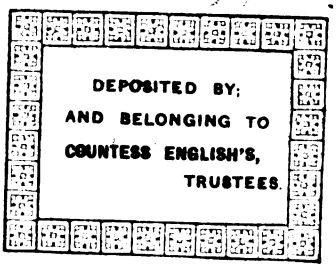

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FAC-SIMILE of Ezekiel c. I. v. 1, 2, 3, of the CODEX VATICANUS *made in the year 1704 by Sig.r Zacagni for Dr. Grabe, and preserved among his Manuscripts in the* BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

A SUMMARY OF BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The Author of the Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures cannot offer the present Supplementary Volume to the purchasers of the first edition of that work, without expressing to them his grateful sense of the very favourable manner in which his labours have been received;—and also his hope, that the present volume will be found to redeem the promise he made to the public, of printing in a separate form all such historical, critical, and other matter as could be detached from the new edition, to be useful.

Besides six new plates and numerous other specimens of fac-similes, &c. the Supplement contains the entire third volume of the new edition, and two hundred and fifty closely but clearly printed pages of critical matter, comprising addi-

tional accounts of MSS. of the Bible, and printed editions of the New Testament, with a copious History of the Translations of the Scriptures into the modern languages of Europe. These are followed by Dissertations on the Various Readings of the Old and New Testament,—on Harmonies of Scripture,—on reconciling the Contradictions alleged to exist in the Sacred Volume, (supplementary to the chapter on that subject in the first edition),—on the Writings usually called the Apocryphal Books in the New Testament,—and on the Genuineness of the Controverted Clause in 1 John v. 7, 8.; together with a copious Table of the chief Prophecies relative to the Messiah, with their fulfilment,—for the most part in the very words of the New Testament.

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CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

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I. THIS country has in different ages been called by various names, which have been derived either from its inhabitants, or from the extraordinary circumstances attached to it. Thus, in Jer iv. 20. it is termed generally the *land*: and hence, both in the Old and New Testament, the word Γη, which is sometimes rendered *earth*, is by the context in many places determined to mean the promised land of Israel; as in Josh. ii. 3. They be

come to search out all *the country* (Sept. τὴν γῆν); Matt. v. 5. The meek shall *inherit the earth* (γῆν, the land); and in Luke iv. 25. where a great famine is said to have prevailed throughout all the *land* (επι πασαν την γην). In like manner, οἰκουμένη, which primarily means the inhabited world, and is often so rendered, is by the connection of the discourse restrained to a particular country, as in Isa. xiii. 5. (Sept.); and to the land of Judæa, as in Luke ii. 1. xxi. 26. Acts xi. 28. and James v. 17. But the country occupied by the Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews, is in the sacred volume more particularly called,

1. The *Land of Canaan*, from Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, and grandson of Noah, who settled here after the confusion of Babel, and divided the country among his eleven children, each of whom became the head of a numerous tribe, that ultimately became a distinct nation. (Gen. x. 15. *et seq.*)

2. The *Land of Promise* (Heb. xi. 9.), from the promise made by Jehovah to Abraham, that his posterity should possess it (Gen. xii. 7. and xiii. 15.); who being termed Hebrews, this region was thence called the *Land of the Hebrews*[1] (Gen. xl. 15.)

3. The *Land of Israel*, from the Israelites, or posterity of Jacob, having settled themselves there. This name is of most frequent occurrence in the Old Testament: it is also to be found in the New Testament (as in Matt. ii. 20, 21.); and in its larger acceptation comprehended all that tract of ground on each side the course of the river Jordan, which God gave for an inheritance to the children of Israel. Within this extent lay all the provinces or countries visited by Jesus Christ, except Egypt, and consequently almost all the places mentioned or referred to in the four Gospels.

4. The *Land of Judah*. Under this appellation was at first comprised only that part of the region which was allotted to the tribe of Judah; though the whole land of Israel appears to have been occasionally thus called in subsequent times, when that tribe excelled all the others in dignity. After the separation of the ten tribes, that portion of the land which belonged to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who formed a separate kingdom, was distinguished by the appellation of *the land of Judah* (Psal. lxxvi. 1.) or of Judæa; which last name the whole country retained during the existence of the second temple, and under the dominion of the Romans.

[1] This appellation (the land of the Hebrews) is recognised by Pausanias (lib. vi. c. 24. *in fine*). By heathen writers the Holy Land is variously termed, Syrian Palestine, Syria, and Phenicia; but as these appellations are not applied *generally* in the Scriptures to that country, any further notice of them is designedly omitted.

5. The *Holy Land;* which appellation is to this day conferred on it by all Christians, because it was chosen by God to be the immediate seat of his worship, and was consecrated by the presence, actions, miracles, discourses and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and also because it was the residence of the holy patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. This name does not appear to have been used by the Hebrews themselves, until after the Babylonish Captivity, when we find the prophet Zechariah applying it to his country (ii. 12.) After this period it seems to have become a common appellation: we meet with it in the apocryphal book of Wisdom (xii. 3.), and also in the second book of Maccabees (i. 7.) The whole world was divided by the antient Jews into two general parts, *the land of Israel* and the *land out of Israel*, that is, all the countries inhabited by the *nations of the world*, or the Gentiles: to this distinction there seems to be an allusion in Matt. vi. 32. All the rest of the world, together with its inhabitants (Judæa excepted), was accounted as profane, *polluted*, and *unclean*, (see Isa. xxxv. 8. lii. 1. with Joel iii. 17. Amos vii. 17. and Acts x. 14.); but though the whole land of Israel was regarded as *holy*, as being the place consecrated to the worship of God, and the inheritance of his people, whence they are collectively styled *saints* and a holy nation or people in Exod. xix. 6. Deut. vii. 6. xiv. 2. xxvi. 19. xxxiii. 3. 2 Chron. vi. 41. Psal. xxxiv. 9. l. 5. 7. and lxxix. 2.); yet the Jews imagined particular parts to be vested with more than ordinary sanctity, according to their respective situations. Thus the parts situated beyond Jordan were considered to be less holy than those on this side: walled towns were supposed to be more clean and holy than other places, because no lepers were admissible into them, and the dead were not allowed to be buried there. Even the very dust of the land of Israel was reputed to possess such a peculiar degree of sanctity, that when the Jews returned from any heathen country they stopped at its borders, and wiped the dust of it from their shoes, lest the sacred inheritance should be polluted with it: nor would they suffer even herbs to be brought to them from the ground of their Gentile neighbours, lest they should bring any of the mould with them, and thus defile their pure land. To this notion our Lord unquestionably alluded when he commanded his disciples to shake off the dust of their feet (Matt. x. 14.) on returning from any house or city that would neither receive nor hear them; thereby intimating to them, that when the Jews had rejected the Gospel, they were no longer to be

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regarded as the people of God, but were on a level with heathens and idolaters.[1]

6. The appellation of *Palestine*, by which the whole land appears to have been called in the days of Moses (Exod. xv. 14.), is derived from the Philistines, a people who migrated from Egypt, and, having expelled the aboriginal inhabitants, settled on the borders of the Mediterranean; where they became so considerable as to give their name to the whole country, though they in fact possessed only a small part of it.

II. The extent of the Holy Land has been variously estimated by geographers; some making it not to exceed one hundred and seventy or eighty miles in length, from north to south, and one hundred and forty miles from east to west in its broadest parts (or towards the south), and about seventy miles in breadth, where narrowest, towards the north. From the latest and most accurate maps, however, it appears to have extended nearly two hundred miles in length, and to have been about eighty miles in breadth about the middle, and ten or fifteen, more or less, where it widens or contracts.

