*), are most naturally to be understood of assemblies for religious worship; as in the following passage of Isaiah, “The Lord will create upon every dwelling-place of mount Zion, and upon her assemblies, מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ mikre kodhesh, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night (*c*).

4thly, That such religious assemblies were anciently held on the sabbath is argued from the Shunamite’s husband enquiring of her why she wanted to go to the prophet’s house when it was neither new moon nor sabbath (*d*)? Which seems to imply, that it was customary to go to his house on sabbath-days, and it may reasonably be  
sup-

\* See the title of this psalm in the Chaldec Paraphrase.

(*a*) Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.

(*b*) Lev. xxiii. 3.

(*c*) Isai. iv. 5. See above. p. 49.  
iv. 23.

(*d*) 2 Kings

supposed to be for the sake of religious worship performed there, when probably the prophet preached for the instruction of the people.

This may likewise be inferred with great probability from the following passage of the Acts, “Moses of old time \*, hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath-day (a).”

5thly, We may argue with Manasseh Ben-Israel, that as idleness is usually productive of a great deal of evil, if the institution of the sabbath had been merely to render people idle one day in the week, it would have been very hurtful instead of beneficial †.

Upon the whole we conclude, that the sabbath was to be sanctified by acts of devotion, and especially by meeting together in solemn assemblies for public worship. Of this opinion is Josephus, who mentions it as an excellent institution of Moses, that, not thinking it sufficient for the Israelites to hear the law once or twice or oftener, he commanded them every week, to lay aside all worldly business, and to assemble in publick to hear the law read and expounded ‡. Philo saith much the same thing §.

3dly, In the last place, we are to consider the ends for which the sabbath was instituted, which were partly political, and partly religious.

1st, There

\* Γενεων αρχαιων, from ancient generations or the first ages, Vid. Marekii Syllog. dissertat. philolog. theolog. Exercitat. xvi. §. vii. p. 454, 455. Rotterod. 1721.

(a) Acts xv. 21.

† Manass. Conciliat. in Exod. Quest. 35. See the passage at large in Cartwright, ubi supra.

‡ Joseph. contra Appion. lib. ii. §. 17. p. 483. See also Antiq. lib. xvi. cap. ii. §. 4. p. 788. edit. Haverc.

§ Philo in Vit. Mosis lib. iii. p. 529, 530. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

1st, There is a political end assigned for this institution; namely, that the beasts of burden, as well as servants and other labouring people might be refreshed by resting one day in seven, which would be a means of recruiting their vigour and preserving their health: "That thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid and the stranger may be refreshed (a)." Some of the Jewish doctors, by the servants that were to rest on the sabbath-day, understand only such as were circumcised. Uncircumcised slaves, they say, might work on the sabbath, as an Israelite might on any other day\*. Whereas the weekly rest, extending to the labouring beast, surely much more included all labouring servants, of whatever religious denomination: By the way, this may suggest a good reason, why the civil magistrate, whose province is not religion, but merely the civil weal, should nevertheless maintain the observation of the sabbath, because a weekly day of rest is evidently conducive to the civil and national welfare.

2dly, The religious reason for this institution was twofold; partly, to keep up a thankful remembrance of blessings already received; and partly, to be a means of their obtaining and enjoying future and heavenly blessings.

The blessings already received, of which the sabbath was instituted to be a memorial, were chiefly two, their creation, and their deliverance from bondage in Egypt.

1st, It was appointed to be kept in memory of God's creating the world, which is the rea-  
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(a) Exod. xxiii. 12.

\* Maimon. de Sabbato, cap. xx. §. 14. See Ainsworth on Exod. xx. 10.

son assigned for the first institution (*a*), because “on the seventh day God ended his work, which he had made,” or as the word **וַיַּכַּל** *vaichal*, should rather be rendered, “he had ended his work,” for he did not work on the seventh day; it follows, “he rested on the seventh day from all his works which he had made, and blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it he had rested from all his work.” This, however, is not to be understood of his ceasing from any further operation and action, the contrary to which our Saviour asserts, “My father worketh hitherto, and I work (*b*),” that is, in preserving, ordering, and governing the world. It is therefore commonly understood to mean, that he ceased from creating any new sorts or species of creatures, so that his power has ever since been exerted only in continuing and increasing the several species which he formed on the first six days. And certain it is, no instance can be given of any new sort or species having been since brought into being. Though various kinds of mules have been produced by creatures of different species, both in the animal and vegetable world, yet such are not to be reckoned distinct species, since none of them ever propagate their kind.

As for God’s resting, we are not to understand it as opposed to toil or weariness; for “the creator of the ends of the earth fainteth not, neither is weary (*c*).” But it merely imports his ceasing to work as he had done for the preceding six days. Thus the word **שַׁבַּת** *shabath*, is used for the manna’s ceasing to fall,

(*a*) Gen. ii. 2, 3.  
xl. 28.

(*b*) John v. 17.

(*c*) Isa.

fall (*a*), and for the Israelites ceasing to be a nation (*b*). Nevertheless, it may probably import likewise, the complacency or delight which he took in the works he had made, which were “all very good;” since in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, God’s resting on the seventh day is expressed by the verb נָח nuach (*c*); the same word which is used for his acceptance of Noah’s sacrifice: “The Lord smelt a favour of rest;” or as we render it, “a sweet favour (*d*),” importing that his thankfulness and devotion, expressed by his sacrifice, were as grateful to God as sweet odours are to us. To preserve therefore, a remembrance of his creating the world in six days, and his resting from his work on the seventh, God instituted a weekly sabbath, commanding men to work six days, and to lay aside all their worldly employments on the seventh. And no doubt the right remembrance of God’s creating power, wisdom and goodness, must include adoration, thankfulness and praise to the great creator.

2dly, The other blessing, which the Jews in particular were to commemorate, was their deliverance out of the egyptian bondage; which is mentioned as the special reason of their being commanded to keep the sabbath (*e*). The learned Mr. Mede endeavours to prove the seventh day of the jewish week, which was appointed for the sabbath, to be the day on which God overthrew Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and thereby compleated the deliverance of his people from the egyptian servitude. And whereas a seventh day had before been kept in memory

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(*a*) Josh. v. 12.      (*b*) Jerem. xxxi. 36.      (*c*) Exod. xx. 11.  
 (*d*) Gen. viii. 21.      (*e*) Deut. v. 15.

of the creation (but to what day of the Jewish week that answered we cannot certainly say,) now God commanded them to observe for the future this day of their deliverance, which was the seventh day of their week, in commemoration of his having given them rest from their hard labour and servitude in Egypt\*. And both these reasons for their observing the sabbath, implied their obligation to observe it with devotion, gratitude and praise.

The other religious end of the sabbath was to be a means of their obtaining and enjoying future and heavenly blessings. This is a principal design of all acts of devotion and worship; such as we have already shewn ought to accompany the observance of the sabbath. The Jews accounted this holy day to be a type of the heavenly rest. On this notion the apostle evidently grounds his discourse in the fourth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews (a). Origen makes the sabbath an emblem of that rest we shall enjoy when we have done our work, so as to have left nothing undone which was our incumbent duty †. In the same manner the Jewish doctors speak of the sabbath. It was a common proverb among them ‡, “Non datum est sabbatum, nisi ut esset typus futuri seculi.” Remarkable to the same purpose are the words of Abarbanel §: Sabbata dixit in plurali numero, quandoquidem præceptum de sabbato non solum designat fundamentalem illum articulum

\* Mede's Diatrib. on Ezek. xx. 10.

(a) Heb. iv. 1,—11.

† Origen. contra Celsum, lib. vi. p. 317. edit. Spencer. Cantab. 1677.

‡ Vid. Buxtorf. Florileg. hebr. p. 299.

§ On Exod. xxxi. 13.

culum de creatione mundi, verum etiam, mundum spirituales, in quo erit vera quies, et vera possessio. Illic vera cessatio erit, ab omnibus operibus et rebus corporeis. Habemus ergo duos sabbata, unum corporale, in memoriam creationis, alterum spirituale, in memoriam immortalitatis animæ et oblectationis post mortem. The Jews, therefore, by no means count the sabbath a burden, but a great blessing; they have it in high veneration, and affect to call it their spouse\*. Leo of Modena tells us that so far are the modern Jews from being inclined to shorten the sabbath, that they make it last as long as possible, prolonging their hymns and prayers not only out of devotion to God, but charity to the souls of the damned, it being a received opinion among them, that they suffer no torments on the sabbath †.

\* Selden. de Jure nat. et gent. lib. iii. cap. x. oper. vol. 1. p. 326, 327. Buxtorf. Synag. judaic. cap. xv. p. 299, 300. edit. Basil. 1661.

† On the subject of the sabbath consult Selden. de Jure nat. et gent. lib. iii. cap. viii. et seq. Capelli Disputatio de sabbatho, apud Comment. et not. critic. in Vet. Test. p. 263, et seq. Amstel. 1689. Spencer. de Leg. Hebr. lib. 1. cap. v. sect. vii, et seq.





## C H A P. IV.

### Of the passover and feast of unleavened bread.

**T**HE jewish festivals were either weekly, as the sabbath ; monthly, as the new moons ; or annual, as the passover, the pentecost, the feast of ingathering or of tabernacles, and the feast of trumpets ; to which we may add, the annual fast, or day of expiation. Besides these, there were others that returned once in a certain number of years ; as the sabbatical year, and the jubilee.

Of the anniversary feasts the three former were the most considerable, the passover, the pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles. At each of these all the males were to appear before the Lord at the national altar (a). The design of this was, partly to unite the Jews among themselves, and to promote mutual love and friendship throughout the nation, by means of the whole body of them meeting together so often : to which the Psalmist seems to refer, when he  
saith,

(a) Exod. xxiii. 14, 17. xxxiv. 22, 23. Deut. xvi. 16.

faith, "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together: whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord (a)." And it was, partly, that as one church, they might make one congregation and join in solemn worship together; for I apprehend the scripture idea of one particular church, is only one worshipping assembly. And it was further, by so large an appearance and concourse of people, to grace these sacred festivals, and add greater solemnity to the worship; and partly, likewise, for the better support of the service and ministers of the sanctuary; for none were to appear before the Lord empty, each person was to bring some gift or present with him, according to his ability, and as God had blessed him (b). Further, as the Jewish sanctuary and service contained in them a shadow of good things to come, and were typical of the gospel-church, this prescribed concourse from all parts of the country to the sanctuary might be intended to typify the gathering of the people to Christ, and into his church, from all parts of the world under the Christian dispensation. Hence the apostle in allusion to these general assemblies of the Israelites on the three grand-feasts, saith, "We are come to the general assembly and church of the first-born (c)."

The law required only the males to appear before the Lord on these solemn occasions. But, though the women were exempted from a necessity of attending, yet they were not excluded if they pleased to do it, and could with convenience;

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nience;

(a) Psal. cxxii. 3, 4.  
(c) Heb. xii. 23.

(b) Deut. xvi. 16, 17.

nience; as appears from the case of Hannah, who used to go with her husband yearly to worship and sacrifice to the Lord of Hosts in Shiloh (*a*): and from the case of the Virgin Mary, who went with her husband Joseph every year at the feast of the passover to Jerufalem (*b*). Mr. Mede assigns three reasons for the women's being exempted from the duty of attending the feasts:

1st, The weakness and infirmity of the sex, they not being able without much trouble and danger to undertake so long a journey from the remote parts of the country.

2dly, The hazard of their chastity in so vast a concourse of people.

3dly, The care of their young children, and other household affairs, which must have been wholly abandoned, if they, as well as the men, had been absent from their houses so long at the same time\*.

To these reasons probably another and more considerable may be added, namely the legal uncleannesses to which they would be liable in so long a journey.

Though the law required all the males to appear before the Lord, in the place he should choose at these three feasts; no doubt it was to be understood with some restriction, it not being likely that young children or decrepid old men could give their attendance †. Mr. Mede ‡ conceives, the law is to be understood of all  
males

(*a*) 1 Sam. i. 3, 7.      (*b*) Luke ii. 41.

\* Mede's Diatrib. Discourse xlvii. on Deut. xvi. 16. Works, p. 261.

† These, among others, are expressly excepted, Mishn. tit. Chagigah, cap. 1. §. 1. tom. 2. p. 413. edit. Surenhus. See also the Gemara in loc.

‡ Mede, ubi supra.

males within the age of service, from twenty to fifty years old; for at fifty all were emeriti, even the priests and levites serve not after that age; but as to the age at which persons entered on service, that was different; the priests might not serve before thirty, nor the levites before twenty-five; but the laity were capable of employment at twenty; as appears from a passage in Numbers, where God commands Moses “to take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upwards, all that were able to go forth to war (a).” But if, according to the rabbies, children came under the obligation of the law, when they were twelve years old, this perhaps was the age of their attendance at these festivals. Which opinion is somewhat countenanced by the history of Jesus going with his parents to Jerusalem at the passover, when he was twelve years old (b). But I take the more probable opinion to be, that all the males meant all that were capable of taking the journey\*, and of attending the feast; which some were able to do sooner and some later in life; and therefore by the law no age was fixed, but it was left to be determined by every one’s prudence and religious zeal; only none might absent themselves without sufficient reason.

There are yet two difficulties, which have been started concerning this law. One is, how Jerusalem could contain such multitudes as flocked from all parts of Judea to these solemnities. The other is, how the Israelites could

(a) Numb. i. 3.  
hebraic. in loc.

(b) Luke ii. 42. Lightfoot. Hor.

\* Vid. Mishn. ubi supra.

could leave their towns and villages destitute of men, without the greatest danger of being invaded and plundered by their neighbouring enemies.

As to the former question, it may as well be asked, how it is possible for Bath and Tunbridge to contain such multitudes as flock to them in their seasons. For, as at those places there are great numbers of lodging houses, much larger than are requisite for the accommodation of the families that constantly inhabit them; so it was doubtless at Jerusalem, to which there were every year three stated seasons of concourse from all parts of the country. It is probable, that most families let lodgings at those times. The man, at whose house our Saviour eat his last passover with his disciples, had a "guest chamber," or a room which he spared on these occasions (*a*). Or if this be not sufficient to remove the difficulty, it is an easy supposition that many might be entertained in tents erected on these occasions; as the mohammedan pilgrims are at Mecca, to which many thousands resort at a certain time of the year.

As to the other difficulty concerning the danger of leaving their towns and villages without any men to guard them, we need not have recourse to the conjecture advanced by some, that this obligation on all the males was only during their abode in the wilderness, when their nearness to the tabernacle easily admitted of their attendance. If that had been the case, Jeroboam need not have set up the golden calves at Dan and Bethel, to deliver the ten tribes from going up to Jerusalem to worship (*b*).  
Beside,

(*a*) Luke xxii. 11.

(*b*) 1 Kings xii. 27, 28.

Beside, there are sufficient instances in the Jewish history, to shew that this practice was continued till after our Saviour's time. Thus we are informed in the Acts, that there were multitudes of Jews, out of every nation under heaven, come to Jerusalem at the feast of pentecost (*a*). *Κατοικηυτες*, which our version renders "dwelling" at Jerusalem, should, in this place be rendered "abiding," that is, during the time of the festival. *Κατοικησις* is used by St. Mark for a place of transient abode, and not a fixed and settled habitation (*b*).

Nor need we suppose with others, that they only sent a certain proportion of men, as one in ten or twelve, to Jerusalem, to be as it were the representatives, and offer the gifts, of the rest, while they kept the feasts in their own towns. Nor need we, again, suppose with others, that since there was a divine permission granted to those, who were unable to celebrate the passover in the first month, to do it in the second (*c*); the same indulgence might probably extend to the other festivals; and so one half of the males might stay at home and guard the country and their houses, while the other half went to the sanctuary; and those who thus remained behind might celebrate the festival in the next month.

We need, I say, none of these suppositions and conjectures, since God himself had expressly undertaken to guard their habitations and substance, by his special providence, while the men were absent to celebrate the sacred festivals: "Neither shall any man desire thy land,"  
it

(*a*) Acts ii. 5.  
ix. 10, 11.

(*b*) Mark v. 3.

(*c*) Numb.

it is said, “when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year (a).”

This is, by the way, a very remarkable instance of the sovereign and absolute power, which God exercises over the hearts and spirits of men. Accordingly we find not in the whole scripture history, that any such evil ever befell the Israelites on these occasions; insomuch that though in many other cases they were backward in believing God’s promises; yet at these seasons they would leave their habitations and families without the least apprehension of danger.

Having thus considered a circumstance, which was common to the three grand anniversary feasts, we are now to treat of the first of them, namely, the passover.

Of the institution of this festival we have an account in the twelfth chapter of the book of Exodus. It is called in the hebrew פסחא pascha, from פסח pasach, transit. In the greek it is called πασχα, but not from the verb πασχω, patior, to suffer, on account of Christ’s having suffered at the time of this feast, according to the illiterate supposition of Chrysofom, Irenæus and Tertullian. Chrysofom saith, Πασχα λεγεται, οτι τοτε επαθεν ο Χριστος υπερ ημων: Pascha dicitur, quia Christus illo tempore pro nobis passus est\*. Irenæus saith, A Moyse ostenditur Filius Dei, cujus et diem passionis non ignoravit, sed figuratim pronunciavit, eum pascha nominans †. Tertullian, Hanc solemnitatem—præcanebat (sc. Moyfes) et adjecit, Pascha esse Domini, id est,

(a) Exod. xxxiv. 24.

\* Homil. v. in 1 Tim.

† Iren. adversus hæres. lib. iv. cap. xxiii. p. 309. edit. Grabii, Oxon. 1702.

est, passionem Christi\*. But the greek word *πασχα* is derived from the chaldee פסחא pascha†, which answers to the hebrew פסח pefach; and the festival was so called, not from its being prophetic or typical of Christ's sufferings, but from God's passing over, and leaving in safety the houses of the Israelites, on the doorposts of which the blood of the sacrificed lamb was sprinkled, when he slew the first born in all the houses of the Egyptians. This etymology of the name is expressly given in the book of Exodus, "It is the sacrifice of the Lord's passover," פסח אשר פסח, who passed by, or leaped over, the houses of the Israelites (a). So that our english word passover well expresses the true import of the original פסח pefach or פסחא pascha.

Concerning the passover we shall consider,

1st. The time when it was to be kept.

2dly, The rites with which it was to be celebrated.

3dly, The signification of these rites.

1st. The time, when this feast was to be celebrated, is very particularly expressed in Leviticus, "In the fourteenth day of the first month, at even, is the Lord's passover (b):" Wherein is remarked the month, the day, and the time of the day.

1st. The month. It is called the first month, that is, of the ecclesiastical year, which commenced

\* Tertullian adversus Judæos, cap. x. sub fin. p. 197. A. edit. Rigalt. Paris. 1675.

† Philo in vitâ Mosis, lib. iii. p. 531. A. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613. το χαλδαισι λεγομενον πασχα. In his treatise de Decalogo he saith, ην (sc. εορτη) Εβραιοι πατριω γλωσση πασχα προσαγορευουσιν. p. 591. C.

(a) Exod. xii. 27. (b) Lev. xxiii. 5.

menced with the Israelites flight out of Egypt (*a*). This month had two names Abib (*b*), and Nisan (*c*). It is called Abib, that is, the earing month, or the month of new corn; for Abib signifies a green or new ear of corn, such as was grown to maturity, but not dried or fit for grinding. In the second chapter of Leviticus the offering of the first fruits is called Abib, and it is ordered to be dried by the fire, in order to its being beaten or ground into flour (*d*); and in the ninth chapter of Exodus, the barley is said to be smitten with hail, because it was Abib (*e*), that is, in the ear. Hence the septuagint translates Abib, wherever it is used for the name of a month, *μηνὰ τῶν νέων*, understanding, no doubt, *καρπῶν*. So the vulgate also renders it, *mensis novarum frugum*.

The other name, Nisan, is derived by some from *נִסַּן* nus, fugere; and so it signifies the month of flight, namely, of the Israelites out of Egypt. Others derive it from *נִסַּן* nes, vexillum, or *נִסַּן* nafas, vexillum tulit; and so it signifies the month of war, when campaigns usually began. Perhaps “the time when kings go forth to battle,” a phrase used in the second book of Samuel (*f*), may only be a periphrasis for the month Nisan. Thus the Romans called this month Martius, quasi mensis Marti facer: the Bithynians stiled the two first spring-months *σπαρτεῖος* and *απεῖος*, from *Απῆς* Mars, the god of war\*. But there are others, who derive it from the arabic and syriac word *נִסַּן* nus, conturbatus est, because it is usually a stormy month.

Second,

(*a*) Exod. xii. 2.      (*b*) Exod. xiii. 4:      (*c*) Nehem. ii. 1. Esth. iii. 7.      (*d*) Lev. ii. 14. eng. 13. heb.      (*e*) Exod. ix. 31.      (*f*) 2 Sam. xi. 1.      \* Bochart. Hieroz. lib. ii. cap. 1. oper. tom. 2. p. 557, 558. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1712.

Secondly, As to the day of the month, when this feast was to begin, it was ordered to be on the fourteenth at even, at which time the paschal lamb was to be killed and eaten, and from thence the feast was to be kept seven days, till the twenty first (a). Sacrifices, peculiar to this festival, were to be offered on each of the seven days; but the first and last, namely, the fifteenth and the twenty-first, were to be sanctified above all the rest, as sabbaths, by abstaining from all servile labour and holding a holy convocation (b); especially the seventh, or last day, was called *חַג לַיהוָה* chag Laiovah, “a feast unto the Lord,” *κατ’ ἐξοχὴν* (c), and *עֲצֵרֶת לַיהוָה* gnatsereth Laiovah, which we render “a solemn assembly (d);” but *עֲצֵרֶת* gnatsereth, from *עָצַר* gnatfar, clausit vel cohibuit, rather signifies a restraint from all worldly business and servile labour.

The reason of the first and seventh day being thus peculiarly consecrated above the rest, is by Bochart supposed to be, because the first was the day of the Israelites escape out of Egypt, and the seventh that on which Pharaoh and his army were destroyed in the red sea \*. But the special holiness of the first and the last day being a circumstance common to the feast of tabernacles, as well as the passover (e), for this reason others think it was intended to signify in general, that we should persevere in the diligent prosecution of the business of religion to the end of our lives, and instead of growing more  
remiss,

(a) Exod. xii. 6, 8, 15. Lev. xxiii. 5, 6. (b) Exod. xii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 7, 8. (c) Exod. xiii. 6. (d) Deut. xvi. 8.

\* Hierozoic. ubi supra, p. 602.

(e) Lev. xxiii. 39. John vii. 37.

remiss, should be the more active and vigorous, the nearer we arrive to the period of our race; to our heavenly rest and reward: agreeable to the exhortation of St. Peter, “Wherefore seeing ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot and blameless (a):” and of the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, “Exhorting one another so much the more, as ye see the day approaching (b).”

Although the whole time of the continuance of this feast is in a more lax sense stiled the passover (c); yet, strictly speaking, the passover was kept only on the evening of the fourteenth day of the month, and the ensuing seven days were the feast of unleavened bread; so called, because during their continuance the Jews were to eat unleavened bread, and to have no other in their houses. This distinction between the passover and the feast of unleavened bread, is made in the second book of Chronicles, “The children of Israel kept the passover, and the feast of unleavened bread seven days (d):” and in the book of Ezra, “The children of the captivity kept the passover upon the fourteenth day of the first month, and kept the feast of unleavened bread seven days with joy (e).”

It is an enquiry, which hath occasioned no little debate, whether Christ kept his last passover at the same time with the rest of the Jews, or one day sooner? Several considerable criticks\* are

(a) 2 Pet. iii. 14.      (b) Heb. x. 25.      (c) John xviii. 39. Luke xxii. 1.  
 (d) 2 Chron. xxxv. 17.  
 (e) Ezra vi. 19, 22.

\* Vid. Grotii Annot. in Matt. xxvi. 18. Scaliger. de Emend. tempor. lib. vi. p. 567, et seq. edit. Colon. Allob. 1629. Casaubon. Exercitat. in Baronii Annales, exerc. xvi. §. xii,

are of opinion, that, for special reasons, he kept it the day before the stated and usual time. This sentiment they ground on several passages of scripture; particularly on the account in the thirteenth chapter of St. John (*a*), of the supper which Christ eat with his disciples, which, if it be, as there is good reason to believe it was, the last supper he eat with them, that is, the passover-supper, it is expressly said to be

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before

§. xii,—xxi. p. 405,—439. edit. Genev. 1655. Cudworth's True notion of the Lord's supper, chap. iii. Saubertus de ultimo Christi Paschate, cap. 1. §. 8,—12. apud Thefaurum theolog. philolog. vol. 2. p. 195, 199. It is remarkable, that these eminent criticks, who all agree that Christ eat the passover on a different day from the Jews, are divided in their opinions concerning the method of accounting for it. Grotius distinguishes between the paschal sacrifice, and a supper commemorative of the passover, and supposes our Saviour celebrated the latter only, before the time prescribed by the law for the paschal sacrifice, which he foresaw his death would prevent his observing. Scaliger and Casaubon apprehend that Christ eat the paschal sacrifice on the day prescribed by the law, but not when the Jews did, they having deferred it, according to their supposed custom when it fell the day before the sabbath, that there might not be two sabbaths together. Cudworth opposes the notions both of Grotius and Scaliger, and makes the ground of this difference of the days to be that our Saviour and his apostles, and divers others of the most religious Jews, regulated the time of their observation of the passover by computing from the true phasis of the moon, and not by the decree of the senate. The opinion of Grotius concerning the ground of this difference of the days, is justly exploded likewise by Leidekker de Republ. Hebræor. lib. ix. cap. iv. p. 551, 552. though he strenuously maintains that the days were different. Leylingius in conformity with the opinion of several other learned men, supposes, that Christ did not celebrate the passover at all, but only his own supper, (Observationes Sacræ, vol. 1. Observ. lii. §. xiv,—xix.) but he is confuted by Harenberg. in his Dissert. on John xviii. 28. §. xxvi. et seq. published in the Thesaurus Novus theologico-philolog.

(a) John xiii. 1, 29.

before the feast of the passover (*a*), that is, before the usual time of keeping it. Again, the disciples imagined their Lord had ordered Judas “to buy those things they had need of against the feast (*b*);” which seems to imply, that although for particular reasons he eat the paschal lamb that evening, nevertheless the time of the feast was not yet arrived.

Another passage alledged in support of this opinion, is in the eighteenth chapter of St. John, where we are informed, that on the day of our Saviour’s crucifixion, which was the day after he had eat the passover, the Jews “would not go into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover (*c*):” which implies, it is said, that they had not yet eat it.

Again, in the nineteenth chapter the same day, that is, the day of our Lord’s crucifixion, is said to be the “preparation of the passover (*d*);” and therefore it is alledged, the passover could not yet be eaten.

Dr. Whitby argues on the opposite side of the question in the following manner\*.

1st, In the twenty sixth chapter of St. Matthew it is said, that on “the first day of unleavened bread the disciples prepared the passover (*e*);” and in the evening Christ eat it with them; and in St. Mark it is observed, that this “was the day on which they, that is, the Jews, killed the passover (*f*).”

2dly, Christ

(*a*) John xiii. 1.      (*b*) ver. 29.      (*c*) John xviii. 28.  
 (*d*) John xix. 14.

\* See his dissertation on this subject, in an Appendix to the fourteenth chapter of St. Mark.

(*e*) Matt. xxvi. 17.      (*f*) Mark xiv. 12.

2dly, Christ says to his disciples, "Ye know that after two days is the feast of the passover (*a*)." Now the feast of the passover and of unleavened bread, is one and the same, or at the same time (*b*). Since, therefore, as hath been just shewn, Christ did not eat the passover till the first day of unleavened bread, it follows that he did not eat it till after those two days, that is, at the time when the disciples knew it was to be eaten according to the law:

3dly, The day following our Saviour's eating the passover was a feast day; for Barabbas, it is said, was released at the feast (*c*). Now the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, in which a holy convocation was held, was the day after eating the passover (*d*).

4thly, As Christ was "made under the law," which continued in full force till after his resurrection, he could not have kept the passover the day before the law prescribed it, without just censure, nor before the rest of the Jews observed it, according to their interpretation of the law, without their censure, which he does not appear to have incurred; nor can it be imagined his disciples would have come to him with that question, "Where wilt thou that we prepare to eat the passover," before the time which the law appointed, or which was usual, for eating it.

5thly, The paschal lamb could not be slain but "in the place which God had chosen, to put his name there (*e*);" that is, in the tabernacle or temple. Now it cannot be supposed,

N 2 that

(*a*) Matt. xxvi. 2. (*b*) Mark xiv. 1. Luke xxii. 1.  
 (*c*) Mat xxvii. 15, 26. Mark xv. 6, 15. (*d*) Lev. xxiii. 4,  
 et seq. (*e*) Deut. xvi. 6.

That the priests would have killed the paschal lamb for Jesus, or suffered it to have been killed in the temple, before the day which the law prescribed, namely, the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, when they killed it for all the people; or before the day, which was observed according to their rules of interpreting the law.

These reasons seem to me to prove unanswerably, that Christ eat the passover at the usual time, when the rest of the Jews did. Let us then enquire, how the passages alledged to the contrary, are to be understood.

1st. Bishop Kidder \*, and the doctors Lightfoot † and Whitby ‡ are of opinion that the supper spoken of in the thirteenth chapter of St. John, was not the passover, but another supper at Bethany some nights before; but the contrary is proved by Dr. Doddridge and Dr. Guyse §. As for the phrase, “Before the feast of the passover (a),” it need only be understood to mean before the feast begun, or before they sat down to supper; and ΔΕΙΠΝΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ, which in our version is, “Supper being ended (b),” may be better rendered, “Supper being come:” Πρωιας γενομενης signifies “when morning was come (c):” ημερας γενομενης “when day was come (d):” σιγης γενομενης, “when silence was made (e).”

As to Judas’s buying things against the feast, it is easy to be understood of the sacrifices, and whatever they would need to celebrate the ensuing festival, or the feast of unleavened bread.

2dly, The

\* Demonst. of the Messiah, chap. 3. p. 60, 61.

† Horæ hebr. Matt. xxvi. 6.

‡ Ubi supra.

§ See Doddridge and Guyse in ver. 1.

(a) ver. 1. (b) ver. 2. (c) John xxi. 4.

(d) Acts xii. 18. xvi. 35. (e) Acts xxi. 40.

2dly, The passage in the eighteenth chapter of St. John, relating to the solicitude which the Jews expressed, not to be defiled on the day of our Lord's crucifixion, in order that they might eat the passover (*a*), may be understood of the sacrifices, which were offered on the feast of unleavened bread, otherwise called the passover.

3dly, As for the παρασκευη το πασχα, or preparation of the passover, spoken of in the nineteenth chapter of St. John (*b*), as being the day of our Lord's crucifixion, it signifies the preparation for the paschal sabbath, or the sabbath which fell in the paschal week, and was observed with some peculiar solemnity; for it was esteemed to be, as it is expressly stiled (*c*), "an high day," or the great day of the feast\*.

Thirdly, As to the time of the day, when the passover was to be killed and eaten, it was בין הערבִים bein hangnarbaim, "betwixt the two evenings (*d*);" which means the after part of the day, as appears from the use of the same phrase in the twenty eighth chapter of the book of Numbers, where it stands opposed to the

N 3

morn-

(*a*) John xviii. 28. (*b*) John xix. 14. (*c*) ver. 31.

\* Among those who maintain that our Saviour kept the passover at the same time with the Jews, see Bochart. Hieroz. lib. ii. cap. 1. oper. tom. 2. p. 560,—571. edit. 4. Lugd. Bat. 1712. Baigne in his history of the Jews, lib. v. cap. x. §. xliv. p. 437. Frischmuthi Dissertat. in Matt. xxvi. 2. apud Thesaur. Theolog. philolog. tom. 2. p. 189. Harenbergi Dissertat. in Joh. xviii. 28. apud Thesaur. Nov. theolog. philolog. tom. 2. p. 538. Reland. Antiq. pars iv. cap. iii. §. ix. ad ult. p. 467,—472. edit. 3. 1717. Bynæus, de Morte Christi, lib. 1. cap. 1. §. 19, —32. p. 24,—65. edit. Amstel. 1691. hath represented the arguments on both sides. See also Witsii Meletem. Dissert. xi. and Leusden. Philolog. hebræo-mixt. Dissert. xxxviii. de Paschate. Quæst. v. (*d*) Exod. xii. 6.

morning: "One lamb shalt thou offer in the morning, and the other lamb shalt thou offer at evening (a)." But what part or hour of the afternoon is intended by it, is disputed betwixt the rabbinists and the karraites.

The rabbinists understand by the first of the two evenings, the time of the sun's beginning to decline from his meridian altitude, which they fix at half an hour after twelve; by the other, the time of his setting. In the same manner the ancient Grecians distinguished betwixt the two evenings, as we learn from a note of Eustatius on the seventeenth book of the *Odyssey*; who saith, that according to the ancients, there are two evenings; one, which they called the latter evening, at the close of the day; the other, the former evening, which commences presently after noon\*. These were the two evenings more generally understood by the Jews in the time of Josephus; for he saith, they killed the paschal lamb from the ninth hour to the eleventh, that is, from our three to five o'clock in the afternoon†.

The karraites understand the first of the two evenings to commence from sun set; before which, according to them, the passover was not to be killed and eaten; and the latter, from the beginning of dark night; so that, in their opinion, "betwixt the two evenings" means in the twilight. Their notion, at least as to the time of eating the passover, seems to be countenanced by the letter of the law in *Deuteronomy*:

(a) Numb. xxviii. 4.

\* Vid. Bochart. *Hierozyic.* part. 1. lib. ii. cap. 1. oper. tom. 2. p. 559. edit. 1712.

† *De Bello judaic.* lib. vi. cap. ix. §. 3. p. 399. edit. Haverc.

my: "Thou shalt sacrifice the passover at evening, at the going down of the sun (*a*)."<sup>1</sup> And in the book of Joshua it is said, that "the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal, and kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month at even (*b*)."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the duration of the twilight at the equinoctial seasons, at one of which the passover was kept, being shorter than at any other time of the year, would hardly afford time sufficient, especially in that climate, for killing, roasting and eating the lamb. It is therefore probable, either that by "sacrificing and keeping the passover" in the forecited text in Deuteronomy, is meant merely the eating of it; or that by "evening and the going down of the sun," is denoted the whole time of its declining from the meridian altitude till sunset\*.

Thus much for the time of this feast.

2dly, Concerning the rites with which it was to be celebrated, we are to observe,

1st, The matter of the paschal feast; which was to be "a lamb without blemish, a male of the first year from the sheep or from the goats (*c*)."<sup>3</sup> The hebrew word פֶּהּ *feh*, which we render lamb, signifies the young either of the sheep or of the goats; which we have no english word, as I remember, to answer. The פֶּהּ *feh*, of the passover might be, what we call, either a lamb or a kid. But as lambs were preferable, being the better food, Theo-

N 4

doret

(*a*) Deut. xvi. 6.

(*b*) Josh. v. 10.

\* On this controversy see Martinii Etymologicum, Buxtorfii Lexic. Biblic. et Bocharti Hierozoic. part. 1. lib. ii. cap. 50. p. 558,—560.

(*c*) Exod. xii. 5.

doret \* hath probably given the just sense of this law, “ he that has a lamb, let him offer it; but if not, let him offer a kid †.” Though our Saviour, therefore, is so often called a lamb, in reference to this ancient type of him, yet he is never called a kid.

The paschal lamb must be a male; which is accounted preferable to a female (*a*). Therefore, though the peace offerings, which were eaten by the people, might be either male or female (*b*); yet the burnt offerings, which were wholly offered to God or consumed upon his altar, and which were therefore the more perfect sacrifices, must be all males (*c*).

Perhaps in this circumstance, as in many others, Jehovah designed to oppose the rites of the Jewish worship to the customs of the idolatrous Gentiles, who esteemed sacrifices of the female kind to be the most valuable, and the most acceptable to their gods: “ In omnibus sacris fœminei generis plus valent victimæ,” says Servius in his notes on Virgil †. We are informed, indeed, by Herodotus, that it was the custom of the Egyptians to offer only males §, which Bochart supposes they borrowed from the Jews ||.

Again,

\* Theodorit. Quæstion. in Exod. Quæst. xxiv. oper. tom. 1. p. 90. B. edit. Paris. 1642.

† Vid. Mishn. tit. Cherithoth, cap. vi. §. 9. cum. not. Bartenor. tom. 5. p. 265.

(*a*) Mal. i. 14.      (*b*) Levit. iii. 6.      (*c*) Levit. i. 3, 10.

‡ Serv. in Æneid. viii. v. 641. Other proofs may be seen in Bochart. Hieroz. part. i. lib. ii. cap. xxxiii. oper. tom. 2. p. 322.

§ Herodot. Euterp. cap. 41. p. 104. edit. Gronov.

|| Ubi supra, p. 321. et cap. 1. p. 584.

Again, the paschal lamb must be בן־שנה *ben-shanah*, “the son of a year;” by which some understand a lamb of the last year, which, considering the usual yeaning time, must be upward of a year old at the season of the passover. But as a lamb, grown to that degree of maturity, was rather too large to be conveniently roasted whole, and eaten up at one family meal, as the paschal lamb was to be; the opinion of the Jewish doctors is, in this instance, more probable, that it was to be a lamb of the present year, or of the last yeaning time\*, which ordinarily preceded the passover by a month or two. This well agrees with the use of the Hebrew phrase, “The son of so many years;” which ordinarily signifies the year current; as appears from the seventh chapter of Genesis, wherein it is said, “that Noah was six hundred years old” בן־שש מאות *ben shesh meoth*, the son of six hundred years, when the flood of waters was upon the earth (a); and presently afterwards, this is said to be in the “six hundredth year of Noah’s life (b).” Thus the priests and Levites were to enter on their ministry “at thirty years old (c);” but that is properly to be understood of the year current, or when they had entered on the thirtieth year. So Christ entered on his publick ministry, *ωσει ετων τριακοντα αρχομενος*, when he began to be about thirty years of age (d).

The age then of the paschal lamb is thus determined by the rabbies; it must not be less than eight days, and yet under a year old: not less

\* Vid. Cartwright. *Electa targumico-rabbin.* in Exod. xii. 5.

(a) Gen. vii. 6. (b) ver. 11. (c) Numb. iv. 3.

(d) Luke iii. 23.

less than eight days, for so is the law concerning firstlings and burnt-offerings, that they were to be seven days with the dam, and from the eighth they might be accepted in sacrifices (*a*). Which law the jewish doctors extend, and perhaps not without reason, to the paschal sacrifice; and Maimonides says, “if the lamb was older than the year only an hour, it was not permitted as an oblation\*.

Once more, As to the qualities of the paschal lamb, “it must be without blemish.” The rabbies reckon up fifty blemishes, which disqualified beasts for sacrifices; as five in the ear, three in the eyelid, eight in the eye, &c †. but what those blemishes were, which disqualify according to the law of God, sufficiently appears in the twenty second chapter of Leviticus: the beasts that were blind, or broken, or maimed, or that had a wen, or the scurvy or scab, or any part superfluous or defective, or that was bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut; these were not to be offered in sacrifice (*b*).