The *Boundaries* of the land promised to Abraham are, in Gen. xv. 18., stated to be *from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates.* Of this tract, however, the Israelites were not immediately put in possession: and although the limits of their territories were extended under the reigns of David and Solomon (2 Sam. viii. 3—14. 2 Chron. ix. 26.), yet they did not always retain that tract. It lies far within the temperate zone, and between 31 and 33 degrees of north latitude, and was bounded on the west by the Mediterranean or Great Sea, as it is often called in the Scriptures; on the east by Arabia; on the South by the river of Egypt (supposed to be, not the Nile, but the Sichor, Josh. xiii. 3. Jer. ii. 18.), and the Desert of Sin, or Beersheba, the southern shore of the Dead Sea, and the river Arnon; and on the north by the chain of mountains termed Antilibanus, near which stood the city of Dan: hence in the sacred writings we frequently meet with the expression, *from Dan to Beersheba*, in order to denote the whole length of the land of Israel.[2]

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[1] Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. in Matt. x. 14.; Reland, Antiquitates Hebraicæ, pp. 1. 17. This distinction of holy and unholy places and persons throws considerable light on 1 Cor. i. 28. where the apostle, speaking of the calling of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews, says, that God hath chosen "base things of the world, and things that are despised, yea, and things which are not," (that is, the Gentiles) "to bring to nought" (Gr. *to abolish*) things that are;" in other words, to become God's church and people, and so to cause the Jewish church and economy to cease. See Whitby in loc.

[2] For a full investigation of the boundaries of the promised land, see Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. i. pp. 55—97

III. The land of Canaan, previously to its occupation by the Israelites, was possessed by the descendants of Canaan, the youngest son of Ham and grandson of Noah; who divided the country among his eleven sons, each of whom was the head of a numerous clan or tribe. (Gen. x. 15—19.) Here they resided upwards of seven centuries, and founded numerous republics and kingdoms. In the days of Abraham, this region was occupied by ten nations; the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites, to the east of Jordan; and westward, the Hittites Perizzites, Rephaims, Amorites, Canaanites, Girgashites, and the Jebusites. (Gen. xv. 18—21.) These latter in the days of Moses were called the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Deut. vii. 1. Josh. iii. 10. xxiv. 11.); the Hivites being substituted for the Rephaims. These seven nations were thus distributed:—

The *Hittites*, or sons of Heth, the *Perizzites*, the *Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwelt in the mountains*, or hill country of Judea, southward; the *Canaanites* dwelt in the midland *by the sea*, westward, and *by the coast of Jordan* eastward; and the *Girgashites*, or Gergesenes, along the eastern side of the sea of Galilee; and the *Hivites* in Mount Lebanon, under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh or Gilead, northward. (Compare Numb. xiii. 29. Josh. xi. 3. Judges iii. 3. and Matt. viii. 28.) Of all these nations the Amorites became the most powerful, so as to extend their conquests beyond the river Jordan over the Kadmonites; whence they are sometimes put for the whole seven nations, as in Gen. xv. 16. Josh xxiv. 15. and 2 Sam. xxi. 2.

These nations were the people whom the children of Israel were commanded to exterminate. Within the period of seven years Moses conquered two powerful kingdoms on the east, and Joshua thirty-one smaller kingdoms on the west of Jordan, and gave their land to the Israelites; though it appears that some of the old inhabitants were permitted by Jehovah to remain there, *to prove* their conquerors, *whether they would hearken to the commandments of the Lord, which he commanded their fathers by the hand of Moses:* and the nations thus spared were afterwards suffered to oppress the Israelites with great severity. (Numb. xxi. 21—35. xxxii. and xxxiv. Deut. ii. 26—37. iii. 1—20. Josh. vi. 21. Judg. i. 4.) Nor were they finally subdued until the reigns of David and Solomon, who reduced them to the condition of slaves: the latter employed 153,600 of them in the most servile parts of his work, in building his temple, palace, &c. (2 Sam. v. 6—8. 1 Chron xi. 4—8. 1 Kings ix. 20. 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. and viii. 7, 8.)

Besides these devoted nations there were others, either settled in the land at the arrival of the Israelites, or in its immediate environs, with whom the latter had to maintain many severe conflicts: they were six in number.

1. The Philistines were the descendants of Mizraim, the second son of Ham; who, migrating from Caphtor or the north-eastern part of Egypt, very early settled in a small strip of territory along the sea-shore, in the south-west of Canaan, having expelled the Avites, who had before possessed it. (Deut. ii. 23. Amos ix. 7. Jer. xlvii. 4.) The district occupied by the Philistines was in the time of Joshua distinguished into five lordships, denominated, from the chief towns, Gaza, Ashdod, Askelon, Gath, and Ekron. They were the most formidable enemies perhaps whom the children of Israel had to encounter: and of the inveteracy of their enmity against the latter, we have abundant evidence in the sacred writings. Though they were subdued by David, and kept in subjection by some succeeding monarchs, yet they afterwards became so considerable, that from them the Holy Land was called by the Greeks Palestine, which appellation it retains to this day. The country was finally subdued, about the year of the world 3841 (B. C. 159.) by the illustrious general, Judas Maccabæus; and about sixty-five years afterwards Jannæus burnt their city Gaza, and incorporated the remnant of the Philistines with such Jews as he placed in their country.

2. The Midianites were the descendants of Midian, the fourth son of Abraham by Keturah. (Gen. xxv. 2.) In the Scriptures two different places are assigned as the territory of the Midianites: the one, almost the north-east point of the Red Sea, where Jethro the father-in-law of Moses was a prince or priest. These western or southern Midianites werealso called Cushites, because they occupied the country tha toriginally belonged to Cush. They retained the knowledge of the true God, which appears to have been lost among the eastern or northern Midianites who dwelt on the east of the Dead Sea. (Gen. xxv. 2—6. xxxvii. 28. Exod. ii. iii. xvii.) These northern Midianites were either subject to or allied with the Moabites; and their women were particularly instrumental in seducing the Israelites to idolatry and other crimes: which wickedness was punished by Jehovah with the almost total destruction of their nation (Numb. xxii. 4—7. xxv. xxxi. Josh. xiii. 21.); although they afterwards recovered so much of their former strength as to render the Israelites their tributaries, and for seven years greatly oppressed them. From this bondage, Gideon delivered his countrymen with a very inferior force,

and almost annihilated the Midianites, whose surviving remnants are supposed to have been incorporated with the Moabites or Ammonites.

3, 4. The Moabites and Ammonites were the descendants of the incestuous offspring of Lot. (Gen. xix. 30—38.) The Moabites dwelt on the east of the Jordan, in a tract whence they had expelled the Emims, a gigantic aboriginal race. The Ammonites had their residence north-east of the Moabites, which territory they had wrested from the Zamzummim, another gigantic tribe. The country occupied by these two tribes was exceedingly pleasant and fertile: they were violently hostile to the Israelites, whom they at different times terribly oppressed. They were conquered by David, and for about 150 years continued in subjection to the Israelites. On the division of the kingdom they fell to the share of the ten tribes; and after several attempts to regain their liberty under succeeding kings of Israel (some of whom severely chastised them, and imposed heavy tributes upon them), they are supposed to have effected their complete liberation during the unhappy reign of Ahaz.

5. The Amalekites were descended from Amalek the son of Ham, and grandson of Noah, and were very formidable enemies to the Israelites. They were settled on the south coast westward of Jordan, and first opposed the Israelites after their departure from Egypt, but were defeated and doomed to destruction (Exod. xvii. 8—16. Deut. xxv. 17—19); which was commenced by Saul, and finished by David.

6. The Edomites were the descendants of Esau or Edom; they possessed themselves of the country southward of Judea, which was originally occupied by the Horites, who are supposed to have been finally blended with their conquerors, It was a mountainous tract, including the mountains of Seir and Hor, and the provinces of Dedan, Teman, &c. Inveterate foes to Israel, they were rendered tributary by David, and for 150 years continued subject to the kingdom of Judah. After various attempts, they revolted under the reign of Jehoram, and ultimately succeeded in rendering themselves independent. (2 Chron. xxi. 8—10.)

IV. On the conquest of Canaan by the children of Israel, Joshua divided it into twelve parts, which the twelve tribes drew by lot, according to their families: so that, in this division every tribe and every family received their lot and share by themselves, distinct from all the other tribes. Thus, each tribe remained a distinct province, in which all the freeholders were not only Israelites, but of the same tribe, or descendants from the same patriarch: and the several families were placed

together in the same neighbourhood, receiving their inheritance in the same part or subdivision of the tribe. Or, each tribe may be said to live together in one and the same county, and each family in one and the same hundred: so that the inhabitants of every neighbourhood were relations to each other, and of the same families. Nor was it permitted that an estate in one tribe should become the property of any person belonging to another tribe, even by the marriage of an heiress. See the case of the daughters of Zelophehad, in Numb. xxxvi. 6, 7.

In order to preserve as nearly as possible the same balance, not only between the tribes, but between the heads of families and the families of the same tribes, it was further provided that every man's possession should be unalienable.