We must not pass over a conjecture of some persons concerning the reason of God’s commanding the Israelites to eat a male lamb, or young ram with so much solemnity about the vernal equinox; namely, that it was in opposition to the idolatry of the Egyptians, who at this season, of the sun’s entering into the sign Aries, paid some solemn worship to the creature by whose name that sign was distinguished.

The

(*a*) Exod. xxii. 30. Lev. xxii. 27.

\* Maimon. de ratione sacrificiorum faciendorum, cap. 1. §. 12, 13. apud Crenii Fascicul. Sext. p. 288.

† Maimon. de ratione adeundi templi, cap. vii. apud Crenii Fascic. Sext. p. 208, et seq.

(*b*) Lev. xxii. 20,—24.

The author of the *Chronicon Orientale*, as quoted by Patrick \*, faith, that the day on which the sun entered Aries was most solemn among the Egyptians; and R. Abraham Seba observes, that this feast of the Egyptians being at its height on the fourteenth day, God ordered the killing and eating of a lamb at that time †; in contempt, it should seem, of their worship of Aries, and as a sensible evidence, that he could be no God whom the Israelites eat ‡. Rabbi Levi Ben Gershom faith, God intended by this to expel from the minds of the Israelites the bad opinions of the Egyptians. This, however, Dr. Patrick looks upon to be mere conjecture §. The

2d. Thing we observe in the paschal rites is the taking the lamb from the flock four days before it was killed (a). For which the rabbies assign the following reasons:—that the providing it might not, through a hurry of business, especially at the time of their departure from Egypt, be neglected till it was too late:—that by having it so long with them before it was killed, they might have the better opportunity of observing, whether there were any blemishes in it:—and by having it before their eyes so considerable a time, might be more effectually reminded of the mercy of their deliverance

\* Patrick on Exod. xii. 3.

† Tzeror. Hammor. fol. 70. col. 4. See the passage in Spencer de Legibus Hebræor. lib. ii. cap. iv. Sect. 1. vol. 1. p. 296. edit. Cantab. 1727.

‡ Cæso ariete, says Tacitus, velut in contumeliam Hammonis. Histor. lib. v. cap. iv. p. 200. edit. Glasg. 1743. See also Targum Jonathan on Exod. viii. 22. in Walton's Polyglot, tom. 4.

§ Patrick, ubi supra.

(a) Exod. xii. 3.

liverance out of Egypt:—and likewise to prepare themselves for so great a solemnity as the approaching feast. On these accounts, some of the rabbies inform us, it was customary to have the lamb tied these four days to their bed-posts; a rite which they make to be necessary and essential to the passover in all ages\*.

Others conceive, with an equal degree of probability, that this was one of those circumstances of the first passover, which were not designed to be continued and practised afterwards; of which sort we shall observe several others. It was highly proper the providing the lamb before their departure out of Egypt should not be left to the very day of their departure, when they must unavoidably be in some hurry and confusion: a reason, however, which would not take place in after-times. Besides, those who came annually out of all parts of the country to keep the passover at Jerusalem, could not well observe it, unless they came at least four days beforehand. It is indeed related in the eleventh chapter of St. John (*a*), “that many went out of the country to Jerusalem before the passover;” but the reason assigned is, that it was “to purify themselves.” Nothing is said of their providing lambs beforehand. It moreover appears, that on the former part of that very day on which the passover was to be killed and eaten, Christ and his disciples had not so much as provided a place where they should eat it: for “The disciples said unto him, Where wilt

\* Targum Jonathan et R. Solomon in loc. Vid. Cartwright. *Electa Targumico-rabbin.* in Exod. xii. 3.

(*a*) John xi. 55.

wilt thou, that we go and prepare, that thou mayest eat the passover (a)" Whereas, if they had provided the lamb four days before, they would in all probability have kept it at the house where they intended to eat it; and there would have been then no room for this question. It is more likely they went and bought one in the market, kept on the preparation of the passover for that purpose, as well as to furnish the other sacrifices that were to be offered on the ensuing festival: which market some had profanely brought into the very court of the temple (b). Again, if the lamb, the principal thing, had been provided, it is not so probable, the disciples should have supposed, as we know they did, that Christ by his speech to Judas, "What thou doest, do quickly," meant, that he should "buy those things which they had need of against the feast (c)."

3dly, Next followed the killing of the paschal lamb; which at the first passover in Egypt, as there was no national altar, was performed in private houses. But after their settlement in Canaan, it was ordered to be done in "the place, which the Lord should chuse to place his name there (d)." By the name of God in this passage is denoted God himself: to "call upon his name" is to call upon him. And by placing his name there, is meant fixing in that place the special tokens of his presence, as the ark with the mercy seat, and the cloud of glory over it. This place seems at first to have been Misphah, afterwards Shiloh; and when that was destroyed, the ark was removed to several

(a) Mark xiv. 12.  
xiii. 27, 29.

(b) John ii. 13, 14.  
(d) Deut. xvi. 2.

(c) John

several places, till at last it was fixed at Jerusalem.

It is observable, that though there is frequent mention in the law of Moses of some place which God would chuse to fix his name there, it is no where declared where that place should be. For this Maimonides \* assigns several reasons; the best and most probable is, least every tribe should desire to have that place to their lot, and thus strife and contention should arise among them. But when the place was afterwards fixed by a new revelation, there the national altar was to be erected, and thither all their sacrifices were ordinarily to be brought and offered. The law to which we before referred, concerning their “sacrificing the passover unto the Lord their God, of the flock and of the herd, in the place which the Lord should choose to place his name there (a),” chiefly respects the sacrifices that were to be offered on the seven days of the feast of unleavened bread, which feast, we have observed before, was sometimes called the passover; as appears, in that the sacrifice of the passover is said to be of the flock and of the herd; whereas the passover, properly so called, was of the flock only. This law, nevertheless, included the paschal lamb, and was so understood by the ancient Jews, as is evident from the account of the solemn passover kept in the reign of king Josiah (b), when “the priests and the levites stood in the holy place, and they slew the passover, and the priests sprinkled the blood, and the

\* Maimon. Moreh Nebhoc. part. iii. cap. xlv. p. 475. edit. et vers. Buxtoif. Basil. 1629.

(a) Deut. xvi. 3.

(b) 2 Chron. xxxv. 5, 6, 10, 11.

the levites slayed it." They, who killed the passover, are distinguished from the priests who sprinkled the blood; for a common Israelite might kill the paschal lamb according to the law in Exodus (*a*), "the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it." Accordingly in the passover, which was kept in Hezekiah's reign, the service of killing the passover fell upon the levites, only for those of the congregation that were not clean (*b*); otherwise, every Israelite was to kill his own paschal lamb. Nor was this a circumstance peculiar to the passover; in all other sacrifices, even in burnt-offerings, which were reckoned the most solemn and sacred of all others, every man might kill his own sacrifice. The proper duty of the priests was only to sprinkle the blood, and offer it on the altar after it was slain (*c*). The argument, therefore, as formerly hinted, which some have alledged against the priesthood of Christ, and the sacrifice of his death, that then, as priest, he must have killed himself, is futile and groundless, because it did not properly belong to the priests to kill the sacrifices. We proceed to the

4th Article of the paschal rites, the sprinkling of the blood; in order to which it must be received in a basin: "Ye shall take a bunch of hyssop and dip it in the basin,"  $\text{בַּסֵּף}$  *be-saph* (*d*). Both the septuagint and the vulgate seem to have mistaken the meaning of this word, taking it to signify the door, or the threshold of the house, where some suppose the lamb was killed. The septuagint renders it  $\text{παρὰ τὴν θύραν}$ ,  
the

(*a*) Exod. xii. 6.

(*b*) 2 Chron. xxx. 17.

(*c*) Lev. i. 2,—5.

(*d*) Exod. xii. 22.

the vulgate, in limine; whereas סִפִּיּוֹת sippim and סִפּוֹת sippoth, which are plurals of סִפָּה saph, are mentioned among the vessels of the sanctuary in the first book of Kings and in Jeremiah (a). This blood was to be sprinkled with a bunch of hyssop upon the lintel, and the two side posts of the doors of their houses, as a signal to the destroying angel to pass over those that were thus marked when he went forth to smite the first-born in all the other houses in Egypt (b). The blood was to be sprinkled only on the lintel and the side posts, not on the threshold, that it might not be trod on, but that a proper reverence might be preserved for it as sacred and typical. It cannot be supposed, either that this blood had any natural virtue in it, to preserve the family upon whose house it was sprinkled from the plague, or that God or his angel needed such a signal to distinguish betwixt Egyptians and Israelites. The use of it could only be as a sensible token of the divine promise of protection and safety to the Israelites, designed to assist and encourage their faith. With the like view God made the rainbow a token or sign of his covenant and promise to Noah, that he would never again bring a deluge on the earth (c). No doubt the blood of the paschal lamb, sprinkled on their houses, was intended, likewise, to be a typical sign of protection from the vengeance of God through the blood of Christ, which is therefore called “the blood of sprinkling (d).” In both respects it is said that Moses “through faith kept the

(a) 1 Kings vii. 50.      Jerem. lii. 19.

(b) Exod. xii. 13,—23.

(c) Gen. ix. 10,—15.

(d) Heb. xii. 24.

the passover and the sprinkling of blood (a);” through faith in God’s promise of a present temporal protection, and through faith in the blood of Christ, as typified by this blood, for spiritual and eternal Salvation.

The Egyptians, who were, in many cases, unacquainted with the original of their own rites, had among them, many ages afterwards, according to Epiphanius, a very sensible memorial of the preservation of the Israelites, by this red mark being fixed on their houses; for at the vernal equinox, which was the time of the passover, they used to mark their sheep, their trees and the like *ἐκ μιλλτεως*, with red oker, or somewhat of that kind, which they supposed would preserve them\*.

The circumstance of sprinkling blood upon the door posts was plainly peculiar to the first passover; for we find in after ages, when the paschal lamb was killed in the court of the tabernacle or temple, the blood of it was sprinkled on the altar like the blood of the other sacrifices (b).

5thly, The paschal lamb was to be roasted whole: “Eat it not raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast with fire his head, with his legs, and with the purtenance thereof (c).” The prohibition of eating it raw; for which there might seem to be little occasion since mankind have generally abhorred such food, is understood by some to have been given in opposition to the barbarous customs of the Heathens, who in their feasts of Bacchus, which, according to Herodotus † and Plutarch ‡, had their

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original

(a) Heb. xi. 28.

\* Epiphan. adversus Hæres.

hæres. xviii. Nazaræor §. iii. p. 39. edit. Petav.

(b) 1 Chron. xxxv. 11.

(c) Exod. xii. 9.

† Herodot. Interp. cap. 49. p. 107, 108. edit. Gronov.

‡ Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride, oper. tom. 2. p. 355, 356, 362. B, &amp;c. edit. Francfort. 1620.

original in Egypt, used to tear the members of living creatures to pieces, and eat them raw. It is therefore observable, that the syriac version renders the clause "Eat not of it raw, eat not of it while it is alive\*."

Bochart, after R. Solomon and Aber-Ezra, derives the hebrew word נָא na, which we render raw, from the Arabic نِإِ nāa or نِإِ ni, femicoctus, half dressed †.

The paschal lamb was to be roasted; which, besides its typical meaning, to be hereafter considered, might be ordered as a matter of convenience at the first passover, in order that their boiling vessels might be packed up, ready for their march out of Egypt, while the lamb was roasting.

It must be "roasted whole, with its legs and appurtenances." By the appurtenances we are not to understand the guts, but the heart, lights, liver, and whatever other parts of the inwards are fit for food. This injunction might perhaps be designedly opposed to the superstition of the Gentiles, who used to rake into the entrails of their sacrifices, and collect auguries from them; and it might be partly intended for expedition in the celebration of the first passover.

6thly, The first passover was to be eaten standing, in the posture of travellers, who had no time to lose; and with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, and no bone of it was to be broken (a). The posture of travellers was enjoined them, both to enliven their faith in the promise of their now speedy deliverance from  
Egypt;

\* Spencer. de Leg. Hebr. lib. ii. cap. iv. Sect. ii. p. 300.—305.

† Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. 2. oper. tom. 2. p. 595.

(a) Exod. xii. 8, 11, 46.

Egypt; and also, that they might be ready to begin their march presently after supper. They were ordered, therefore, to eat it with their loins girded; for as they were accustomed to wear long and loose garments, such as are generally used by the eastern nations to this day, it was necessary to tie them up with a girdle about their loins, when they either travelled or betook themselves to any laborious employment. Thus, when Elisha sent his servant Gehazi on a message in haste, he bad him “gird up his loins (a);” and when our Saviour set about washing his disciples feet, “he took a towel and girded himself (b).”

They were to eat the passover “with shoes on their feet.” For in those hot countries they ordinarily wore sandals, which were a sort of clogs; or went barefoot. But in travelling they used shoes, which were indeed a sort of short boots, reaching a little way up the legs\*. Hence, when our Saviour sent his twelve disciples to preach in the neighbouring towns, designing to convince them by their own experience of the extraordinary care of divine providence over them, that they might not be discouraged by the length and danger of the journeys they would be called to undertake. I say, on this account he ordered them to make no provision for their present journey, particularly,

O 2

not

(a) 2 Kings iv. 29.

(b) John xiii. 4.

\* See Wagenfeil. Sotah, p. 664. edit. Altdorf. 1674; or in Mishn. Surenhusii. tom. 3. p. 261. Lightfoot's Horæ hebr. Matt. x. 10. Sagittarius de Nudipedalibus veterum, cap. i. §. xix. et seq. apud Syntagma Dissertationum, tom. i. p. 272. et seq. Rotterod. 1699. But Bynæus is of opinion, that shoes and sandals are the same, de Calceis Hebræorum, lib. i. cap. vi. §. ix. x. p. 90,—98. Dordrac. 1715.

not to take shoes on their feet, but to be shod with sandals (a).

The ethiopian christians have indeed found out another reason for the Israelites being commanded to eat the first passover with shoes on their feet; namely, because the land of Egypt was polluted; whereas at mount Sinai God commanded Moses to put off his shoes from his feet, because the place was holy; and for this reason the Ethiopians say, it is a custom with them to be barefoot in their churches\*.

Again, they were to eat the passover with staves in their hands, such as were always used by travellers in those rocky countries, both to support them in slippery places, and defend them against assaults (b). Of this sort was probably Moses's rod which he had in his hand, when God sent him with a message to Pharaoh (c), and which was afterwards used as an instrument in working so many miracles. So necessary in these countries was a staff, or walking stick on a journey, that it was a usual thing for persons when they undertook long journeys, to take a spare staff with them, for fear one should fail. When Christ, therefore, sent his apostles on that embassy, which we mentioned before, he ordered them not to take staves, *μὴτε ραβδους* (d), that is, only one staff or walking stick; without making provision of a spare one, as was common in long journeys; or as it is in St. Mark (e), "save a staff only." If therefore we adhere to the common reading in

(a) Matt. x. 10. compared with Mark vi. 9.

\* Damiānus Goensis de moribus Æthiopum, cited by Sagittarius de Nudipedalibus veterum, cap. ii. §. xv. ubi supra, p. 305, 306. Rotterod. 1699.

xxxii. 10.

(c) Exod. iv. 2.

(d) Luke ix. 3.

(e) Mark vi. 8.

in the parallel passage in St. Matthew, where Christ bad them take  $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \rho\alpha\sigma\delta\upsilon\lambda\alpha$ , not a staff (a), it must be understood of a spare staff. Nevertheless many copies have  $\rho\alpha\sigma\delta\upsilon\lambda\alpha$  in this place, which is followed in our translation.

Now these circumstances were plainly peculiar to the first passover; for when the children of Israel were settled in the land of Canaan, they no longer eat the paschal lamb in the posture of travellers, but like men at rest and ease, sitting or rather lying on couches; the posture in which our Saviour and his disciples eat the passover (b).

The paschal lamb was to be eaten with unleavened bread; in the Hebrew  $\text{מַצּוֹת}$  matsoth, which some derive from  $\text{מַצֵּת}$  matsets, or  $\text{מַצָּה}$  matsah, compressit, because bread made without yeast or leaven is heavy and close, as if pressed together. Bochart rejects this derivation, and derives it from an arabic word, with the same radicals, which signifies pure and sincere\*; and so  $\text{מַצּוֹת}$  matsoth, signifies bread made of pure flour and water, without any mixture. This suits best with the apostle's allusion: "Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth (c)."

The reason of the injunction to eat the paschal lamb with unleavened bread was, partly, to remind them of the hardships they had sustained in Egypt, unleavened being more heavy and less palatable, than leavened bread; and it is, therefore, called the bread of affliction (d);

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and

(a) Matt. x. 10.

(b) John xiii. 23.

\* Bochart. Hieroz. lib. ii. cap. L. p. 601.

(c) 1 Cor. v. 8.

(d) Deut. xvi. 3.

and partly to commemorate the speed of their deliverance or departure from thence, which was such, that they had not sufficient time to leaven their bread; it is expressly laid, that their "dough was not leavened, because they were thrust out of Egypt and could not tarry (a);" and on this account, it was enacted into a standing law, "Thou shalt eat unleavened bread, even the bread of affliction; for thou camest forth out of Egypt in haste (b)." This rite, therefore, was not only observed at the first passover, but in all succeeding ages.

The fallad, or sauce, of bitter herbs was doubtless prescribed for the same reason, namely to be a memorial of that severe bondage in Egypt, which "made their lives bitter to them (c);" and possibly also, to denote the haste they were in, which laid them under a necessity of taking up with such wild herbs as were readiest at hand. We have not any account, what herbs in particular these were, except from the conjectures of the rabbies, which are not worth our attention\*.

To this fallad, or sauce, the latter Jews, as Godwin observes, add another, of sweet and bitter things, as dates, figs, raisins, vinegar, and other ingredients, pounded and mixed up together to the consistence of mustard, which they call **חרוסת** charoseth, and make to be a memorial of the clay in which their fathers laboured

(a) Exod. xii. 39.

(b) Deut. xvi. 3.

(c) Exod. i. 14.

\* Mishn. tit. Pesachim, cap. 2. §. 6. tom. 2. p. 141. edit. Surenhus. Their opinion is discussed at large, by Bochart, Hierozöic. lib. ii. cap. 1. oper. tom 2. p. 603, —609.

boured in the land of Egypt\*. Some imagine, this was the sauce in which our Saviour dipt the sop that he gave to Judas (*a*).

It was further prescribed, that they should eat the flesh of the lamb, without breaking any of his bones (*b*). This the later Jews understand, not of the lesser bones, but only of the greater, which had marrow in them †. Thus was this rite also intended to denote their being in haste, not having time to break the bones and suck out the marrow ‡. But it had likewise a typical meaning, of which we shall have occasion to take notice hereafter.

7thly, It was ordered, that nothing of the paschal lamb should remain till the morning; but, if it was not all eaten, it should be consumed by fire (*c*). The same law was extended to all eucharistical sacrifices (*d*); no part of which was to be left or set by, lest it should be corrupted, or converted to any profane or common use. An injunction, which was designed, no doubt, to maintain the honour of sacrifices, and teach the Jews to treat with reverence whatever was consecrated, more especially, to the service of God.

As to the first paschal sacrifice, it was the more necessary that it should all be eaten or consumed that night, as the Israelites were to march out of Egypt early the next morning. Otherwise they would have been obliged either

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to

\* Maimon. de Solemnitate Paschatis, cap. vii. §. xi. p. 889. Crenii Fasciculi septimi.

(*a*) John xiii. 26. (*b*) Exod. xii. 46.

† Vid. Bochart. Hierozoic. lib. ii. cap. l. oper. tom. 2. p. 609.

‡ Maimon. Moreh Nebhoch. part iii. cap. xlvi. p. 483. Basil. 1629.

(*c*) Exod. xii. 10. (*d*) Levit. xxii. 30.

to submit to the inconvenience of carrying the remainder of it along with them, or to the disagreeable circumstance of leaving it behind them, to the contempt of the Egyptians. Moreover, this law with respect to sacrifices might be made so comprehensive and general, on the same account that induced Hezekiah to break in pieces the brazen serpent (*a*); that is, to prevent the abuse of such relicks to superstitious uses, and to discountenance the custom of the heathen idolaters, who reserved some part of their sacrifices for any purposes they thought proper; as Herodotus\* informs us concerning the antient Persians, and as seems to be intimated in the sixth chapter of the apochryphal book of Baruch, where the priests are said “to sell and abuse the things that were sacrificed to idols; and in like manner their wives laid up part thereof in salt (*b*).” From whence we may naturally derive the like superstitious custom of some women among Christians, who procure and lay up some part of the bread, which has been used in the Lord’s supper, to cure their children of the whooping cough.

8thly, It was enjoined the Israelites at the first passover, that they should keep in their own houses all that night, “and none of them should go out of the door of his house till the morning,” lest they should be exposed to the destroying angel (*c*). We are not to suppose, the angel could not have distinguished an Israelite from an Egyptian, if he had met him in the street; but, they were hereby intended  
to

(*a*) 2 Kings xviii. 4.

\* Herodot. Clio, cap. 132. p. 55. edit. Gronov.

(*b*) Baruch vi. 28.

(*c*) Exod. xii. 22, 23.

to be instructed, that their safety lay in being under the protection of the blood of the lamb, which was sprinkled upon the door-posts of their houses, as an emblem and type of spiritual salvation by the blood of Christ. This rite, however, was peculiar to the first passover, and not observed in succeeding ages; otherwise, Christ and his apostles would not have gone to the mount of Olives the same evening on which they had been eating the passover (a).

Having thus considered the rites of the passover, we are

3dly, to enquire into the signification of them:

That the passover had a typical reference to Christ, we learn from the apostle's calling him "our passover (b):" Godwin has drawn out a catalogue of thirteen articles in which this type resembles its antitype, and a larger and more particular one may be found in the chapter, de Paschate, of Witsius's *Œconomia Fœderis*, under four general heads: The first respecting the person of Christ:—the second, his sufferings: the third, the fruits and effects of them:—and the way in which we are to obtain an interest in these fruits and effects. We shall briefly select a few of the particulars under each of these heads.

1st, The person of Christ was typified by the paschal lamb. On which account, as well as in respect to the lamb of the daily sacrifice, he is often represented under the emblem of a lamb. "Behold the lamb of God," saith John the baptist (c). The fitness and propriety of this

(a) Matt. xxvi. 30.

(b) 1 Cor. v. 7.

(c) John i. 29, 36.

this type or emblem consists, partly, in some natural properties belonging to a lamb; and, partly, in some circumstances peculiar to the paschal lamb. A lamb being, perhaps, the least subject to cholera of any animal in the brute creation, was a very proper emblem of our Saviour's humility and meekness; and of his inoffensive behaviour (a); for he, by whose precious blood we were redeemed, was "a lamb without blemish and without spot (b):" and likewise of his exemplary patience and submission to his father's will under all his sufferings and in the agony of death; for though he was "oppressed, and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth (c)." By his almighty power he could have delivered himself, out of the hands of his enemies, as he had done on former occasions (d); but behold, the lion of the tribe of Judah now transformed into a lamb, by his obedience to his father's will, and compassion to the souls of men.

There were, also, some circumstances peculiar to the paschal lamb, which contributed to its fitness and propriety as a type and emblem of Christ. Such as its being ordered to be free from all blemish and natural defect, that it might the better represent the immaculate son of God, who was made without sin, and never did any iniquity (e); that it was to be taken out of the flock, therein representing that divine person, who, in order to his being made a sacrifice for our sins, did first be-

come

(a) Matt. xi. 29.

(b) 1 Pet. i. 19.

(c) Isaiah liii. 7.

(d) Luke iv. 29, 30. John viii. 59.

(e) Heb. vii. 26.

come one of us by taking our flesh and blood, and "was made in all things like to his brethren (a)."

The paschal lamb was to be a male of the first year, when the flesh was in the highest state of perfection for food; more fitly to represent the "child that was to be born," "the son that was to be given (b)" to us, and the excellency of the sacrifice he was to offer for us, after he had lived a short life among men. Once more,

The paschal lamb was to be taken out of the flock four days before it was sacrificed. This circumstance, if we understand it of such prophetic days as are mentioned in the fourth chapter of Ezekiel, is perfectly applicable to Christ, who left his mother's house and family, and engaged publickly in his office as a Saviour, four years before his death.

2dly, The sufferings and death of Christ were also typified by the paschal lamb in various particulars. For instance, that lamb was to be killed "by the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel (c);" and so the whole estate of the Jews, the priests, scribes, elders, rulers, and the populace in general (d), conspired in the death of Christ. The paschal lamb was to be killed by the effusion of its blood, as pointing out the manner of Christ's death; in which there was an effusion of blood on the cross. It was to be roasted with fire, as representing its antitype enduring on our account the fierceness of God's anger, which is said to "burn like fire (e)." Hence that complaint of our suffering Saviour in the prophecy concern-

(a) Heb. ii. 14, 17.

(b) Isai. ix. 6.

(c) Exod. xii. 6.

(d) Compare Mark xiv. 43. with

Luke xxiii. 13.

(e) Psal. lxxxix. 46. Jerem. iv. 4.

concerning him in the twenty-second Psalm, "My heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels; my strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws (a)."

There was, further, a remarkable correspondence betwixt the type and the antitype, with respect to the place and time in which each was killed as a sacrifice. The place was the same as to both; namely, "the place which the Lord should chuse to put his name there," which from the reign of David was at Jerusalem: and the time was also the same; for Christ suffered his agonies on the same evening on which the passover was celebrated; and his death the next day, betwixt the two evenings, according to the most probable interpretation of that phrase, namely, betwixt noon and sunset.

3dly, Several of the happy fruits and consequences of the death of Christ were remarkably typified by the sacrifice of the paschal lamb; such as protection and salvation by his blood, of which the sprinkling of the door posts with the blood of the lamb, and the safety which the Israelites by that means enjoyed, from the plague that spread through all the families of the Egyptians, was a designed and illustrious emblem. It is in allusion to this type, that the blood of Christ is called "the blood of sprinkling (b)."

Immediately upon the Israelites eating the first passover, they were delivered from their egyptian slavery, and restored to full liberty, of which they had been deprived for many years;

(a) Psal. xxii. 14, 15.

(b) 1 Pet. i. 2. Heb. xii. 24.

years; and such is the fruit of the death of Christ, in a spiritual and much nobler sense, to all that believe in him; for he hath thereby “obtained eternal redemption for us,” and “brought us into the glorious liberty of the children of God (a).”

4thly, The ways and means, by which we are to obtain an interest in the blessed fruits of the sacrifice of Christ, were also represented by lively emblems in the passover, namely, by the sprinkling of the blood of the lamb on the door posts, and by eating the flesh of it. The door post may be understood to signify the heart of man, which is the gate, or door, by which the king of glory is to enter (b); and which is as manifest in the sight of God, as the very doors of our houses are to any one that passes by them (c). The sprinkling of the blood on the door posts may therefore signify the purifying of the heart by the grace of Christ, which he purchased for us by his blood. This seems to be the apostle’s allusion in the following expression, “Having your hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience (d).”

By eating the flesh of the lamb we have no difficulty to understand faith in Jesus Christ, since Christ himself has expressed saving faith in him by the metaphor of eating his flesh, probably in reference to the passover (e).

It is worthy of our notice, that the lamb was to be roasted whole, and was to be all eaten, and none of it left: which may fitly signify, that, in order to our obtaining the benefits of Christ’s sacrifice, we must receive him,

(a) Heb ix. 12. Rom. viii. 21.

(b) Psal. xxiv. 7.

(c) 1 Sam. xvi. 7.

(d) Heb. x. 22.

(e) John vi. 53.

him, submit to him, and trust upon him in all his characters and offices, as our prophet, our priest and our king; nor are we to expect, that he will redeem and save us from the wrath to come, if we will not at present have him to reign over us.

The passover was to be eaten with bitter herbs; which, besides its being an intended memorial of the afflictions of the Israelites in Egypt, may fitly signify, that repentance for sin must accompany faith in Christ; and also, that, if we are partakers of the benefits of Christ's sufferings, we must expect, and be content, to be in some measure partakers likewise of his sufferings. To this purpose the apostle speaks of "the fellowship of his sufferings (a);" and elsewhere saith, "that if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him (b)."

The passover was also to be eaten with unleavened bread; which St. Paul interprets to signify sincerity and purity of heart, in opposition to malice, wickedness and falsehood; and which must necessarily accompany faith in Christ in order to his being our passover, that is, our protector from the wrath of God, and our redeemer from spiritual bondage and misery (c).

It was further ordered, that in eating the paschal lamb they should "not break a bone of it;" a circumstance in which there was a remarkable correspondence betwixt the type and the antitype (d).

Perhaps there is more fancy, than judgment, in that mystical interpretation, which some have put on this circumstance; who by the bones understand

(a) Phil. iii. 10.  
v. 7, 8.

(b) 2 Tim. ii. 12.

(c) 1 Cor.

(d) John xix. 33, 36.

understand those secrets of God, or those hard and difficult things in the divine counsels, which we are not able to comprehend, and which we should, therefore, be humbly content to be ignorant of without too curiously and anxiously searching into them; according to the advice of Moses, “Secret things belong to the Lord our God, but those which are revealed, to us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law (a).”

None, who were legally unclean and polluted, might eat the passover; which may further hint to us that purity and holiness are necessary and incumbent on all that would partake of the benefit of Christ’s sacrifice; for “what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what communion hath light with darkness? what concord hath Christ with belial (b).”

The Israelites were to eat their first passover in the habit and posture of travellers; which, in the mystical sense, may signify, that such as enter into covenant with God through Christ, must be resolved upon, and ready to go forth to, every duty to which he calls them. They are not to look on this world as their home; but, remembering that they are travelling towards heaven, they are to bear that blessed world much upon their thoughts, and to be diligent in preparing for their entrance into it. To this purpose are we exhorted “to gird up the loins of our minds and to be sober;” to “stand, having our loins girded about with truth;” and, “as pilgrims and strangers, to abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul (c).”

In

(a) Deut. xxix. 29.

(b) 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.

(c) 1 Pet. i. 13. Ephes. vi. 14. 1 Pet. ii. 11.

In all these expressions there seems to be some reference to the habit and posture of the Israelites at the first passover.

They were to eat the passover in haste; and thus we must “flee for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us (*a*);” must not delay and trifle, but “give diligence to make our calling and election sure (*b*);” for the kingdom of heaven is said to “suffer violence, and the violent take it by force (*c*).”

In the last place, the Israelites were to eat the passover, each family in their own house; and none might go out of the house any more that night, lest the destroying angel should meet and kill him. By the houses may be understood the church of Christ, in which only we are to expect communion with him and salvation by him; and having entered into it, we must not go out again, lest we meet with the doom of apostates (*d*), which is dreadful beyond description\*.

### Of the feast of unleavened bread.

Having treated pretty largely of the passover, we proceed to the feast of unleavened bread, which

(*a*) Heb. vi. 18.

(*b*) 2 Pet. i. 10.

(*c*) Matt. xi. 12.

(*d*) See Heb. vi. 4,—6. x. 39.

2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.

\* Besides Witius, see Mather on the types, p. 521,—520. Dublin. 1685.

On the subject of the passover in general, with the rest of the authors already quoted, see Lightfoot, in his temple service, chap. 12, 3, 14. and Spencer de legibus Hebræor. lib. ii. cap. iv. tom. 1. p. 293,—310. In *Vetus Æconom. fœderis* is a good abridgement of what Bochart hath said on the subject.

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which immediately followed it, and was kept seven days, from the fifteenth of the month Nisan, to the twenty-first, inclusive; as appears from the two following passages: the first from the book of Exodus, "In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at even ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even (*a*):" Again, from the book of Numbers, "In the fourteenth day of the first month is the passover of the Lord; and in the fifteenth day of this month is the feast; seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten; in the first day shall be an holy convocation (*b*)."  
When therefore it is said in the sixteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, "Six days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh shall be a solemn assembly (*c*)," it cannot be meant that they were to use unleavened bread six days only; but that having eaten it six days, they should conclude the festival on the seventh with a solemn assembly, continuing to eat unleavened bread on this day, as they had done on the six preceding. The Samaritan text and the Septuagint, read likewise in the thirteenth chapter of Exodus, "six days shalt thou eat unleavened bread (*d*)," and not seven, as it is in the Hebrew copy and the Targum.

The very day of the passover, viz. the fourteenth of Nisan, is called the first day of unleavened bread, both by St. Matthew and St. Mark (*e*); whereas, according to the passage before cited, from the book of Numbers, the fifteenth day of the month being said to be the first day of the feast, that is, of unleavened

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bread,

(*a*) Exod. xii. 18.

(*b*) Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.

(*c*) Deut. xvi. 8.

(*d*) Exod. xiii. 6.

(*e*) Matt. xxvi.

17. Mark xiv. 12.

bread, the day of the passover was the day before the first day of unleavened bread. Some therefore suppose, that *πρωτη* is put by the evangelists for *προτερα*, as it is in the first chapter of St. John, where John the baptist says, "He that comes after me," *πρωτος με ειν*, that is, *προτερος*, "was before me (a)." Thus *πρωτη ημερα των αζυμων*, should be rendered not "the first day of the feast," but "the day before the feast of unleavened bread\*." I apprehend, however, there is no need, in order to solve the difficulty, to have recourse to this more unusual meaning of the word *πρωτος*: for these two feasts, the passover and that of unleavened bread, though distinct in themselves, yet followed close upon one another, and being united into one continued festival for eight days together, hence the name of either of them came to be used for both. The feast of unleavened bread is called the passover by St. Luke (b); and why then may not the feast of the passover be called the feast of unleavened bread by St. Matthew and St. Mark, especially since the passover also was eat with unleavened bread? and this, notwithstanding the feast of unleavened bread, properly so called, did not begin till the next day; at least, not till the evening of the paschal day; for it must be remembered, the Jews celebrated their sabbath, and all sacred festivals, from evening to evening. This, indeed, gives us the hint of another solution, which is espoused by some; namely, that the paschal day is called the first day of unleavened bread, because the feast of unleavened bread began on the evening of that day

(a) John i. 30.

\* Reland. Antiq. part. iv. §. iii. p. 456. edit. 3. 1717.

(b) Luke xxii. 1.

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day.\*. But the former solution is, I think, the more satisfactory.

During the whole continuance of this festival they might not eat any leavened bread, nor so much as have it in their houses (*a*): Care, therefore, must be taken, before the feast began, to “purge out the old leaven;” as the apostle, in allusion to this rite, expresses it (*b*). Concerning this matter the modern Jews are superstitiously exact and scrupulous. The master of the family makes a diligent search into every hole and crevice throughout the house, lest any crumb of leavened bread should remain in it; and that not by the light of the sun or moon, but of a candle. And in order that this exactness may not appear altogether superfluous and ridiculous, care is taken to conceal some scraps of leavened bread in some corner or other, the discovery of which occasions mighty joy. This search, nevertheless, strict as it is, does not give him entire satisfaction. After all he beseeches God, that all the leavened bread which is in the house, as well what he has found, as what he has not, may become like the dust of the earth, and be reduced to nothing. And as they are thus superstitiously careful in purging out the old leaven, so they are no less exact and scrupulous about making their bread for the feast, lest there should be any fermentation in it, or any thing like leaven mixed with it. For instance, the corn of which it is made, must not be carried to the mill on the horse’s bare back, lest the heat of the horse should make it ferment; the sack, in which it is put, must be carefully examined, lest there

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should

\* Reland. ubi supra, p. 455, 456.

(*a*) Exod. xii. 15, 18, 19.

(*b*) 1 Cor. v. 7.

should be any remainder of old meal in it, which might prove like leaven to the new meal; the dough must be made in a place not exposed to the sun, lest the heat of the sun should make it ferment; and it must be put into the oven immediately after it is made, lest it should ferment itself\*.

i From the Jews, probably, the roman catholics have borrowed many superstitious niceties about the corn and dough, of which they make their hosts.

The punishment to be inflicted on any, who neglected to cleanse their houses from leaven against the feast; is, in the judgment of the rabbies, scourging †. But the penalty for eating leavened bread during this festival, is, according to the law of God, to be “cut off from the congregation of Israel (*a*):” the same punishment, which is threatned to the neglect of circumcision (*b*), and to several other trespasses, both against the moral and ceremonial laws; as to wilful sinning in contempt of the divine authority (*c*), to profaning the sabbath (*d*), to the eating of fat and blood (*e*), and to several other violations of the law. But what this כרת cherech, as the rabbies call it from כרת charath, scuit, or cutting off, signified is rather differently conjectured by various writers, than certainly determined by any. Some make it to signify excommunication; others

\* See Buxtorf. Synag. judaic. cap. xvii. p. 394,—398. edit. 3. Basil. 1661. and Maimon. de solennitate Paschatis, cap. ii,—v. p. 843,—877. Crenii Fascicul. septimi.

† Maimon. de solennitate Paschatis, cap. i. p. 838,—843. Crenii Fascicul. septimi.

(*a*) Exod. xii. 19.

(*b*) Gen. xvii. 14.

(*c*) Numb. xv. 30, 31.

(*d*) Exod. xxxi. 14.

(*e*) Levit. vii. 25, 27.

thers death, to be inflicted by the magistrate; others death by the immediate hand of God. Others say it was making a man childless, so that his family and his name perished in Israel. Maimonides would have it be the extinction both of the soul and body, or perishing like the brutes; and Abarbanel, the loss of future happiness\*. But hardly any one of these senses will suit all the cases, in which this punishment is threatned. It could not mean excommunication from the church of Israel, when it is threatned to the neglect of circumcision, because no person was a member of that church till he was circumcised. Nor could it mean death to be immediately inflicted by the hand of God, since the Israelites neglected circumcision with impunity, during their journey in the wilderness, for forty years together (*a*). Nor could it signify the same punishment, when threatned to the neglect of the passover; since that ordinance was shamefully neglected during several wicked reigns of the Jewish kings, till Hezekiah, and after him Josiah, revived it (*b*). It is most probable, that  $\text{חֶרֶת}$  chereth, is a general name for several sorts of punishment, which were to be determined by the nature of the offence. Sometimes it seems to import punishment by the judge, and sometimes, by the more immediate hand of God †.

The first and last days of the feast of unleavened bread, were to be kept as sabbaths,  
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holy,

\* Abarbanel. Dissert. de poenâ Excidii, ad calcem Buxtorf. Dissert. de Sponsalibus et Divortiis. Where these several opinions are examined.

(*a*) Josh. v. 5.

(*b*) 2 Chron. xxx, xxxv.

† Mr. Selden hath treated largely on the chereth, de Jure Nat. et Gent. lib. vii. cap. ix. and de Syned. lib. i. cap. vi.

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holy, and free from all servile work, except dressing of victuals, which was unlawful on the weekly sabbath (*a*); and they were likewise to be solemnized by a holy convocation. But we find no precept concerning the keeping the five intermediate days, besides their abstaining from leavened bread, and offering certain sacrifices on each of them (*b*). However, the rabbies have abundantly supplied these defects by their comments; they allow the time to be spent in mirth, and all lawful recreation; and some of them allow works of necessity to be performed, while others think it unlawful even to take up a straw, or to pick their teeth\*.

One remarkable offering, that was to be made at this feast, was the sheaf of the first fruits of the harvest (*c*). For though this feast was kept soon after the vernal equinox, yet in that warm climate the barley, which was usually sown in November, became ripe at this season. But if it happened, that the harvest was not forward enough to be fit to cut at the middle of Nisan, they intercalated a month, which they called *Veadar*, and the next Nisan, and so put off the festival a month longer †.