The wisdom of this constitution had provided for a release of all debts and servitudes every seventh year (Deut. xv. 1, 2. 12.) that the Hebrew nation might not moulder away from so great a number of free subjects, and be lost to the public in the condition of slaves. It was moreover provided, by the law of jubilee, which was every fiftieth year, that then all lands should be restored, and the estate of every family, being discharged from all incumbrances, should return to the family again. For this there was an express law. (Lev. xxv. 10.) *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 to his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.* It is further enacted, *And the land shall not be sold for ever;* (or, as in the margin, *to be quite cut off*, or alienated from the family;) *for the land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.*

By this agrarian law of the Hebrews, all estates were to be kept in the same families, as well as the same tribes to which they originally belonged at the first division of the land by Joshua; so that how often soever a man's estate had been sold or alienated from one jubilee to another, or through how many hands soever it had passed, yet in fifty years every estate must return to the heirs of the persons who were first possessed of it.

It was at first an excellent constitution, considering the design of this government, to make so equal a division of the land among the whole Hebrew nation, according to the poll; it made provision for settling and maintaining a numerous and a brave militia of six hundred thousand men, which, if their force was rightly directed and used, would be a sufficient defence not only against any attempts of their less powerful neighbours, to deprive them of their liberty or religion; but

considering moreover the natural security of their country, into which no inroads could be made but through very difficult passes, it was a force sufficient to defend them against the more powerful empires of Egypt, Assyria, or Babylon.

The wisdom of this constitution is yet further observable, as it provided against all ambitious designs of private persons, or persons in authority, against the public liberty; for no person in any of the tribes, or throughout the whole Hebrew nation, had such estates and possessions, or were allowed by the constitution to procure them, that could give any hopes of success in oppressing their brethren and fellow-subjects. They had no riches to bribe indigent persons to assist them, nor could there at any time be any considerable number of indigent persons to be corrupted. They could have no power to force their fellow-subjects into a tame submission to any of their ambitious views. The power in the hands of so many freeholders in each tribe, was so unspeakably superior to any power in the hands of one or of a few men, that it is impossible to conceive how any such ambitious designs should succeed, if any person should have been found so weak as to attempt them. Besides, this equal and moderate provision for every person, wisely cut off the means of luxury, with the temptations to it from example. It almost necessarily induced the whole Hebrew nation to be both industrious and frugal, and yet gave to every one such a property, with such an easy state of liberty, that they had sufficient reason to esteem and value them, and endeavour to preserve and maintain them.[1]

In this division of the land into twelve portions, the posterity of Ephraim and Manasseh (the two sons of Joseph) had their portions as distinct tribes in consequence of Jacob having adopted them. The *northern* parts of the country were allotted to the tribes of Asher, Nepthali, Zebulon, and Issachar; the *middle* parts to that of Ephraim and one half of the tribe of Manasseh; the *southern* parts to those of Judah, Benjamin, Dan, and Simeon; and the *Country beyond Jordan* (which was first conquered by the Israelites, before the subjugation of the whole land of Canaan) was allotted to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the other half tribe of Manasseh. The tribe of Levi, indeed (which formed in effect a thirteenth tribe), possessed no lands. By divine command there were assigned to the Levites, who were appointed to minister in holy things, without any secular incumbrance, the tenths and first-fruits of the estates of their brethren. Forty-eight cities were appropriated to their

[1] Lowman on the Civil Government of the Hebrews, pp. 46—49.

residence, thence called Levitical cities: these were dispersed among the twelve tribes, and had their respective suburbs, with land surrounding them. Of these cities the Kohathites received twenty-three, the Gershonites thirteen, and the Merarites twelve; and six of them, three on each side of Jordan [1], were appointed to be cities of refuge, whither the inadvertent man-slayer might flee, and find an asylum from his pursuers, and be secured from the effects of private revenge, until cleared by a legal process (Numb. xxxv. 6—15. Deut. xix. 4—10. Josh. xx. 7, 8.) The way to these cities the Israelites were commanded to make good, so that the man-slayer might flee thither without impediment, and with all imaginable expedition: and, according to the Rabbins, there was an inscription set up at every cross road—" Asylum, Asylum." It has been thought that there is an allusion to this practice in Luke iii. 4—6. where John the Baptist is described *as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths strait.* He was the Messiah's forerunner, and in that character was to remove the obstacles to men's fleeing to him as their asylum, and obtaining the salvation of God. [2]

It is remarkable that all the sacerdotal cities lay within the southern tribes, eight belonging to Judah and four to Benjamin, and only one to Simeon, which is supposed to have been situated on the frontier of Judah, and to have remained under the controul of the latter tribe. This was wisely and providentially designed to guard against the evils of schism between the southern and northern tribes. For by this arrangement all the sacerdotal cities (except one) lay in the faithful tribes of Judah and Benjamin, to maintain the national worship in them, in opposition to the apostacy of the other tribes. Otherwise the kingdom of Judah might have experienced a scarcity of priests, or have been burthened with the maintenance of those who fled from the kingdom of Israel (2 Chron. xi. 13, 14.), when the base and wicked policy of Jeroboam made priests of the lowest of the people to officiate in their room.

Of the country beyond Jordan, which was given by Moses to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh (Deut iii. 12—17. Josh. xii. 1—6. xiii.), the tribe of *Reuben* obtained the southern part, which was bounded on

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[1] The cities of refuge on the *eastern* side of Jordan were, Bezer, in the tribe of Reuben; Ramoth-Gilead in that of Gad; and Golan in the half tribe of Manasseh. Those on the *western* side of Jordan, were Hebron, in the tribe of Judah; Shechem, in that of Ephraim; and Kedesh-Naphtali, in that of Naphtali.

[2] Godwin's Moses and Aaron, p. 78. Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book ii. ch. 5. p. 295. Edinb. 1808.

the south from Midian by the river Arnon; on the north, by another small river; on the east, by the Ammonites and Moabites; and on the west by the river Jordan. Its principal cities were Ashdod-Pizgah, Bethabara, Beth-peor, Bezer, Heshbon, Jahaz, Kedemoth, Medeba, Mephaath, and Midian[1]. The territory of the tribe of *Gad* was bounded by the river Jordan on the west, by the canton of the half tribe of Manasseh to the north, by the Ammonites on the east, and by the tribe of Reuben on the south. Its chief cities were Betharan (aftewards called Julias), Debir, Jazer, Mahanaim, Mizpeh, Penuel, Rabbah or Rabboth (afterwards called Philadelphia,) Succoth, and Tishbeh. The region allotted to the *half tribe of Manasseh*, on the eastern side of the Jordan, was bounded on the south by the territory of the tribe of Gad; by the sea of Cinnereth (afterwards called the lake of Gennesareth and the sea of Galilee), and the course of the river Jordan from its source towards that sea, on the west; by Mount Lebanon, or more properly, Mount Hermon, on the north and north-east; and by Mount Gilead on the east. Its principal cities were Ashtaroth-Carnaim, Auran, Beesh-terah, Bethsaida, Gadara, Gerasa, Geshur, and Jabesh-Gilead. This tribe was greatly indebted to the bravery of Jair, who took *three score cities*, besides several small towns or villages, which he called Havoth-Jair, or the *Dwellings of Jair*. (1 Chron. ii. 23. Numb. xxxii. 41.)

The remaining nine tribes and a half were settled on the western side of the Jordan.

The canton of the tribe of *Judah* was bounded on the east by the Dead Sea, and on the west by the tribes of Dan and Simeon, both of which lay between it and the Mediterranean Sea. Judah was reckoned to be the largest and most populous of all the twelve tribes; and its inhabitants were the most valiant; it was also the chief and royal tribe, from which, in subsequent times, the whole kingdom was denominated. The most remarkable places or cities in this tribe were Adullam, Azekah, Bethlehem, Bethzor, Debir, or Kiriath-sepher, Emmaus, Engedi, Kiriath-arba or Hebron, Libnah, Makkedah, Maon, Massada, Tekoah, and Ziph.

The inheritance of the tribes of *Dan* and of *Simeon* was within the inheritance of the tribe of Judah, or was taken out of the portion at first allotted to the latter. The boundaries of these two tribes are not precisely ascertained; though they

[1] As this sketch of the historical geography of the Holy Land is designed chiefly to give the reader an idea of the several divisions which obtained at different times, the reader is referred to the Geographical Index at the end of this volume, for an account of the various places mentioned in the sacred writings, *particularly* in the New Testament.

are placed by geographers to the north and south-west of the canton of Judah, and consequently bordered on the Mediterranean Sea. The principal cities in the tribe of Dan were Ajalon, Dan or Leshem, Eltekeh, Eshtaol, Gath-rimmon, Gibbethon, Hir-shemesh, Joppa, Modin, Timnath, and Zorah. The chief cities in the tribe of Simeon, were Ain, Beersheba, Hormah, and Ziklag.

The canton, allotted to the tribe of *Benjamin*, lay between the tribes of Judah and Joseph, contiguous to Samaria on the north, to Judah on the south, and to Dan on the west, which last parted it from the Mediterranean. It did not contain many cities and towns, but this defect was abundantly supplied by its possessing the most considerable, and the metropolis of all, the city of Jerusalem. The other places of note in this tribe were Anathoth, Beth-el, Gibeah, Gibeon, Gilgal, Hai, Mizpeh, Ophrah, and Jericho.

To the north of the canton of Benjamin, lay that allotted to the tribe of *Ephraim*, and that of the other half tribe of Manasseh. The boundaries of these two districts cannot be ascertained with precision. The chief places in Ephraim were, Beth-horon the Nether and Upper, Gezer, Lydd, Michmash, Naioth, Samaria, Schechem, Shiloh and Timnath-Serah. After the schism of the ten tribes, the seat of the kingdom of Israel being in Ephraim, this tribe is frequently used to signify the whole kingdom. The chief places in the half tribe of Manasseh, were Abel-meholath, Bethabara, Bethshan (afterwards called Scythopolis), Bezek, Endor, Enon, Gath-rimmon, Megiddo, Salim, Ophrah, and Tirzah.

To the north, and more particularly to the north-east of the half-tribe of Manasseh, lay the canton of *Issachar*, which was bordered by the celebrated plain of Jezreel, and its northern boundary was Mount Tabor. Some writers make this tribe to extend to the Mediterranean Sea; but for this hypothesis there is no foundation. The chief cities of Issachar were, Aphek, Beth-shemesh, Dothan, Kishon, Jezreel, Naim or Nain, Ramoth and Shunem.

On the north and west of Issachar resided the tribe of *Zebulun*. Its chief places were Bethlehem, Cinnereth or Chinnereth, Gath-hepher, Jokneam, Remmon-Methoar, and Shimron-cheron.

The tribe of *Asher* was stationed in the district to the north of the half tribe of Manasseh, and west of Zebulun: consequently it was a maritime country. Hence it was said (Judg. v. 17.) that *Asher continued on the sea-shore, and abode in his creeks.* Its northern boundary was mount Libanus or Lebanon; and on the south it was bounded by mount Carmel, and the canton

of Issachar. Its principal cities were Abdon, Achshaph, Helkath, Mishal and Rehob. This tribe never possessed the whole extent of district assigned to it, which was to reach to Libanus, to Syria, and Phenicia, and included the celebrated cities of Tyre and Sidon.

Lastly, the tribe of *Napthali* or Nephtali occupied that district in the northern part of the land of Canaan, which lay between mount Lebanon to the north, and the sea of Cinnereth (or Gennesareth) to the south, and between Asher to the west, and the river Jordan to the east. Its chief places were Abel or Abel-Beth-Maachah, Hamoth-dor, Harosheth of the Gentiles, Kedesh, and Kiriathaim.

V. The next remarkable division was made by king Solomon, who divided his kingdom into twelve provinces or districts, each under a peculiar officer. These districts, together with the names of their respective presidents, are enumerated in 1 Kings iv. 7—19. From the produce of these districts every one of these officers was to supply the king with provisions for his household, in his turn, that is, each for one month in the year. The dominions of Solomon extended *from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life.* (2 Kings iv. 21.) Hence it appears that the Hebrew monarch reigned over all the provinces from the river Euphrates to the land of the Philistines, even to the frontiers of Egypt. The Euphrates was the *eastern* boundary of his dominions; the Philistines were *westward*, on the Mediterranean sea; and Egypt was on the *south*. Solomon therefore, had as his tributaries, the kingdoms of Syria, Damascus, Moab, and Ammon; and thus he appears to have possessed all the land which God had covenanted with Abraham to give to his posterity.

VI. Under this division the Holy Land continued till after the death of Solomon, when ten tribes revolted from his son Rehoboam, and erected themselves into a separate kingdom under Jeroboam, called the *kingdom of Israel.* The other two tribes of Benjamin and Judah, continuing faithful to Rehoboam, formed the *kingdom of Judah.* This kingdom comprised all the southern parts of the land, consisting of the allotments of those two tribes, together with so much of the territories of Dan and Simeon as were intermixed with that of Judah: its royal city or metropolis was Jerusalem, in the tribe of Benjamin. The kingdom of Israel included all the northern and middle parts of the land, occupied by the other ten tribes; and its capital was Samaria, in the tribe of

Ephraim, situated about thirty miles north-east of Jerusalem. But this division ceased, on the subversion of the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, after it had subsisted two hundred and fifty four years.

VII. The Holy Land fell successively into the hands of the Syrian kings, the Greeks and Romans. It was in the possession of the last mentioned people in the time of Jesus Christ, when it was divided into five separate provinces, viz. Galilee, Samaria, Judæa, Peræa, and Idumæa.

1. Galilee.—This portion of the Holy Land is very frequently mentioned in the New Testament: its limits seem to have varied at different times. It comprised the country formerly occupied by the tribes of Issachar, Naphtali, and Asher, and by part of the tribe of Dan; and is divided by Josephus into *Upper* and *Lower Galilee.*

Upper Galilee abounded in mountains; and from its vicinity to the Gentiles who inhabited the cities of Tyre and Sidon, it is called *Galilee of the Nations*, or *of the Gentiles.* (Isa. ix. 1. Matt. iv. 15.), and the *Coasts of Tyre and Sidon.* (Mark vii. 31.) The principal city in this region was Cæsarea Philippi; through which the main road lay to Damascus, Tyre, and Sidon.

Lower Galilee, which lay between the Mediterranean sea and the lake of Gennesareth, was situated in a rich and fertile plain, and, according to Josephus, was very populous, containing upwards of two hundred cities and towns. This country was most honoured by our Saviour's presence. Here his miraculous conception took place (Luke i. 26—38.); hither Joseph and Mary returned with him out of Egypt, and here he resided until his baptism by John (Matt. ii. 22, 23. Luke ii. 39—51. Matt. iii. 13. Luke iii. 21.) Hither he returned after his baptism and temptation (Luke iv. 14.): and, after his entrance on his public ministry, though he often went into other provinces, yet so frequent were his visits to this country, that he was called a Galilean (Matt. xxvi. 69.) The population of Galilee being very great, our Lord had many opportunities of doing good; and, being out of the power of the priests at Jerusalem, he seems to have preferred it as his abode. To this province our Lord commanded his apostles to come and converse with him after his resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 7. 16.): and of this country most, if not the whole, of his apostles were natives, whence they are all styled by the angels *men of Galilee.* (Acts. i. 11.) The Galileans spoke an unpolished and corrupt dialect of the Syriac, compounding and using ע (*ain*) for א (*aleph*) כ (*caph*) for ב (*beth*) ת (*tau*)

for ד (*daleth*); and also frequently changed the gutturals [1]. This probably proceeded from their great communication and intermixture with the neighbouring nations. It was this corrupt dialect that led to the detection of Peter, as one of Christ's disciples. (Mark xiv. 70.) The Galileans are repeatedly mentioned by Josephus as a turbulent and rebellious people, and upon all occasions ready to disturb the Roman authority. They were particularly forward in an insurrection against Pilate himself, who proceeded to a summary mode of punishment, causing a party of them to be treacherously slain, during one of the great festivals, when they came to sacrifice at Jerusalem [2]. This character of the Galileans explains the expression in St. Luke's Gospel (xiii. 1.), *whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices;* and also accounts for his abrupt question, *when he heard of Galilee,* and asked if Jesus *were a Galilean?* (Luke xxiii. 6). Our Redeemer was accused before him of seditious practices, and of exciting the people to revolt; when, therefore, it was stated, among other things, that he had been in Galilee, Pilate caught at the observation, and enquired if he were a Galilean; having been prejudiced against the inhabitants of that district, by their frequent commotions, and being on this account the more ready to receive any charge which might be brought against any one of that obnoxious community. [3]

The principal cities of Lower Galilee, mentioned in the New Testament, are Tiberias, Chorazin, Bethsaida, Nazareth, Cana, Capernaum, Nain, Cæsarea of Palestine, and Ptolemais.