The day, on which this offering was made, is said to be “the morrow after the sabbath (*d*).” By which though some have understood the weekly sabbath that fell in the time of this festival, yet the Jews more generally understand by it

(*a*) Compare Exod. xii. 16. with chap. xxxv. 3.

(*b*) Numb. xxviii. 17.—25.

\* See these and various other particulars in Buxtorf's *Synag. judaic.* cap. xix. p. 430,—433. edit. 3.

(*c*) Levit. xxiii. 10, 11.

† See Lightfoot, *Horæ hebr.* Matt. xii. 8.

(*d*) Levit. xxiii. 11.

it the first day of the feast ; according to which sense, the septuagint renders it *τη επαυριον της πρωτης*, “the morrow after the first.” The targum of Onkelos renders it, “after the feast day ; and Josephus says expressly, *τη δευτερα των αζυμων ημερα*, &c. on the second day of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth of Nisan, they take of the fruits of the harvest, which they have not touched before ; and esteeming it their duty first to pay due honour to God, from whom they have received their liberal supply, they offer him the first fruits of the barley\*.

The rabbies inform us, that this sheaf was gathered and prepared for the offering, with a great deal of ceremony ; which, as we have no account of it in scripture, we pass over in silence †.

The moral signification of this rite, the offering of the first fruits, was undoubtedly, to be an acknowledgment of his goodness, “who gives rain, both the former and the latter rain, in its season, and reserves to men the appointed weeks of harvest (a) ;” and also of his right to, and propriety, in those bounties of his providence, in consequence of which he may bestow, or take them away, as he pleases (b) ; and likewise, to teach them to look up to God

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\* Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. x. §. 5. p. 177, 178. edit. Haverc. see also Lightfoot. Horæ hebraic. Act. vii. 1.

† See Ainsworth on Levit. xxiii. 10. Lightfoot's temple-service, chap. xiv. §. 2. Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. 1. cap. viii. §. 6. p. 87. London 1677. Mishn. tit. Sotah, cap. vii. §. 3. not. Wagenfeil. tom. 3. p. 259, 260. edit. Surenhus. et tit. Menachoth, cap. 10. cum not. Bartenor. et Maimon. tom. 5.

(a) Jerem. v. 24.

(b) Hof. ii. 8, 9.

for his blessing to render their earthly enjoyments and possessions profitable and delightful (a).

There might also be a typical signification of this rite, as referring to the resurrection of Christ, whose sacrifice and death had been just before represented by that of the paschal lamb, and which is compared by our Lord himself to corn falling into the ground and dying, after which it springs up and brings forth fruit (b). Accordingly the apostle saith, as it (c) should seem in reference to this type, "Now is Christ risen from the dead, and is become the first fruits of them that slept\*."

(a) 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.

(b) John xii. 24.

(c) 1 Cor. xv. 20.

\* On the sheaf of the first fruits, see also Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. iii. §. viii. p. 464,—466. Hottingeri Annot. in Godwin. lib. iii. cap. v. §. 3. not. 3. Francof. 1716.

On the feast of unleavened bread, see the authors before referred to, on the passover.





## CHAP. V.

### Of the feast of Pentecost.

**T**HE Pentecost was the second of the three grand festivals in the ecclesiastical year, at which all the males were to appear before the Lord at the national altar.

It is called by several names in the old testament; as, the feast of weeks, the feast of harvest, and the day of the first fruits. In the new testament it is stiled pentecost; and the rabbies have other names for it, calling it “the day of giving the law,” and גַּתְּסֵרֶת gnatsereth, the word which we render “a solemn assembly.”

1st. It is called “the feast of weeks (a),” because it was celebrated seven weeks, or a week of weeks, after the passover; or rather, after the first day of the feast of unleavened bread; for the computation of the seven weeks began with the second day of that feast, and the next day after the seven weeks were compleated, was the feast of pentecost. Thus it is said in Leviticus, “Ye shall account unto you from the mor-

(a) Exod. xxxiv. 22.

morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be compleat; even to the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days (a).” By the seven sabbaths here mentioned, we are to understand seven weeks; and so it is rendered in the targum and in the septuagint; in which sense we find the word *σαββατων* used in the new testament: the Pharisee in the parable saith, *νηστειω δις τα σαββατα*, “I fast twice a week;” that is, on the second and fifth days, on which fasting was recommended by the tradition of the elders; and which were accordingly kept every week, as fasts, by the devout Jews. And in the first verse of the twenty eighth chapter of Matthew, *μιαν σαββατων* evidently signifies the “first day of the week.”

The rabbies lay great stress upon the precept to count the seven sabbaths, or weeks. And Maimonides remarks, that it was to the honour of this festival, that they were obliged to count the days of its approach from the preceding passover, as a man, expecting his best and most faithful friend at an appointed time, is accustomed to number the days and hours till his arrival\*. Accordingly the modern Jews make an act of devotion of counting the days from the passover to the pentecost; beginning the computation with a solemn prayer, or benediction, in this form: “Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, the Lord of the world, who hast sanctified us with thy precepts, and commanded us to number the days of the harvest; and this  
is

(a) Levit. xxiii. 15, 16.

\* Maimon. Moreh. Nebhoch. part. iii. cap. xliii. p. 471.

is the first day." Thus they go on with their prayer, or benediction, till the seventh day; then they add, "Now there is one week;" and so they proceed with the same act of devotion every day to the evening of the pentecost\*.

This counting is, in some places, performed publickly in the synagogue. But whether it be thus performed or not, every master of a family is obliged to do it every evening at home †.

Now since there were seven weeks compleat betwixt the first day of the feast of unleavened bread and the day of pentecost, it is made matter of enquiry, on what day of the week that remarkable pentecost fell, when the Holy Ghost was shed forth on the apostles? which is said to have been *εν τω συμπληρωθει την ημεραν της Πεντηκοστης*: the meaning of which is ambiguous, as it may either signify, when the day of pentecost was fulfilled and over; or, as it is rendered in our english version, "when it was fully come (a)." The former sense is most agreeable to the common meaning of the word *πληρωω*, and the text is accordingly rendered in the italian version, "when the day of pentecost was fully gone." This sense Dr. Lightfoot prefers, and not without reason ‡: for since Christ eat his last passover on the same day with the rest of the Jews, as we have already proved, namely, on the fourteenth of Nisan, which was thursday; the next day, on which he was crucified, must be the first day of the feast of unleavened bread; therefore the sixteenth day, the saturday, was  
the

\* Hottinger. in Godwin. lib. iiii. cap. v. §. v. p. 575. 576.

† See Buxtorf. Synag. judaic. cap. xx. p. 441. edit. 3.

(a) Acts ii. 1.

‡ Horæ hebr. in loc.

the first day of the seven weeks betwixt that and the pentecost; consequently the fiftieth day, or the morrow after the seventh sabbath or week, which was the day of pentecost, must fall on the saturday, or the jewish sabbath.

The doctor apprehends, no reason can be assigned for "the disciples being all with one accord in one place," on the day when the Holy Ghost descended upon them, more reasonable and probable, than that they were assembled for the celebration of the Lord's day; which must be, therefore, the next day after the pentecost. Upon which he further observes, that our Lord, in fulfilling several types by which he was represented, did not confine himself to the day of the type, but deferred the accomplishment to the day following. It was not upon the very day of the passover, but on the ensuing day, that "Christ our passover was sacrificed for us (a)." It was not on the day, that the sheaf of the first fruits was offered; but the next day, that Christ became the "first fruits of them that slept (b)." In like manner, he supposes, the descent of the Holy Ghost was not on the day of pentecost, but when it was gone, or the next day after. Nevertheless our english version, "when the day of pentecost was fully come," is supported by the use of the word πληρωω in several places of the septuagint, as Dr. Hammond hath fully shewn\*. Thus in the evangelist Luke, οτε επληθυσαν ημεραι οκτω, which we render, "when eight days were accomplished for circumcising the child (c)," must signify, not when the eighth day was over, but

(a) 1 Cor. v. 7.

(b) 1 Cor. xv. 20.

\* See Hammond in loc.

(c) Luke ii. 21.

but when it was come, for on that day, according to the law, circumcision was to be performed (a). Supposing, then, it was the very day of pentecost when the disciples were thus assembled, and the Holy Ghost came upon them, it might nevertheless be the first day of the week, or the Lord's day; for as the Jews reckoned all their sacred and festival days from the evening, so we have the testimony both of Rabbi Solomon and Maimonides\*, that they began the computation of the seven weeks from the evening of the sixteenth of Nisan †. Inasmuch that the saturday, on which our Saviour lay in the sepulchre, was not one of the forty-nine days which made seven weeks compleat; but that evening and the first day of the week on which Christ rose from the dead, made the first day of the first week; and consequently friday evening and saturday were the forty ninth, and the Lord's day was the fiftieth, or the day of pentecost. Thus it appears, that according to the manner in which the scribes computed the seven weeks, the day of pentecost that year, when the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles, was the first day of the week.

According to the computation of the Baithusians, and Karraites, the day of pentecost always fell on the first day of the week; for by "the sabbath on the morrow after which the sheaf was offered," and the computation of the seven weeks began, they understand the weekly sabbath,

(a) Levit. xii. 2, 3.

\* R. Solom. cited by Meyer in not. ad Megillath Taanith, cap. i. p. 7. ad calcem Tractat. de tempor. et festis Hebræorum. Maimon. de Sacrificiis jugibus, cap. vii. §. xxii. p. 477. Crenii Fascic. Sexti.

† See also Megillath Taanith, ubi supra, p. 4,—6.

ſabbath, (or the ſabbath of the creation, as the ſcribes call it,) which fell in the paſchal week. So that, according to them, the firſt day of the week was always the firſt day of the forty nine days or ſeven weeks; and conſequently the fiftieth day, or pentecoſt, was always the firſt day of the week \*.

2dly, It was called “the feaſt of harveſt (a):” on the following account, according to the learned Mr. Joſeph Mede, becauſe, as the harveſt began at the paſſover, ſo it ended at pentecoſt †. Bochart is of the ſame opinion, who ſaith, that as about the time of the paſſover the ſickle was brought out for cutting the corn, ſo about pentecoſt it was laid up again, the harveſt being entirely finiſhed ‡. And it is likewiſe the ſentiment of Godwin. But it doth not ſeem to be juſtly founded; for at this feaſt the firſt fruits of their wheat harveſt were brought and offered to God; on which account it was called “the feaſt of harveſt,” as that name is explained: “the feaſt of harveſt, the firſt fruits of thy labour, which thou haſt ſown in the field.” Now as the firſt fruits of the barley harveſt were offered

\* R. Obad. de Bartenora in Miſhn. tit. Chagigah, cap. ii. §. 4. p. 419. Megillath Taanith, ubi ſupra. See the diſpute concerning this computation in Meyer. de tempor. et feſtis Hebræor. part. 2. cap. xiii. §. xxi,—xxiv. p. 295,—297. Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. iv. §. iii, iv. p. 474,—476. edit. 3. Liber Cozri, part. iii. §. xli. p. 217. cum not. Buxtorf. in loc. p. 218, 219. Lightfoot, Horæ hebr. Act. ii. 1. Selden. de Anno civili Judæorum, cap. vii.

(a) Exod. xxiii. 16.

† Mede’s Diatrib. diſc. xlvi. p. 269. of his works.

‡ Bochart. Hieroz. part. 1. lib. iii. cap. xiii. oper. tom. 2. p. 857. edit. 1712. See alſo Fuller. Miſcell. lib. iii. cap. xi. apud Criticos ſacros, tom. 9. p. 2362. edit. Londin.

offered at the very beginning of it, as we have shown in the last chapter, so it is reasonable to suppose, the first fruits of the wheat harvest were likewise offered at the beginning of it, and not delayed till it was over, and all brought into the barns. Hence

3dly, Another name of this feast is, “the day of the first fruits (*a*),” as it is called in the twenty eighth chapter of the book of Numbers, because on that day they were to “offer a new wheat offering unto the Lord of two loaves of fine flour baked with leaven (*b*),” as we are informed in Leviticus; and these were to be accompanied with animal sacrifices, namely, seven lambs, without blemish, of the first year, and a bullock and two rams, for a burnt-offering, a kid of the goats for a sin-offering, and two lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace-offerings (*c*).”

It may to us seem very strange, that the wheat harvest should not begin in Judea till seven weeks after the barley harvest; whereas we are accustomed to see them both together. It was otherwise in the eastern countries\*; in Egypt particularly, “the barley, it is said, was smitten with the hail, for it was in the ear, whereas the wheat and the rye were not smitten, for they were not grown up (*d*).”

It is enquired, why leaven was used in the bread offered at pentecost; whereas it was expressly forbidden at the passover?

The

(*a*) Numb. xxviii. 26.

(*b*) Levit. xxiii. 16, 17.

(*c*) ver. 18, 19.

\* Vid. Bochart. ubi supra, p. 857, 858.

(*d*) Exod. ix. 31, 32.

The rabbies say, because their bread at the passover was in commemoration of their sudden departure out of Egypt, when they could not stay to have it leavened; but the loaves offered at pentecost, were in behalf of the bread which they were ordinarily to eat\*.

4thly, This feast is stiled in the new testament Πεντηκοστη, that is, the fiftieth; because it was kept fifty days after the passover. Paſor in his lexicon supposes the word *ημερα* to be understood, with which the feminine adjective Πεντηκοστη agrees. This, however, would make a sad tautology of the expression in the Acts, *την ημεραν της Πεντηκοστης* (a).

5thly, The rabbies call this feast, “the day of the giving of the law;” for it is the constant opinion of the Jews, that on this day the law was given on mount Sinai, namely, on the fiftieth day from their departure out of Egypt†. This is collected from the nineteenth chapter of Exodus, in the first verse of which it is said, that “in the third month, or in the third new moon, (as the hebrew word *שְׁרֵפ* chodhesh signifies,) when the children of Israel were gone forth out of Egypt, the same day, (that is, the day of the new moon,) they came to Sinai.” Adding, therefore, to this day twenty nine for the last month, and fifteen  
days

\* Abarbanel in Lev. iii. cited by Lightfoot in his Temple Service, chap. xiv. §. iv.

(a) Acts ii. 1.

† Maimon. Moreh Nebhoch. part. iii. cap. xliii. p. 471. who makes the design of pentecost to be a memorial of the giving of the law. Abarbanel, who differs with him as to the design of the institution, admits nevertheless, that it was celebrated on the same day on which the law was given. See Meyer. de tempor. et festis Hebræor. part. ii. cap. xiii. §. xvi, xvii. p. 293, 294.

days of the first month, it makes forty-five from the time of their departure from Egypt to their arrival at Sinai. To which if we add the day when Moses went up to God in the mount (*a*), and the next day when he reported his message from God to the people, and returned their answer (*b*); and the three days more which God gave them to prepare themselves for his coming down among them (*c*); there were just fifty days from the first passover to the giving the law at mount Sinai; to which, therefore, according to Maimonides, the institution of this feast had a special regard.

6thly, The rabbies again call this feast **עֲצֵרֶת** gnatsereth\*; the word which we render, “solemn assembly (*d*);” which, though it is never applied to the pentecost in scripture, yet they in a manner appropriate it to this feast, calling it **עֲצֵרֶת** gnatsereth, κατ' ἐξοχον. The reason of which might be, as Dr. Lightfoot conjectures, because this feast consisted of one solemn day only, whereas the feast of the passover and of tabernacles had more †.

The more immediate design of this institution seems to have been, that they might thankfully acknowledge the goodness of God in giving them the fruits of the earth, and beg his blessing on the bounties of his providence, by their offering the first fruits of their harvest to

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him;

(a) Exod. xix. 3.

(b) ver. 7, 8.

(c) ver. 11.

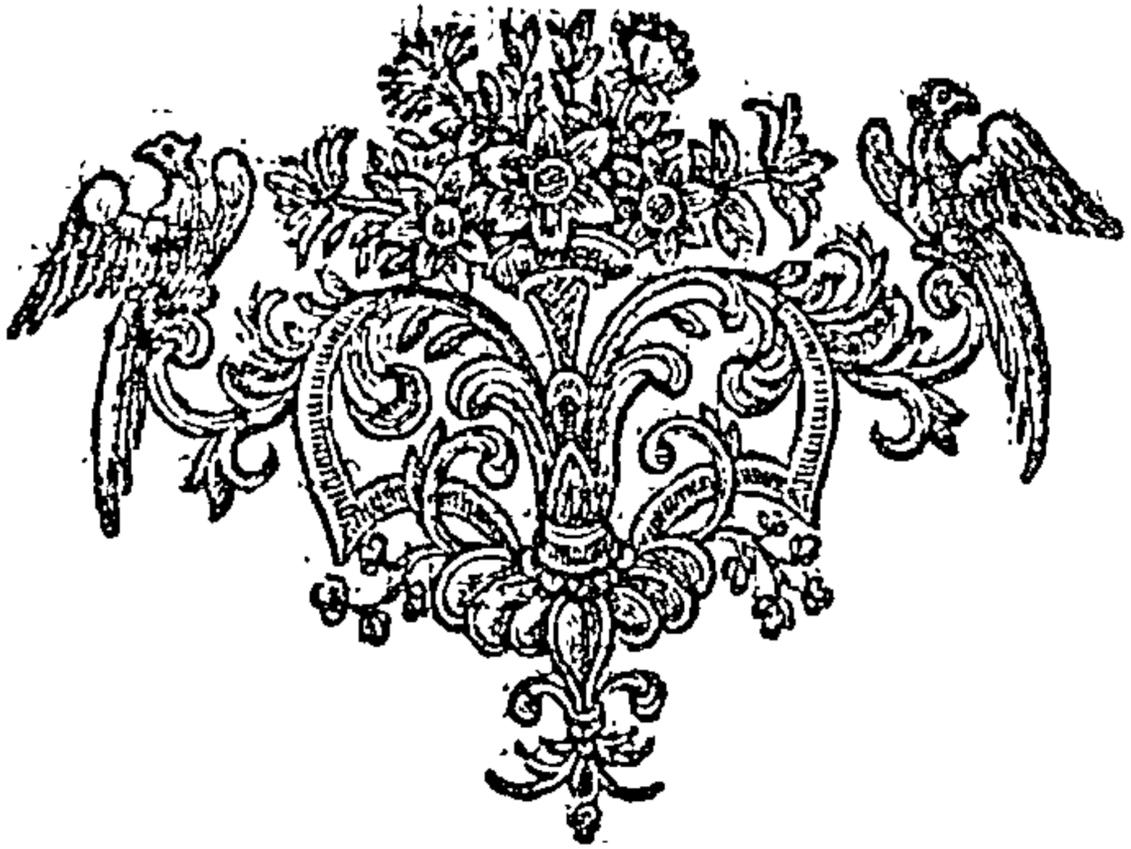
\* See the Chaldee Paraphrase on Numb. xxviii. 26. Mishn. tit. Gnerachin, cap. 2. §. 3. tom. 5. p. 196. See also Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. iv. §. iii. p. 472, 474. and Lightfoot's temple service, chap. xiv. §. iv.

(d) Levit xxiii. 36. Deut. xvi. 8.

† Horæ hebr. Act. ii. 1.

him; and it doubtless had a typical reference to the first fruits of the Holy Spirit, and of converts to Christ, after the erection of the gospel kingdom, by means of Peter's preaching on the day of pentecost\*.

\* See on the pentecost, Meyer. de Temporibus et Festis Hebræorum, part. 2. cap. xiii. Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. iv. Lightfoot, Horæ hebr. Act. ii. 1. and Temple-service, chap. xiv. Leydekker de Republ. Hebræor. lib. ix. cap. v.





## C H A P. VI.

### Of the feast of Tabernacles.

**T**HE feast of tabernacles was the third grand festival, at which all the male Israelites were to attend at the national altar (*a*). It derived its name from their dwelling in tabernacles\*, or booths, during its celebration (*b*). It is likewise called the “feast of ingathering in the end of the year (*c*),” because at this season the whole harvest, not only of the corn, but also of the vintage and other fruits, for which they were to express their thankfulness to God at this feast, was compleated (*d*).

It began on the fifteenth day of the month Tisri, the first of the civil and the seventh of the ecclesiastical year, and was to be celebrated seven days: “The fifteenth day of the seventh month shall be the feast of tabernacles for seven days (*e*).” To which there was also added an eighth day, which was to be observed with peculiar solemnity: “Seven days shall ye offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord; on the eighth day shall be an holy convocation unto  
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you,

(*a*) Deut. xvi. 16.      \* The Rabbies say a great deal concerning the form of these tabernacles; see Mishn. tit. Succah, and Surenhusii Tabulæ rarissimorum Tabernaculorum prefixed to tom 5.    (*b*) Levit. xxiii. 42.    (*c*) Exod. xxiii. 16.    (*d*) Levit. xxiii. 39.    (*e*) Levit. xxiii. 34.

you, and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord; it is a solemn assembly, and ye shall do no servile work therein (a).” But as the feast of tabernacles is expressly limited to seven days: “The fifteenth day of this seventh month shall be the feast of tabernacles for seven days unto the Lord (b);” during which only they are commanded to dwell in tabernacles or booths (c), this eighth day was not so properly a part of the feast of tabernacles, as another distinct feast which followed immediately upon it; agreeably to the account which is given in the book of Nehemiah, “They kept the feast seven days, and on the eighth day was a solemn assembly according unto the manner (d).” The seven days are expressly said in Leviticus to have been kept in commemoration of their dwelling in tents in the wilderness for forty years (e); the eighth day, therefore, was properly the feast of ingathering, on which they were to give thanks for their whole harvest, “after, as it is expressed in the book of Deuteronomy, they had gathered in their corn, and their wine (f).” Indeed there is no mention in this last passage, of this eighth day, but only of the festival of seven days. Nevertheless these being observed on a separate account, namely, to commemorate their dwelling in tents in the wilderness, we may conclude, that the rejoicing and thanksgiving, enjoined at this festival on account of the harvest, were chiefly if not wholly appropriated to the eighth day. And it is observable, that they were commanded to dwell in booths no longer than the seven days;

(a) Levit. xxiii. 36.      (b) ver. 34.      (c) ver. 42.  
 (d) Nehem viii. 18.      (e) Levit. xxiii. 42, 43.  
 (f) Deut. xvi. 13,—16.

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days; a circumstance, which shows, that the eighth day was not observed on the same account as the seven preceding. Nevertheless, as the names of the feast of the passover, and the feast of unleavened bread which immediately followed it, are frequently confounded\*, so the feast of tabernacles and of ingathering, though properly distinct, yet following close upon one another, are sometimes spoke of as one feast, and the name of either indifferently applied to both. It was probably the eighth day, which is ordered to be kept with the solemnity of a sabbath, and not the seventh, concerning which there is no such appointment in the law, that is stiled by the evangelist John, “the last and great day of the feast (a),” that is, of the feast of tabernacles (b).

The first day of this feast was to be kept as a sabbath (c), and during that and the six following days they were to dwell in tents or booths, made of branches of several sorts of trees, which are particularly mentioned (d). The name of the first sort is עץ הדור גnets hadhar, which we render, “goodly trees.” The Jews will have it to mean the citron †. The next is called תמר thamar, or the palm. The third is עץ עבת gnets gnabhoth, which signifies any thick or bushy wood; by which the Jews understand the myrtle. The last is the willow. But when Nehemiah, upon the revival of this feast, directed the people what branches to gather, he called some of them by different names, which we render olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches (e). Pro-

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bably,

\* See before, chap. 4. p. 209, 210.

(a) John vii. 37. (b) See ver. 2. (c) Levit. xxiii. 39. (d) ver. 40. † Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. v. §. ix. Hottinger in Godwin. lib. iii. cap. vi. §. iii. not. 4 p. 581,—584. (e) Nehem. viii. 15.

bably, therefore, the Karraites were right in their opinion, that it was not the intention of the law to oblige them to use certain trees and no other, but only such as were fit for the purpose, and could be most readily procured, in the places where they dwelt. Accordingly Moses named such trees as were most common in his time, and Nehemiah others that were grown more common in his. It appears from the passage in Nehemiah, that the booths were to be made of these branches; but this is not expressly declared of the boughs mentioned in Leviticus. It is only said, "You shall take on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days." These boughs and branches the Sadducees understand to be for making their booths; but the Pharisees, that they were to be carried in their hands\*; which is the practice of the modern Jews to this day. They tie together one branch of palm, three branches of myrtle, and one of willow. This they carry in their right hands, and in their left they have a branch of citron, with its fruit, or at least of pomecitron, when they cannot procure such a branch. With these, every day of the feast, that is, for seven days, they make a procession in their synagogues round their reading desks, as their ancestors did round the walls of Jericho, in token of the expected downfall of their enemies†. Under each of these branches a mystery is comprehended. The palm, inasmuch as it bears an insipid fruit,

\* Reland. Antiq. ubi supra. See Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. x. §. 4. p. 175. edit. Haverc.

† Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. cap. xxi. p. 460, 461.

fruit, is an emblem of the hypocrite. The myrtle, as it has a fragrant smell, although it be barren, resembles those who perform good works without the law. The willow is an emblem of the wicked, and the citron of the righteous\*. They also turn about with these branches to the four cardinal points, and shake or push with them each way, and upwards and downwards, to drive the devil from them †. While they are making this procession, they sing Hosannah; whence this feast is called by the rabbies, the Hosannah; and sometimes the branches are called by the same name. On the last day, which they call Hosanna rabbah, or the great Hosannah, they make the procession seven times together, in memory of the siege of Jericho. The form of the Hosannah in their ritual, which they sing on this occasion is remarkable, “For thy sake, O our creator, Hosannah; for thy sake, O our redeemer, Hosannah; for thy sake, O our seeker, Hosannah:” as if they beseeched the blessed trinity, saith Dr. Patrick ‡, to save them, and send them help. This feast is kept with the greatest jollity of any of their festivals, especially on the eighth day; when, according to the law, they were to feast and rejoice upon their having gathered in their corn and their wine. Hence, in the talmud, it is often called *אין חג*, the feast, *κατ' ἐξοχην*: and Philo calls it *εορτῶν μεγίστην*, the greatest of the feasts §; and hence likewise this jewish festival came to be more taken notice

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\* Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. cap. xxi. p. 457. edit. 3.

† Buxtorf. cap. xx. p. 459.

‡ Patrick on Levit. xxiii. 40.

§ See Wolfii Curæ Philolog. in Joh. vii. 37.

tice of by the heathens than any other. It is probable King Cecrops took from it the hint of the law which he ordained at Athens, “that the master of every family should after harvest make a feast for his servants, and eat together with them, who had taken pains with him in tilling his ground\*.” And as this jewish festival was kept at the time of the vintage, or presently after it, when “they had gathered in their corn and their wine,” it is not unlikely, that the heathens borrowed their bacchanalia from it; and this might lead Plutarch into that egregious mistake, that the Jews celebrated this festival to the honour of Bacchus; for he saith in his symposia †, “that in the time of the vintage the Jews spread tables, furnished with all manner of fruits, and lived in tabernacles especially of palm and ivy wreathed together, and they call it the feast of tabernacles;” “and then a few days after,” saith he, (referring I suppose to the last day of the feast) “they kept another festivity, which openly shows it was dedicated to Bacchus; for they carried boughs of palms, &c. in their hands, with which they went into the temple, the levites, (who, he fancies, were so called from *Ευίος*, one of the names of Bacchus) going before with instruments of musick, &c.”

Although only the first and last days of this feast were to be kept as sabbaths, there were, nevertheless, peculiar and extraordinary sacrifices appointed for every day of it (a). On the first day, “thirteen young bullocks, two rams and fourteen lambs of the first year” were sacrificed;

\* Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. x. p. 231. edit. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1670.

† Plutarch. Sympos. lib. iv. prob. 5. oper. tom. 2. p. 671. edit. Francof. 1620.

(a) Numb. xxix. 12, et seq.

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crificed; whereas on the other festivals two bullocks sufficed (*a*). The next day twelve bullocks were sacrificed, and so on, with the decrease of one bullock a day, till on the seventh day only seven bullocks were offered; which in all made seventy bullocks. The lambs and the rams also were in a double proportion to the number sacrificed at any other festival. The doctors give this reason for the daily diminution of the number of the bullocks; the whole number, say they, being seventy, was according to the languages of the seventy nations of the world; and the diminution of one every day signified that there should be a gradual diminution of those nations, till all things were brought under the government of the Messiah\*. Others suppose this diminution had a respect to the seventy years of man's age, which is daily decaying †.

For the eighth day, though it was properly a distinct festival, and was to be kept with extraordinary solemnity, fewer sacrifices were appointed than for any of the foregoing seven. On every one of them two rams were offered and fourteen lambs; on this day there were but half as many; and whereas seven bullocks were the fewest that were offered on any of these days, on this there was only one (*b*). By which, Dr. Patrick saith, God consulted perhaps the weakness of mankind, who naturally grow weary both of the charge and labour of such services, when

(*a*) See Numb. xxviii. 11, 19, 27.

\* R. Solomon in Numb. xxix. cited by Lightfoot in his Temple-service, chap. xvi. §. 1.

† Abarbanel in Numb. xxix. cited by Lightfoot, *ubi supra*.

(*b*) Numb. xxix. 36.

when they are long continued; and therefore he made them every day less toilsome and expensive; and put them in mind likewise that the multitude of sacrifices did not procure their acceptance with God, and that in length of time they would come to nothing, and be utterly abolished, to establish something better in their room\*.

Before we dismiss the ceremonies of this feast, we must not forget to mention a very extraordinary one, of which the rabbies inform us, though there is not the least hint of it in the law of Moses, notwithstanding he gives a more particular description of this feast than of any other; namely, the drawing water out of the pool of Siloam, and pouring of it, mixed with wine, on the sacrifice as it lay on the altar †. This they are said to have done with such expressions of joy, that it became a common proverb, “He that never saw the rejoicing of drawing water, never saw rejoicing in all his life ‡.” To this ceremony our Saviour is supposed to refer, when “in the last day, the great day of the feast, he stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink; he that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water (a):” thereby calling off the people from their carnal mirth, and festive  
and

\* See Patrick in loc.

† See this ceremony described in Maimon. de Sacrificiis jugibus, cap. x. §. vii. p. 494, 495. Crenii Fascic. Sexti. in Annot. Constant. L'Empereur, ad cod. Middoth, cap. 2. §. 5. p. 67,—69. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1730. or in Mishn. Surenhus. tom. 5. p. 343, 344.

‡ Mishn. tit. Succah, cap. 5. §. 1. tom. 2. p. 277. edit. Surenhus.

(a) John vii. 37, 38.

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and pompous ceremonies, to seek spiritual refreshment for their souls. The Jews pretend to ground this custom on the following passage of Isaiah, “With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation (a).” This libation was performed every day of the feast, at the time of the morning sacrifice\*; but the greater part of their rejoicing on that occasion was adjourned till evening; when a wild and ridiculous scene of mirth was acted in the court of the temple, by those who were esteemed the wise men of Israel †, namely, by the elders and members of the sanhedrim, the rulers of the synagogues, and doctors of the schools, and such others as were most honoured for their age and piety. All the temple-musick played, and these old men danced, while the women in the balconies round the court, and the men on the ground, were spectators. All the sport was to see these venerable fathers of the nation skip and dance, clap their hands and sing; and they, who played the fool most egregiously, acquitted themselves with most honour; for in this they pretend to imitate the example of David, “who danced before the Lord with all his might, and said, I will be yet more vile than this, and be base in my own sight (b).” In this manner they spent the greater part of the night, till at length two priests sounded a retreat with trumpets. This mad festivity was repeated every evening, except

(a) Isai. xii. 3.

\* Maimon. ubi supra, §. vi.

† Maimon. in Lulahib, cap. viii. §. 12, et seq. See the quotations in Talmudis Babylonici codex Succah, by Dachs, not. 1, 2. ad cap. v. §. iv. p. 451, 452. Traject ad Rhen. 1726.

(b) 2 Sam. vi. 14, 22.

except on the evening before the sabbath which fell in this festival, and on the evening before the last and great day of the feast. It seems, these two evenings were accounted too holy for such ridiculous gambols\*.

We can be at no loss for a reason, why the feast of ingathering, which was annexed to the feast of tabernacles, was celebrated at this season of the year, when the vintage, as well as the corn harvest, was newly finished; in respect to which the feast is said, in the book of Exodus, to be “in the end of the year (a),” though it was not celebrated till three weeks after the new civil year began; and so the next words seem to explain it, “in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered thy labours out of the field:” In which sense it comes nigh our autumn, the latter end of the year. Or, perhaps, the phrase *בַּעֲתֵת הַשָּׁנָה* *betseeth hashanah*, may admit of a different version, for the verb *יָצָא* *jatsa*, signifies not only exit, but, ortus est, in which sense it is applied to the rising of the sun (b), and to the birth of man (c). Accordingly *betseeth hashanah* may be as justly rendered, in *ortu anni*, as in *exitu anni*; in the beginning as in the end of the year, and may as properly be applied to the first month as the last. But it is not so obvious, for what reason the feast of tabernacles was fixed to this season. One might naturally expect, that the annual commemoration of their dwelling in tents in the wilderness, should be celebrated at the same time

\* See a larger account of this ceremony in Lightfoot's Temple-service, chap. xvi. §. iv.

(a) Exod. xxiii. 16.      (b) Gen. xix. 23. Psal.  
xix. 6.      (c) Job i. 21.      1 Kings viii. 19.      Isai.  
xi. 1.

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time of the year, when either they first betook themselves to tents on their leaving Egypt presently after the passover, or when they quitted their tents upon their entrance into Canaan, a little before the passover, which was kept in the plains of Jericho (*a*). Whereas this feast was appointed to be celebrated at near six months distance from either.

Rabbi Jacob Levita conceives, that as it was usual with people in warm climates to live much in tents or booths in summer for coolness, God purposely directed the celebration of this feast to be delayed to that season of the year when the cold mornings, winds and rains, ordinarily obliged them to quit their booths and betake themselves to their houses; that it might appear, their dwelling in booths at this time was not for convenience or pleasure, but in obedience to the divine command\*. Maimonides, on the contrary, observes, that this feast was wisely fixed to that season, when the people might dwell in booths with the least inconvenience, because the weather was then moderate, and they were not wont to be troubled either with heat or with rain †.

Others have, therefore, endeavoured to prove, that this was the time of the year, when Moses came down the second time from the mount, and brought them the joyful news, that God was appeased for the sin of the golden calf; and that he had accordingly ordered the tabernacle to be reared in token that now he no longer disdained to dwell among them, in memo-  
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(*a*) Josh. v. 10.

\* Meyer. de Temporibus et Festis Hebræor. part. ii. cap. xvi. §. iv. p. 318, 319.

† Maimon. Moreh Nebhoch. lib. iii. cap. xliii.

ry of which this feast is supposed to be appointed. However, this is assigning a quite different reason for their dwelling in booths or tabernacles from that which the scripture assigns, for according to the scripture this appointment was designed, not in commemoration of God's dwelling in the tabernacle among them, but of their "dwelling in tents forty years in the wilderness."

The learned Joseph Mede's opinion seems to be the most probable, as well as the most ingenious\*, namely, that this feast was affixed to the time of the year when Christ was to be born, and the dwelling in tabernacles was intended as a type of his incarnation; as St. John seems to intimate, when he saith, "the word was made flesh, *καὶ ἐσκηνώσεν ἐν ἡμῖν*, and tabernacled in or with us (a).

We are assured by the Apostle, that the law in the general had "a shadow of good things to come (b)," or a typical reference to Christ and the gospel dispensation. It is, therefore, incredible, that any of the three grand festivals should be without some illustrious type of him, or should not point to some principal circumstance concerning him; as we know the passover and the pentecost did, the former being a type of his passion, the latter of his sending the first fruits of his spirit, on his setting up the gospel kingdom. And can it be imagined, that the third principal feast, which was more solemn than either of the others, having a more extraordinary course of sacrifices annexed to it, should not typically point to some grand event concerning him and his kingdom? And to what

\* Mede's Diatrib. Disc. xlviii. p. 268. of his works, edit. 1677.

(a) John i. 14.

(b) Heb. x. 1.

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what can we so naturally apply it, especially after the hints St. John has given us in the passage before quoted, as to the incarnation and birth of our Saviour? The events, then, that were typified by the two former feasts, falling out at the very time of those festivals, it is probable the case was the same as to the feast of tabernacles, and that Christ was born at this festival\*.

### Of the time of Christ's nativity.

As to the vulgar opinion, that the birth of Christ was on the twenty-fifth of December, there is not only no good reason for it, but the contrary.

It is certain, this day was not fixed upon in the christian church, as the day of our Saviour's nativity till after the time of Constantine, in the fourth century; and then it was upon a mistaken supposition, that Zacharias, the father of John the baptist, was the high priest, and that the day when he burnt incense upon the altar in the temple, while the people were waiting without, was the day of expiation, or the tenth of the month Tifri, which fell out that year about the middle of September. As soon as Zacharias had fulfilled the days of his ministration, John the baptist was conceived, that is, towards the end of September. Our Saviour was conceived six months after, that is, towards the end of March, and consequently his birth must

\* On the feast of tabernacles, besides the Mishna, tit. Succah, and Dachs. Talmudis babylon. codex Succah, five de Tabernaculorum Festo, passim, see Meyer. de Temporibus et Festis diebus Hebræor. part. 2. cap. xvi. Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. v. Ainsworth on Levit. xxiii. 34,—43. Lightfoot Temple-service, chap. xvi. Leidekker. de Republ. Hebr. lib. ix. cap. vii.

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must fall out towards the end of December. This is the ground upon which the feast of our Saviour's nativity was fixed to the twenty-fifth of December\*. However, that it is erroneous, is very evident; for Zacharias was not in the holy of holies, into which the high priest only entered, when the angel appeared to him; but by the altar of incense, which stood in the sanctuary without the veil (*a*); at which altar the common priests performed their daily ministry. Neither was Zacharias the high priest; for we are told, that "he was of the course of Abia," and that his lot "was to burn incense (*b*);" whereas the high priest was of no course at all, neither did burning incense in the most holy place fall to him by lot, but was part of his proper and peculiar office. Accordingly there is no reason to conclude, that the day when the angel appeared to Zacharias was the day of expiation, which is the foundation of the common opinion concerning the time of the birth of Christ.

I add further, that not only is the vulgar opinion of the season of his nativity destitute of any just ground; but there are good and valid arguments against it. For instance,

There was a decree from Cesar Augustus issued and executed at this season, that all persons, women as well as men, should repair to their respective cities, to be taxed, or enrolled. This occasioned the Virgin Mary to come to Bethlehem at that time; where she was delivered. But surely this decree was not executed in the middle of winter, which was a very severe season in that country, and highly inconvenient  
for

\* Spanhem. *Histon. Eccles. Secul. i. Sect. ii. de Nativitate*, §. iii. p. 523, 524. et *Secul. iv. Sect. vi. de Ritibus*, p. 855. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1701.

(*a*) Luke i. 11.

(*b*) Luke i. 5, 9.

for travelling, especially for such multitudes, and in particular for women in Mary's condition; as may be inferred from what our Saviour saith in the twenty fourth chapter of St. Matthew, concerning the difficulties to which his disciples would be exposed, if their flight, previous to the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, should happen in the winter (a).