2. Samaria.—The division of the Holy Land, thus denominated, derives its name from the city of Samaria, and comprises the tract of country which was originally occupied by the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh within Jordan, lying exactly in the middle between Judea and Galilee; so that it was absolutely necessary for persons who were desirous of going expeditiously from Galilee to Jerusalem, to pass

[1] Dr. Lightfoot, to whom we are indebted for the above remark, has given several instances in Hebrew and English, which are sufficiently amusing. One of these is as follows: A certain woman intended to say before the Judge, *My Lord, I had a picture, which they stole; and it was so great, that if you had been placed in it, your feet would not have touched the ground.* But she so spoiled the business with her pronunciation, that, as the glosser interprets it, her words had this sense. *Sir slave, I had a beam and they stole thee away; and it was so great, that if they had hung thee on it, thy feet would not have touched the ground.* Lightfoot's Chorographical Century of the Land of Israel, ch. lxxxvii. (Works, vol. ii. p. 79.)

[2] Josephus, Antiq. book xviii. c. 3. § 2. and Mr. Whiston's note there. In another place (book xvii. c. 10. § 2.) after describing a popular tumult, he says, *A great number of these were* Galileans *and Idumeans.*

[3] Gilly's Spirit of the Gospel, or the Four Evangelists elucidated, p. 328.

through this country. This sufficiently explains the remark of St. John, (iv. 4.) which is strikingly confirmed by Josephus [1]. The three chief places of this district, noticed in the Scriptures, are Samaria, Sichem or Sechem, and Antipatris.

3. JUDÆA.—Of the various districts, into which Palestine was divided, Judæa was the most distinguished. It comprised the territories which had formerly belonged to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and to part of the tribe of Dan; being nearly co-extensive with the antient kingdom of Judah. Its metropolis was JERUSALEM: and of the other towns or villages of note contained in this region, the most remarkable were Arimathea, Azotus or Ashdod, Bethany, Bethlehem, Bethphage, Emmaus, Ephraim, Gaza, Jericho, Joppa, Lydda, and Rama.

4. The district of Peræa comprised the six cantons of Abilene, Trachonitis, Ituræa, Gaulonitis, Batanæa, and Peræa, strictly so called, to which some geographers have added Decapolis.

(1.) ABILENE was the most northern of these provinces, being situated between the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, and deriving its name from the city Abila. It is supposed to have been within the borders of the tribe of Nepthali, although it was never subdued by them, and is one of the four tetrarchies mentioned by St. Luke (iii. 1.) The evangelist's account is confirmed by the geographer Ptolemy, who states that Abila bore the name of Lysanias.

(2.) TRACHONITIS was bounded by the desert Arabia on the east, Batanea on the west, Iturea on the south, and the country of Damascus on the north. It abounded with rocks, which afforded shelter to numerous thieves and robbers.

(3.) ITURÆA antiently belonged to the half tribe of Manasseh, who settled on the east of Jordan: it stood to the east of Batanea and to the south of Trachonitis. Of these two cantons Philip the son of Herod the Great was tetrarch at the time John the Baptist commenced his ministry. (Luke iii. 1.) It derived its name from Jetur the son of Ishmael (1 Chron. i. 31.) and was also called Auranitis from the city of Hauran. (Ezek. xlvii. 16. 18.)

(4.) GAULONITIS was a tract on the east side of the lake of Gennesareth and the river Jordan, which derived its name from Gaulan or Golan the city of Og, king of Bashan. Josh. xx. 8.) This canton is not mentioned in the New Testament.

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[1] Antiq. book xx. c. 5. § 1. De Bell. Jud. book ii. c. 12. § 3.

(5.) BATANÆA, the antient kingdom of Bashan, was situated to the north-east of Gaulonitis: its limits are not easy to be defined. It was part of the territory given to Herod Antipas, and is not noticed in the New Testament.

(6.) PERÆA, in its restricted sense, includes the southern part of the country beyond Jordan, lying south of Iturea, east of Judea and Samaria; and was antiently possessed by the two tribes of Reuben and Gad. Its principal place was the strong fortress of Machærus, erected for the purpose of checking the predatory incursions of the Arabs. This fortress, though not specified by name in the New Testament, is memorable as the place where John the Baptist was put to death. (Matt. xiv. 3—12.)

(7.) The canton of DECAPOLIS (Matt. iv. 25. Mark v. 20. and vii. 31.) which derives its name from the ten cities it contained, is considered by Reland and other eminent authorities as part of the region of Peræa. Concerning its limits, and the names of its ten cities, geographers are by no means agreed; but, according to Josephus (whose intimate knowledge of the country constitutes him an unexceptionable authority), it contained the cities of Damascus, Otopos, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis (the capital of the district), Gadara, Hippos, Dios, Pella, and Gerasa.

5. IDUMÆA.—This province was added by the Romans, on their conquest of Palestine. It comprised the extreme southern part of Judea, together with some small part of Arabia. During the Babylonish captivity, being left destitute of inhabitants, or not sufficiently inhabited by its natives, it seems to have been seized by the neighbouring Idumæans; and though they were afterwards subjugated by the powerful arms of the Maccabees and Asmonean princes, and embraced Judaism, yet the tract of country, of which they had thus possessed themselves, continued to retain the appellation of Idumæa in the time of Christ, and indeed for a considerable subsequent period.

VIII. Of the whole country thus described, JERUSALEM was the metropolis during the reigns of David and Solomon; after the secession of the ten tribes, it was the capital of the kingdom of Judah, but during the time of Christ, and until the subversion of the Jewish polity, it was the metropolis of Palestine.

1. Jerusalem is frequently styled in the Scriptures the *Holy City* (Isa. xlviii. 2. Dan. ix. 24. Nehem. xi. 1. Matt. iv. 5. Rev. xi. 2.) because *the Lord chose it out of all the tribes of Israel to place his name there,* his temple and his worship, (Deut. xii. 5. xiv. 23. xvi. 2. xxvi. 2.); and to be the centre

of union in religion and government for all the tribes of the commonwealth of Israel. It is held in the highest veneration by Christians for the miraculous and important transactions which happened there, and also by the Mohammedans, who to this day never call it by any other appellation than *El-Kods* [1], or The Holy, sometimes adding the epithet *El-Sherif*, or The Noble. The original name of the city was *Salem*, or Peace (Gen. xiv. 18.): the import of Jerusalem is, the vision or inheritance of peace; and to this it is not improbable that our Saviour alluded in his beautiful and pathetic lamentation over the city. (Luke xix. 41.) It was also formerly called Jebus from one of the sons of Canaan. (Josh. xviii. 28.) After its capture by Joshua (Josh. x.) it was jointly inhabited both by Jews and Jebusites (Josh. xv. 63.) for about five hundred years, until the time of David; who, having expelled the Jebusites, made it his residence (2 Sam. v. 6—9.), and erected a noble palace there, together with several other magnificent buildings, whence it is sometimes styled the *City of David.* (1 Chron. xi. 5.) By the prophet Isaiah (xxix. 1.) Jerusalem is termed *Ariel*, or the Lion of God; but the reason of this name, and its meaning, as applied to Jerusalem, is very obscure and doubtful. It *may* possibly signify the strength of the place, by which the inhabitants were enabled to resist and overcome their enemies; in the same manner as the Persians term one of their cities *Shirâz*, or the *Devouring Lion.* Being situated on the confines of the two tribes of Benjamin and Judah, Jerusalem sometimes formed a part of the one, and sometimes of the other: but, after Jehovah had appointed it to be the place of his habitation and temple, it was considered as the metropolis of the Jewish nation, and the *common property* of the children of Israel. On this account it was, that the houses were not let, and all strangers of the Jewish nation had the liberty of lodging there gratis, by right of hospitality. To this custom our Lord probably alludes in Matt. xxvi. 18. and the parallel passages.