Again, at the time when Christ was born, there were shepherds abroad in the fields by night watching their flocks; certainly a very unseasonable service for the winter in Judea, if we may judge of the weather in that country, and at that season, by the Psalmist's description: "He giveth snow like wool, he scattereth the hoar frost like ashes; he casteth forth his ice like morsels; who can stand before his cold (b)?"

Upon the whole, there is great probability, that Christ was not born in December. But, though we do not pretend to be certain of the real time when he was born, there are, however, several reasons to incline us to believe, it was at the feast of tabernacles; particularly, as was hinted before, the synchronism of the type and the antitype in the two other principal feasts; and the same; therefore, was probably the case as to this feast.

Again, Dr. Lightfoot has offered several arguments, to prove that Christ was baptized at the time of the feast of tabernacles\*. But when he was baptized, he was *ὡσεὶ ἕτασι τριακόντα ἄρχομενος*, that is, entering on his thirtieth year (c); consequently this was the same time of the year in which he was born.

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(a) Matt. xxiv. 20.

(b) Psal. cxlvii. 16, 17.

\* See his Harmony on Luke iii. 21.

(c) Luke iii. 23.

Further, Joseph Scaliger observes, that the twenty four courses of the priests, which went through the year, began with the month Nisan about the vernal equinox ; and that consequently the eighth course, to which Zacharias belonged, ministred in the latter part of July. If from thence you reckon the five months to the virgin's conception, and nine more for her gestation, the birth of Christ will fall in the latter end of September, that is, at the season of the feast of tabernacles\*.

\* See Scalig. Fragment. p. 58, 59. ad calcem emend. Temp. Mede's Diatrib. disc. xlviii. on Deut. xvi. 16. Christ's birth mistimed, a Tract. No. iv. in the Phenix, 1707. and in defence of the common opinion, Selden on the Birth-day of our Saviour, apud Opera, vol. 3. tom. 6. p. 1405. et seq.





## C H A P. VII.

### Of the feast of Trumpets and New Moons.

**H**AVING considered the three grand festivals, at which all the male Israelites, who were able, were obliged to assemble at the national altar, we proceed to consider the lesser feasts, of which some were menstrual, others annual. The menstrual were the new moons, which were kept on the first day of every month; and of these one was more remarkable and to be observed with greater solemnity than the rest; namely, on the first day of the month Tisri. This is stiled the “feast of trumpets.”

It is proper first to consider the common new moon feast, of which we find no other institution in the law of Moses, than meerly a prescription of certain sacrifices to be offered on the day of the new moon, or which is the same, on the first day of the month, over and above the sacrifices that were daily offered (*a*).

The sacrifices, prescribed on this occasion, are two young bullocks, one ram and seven  
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lambs

(*a*) See Numb. xxviii. 11,—15.

lambs for a burnt-offering, and a kid of the goats for a sin-offering, to be attended with meat-offerings and drink-offerings, as usual in other sacrifices.

The number of the animal sacrifices are eleven, for which the hebrew doctors have devised the following reason, because the lunar year falls short of the solar by eleven days \*. We find only one precept more in the law of Moses concerning these new moons; namely, that “in their solemn days, and in the beginning of their months, they shall blow with the trumpets over their burnt-offerings, and over the sacrifices of their peace-offerings (a).” But this is rather to be considered as a ceremony attending the sacrifices, than as peculiar to the new moon days; for the same thing is enjoined at their other solemn sacrifices, or on their other solemn days, at the several feasts which are instituted in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, which were to be proclaimed as holy convocations (b), and this was always done by sound of trumpets (c).

Indeed in the eighty-first Psalm this seems to be mentioned as a rite peculiar to the new moon: “Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, at the time appointed, on the solemn feast day (d).” But it is probable the new moon, here mentioned, was the feast of trumpets, or the new moon at the beginning of the month Tifri; for the use of which festival Dr. Patrick supposes this Psalm was composed. This was the chief new moon of the year, and was distinguished from the rest by peculiar rites,  
particu-

\* Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. vii. §. iv. p. 510. edit. 3.

(a) Numb. x. 10. . . . (b) Levit. xxiii. 2.      (c) Numb. x. 7, 8.      (d) Psal. lxxxii. 3.

particularly by the blowing of trumpets, as we shall see hereafter.

The trumpet, or musical instrument, of which Asaph here speaks as to be sounded on the new moon to which he refers, was the שופר shophar, made of horn, and therefore sometimes rendered the cornet; whereas the instrument used on the ordinary new moons, or at the beginning of their months, was the חצוצרת chatzotrah (*a*), which was made of silver (*b*). Of both these instruments we have formerly given an account\*.

The new moon to which Asaph refers, was to be kept as a sabbath, for it is called a solemn feast-day. But I do not find the ordinary new moons ever so stiled; nor does it appear by the law of Moses, that they were to be observed as sacred festivals, or sabbath-days, in which no servile work was to be done. They are not mentioned among the sacred feasts in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus. Nor is any thing prescribed on those days more than the offering of the sacrifices already mentioned. Nevertheless sacrifices relating to and implying devotion in the offerers, those days were accounted more sacred than common ones, and were accordingly observed by pious Israelites for the exercises of devotion; they used at these seasons to repair to the prophets, or other ministers of God, to hear his word. This occasioned the Shunamite's husband enquiring, for what end she desired to go to the prophet that day, "when it was neither new moon, nor sabbath;" a plain intimation, that

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(*a*) Numb. x. 10. (*b*) ver. 2.

\* See vol. 1. p. 276, 277.

it had been her custom to do it on those days. The new moons and sabbaths are mentioned together, as days of publick worship, by several of the prophets. “It shall come to pass, saith the prophet Isaiah, that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord (a).” Again, “thus saith the Lord God, (by the prophet Ezekiel,) the gate of the inner court, that looketh towards the east, shall be shut the six working-days; but on the sabbath it shall be opened, and on the day of the new moon it shall be opened (b).” And in the following remarkable passage of the prophet Amos, “Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, when will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, &c (c).” It appears from this passage, that though the law did not expressly require, that they should abstain from servile work on the new moon, as it did on the sabbath; worldly business, notwithstanding, was in a good measure, laid aside on those days.

Besides the publick, national sacrifices that were to be offered on the new moons, it was customary to make feasts, probably on the more private sacrifices offered by particular persons and families (d).

In the opinion of the rabbies, whilst men are allowed to follow their vocations on the new moons, as on other days; the women were exempted from all labour. For they pretend, the

(a) Isai. lxvi. 23.      (b) Ezek. xlvi. 1.      (c) Amos viii. 5.  
 (d) See 1 Sam. xx. 5, 6.

the new moon is in a peculiar manner the festival of the women, in commemoration of their liberality at the time of erecting the tabernacle, in contributing their most valuable jewels to promote the magnificence of the divine service, which memorable action was performed, they say, on the new moon of the month Nisan\*.

It does not appear in scripture by what method the ancient Jews fixed the time of the new moon, and whether they kept this feast on the day of the conjunction, or on the first day of the moon's appearing. The rabbies are of the latter opinion. They tell us, that for want of astronomical tables, the Sanhedrim, about the time of the new moon, sent out men to watch upon the tops of mountains, and give immediate notice to them of its first appearance; upon which a fire was made on the top of mount Olivet, which, being seen at a distance, was answered by fires on the tops of other mountains, and they in like manner by others still more remote; by which means the notice was quickly spread through the whole land. But experience at length taught them that this kind of intelligence was not to be depended on, the Samaritans, and other prophane persons, sometimes kindling such fires on the tops of mountains at a wrong season on purpose to deceive the people, and disturb the order of the sacred festivals. In later time, therefore, the Sanhedrim was forced to send expresses on this occasion to all parts of the country.

It is further added, that because of the uncertainty that would attend this way of fixing

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\* See Buxtorf's *Synag. judaic.* cap. xxii. p. 473, 474. edit. 3. et *Le dekker. de Republ. Hebræor.* lib. ix. cap. ii. p. 538, 539. Amstel 1704.

the time of the new moon, especially in cloudy weather, they observed two days, that they might be secure of being in the right \*. Hence they account for Saul's expecting David at his table two days successively, on the feast of the new moon (a).

The modern Jews keep this festival, by repeating certain prayers in their synagogues, and afterwards by feasting in their own houses †; and some devotees fast on the vigil of it ‡.

Many of them add another ceremony about three days after. They meet in companies in the night in some open place, when they bless God in a prayer of considerable length, for having created the moon, and for having renewed her, to teach the Israelites that they ought to become new creatures. Then they leap up thrice in the air as high as they are able, and say to the moon, "As we leap up towards thee without being able to touch thee, so may it be impossible for our enemies to rise up against us to hurt us ||."

The reason of God's appointing peculiar sacrifices to be offered at the new moon, might be in part, to make the time of it more carefully observed; which was a matter of considerable importance, not only to prevent confusion in their chronology, since they reckoned by lunar months; but likewise, because the true time of observing all their great festivals depended upon it. Nevertheless I conceive the chief reason of this institution was to preserve the Israelites from the idolatry of the heathens, who used to offer sacrifices to the new moon.

Thus

\* See above, chap. I. p. 120, 121. (a) 1 Sam. xx. 24.

† Buxtorf. Synag. cap. xxiv. p. 500, 504. ‡ Buxtorf. cap. xxiii. p. 489. || See Bagnage's History of the Jews, book v. chap. xiv. §. ix. p. 451, 452.

Thus among the Athenians, the first day of the month was *τη νεωτατη ημερα*, a most holy day, as Plutarch styles it\*. And there was a law, *ταις νεμυνιαις θυειν*, to offer sacrifices on the new moons †. Some indeed have observed so great a resemblance in several articles of the athenian law, to that of Moses, as to suspect that the athenian lawgiver took the hint of many of them from the jewish institutions. Be that as it will, nothing is more likely than that as the sun and the moon were the principal idols the heathens worshiped, it was usual for them to pay their devotions to the moon, probably by sacrifices, chiefly at the time of her first appearing after the change. In order, therefore, to check this species of idolatry, God commanded the Israelites to offer solemn sacrifices to him at the same time, that the heathens were sacrificing to the moon. Accordingly it is very observable, that the sin-offering on this occasion, which was to be a kid of the goats, is particularly and expressly directed to be offered to Jehovah (*a*). The design of this, Grotius observes, was to put them in mind of the right object of worship, at a time when they were in peculiar danger of being seduced to offer sacrifices to the moon after the manner of the heathens. Which remark is the more worthy of notice, in that, though in the same chapter a goat is ordered to be sacrificed for a sin-offering, both at the feast of the passover and at pentecost (*b*); yet it is not said in either instance,

\* Plutarch. de vitando aere alieno, oper. tom. 2. p. 828. A. edit. Francof. 1620.

† Vid. Petiti Comment. in Leges Atticas, lib. i. tit. 1. p. 85.

(*a*) Numb. xxviii. 15.

(*b*) ver. 22,—30.

stance, that it must be offered to Jehovah, though it was, no doubt, so intended; in all probability because there was no such danger of this kind of idolatry at those seasons, as there was at the new moon. Maimonides likewise hath observed that “this sin-offering is so peculiarly said to be unto the Lord, lest any should think this goat to be a sacrifice to the moon after the manner of the Egyptians, who used to sacrifice one to the moon at this time, as they did to the sun at his rising\*.” And it seems, among the heathens, the goat was a favourite sacrifice to the moon, because the horns of that animal somewhat resemble the new moon †. Thus much for the common new moon.

The new moon which began the month Tifri, the seventh of the ecclesiastical, but the first of the civil year, was to be observed with more than ordinary solemnity, not only with several sacrifices additional to those that were offered on other new moons; but it was to be kept as a sabbath, in which they were to have a holy convocation, and to do no servile work. And besides the sounding the trumpets over the sacrifices, as on the other new moons and solemn festivals; this was to be “a day of blowing the trumpets(a),” that is, as the ancient Jews understand it, they were to be blown from morning to evening ‡; at least it imports they were to be blown more on this day than on any other.

This

\* Moreh Nebhoch. part. iii. cap. xlvi. præsertim p. 488.

† Spencer de Legibus Hebræor. lib. iii. dissert. iv. cap. 1. sect. v. p. 814. tom. 2. edit. Cantab. 1727.

(a) Numb. xxix. 1.

‡ Munster. in loc. et Buxtorf, Synag. cap. xxiv. p. 504.

This day is also called “a memorial of blowing of trumpets (a).”

The scripture no where expressly assigning the reason of this festival, and particularly of the blowing of trumpets, from whence it is called the feast of trumpets, the learned are very much divided about it. Maimonides thinks it was instituted to awaken the people to repentance against the annual fast or great day of expiation, which followed nine days after. He makes the sound of the trumpet on this day to be in effect saying, “Shake off your drowsiness ye that sleep, search and try your ways, remember your creator and repent, bethink yourselves and take care of your souls, &c\*.”

Some have supposed, that the apostle refers to this use and meaning of blowing the trumpets, in the following passage of the epistle to the Ephesians, “Wherefore he saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light (b).” Accordingly they make the nominative case to λεγει, he saith, to be Θεος, God, as speaking by the voice or sound of the trumpet. To this it may be objected, not only that there is no intimation in scripture, that the trumpets were blown for the purposes Maimonides imagines; but likewise that the apostle would hardly have referred to a Jewish ceremony, as if the meaning of it were well known, when he was writing to the Gentiles, who

(a) Levit. xxiii. 24. See the institution of this festival, Numb. xxix. 1,—6. Levit. xxiii. 24, 25.

\* Maimon. de pœnitentiâ cap. iii. §. vi. p. 56. edit. et vers. Clavering. Oxon. 1705. See also Moreh Nebhoch. part. iii. cap. xliii. p. 471, 472. edit. Buxtorf. 1629. and Shom Tobh on Maimonides, quoted by Flottinger on Godwin, lib. iii. cap. vii. §. vi. not. 4. p. 601.

(b) Ephes. v. 14.

who probably were unacquainted with the ceremony itself, and much more with its design and intention. Others therefore suppose the nominative case to *λεγει* is *γραφή*, the scripture, or God speaking in the scripture, and that there is a reference to the following passage of Isaiah, “Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee (a):” quoted by the apostle, though not verbatim, yet according to the sense; while others apprehend the allusion is not so much to any particular passage, as to the general and principal design of the sacred oracles, which evidently is, to awaken, convert and save sinners.

It is an ingenious conjecture of Heumannus\*, that this passage is taken out of one of those hymns, or spiritual songs, which were in common use in the christian church in those times, and which are mentioned by the apostle in a subsequent passage, “Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs (b).” This author observes, that it consists of three metrical lines,

*Εγείραι ο καθευδων,  
Και ανασα εκ των νεκρων,  
Και επιραυσει σοι ο Χριστος.*

As for *οτι λεγει*, he makes it to be the same with *οτι λεγεται*, “wherefore it is said (c).” But, on supposition that these lines were taken out of some hymns or spiritual songs, known to have been composed by inspiration, I should rather

(a) Isa. lx. 1.

\* Poecilus tom. 2. lib. ii. p. 390. as cited by Wolfius, *Curæ philologicæ* in loc.

(b) Ephes. v. 19.

(c) As in Rom. xv. 10.

rather think the nominative case to λεγεις may be Θεος, or πνευμα αγιον. To return to the subject we are upon.

It may be further objected to Maimonides and some other Jews, who conceive the design of blowing the trumpets was to awaken men to repentance, that זכרון תרועה zickron terungnah, which we render “a memorial of blowing the trumpets (a),” properly signifies a memorial of triumph, or shouting for joy; for, as Dr. Patrick observes\*, the word תרועה terungnah, is never used in scripture but for a sound or shout of rejoicing, as the chaldee גבא jabbaba, by which Onkelos renders it, always signifies †.

Other Jews, therefore, make the blowing of the trumpet to be a memorial of Isaac’s deliverance by means of the ram, which was substituted to be sacrificed in his stead. Accordingly they say, the trumpets blown on this day must be made of rams horns; and such are those which the modern Jews blow in their synagogues ‡.

They sound the horn thirty times, sometimes slow; and sometimes quick. If the trumpeter sounds it clear and well, they reckon it a preface of a happy year; if otherwise, they express their concern by the sadness of their countenances, esteeming it an unfavourable omen. When he hath done, the people repeat these words loudly and distinctly §, “Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound; they shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance (b). And when they return from the synagogue, their

(a) Levit. xxiii. 24. \* Patrick on Numb. xxix. 1.

† See Chaldee Paraphrase on Numb. xxix. 1.

‡ Abarbanel in Levit. xxiii. 24. § Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. cap. xxiv. p. 502. (b) Psal. lxxxix. 15.

their salutation to one another is, “Mayest thou be written in a good year;” the reply, “And thou also\*.”

Some of the christian fathers, particularly Basil † and Theodoret ‡, make the founding of the trumpets on this day, to be a memorial of the giving of the law at mount Sinai, which was attended with the sound of a trumpet (*a*). But the opinion, more generally embraced both by Jews and Christians, is, that it was a memorial of the creation of the world, at which the “sons of God shouted for joy (*b*);” and which is supposed, not altogether without reason, to have been at this season of the year. The month Tifri, therefore, was not only anciently, but is still, reckoned by the Jews the first month of the year; and the feast of tabernacles, which was kept in this month, was said to be תקופת השנה *tekuphath hashanah* (*c*). which we render, “at the end,” but in the margin more truly, “at the revolution of the year;” importing, that at this season the year had revolved, and was beginning anew. So that the feast of trumpets was indeed the new years day, on which the people were solemnly called to rejoice in a grateful remembrance of all God’s benefits to them through the last year, which might be intended by blowing the trumpets; as well as to implore his blessing upon them for the ensuing year, which was partly the intention of the sacrifices on this day offered.

The modern Jews have a notion, which they derive from the mishna §, that on this day God judges

\* Buxtorf. p. 497, 498.      † Basil. in Psal. lxxxi.

‡ Theodoret. Quæstiones in Levit. Quæst. 32.

(*a*) Exod. xix. 16.      (*b*) Job xxxviii. 7.      (*c*) Exod. xxxiv. 27.

§ Mishn. tit. Rosh hashanah, cap. 1. §. 2. tom. 1. p. 311.

judges all men, who pass before him as a flock before the shepherd. Therefore, as Basnage saith, their zealots spend, some a whole month before hand, others four days, and especially the eve of this feast, in confessing their sins, beating their breasts, and some in lashing their bare backs by way of penance, in order to procure a favourable judgment on this decisive day. He adds, if Christians should be told that they have derived their vigils, their whipcord discipline, and the merit annexed to them from the Jews, though they would not be pleased, it is nevertheless probable\*.

As for the long account, which Godwin gives us of the translation of feasts, it is mere rabbinical trifling, without the least foundation in the sacred oracles, and of consequence, utterly unworthy our attention†.

\* See Basnage's History of the Jews, book v. chap. xiii.

On the Feast of Trumpets, see Meyer. de Tempor. et Festis Diebus Hebræor.

† Vid. Bochart. Hieroz. part. 1. lib. ii. cap. 1. oper. tom. 2. p. 561; 562. Lugd. Bat. 1712.





## C H A P. VIII.

### Of the day of Expiation.

**G**ODWIN stiles this day the feast of expiation, whereas it was altogether a fast, a day of deep humiliation, and of “afflicting their souls (*a*).” Nevertheless he is so inconsistent with himself, that he understands the fast mentioned in the account of St. Paul’s voyage to Rome (*b*), to be meant of the day of expiation. It is true there is no express injunction in the law of Moses nor any where in the Old Testament to fast on this solemnity. But that it was understood to be a fast by the Jews, appears from Josephus\* and Philo†, who both stile this day *נסתתא*, “the fast.” The rabbies commonly distinguish it by the name of *תענית הגדול* *tsoma rabba*, the great fast‡. Tertullian likewise, speak-

(*a*) See an account of the institution of this annual solemnity, Levit. xvi. and chap. xxiii. 27,—32.

(*b*) Acts xxvii. 9.

\* Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. x. §. 3. p. 172.

† Philo de Vitâ Mosis, lib. ii. oper. p. 508. F. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

‡ Midrasch Ruth. 46. 4. et Echa Rabbati. So. 1. quoted by Reland, Antiq. part. iv. cap. vi. §. 1. p. 492.

speaking of the two goats that were offered on this day, saith, jejuniō offerebantur, they were offered on the fast\*.

As for the fast mentioned in the account of St. Paul's voyage, and concerning which it is said, that "sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was now past (*a*)," Castalio, not being able to conceive what a jewish fast could have to do with sailing, supposes there is an error in the greek copy; and that instead of *πνευμα*, it should be *πνευμα*, which signifies calm weather; and according to him the meaning is, that sailing was now dangerous, because the fine weather, or calm season, was now over. However, all the manuscripts and ancient versions remonstrate against this emendation; and indeed there is no need of it, to support even Castalio's own sense of the passage; for this jewish fast being kept on the tenth day of the month Tisri, a little after the autumnal equinox, it is in fact the same thing to say, the fast was already past, or the calm season of the year was over.

Before the invention and use of the compass, sailing was rarely practised in the winter months; and it was reckoned very dangerous to put to sea after the autumnal equinox. Hesiod observes, that at the going down of the pleiades navigation is dangerous †; and the going down of the pleiades, he saith, was in autumn, when after harvest they began to plow ‡. Again, speaking of safe and prosperous sailing, for which he allots fifty days after the summer sol-

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\* Tertullian adversus Judæos, cap. xiv. oper. p. 201. C. edit. Rigalt.

(*a*) Acts xxvii. 9.

† Hesiod. Opera et Dies, lib. ii. l. 236,—240.

‡ Hesiod. lib. ii. l. 2.

stice, he admonishes to make haste, and get home before the time of new wine, and the autumnal storms, which made the sea difficult and dangerous \*. Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyaneus †, saith, that at the latter end of autumn the sea was more unsettled. And Philo speaks of the beginning of autumn as the last season that was fit for navigation ‡. These testimonies sufficiently demonstrate, that when the sacred historian declares, that “failing was now dangerous, because the fast was already past,” he speaks according to the common sense and apprehension of those times; and he likewise ascertains the season of the year, when this fast was kept, to be about, or soon after the autumnal equinox; which answering to the time of the day of expiation among the Jews, renders it highly probable, that this was the particular fast to which the writer of the Acts refers. As to the objection of Erasmus Schmidius §, that it is improbable these alexandrian mariners should denominate the seasons of the year from jewish fasts or festivals, he should have observed, that the passage under consideration is not the words of the alexandrian mariners, but of Luke the historian, who was a Jew by nation, and no doubt therefore, denominated the seasons from some jewish fast, according to the custom of his country.

Scaliger || conceives the fast here referred to, was that in the month Tebeth, or the tenth month,

\* Hesiod. lib. ii. l. 281,—295.

† Philostrat. in vitâ Apollonii. lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 168. A. edit. Paris. 1608.

‡ Philo. Legat. ad Caium, oper. p. 770. B. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.      § Erasmus Schmidius in loc.

|| De Emendat. Tempor. cited by Wolfius, Curæ Philolog. in Act. xxvii. 9.

month, answering to our December or January; which fast is mentioned by the prophet Zéchariah (*a*), and was kept in memory of Nebuchadnezzar's sitting down before Jerusalem, to besiege it, on the tenth day of the month (*b*). Scaliger has been followed in this opinion, by several others; but is confuted by Hafæus\*, who shows, that sailing was absolutely disused, both by the Romans and Greeks, in the depth of winter. The Romans shut up the sea, or forbad sailing from the third of the ides of November to the sixth of the ides of March, that is, from November the twenty-second to March the twenty-first; and it appears by Theophrastus †, that the Greeks opened the sea at their Dionysia, or feast of Bacchus, which was kept in March. It is therefore, altogether improbable, or rather incredible, that the ship in which Paul sailed, should put to sea soon after the fast of the tenth month. It remains then, that the fast here intended, must be the day of expiation, which fell out in our September or October.

This account from Hafæus will likewise explain the reason of Paul's and his companions stopping three months at Melita, before they could get a passage to Italy. "After three months we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle (*c*)." Now, supposing they first put to sea at the beginning or middle of October, yet sailing slowly, and much time being spent before their ship-

S 2 wreck,

(*a*) Zech. viii. 19.      (*b*) 2 Kings xxv. 1.

\* See his Discourse de Computatione Mensium Paulini Itineris, in the Bibliotheca Bremensis, Class. 1. p. 17. & seq.

† Theophrast. Charact. Ethic. cap. iv. alias 3.

(*c*) Acts xxviii. 11.

wreck (*a*), probably they did not arrive at Melita till the middle of December; and there they were forced to stay till the sea was opened in the spring, or till the law allowed them to put to sea again, in March.

Upon the whole, as there is great reason to conclude, that the fast which was lately past at the beginning of Paul's voyage, was the day of expiation; we may from hence infer, that this day was kept as a fast by the Jews; though as we before observed, fasting is not expressly enjoined in the mosaick institution; unless it was included, or, as some have thought, directly intended in the words, "Ye shall afflict your souls (*b*)."  
 This seems to be the meaning of the same expression in the following passage of Isaiah, "Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord (*c*)?"  
 Among the several external rites here particularly specified, as belonging to a fast, and as carefully observed by the hypocritical Jews, there is nothing said of their abstinence from food, which undoubtedly belonged to a fast, and might naturally have been expected to have been mentioned on this occasion, unless it be intended by the phrase, "afflicting their souls." By the soul we may understand the sensitive part of man, which is afflicted by fasting. Accordingly David saith, that he had "humbled his soul with fasting (*d*)."  
 The word here translated humbled, is the same which in Leviticus

(*a*) Acts xxvii. 7; 9.  
 (*c*) Isai. lviii. 5.

(*b*) Levit. xvi. 29.  
 (*d*) Psal. xxxv. 13.

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is rendered, afflicted. And if by the soul we understand the rational soul or mind, some have observed a natural connection betwixt afflicting the soul with a deep penitential sense of sin, and bodily fasting; inasmuch as great grief never fails to pall the appetite, and incline men to fast; and therefore “afflicting their souls” very naturally implies abstinence from food. Hence, perhaps, the light of nature hath led men to practice fasting, as a proper token and evidence of inward contrition. Thus the Ninevites, though heathens, proclaimed a fast of strict abstinence from food, when they were threatened with speedy destruction (*a*). We find, indeed, no scripture example of religious fasting before the institution of this annual-fast by Moses; yet this silence concerning it will by no means prove it was never practised. But from the time of Moses the Jewish history abounds with instances and examples of this sort. After the unexpected defeat before Ai, Joshua and all the elders of Israel continued prostrate before the ark from morning to night (*b*); which must therefore be without eating. The same was practised by the eleven tribes, upon the desolation which had befallen the tribe of Benjamin: they “wept, and sat there before the Lord, and fasted that day untill evening (*c*).” And again by all the people at Mizpeh, in token of their repentance for having served Baalim and other strange gods (*d*); and particularly by David, in hopes of saving the life of the child which he had by Bathsheba (*e*), and on other occasions, when, as

S 3

he

(*a*) Jon. iii. 5, 7.  
xx. 26.

(*b*) Josh. vii. 6.

(*d*) 1 Sam. vii. 6.

(*c*) Judg.

(*e*) 2 Sam. xii. 16.

he saith in the before-cited passage, he “ humbled his soul with fasting.”

Besides the annual fast in the seventh month, we read of three others kept by the Jews after their return from the captivity; one in the fourth month, another in the fifth, another in the tenth (*a*). The later Jews had so multiplied them, that they filled almost half their kalendar.

According to the rabbies, the fast we are now speaking of was to be observed with extraordinary strictness; they mention six things in particular, which they were that day to abstain from, namely, eating, drinking, washing, anointing themselves, wearing shoes, at least those made of leather, and the use of the marriage bed\*.

This fast being called a sabbath, and being kept like a sabbath, by their abstaining from all servile work (*b*), as probably their other fasts were, might occasion the error of those heathen writers, who represent the Jews as fasting on their weekly sabbaths. Suetonius cites Octavius saying, in an epistle to Tiberius, “ Ne Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam diligenter sabbatis jejunium servat quam ego hodie servavi: a Jew does not observe the fast of his sabbath so carefully, as I have done to day †.” And Justin saith of Moses, Quo (sc. ad montem Synæ) septem dierum jejunio per deserta Arabiæ cum populo suo fatigatus, cum tandem venisset

(*a*) Zech. viii. 19.

\* Mishn. tit. Joma, cap. 8. §. 1. tom. 2. p. 252. Surenhus.

(*b*) Lev. xvi. 31.

† Sueton. in vit. Octav. cap. lxxvi. p. 473, 474. tom. 1. edit. Pitisci, Traject. ad Rhen. 1690.

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venisset, septimum diem, more gentis sabbatum appellatum, in omne ævum jejunium sacrauit, quoniam illa dies famem illis erroremque finierat: that arriving at mount Sinai, after wandering and fasting in the deserts of Arabia seven days, he consecrated every seventh day, called the sabbath, for a perpetual fast, because that day had put a period to their wandering and hunger\*.

This annual fast is called in the hebrew יום הכפרים *jom hacchipurim*, the day of atonement κατ' ἐξοχὴν (a), because of the extraordinary expiatory sacrifices offered thereon, and because the rites, which the law prescribed to be then used, were more eminently typical of the ministry of our great high priest Jesus Christ, and of the atonement made by him for the sins of his people, than those which appertained to any other festival. And whereas other expiatory sacrifices atoned for particular sins, and the sins of particular persons, the Jews say, the sacrifices of this day atoned for all the sins of the foregoing year, and that of the whole nation †. They add likewise, that on this day satan had no power to do any harm to their nation, as he had on the other three hundred and sixty four days of the year. Which opinion is abundantly confirmed by the cabalists; for they find that the letters of the word, הַשָּׂטָן *hasatan*, make, according to their gematria, three hundred sixty and four ‡.

S 4

Several

\* Justin. lib. xxxvi. cap. ii. §. 14. p. 524. edit. Grævii, Lugd. Bat. 1701.

(a) Lev. xxiii. 27.

† Mishn. tit. Joma, cap 3. §. 8. with respect to offences against their neighbours, the expiation was on condition the offended persons were appeased. See §. 9.

‡ Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. cap. xxvi. p. 535. edit. 3...

Several reasons are assigned by the Jews, for God's fixing this annual fast and expiation to the tenth day of the month Tisri. For instance, their tradition saith, this was the day on which Adam repented of his transgression, and God was reconciled to him; and the day also on which Abraham was circumcised; and therefore they were in so particular a manner to repent of and atone for their transgressions of God's covenant, on this day, when they (as being included in their father Abraham) were first taken into covenant with God\*.

Further, the rabbies tell us, this was the day on which Moses came down the last time from the mount, having received the second table from God, with an assurance of his having pardoned their sin of the golden calf; and therefore it was annually to be kept as a day of expiation and plenary remission †.

It was probably on this last jewish tradition, that Mohammed founded the institution of his annual fast on the month Ramadan, in which he saith, the Coran, was sent down from heaven ‡.

On these jewish traditions we can have no dependance; nor need we be solicitous to discover the reason of God's appointing the tenth of the month Tisri for the day of expiation in preference to any other, since the absolute silence of scripture concerning it is a sufficient indication,

\* Abarbanel in Levit. xxiii. cited by Meyer. de Temporibus & Festis Hebræor. part. 2. cap. xv. §. iii. p. 309, 310. and more fully by Nicolai, Annot. in Cunæum de Republ. Hebræor. lib. ii. cap. iv. not. 1. p. 223, 224. Lugd. Bat. 1703.

† Maimon. Moreh Nebhoch. part. iii. cap. xliii.

‡ Sale's translation of the Coran, chap. 2. p. 21.

indication, that the knowledge of it is of no importance.

We have only to observe further concerning the time of this fast, that it was to be kept from evening to evening (*a*): which expression, as it is peculiar to this day, and is not used concerning the weekly sabbath or any other festival, the Jews understand to import more than a natural day; or that this fast was to comprehend the evening, or some of the latter part, of the ninth day, as well as the whole tenth. Although, therefore, the tenth day of the month is appointed for the day of atonement (*b*), yet it is said (*c*), “ye shall afflict your souls in the ninth day at evening.”

Accordingly they are said to have begun this half an hour before sun set on the ninth, and to have continued it till half an hour after sun set on the tenth. So that this sabbath was an hour longer than any other\*. It is therefore called in the Talmud יוֹמָא Joma, the day by way of eminence; and by the hellenistic jews, σαββατον σαββατον.

We now proceed to the consideration of those rites, with which the day of expiation was to be observed. And here from the rabbies I might give you a long detail of those which were preparatory, and were used for several days before hand; especially relating to the highpriest, who on this day was to perform the most solemn part of all his ministry. They tell us, that leaving his own house, he constantly resided in an apartment of the temple for a week before,

(*a*) Lev. xxiii. 32.

(*b*) Lev. xxiii. 27.

(*c*) ver. 32.

\* Maimon. de Solennitate expiationum, cap. i. §. vi. p. 823, 824. Crenii Fascicul. septimi.

before, and during every day practised the sacred rites, such as sprinkling the blood of the daily sacrifices, burning incense, &c. that he might be expert in performing the peculiar duties of his office on the day of expiation. And lest after all he should be ignorant or unmindful of them, the Sanhedrim sent elders to read the ceremonial to him, to direct him in the service, requisite on this occasion, and to swear him not to make any alteration in it\*. But as Basnage very justly observes, the Talmudists make no scruple to invent ceremonies unknown to their fathers †; we shall therefore pass over the rites mentioned by them without any further notice, and attend only to those that are prescribed in the divine law.

Besides fasting, spoken of before, this day was to be kept with all the strict and religious regard of a sabbath (*a*), and with offering sacrifices, first, for the highpriest and his family, and then for the people (*b*).

The victims, offered on this day, including the daily burnt-offerings, were fifteen. The two first were a bullock and a ram, and were designed to make atonement for the “highpriest himself, and for his house;” by which is probably meant the other priests, and perhaps the whole tribe of Levi; for the priests are  
called

\* Mishn. tit. Joma, cap. i. §. 1,—5. p. 206,—209. tom. 2. edit. Surenhusii. Maimon. de Solenni Die Expiationum, cap. i. §. iii,—v. p. 653,—655. Crenii Fascic. septimi. See also Buxtorf. de Synag. cap. xxv, xxvi.

† Basnage’s history of the Jews, book v. chap. xiii. §. vi. p. 448.

(*a*) Lev. xxiii. 32. xvi. 29.      (*b*) Heb. vii. 27.  
See an account of these sacrifices in Lev. xvi. 3, 5, 8. and Numb. xxix. 7,—11.

called "the house of Aaron (a)." However, rabbi Jehuda, understanding by the highpriest's house chiefly his wife, makes it so necessary for him to have a wife on this day, that if she died, he must marry another; that he might satisfy the law, by making expiation for himself and his wife. But this opinion is rejected by the other rabbies\*.

Of the victims, none are more remarkable than the two goats, which the high-priest was to receive from the congregation, and to set them before the tabernacle; casting lots, which of the two should be immediately sacrificed, and which should be sent alive into the wilderness, after the sins of the people had been confessed over him, and laid as it were upon him. The manner in which these lots were cast, does not appear in scripture. But if we may credit the rabbies, there was an urn brought to the high-priest, into which he threw two wooden lots, on one of which was written, "For the Lord;" on the other, "For לַיהוָה gnazazel; the word which we render, the scape goat. After he had shaken them, he put both his hands into the urn, and brought up the lots, one in each hand; and as the goats stood one on each side of him, their fate was determined by the lot that came up in the hand next to them. If the right hand brought up the lot for the Lord, they regarded it as a good omen. This, they say, fell out through the whole priesthood of Simeon the Just. If the left hand brought up that lot, they accounted it as  
a bad

(a) Psal. cxv. 10, 12. and cxxxv, 19.

\* Mishn. tit. Joma, cap. 1. §. 1. cum notis Maimon. & Bartenor. in loc. p. 206. tom. 2. edit. Surenhus.

a bad omen, and an indication that God was not pacified\*.

The goat, on which the lot fell for life, is called in the Hebrew גִּזְזָזֵל gnazazel (a): concerning the meaning of which word there are divers opinions. The chief are the three following:

1st, The most common opinion is, that גִּזְזָזֵל gnazazel is a name given to the goat itself, on account of his being let go; as being derived from גִּזְזָז gnez a goat and אֵזֵל azel, abiit, to go away. Thus it is explained by Buxtorf †, and by Paulus Fagius ‡ and many others §; and so it was understood by our translators; who therefore render it a scape goat; the septuagint likewise renders it ἀποπομπάιος, and the vulgate emissarius. To this interpretation it is, however, objected, that גִּזְזָז gnaz, signifying a she goat, אֵזֵל azel, which is the third persons masculine, cannot agree with it. Bochart, therefore, derives gnazazel from the Arabick word gnazala, signifying to remove or separate; and understands by it a separate place or wilderness ||. But others perceive no occasion to have recourse to the Arabick, as with respect to compound words such an enallage generis is not uncommon in the Hebrew\*\*.

2dly,

\* Mishn. tit. Joma, cap. 3. §. 9. p. 223. tom. 2. & Maimon. de Solenni Die Expiationum, cap. iii. §. i, —iii. p. 665, —668. Crenii Fascic. Septimi.

(a) Lev. xvi. 8.

† Buxtorf. Lexic. Hebraic. & Chaldaic. in verb.

‡ Fagius in loc. apud Criticos Sacros.

§ Francisc. Turretine de Veritate Satisfact. Christi, part. iii. §. xxiv. p. 141. Genevæ, 1666.

|| Bochart. Hierozoic. part. 1. lib. ii. cap. liv. p. 653 & seq.

\*\* Vid. Witfii Œconom. Fœder. lib. iv. cap. vi. §. liii. p. 506. edit. Leovard. 1677. Mr. Jones, in his M. S. lectures

2dly, The second opinion, espoused by Le Clerc \*, is, that gnazazel was the name of a place, either a mountain or cliff, to which the goat was led, and from thence, as the rabbies say, he was cast down and killed †. In favour of this it is alledged, that the words in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, “He that let go the goat לַעֲזָזֶיךָ langnazazel,” cannot be properly rendered any other way than, to gnazazel; which intimates, that gnazazel must be a place.

To this it is objected, that those who have examined the geography of the holy land, have never been able to point out any place of that name, except in an anonymous writer of very little credit, mentioned by Aben Ezra, who speaks of such a mountain near Mount Sinai, which must have been too far distant, for the  
scape

lectures on Godwin, observes, that the word גֵּזַע gnez, seems to be of the epicene gender. Non diffitendum est quidem, inquit ille, quin גֵּזַע gnez, quam plurimum in scripturis usurpatur in genere femineo; sed non inde sequitur quod ea vox nunquam in masculino fuit usurpata; revera vero potius vox epicena videtur, quæ utrique generi tribui possit, quum pluralem format more masculinorum; & quod revera ita est ex Gen. xxx. 32, 33. constare videtur; procul dubio enim hircos æque ac capras habuit Labanus, & quamvis ibi Com. 35. usurpantur adjectiva feminei generis, tamen cap. xxxi. 8. eadem adjectiva de iisdem rebus in masculino usurpantur.

\* This is the opinion of R. Bechai, R. Solomon, R. Levi Ben Gerson, Aben Ezra, and other jewish writers, and of Cunæus, Vatablus, Schindler, and other Christians. See Nicolai, Annot. in Cunæum, lib. ii. cap. vi. It is likewise the opinion of Hottinger. See his notes on Godwin.

† Mishn. tit. Joma, cap. 6. §. 6. cum not. Sheringham. tom. 2. p. 243, 244. edit. Surenhus. Targum Jonathan Ben Uziel in Lev. xvi. 10. apud Walton Polyglot. tom. 4. Maimon. de Solenni Die Expiationum, cap. iii. §. vii. p. 674. Crenii Fascicul. septimi.

scape-goat to have been conducted thither from Jerusalem. Besides, Moses usually prefixes the word mount to the proper name of any mountain; as Mount Hebor, Mount Gerizim, &c.\*.

3dly, The third opinion is that of Spencer †, who is followed by Witsius ‡, Coccejus §, Altingius ||, Meyer \*\*, and others; that gnazazel was the name of the devil, who was worshipped by the Heathens, and particularly by the Egyptians, in the form of a goat ††. Hence Juvenal saith, of Egypt,

—Nefas illic fætum jugulare capellæ,  
Sat. xv. l. 11.

because there the goat was honoured as a God.

According to this interpretation of gnazazel, it is supposed by some, that both the goats were typical of Christ, that which was sacrificed signifying his death, and the other which was sent to gnazazel, his being exposed to and overcoming

\* See Bochart. Hierozoic. part. i. lib. ii. cap. liv. p. 653. Spencer de Legibus, lib. iii. Dissert. viii. cap. i. sect. i. p. 1040.

† Spencer, ubi supra, sect. ii. p. 1041.

‡ Le Œconom. Fœder. lib. iv. cap. vi. §. lxxv, lxxvi. p. 513. edit. Leovard. 1677. & Ægyptiaca, lib. ii. cap. ix. §. iii. p. 120. Amstel. 1696.

§ Comment. in Heb. ix. 25.

|| Alting. ad Lev. xvi. oper. tom. 1. p. 82, 83.

\*\* Meyer. de Festis Hebræor. part. ii. cap. xv. §. xvi. p. 315, 316.

†† Herodot. Euterp. cap. 46. p. 106, 107. edit. Gronov. Maimon. Moreh Nebhoch. part. iii. cap. xlvi. p. 48c. See various testimonies to the same purpose in Bochart. Hieroz. part. i. lib. ii. cap. liii. p. 641. & part. ii. lib. vi. cap. vii. p. 828, 820. compare Lev. xvii. 7. and 2. Chron. xi. 15. in the Hebrew. זִמְרִי sengnirim, hirci.

ing the power of the devil. Dr. Patrick objects to this opinion, that though it hath been espoused by very great men, it is difficult to conceive, that, when the other goat was offered to God on his altar, this should be sent among the demons who delighted in desert places. Nor will it accord with the hebrew text, which saith, this goat was for gnazazel, as the other was for the Lord. Now surely none will imagine, that both these goats being "set before," and presented to "the Lord," as equally consecrated to him (*a*), he would order one of them for himself, and the other for the devil; especially as he soon after expressly commanded the Israelites "no more to offer their sacrifices unto devils," שֶׁנִּירִים *fengnirim*, Hircis, five Dæmonibus hirci-formibus (*b*). And though Spencer will not allow, that the goat; which, he saith, was sent to gnazazel, or to the devil, was to be considered as a proper sacrifice to him, but only as being delivered into his power, and given up to his disposal; nevertheless as the former goat, upon whom the lot to the Lord fell, was a sacrifice to the Lord, so the same expression being used concerning the goat on whom fell the lot to gnazazel, if the word gnazazel means a demon, it would seem to imply a sacrifice to that demon; but granting the sending the goat to that demon was not properly a sacrifice, or an act of religious worship, it seems however to have been a rite, which might so easily have been interpreted into an encouragement of demon-worship, that it is very difficult to conceive of it as a divine institution.

Upon

(*a*) Lev. xvi. 10.

(*b*) Lev. xvii. 7.

Upon the whole, though we cannot arrive at absolute certainty in this matter, the first opinion appears most probable; and that, as the sacrifice-goat was typical of the expiation of sin by the sacrifice of Christ, the scape-goat, which was to have the sins of the people confessed over him, and as it were put upon him, and then to be sent away alive into some desert place, where they would see him no more, was intended to signify the effect of the expiation, namely, the removing of guilt; in-somuch that it should never more be charged on the once pardoned sinner\*.

The rites attending the publick service of this day were chiefly performed by the high-priest, who had more to do on this than any other day of the year, or perhaps all the rest together. He was to kill and offer the sacrifices, and sprinkle their blood with his own hands (a). He was dressed, therefore, in a manner suitable to this service, with only a single linen vest and breeches, and with a linen girdle and mitre (b). These the Jews called the white garments, as distinguished from the other four, which completed the pontifical habit, wherein the high-priest ministred on other occasions, and which were stiled the golden garments, because they had a mixture of gold in them; namely, the blue robe, adorned at the bottom with golden bells and pomegranates; the

\* On this subject, see Frischmuthi Dissert. duæ de Hirco Emissario, apud Thesaur. theolog. philolog. tom. 2. p. 914. & seq. Deylingii Observat. Sacræ, part. i. Observ. xviii, de Hirco Emissario Christi Figurâ. Spencer. de Hirco Emissario, apud Leg. Hebræor. lib. iii. Dissert. viii. and Bochart. Hieroz. part. i. lib. ii. cap. liv.

(a) Lev. xvi. 13, 15.

(b) ver. 4.

the embroidered ephod with its curious girdle; the breast plate, enriched with jewels set in gold; and the golden fillet or crown upon the mitre. Whenever the high-priest ministered on other occasions, he was dressed in these eight garments\*. On the day of expiation he wore only the four which were common to him and the other priests. Some conceive, this was designed as a token of humility, this day being appointed for the confession of sins and for repentance. There was also another good reason, why he should on this occasion be dressed like an ordinary priest, because he was to do the work of one, in killing and offering the sacrifices, which being a laborious employment required him to be thinly clad; and his upper garments to be laid aside. Besides, as some of it was but dirty work, performing it in these vestments, which were rich and finely embroidered, would have been altogether improper.

The grand peculiarity in the service of this day, was the high-priest's entering into the holy of holies, which was not permitted at any other time (a). And as it was his peculiar privilege thus to draw nearer to God, or to the tokens of his special presence, to the ark, to the mercy-seat and to the shekinah, than was allowed any other mortal, Philo makes him on this occasion, to be transformed into somewhat more than man. To which purpose he cites a passage of Leviticus in the following manner,

Όταν εισιτη εις τα αγια των αγιων, scilicet ο μεγας ιερευς, ανθρωπος εκ εσαυ εως αυ εξελθη. Quum ingressus fuerit, nempe magnus sacerdos, in sanc-

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ta

\* See these garments described in Exod. xxviii. and above, vol 1. book 1. chap. 5. p. 212.—246.

(a) Lev. xvi. 2, &c. compared with Heb. ix. 7.

ta sanctorum, non erit homo, donec egressus fuerit.\*. But this conceit is built on a sad misrepresentation of the passage, for the words are these, Πας ανθρωπος εκ εσαυ εν τη σκηνη, "there shall be no man in the tabernacle, when he," the high-priest, "goes in to make an atonement in the holy place (a)."

It is queried, whether on this day the high-priest entered more than once into the most holy place. It should seem by the ritual in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, that he must do it three or four several times; in order to carry in, first, the censer full of burning coals in one hand, and the incense in the other (b): Secondly, the blood of the bullock, which was sacrificed for himself and his house (c): Thirdly, the blood of the goat of the sin-offering for the people (d): And it may be, fourthly, as the rabbies say, to bring out the censer and the pot which contained the incense. Thus, according to them, he entered into the holy of holies on this one day four several times †; whereas some christian writers, on the contrary, have asserted, that he entered only once; supposing it to be so declared by the apostle, when he saith, "Into the second [tabernacle] went the high-priest alone once every year (e)." Besides,

\* Philonis lib. secund. de Somniis, oper. p. 880. F. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

(a) Lev. xvi. 17. (b) ver. 12. (c) ver. 14. (d) ver. 15.

† Maimonides & Bartenora in Mishn. tit. Chelim. cap. i. §. 9. tom. 6. p. 23. & Mishn. tit. Joma, cap. 5. §. 1. p. 231. §. 3. p. 234. §. 4. p. 235. cap. 8. §. 4. p. 248. edit. Surenhus. Maimon. de Solenni Die Expiationum, cap. iv. §. i. p. 681. §. ii. p. 682, 683, 686. Crenii Fascicul. septimi.

(e) Heb. ix. 7.

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sides, they alledge that if he had entered oftener he would have failed in that particular, of being what the apostle represents him to be, a type of Christ\*, “who entered once into the holy place (a).”

To this it is replied, that the high-priest might properly enough be said to enter in only once, that is, one day in the year, though he entered in ever so many times on that day. In like manner all the male Israelites are said to appear before the Lord, or at the national altar, three times in the year, that is, at three different seasons; or on the three grand festivals. But no one would suppose, they were permitted to visit the temple no more than once at each of those festivals, especially considering that two of them lasted each for the space of a week †.

The service, performed by the high-priest in the inmost sanctuary, was burning incense, and sprinkling the blood of the sacrifices before the mercy-seat; which he was to do with his finger seven times (b). The same number of sprinklings of the blood of the sin offerings of the congregation, is required on another occasion (c); and likewise of the blood of the red heifer, which was burnt, in order to make the water of separation with its ashes (d). The same rite is prescribed for the cleansing of a leper (e), in dedicating the altar (f), and at the

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confe-

\* See Wilkens de Functione Pontificis maxim. ad Hebr. ix. 7. Dissert. ii. cap. iii. præsertim à §. x. ad fin. capitis, p. 763,—765. tom. 2. Thesauri theologico-philolog.

(a) Heb. ix. 12.

† Vid. Deylingii Observat. Sacræ, part. 2: observ. xiii. §. xvi,—xxx. p. 184,—198.

(b) Lev. xvi. 14. (c) Lev. iv. 6. (d) Numb. xix. 4. (e) Lev. xiv. 7. (f) Lev. viii. 11.

consecration of the priests (*a*). Some persons discover a great deal of mystery in this number seven, observing that it is much used on other occasions. Jericho was besieged seven days, on each of which seven priests were to blow with seven trumpets (*b*). Seven priests also blew with seven trumpets before the ark, when David brought it home (*c*). Naaman is ordered by the prophet Eliſha to wash himself in Jordan seven times (*d*). In the book of the Revelation we read of the seven spirits of God (*e*), of the book with seven seals (*f*), of seven angels with trumpets (*g*), and of seven phials full of the wrath of God (*h*).—Every seventh day was the sabbath, every seventh year was a year of rest unto the land, in which there was no plowing, or sowing; and seven times seven years brought the jubilee. Seven was also much regarded in the number of victims offered on extraordinary occasions. Job offered seven bullocks, and seven rams for his friends (*i*). David sacrificed the same number of victims on occasion of his bringing the ark to the place he had prepared for it (*k*). Hezekiah offered victims by sevens, when he abolished idolatry, and restored the true religion (*l*). Nay, it appears, that the number seven was highly regarded and thought of great efficacy in religious actions, not only by the Jews, but by the Heathens. Balak king of Moab offered, by the direction of Balaam, seven oxen and seven rams upon seven altars (*m*). Apuleius  
faith,

(*a*) Exod. xxix. 21. compared with ver. 35.

(*b*) Josh. vi.                      (*c*) 1 Chron. xv. 24.                      (*d*) 2 Kings v.

10.                      (*e*) Rev. v. 6.                      (*f*) ver. 1.                      (*g*) Rev viii. 2.

(*h*) Rev. xv. 7.                      (*i*) Job xlii. 8.                      (*k*) 1 Chron. xv.

26.                      (*l*) 2 Chron. xxix. 21.                      (*m*) Numb. xxiii. 1, 2.

faith, Desirous of purifying myself, I wash in the sea, and dip my head seven times in the waves; the divine Pythagoras having taught, that this number is above all others most proper in the concerns of religion\*.

The high-priest is ordered to sprinkle the blood eastward (*a*); in the appointment of which circumstance likewise some have discovered a profound mystery; that whereas the priests in all the other parts of their service turned their faces to the West, the high-priest in performing this chief part of his ministry disposed his face towards the East, “as turning his back upon the beggarly elements of this world,” and as representing him whose name is the East; for so the septuagint and the vulgate render the hebrew word *צֶמַח* Tsemach, in the sixth chapter of Zachariah, “Behold the man whose name is, as we render it, the branch (*b*);” but according to the versions just mentioned, *ανατολη*, or Oriens. However, the true reason of his sprinkling the blood eastward is evidently, because the mercy-seat before which he was to sprinkle it stood on the East side of the holy of holies, the side by the veil, which parted it from the sanctuary. It is said, “he shall sprinkle it upon the mercy-seat, and before the mercy-seat;” by which one would think he sprinkled the mercy-seat itself with some of the blood. But the Jews unanimously understand

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\* Apuleius de Asino aureo, lib. xi. ab init. Those who would see more concerning the number, seven, and its supposed mysteries, may read St. Jerom on Amos v. 3. and Philo de Opificio Mundi, oper. p. 15,—21. de Legis Allegor. lib. 1. p. 31,—33. de Decalago, oper. p. 585, 586. edit. Colon. Allobr. p. 1613.

(*a*) Lev. xvi. 14.

(*b*) Zech. vi. 12.

it otherwise; and indeed גַּל־פָּנֵי gnal-penè, which we render, “upon,” may as well be translated, “towards;” or, as we express it, “over against the face of the mercy-seat.” The difference betwixt גַּל־פָּנֵי gnal-penè and לִפְנֵי lippenè, which we render, “upon,” and “before,” is only this, that the former signifies towards the top, and the latter towards the lower part of the mercy-seat\*.

The rabbies represent the high-priest as washing himself all over, and changing his dress several times, during the service of this day, sometimes wearing the white and sometimes the golden vestments †.

As to the spiritual or evangelical meaning of these rites, the apostle hath very particularly explained them in the ninth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews. As the high-priest was a type of Christ, his laying aside those vestments which were “made for glory and for beauty (a)”, and appearing only in his white garments, might signify our Lord’s state of humiliation, when he “laid aside the glory which he had with the father before the world was,” and “was made in fashion as a man.”

The expiatory sacrifices, offered by the high-priest, were typical of the true expiation which Christ made for the sins of his people by the sacrifice of himself; and the priest’s confessing  
the

\* Deylingii observat. sacræ, part. 2. observ. xiii. §. xxvi, xxvii. p. 194, 195.

† Vid. Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. vi. Mishn. tit. Joma, cap. 3. §. 3,—7. p. 218,—221. cap. 4. §. 5. p. 230. cap. 8. §. 3, 4. p. 247, 248. tom. 2. Surenhus. Maimon. de Solenni Die Expiationum, cap. ii. §. 1,—vi. p. 658,—662. cap. iv. §. i. p. 678. §. ii. p. 685, 686. Crenii Fascic. septimi.

(a) Exod. xxviii. 2.

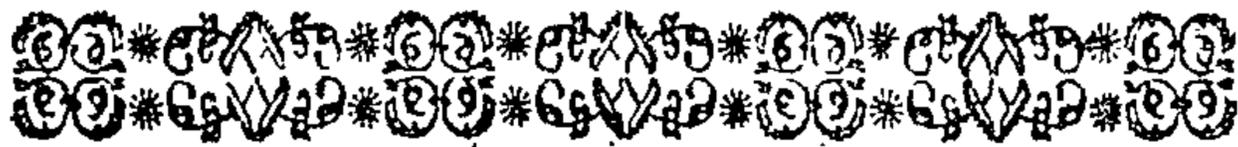
the sins of the people over, and putting them upon the head of the scape-goat (*a*), was a lively emblem, of the imputation of sin to Christ, “who was made sin for us (*b*);” for “the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all (*c*).” And the goat’s “bearing upon him all the iniquities of the Jews into a land not inhabited (*d*),” signifies the effect of Christ’s sacrifice in delivering his people from guilt and punishment. The priest’s entering into the holy of holies with the blood of the sacrifice, is interpreted by the apostle to be typical of Christ’s ascension, and heavenly intercession for his people in virtue of the sacrifice of his death\*.

(*a*) Lev. xvi. 21.      (*b*) 2 Cor. v. 21.      (*c*) Isa. liii. 6.  
 (*d*) Lev. xvi. 22.

\* For a more particular account of the spiritual design of the rites attending the service of the day of expiation, see Witfius de Œconom. Fœderum, lib. iv. cap. vi. §. lviii.

Concerning the day of expiation, see the commentators on the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, particularly Ainsworth; Lightfoot’s temple service, and the mishnical tract, Joma, with Sheringham’s notes.





## C H A P. IX.

### Of the sabbatical Year or seventh Year's Rest.

**A**MONG the *πρωτα στοιχεία* or beggarly elements, of the jewish dispensation, the apostle mentions days, and months, and times, and years (*a*). For besides the weekly sabbaths, or days of rest, the law prescribed the observance of the monthly new-moons, and annual festival seasons, such as the passover, pentecost, feast of tabernacles, &c. which are the *καιροι* or times, to which the apostle refers; and likewise whole years, to be observed with peculiar regard after certain returning periods, such as every seventh year, called the sabbatical year; and every seven times seventh, stiled the jubilee.

It is the former which falls under our present consideration \*; and in the law of Moses it is distinguished from all others by several names. It is sometimes called *שנה השבעית* shanah

(*a*) Gal. iv. 9, 10.

\* The institution of the sabbatical year is in Exod. xxxiii. 10, 11. Lev. xxv. 2,—7. Deut. xv. 1,—18. and xxxi. 10,—13.

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Shanah hashebingnith, the seventh year κατ' ἐξοχον: sometimes, שַׁבַּת הָאָרֶץ fabbath haarets, the sabbath or rest of the land; and sometimes שְׁמִטָּה לַיהוָה shemittah Laihovah, the release of the Lord.

The peculiar observances of this year were the four following.

1st, A total cessation from all manner of agriculture.

2dly, Leaving all the spontaneous product of the ground to be used and enjoyed in common; so that no person was to claim any peculiar property.

3dly, The remission of all debts from one Israelite to another.

4thly, The publick reading of the law at the feast of tabernacles.

Before we consider these several particulars, there are two chronological questions to be briefly discussed.

1st, From whence the computation of the sabbatical year commenced; and

2dly, At what season of the year it began.

1st, It is made a question, from whence the computation of the sabbatical year commenced, or how soon it began to be observed by the Jews. In the general it was, when they came into the land of Canaan. For they received this command, while they were yet in the wilderness, "When ye come into the Land, which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath to the Lord (a)." Nevertheless, it is far from being settled, what year after their entrance into Canaan was observed, as their first sabbatical year. Archbishop Usher \* determines it to

(a) Lev. xxv. 2.

\* Usher. Annales, A. M. 2554.

to be the seventh year after the manna ceased, from which time the Israelites lived upon the fruits of the land of Canaan (*a*); and six years being taken up in the conquest and division of the land, the seventh proved in all respects a year of rest, when they peaceably enjoyed the fruits of their victories, and of the country they had subdued.

Nevertheless, others observing, that the sabbatical year is enjoined to be observed after six years of agriculture, “Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof, but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land (*b*):” I say, others for this reason conceive it more probable, that the six years preceding the sabbatical year, did not commence till after the conquest and division of the land. For it is not to be supposed, that they could apply themselves to agriculture, till they had actually conquered it, or that they would do it, till each man’s property was assigned him. Now the year, in which Joshua divided the land, may be thus computed: Caleb was forty years old, when Moses sent him from Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land (*c*); and this was in the autumn of the second year from their exodus, or at the season, when the grapes, pomegranates and figs were ripe, of which the spies brought a sample with them (*d*). But Caleb was eighty-five years old at the time of the division of the land (*e*); it was, therefore, forty-five years since he went as a spy; to which adding one year and a half before elapsed

(*a*) Josh. v. 12.      (*b*) Lev. xxv. 3, 4.      (*c*) Josh. xiv. 7.      (*d*) Numb. xiii. 23.      (*e*) Josh. xiv. 10.

elapsed betwixt that time and the exodus, and the division of the land will appear to have been made in the forty-seventh year of their departure from Egypt; from which subtracting forty years, the time of their wandering in the wilderness (*a*), and there remain six years and an half from their entrance into Canaan to the division of the land, which was compleated the latter end of the summer. Infomuch that every man's property was assigned him against the ensuing seed time, with which began the six years that preceded the first sabbatical year. Probably, therefore, the first sabbatical year was not kept till the fourteenth year from their entrance into Canaan\*.

2dly, The other chronological question is, at what season the sabbatical year began, whether with the month Nisan in the spring, or Tisri in autumn; or in other words, whether the sabbatical year was reckoned by the ecclesiastic, or civil computation.

This question, though not expressly determined by the mosaick law, is, I apprehend, not very difficult to be decided. That the sabbatical year followed the civil computation, beginning with the month Tisri, may be strongly inferred from a passage in the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus (*b*), where they are commanded to "sow their fields and prune their vineyards, and gather the fruit thereof, for six years successively, and to let the land rest," or lie fallow, "on the seventh." Doubtless therefore the seventh, or sabbatical year began after the harvest and fruits were gathered in,  
and

(*a*) Numb. xiv. 33, 34.

\* Maimon. de Anno Sabbatico & Jubilæo, cap. x. §. ii.

(*b*) Lev. xxv. 3, 4.

and against the usual season of ploughing and sowing. It must then have begun in autumn \* ; for had it begun with the month Nisan, they must have lost a crop of the last year's sowing, as well as have neglected the seed time for the next year ; which is inconsistent with the law in the twenty-third of Exodus (*a*), " Six years shalt thou sow thy land, and gather in the fruits thereof."

We proceed to consider the particular observances of the sabbatical year. The,

1st, is the total cessation from all manner of agriculture. " Thou shalt neither sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard (*b*). " If it be asked, what they were to live upon during this year, the answer is,

1st, They were allowed to eat whatever the land and fruit-trees produced spontaneously, without ploughing and pruning ; only the proprietors of the ground and trees were not to look upon the product of that year as peculiarly their own, but all was to be in common ; as will be showed under another head. Now some crop would rise this year from the corn shed in the last harvest, and from what was scattered in winnowing, which they performed abroad in the fields. But

2dly, The question is best answered by God himself, " I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years (*c*) : " that is, for part of the sixth, the whole seventh, and part of the eighth, till harvest come, reckoning the years to begin with Nisan. Thus one whole year and

\* Mishn. Rosh hashanah, cap. 1. §. 1. p. 300. tom. 2.

(*a*) Exod. xxiii. 10.

(*b*) Lev. xxv. 4.

(*c*) Lev. xxv. 21.

and part of two others were called three years; as one whole day and part of two others, during which our Saviour laid in the Sepulchre, are termed three days, and three nights (*a*), τρεις ημερας και τρεις νυκτας, which is a hebraism of the same import with the greek word νυκθημερα, or three natural days\*.

This divine promise of an extraordinary blessing on the sixth year is doubtless to be understood conditionally, on supposition of their obedience to the law of God. When therefore they became neglectful on this head, and frequently revolted to idolatry, it is reasonable to suppose God, in a great measure at least, withheld that extraordinary blessing. Whereupon, as one sin frequently leads to another, they also frequently neglected the observance of the sabbatical year. And on that account, as Mr. Mede observes, the Lord, agreeably to what he had foretold and threatned (*b*), caused them to be carried captive, and the land to be waste for seventy years, without inhabitant, till it had fulfilled the years of sabbath which they observed not. For their idolatry he gave them into the hand of their enemies, the Gentiles; and moreover, for their sabbatical sacrilege, he caused them, not only to be made captives, but carried away into a strange country, and their land lay desolate for seventy years †. This making profit of their land on  
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(*a*) Matt. xii. 40.

\* See Reland. Antiq. part. iv. cap. 1. §. xx, xxi. p. 442, — 444. edit. 3. Kidder's Demonstration of the Messias, part. i. chap. viii. p. 104. part. ii. chap. iii. p. 61, — 64. edit. 2. fol. London, 1726.

(*b*) Lev. xxvi. 34. compared with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

† Mede's Diatrib. Discourse xxvii. p. 123. of his works.

the sabbatical year, as well as not remitting debts upon that year, as the law enjoined them, was "the iniquity of their covetousness for which the Lord was wroth with them, and smote them (a)." Indeed, after they had been thus chastised for their disobedience, they grew superstitiously scrupulous, rather than religiously obedient, in observing the sabbatical year. Nevertheless it does not appear, God ever renewed the extraordinary blessing on the sixth year, which he first promised them, and they had shamefully forfeited. So that in after-ages the sabbatical year was always a year of scarcity. Hence, when Alexander the great, by a wonderful providence, was diverted from his purpose of destroying Jerusalem, and on the contrary, became most kindly disposed towards the Jews, bidding them ask what they had to desire of him; they petitioned for an exemption every seventh year from paying tribute, because, according to their law, they then neither sowed nor reaped\*. Hence also our Saviour, forewarning his disciples of the approaching calamities of Jerusalem and Judea, whereby they would be obliged to quit their habitations and their country, advises them to pray that their flight might not be in the winter, nor *εν σαββατω* (b), which is most naturally to be understood of the sabbatical year; when provisions being scarce would make it doubly inconvenient to be forced to travel and sojourn among strangers.

2dly,

(a) Isai. lvii. 17.

\* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. viii. or Prideaux's Connect. part. i. book vii. sub A. ante Christ. 332.

(b) Matt. xxiv. 20.

2dly, Another observance, belonging to the sabbatical year, was leaving the spontaneous product of the fields and fruits-trees to be used and enjoyed in common; so that no persons were to claim any peculiar property in them. For, although the product of this year was to be for the poor and the beasts of the field (*a*), yet the proprietors of the fields and vineyards were not excluded from sharing it in common with others; as appears from the following passage, “The sabbath of the land shall be meat for you, for thee and for thy servant (*b*):” where the word sabbath means the fruit that grew on the sabbatical year; as elsewhere (*c*), the sabbaths of the Lord signify the sacrifices offered on the sabbath days.

On this year, therefore, the whole land was one common field, in which none were considered as having any distinct property, but every rich and poor Israelite, and foreigner who happened to be in the country, nay, men and beasts were fellow commoners. So that, as Maimonides saith, whoever lock’d up his vineyard, or hedged in his field on the seventh year, broke a commandment; and so likewise, if he gathered in all his fruits into his house. On the contrary, all was to be free, and every man’s hand alike in all places\*.

Since beasts are mentioned in the law as fellow commoners with men, the Jews, according to Maimonides, were over careful, that they should have an equal share with themselves. So that when there was no longer any fruit for the beasts of the field, they would not eat of what they

(*a*) Exod. xxiii. 11.      (*b*) Lev. xxv. 6, 7.      (*c*) Lev. xxiii. 38.

\* Maimon. de Anno Sabbatic. & Jubilæo, cap. iv. §. 24.

they had gathered for themselves, but threw it out of their houses\*.

3dly, The next observance, attending the sabbatical year, was the remission of all debts from one Israelite to another (a). The rabbies have devised such a number of exceptions to this law, as in a manner wholly to defeat it. They say, for instance, he that lends upon a pawn, is not bound to release; that mulcts, or fines for defaming a man, &c. are not to be released; that if a man was cast at law in a certain sum to be paid to another, it was not to be released; and that if a man lent money on the express condition that the debt should not be released on the sabbatical year, he was not bound to release it †.

Some of them will have the release to signify no more, than that the debt should not be claimed in that year; but that after the expiration of it, it might be demanded ‡. Thus they make void the commandment of God by their traditions; for the law seems plainly to require an absolute discharge of all debts from one Israelite to another, though it did not extend to debts owing them by foreigners or heathens. The only point in this law, which can well bear dispute, is, at what time the discharge was to be given to the debtor, whether at the beginning or at the end of the year. Maimonides § understands, that it was not to be given till the end; because it is said, “At  
the

\* Maimon. ubi supra, cap. vii.

(a) Deut. xv. 1,—3.

† Mishn. tit. Shebingnith, cap. 10. præsertim, § 2,—4. p. 195, 196. tom. 1.

‡ Maimon. de Anno sabbat. cap. 9.

§. Maimon. de Anno sabbatic. & Jubilæo, cap. 9. §. 4.

the end of every seventh year ye shall make a release (a).” Others conceive, I apprehend on juster grounds, that the release took place at the beginning, or that the debtor was freed from his obligation as soon as the sabbatical year commenced. For in a parallel case, the release of a hebrew servant, we find this phrase, “at the end of seven years,” means in the seventh year, as soon as the six years service was compleated (b). “At the end of seven years let ye go, every man, his brother, an Hebrew, which hath been sold unto thee; and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee.”

The whole seventh year, then, is called the end of the seven years, as being the last of the week of years; in like manner, as we call the whole Saturday the end of the week.

Some also refer to the sabbatical year the release of the hebrew servants, or slaves; who had liberty to go out free on the seventh year. But in that case, the seventh year seems rather to mean the seventh from the beginning of their servitude\*; because it is said, “If thou buy an hebrew servant, six years he shall serve you, and in the seventh year he shall go free (c).” Again, “When he has served thee six years, then shalt thou let him go free from thee (d).”

The year of manumission could not therefore be the sabbatical year, unless the servitude commenced immediately after the last sabbatical year. Although, therefore, the mention of

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(a) Deut. xv. 1.

(b) See Deut. xv. 12, 18. compared with Jer. xxxiv. 14.

\* Maimon. de Servis, cap. ii. §. 2, 3.

(c) Exod. xxi. 2. (d) Jer. xxxiv. 14.

the release of hebrew servants may seem to be introduced in this place a little out of its proper course, we shall notwithstanding take this opportunity briefly to comment upon the law concerning them in the twenty-first chapter of Exodus (*a*). I would especially remark, that in case such a servant, or slave, should voluntarily renounce his proffered liberty, and chuse to abide with his old master, he was to be brought before the judges, that it might appear he was not forcibly or fraudulently detained against the law, but staid with his own consent (*b*). Upon which his ear was to be bored with an awl to the door post of his master's house, in token that he was now affixed to his house and service for life, or at least till the year of the jubilee. This jewish custom was borrowed by other nations; particularly, by the Arabians; as appears from a passage of Petronius Arbiter\*, where he introduces one Giton expressing himself in these terms, *Circumcide nos, ut Judæi videamur; & pertunde aures, ut imitemur Arabes.* Juvenal puts the following expressions in the mouth of a Libertinus,

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Quamvis

Natus ad Euphratem, molles quod in aure fenestras  
 Arguerint, licet ipse negem.

Satyr. i. l. 104.

It is generally supposed by the commentators, that the psalmist refers to this rite in the  
 fourth

(*a*) Exod. xxi. 1,--6.      (*b*) ver. 5, 6.  
 \* Petron. Arbitri Satyricon, p. 364. edit. Michael. Hadrian. Amstel. 1669.

fourth Psalm, "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; mine ears hast thou opened (a): Or," as the margin translates the verb כרתית caritha, "My ears hast thou digged." But the apostle, quoting this passage, which he applies to Christ, renders it, *σωμα δε κατασκευασεν μοι*, "a body hast thou prepared me (b):" which is a quotation of the apostle's from the Septuagint, though it manifestly differs from the hebrew text; and great use hath accordingly been made of it, to prove the authority of that version. It cannot, however, be easily imagined, he would follow the septuagint in preference to the hebrew original, when he was writing to those who were Hebrews, and would probably object against such a citation. The commentators have endeavoured to show that the quotation is made *κατα διανοιαν* though not *κατα λεξιν*, according to the sense, though not according to the letter\*.

The learned Mr. Peirce observes, that the authority of the septuagint, and of an inspired apostle, should weigh more with us than that of our present hebrew copies, which may have been corrupted through the mistake of transcribers, and that in this case the Hebrew should be corrected by the Greek. He conjectures, therefore, that the word *osnaim*, aures, was in the true copy *as-guph*, tunc corpus. We have other instances of the like mistakes of joining two words in one. In the fifteenth verse of the third chapter of Isaiah, *mah lachem*, quid vobis, as it is in the Keri, is made one word in the Chetibh, *mallachem*, which signifies their king; but in

(a) Psal. xl. 6.      (b) Heb. x. 5.  
See Whitby, Pool, &c. in loc.

that place it carries no sense at all. As for the change of גִּוּף guph, into נַיִם naim, it is not very improbable, considering the similitude of the גִּ gimel and נִ nun, the ׳ jod and ׀ vau, and the ף phe, final, and ם mem, final; for if the long stroke of the ף phe, below the line was obscure, it might easily be mistaken for mem clausum.

Indeed the word גִּוּף guph, is not found in the hebrew bible; but we have גִּוּפָהּ guphah, the feminine; and גִּוּף guph, is frequently used by the rabbies. Perhaps, therefore, it might be an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in the clause under consideration. However, if that be disliked, we need only read גִּוּף־גֵּבֶהּ gevah, which the seventy elsewhere render σῶμα (a). As for the verb כָּרַח charah, Stockius shows, its proper meaning is paravit\*. So that according to this conjectural criticism, the clause is literally rendered, by the septuagint and by the apostle, σῶμα κατηρτίσω μοι, “a body hast thou prepared me.”

Dr. Doddridge † brings another solution of the words from monsieur Saurin, who supposes, that the septuagint chose to explain the phrase of boring the ear, by that of preparing the body for service; as better known to those for whom the version was intended; and therefore to be preferred also by the apostle, who though he directs this epistle to the Hebrews, to whom the other custom might be well known, yet intended it for general use ‡.

We return to the sabbatical year. The

4th,

(a) See Job xx. 25.

\* See Stockii Clavis Vet. Test. in verb.

† Doddridge in loc.

‡ Saurin's Serm. vol. xi. p. 17,—23.

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4th, Observance, which we mentioned, was the publick reading of the law at the close of it at the feast of tabernacles (*a*). As mens minds were now free from cares by the release of their debts, it might be supposed they would the better attend to God's law. This, therefore, was a proper opportunity for the publick reading it to the people.

As for the general reason, on which the law concerning the sabbatical year was grounded, it was no doubt partly political and civil; to prevent the land from being worn out by continual tilling\*: partly religious; to afford the poor and labouring people more leisure one year in seven, to attend to devotional exercises: and partly mystical, typifying that spiritual rest, which Christ will give to all who come unto him (*b*). Some, both Jews and Christians, make the sabbatical year to be typical of the Millennium. For as the law consecrates the seventh day and the seventh year, they conclude the world will last six thousand years in the state in which we now see it; or, as R. Elias in the Talmud expresses it, two thousand years without the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah †. After which comes the grand sabbath of one thousand years. This notion, though it be perhaps without any sufficient

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(*a*) Deut. xxxi. 10, 11.

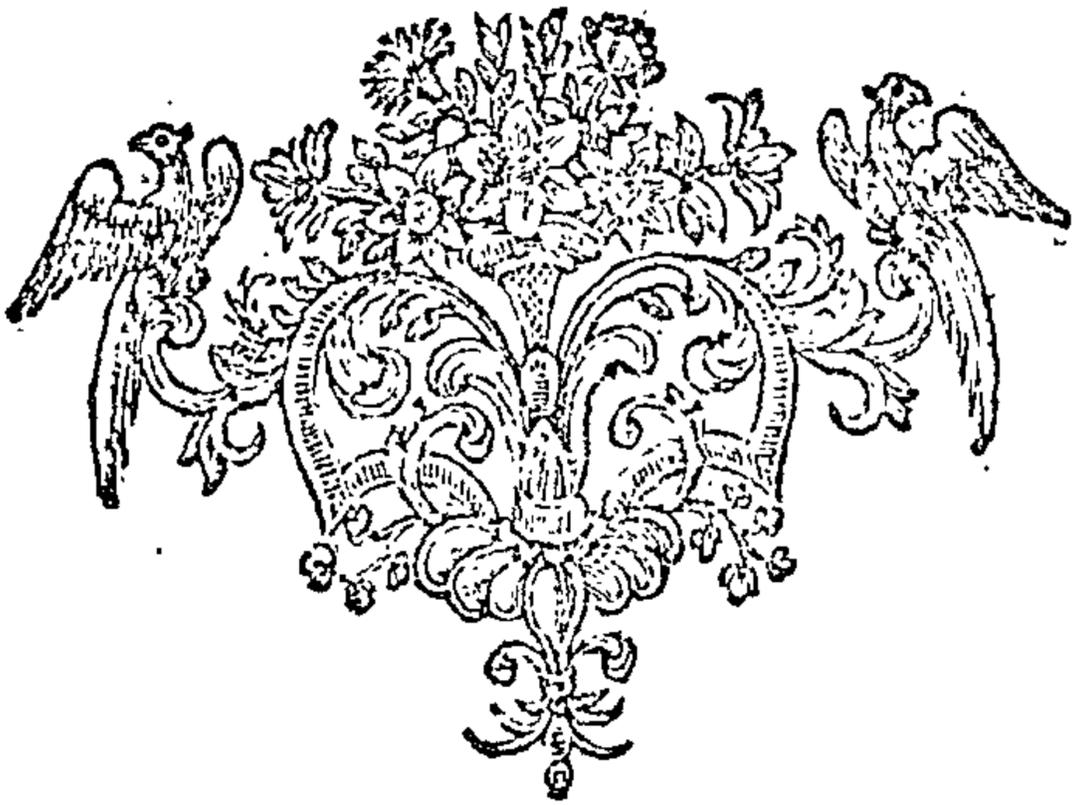
\* Maimon. Moreh Nebhoch. part. iii. cap. xxxix. Philo de Execrationibus, oper. p. 724, B. C. edit. Colon. Allobr. 1613.

(*b*) Matt. xi. 28.

† Vid. Cocceii Sanhedrim & Maccoth, apud Excerpt. Gemar. Sanhedr. cap. xi. §. xxix. p. 345. edit. Amstel 1629.

cient ground, might be improved into an argument *ad hominem*, to convince the Jews; that the Messiah must be already come; since the world is gone far more than half way through the last two thousand years of the six thousand, allowed by their tradition for its continuance; during which period, therefore, if at all, must be the reign of the Messiah.\*

\* See on this subject the Commentators on Deut. xv. particularly Ainsworth. See also Reland. *Antiq. Hebr.* part. iv. cap. viii. §. xiii, — xvii.





C H A P. X.

The JUBILEE.

**T**HE jubilee was the grand sabbatical year, celebrated after every seven septenaries of years; namely, every forty-ninth or fiftieth year. This was a year of general release, not only of all debts, like the common sabbatical year, but of all slaves; and of all lands and possessions which had been sold, or otherwise alienated from the families and tribes to which they originally belonged (*a*).

The critics are not agreed about the etymology of the word יובל Jubel. Some derive it from Jubal, who was the inventor of musical instruments (*b*); and suppose, that this year was named after him, because it is a year of mirth and joy, on which musick is a common attendant; or, as we say in English, a jovial time, the word jovial being perhaps a corruption of the hebrew word Jubel; or else, because it was ushered in with the musical sound

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(*a*) See the institution of this festival, in Lev. xxv. 8, 17.