2. The name of the whole mountain, on the several hills and hollows of which the city stood, was called Moriah, or Vision; because it was high land and could be seen afar off, especially from the south (Gen. xxii. 2—4.): but afterwards that name was appropriated to the most elevated part on which the temple was erected, and where Jehovah appeared to David (2 Chron. iii. 1. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17.) This mountain is a rocky limestone hill, steep of ascent on every side except the north; and

[1] This is a contraction from *Medinet-el-*Kadess, that is, the *Sacred City.* Capt. Light's Travels in Egypt, Nubia, &c. p. 177.

is surrounded on the other sides by a group of hills, in the form of an amphitheatre (Psal. cxxv. 2.), which situation rendered it secure from the earthquakes that appear to have been frequent in the Holy Land (Psal. xlvi. 2, 3.), and have furnished the prophets with many elegant allusions. On the east stands the mount of Olives, fronting the temple, of which it commanded a noble prospect, (Matt. xxiv. 2, 3. Luke xix. 37—41.) as it does to this day, of the whole city, over whose streets and walls the eye roves as if in the survey of a model. This mountain, which is frequently noticed in the evangelical history, stretches from north to south, and is about a mile in length. On the descent of this mountain our Saviour stood when he beheld the city and wept over it; on this mountain it was that he delivered his prediction concerning the downfall of Jerusalem (Luke xix. 41—44.); and the army of Titus encamped upon the very spot where its destruction had been foretold [1]. Dr. Clarke discovered some Pagan remains on this mountain; and at its foot he visited an olive ground always noticed as the garden of Gethsemane. "This place," says he, "is, not without reason, shewn as the scene of our Saviour's agony the night before his crucifixion (Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. John viii.), both from the circumstance of the name it still retains, and its situation with regard to the city." Here he found a grove of olives of immense size covered with fruit, almost in a mature state. [2] Between Olivet and the city lies the valley of Kedron, through which flows the brook of that name which is noticed in a subsequent page.

On the south side stood the mount of Corruption, where Solomon, in his declining years, built temples to Moloch, Chemosh, and Ashtaroth (1 Kings xi. 7. 2 Kings xxiii. 13): it was separated from the city by the narrow valley of Hinnom (Josh. xviii. 16. Jer. xix. 2.) where the Israelites burnt their children in the fire to Moloch (Jer. vii. 31. and xxxii. 35.); thence made the emblem of hell, *Gehenna*, or the place of the damned. (Matt. v. 22. xxiii. 33. Mark ix. 43.)

Towards the west, and without the walls of the city, agreeably to the law of Moses [3] (Levit. iv.), lay mount Calvary or Golgotha, that is, the place of a skull (Matt. xxvii. 33.), so called by some from its fancied resemblance to a skull, but

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[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 5.

[2] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 355. 365, 366. 8vo edit.

[3] To this St. Paul delicately alludes in his epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 12, 13.), where he says, that Christ, as a sacrifice for sin, *suffered without the gate*; and when he exhorts the Hebrew Christians *to go forth unto him without the camp*, that is, out of Jerusalem, this city being regarded by the Jews as the camp of Israel.

more probably, either because criminals were executed there, or perhaps because the mountain contained sepulchral caverns for the dead. [1]

The southern quarter, originally "the city of David," built on mount Sion, Josephus calls the *upper city*: and the house of Millo was what he calls the *upper market*. In process of time the upper city spread downwards into the winding hollow way, which he calls the valley of the Cheesemongers (*Tyropœum*), and composed the lower city, by him termed [2] Acra.

3. We have no particulars recorded concerning the nature of the fortifications of Jerusalem, previously to the time of Nehemiah; though such there undoubtedly must have been, from the importance and sanctity of the city, as the metropolis of the country, and the seat of the Jewish worship. In the account of the rebuilding of the wall, under the direction of that pious and patriotic governor, ten gates are distinctly enumerated, viz. three on the south, four on the east, and three on the western side of the wall.

The three gates on the *south* side were, 1. The *Sheep Gate* (Neh. iii. 1.), which was probably so called from the victims, intended for sacrifice, being conducted through it to the second temple. Near this gate stood the towers of Meah and Hananeel, The Sheep Gate was also called the *Gate of Benjamin*.—2. The *Fish Gate* (Neh. iii. 3. xii. 39.), which was also called the *first gate*.—3. The *Old Gate*, also called the *Corner Gate* (Neh. iii. 6. xii. 39. 2 Kings xiv. 13. Jer. xxxi. 38.)

The gates on the *eastern* side were, 1. The *Water Gate* (Neh. iii. 26.), near which the waters of Etam passed, after having been used in the temple-service, in their way to the brook Kedron into which they discharged themselves.—2. The *Horse Gate* (Neh. iii. 28. Jer. xxxi. 40.), which is supposed to have been so called, because horses went through it in order to be watered.—3. The *Prison Gate* (xii. 39.), probably so called from its vicinity to the prison.—4. The Gate *Miphkad* (Neh. iii. 31.)

The gates on the western side were, 1. The *Valley Gate* (Neh. iii. 13.), also termed the *Gate of Ephraim*, above which stood the *Tower of Furnaces* (Neh. iii. 11. xii. 38.); and near it was the *Dragon Well* (Neh. ii. 13.), which may have derived its name from the representation of a dragon, out of whose mouth the stream flowed that issued from the well.—2. The

[1] These caverns are described by Dr. Clarke, particularly one that strikingly coincides with all the circumstances attaching to the history of our Saviour's tomb. See his Travels, vol. iv. p. 327, *et seq.* 8vo edit.

[2] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 425—429. Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4.

Dung Gate (Neh. iii. 13.), which is supposed to have received its name from the filth of the beasts that were sacrificed, being carried from the temple through this gate.—3. The *Gate of the Fountain* (Neh. iii. 15.) had its name either from its proximity to the fountain of Gihon, or to the spot where the fountain of Siloam took its rise. We have no account of any gates being erected on the northern side. [1]

Previously to the fatal war of the Jews with the Romans, we are informed by Josephus, that the city of Jerusalem was surrounded by three walls on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable vallies, where there was only one wall. The first wall began, on the north side, at the tower called Hippicus, whence it extended to the place called the *Xistus*, and to the council-house, and it terminated at the western cloister of the temple. But, proceeding westward, in a contrary direction, the historian says, that it began at the same place, and extended through a place called Bethso, to the gate of the Essenes, then taking a turn towards the south, it reached to the place called Ophlas, where it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The *second* wall commenced at the gate Gennath, and encompassed only the northern quarter of the city, as far as the tower Antonia. The *third* wall began at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, passed by the tower Psephinus, till it came to the monument of Helena queen of Adiabene. Thence it passed by the sepulchres of the kings; and, taking a direction round the south-west corner, passed the Fuller's Monument, and joined the old wall at the valley of Kedron. This third wall was commenced by Agrippa, to defend the new part of the town; but he did not finish it from apprehension of incurring the displeasure of the emperor Claudius. His intention was to have erected it with stones, twenty cubits in length by ten cubits in breadth; so that no iron tools or engines could make any impression on them. What Agrippa could not accomplish, the Jews subsequently attempted: and, when Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans, this wall was twenty cubits high, above which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits, making in all an altitude of twenty-five cubits. Numerous towers, constructed of solid masonry, were erected at certain distances: in the third wall, there were ninety; in the middle wall, there were forty; and in the old wall, sixty. The towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, erected by Herod the Great, and dedicated to the memory of his friend, his brother, and his wife, were pre-

[1] Observationes Philologicæ ac Geographicæ. Amstelædami, 1747. 8vo. pp. 21—29.

eminent for their height, their massive architecture, their beauty, and the conveniences with which they were furnished. The circumference of Jerusalem, at the time Josephus wrote, was thirty-three furlongs, or nearly four miles and a half: and the wall of circumvallation, constructed by order of Titus, he states to have been thirty-nine furlongs, or four miles eight hundred and seventy-five paces. At present, a late traveller states that the circumference of Jerusalem cannot exceed *three* miles.[1]