(*b*) Gen. iv. 21.

of the trumpet through the whole land \*. Others, particularly R. David Kimchi, tell us, that *Jobel* signifies a ram in the Arabick; and that this year was so called, because it was proclaimed with trumpets made of rams horns †. With him the rabbies in general agree ‡. Bochart, however, is of opinion, there were never any trumpets made of rams horns, they being very unsuitable for such a purpose, and that the phrase שופרות היבלים *shopheroth hajjobhelim*, which in the sixth chapter of *Joshua* we render trumpets of rams horns (*a*), means only such trumpets, as were to be used in proclaiming the jubilee; which, it is far more probable, were made of the horns of oxen, than of rams §.

Hottinger is of opinion ||, that *Jobel* is a word invented to imitate the sound of the instrument, and that it does not therefore signify the trumpet itself, but the sound it made (*b*). Dr. Patrick espouses this etymology, and conceives this year was called *Jobel* from the sound then every where made; as the feast of the passover was stiled *Pesach*, from the angel's passing over the Israelites when he slew the Egyptians \*\*. There

\* See *Mafius* ad *Josh.* vi. 4. apud *Criticos Sacros*.

† R. D. Kimch. in *Lev.* xxv.

‡ R. S. Jarchi in *Lev.* xxv. and the Chaldee Paraphrast sometimes explains יֹבֵל *jobel* by דִּיכְרָא *dichra*, a ram, particularly in *Josh.* vi. 4.

(*a*) *Josh.* vi. 4.

§ Bochart. *Hierozoic.* part. i. lib. ii. cap. xliii. oper. tom. 2. p. 425, 426.

|| Joh. Hen. Hottinger. *Analect. historico-theolog.* *Disser.* iii. & Joh. Hen. Hottinger. jun. *Annot. in Godwin.*

(*b*) See *Exod.* xix. 13. and other places.

\*\* Patrick on *Levit.* xxv. 10.

There is another opinion, which bids as fair for probability as any of the former, that *Jobel* comes from *יָבֵל* *jabal*, in *hiphil* *הִבִּיל* *hobil*; which signifies to recall, restore, bring back, &c. because this year restored all slaves to their liberty, and brought back all alienated estates to the families to which they originally belonged\*. Accordingly the *septuagint* renders *Jobel*, *ἀφεσις*, a remission (*a*); and *Josephus* saith, it signifies *ἐλευθερίαν*, liberty †.

As the learned are not agreed about the etymology of the name, so neither about the year in which the festival was to be celebrated; whether every forty-ninth, or every fiftieth; and it is hard to say, which of these opinions hath the most eminent, or the most numerous advocates. On the former side are *Joseph Scaliger* ‡, *Petavius* §, *Jacobus Capellus* ||, *Cunæus* \*\*, *Spanheim* ††, *Usher* ††, *Le Clerc* §§, and

\* Fuller. *Miscell. sacr.* lib. iv. cap. viii. apud *Criticos Sacros*, tom. ix.

(a) Lev. xxv. 10.

† Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. iii. cap. xii. §. 3. p. 184.

‡ Scaliger de *Emendat. Tempor.* lib. vii. p. 782. D. Colon. Allobr. 1629. *Canon. Isagog.* lib. i. p. 55. ad calcem *Thesaur. Tempor.* Amstel. 1658. & *Animadvers. in Chronic Eusebii*, p. 15.

§ Petav. *Rationar. Tempor.* part. 2. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 87, & seq. edit. Paris 1673. & de *Doctrin. Tempor.* lib. ix. cap. xxvii.

|| Jacob. Capell. *Histor. Sacr. & exotic.* ad A. M. 2549.

\*\* Cunæus de *Republ. Hebr.* lib. i. cap. vi. p. 54. & seq.

†† Spanhem. *Chronolog. Sacra*, part. i. cap. xvi. p. 84, —86. apud *oper. geograph. chronolog. & histor.* Lugd. Bat. 1701.

‡‡ Usher. *Annal.* A. M. 2609. *Jubilæus primus.* A. M. 2658. *Jubilæus secundus.* See p. 24. A. M. 2707. *Jubilæus tertius.* p. 25. edit. Genev. 1722.

§§ Cleric. in Lev. xxv. 10.

and many others; on the latter, the Jews in general\*, many of the christian fathers, and among the moderns Fagius†, Junius‡, Hottinger§, Schindler||, Leidekker\*\*, Leusden††, Meyer‡‡, Calmet §§, &c.

The ground of the former opinion is chiefly this, that the forty-ninth year being of course a sabbatical year, if the jubilee had been kept on the fiftieth, the land must have had two sabbaths, or must have lain fallow two years together, since all agriculture was forbid on the jubilee, as well as on the sabbatical year.

Now this is thought an unreasonable supposition, since in all likelihood, without a miracle, it must have produced a dearth. If the law; therefore, had carried any such intention, one might have expected a special promise, that the forty-eighth year should bring forth fruit for four years, as there was, that the sixth year should bring forth fruit for three.

On the other hand it is alledged, that the scripture declares for the fiftieth year (a): “And  
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\* See Chaldee Paraphrast on Lev. xxv. Maimon. de Anno Sabbatico & Jubileo. cap. x. §. vii. R. Menachem: in Lev. xxv.

† Fagius in Lev. xxv. 10.

‡ Junius & Tremellius in loc.

§ Hottinger Annot. in Godwin. lib. iii. cap. x. §. 18. Annot. 1. p. 635, 636.

|| Schindler. Lexic. Pentaglot. in verb. לַיְבִיט.

\*\* Leidekker. de Republ. Hebræor. lib. v. cap. xiv. §. iv. p. 323. Amstel. 1704.

†† Leusden. Philolog. hebræo-mixt. Dissert. xli. p. 290. edit. Ultrajecti, 1682.

‡‡ Meyer. de Tempor. & Fest. Hebræor. part. 2. cap. xviii. §. vii,—xlix. p. 343,—358. edit. 2. Amstel. 1724. where he considers the argument at large.

§§ Calmet on the word jubilee.

(a) Lev. xxv. 10, 11.

ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family; a jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you." Besides, if the law had meant, that the forty-ninth should be the jubilee, there would have been no need of forbidding sowing, reaping, &c. on the jubilee, because that being the sabbatical year it was forbidden in the preceding law relating to that year (*a*).

As to the supposed dearth, the gentlemen on this side of the question conceive, there could be no danger of that while God protected the nation by a special providence; and especially, since we have an instance of their living without any harvest for two years together, when the Assyrians had trodden down or spoiled the crop of one year, and the next was probably a sabbatical year; and yet there was no famine, but they had sufficient to eat of that which grew of itself (*b*).

The authors of the universal history have endeavoured to reconcile these two opinions; observing, that as the jubilee began in the first month of the civil year, which was the seventh of the ecclesiastical, it might be said to be either the forty-ninth or fiftieth, according as the one or the other of these different computations was followed\*.

The jubilee began on the tenth day of the month Tisri, at the evening of the day of atone-

(*a*) Lev. xxv. 4, 5.

(*b*) 2 Kings xix. 29.

\* Universal History, Hist. of the Jews, book i. chap. vii. Laws relating to the jubilee, not. R.

atonement (*a*). A time, saith Dr. Patrick, very fitly chosen; for they would be better disposed to forgive their brethren their debts, when they had been craving pardon of God for their own. To which we may add, that when their peace was made with God by the sacrifices of atonement, it was the proper time to proclaim liberty and joy throughout the land.

The peculiar observances of the jubilee beyond those of the common sabbatical year were the following,

1st, That it was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet throughout the whole land. Maimonides saith, every private man was to blow with a trumpet, and make a sound nine times\*.

2dly, The jubilee was a year of general release of all slaves and prisoners. Even such as had voluntarily relinquished their freedom, at the end of their six years service, and had had their ears bored in token of perpetual servitude, were yet set free at the jubilee; for “then they were to proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof (*b*).”

3dly, In this year all estates, which had been sold, were returned back to their former proprietors, or to the families to which they originally belonged; by which means it was provided, that no family should be sunk and ruined and doomed to perpetual poverty; for the family estate could not be alienated for longer than fifty years. The nearer, therefore, the jubilee was, the less was the value of the purchase of an estate (*c*). This law of the Jews was

(*a*) Lev. xxv. 9.

\* Maimon. de Anno Sabbat. & Jubilæo, cap. 10.

(*b*) Lev. xxv. 10.

(*c*) ver. 15, 1

was famous among the Heathens, some of whom copied after it. Diodorus Siculus saith, It was not lawful for the Jews, *τους ιδίους κληρους πωλειν*, to sell their own inheritances \*; and Aristotle, in his politicks †, saith of the Locrians, that they were prohibited by their laws from selling their antient possessions.

The reason and design of the law of the jubilee was partly political, and partly typical.

1st, It was political, to prevent the too great oppression of the poor, as well as their being liable to perpetual slavery. By this means the rich were prevented from accumulating lands upon lands, and a kind of equality was preserved through all their families. Never was there any people so effectually secured of their liberty and property, as the Israelites were; God not only engaging so to protect those invaluable blessings by his providence, that they should not be taken away from them by others; but providing, in a particular manner by this law, that they should not be thrown away through their own folly; since the property, which every man or family had in their dividend of the land of Canaan, could not be sold or any way alienated for above half a century. By this means also the distinction of tribes was preserved, in respect both to their families and possessions; for this law rendered it necessary for them to keep genealogies of their families, that they might be able, when there was occasion, on the jubilee year to prove their right to the inheritance of their ancestors. By this means it was certainly known, of what tribe and family the Messias sprung. Upon which

Dr.

\* Diod. Sicul. lib. xl.

† Arist. Politic, lib. ii. cap. 7. See also lib. vi. cap. 4.

Dr. Allix observes, that God did not suffer them to continue in captivity out of their own land for the space of two jubilees, lest by that means their genealogies should be lost or confounded.

A further civil use of the jubilee might be for the readier computation of time. For, as the Greeks computed by Olympiads, the Romans by Lustra, and we by centuries, the Jews probably reckoned by jubilees; and it might, I say, be one design of this institution to mark out these large portions of time for the readier computation of successive years of ages.

2dly, There was also a typical design and use of the jubilee, which is pointed out by the prophet Isaiah when he saith in reference to the Messiah, "The spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek, he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord (a)." Where "the acceptable year of the Lord," when "liberty was proclaimed to the captives," and "the opening the prison to them that were bound," evidently refers to the jubilee; but, in the prophetick sense, means the gospel state and dispensation, which proclaims spiritual liberty from the bondage of sin and satan, and the liberty of returning to our own possession, even the heavenly inheritance, to which, having incurred a forfeiture by sin, we had lost all right and claim.

I have only further to observe, that this jubilee of the Jews hath been in some sort imitated

(a) Isa. lxi. 1, 2.

tated by the pope ; who, after a certain returning period, proclaims a jubilee, in which he grants a plenary indulgence to all sinners, at least to as many as visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. The jubilee was first established by pope Boniface VIII. anno. 1300. and was only to return every hundredth year ; but the first celebration brought such stores of wealth to Rome, that Clement VI. reduced the period to fifty years ; afterwards Urban VI. appointed the jubilee to be held every thirty-five years ; and Sextus IV. brought it down to twenty-five\*.

One of our kings, Edward III. caused his birth-day, when he was fifty years of age, but neither before nor after, to be observed in the manner of a jubilee ; this he did by releasing prisoners, pardoning all offences, treason itself not excepted, and granting many priviledges to the people †.

\* See on this subject, Dieteric. Antiq. Biblicæ, ex Lev. xxv. 4. p. 220, & seq. edit. Gissæ & Francof. 1671.

† Polydor. Virgil. Histor. Anglican. lib. xix. p. 494. Lugdun. Bat. 1651.





## C H A P. XI.

### The Feasts of Purim and of De- dication.

**B**ESIDES the sacred festivals, already considered, no other were appointed by the law of Moses. However, the Jews, in process of time, added several others; two of which are to be the subject of this chapter, namely, the feast of purim, of the occasion and institution of which we have an account in the book of Esther (*a*); and the feast of dedication, mentioned by the evangelist John (*b*). They were both of them annual festivals, and observed in commemoration of national mercies and deliverances.

The former, the feast of purim, was instituted by Mordecai to commemorate the deliverance of the Jews from Haman's conspiracy, of which we have an account in the book of Esther. Many suppose, that in this he had a special direction from God, delivered by some prophet, perhaps Haggai, or Malachi. But if so, it is strange that the sanction of divine authority

(*a*) Esth. ix. 20,—ult.

(*b*) John x. 22.

thority should not be expressly stamped on the institution, and that the name of God should not be mentioned so much as once, in the history of it or of the events relating to it. Thus much is certain, it hath had the effect, which meer human institutions in matters of religion very commonly have, to occasion corruption and licentiousness of manners, rather than to promote piety and virtue. Though still celebrated by the Jews with great ceremony, it is a time of general riot and debauchery; and they make it a sort of rule of their religion to drink, till they can no longer distinguish betwixt the blessing of Mordecai and the cursing of Haman \*. Infomuch that archbishop Usher very justly stiles the feast of purim the bacchanalia of the Jews †.

This festival was to be kept two days successively, the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month Adar (*a*) In the intercalatory year, therefore, when there are two adars, it is kept twice over ‡; the first time with less ceremony, which they call the little purim; the second, in the veadar, with more ceremony, which they term the great purim §. On both days of the feast the modern Jews read over the Megillah, or book of Esther, in their synagogues. The copy there read must not be printed, but writ-

\* Talmud. cod. Megillah, fol. 7, 2. quoted by Buxtorf. synag. Judaic. cap. xxix. p. 559. edit. 3. in Lexic. Talmud. sub voc. פורים p. 324. and by Leusden. Philolog. Hebræo-mixt. Dissert. xl. p. 285. edit. 2. Ultraject. 1682.

† Usher. Annales, sub A. M. 3495. p. 88. edit. Genev. 1722.

(*a*) Esth. ix. 21.

‡ Misn. tit. Megillah, cap. i. §. 4. tom. 2. p. 389.

§ Buxtorf. Synag. lib. xxix. sub fin.

ten on vellum in the form of a roll; and the names of the ten sons of Haman are written in it in a peculiar manner, being ranged, they say, like so many bodies hanging on a gibber. The reader must pronounce all these names in one breath. Whenever Haman's name is pronounced, they make a terrible noise in the synagogue; some drum with their feet on the floor, and the boys have mallets, with which to knock and make a noise\*. They prepare themselves for their carnival by a previous fast, which should continue three days in imitation of Esther's (a); but, for the generality, they have reduced it to one day †.

We may here take occasion to consider three questions, started upon the story to which this festival relates.

1st, When, and in whose reign, the affair happened, which it is intended to commemorate.

2dly, For what reason Mordecai refused to pay that respect to Haman, the neglect of which so much incensed him against the Jews.

3dly, Why Haman cast lots, in order to fix the day for the massacre of the Jews.

1st, The first question is, when, and in what king's reign, this affair happened. Though it was doubtless after the kingdom of Judah returned from its captivity, yet the ten tribes still continued in their dispersion, from which they have not been recovered to this day. Accordingly the Jews are said, at that time, to have been dispersed through all the provinces of Ahafuerus's kingdom, "who reigned from India

(a) Esth. iv. 16.

\* Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. cap. xxix. p. 555,—558.

† Hottinger in Godwin. lib. iii. cap. xi. annot. 1. p.

dia even to Ethiopia over one hundred twenty and seven provinces (a):” But who this Ahasuerus was, is a question upon which chronologers are much divided. Usher\* takes him to be Darius the son of Hystaspes, who promoted the building the temple at Jerusalem (b). Scaliger thinks it was Xerxes, who was Darius’s successor †. J. Capellus ‡ is persuaded, this Ahasuerus was Ochus, one of the last kings of Persia; for in his reign Alexander the great was born, who brought the persian empire to its period. Dr. Patrick, in support of this opinion, observes, that Ochus’s persian name was Achash, to which Verosh being added as his surname, he was called by the persians Achaf-verosh; which the Greeks translated Ahasuerus §. Rollin || supposes him to have been Cambyfes. I take the opinion of Prideaux\*\* to be the most probable of any, that Ahasuerus was Artaxerxes Longimanus; through whose favour to the Jews Ezra and Nehemiah compleated the restoration of the kingdom of Judah, and rebuilt Jerusalem. It is likely, his extraordinary kindness to that people was owing to the influence of his queen Esther; it is particularly remarked, that when Nehemiah

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obtained

(a) Esth. i. 1. iii. 8.

\* Usher. Annal. A. M. 3483. p. 85.

(b) Ezra vi.

† Scalig. de Emendat. Tempor. p. 585. &amp; seq. præfertim, p. 591,—593.

‡ Histor. sacr. &amp; Exotic. A. M. 3640. &amp; 3650.

§ Patrick on Esth. i. 1.

|| Rollin’s ancient history, vol. 2. book 4. chap. 2.

\*\* Prideaux’s Connect. part. i. book iv. sub anno ante Christ. 465. p. 361,—364. vol. 1. edit. 16. See also Clerici Annot. in Esth. i. 1.

obtained his commission to rebuild and fortify Jerusalem, the queen was sitting by (*a*).

As for the name *אחאש־וֹרוֹשׁ* Achash-verosh, it seems rather to have been a title common to the kings of Media and Persia, than a proper name of any of them. It is evidently compounded of the persic word *אחאשׁ* Achash, dignitas, which the rabbies commonly use for, magnus, and *רוֹשׁ* rosh, caput, summitas, dux, princeps \*. So that Achash-verosh signifies magnum caput, sive magnus princeps; and was, as some think, *noxi* gentilitium, the name of all their kings, as Pharaoh was of all the kings of Egypt. Accordingly this name or title is also given, as is commonly thought, to Cambyfes, in the fourth chapter of Ezra (*b*). Nevertheless it might be given to Artaxerxes *κατ' ἐξοχην*. The

2d. Question is, for what reason Mordecai refused to pay that respect to Haman, the neglect of which so much incensed him against the Jews (*c*).

This question can be only answered conjecturally. Some think the reason was, because Haman was an Amalekite; and the Israelites had been commissioned from God to destroy that whole nation, because of the injuries they had formerly done them (*d*). But this hardly seems to be a sufficient account of Mordecai's refusing civil respect to Haman, who was first minister of state; especially when by so doing  
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(*a*) Nehem. ii. 6.

\* Vid. Pfeifferi Exercitationes ad calcem Dubior. Vexator. Exercitat. iii. de Linguâ Protoplast. p. 67. edit. 3. Lipsiæ.

(*b*) Ezra iv. 6.

(*c*) See Esth. iii. 1,—6.

(*d*) Deut. xxv. 17,—19.

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he exposed his whole nation to imminent danger. Besides, if nothing but civil respect had been intended to Haman, the king need not have enjoined it on his servants, after he had made him his first minister and chief favourite (*a*); they would have been ready enough to show it on all occasions. Probably, therefore, the reverence ordered to be paid this great man was a kind of divine honour, such as was sometimes addressed to the persian monarchs themselves; which being a species of idolatry, Mordecai refused it for the sake of a good conscience. And perhaps it was Haman's understanding that his refusal was the result of his jewish principles, that was the very thing which determined him to attempt the destruction of the Jews in general, knowing they were all of the same mind. As to the

3d. Question, why Haman cast lots, in order to fix the day for the massacre of the Jews (*b*); from whence the feast of purim, which is a persic word and signifies lots\*, took its name (*c*); it was no doubt owing to the superstitious conceit, which antiently prevailed, of some days being more fortunate than others for any undertaking; in short, he endeavoured to find out, by this way of divining, what month, and what day of the month, was most unfortunate to the Jews, and most fortunate for the success of his bloody design against them. It is very remarkable, that while Haman sought for direction in this affair from

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the

(*a*) Esth. iii. 1, 2.

(*b*) Esth. iii. 7.

\* Vid. Pfeifferi Dubia Vexat. centur. iii. loc. xxix. p. 486, 487. edit. 3. Lipsiæ.

(*c*) Esth. ix. 26.

the persian idols, the God of Israel so overruled the lot, as to fix the intended massacre to almost a year's distance, from nisan the first month to adar the last of the year; in order to give time and opportunity to Mordecai and Esther to defeat the conspiracy. Thus much for the feast of purim\*.

The feast of dedication is in Greek termed *εγκαινια* (*a*), from *εγκαινίζω* renovo, instauro; a word commonly used by the ancient christian writers, for an annual festival kept in commemoration of the building of cities, or dedication of churches. Thus Codinus, in his *Origines Constantinopolis*, saith, *τα εγκαινια της πολεως γεγονε και προσεγορευθη Κωνσταντινουπολις: Encœnia urbis fuerunt celebrata, & Constantinopolis fuit appellata †*; and Eusebius, in his ecclesiastical history, speaks of the *εγκαινιων εορται ‡*, meaning the feasts of the dedication of Churches. There is no doubt the *εγκαινια*, mentioned by St. John, were celebrated in commemoration of the dedication of the temple. Now the season of the year, when this festival was observed, will enable us easily to determine, what dedication of the temple it must refer to. The evangelist saith, "it was then winter;" it could not therefore be observed in commemoration of the dedication of Solomon's temple; for that was in the seventh month, or autumn (*b*); nor of the second, or Zerobabel's

\* See on this subject Schickard. *Oratiuncula de Festo Purim*, apud *Criticos sacros*, tom. viii.

(*a*) John x. 22.

† See Suiceri *Thesaur.* ad voc. *Εγκαινια*.

‡ Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.* lib. x. cap. iii. p. 463, 464. edit. Cantab. 1720.

(*b*) 1 Kings viii. 2.

Zerobabel's temple ; for that was in the month adar in the spring (a). The festival here intended, must, therefore, be that instituted by Judas Maccabeus, on his having purified the temple and the altar from the pollution of Antiochus Epiphanes ; which was celebrated for eight days successively, in the month chislau about the winter solstice (b). It is mentioned by Josephus as a festival much regarded in his time\*.

The circumstance of Christ's walking in the temple at this feast (c), is alledged by Doctor Nichols †, Prideaux ‡ and others in favour of the observance of sacred festivals of mere human institution ; for though this was such an one, nevertheless Christ honoured it with his presence. But how will this prove, that our Lord had a more sacred or religious regard to this festival, than it may be proved, he had to the winter, from his walking in the temple at that season ? Or if he chose to come to Jerusalem and to the temple at that time, when more people frequented the temple service, than ordinarily at any other, the only reason might be the opportunity of preaching to greater numbers ; on which account we find the apostles likewise frequented the synagogues upon the

X 4 jewish

(a) Ezra vi. 15, 16.

(b) 1 Macc. iv. 52,—59.

\* Antiq. lib. xii. cap. vii. §. 7. p. 617. edit. Haver-  
camp.

(c) John x. 23.

† Nichol'sii Defensio Eccles. Anglican. part. ii. cap. xi.  
p. 298, 299. Londini, 1707.

‡ Connect. part. ii. book iii. vol. 3. p. 278, 279. edit.  
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jewish sabbath, even after that institution was abrogated\*.

Besides these two festivals, we read in scripture of several other feasts, or fasts, observed by the Jews in later ages, though not appointed by the law of Moses; as the fast of the fourth month, on account of the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (*a*); of the fifth month, on account of their burning the temple and city (*b*); of the seventh month, in memory of the murder of Gedaliah (*c*); and of the tenth month, when the babylonian army began the siege of Jerusalem (*d*). These fasts are all mentioned together in the eighth chapter of Zechariah (*e*); to which we may perhaps add the feast, which Josephus calls, *ζυλοφορεια*, the feast of the wood offering, when the people brought great store of wood to the temple for the use of the altar †. This is said to be grounded on the following passages in Nehemiah, “We cast the lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people for the wood-offering, to bring it into the house of our God, after the houses of our fathers, at times appointed year by year, to burn upon the altar of the Lord our God, as it is written in the law (*f*).” Again, “I appointed the wards of the priests and the Levites, every one in his business; and for the wood-offering at times appointed, and for the first fruits (*g*).”

Besides

\* Vid. Peircii Vindic. Fratrum Dissent. part. iii. cap. xi. p. 381. Londini, 1710 or the English Translat. part. 3. chap. xi. p. 218. London, 1717.

(*a*) Jer. lii. 6, 7.      (*b*) 2 Kings xxv. 8.      (*c*) ver. 25.  
(*d*) Jer. lii. 4.      (*e*) Zech. viii. 19.

† Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. cap. xvii. §. 6. p. 194. Havercamp.

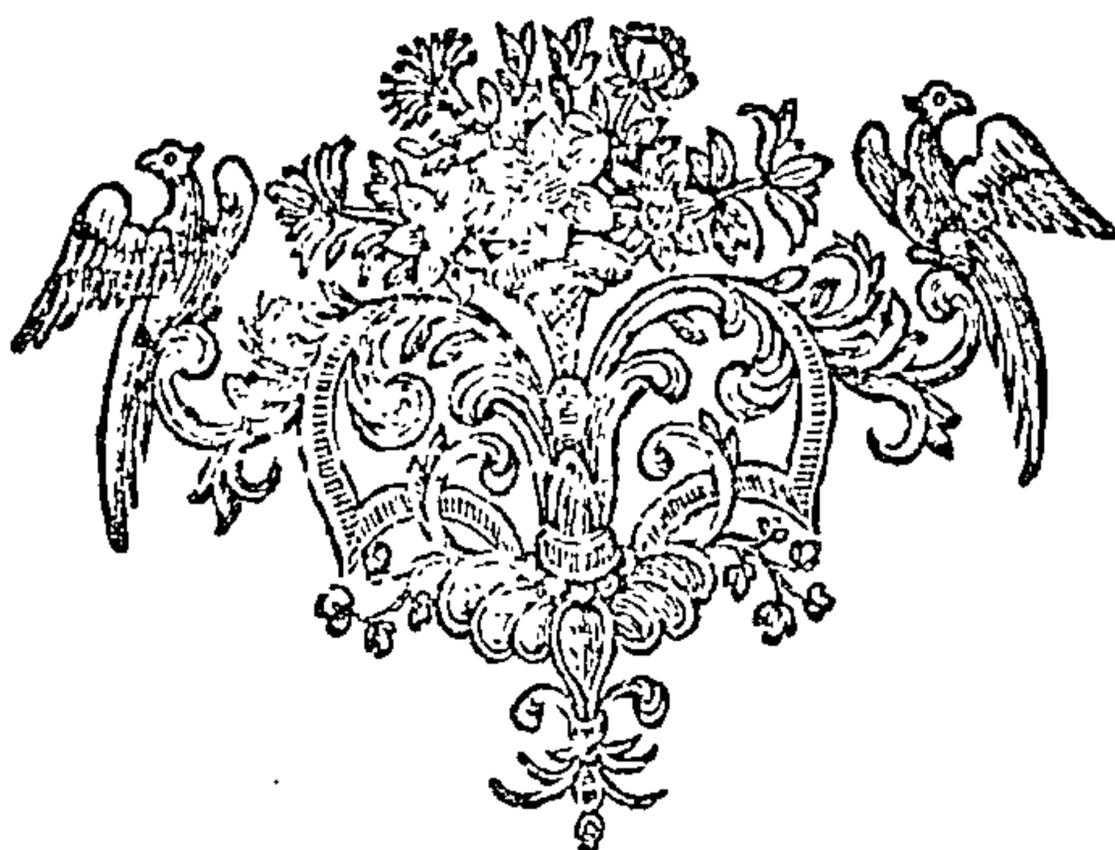
(*f*) Nehem. x. 34.

(*g*) Nehem. xiii. 30, 31.

C. XI. The feast of dedication. 133

Besides these fasts and festivals, the modern jewish calendar is crowded with a multitude of others \* ; of which, there being no mention of them in scripture, it is beside our purpose to take any further notice.

\* Vid. Selden. de Synedriis Hebræor. lib. iii. cap. xiii. §. xii.





APPENDIX,  
CONCERNING THE  
LANGUAGE  
OF THE  
JEWS.





# A P P E N D I X,

Concering the

## Language of the JEWS.



O the large account given of the Jews and their religion, chiefly from the sacred records of the old Testament, I shall now subjoin a dissertation on the languages in which those records were written, namely, the Hebrew and the Chaldee. However, as only a small part of the later writings are in Chaldee, our chief attention will be paid to the Hebrew. And here we shall consider

1st, The antiquity of the language; and  
2dly, The language itself.

1st, As to its antiquity: The Jews are very confident it was the first and original language, which, they say, was contrived by God himself, and which he inspired Adam with a complete

pleat knowledge of \*. Accordingly those words, which we translate, "Man became a living soul (a)," are rendered in the chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan, "The breath, breathed into him by God, became in man a speaking soul." And to the same purpose the paraphrase of Onkelos. But notwithstanding the confident assertions of the Jews, there are other persons who have taken the liberty to doubt of this opinion, not only as to the high antiquity of the hebrew language, but as to such a divine original of any language at all.

1st, As to the original of language itself. Though the Jews assert, their language was taught to Adam by God himself, yet they are not all agreed, how far the divine institution reached. Abarbanel supposes, God instructed our first parents only in the roots and fundamental parts of the tongue, and left the further improvement to themselves †; but others, that they received the whole extent and propriety of the language by immediate revelation ‡. The same opinion hath been embraced by several Christians, particularly by Eunomius, who because God is introduced by Moses as speaking before the creation of man, maintained that there was in words a certain eternal and immutable nature. But it is difficult to conceive, what connection there can be, for the  
most

\* Vid. Buxtorf. *Dissertationes Philologico-theolog. Dissert. 1. de Ling. Hebr. orig. & antiquit.* §. 17. p. 11, — 14. §. 30. p. 20, — 23. Basil. 1662.

(a) Gen. ii. 7.

† Abarbanel in Gen. ii. 19. See Buxtorf. *ubi supra*, §. 22. p. 15, 16.

‡ R. Jehudah in libro *Cozri & ejus Commentator*, R. Jehudah Muscatus. See Buxtorf. *ubi supra*, §. 21. p. 14, 15.

most part, between sounds and things, except what is arbitrary, and fixed by consent or custom \*. And Gregory Nyssen exposes it as ridiculous and blasphemous to imagine, God would turn grammarian, and set him down subtilly to invent names for things †. Dr. Shuckford ‡ conceives, that the original of our speaking was indeed from God; not that he put into Adam's mouth the very sounds which he designed he should use as the names of things; but only as he made him with the powers of a man, he had the use of an understanding to form notions in his mind of things about him, and he had power to utter sounds which should be to himself the names of things, according as he might think fit to call them. These he might teach Eve, and in time both of them teach their children; and thus began and spread the first language of the world. Perhaps in this, as in many other disputes, the truth may lie betwixt the extremes. If our first parents had no extraordinary divine assistance in forming a language, it must have been a considerable time before they would have been able to converse freely together; which would have been a very great abatement of the pleasure of their paradisaical state. Nevertheless, as no doubt

\* *Etsi homines* (inquit Heidegger. *Hist. Patriarch.* tom. 1. *Exercit.* xvi. §. iii. p. 443. *Amstel.* 1667.) *potentiam habeant sibi mutuò animi sui notionem per verba cœu ἀγγελες* quosdam *νοημάτων* expromendi, tamen ipsa verba non significant naturalitèr, hoc est per connexionem aliquam naturalem seu similitudinem verborum cum rebus; sed inveniuntur ex pacto & placito, vel certè per institutionem & consuetudinem addiscuntur.

† *Contra Eunom.* lib. xii. See Heidegger. *Histor. Patriarch.* *Dissert.* xvi. §. v,—vii. tom. 1.

‡ Shuckford's *Connect.* vol. i. book ii. p. 111.

doubt God formed them with excellent abilities, it may reasonably be supposed, he left them to exercise those abilities in perfecting a language upon the hints which he had given them\*.

But in whatever way the original language was formed,

2dly, In the dispute, which was the original language, other nations have put in their claim, with as much assurance as the Jews. The Armenians alledge, that as the ark rested in their country, Noah and his children must have remained there a considerable time, before the lower and marshy country of Chaldea could be fit to receive them; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose, they left their language there, which was probably the very same that Adam spoke.

Some have fancied the Greek the most ancient tongue, because of its extent and copiousness †.

The Teutonic, or that dialect of it which is spoken in the lower Germany and Brabant, hath found a strenuous patron in Geropius Becanus ‡, who endeavours to derive even the Hebrew itself from that tongue.

The pretensions of the Chinese to this honour, have been allowed by several Europeans §. The patrons of this opinion endeavour to support it, partly, by the great antiquity of the Chinese, and their having preserved themselves so many ages, from any considerable mixture

OR

\* See Heidegger. ubi supra. §. viii, ix.

† Eutyck. Annales, p. 50.

‡ See his Origines Antwerpiaë, lib. v. p. 539, & seq.

§ See Webb's Essay towards discovering the primitive language.

or intercourse with other nations. It is a notion advanced by Dr. Allix\*, and maintained by Mr. Whiston with his usual tenacity and fervor †, that the Chinese are the posterity of Noah, by his children born after the flood, and that Fohi, the first king of China, was Noah.

It is further alledged in favour of the Chinese language, that consisting of few words, and those chiefly monosyllables, and having no variety of declensions, conjugations or grammatical rules, it carries strong marks of being the first and original language. Shuckford saith, it is so like a first uncultivated essay, that it is hard to conceive any other tongue to have been prior to it; and whether it was itself the original language or not; in respect to its consisting of monosyllables, the first language was no doubt similar to it. For it cannot be conceived, if men had at first known that plenty of expression which arises from polysyllables, any people or persons would have been so stupid, as to reduce their language to words of one syllable only ‡.

As for those which are called the oriental languages, they have each their partizans; and of these the Hebrew and Syriac have most votes. The generality of eastern writers allow the preference to the Syriac §, except the Jews,

VOL. II. Y who

\* Reflections on the books of the holy scripture, vol. i. part. i. chap. xx. p. 112.

† Whiston's Theory, book ii. p. 137 & seq. and his short view of the chronology, &c. p. 61 & seq. See also Shuckford's Connection, vol. i. book i. p. 29. book ii. p. 98,—104

‡ Shuckford's Connect. vol. i. book ii. p. 123, 124.

§ Theodoret. Quest. 51. in Gen.

who assert the antiquity of the Hebrew with the greatest warmth; and with them several christian writers agree; particularly, Chrystom \*, Austin †, Origen ‡ and Jerom § among the antients, and among the moderns Bochart ||, Heidegger \*\*, Selden ††, and Buxtorf ††. The chief argument, to prove the Hebrew the original language, is taken from the names of persons mentioned before the confusion of Babel; which, they say, are plainly of the hebrew derivation. As אָדָם Adam, from אֲדָמָה Adamah, the ground, because God formed him out of the earth: חַוָּה Eve or Havah, from חַיָּה hajah, vixit, because “she was the mother of all living:” קַיִן Cain from קָיָה ka-jah, acquisivit: שֵׁטַח Seth from שָׁטַח futh, posuit: פֶּלֶג Peleg from פָּלַג palag, divisit; and several others.

It is said these are plainly hebrew names, and therefore prove the hebrew language to have been in use when they were given. Besides it is alledged, the names of some nations are derived from hebrew names. As *Ἰωνία*, Ionia, from יָוָן Javan, the son of Japhet. And so likewise, of some heathen gods; as Vulcan, which seems to be a corruption of Tubal-Cain;

as

\* Chrystom. Homil. xxx. in Gen. xi. tom. 2. p. 239.

† Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, lib. xvi. cap. xi, xii.

‡ Origen. Homil. xi. in Numb. xviii.

§ Hieron in Soph. cap. iii. 18.

|| Bocharti Phaleg, sive Geograph. sacr. lib. i. cap. xv. oper. tom. 1. p. 50, 51. edit. 1712.

\*\* Heidegger. Histor. Patriarch. tom 1. Exercitat. xvi. §. xiv. & seq. tom. 1. p. 455 & seq. Amstel 1667.

†† Selden. de Synedr. lib. ii. cap. ix. §. iii. vol. 1. tom. 2. p. 1420, 1421.

‡‡ Buxtorf. Dissertationes Philologico-theolog. Dissert. i. p. 21 & seq. Basil. 1662.

as Apollo does of Jubal. But Grotius\* and others will not allow this argument to be conclusive, and therefore reply,

1st, There are many more patriarchal names, of which we can find no such hebrew derivation, than there are of which we can; and it might very likely happen, that among such a multitude of names, some few might answer to the word, which expressed the sense of that original word from whence the name was derived, in whatever language Moses had written. Thus, supposing he had written in Latin, and accordingly translated the name Adam into homo, it would have borne as near a relation to humus, the ground, as it does in the Hebrew to אָדָמָה Adamah.

2dly, We have no reason to conclude the names in the mosaick history were the original names, and not translated by Moses into the language in which he wrote; since we have a plain instance of such a translation, in his own name; which, as it was given him by Pharaoh's daughter, an Egyptian, cannot be supposed to have been originally Hebrew; therefore, not מֹשֶׁה Mosheh, as he wrote it, but as it is in the Coptic version Moüsi, from Moü, which in that language signifies water, and si, taken. But Moses, finding the hebrew word מֹשֶׁה mosheh, to "draw out," bearing some resemblance in sound to his name, and in signification to the occasion of it, translated the Egyptian name Moüsi into the hebrew Mosheh.

3dly, It is said, that several of those names are more pertinently derived from some other of the oriental tongues, than from the Hebrew.

\* Grotius in Gen. xi. 1.

As Abel, or Hebel, which in Hebrew signifies vanity or a vapour, seems not a name very apposite to Adam's second son; and therefore Moses hath assigned no reason for his being called by that name. But if it be derived from the Syriac יהב עיל *jehab eil*, which signifies, Deus dedit, it is very proper and expressive. So the name Babel, which the hebrew text informs us, was so called, because God did there ללבלב *balal*, that is, confound the language of all the earth, may be more naturally derived from the Syriac; in which tongue Babel, or Bobeel, signifies confusion. So that the Syriac, or perhaps any other of the eastern tongues, might be proved by this argument from the etymology of the names, to have been the original language, as well as the Hebrew.

Le Clerc further advances, that several of these names were not the proper names, by which the persons were called from their birth; but cognomina, or surnames, which were given them afterwards on account of something remarkable in their lives; and which an historian would naturally have translated into his own language. Thus the greek writers speak of Pellusia, a city of Egypt, which was so called *επο της πηλες*, from clay, because it stood in clayey ground; yet it can hardly be supposed this was its proper Egyptian name.

Upon the whole Le Clerc's opinion seems to bid fairest for the truth; that neither the Hebrew, nor Syriac, nor Chaldee, nor any other language now extant, was the true original tongue; but that this, and the other oriental tongues have all sprung from, or are so many different dialects of that first language, itself now lost among them. As the Italian, French and Spanish are none of them the language of the  
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the ancient Romans, but all derived from it\*.

Having failed in the attempt of tracing up the hebrew language with any certainty to Adam, we are now to enquire to what people or nation it properly belonged after the confusion of Babel.

Those, who are zealous for the high antiquity of the hebrew tongue, tell us, it was preserved, in the midst of that confusion, in the family of Eber, who, they say, was not concerned in the building of Babel, and consequently did not share in the punishment inflicted on those that were.

Before we examine this opinion, it may be no improper digression, to consider briefly the account we have of that confusion, and of the origin of different languages in the eleventh chapter of Genesis; where we read, that “the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech (a).” And again (b) “The Lord said, Behold the people is one, and they have all one language.” But God said, “Let us go down, and confound their language, that they may not understand one another’s speech.” And again “The Lord did there confound the lan-

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\* See on this subject Clerici Prolegom. 1. in Pentateuch. Grotius in Gen. xi. 1. Huetii Demonst. evang. Prop. iv. cap. xiii. sect. iv. Buxtorf. Dissertat. de Antiquitate Ling. Hebr. sect. xxvii. Heidegger. Histor. Patriarch. tom. 1. Exercit. vi. §. x,—xviii. p. 451,—465. Walton Prolegom. iii. §. 3,—12. Pfeiffer. Dissert. de Ling. Protoplast. ad calcem Dub. Vexat. and his Critica Sacra, cap. iii. Bocharti Phaleg, lib. i. cap. xv. Vitring. Observationes, Dissert. i. cap. i,—v. Father Simon’s Critical History, book 1. chap. 14, 15.

(a) Gen. xi. 1.

(b) ver. 6, 7.

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guage of all the earth (*a*).” Now as to the degree of this confusion, and the manner in which it was effected, there is a great diversity of sentiments.

The modern Jews, as Julius Scaliger informs us\*, understand it not of a multiplication of tongues, but of a confusion of those ideas, which they affixed to words. Suppose, for instance, one man called for a stone, another understood him to mean mortar, having that idea now fixed to the word; another understood water; and another, sand. But though such a different connecting of ideas with the same words must needs produce a strange confusion among the people, enough to make them desist from their undertaking; nevertheless this by no means accounts for the diversity of tongues, which consists not in the same words being used in different senses, but in the use of words quite remote, and different from one another.

Others are of opinion that all the confusion, which happened at Babel, was in the people's quarrelling among themselves, and thereupon bandying into parties, and separating from each other; which, they say, is ascribed to God in the same sense, in which it is elsewhere said, there “is no evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it;” that is, permitted, and overruled it to the accomplishment of his own wise and gracious designs.

As for the different languages now in the world, these gentlemen suppose, that they all arose

(*a*) ver. 9.

\* Scalig. Exercitat. in Cardan. 259. sect. 1. cited by Stillingfleet, Origin. Sac. book iii. chap. v. §. iii. p. 362. edit. 8. 1709.

arose at first from one original language, and that this variety is no more than must naturally have happened in so long a course of time; partly through the difference of climates; which, it is said, will occasion a difference of pronunciation, and thereby gradually a variation in languages; and from various other causes, which are sometimes observed to have so altered the language of some nations, that it hath hardly been intelligible at the distance of two or three hundred years. Thus the Salian verses, composed by Numa, were scarcely understood by the priests in Quinctilian's time\*. *Saliorum Carmina, fatis he, vix sacerdotibus suis fatis intellecta.* And we find it no less difficult to understand the language of our forefathers three or four centuries ago.

To this hypothesis, that what is commonly called the confusion of tongues was only a difference of opinions, and the contentions consequent thereupon, it may be objected, that this does by no means come up to the obvious meaning of the sacred history, which tells us, "that God did there," even at Babel, "confound the language of all the earth;" which before was "one" and the same; implying that in consequence of this extraordinary procedure of providence, there was now a diversity of tongues, which occasioned their "not understanding one another's speech:" and likewise, that several of the present languages are so entirely remote from one another, that with no reasonable probability can they be supposed to have sprung from the same original. For

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though

\* Quinctil. Institut. Orat. lib. i. cap. vi. p. 45. edit. Gibson, Oxon. 1693.

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though length of time may very much alter a language in its words and phrases, according to the observation of Horace\*,

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadent-  
que,  
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet  
usus :

Yet what instance can be produced of meer length of time bringing a whole language out of use, and introducing another in the room of it. Besides, the greatest alterations of languages, of which any history, since that of Babel, informs us, have arisen from the intermixture of people of different languages. Thus the roman language was corrupted and altered by the multitude of foreign slaves, which were kept at Rome. But if all languages had originally sprung from one, such an intermixture of the people of different nations must have tended to prevent the diversity of language, instead of promoting it.

Dr. Shuckford has an hypothesis, I suppose, peculiar to himself; that the builders of Babel were evidently projectors, and their heads being full of innovations, some of the leading men among them set themselves to invent new words, as particularly polysyllables, and to spread them among their companions; from whence in time a different speech grew up in one party from that in another, till at length it came to such a height, as to cause them to form different companies, and so to separate †.

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\* De Arte poeticâ, l. 70.

† Shuckford's Connect. vol. i. book ii. p. 133.

It may be objected to this hypothesis, as well as to the former, that it by no means comes up to the obvious meaning of the sacred history. Besides, Theseus Ambrose\* hath started another material objection, that the diversity of languages cannot be supposed to have arisen from choice and contrivance, unless it can be imagined that men would do themselves such a prejudice, as that when they had one common language to represent their conceptions, they should themselves introduce so great an alteration, as would break off that mutual society and converse which even nature itself dictated,

As to what Dr. Shuckford saith, that experience shows, the fear of doing mischief, hath not restrained the projects of ambitious men, it may be replied, that though it may not have restrained them from doing it to others, it surely will restrain them from doing it to themselves. And as to what he further alleges, that he sees no detriment arising from the confusion of languages, let experience, and the immense pains men are forced to take in learning foreign languages, which they have occasion for, tell us, whether it be an inconvenience and detriment, or not.

Upon the whole, I can see no reason to depart from the obvious meaning of the historical narrative, which represents the confusion of tongues as the immediate act of God; but think it right to conclude with Calvin, *Prodigii loco habenda est linguarum diversitas †*.

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\* Theseus Ambros. de causis mutationis linguarum.

† Calvin. Annot. in Gen. xi. 1, 2.

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It would be to little purpose to inquire, in what way and manner these new languages were formed; for though there are various, they are all uncertain, conjectures about it\*.

There is one enquiry more on this head, on which we shall briefly touch; namely, how many languages arose from the confusion of Babel.

The Jews make them seventy, imagining there were seventy different nations then planted in the world †; a notion, which they ground on the following passage in Deuteronomy, “When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel (a).” That is, say they, he divided them into seventy nations, seventy being the number of the children of Israel, when they came into Egypt ‡. Bochart, however, hath given a far more probable sense of this passage, that God so distributed the earth among the several people that were therein, as to reserve, or in his sovereign counsel to appoint, such a part for the Israelites, though they were then unborn, as might prove  
a com-

\* See Buxtorf. *Dissert. de Ling. Hebr. confusione, & plurium Linguar. Origine.* Vitring. *Observat. Dissert. i.* Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*, book 3. chap. 5. §. 4. Dr. Wotton's *Discourse concerning the confusion of languages*, and Dr. Brett's *Essay on the same Subject*.

† Targum Jonathan in Gen. xi. 7, 8.

(a) Deut. xxxii. 8.

‡ Targum Jonathan. in Deut. xxxii. 8. and R. Bechai, quoted by Buxtorf. *apud Dissertationes Philologico-theolog. Dissert. ii. de Ling. Hebr. Confus.* §. 43. p. 79. where, and in the following pages are many other testimonies to the same purpose.

a commodious settlement and habitation for them\*.

We have no way to determine, how many languages sprung out of the first confusion. No doubt but their number hath been since multiplied; for we have instances in later ages, of several languages growing out of one; the Italian, French and Spanish, for instance, out of the Latin. And thus probably, several eastern tongues, or dialects arose out of one; but whether out of the antediluvian language, or some other, is by no means certain.

We now return to the enquiry, To what people, after the dispersion of the nations, the hebrew language originally belonged. The opinion of the Jews hath been already mentioned, that it was the language of Heber's family, from which Abraham sprung. But this is *gratis dictum*, or rather highly improbable; since we find Heber's family, in the fourth generation after the dispersion, living in Chaldea, where Abraham was born (*a*); and there is no reason to think they used a different language from their neighbours around them. Now that the Chaldee, and not the Hebrew, was the language of Abraham's country, and of his kindred, appears, in that he sent his servant to his own country, and to his kindred, to take a wife for his son Isaac, namely, Rebekah (*b*); and that Laban, the brother of Rebekah, spake a different language from the Hebrew, namely, the Chaldee; for the same pillar, or heap of stones, which Jacob called גַּלְגַּלֵּי galgaledh, which

\* Bocharti Geograph. Sacra, lib. 1. cap. xv. Oper. tom. 1. p. 57. edit. 1712.

(*a*) Gen. xi. 27, 28.

(*b*) Gen. xxiv. 4.

332 Hebrew the language of which is a hebrew word, Laban calls in his language נְגַר שְׂהָדוּתָא jegar sahadutha, which is pure Chaldee (*a*). From whence it seems reasonable to conclude, that Abraham's native language was Chaldee, and that the Hebrew was the language of the Canaanites, which Abraham and his posterity learnt by dwelling among them. This Le Clerc hath endeavoured to prove\*.

† From the names of places, as well as men, in the land of Canaan being pure Hebrew. Fuller indeed, in his miscellanies †, supposes, that Moses in writing his history translated the canaanitish names into Hebrew; which, if well grounded, would entirely destroy the argument, which he himself and others make use of, to prove, that the Hebrew was the antediluvian language, from the names of some of the antient patriarchs being pure Hebrew. But this does not seem to be the case as to the names of places in Canaan; for we find, that though the Israelites changed the names of some of them, yet their old names were as much Hebrew as their new ones. For instance, Mamre, which they changed into Hebron (*b*); Kirjath-sepher, which they changed into Debir (*c*); and Lashem, which they changed into Dan (*d*).

It is further observed, that the names of the cities of the Philistines, who were a part of the

(*a*) Gen. xxxi. 46, 47.

\* Vid. Clerici Prolegom. 1. in Pentateuch. de Ling. Hebr.

† Fuller. Miscell. lib. iv. cap. iv. apud Criticos sacros, tom. ix. p. 2398.

(*b*) Gen. xiii. 18.      (*c*) Josh. xv. 15.      (*d*) Josh. xix. 47.

the Canaanites not subdued by the Israelites, were probably Hebrew; such as Gaza, Ashdod, Gath, Ekron, &c.

2dly, Whereas the Egyptians and other neighbouring nations are called “a people of a strange language” to the Jews (*a*), nothing like that is ever said of the Canaanites.

3dly, If none but Jacob’s family had spoken Hebrew, where could Joseph have found an interpreter betwixt him and his brethren, when he affected not to understand Hebrew (*b*)? Probably this interpreter was some Canaanite.

4thly, The hebrew language seems to this author, to have been originally formed by Polytheists, and such as worshipped deified heroes; particularly, from the plural name of God, Elohim; and from those metaphorical descriptions of the divine attributes, which are plainly borrowed from man, as the soul, the ears, the face, the eyes, the hands of God; which metaphors, he supposes, would never have been used, if the language had been originally formed by people, who had no other notion of God but that of a pure spirit. It seems to have been originally the language of idolaters.

5thly, He alledges the testimony of Bochart, who shows from some remains of the Phœnician language, that it was originally Hebrew\*. Thus the chief magistrates of the Carthaginians, who were originally Phœnicians, or Canaanites, were called Suffites, which seems to be a corruption of the hebrew word, שופטים Shophetim, judges.

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(*a*) Psal. cxiv. 1. lxxxi. 5. (*b*) Gen xlii. 23.

\* Bocharti Chanaan, sive Geograph. sacr. pars posterior, lib. ii. per totum.

The most material objection I can find against this hypothesis, is taken from the thirteenth chapter of Nehemiah (*a*), where it is said, that some Jews having married wives of Ashdod, “their children spoke half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews language.” Now Ashdod was one of the cities of the Philistines, who were Canaanites; from whence, therefore, it should seem, that the Jews language, namely, Hebrew, and that of the Canaanites were not the same. But it may be answered.

1st, That this was after the captivity, when the Jews had in a great measure lost the Hebrew. So that by the Jews language we may here rather understand Chaldee, than Hebrew.

2dly, That the speech of Ashdod, perhaps, might differ from that of the Jews only in pronunciation and dialect; as the Ephraimites (*b*) pronounced differently from the other tribes, while yet they all spoke Hebrew\*.

Having thus endeavoured to trace the antiquity of the Hebrew language; we now come to consider the language itself.

It being common for people to find out peculiar excellencies in their own language, the Hebrews have done so in theirs; and many Christians have joined with them, in bestowing high encomiums upon it, as superior to all others. But whether that be owing to its real intrinsic excellencies, or to its advocates being prejudiced in its favour, on account of so many  
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(*a*) Nehem. xiii. 24.

(*b*) Judg. xii. 6.

\* For proof that the Hebrew was the language of the Canaanites see also Joseph. Scaliger. Epist. 242. & 362. Walton. Prolegom. ii. §. 13,—19. Selden. cap. 2. Prolegom. de Diis Syris.

of the sacred books being written in it, we do not pretend to determine.

This language is said to abound in the aptest etymologies and roots of the names both of men and things; that in it the names of brutes express their nature and properties, more significantly and accurately than in any other known language in the world; that its words are concise, yet expressive, derived from a small number of roots, yet without the studied and artificial composition of the greek and roman languages; that its words follow each other in an easy and natural order, without intricacy or transposition; and above all, that it hath the happiest and richest fecundity in its verbs, of any known tongue either antient or modern; which arises from the variety and sufficiency of its conjugations; by means of which, as Bellarmine observes in his hebrew grammar, all the variety of significations, into which it is possible for a verb to be branched out, are expressed, with a very small variation either of the points, or of a letter or two; which in any other language cannot be done without circumlocution. In a word, this language is said to be so concise, yet significant; so pathetic, yet free from lightness or bombast, as of all others to approach nearest to the language of spirits, who need no words to convey their ideas to each other.

But whether this language deserves these high encomiums, in preference to all others, or not; yet, as God hath thought fit to convey to us so great a part of his revelations thereby, it certainly concerns us to be well acquainted with it. But it is not my present business to teach it; nor do you need instruction from me on this head.

All

All I shall further offer with respect to the language itself, will regard the letters in which it is written.

Concerning these there are two controversies; one about the consonants, the other about the vowels, or points.

First, Concerning the consonants. It is disputed, whether the sacred books were originally written in the present Hebrew square character, otherwise called the Assyrian or Chaldee character; or in the old Samaritan. Each side of this question is warmly maintained by different critics; though the latter opinion is now more generally received.

Joseph Scaliger, in his notes upon Eusebius's chronicon\*, thinks it so evident, that the sacred books were originally written in the Samaritan character, at least those of them written before the captivity; that he saith, it is luce clarius; and with the usual politeness of a great critic, calls those of the contrary opinion, semi-docti, semi-theologi, semi-homines, and Asini.

He, with others on this side of the question, conceives, the Samaritan was the antient Phœnician character; and constantly used by the jews, till the babylonian captivity; when, learning the Chaldee character from the Babylonians, they preferred it to their own on account of its far superior beauty. So that by the time they returned from the captivity, they had in a manner, quite disused their antient character; for which reason Ezra found it requisite to have the sacred books transcribed into the Chaldee square

\* Scalig. Animadversiones in Euseb. Chronic. sub anno 1617. p. 111. See also his epist. 242, & 362.

square character, and from that time the old character hath been retained only by the Samaritans.

But there are others, who strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present hebrew letters, as if they, and no others, were the sacred character in which the holy scriptures were originally, and have always been, written; and that the Samaritan was never used for that purpose, except among the Samaritans; who in opposition, they say, to the Jews, wrote the law of Moses, which is said to be the only part of scripture they received, in this character, different from that which was used by the Jews. Some of the Talmudists\*, indeed, are quoted by father Morin, bishop Walton † and others, as having declared for the contrary side. Nevertheless other talmudical writers maintain the antiquity of the present character ‡. And there is a remarkable passage in the tract Megillah, wherein, on occasion of its having been said by Moses, that the tables of the law were written on both their sides, מִצֵּה וּמִצֵּה mizzeh umizzeh, on one side and on the other (a), we are informed, that the letters were cut through and through so as to be seen and read on both sides. And when it is asked, how it was possible for the middle of the ך samech and ם mem clausum, or final mem, to support itself, the answer is, it was suspended by a miraculous power §.

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Certainly

\* Vid. Cocceii Excerpt. Gemar. cod. Sanhedr. cap. ii. §. xiii. p. 186.

† Walton. Polyglot. Prolegom. iii. §. 32, 33. p. 21.

‡ Vid Excerpt. Gemar. ubi supra, p. 186, 187.

(a) Exod. xxxii. 15.

§ Talm. Babylon. cod. Megillah, cap. i. & de Sabbatho, fol. 104. col. 1. see Buxtoft. Dissert. Philologico-theolog. Diss. iv. §. 16. p. 174, 175.

Certainly those talmudical rabbies, who have advanced this story, did not at all dream of the Samaritan being the antient Hebrew character; for the Samaritan Samech and Mem are of a quite different shape from the present Hebrew, and would have stood in need of no such miracle, to support the middle of them. Not to add, that the Samaritans make no difference between the final, or the medial and initial letters\*.

Buxtorf † endeavours to reconcile these two opinions, by producing a variety of passages from the rabbies ‡ to prove, that both these characters were antiently used; the present square character being that in which the tables of the law, and the copy deposited in the ark were written; and the other character being used in the copies of the law which were written for private and common use, and in civil affairs in general; and that after the captivity Ezra enjoined the former to be used by the Jews on all occasions, leaving the latter to the Samaritans and to apostates. And whereas the talmudical rabbies stile the Hebrew square characters אשורית *ashurith*, *scriptura Assyriaca*, this is said not to be a proper name, denoting the country where this character was used and from whence it was borrowed, but to be nomen appellativum, derived from אשׁר *ashar*, *beatum reddere*, and to signify therefore, *beata scriptura*,

\* Universal history, book i. chap. vii. concerning the language, writing and learning of the Jews, note (v.)

† Buxtorf, *Dissertat. Philolog. theologic. Dissert. iv. de Literar. hebraic. genuinâ antiquitate*, §. 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 42, —44.

‡ In particular Maimon. & Bartenor, in *Mishn. tit. Jaddain*, cap. ult. §. 5. tom. vi. p. 490.

tura, the blessed scripture. R. Gedaliah indeed supposes, it was called the Assyrian character, because it was appropriated to sacred, and never employed for common purposes, before the captivity in Babylon, from whence it was brought by the elders, who alone had the knowledge of it by tradition\*. However, a bare inspection of the two characters renders the supposition, that both of them should ever have been used at the same time, somewhat improbable; for whereas the Chaldee is one of the most beautiful, the Samaritan, on the contrary, is one of the most uncouth, unsightly, and puzzling characters, that ever was invented; and it can hardly, therefore, be imagined, that if the Jews had been acquainted with one so much superior as the Chaldee, they would ever have used the other, unless out of a superstitious regard to it as sacred, and as deeming it a profanation to use it in common and civil concerns. But it can scarcely be believed, that such an idle and superstitious opinion prevailed among them in the times of Moses and the prophets.

The chief arguments, on both sides of this question, are as follow.

1st, Those who argue in favour of the present square character being the original, alledge

1st, The following passage of St. Matthew, “One jot or tittle shall not pass from the law, till all be fulfilled (a).” From hence it should seem, that Jota or Jod, was the least of the consonants; as indeed it is in the present Hebrew, but in the Samaritan it is one of the

Z 2

largest

\* Buxtorf. ubi supra, §. 44. p. 203.

(a) Matt. v. 18.

largest letters. Schickard calls this argumentum Palmarium\*. But bishop Walton replies, that, supposing Christ speaks here of the least letter of the alphabet, which, however, he does not admit, all that can be fairly inferred from it is, that the present Chaldee character was used in our Saviour's time; which is not denied by those who maintain the Samaritan to be the original †.

2dly, They alledge the following passage of Isaiah, "Of the increase, לַמַּרְבֵּהּ lemarbèh, of his government and peace, there shall be no end, &c (a)." where the word לַמַּרְבֵּהּ lemarbèh, hath a mem clausum in the middle of it, of which there are only two instances. It is imagined, this contains a mystery, and signifies, that Christ should come ex utero clauso. But this mystery cannot be expressed in the Samaritan character, it having no mem clausum. The prophecy of Isaiah, therefore, it is said, was originally written in the present character. It is answered, that it is only gratis dictum, there is any mystery in this letter; and the easiest way of accounting for it, is by the carelessness of some transcriber ‡.

3dly, They argue from the temper of the Jews, who being an obstinate and superstitious people, would never have suffered their sacred character to be altered. But this is more than can be proved, especially if it was done by the direction of Ezra.

4thly,

\* Vid. Schickard. in Bechinath happerushim, Disp. v. p. 82, 83.

† Walton. ubi supra, §. 36, p. 23.

(a) Isaiah ix. 7.

‡ Walton. ubi supra.

4thly, They say, that Ezra could not do this, if he would; nor would he, if he could. He could not do it, because it was impossible to make this alteration in all their copies. But it may be asserted as well, that the old English black letter, in which bibles were formerly written and printed, could not be changed for the Roman, which we know is now universally used. It is further said, that Ezra would not do it, had it been practicable; for since he blamed those that spake the language of Ashdod (*a*), he would not surely prophane the sacred writings with a heathen character. But this argument supposes some sanctity in the shape of the letters, which we can hardly imagine, Ezra was so superstitious as to believe.

5thly, They argue from antient coins found in Judea, with Solomon's head on the face, and the temple on the reverse, with a legend in the Chaldec or Assyrian character. But these medals were probably made by some knavish Christians, in order to get money by imposing on the pilgrims to the holy land.

The same may be said of some Hebrew inscriptions in the present character, upon the sepulchres of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Rachel and Leah; which R. Benjamin saith, he saw in the year 1170\*.

The arguments on the other side, for the Samaritan character being the original, are

1st, From the account in the second book of Kings (*b*), that when the ten tribes were carried captive, and the Samaritans put in their room,

Z 3

they

(*a*) Nehem. xiii. 23.

\* Walton ubi supra, § 35. p. 22. See Conringii Paradoxa de Nummis Hebræorum, cap. v, vi, vii. & xi. apud Crenii Fascicul. secundum. (*b*) 2 Kings xvii. 28.

they were annoyed with lions ; upon which a Jewish priest was sent to teach them the manner of the God of the land, or the worship of Jehovah ; in order to which he must certainly teach them the law ; but we have no account of his teaching them the language or character ; from whence it is presumed the law was then written in the character which the Samaritans used.

2dly, It is argued in favour of the Samaritan character from the authority of Jerom, who observeth on occasion of the prophet Ezekiel's being ordered "to set a mark," in the Hebrew  $\tau$  tau, "upon the forehead of the men that sigh and cry for the abominations done in the midst of Jerufalem (a) ;" that this mark was the sign of the cross, there being a resemblance of that figure in the Tau of the antient alphabet ; which, saith he, is what the Samaritans now use. If so, the form of this letter must have been, as some assert it was, different in his time from what it is at present, in which the resemblance is very small\*.

3dly, The chief argument is taken from the old Jewish shekel, which on one side hath the pot of manna ; and on the other, Aaron's miraculous rod that budded ; with a legend on one side, "The shekel of Israel ;" on the other, "Jerusalem the holy ;" both in Samaritan

(a) Ezek. ix. 4.

\* Hieron. in loc. Antiquis, inquit, Hebræorum literis, quibus usque hodie utuntur Samaritani, extrema litera Thau crucis habet similitudinem. See Dr. Kennicott's second dissertation on the state of the Hebrew text, p. 49, 50. and Hieron. Alexandri. Epist. Jo. Morino, apud Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Orientalis clar. virorum Card. Barbarini, &c. Dissertationibus epistolice enucleatas, epist. vi. p. 144, 145. Londini, 1682.

tan characters. Some of the shekels were in the possession of rabbi Moses Nachmanides, and rabbi Azarias \* among the Jews ; and of Montanus †, and Villalpandus ‡, and others among the Christians.

Now this shekel could not belong to the Samaritans after the captivity, whose hatred to the Jews, would never have suffered them to strike such an inscription on their coin, as “Jerusalem hackodesh.” It must, therefore, have belonged to the Jews before the captivity ; which consequently proves, the Samaritan character to have been then in use. This argument seems indeed to be demonstration. Nevertheless, considering the many notorious impositions with respect to coins and medals, we should be well assured of the genuineness of these shekels §, before we are absolutely determined by them ||.

We

\* Menor Enaim, p. 171. See the passage apud Ezech. Spanhem. de usu & præstant. Numism Dissert. 4. p. 334. edit. Amstel. 1671. or in Hottinger de Nummis Oriental. Dissert. 3. ad calcem Cippor. Hebr. p. 133,—139. edit. 2. Heidelberg. 1662.

† Ariæ Montani Tubal-Cain, de Siclo. vol. iii. ab init. apud Criticos sacros, tom. 8. p. 657. edit. Londin.

‡ Villalpandi Apparatus in Ezekielem.

§ Hottinger maintains the genuineness and great antiquity of these shekels, supposing at the same, that the Samaritan character was used only for civil and prophane purposes, and not for writing the holy scriptures. See his Crippi hebr. Dissert. iii. de Nummis Orientalibus. On the other hand Conringius, in his Paradoxa de Nummis Hebræorum, cap. viii. ix. endeavours to prove they were struck after the captivity, in the times of the Asmonean princes, and of the Herods : See also Keland de Nummis Samaritanis, Dissert. i.

|| See concerning the hebrew letters Ludov. Capell. de Antiq. Literar. Hebraic. Morini Exercitat. in Pentateuch. Samarit. Exerc. ii. cap. iii. §. 4. & seq. Father Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament, book i. chap. 13.

We proceed now

2dly, to consider the points, or vowels; concerning which there is likewise no little controversy; whether they are of the same antiquity and authority with the consonants, or of a later original. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the famous Elias Levita, a german jew, ventured to call their antiquity in question, and ascribed the invention of them to the Masorites of the school of Tiberias, about five hundred years after Christ. The book, which he published on this subject, soon raised him a cloud of adversaries, both of his own nation and among Christians. Of the latter were principally the two Buxtorfs; the father, in his book called Tiberias, sive Commentarius Masoreticus; and the son, in his Tractatus de Punctorum, Vocalium, & Accentuum, in libris Veteris Testamenti hebraicis, Origine, Antiquitate & autoritate\*; which he wrote in answer to Ludovicus Capel, a protestant divine, and hebrew professor at Saumur, who in his Arcanum Punctationis had espoused Levita's opinion; as did likewise Joseph Scaliger †, Morinus ‡, Drusius §, and several other critics.

This controversy hath employed the learned for upwards of two hundred years.

I shall

Pfeiferi Critica Sacra, cap. iv. §. 2. Leusden. Philolog. Hebræus; Prideaux's Connect. part. 1. book vi. sub A. 446. and Scaliger, and Buxtorf, and Walton, as before-quoted.

\* See Buxtorf. de Antiquitate Punctor. part. ii. cap. xi.

† Scaliger. Epist. ad Buxtorf. 243.

‡ Morin. Exercitat. Biblicæ, Exercit. vi. & Epist. Buxtorfio apud Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Orientalis, &c. Dissertationibus Epistolice enucleantur, Epist. lxx. præsertim, p. 368. ad finem.

§ Drusius ad Loca Difficil. Pentateuch. cap. 25.

I shall first give an account of the several Hypotheses, which have been advanced on this subject, and then of the arguments pro and con.

The hypotheses are

1st, That the points are coeval with the consonants, and were written along with them in the original copies of the sacred law.

The second is, that they were added by Ezra, at the time when he is supposed to have changed the old samaritan for the assyrian or chaldee character.

The third is, that they were invented and added by the Masorites of the school of Tiberias; certain jewish grammarians, who devoted themselves to the revival of the hebrew text, and in order to prevent any future alterations, numbered the sections, words and letters in each book.

The school of Tiberias in Galilee was a very famous one, and flourished long after the destruction of the second temple. The grammarians, or critics, of that school; commonly called Masorites, are supposed to have invented the points after the completion of the talmud. The Papists generally embrace this hypothesis, because in their opinion, it serves the cause of oral tradition, and hath a tendency to weaken the authority and sufficiency of the sacred text; and for other reasons several Protestants have received it. As for Capel, the most celebrated christian champion for this hypothesis, although he agrees with Elias Levita in ascribing the first addition of the points in the text to the Masorites of Tiberias, he nevertheless differs from him in this, that he makes the invention of them to be purely human, and so represents

represents them as of no authority; whereas Levita supposes the points expressed the true and genuine reading, which had been preserved and handed down by tradition from the first writers of the sacred books; so that in effect they are of equal authority with the consonants.

There is yet a fourth hypothesis of Dr. Prideaux, who goes a middle way betwixt those who contend for the points being coeval with the consonants, or at least for their being added by Ezra under divine inspiration; and those, who allow them no higher original, than the school of Tiberias. He conceives they were added by more antient Masorites, soon after Ezra, when the Hebrew ceased to be a living language; but did not come into common use, nor were taught in the divinity schools, till after the compiling of the talmud. There were antiently two sorts of schools among the Jews, the schools of the Masorites, and the schools of the rabbies. The former only taught the hebrew language and the reading of the scriptures in it; the latter, the understanding of the scriptures, and the traditional interpretation of them. Now the vowel points, Dr. Prideaux supposes, were in use in the schools of the Masorites several ages before they were introduced into the schools of the rabbies; and thus he accounts for their not being mentioned in the talmud, nor by the antient christian fathers before the time of the Masorites of Tiberias\*.

We now proceed to consider the arguments for, and against, these different hypotheses.

1st, For the antiquity and divine authority of  
of

\* Prideaux's Connect. part i. book v. vol. 1. p. 5, —  
520. edit. 10.

of the points, whether coeval with the consonants, or added by Ezra.

To prove that they were not invented by the Masorites of Tiberias, it is alledged,

1st, That there is no mention in any jewish writer, of such an alteration being made in the hebrew bible; which doubtless there would have been, had it been fact\*.

2dly That all the annotations, or notes of the Masorites, upon the vowels relate to the irregularity of them. For instance, in their commentaries on the nineteenth chapter of Genesis, and the second verse, they observe, on the word  $\text{הִנֵּה}$  hinne, ecce, which ought regularly to have been  $\text{הִנֵּה}$  hinnè; that every  $\text{הִנֵּה}$  hinne in this sense is with kametz parvum; (by which they mean the vowel which we call tzeri,) except only in this place. And in the sixteenth chapter of Genesis; there being in the thirteenth verse  $\text{שֵׁם}$  shèm, which in the fifteenth verse is  $\text{שֵׁם}$  shem, they remark that every  $\text{שֵׁם}$  shèm is with a kametz parvum, except six. Now had the Masorites been the inventors of the points, it is not to be thought they would have made them irregular according to their own judgments; consequently they must have had these irregular points in the copies that were before them †. But it is observed, that though we should suppose the Masorites of Tiberias invented the points, yet others, perhaps several ages afterwards, might make critical remarks upon

\* Pfeifferi Critica Sacra, cap. iv. Sect. ii. Quæst. ii. p. 83, 84. Lipsiæ; 1712.

† Buxtorf. Tiberias, cap. ix. p. 47. & seq. edit. Basil. 1665. & Buxtorf. hl. de Punctorum Antiquitate, part. ii, cap. vi. p. 338. & seq.

upon them. For the Masorah, as printed in our present bibles, saith Dr. Prideaux, is a collection and abridgement of the chief criticisms made on the hebrew text from the beginning\*.

3dly, There is express mention of the points or vowels, in books more antient than the Talmud; namely, Bahir and Zohar, the first of which is said to have been written a little before our Saviour's time; and the second, which quotes and refers to it, not much above a century after †. Buxtorf the elder, quotes the following passage, among others, out of Bahir, *Talia sunt puncta cum literis legis Mosis qualis est anima vitæ in corpore*. But these two books are rejected by Capel ‡, and others, as spurious and modern. Prideaux saith, there are many particulars in them, which manifestly prove them to be so, and that for above a thousand years after the pretended time of their composition, they were never heard of, quoted or mentioned §.

4thly, That the points were in use in our Saviour's time, and therefore long before the Masorites of Tiberias, is argued from the following passage of St. Matthew, "One Jota, or *κεφαλα*;" which we translate Tittle, "shall not pass from the law (a)." The tittles or points therefore at that time belonged to the law

\* Capelli Arcanum Punctationis, lib. ii. cap. x, xi. Prideaux's Connect. part. i. book v. vol. 2. p. 504. edit. 10.

† Buxtorf. Tiberias, cap. ix. §. 3. p. 70. Buxtorf fil. de Antiq Punctorum, par. i. cap. v. p. 68. & seq.

‡ Capell. Arcanum Punctat. lib. ii. cap. iii. & Vindiciz Arcani, lib. i. cap. viii. §. 13. & seq.

§ Prideaux's Connect. part. i. book v. vol. 2. p. 501, 502. edit. 10.

(a) Matt. v. 18.

law\*. But Capel understands by the *κεραιαι*, not the points, but the Corollæ, or flourishes, sometimes made about the hebrew consonants †.

For the high antiquity of the points, and that they must be coeval with the consonants, it is argued

1st, That as it is impossible to pronounce the language without vowels, so it would be alike impossible to teach it, unless the vowels were expressed ‡. And

2dly, If it be allowed, that the present vowel points are not of the same authority with the consonants, but merely of human and late invention, it will greatly weaken the authority of the holy scriptures, and leave the sacred text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation §.

It is indeed advanced by the gentlemen on the other side of the question, that the Aleph, He, Vau, Jod and Gnain originally served for vowels ||. To which it is replied, that there are multitudes of words, in which none of these letters occur \*\*. And it is certain, they were not in all words in Jerom's time, who in his commentary on Isaiah saith, that the word דָּבָר dhabhar,

\* Buxtorf. fil. de Punctorum Antiquitate, part ii. cap. xv. p. 435, 436.

† Capelli Arcanum Punctationis, lib. ii. cap. xiv. and Vindiciæ Arcani, lib. ii. cap. xiii. See also Marckii Sylloge Dissertationum, Exercitat. iii.

‡ See Buxtorf. de Punctor. Antiq. par. ii. cap. i. p. 305. & seq.

§ Buxtorf. Tiberias, cap. ix. p. 86. & Buxtorf. fil. de Punctor. Antiq. par. ii. cap. xiv. p. 419. & seq. Carpzovii Critica Sacra, par. i. cap. v. Sect. vii. p. 243,—248.

|| Capelli Arcanum Punctationis, lib. i. cap. xviii, xix.  
\*\* Buxtorf. de Punctorum Antiq. par. i. cap. xiv. p. 198. & par. ii. cap. viii.

dhahbar, is written with three letters \*. But Capel thinks it reasonable to suppose, that neither Moses nor Ezra would have used the Aleph, Vau and Jod at all, if they had been the authors of the points, which render these letters needless. And though all words have not these Matres Lectionis, yet wherever they are wanting, they may easily be supplied in reading, by those who are skilled in the tongue, as the persons undoubtedly were, to whom it was a native language †. To which some have added, that these letters have been struck out of many words, in which they were formerly written, as being of no use since the invention of vowel points. To this it can only be replied; If that were the case, many “ Jotas must have perished from the law.” Besides, who would venture to expunge these letters? Not, surely, the Masorites; who were so superstitiously scrupulous and exact, as to preserve even the irregularities of the letters. And having counted and set down the number of the letters contained in each book, they thereby placed a guard against its being done by any body after them. But notwithstanding all their care ‡, it is certain, the Matres Lectionis have been sometimes omitted; for they are more frequent  
in

\* Hieron. in Isa. iii. 8.

† Capel. *Vindiciæ Arcani*, lib. ii. cap. vi.

‡ Concerning the inconsistency and imperfection of the Masorah, and its insufficiency to guard the purity of the sacred text, see *Capelli Critica Sacra*, lib. v. cap. xii. p. 373. & seq. lib. iii. cap. xvi. p. 156, 186. cap. xix. p. 203. Dr. Kennicott's first Dissert. on the hebrew text, p. 247, 261. & seq. 297. & seq. 348, 349, 546, 547. Second Dissert. p. 245. & seq. 262, — 291, 451, 468, 469, and in some other places.

in some of the older manuscripts, than in later manuscripts, or in the printed text\*.

The foregoing arguments for the antiquity of the points are produced, chiefly, by Buxtorf. We come now

2dly, To consider the arguments against the antiquity of the points, by which Capel endeavours to prove, they were added by the Masorites of Tiberias. These are drawn from grammar, from testimony and from history.

1st, The grammatical arguments are built principally upon the Keri and Chethibh. The Chethibh, from כתב chathabh, scripsit, is the reading in the text, the Keri, from קרא kara, legit, the reading in the margin. Generally the wrong one is in the text, and the true in the margin. Some of the more modern rabbies ascribe these marginal corrections, or various readings to Ezra. Abarbanel imputes the Chethibhim, the irregularities and anomalies in the text, to the original writers, who designed to comprize some mysteries in them. Or, he thinks, they might, in some instances, be owing to their inadvertency, or to their want of skill in grammar and orthography; and that Ezra not willing to insert in the text his corrections even of the mistakes of the original writers, contented himself with placing them in the margin. Elias Levita very absurdly maintains, that the various readings themselves were derived by tradition from the original writers †. The first of these opinions is the most plausible, namely that Ezra, in reviewing  
the

\* See Dr. Kennicott's first Dissert. on the hebrew text, p. 303.

† Capelli Critica Sacra, lib. iii. cap. xiv.

the different copies, in order to publish a perfect edition, marked the several variations, and put one reading in the text, and the other in the margin. But it is a strong objection to Ezra's having done it, that such marginal readings, different from the text, are found in the book of Ezra itself, who cannot be supposed to have been in doubt of the true reading of his own writings; and therefore they must, at least partly, have been inserted since Ezra's time\*.

Further, it should seem that these marginal corrections were not in the copies, from whence either the seventy, the chaldee paraphrast, Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodosian made their versions; since they sometimes follow the Keri, sometimes the Chethibh; whereas had these marginal corrections been in their copies, they would doubtless, ordinarily, if not always, have followed them. Neither Josephus, nor Philo, nor Origen, nor Jerom make any mention of the Keri and the Chethibh; nor does the Mishnah. The Gemara, indeed, mentions those words, which were written but not read, and those which were read but not written, as also obscene words, instead of which were read others that are more pure and chaste. But it does not take notice of the other part of the Keri and Chethibh, namely those words which are written, and read in a different manner. From all this it is concluded, that the Kerieth began to be collected a little before the completion of the Talmud, probably by the Masorites

\* That the Kerieth were properly a collection of various readings, whoever made the collection, is well proved by Dr. Kennicott, second Dissert. on the hebrew text, p. 281. & seq.

forites of Tiberias\*. From hence Capel argues against the antiquity of the points, endeavouring to prove that they have no higher an original than the Keri and the Chethibh: and for this he offers the following reasons,

1st, The Keriōth are various lections of the consonants only; there are none of the vowels or points, as doubtless there would have been, had the points been in the copies from whence the Keriōth were made †.

2dly, There are certain irregularities in the punctuation, which show that the points were not in the copies, from whence the Keri and the Chethibh were made. Now these irregularities are observed, both in whole words, and in parts of words.

1st, In whole words; these are either single words, or words combined, or divided. Those in single words are when the consonants are either redundant, or defective, or are wholly suppressed. Of the first sort, there is an instance in the fifty-first chapter of Jeremiah and the third verse; where יִדְרוֹחַ jidhroch, is written twice. And this superfluous word hath no points: which is thus accounted for; that those who settled the Keri and Chethibh, finding the word in their copies, durst not strike it out, but perceiving it to be an erratum and superfluous, they would not point it; whereas had it been pointed in their books, they would doubtless have given it as they found it, and no more have dared to expunge the vowels, than the consonants. Hence it is inferred, that the Keriōth were more antient than the points,

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A a

and

\* Capell. Critica Sacra, lib. iii. cap. xiv, xv.