4. During the time of Jesus Christ, Jerusalem was adorned with numerous edifices, both sacred and civil, some of which are mentioned or alluded to. But its chief glory was the temple, described in a subsequent part of this volume; which magnificent structure occupied the northern and lower top of Sion, as we learn from the psalmist (xlviii. 2.) *Beautiful for situation, the joy* (or *delight*) *of the whole earth, is mount Sion. On her north side is the city of the great king.* Next to the temple in point of splendour, was the very superb palace of Herod, which is largely described by Josephus[2]; it afterwards became the residence of the Roman procurators, who for this purpose generally claimed the royal palaces in those provinces which were subject to kings[3]. These dwellings of the Roman procurators in the provinces were called *Prætoria*[4]: Herod's palace therefore was Pilate's prætorium (Matt. xxvii. 27. John xviii. 28): and in some part of this edifice was the armoury or barracks of the Roman soldiers that garrisoned Jerusalem[5], whither Jesus was conducted and mocked by them (Matt. xxvii. 27. Mark xv. 16.) In the front of this palace was the tribunal, where Pilate sat in a judicial capacity to hear and determine weighty causes; being a raised pavement of Mosaic work, (λιθοστρωτον), the evangelist informs us that in the Hebrew language it was on this account termed *Gabbatha* (John xix. 13.) i. e. an elevated place. In this tribunal the procurator Florus sat, A. D. 66; and, in order to punish the Jews for their seditious behaviour, issued orders for his soldiers to plunder the upper market-place in Jerusalem, and to put to death such Jews as they met with; which commands were executed with savage barbarity.[6]

On a steep rock adjoining the north-west corner of the temple stood the *Tower of Antonia*, on the site of a citadel that

[1] Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, p. 103.
[2] Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. c. ix. § 3. De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. xxi. § 1. et lib. v. c. iv. § 3.
[3] Cicero contra Verrem, action. ii. lib. v. c. 12. (op. tom. iv. p. 96. ed. Bipont.)
[4] Ibid. lib. v. c. 35. et 41. (tom. iv. p. 125. 142.)
[5] Compare Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. xv. § 5. c. xvii. § 8.
[6] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiv. § 8.

had been erected by Antiochus Epiphanes [1] in order to annoy the Jews; and which, after being destroyed by them [2], was rebuilt by the Maccabean prince John Hyrcanus, B. C. 135 [3]. Herod the Great repaired it with great splendour, uniting in its interior all the conveniences of a magnificent palace, with ample accommodations for soldiers. This citadel (in which a Roman legion was always quartered) overlooked the two outer courts of the temple, and communicated with its cloisters by means of secret passages, through which the military could descend and quell any tumult that might arise during the great festivals. This was the guard to which Pilate alluded, as already noticed. (Matt. xxviii. 65.) The tower of Antonia was thus named by Herod, in honor of his friend Mark Antony: and this citadel is the castle into which St. Paul was conducted (Acts xxi. 34, 35.), and of which mention is made in Acts xxii. 24. As the temple was a fortress that guarded the whole city of Jerusalem, so the tower of Antonia was a fortress that entirely commanded the temple. [4]

Besides the preceding edifices, Josephus mentions a house or palace at the extremity of the upper city, which had been erected by the princes of the Asmonean family, from whom it was subsequently called the Asmonean Palace. It appears to have been the residence of the princes of the Herodian family (after the Romans had reduced Judæa into a province of the empire) whenever they went up to Jerusalem. In this palace, Josephus mentions Berenice and Agrippa as residing [5], and it is not improbable that it was the residence of Herod the tetrarch of Galilee when he went to keep the solemn festivals at that city; and that it was here that our Saviour was exposed to the wanton mockery of the soldiers, who had accompanied Herod thither, either as a guard to his person, or from ostentation. (Luke xxiii. 7—11.)

5. During the reigns of David and Solomon, Jerusalem was the metropolis of the land of Israel; but, after the defection of the ten tribes under Jeroboam, it was the capital of the kings of Judah, during whose government it underwent various revolutions. It was captured four times without being demolished, viz. by Shishak sovereign of Egypt (2 Chron. xii.), from whose ravages it never recovered its former spendour; by Antiochus Epiphanes, who treated the Jews with singular barbarity; by Pompey the Great, who rendered the Jews tributary to Rome; and by Herod, with the assistance of a Roman force under

[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. v. § 4.
[2] Ibid. lib. xiii. c. vi. § 6.
[3] Ibid. lib. xv. c. xi. § 4.
[4] De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 5. § 8.
[5] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 15. § 1. and c. 16. § 3.

Sosius. It was first entirely destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and again by the emperor Titus, the repeated insurrections of the turbulent Jews having filled up the measure of their iniquities, and drawn down upon them the implacable vengeance of the Romans. Titus ineffectually endeavoured to save the temple: it was involved in the same ruin with the rest of the city, and, after it had been reduced to ashes, the foundations of that sacred edifice were ploughed up by the Roman soldiers. Thus literally was fulfilled the prediction of our Lord, that not one stone should be left upon another that should not be thrown down. (Matt. xxiv. 2.)[1] The emperor Adrian erected a city on part of the former site of Jerusalem, which he called Ælia Capitolina: it was afterwards greatly enlarged and beautified by Constantine the Great, who restored its antient name. During that emperor's reign the Jews made various efforts to rebuild their temple, which however were always frustrated: nor did better success attend the attempt made A. D. 363 by the apostate emperor Julian. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption compelled the workmen to abandon their design.

From the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans to the present time, that city has remained, for the most part, in a state of ruin and desolation; "and has never been under the government of the Jews themselves, but oppressed and broken down by a succession of foreign masters — the Romans, the Saracens, the Franks, the Mamelukes, and last by the Turks, to whom it is still subject. It is not therefore only in the history of Josephus, and in other antient writers, that we are to look for the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions:— we see them verified at this moment before our eyes, in the desolate state of the once celebrated city and temple of Jerusalem, and in the present condition of the Jewish people, not collected together into any one country, into one political society, and under one form of government, but dispersed over every region of the globe, and every where treated with contumely and scorn."[2]

6. The modern city of Jerusalem contains within its walls several of the hills, on which the antient city is supposed to have stood; but these are only perceptible by the ascent and descent of the streets. When seen from the Mount of Olives, on the other side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, it presents an inclined plane, descending from west to east. An embattled

[1] For a full view of the predictions of Jesus Christ concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and their literal fulfilment, see pp. 188—202. of the supplement to the first edition.

[2] Bp. Porteus's Lectures on the Gospel of Saint Matthew, vol. ii. p. 215.

wall, fortified with towers and a Gothic castle, encompasses the city all round, excluding however part of Mount Sion, which it formerly inclosed. Notwithstanding its seemingly strong position, it is incapable of sustaining a severe assault, because, on account of the topography of the land, it has no means of preventing the approaches of an enemy; and, on the other hand, it is commanded, at the distance of a gun-shot, by the Djebel Tor, or the Mount of Olives[1]. Imposing as the appearance of Jerusalem is, when viewed from that mountain, the illusion vanishes on entering the town. No 'streets of palaces and walks of state,'—no high-raised arches of triumph—no fountains to cool the air, or porticos—not a single vestige meets the traveller, to announce its former military greatness or commercial opulence: but in the place of these, he finds himself encompassed by walls of rude masonry, the dull uniformity of which is only broken by the occasional protrusion of a small grated window. *From the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed.* (Lam. i. 6.) The finest section of the city is that inhabited by the Armenians; in the other quarters, the streets are much narrower, being scarcely wide enough to admit three camels to stand abreast. In the western quarter and in the centre of Jerusalem, towards Calvary, the low and ill-built houses (which have flat terraces or domes on the top, but no chimneys or windows) stand very close together; but in the eastern part, along the brook Kedron, the eye perceives vacant spaces, and among the rest that which surrounds the mosque[2] erected by the Khalif Omar, A. D. 637, on the site of the temple, and the nearly deserted spot where once stood the tower of Antonia and the second palace of Herod. The present population of Jerusalem is variously estimated. Capt. Light, who visited it in 1814, computed it at twelve thousand; but Mr. Jolliffe, who was there in 1817, states that the highest estimate makes the number amount to twenty-five thousand. Of these there are supposed to be

Jews - -	from 3 to 4,000
Roman Catholics - - -	800
Greeks - - -	2,000
Armenians - - -	400

[1] Travels of Ali Bey, in Morocco, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, &c. between 1803 and 1807. vol. ii. p. 245.