† Capell. Arcanum Punctuationis, lib. i. cap. vii.

and that the copies which supplied them were unpointed.

Of the second sort, where the consonants are defective, we have an instance in the thirty-first chapter of Jeremiah, and the thirty-eighth verse; where we have the vowels of a word in the Chethibh, without the consonants, which consonants are supplied in the Keri; and without which supplement the text is not sense. The Masorah observes eleven instances of this kind. Now it cannot be thought, the words were written thus originally, or by Ezra, or that any other transcriber through carelessness should omit the consonants, while he set down the vowels. Therefore it is supposed, that those who invented the points, found the word omitted, doubtless through the incuria of some transcriber; yet durst not put the consonants in the text, but in the margin, and the vowels only in the text.

There are also instances of the consonants being suppressed in reading the text, by other consonants being put in their room in the margin; as, when the original word seemed to those who invented the vowels to be obscene, and therefore not proper to be read, they have substituted another word in the margin, and put the vowels proper to that word under the word in the text. For instance, in the eighteenth chapter of the second book of Kings and the twenty-seventh verse; where the consonants in the text, cannot be read with the vowels annexed to them, which evidently belong to the consonants in the margin. We cannot, therefore, suppose, that the vowels in the text were originally affixed to the words they are now under, or that they were put to those words  
before

before the invention of these marginal readings\*.

There are observations likewise made on the combinations of words. Thus the word מֵשְׁתָּם meeshtam, in the sixth chapter of Jeremiah and the twenty-ninth verse, ought to be written in two words, as in the margin; for the punctuation is not just, if the consonants are joined together; but agrees very well with the consonants, if they are divided.

Sometimes, again, we find one word broke into two in the text, which are joined together as they should be, in the margin. In the thirty-fourth chapter of the second book of Chronicles and the sixth verse, בְּחַר בְּתֵיהֶם bechar bothehem, ought certainly to be one word, as in the margin; otherwise the punctuation is very irregular. Now the books of Chronicles are generally supposed to have been written by Ezra. But whoever wrote them, it cannot be imagined, that this irregular punctuation was in the original copy; but the consonants happening to be afterwards divided through the incuria of the transcriber, those who invented the points, fixed them, as if it had been, what it ought to have been, one word. Thus much for the irregularities observed in whole words †.

2dly, The irregularities which are observed in parts of words, or letters, are

1st, A pleonasm, when there are superfluous letters, either in the beginning, middle or end of a word. In the beginning: as בְּבֵית for בֵּית beth (*a*): תְּצִי for תְּצִי tseu (*b*). In the

A a 2

middle

\* Capell. Arcanum Punctat. lib. i. cap. xi. especially, §. 6,—9.

† Capell. Arcanum. ubi supra, §. 10.

(*a*) 2 Kings xxii. 5. Jer. lii. 11.

(*b*) Jer. i. 8.

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middle: as בִּרְכַב for בֶּרֶב berobh (*a*): וְלֶחֶם for וְהַלֶּחֶם vehallechem (*b*). In the end: as לְעִי for לְעִיר ish (*c*): לְעִיר and בְּעִיר for לעִי langnai, and בְּעִי bangnai (*d*): in all which places the superfluous letter hath no vowel to it; which shows, that the vowels were affixed to the text, since these errors crept into it.

2dly, An ellipsis, or the omission of a letter, either in the beginning of a word: as עֲשֵׂה for יַעֲשֵׂה jangnaseh (*e*); where the vowel is in the text, under the place of the consonant which is omitted. So likewise לֵא for וְלֵא velo (*f*): אֵין for וְאֵין veein (*g*): — Or in the middle of a word: as תַּחֲפַנְחֶם for תַּחֲפַנְחָם tacphanchem (*h*): אַנְּנוּ for אַנְּחֵנוּ anachnu (*i*), where the nun and cheth are both wanting: — Or at the end of a word: as אֶמְרוּ for אֶמְרוּ ormu (*k*).

3dly, Permutation, or changing one letter for another: as, וְדַבְּרָה for יִדְבַּחַהּ jidhcha, vau for jod (*l*); which error occurs in twenty-two places: — יִשְׂאֵל for וְיִשְׂאֵל veshaal, jod for vau (*m*); which error occurs seventy-five times: — גִּדְּחַל for גִּדְּחַל gedhal, resh for daleth (*n*): — הַיּוּ for הַיּוּ haju, he for vau (*o*): — and עֲבַדְּוּ for עֲבַדְּוּ gnabhdhecha, vau for caph final (*p*).

4thly, Metathesis or transposition: as, יַמּוּת for יַמּוּת jamuth (*q*): — יַמּוּת for יַמּוּת jumath (*r*).

5thly,

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|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| (a) 2 Kings xix. 23.  | (b) 2 Sam. xvi. 2.            |
| (c) 2 Sam. xxiii. 21. | (d) Josh. viii. 12.           |
| xx. 2.                | (e) 1 Sam. ii. 16.            |
| (f) Lam. ii. 2.       | (g) Lam. v. 7.                |
| (i) Jer. xlii. 6.     | (k) 1 Sam. xviii. 19.         |
| (l) Psal. x. 9.       | (m) Prov. xx. 4.              |
| (n) Prov. xix. 19.    | (o) Josh. xv. 4.              |
| xiv. 22.              | (p) 2 Sam. (q) Prov. xix. 15. |
|                       | (r) 2 Kings xiv. 6.           |

5thly, Separation; when a letter is prefixed to one word, which belongs to the next word before it: as, הַיִּיתָ מוֹצִיאַי for הַיִּיתָ הַמוֹצִיאַי hajitha hammotfi (*a*): שֵׁשׁ הַפְּלִישְׁתִּים for פְּלִישְׁתִּים שֵׁשׁ shammah phelishtim (*b*).

From these and the like instances Capel infers, that the punctuation was regulated by, and consequently is more modern, than the Kerioth\*; the time of collecting which, as I have already observed, he endeavours to fix to about five hundred years after Christ. We proceed now to the

2d. Class of arguments against the antiquity of the vowels; which are drawn from testimony; and that, according to Capel, is either tacit or express.

Of the latter sort is the testimony of Aben Ezra, R. David Kimchi, R. Jehuda Levita, and R. Elias Levita; who are all of this opinion †.

Tacit, or consequential, testimony is taken from the copies of the law, which are kept and read in the synagogues; or from the cabalistic interpretation, or from passages of the talmud.

1st. From the copies of the law, called סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה Sepher-torah, written on a scroll of parchment, and read every sabbath in the jewish synagogues. These copies are accounted by them the most sacred, and preferred to all others; and they are constantly written without points. But had the points been of equal

A a 3 authority

(*a*) 2 Sam. v. a.

(*b*) 2 Sam. xxi. 12.

\* Capell. Arcanum Punctat. lib. i. cap. xi. §. 11. & seq.

† Capell. Arcanum Punctat. lib. i. cap. ii, iii. Buxtorf. de Punctor. Antiq. cap. iii. p. 11. & seq. & Capell. Vindiciæ, lib. i. cap. i.

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authority with the consonants, doubtless a pointed law would have been always looked upon as the most sacred\*.

2dly, From the cabalistical interpretations, which relate to the consonants, and none of them to the vowels. And hence it is inferred that the vowels were not in being, when those interpretations were made †.

3dly, From the talmud, which contains the “jura & decisiones magistrorum suorum,” the determinations of the doctors concerning some passages of the law. It is evident, they say, the points were not affixed to the text, when the talmud was composed, because there are several disputes concerning the sense of passages of the law, which could not have been disputed, had there been points. Besides they never mention the vowels, though they have the fairest opportunity and occasion to mention them, had they been then in being. In the commentary on this passage of the first book of Kings, “After he,” that is, Joab, “had smitten every male in Edom (a),” the talmud relates, that when Joab returned from this expedition, he told David, that he had smitten every male in Edom, David asked him, why he had left the females alive? Joab answers, the law says, זָכָר zakar. No, saith David, we read, זֶכֶר zeker, memoria. Whereupon Joab went to ask his master, how he read this word? His master read it, zeker; and upon this Joab drew his sword with a design to murder him. Now had there been points at this time, it would have been impossible to have made this mistake. And had there  
been

\* Capell. Arcanum Punctat. lib. i. cap. iv.

† Capell. ubi supra, cap. v. §. 1,—3.

(a) 1 Kings xi. 15.

been points when the talmud was wrote, there would have been no room to have invented this story ; for the points determine it to be zakar : and besides, if the talmudists had been in possession of vowels-points, they would certainly have made use of them in telling this story, that so the sense might have been plain and not liable to be misunderstood ; whereas the two words are no ways distinguished, being both written with the consonants only.

Another instance of this sort occurs in the twelfth chapter of Leviticus and the fifth verse ; where the talmudists dispute about the meaning of the word שבעים. These consonants signify, either two weeks, or seventy days. Now had the vowel-points been then used, they would have had the fairest opportunity of saying, it must be two weeks ; because there is a kibbutz under the beth ; and they would doubtless have written it, שבעים shebhung-naim ; whereas they put down only the consonants.

Again, on the fifty third chapter of Isaiah and the seventeenth verse they dispute, whether כל-בניך signifies children, or builders. The consonants may signify either, but the vowels determine it to mean children\*.

We proceed now to the

3d. Sort of arguments, which Capell draws from the chaldee paraphrases of Jonathan and Onkelos, the greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, and especially that of the septuagint, by which he endeavours to prove, that the copy, from which they translated, was without points. This appears with

A a 4 respect

\* Capell. ubi supra, §. 4. & seq.

respect to them all, from their translating several words in a sense different from that which the points determine them to mean. I shall select some instances from the septuagint only. In the fifteenth chapter of Genesis, and the eleventh verse, for וַיִּשְׁבּ אֹתָם *vajjashèbh otham*, "he drove them away," the seventy read וַיִּשְׁבּ אִתָּם *vajjèshèbh ittam*, and accordingly render it *καὶ συνεκαθίσεν αὐτοῖς*, he sat down by them, (that is, the carcases,) to watch them, that the fowls might not devour them. In the forty-seventh chapter and the thirty-first verse, for הַמִּטָּה *hammitah*, a bed, they read הַמַּטֶּה *hammatteh*, a staff; and accordingly translate it *ραβδὸς αὐτῶν*. In the eighteenth chapter and the twelfth verse, for עֲדָנָה *gnedhnah*, pleasure, they read עֲדָנָה *gnadhennah*, hitherto, rendering it *εὼς τῶν νῦν*. In the thirty-second Psalm and the fifth verse, "I said, I will confess my transgressions," or upon my transgressions; for עָלַי *gnalèi*, upon, they read עָלַי *gnalai*, rendering it *κατ' ἐμῶν* (a). In the forty-seventh Psalm and the tenth verse, for עַם *gnam*, the people, they read עִם *gnim*, with; instead of "the people of the God of Abraham," it is in their version, *μετὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀβραάμ*, with the God of Abraham. In the thirty-third Psalm and the seventh verse, instead of כַּנְיָה *cannedh*, like a heap, they read כַּנּוֹד *canodh*, like a bottle, rendering it *ὡσεὶ ἀσκὸν*. In the ninth chapter of Hosea and the first verse, for אֶל *el*, to, they read אַל *al*, not, rendering it *μὴ*. In the first chapter of Joel and the eighteenth verse, for נִבְחוּ *nabhochu*,

are

(a) Psal. xxxi. in the Greek.

are perplexed, they read נִבְּחֻ, nibhchu, wept, from בָּחַח bachah, flevit; and accordingly they render it *εκλαυσαν*. From these and several other instances it is infer'd, that the translators of the septuagint had no bible with points; or at least, that the copy they translated from, was not pointed as ours is.

The instances of the like sort which Capel produces out of the chaldee paraphrases, and other antient versions, are not so evidently to the purpose of his argument, as those from the septuagint.

Let us now see what is replied to these arguments of Capel by Buxtorf and others, who contend for the high antiquity and authority of the hebrew points.

1st, As to the argument drawn from the Keri and Chethibh:

Buxtorf admits the Keri and Chethibh to have been prior to the points; and therefore, in order to maintain his opinion, that Ezra was the author of the points, he asserts, that it was Ezra, and not the Masorites of Tiberias, who first collected the Kerioth and then regulated by them the punctuation in the text\*. We have already taken notice of the reasons, which Capel offers on the contrary, for allowing the Kerioth no higher antiquity than the time of the Masorites of Tiberias.

There are others, who assert, that the various lections, which are to be found in the Masorah, and part of which are inserted in the margin of the hebrew bible, are made upon  
the

\* Buxtorf. de Antiq. Punctor. part. i. cap. viii. and on the other side Capell. Vindiciaë Arcani, lib. i. cap. ix.

the vowels, as well as upon the consonants\* ; and they endeavour to show, that the various lections upon the consonants are owing to the irregularity of the vowels ; and if so, the vowels must have been prior to these marginal corrections. Thus they prove the antiquity of the points from the Keri and Chethibh ; and their argument is this : There are many instances, where the consonants in the margin are plainly fitted to the vowels in the text. But had there been no vowels in the text when the Keri were made, there would have been no occasion for these corrections ; for the text might have been read with other vowels, and the sense of it much mended. For instance, in the eighth chapter of Genesis and the seventeenth verse, where the word in the text is הוֹצֵא havtsè, bring forth, the Keri reads הַצֵּא haj-jetsè, divide ; which is plainly suited to the punctuation in the text ; for had there been no points, they would rather have read it הוֹצֵא hotfè, as it ought to be, and then there would have been no occasion for this marginal correction. There is much such another instance in the fifth Psalm and the ninth verse, where הוֹשֵׁר havshar, in the text is corrected by הִשָּׁר hajshar, in the margin ; whereas it ought to be הוֹשֵׁר hoshar or הוֹשִׁיעַ hoshèr, in the imperative hiphil, from יָשָׁר jashar, rectus fuit. In the twenty first Psalm and the second verse, the word יִגִּיל jageil, exultabit, is changed in the Keri into יַגֵּל jagel ; but the consonants in the text are regular in Hiphil, and should be pointed יַגִּיל jagil. There could, therefore, be no reason

† See Whitfield's dissertation on the hebrew vowel-points, Sect. ix. p. 134. & seq. Liverpoole, 1748.

reason for the Keri to leave out the letter Jod, but only to make the consonants suit to the erroneous punctuation in the text. In the fifty-first Psalm and the fourth verse, **הָרְבָה**, multiplicata, in the text is corrected by **הֶרֶב** herebh in the margin. Now had there been no points in the text, they would doubtless have read **הַרְבֵּה** harbèh, of which **הֶרֶב** herebh is nothing but a contraction. In the fifty-ninth Psalm and the sixteenth verse, **יְנוּנוּן** jenungnun, vagabuntur; is made in the Keri **יְנִיעוֹן**, suited to the erroneous punctuation, **יְנִיעוֹן**; for had there been no points, instead of making this correction, they would doubtless have read it **יְנוּנוֹן**, as it ought to be; for the sense is plainly in Kal. In the seventy-seventh Psalm and the twelfth verse, **אֶזְכֹּר** recordabor; in the margin it is **אֶזְכוֹר** ezchor; whereas it might have been as well read **אֶזְכִּיר** azchir in Hiphil. In Psalm the eighty-ninth and eighteenth verse, **תָּרִים** exultabit, is changed by the Keri into **תָּרוּם** tarum, in kal; whereas **תָּרִים** tarim in Hiphil better agrees with the context. See more instances of the kind in the eighty-fifth Psalm and first verse, the hundred and fifth Psalm and eighteenth and twenty-eighth verses, the hundred and fortieth Psalm and ninth verse, the hundred forty-fifth Psalm and sixth and eighth verses; and especially the thirtieth Psalm and the fourth verse, where **יָרַד** from **יָרַד** jaradh, descendit, is corrected in the Keri by leaving out the Vau, and so making it the infinitive or gerund Kal with the affix Jod, **יָרַד**, a descendere me: whereas the sense is better, if we retain the Vau, and point it, as the participle



made, why should the points be omitted in the text any more than the consonants? To the

IId, Class of arguments against the antiquity of the points, which are taken from the Sepher-Torah, the Cabala and Talmud, it is replied,

1st, As to the Sepher-Torah\*, it is acknowledged, that the copies of the law, which were publickly read in the jewish synagogues, were always, at least as far back as we can trace them, without points. But to the inference, that the points are of modern invention, because the Jews durst not make any alteration in their law, but would transcribe it just as they found it, it is replied: that from hence it might as well be proved, that the Keri did originally belong to the law, (which is absurd to imagine,) as that the points did not. The Jews give two reasons for the Sepher-Torah's being written without points. The one is, that it is thereby capable of more mysterious interpretations; the other, that every one is bound to write over the law once in his life, or at least to get it written for him; and it must be written without any blunder; for one blunder profanes the whole. It is therefore proper it should be written without points, because in such a vast number of points it would be morally impossible to avoid blunders.

Perhaps a third reason may be added for the Sepher-Torah's being written without points, namely, that being written meerly for the use of such persons as are well versed in the hebrew tongue, (for it is not to be supposed, that any others are employed as publick readers in the synagogue,)

\* See Buxtorf. de Antiq. Punctor. part. i. cap. iv. and on the other hand Capell. Vindiciæ Arcani, lib. i. cap. ii.

fynagogue,) there was no need to write it with the points, they being very capable of reading without them. But as M. T. C. is sufficient for one who is versed in the roman contractions, while a more unskilful person cannot read unless Marcus Tullius Cicero be wrote at length; so those copies, which were written meerly for the use of the learned in the hebrew language, being written without points, will by no means prove, that points were not necessary for, and anciently used by, the more unlearned.

As for the assertion, that the Jews durst not make any alteration in their law, but would transcribe it just as they found it, and that therefore they would have inserted the points into the Sepher-Torah, if they had then been used originally, or had been invented by Ezra; this supposes, that the same superstitious regard was always paid to the characters and letters in which the law was written, as hath been done since the time of the Masorites of Tiberias; and that the Jews would have scrupled to write out copies without points, for the use of their publick readers, who did not need them; which is not probable, even though they had looked on the vowel-points to be as authentic as the consonants.

Again, though the modern Sepher-Torah is written without points, yet we cannot be certain, how the fact hath always been, particularly how it was in the time of Ezra; for there are no copies of the law now extant, near so ancient as his time. As for the copy in the church of St. Dominick in Bononia pretended to be written by Ezra himself, it is in a fair character on a sort of leather, and made up in  
a roll

a roll according to the ancient manner; and it hath the vowel-points; but the freshness of the writing, which hath suffered no decay, prevents our believing it to be near so ancient as is pretended. We are not informed, whether the points in this manuscript appear to have been written by a later hand than the consonants; but in many manuscripts, examined by Dr. Kennicott, and those some of the oldest and best, either there are no points at all, or they are evidently a late addition\*. The

2d, Argument against the antiquity of the points was drawn from the Talmud, which makes no mention of them. To which it is replied †, not only that there are books said by Buxtorf, to be older than the Talmud, though rejected by Capel as spurious, in which they are expressly mentioned; but likewise that it is highly probable the Talmudists, though they make no mention of the points, nevertheless used pointed copies; because all the senses they give of scripture, are agreeable to the present punctuation; whereas if there had been no points, it can hardly be thought, they would always have given the same sense of words, as the points determine them to mean. As to the

3d, Argument which is taken from the Cabala; it is replied, that both antient and modern cabalistical writers have found mysteries in the points, as well as the consonants. For instances

\* See Dr. Kennicott's first Dissert. on the hebrew text, p. 313,—342. passim. And Jf. Vossius asserts that in examining above two thousand hebrew MSS. he had never met with any pointed, that were above 600 years old; or if the books were older, the points were a late addition. Voss. de Sept. Interp. Translat. cap. 30.

† See Buxtorf. de Antiq. Punctor. part. i. cap. vi. and in answer to him Capell. Vindiciaë Arcani, lib. i. cap. vii. See also above, p. 348.

stances of which see Buxtorf de Antiquitate punctorum \*, and what Capel saith in confutation of him †. The

III<sup>d</sup>. Sort of arguments against the antiquity of the points was drawn from comparing the ancient versions, particularly the septuagint, with the original; by which, they say, it appears, that the hebrew copies, which those ancient interpreters used, had no points. But those of the contrary opinion remark ‡,

1<sup>st</sup>, That hereby one argument for the antiquity of the points is greatly confirmed; namely, that without them the sense would be uncertain. It is pretended indeed, that though there are a number of hebrew words of different significations, whose consonants are the same; yet where these words occur, the context will always determine the true meaning. But we see the contrary in those ancient versions, which are made from copies without points; for they have frequently mistaken the sense by reading with wrong vowels.

2<sup>dly</sup>, They remark that if this argument proves any thing, it proves to much; for if the copies we now have of the Septuagint, be just transcripts of the original version, we may as easily prove by it, that the hebrew copy, from whence that version was made, had no consonants, as that it had no vowels; since it differed as much from our copy in the former as in the latter. This appears in a variety of instances, not only as to the letters, but likewise as to words and sentences.

In

\* Buxtorf. de Antiq. Punctor. part. i. cap. v.

† Capell. Vindic. Arcani. part. i. cap. viii.

‡ See Buxtorf. de Antiq. Punctor. part. i. cap. ix, x. and on the other side Capell. Vindicix Arcani, lib. i. cap. iv, v.

In the first place, as to letters : there are many instances

1st, Of the *metastrophe*, or putting one letter for another. In the fifty-sixth Psalm and the ninth verse, instead of א their copy must have had ג, in the word בנאך; for they read it בגגך, and accordingly render it *ερωπιον σε*. In the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah and the fifteenth verse, for ב they read ו, for עובר transiens, עוור auxilians, and accordingly they render it *σ βοηθων*. In the thirty-fourth chapter of Ezekiel and the sixteenth verse, for ג they read ט, for אשמיר disperdam, אשמיר custodiam. In the eighth chapter of the first book of Samuel and the sixteenth verse, for ה they read ט; for ויעשה & faciet, they read ויעשר, and render it *και αποδεκατωσει*, & decimabit. In the sixtieth Psalm and sixth verse, for ו they read ת, for וקשט veritas, וקשת arcus. In the sixth chapter of the first book of Samuel and the eighteenth verse, for ל they read נ; for אבן, אבן *λιθος*. In the third chapter of Ezekiel and the eighth verse, for מ they read נ; for מצחם frontem eorum, מצחם, *νικος αυτων*. On the contrary, in the first book of Samuel, the twenty third chapter and the seventh verse, for נ they read מ; for נבר tradidit they read מבר vendidit. In the hundred and fourth Psalm and the twelfth verse, for ע they read פ; for עפאז frondes, עפאז, and translate it *πετραι*, rupes. In the third chapter of Genesis and the fifteenth verse, for פ they read ט; for שופך, conteret tibi, they doubtless read שורך, which they render *σε τρησει*, sc. *κεφαλην*. In the eighth chapter of Isaiah and the twentieth verse, for ט they read ז; for שר Aurora, שר munus. Again, in the thirteenth chapter of Zechariah and the first

verse, for ך they read ך; for מִקוֹר fons, מִקוֹם locus. In the thirty-seventh chapter of Isaiah and the twenty-fifth verse, for ך they read ך; for וְשִׁתִּי & bibi, they read וְשִׁחִיתִי, as if from שָׁחַת perdidit; and accordingly they render it *νημωσα*.

2dly, There are instances of Epenthesis, or letters inserted in words in the copies they translated from, which are not in the present copy. In the twenty-eighth chapter of Proverbs and the twenty-eighth verse, בִּקוֹם in surgendo, they read בְּמִקוֹם, and render it *εν τοποις*, in locis.

3dly, Metathesis, or changing the place of letters in a word. In the twentieth Psalm and the sixth verse, for נִגַּל vexillum erigemus, they read נִגַּל from גַּדְּל gadhal, magnus fuit, and render it *μεγαλυνθισομεθα* (a).

4thly, Aphæresis, or leaving out letters. In Isaiah the fourteenth and thirty second verse, for מַלְאֲכֵי nuncii, they read מַלְכֵי reges, and render it *βασιλεις εθνων*.

Thus much for a specimen of the difference in letters, betwixt the hebrew copy, from which the seventy translated, and ours.

Secondly, There appears also to have been a considerable difference in whole words and sentences. In the second chapter of Job and the ninth verse, there is a long speech of Job's wife in the septuagint, which is not in the present hebrew copy. At the end of the forty second chapter there is a long genealogical history, which is said to be taken out of a syriac book. There is a whole Psalm added at the end of the book of Psalms. Twenty verses are left out of the first book of Samuel about the  
middle

(a) Psal. xix. 5. in the Greek.

middle of the seventeenth chapter\*. In the seventeenth of Jeremiah there are four verses wanting in the beginning; and in the thirty-third chapter (a) thirteen verses at the end. There are also strange transpositions, particularly the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters of Exodus are miserably confused.

So that upon the whole it appears, that if the septuagint version we now have be genuine, the hebrew copy it was translated from differed greatly from our present copy, as well in the consonants, as the vowels; and therefore it is said, that the argument drawn from this version against the antiquity of the points, will either prove too much, or nothing at all.

As to the hypothesis of Dr. Prideaux †, that the points were added to the hebrew text soon after Ezra's time by the ancient Masorites, and used in their schools in teaching to read the bible; yet not received into the schools of the rabbies till several hundred years afterwards: in support of the former assertion, he alledges the utter impossibility of teaching to read the hebrew without points, when it was become a dead language; which it is allowed on all hands to have been ever since the captivity.

This opinion, that the points were invented and used by the Masorites soon after the time of Ezra, who is supposed to have settled the true reading of the hebrew text, makes their authority very considerable. But if it can be proved, that they were invented a little after Ezra's time, because they were necessary to

B b 2

teach

\* See Dr. Kennicott's second dissert. on the hebrew text, p. 418.—431, 554,—558. (a) Chap. xl. in the Greek.

† Prideaux's Connect. vol. 2. part i. book v. p. 505, &c.

teach the reading of the hebrew, when it was become a dead language; I see not, but the same argument will prove, they were invented in his time; for the hebrew was a dead language then as well as after.

The latter assertion, that though they were not introduced into the schools of the rabbies, till some hundred years afterwards, is advanced in order to account for the silence of the Talmud, Josephus, and Philo, with most of the ancient christian fathers, concerning them. Now this silence will indeed prove, that there was no dispute about them in those times; but, whatever presumption it may be, it is no demonstration, that they were not then used even in the schools of the rabbies.

Indeed it was so natural for the inventors of the alphabet to contrive characters for the vowels as well as the consonants, that no small presumption arises from hence, that the present points were coeval with the consonants, unless the *Matres Lectionis* are supposed to have been the original vowels. To which some add, the use of the points, in determining the different meanings of several words, which have the same consonants; particularly, in distinguishing the two conjugations of *Pihel* and *Puhal* in all the moods and tenses except the infinitive. And this shows, the modern points to be at least as ancient as the present structure of hebrew grammar. However, this controversy not admitting of demonstration on either side of the question, I shall leave you, after considering what hath been said, and what Buxtorf and Capel have further offered, to judge for yourselves, on which side the greatest probability lies; and  
proceed

proceed next to consider the usual divisions of the hebrew bible.

Of the general partitions and divisions of the bible.

The general title of the whole is עשרים וארבעה נפרים נארבנה Nefrim vearangnah, that is, the twenty-four, because it contains twenty-four books; though, from a passage of Josephus in his first book against Appion it appears, that in his time they divided the whole bible into twenty-two books, corresponding to the number of letters in the hebrew alphabet. He saith, we have only twenty-two books, which are deservedly believed to be of divine authority, of which five are the books of Moses. The prophets, who were the successors of Moses, have written thirteen. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men\*.

At present the Jews make the sacred books to be twenty-four; for they reckon Ezra and  
 B b 3 Nehemiah

\* Joseph. contra Appion. lib. 1. §. 8. tom. 2. p. 441. edit. Haverc.

This passage of Josephus is much insisted on by Mr. Whiston and some others, to disprove the divine authority of the book of Canticles. We have now, they say, five books in our bibles, which answer to this title, Hymns to God and documents of life for the use of men; namely, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles; whereas it is plain, that in Josephus's time there were but four. Therefore the book of Canticles, they conceive, hath been added since. See Mr. Whiston's supplement to his Essay towards restoring the true text of the Old Testament proving that the Canticles is not a sacred book; printed 1723, and on the other side, a defence of the canon of the Old Testament in answer to Mr. Whiston, by William Itching, M. A. 1723.

374 General divisions of the Bible.

Nehemiah as one book, and the twelve minor prophets as one, and the two books of Samuel, of Kings, and of Chronicles each as one book; which reduces the thirty-nine books according to our division, to twenty-four. And these twenty-four they distinguish into five of the law, eight of the prophets, and eleven of the hagiographa. The law, or pentateuch, which they call חמשה חומשי תורה chamishah chumishèi torah, that is, quinque quintæ legis, contains the five books of Moses; each of which is called by the word, with which it begins, or the most considerable near the beginning, as Bereshith, Shemoth, &c. The prophets, in Hebrew נביאים nebhiim, are distinguished into נביאים ראשונים nebhiim rishonim, or former prophets, which are Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings; and the נביאים אחרונים nibhiim acharonim, or the latter prophets; which are again distinguished into the majores, which are Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and the twelve minores, namely, Hosea, Joel, &c. which are all reckoned one book.

The hagiographa, or ספר כתובים sepher chetubbim, contain Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles. But in some books, as Athias's and Plantin's editions, the חמשה מגילת chamesh megillath, that is, the books of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther, are placed just after the pentateuch; and then the hagiographa contain only Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles. The reason why the Jews divide them in this manner is, that they might have no occasion to carry the whole bible to their synagogue, but

but only the pentateuch and those five books, which are read at different feasts; namely, Canticles at the passover, Ruth at the pentecost, Lamentations at the fast which is kept in July in commemoration of the burning of the temple; Ecclesiastes at the feast of tabernacles, and Esther at the feast of purim. This last book is written in a little roll by itself, and called מגילת אסתר me-gillah Esther, from גלגל galal, volvit\*.

The division of the bible into these three parts, the law, the prophets and the hagiographa, seems to be referred to in the following passage of St. Luke, "All things must be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me (a)". As the book of Psalms stood first in the hagiographa, or the third division, that whole division was commonly called the Psalms; as the whole book of Genesis is named by the first word in it, and so several other books. This enumeration, therefore, the law, the prophets, and the Psalms, include the whole bible.

On the same principle Dr. Lightfoot accounts for a supposed false citation in St. Matthew (b). "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy, the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and gave them for the potters field." The passage here cited is not in Jeremiah, but in Zechariah. Accordingly Beza styles this difficulty, Nodus, qui vetustissimos quosque interpretes torfit. St. Austin

B b 4

supposes

\* See on this subject Buxtorf. Tiberias, cap. xi.

(a) Luke xxiv. 44.

(b) Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.

supposes it to be *αμαρτημα μνημονικον*, a slip of St. Matthew's memory; which is by no means to be admitted, if we allow that he wrote by the special guidance of the spirit of God. Dr. Wall, observing that Dr. Mill supposes it to be a lapsus calami of St. Matthew, thinks it more likely that the greek translator of his gospel should have been thus mistaken than the evangelist himself; and if so, saith he, it is pity somebody did not do here, as St. Jerom did in a similar difficulty relating to "Zacharias, the son of Barachias," who is said to have been "slain between the temple and the altar;" namely, consult the hebrew copy of St. Matthew's gospel before it was lost\*. Indeed St. Jerom saith with respect to the present difficulty, that a nazarene Jew shewed him a book, accounted an apocryphal book of the prophet Jeremiah, where this passage is expressed verbatim †.

The learned Joseph Mede conceives, that these words, as well as several passages, which now stand in the book of Zechariah, were originally spoken by Jeremiah; but have been misplaced through the unskilfulness of the persons who collected their prophecies ‡.

However Dr. Lightfoot, by testimonies from the rabbies, shews us, that Jeremiah did anciently stand first in the book of the prophets. And hence he came to be mentioned before all the rest in the following passage of St. Matthew, "Some say, that thou art John the baptist,

\* See Dr. Wall's critical notes on the New Testament, on Matt. xxiii. 35.

† See Dr. Wall on Matt. xxvii. 9, 10.

‡ Mede's works, book iv. epist. xxxi. p. 786. London. 1677.

tist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets (a).” Accordingly, as the whole *hagiographa* is called the Psalms from the Psalms being the first book, so the whole volume of the prophets is for the same reason called Jeremiah\*.

There is yet another, and perhaps more probable, conjecture of bishop Hall; who imagines, that Zechariah having been written contractedly, *Zęiv*, was by some transcriber mistaken for *Ięiv*.

Others after all suppose, that the name of the prophet is an erroneous marginal addition, now crept into the text; since the syriac version only saith, “It was spoken by the prophet,” without mentioning his name.

I shall conclude the whole with an account of the most considerable editions of the bible. I mean those which may be called pompous editions; for the plain, or the mere editions of the hebrew text, are too numerous for our attempting a detail of them. By the pompous editions, otherwise called *Opera Biblica*, I intend those, which contain not only the sacred text, but likewise some commentaries, or versions, joined with it; and they are chiefly these four, the *Biblia Complutensia*, *Biblia Regia*, *Biblia Parisiensia*, and *Biblia Polyglotta*.

The *Biblia Complutensia*, so called from *Complutura* in Spain, where the work was printed, is contained in one volume folio. It was published under the care of cardinal Ximenes, anno 1514, containing the Old Testament in Hebrew, the vulgar Latin; the targum of Onkelos

(a) Matt. xvi. 14.

\* Lightfoot's *Horæ hebraicæ*. on Matt. xxvii. 9.

Onkelos on the pentateuch, and the septuagint version, with the latin translation of both; also the New Testament in Greek and Latin.

The Biblia Regia, so called from Philip II. of Spain, at whose charge the work was executed, contains eight volumes, printed at Antwerp, anno dom. 1571. with a better letter and paper than the former. Arias Montanus had the greatest share in this work; which contains several things more than the Complutensian, namely, the chaldee paraphrase on all the Old Testament, with a latin version of it; the interlineary version of the New Testament; and also the New Testament in Syriac, expressed both in hebrew and syriac characters.

The Biblia Parisiensis in ten volumes, was printed at Paris, anno dom. 1645. at the charge of a private man, Michael de Jay; and therefore it is also called Jay's bible. It was done under the direction and care of Dr. Gabriel Sionita, professor of the oriental languages at Paris, of Johannes Morinus, and Abraham Ecchellenfis.

It exceeds the Biblia Regia both in paper and in print; it hath, besides all which that contains, the pentateuch in Samaritan, all the Old Testament in Syriac, and both Testaments in Arabic.

The Anglicanum opus Biblicum, called the Polyglot, was printed chiefly under the care of Dr. Bryan Walton, in six volumes at London 1657. This contains several things which Jay's bible hath not. It has Arias Montanus's interlineary version, the Septuagint from the Vatican and Alexandrian copies, which are supposed to be the best; the old vulgate latin translation of the Septuagint, which alone, he tells  
you

you, is that which the latin church used four hundred years after the apostles. It has the persic pentateuch in the persic character, the Psalms, Canticles and New Testament in the Ethiopic, the jerusalem targum, the chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan, &c \*

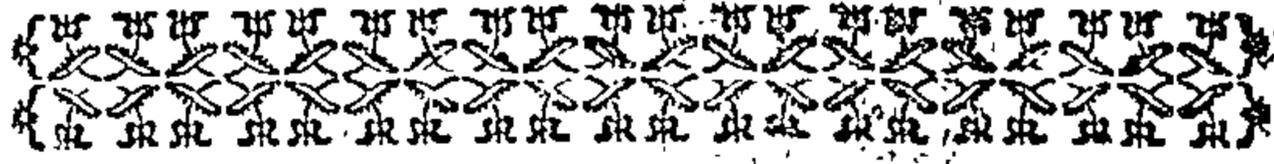
Dr. Edmund Castell, arabic professor at Cambridge, published a Lexicon for the use of Walton's Polyglot in two volumes folio, which generally goes with it, making in all eight volumes.

\* See the preface to the London Polyglot.

The E N D.







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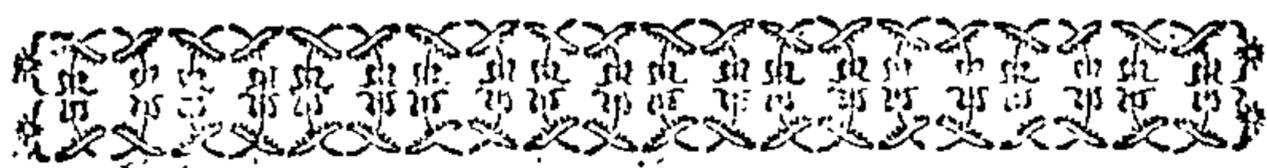
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<u>Mirkhond</u>		<u>Baronius</u>		<u>Hale</u>			Historians
<u>Fitzherbert</u>		<u>Coke</u>		<u>Montfaucon</u>			
<u>Machiavel</u>		<u>Brissonius</u>		<u>Dugdale</u>			
<u>Guicciardin</u>		<u>Thuanus</u>		<u>Burnet</u>			
	<u>I.C. Scaliger</u>		<u>Vossius</u>		<u>Rollin</u>		Critics
<u>W. Lilly</u>		<u>Casaubon</u>		<u>Temple</u>			
<u>Politian</u>	<u>Turnebus</u>		<u>Selden</u>		<u>Bentley</u>		
	<u>Ariosto</u>		<u>Matherbe</u>		<u>Boileau</u>		Poets &c
	<u>Holbein</u>		<u>Shakespeare</u>		<u>Dryden</u>		
<u>Raphaël</u>		<u>Tasso</u>		<u>Milton</u>		<u>Pope</u>	
<u>Titian</u>			<u>Poussin</u>		<u>Handel</u>		
	<u>Paracelsus</u>		<u>Harvey</u>		<u>Boerhaave</u>		Mathemat.
<u>Copernicus</u>		<u>L<sup>d</sup> Bacon</u>		<u>Newton</u>			
	<u>Cardan</u>		<u>Descartes</u>		<u>Hans Sloon</u>		
<u>C. Agrippa</u>	<u>T. Brahe</u>		<u>Boyle</u>		<u>Maclaurin</u>		
	<u>Calvin</u>		<u>Pascal</u>		<u>Shaftesbury</u>		Divines &c
<u>Luther</u>		<u>Grotius</u>		<u>Le Clerc</u>			
<u>Erasmus</u>	<u>Arminius</u>		<u>Tillotson</u>				
		<u>Beza</u>		<u>Locke</u>			
	<u>Francis 1<sup>st</sup></u>		<u>Cromwel</u>		<u>Peter Gr.</u>		Statesmen
<u>Columbus</u>	<u>Philip 2<sup>d</sup></u>		<u>Turenne</u>		<u>Charles 12<sup>th</sup></u>		
<u>Albuquerque</u>	<u>Henry 4<sup>th</sup></u>		<u>Lewis 14<sup>th</sup></u>				
	<u>Charles 5<sup>th</sup></u>		<u>Richlieu</u>		<u>Marlborough</u>		
50	1500	50	1600	50	1700	50	