[2] In the Travels of Ali Bey, (vol. ii. pp. 214—227.) there is a minute description, illustrated with three large plates, of this mosque, or rather group of mosques, erected at different periods of Islamism, and exhibiting the prevailing taste of the various ages when they were severally constructed. This traveller states that they form a very harmonious whole: the edifice is collectively termed, in Arabic, *El Haram*, or the *Temple*.

Copts - - - -	50
Mohammedans - - -	13,000

"This is a very slender aggregate, compared with the flourishing population which the city once supported; but the numerous sieges it has undergone, and their consequent spoliations, have left no vestige of its original power. Jerusalem, under the government of a Turkish Aga, is still more unlike Jerusalem as it existed in the reign of Solomon, than Athens during the administration of Pericles, and Athens under the dominion of the chief of the black eunuchs. We have it upon judgment's record, that *before a marching army, a land has been as the garden of Eden, behind it, a desolate wilderness.* (Joel ii. 3.) The present appearance of Judæa has embodied the awful warnings of the prophet in all their terrible reality."[1]

IX. As it would require a volume to give even an epitome of the history of the Jews, a brief enumeration of their principal historical epochs must terminate this chapter. They are as follow:—

	A. M.	B. C.
1. The exode from Egypt - - -	2513	1491
2. The delivery of the Law - - -	2514	1490
3. The death of Moses; the entrance of the Israelites into the promised land, under Joshua - - -	2553	1451
4. Saul appointed and consecrated king -	2909	1095
5. The accession of David to the throne -	2949	1055
6. The reign of Solomon alone - -	2990	1014
7. The dedication of the temple - -	3001	1004
8. Accession of Rehoboam, and the secession of the ten tribes under Jeroboam -	3029	975
9. The kingdom of Israel terminated by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, after it had subsisted two hundred and fifty-four years -	3283	751
10. The destruction of the kingdom of Judah, after it had subsisted four hundred and sixty-eight years from the commencement of David's reign; and three hundred and eighty-eight years from the separation between Judah and the ten tribes. -	3416	588

[1] Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, written in 1817, London, 1820, 8vo. p. 102. The sketch of the modern state of Jerusalem, above given, has been drawn up, from a careful comparison of this intelligent writer's remarks, with the observations of M. Chateaubriand, made in 1806, (Travels, vol. ii. pp. 53. 83. 84. 179. 180), of Ali Bey, made in 1803—1807, (Travels, vol. ii. pp. 240—245), and of Capt. Light, made in 1814, (Travels in Egypt, &c. pp. 178—187.)

	A. M.	B. C.
11. The dedication of the second temple at Jerusalem - - - -	3489	515
		A. D.
12. The birth of Jesus Christ - - -	4004	1
13. The crucifixion, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ - -	4036	33
14. The siege and capture of Jerusalem by Titus, and the utter subversion of the Jewish polity - - -	4073	70

Mount Tabor, *as seen from the* Plain of Esdraelon.

CHAPTER II:

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

I. *Climate.*—II. *Seasons.*—1. *Seed Time.*—2. *Winter.*—3. *The Cold Season, or Winter Solstice.*—4. *Harvest.*—5. *Summer.*—6. *The Hot Season.—Heavy Dews.*—III. *Rivers, Lakes, Wells, and Fountains.* — IV. *Mountains.*—V. *Vallies.*—VI. *Caves.*—VII. *Plains.* —VIII. *Deserts.—Horrors and dangers of travelling in the Great Desert of Arabia.*—IX. *Productions of the Holy Land.—Vegetables, Animals, and Mines.—Testimonies of antient and modern authors to its fertility and population.—Its present degraded and comparatively uncultivated state accounted for.*—X. *Calamities with which this country was visited.* — 1. *The Plague.* — 2. *Earthquakes.*— 3. *Whirlwinds.*—4. *The Devastations of Locusts.*—5. *Famine.*— 6. *Volcanoes.*—7. *The Simoom or Pestilential Blast of the Desert.*

I. THE surface of the Holy Land being diversified with mountains and plains, its *Climate* varies in different places; though in general it is more settled than in our more western countries. From Tripoli to Sidon, the country is much colder than the rest of the coast further to the north and to the south, and its seasons are less regular. The same remark applies to the mountainous parts of Judæa, where the vegetable productions are much later than on the sea-coast or in the vicinity of Gaza. From its lofty situation, the air of Saphet in Galilee

is so fresh and cool, that the heats are scarcely felt there during the summer; though in the neighbouring country, particularly at the foot of mount Tabor and in the plain of Jericho, the heat is intense [1]. Generally speaking, however, the atmosphere is mild; the summers are commonly dry, and extremely hot [2]: intensely hot days, however, are frequently succeeded by intensely cold nights [3]; and it is to these sudden vicissitudes, and their consequent effects on the human frame, that Jacob refers, when he says that *in the day the drought consumed him, and the frost by night.* (Gen. xxxi. 40.)

II. Six several seasons of the natural year are indicated in Gen. viii. 22. viz. *seed-time* and *harvest*, *cold* and *heat*, *summer* and *winter*; and as agriculture constituted the principal employment of the Jews, we are informed by the rabbinical writers, that they adopted the same division of seasons, with reference to their rural work [4]. These divisions also exist among the Arabs to this day [5]. A brief statement of the natural phenomena occurring in these several seasons, will enable us to form a tolerably correct idea of the climate and weather of the Holy Land.

1. Seed-Time, by the rabbins termed זרע (zerô), comprised the latter half of the Jewish month Tisri, the whole of Marchesvan, and the former half of Kisleu or Chisleu, that is, from the beginning of October to the beginning of December. During this season the weather is various, very often misty, cloudy, with mizzling or pouring rain. Towards the close of October or early in November, the *former* or early autumnal rains begin to fall; when they usually ploughed their lands, and sowed their wheat and barley, and gathered the latter grapes. The rains last for three or four days; they do not fall without intermission, but in frequent showers. The air at this season is frequently warm, sometimes even hot; but is much refreshed by cold in the night, which is so intense as to freeze the very heavy dews that fall. Towards the close it becomes cooler, and at the end of it snow begins to fall upon the mountains. The channels of the rivulets are sometimes dry, and

[1] Harmer's Observations, vol. i. pp. 2—4. London, 1808.

[2] Of the intensity of the heat in Palestine, during the summer, some idea may be formed, when it is known that the mercury of Dr. E. D. Clarke's thermometer, *in a subterraneous recess perfectly shaded* (the scale being placed so as not to touch the rock), remained at *one hundred* degrees of Fahrenheit. Travels, vol. iv. p. 190. 8vo. edit.

[3] The same vicissitudes of temperature exist to this day in Persia (Morier's second Journey, p. 97. London, 1818, 4to.), and also in Egypt, (Capt. Light's Travels, p. 20.) Harmer has collected several testimonies to the same effect, from the earlier travellers in the east. Observations on Scripture, vol. i. pp. 61—65. London, 1808

[4] Bava Metsia, fol. 106, cited by Dr. Lightfoot, in his Hebrew and Talmudical, Exercitations on John iv. 35. (Works, vol. ii. p. 543.)

[5] See Golius's Lexicon Arabicum, col. 934.

even the large rivers do not contain much water. In the latter part of November the leaves lose their foliage. Towards the end of that month the more delicate light their fires (Jer. xxxvi. 22.), which they continue almost to the month of April; while others pass the whole winter without fire.

2. WINTER, by the rabbins termed חורף (CHOREP), included the latter half of Chisleu, the whole of Tebeth, and the former part of Shebeth, that is, from the beginning of December to the beginning of February. In this season, snows rarely fall, except on the mountains, but they seldom continue a whole day; the ice is thin, and melts as soon as the sun ascends above the horizon. As the season advances, the north wind and the cold, especially on the lofty mountains, which are now covered with snow, is intensely severe, and sometimes even fatal: the cold is frequently so piercing, that persons born in our climate can scarcely endure it. The roads become slippery, and travelling becomes both laborious and dangerous, especially in the steep mountain paths (Jer. xiii. 16. xxiii. 12.); and on this account our Lord, when predicting the calamities that were to attend the siege of Jerusalem, told his disciples to pray that their *flight might not be in the winter.* (Matt. xxiv. 20.) The cold however varies in severity according to the local situation of the country. On high mountains (as we have just remarked) it is extreme; but in the plain of Jericho it is scarcely felt, the winter there resembling spring; yet, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, the vicissitudes of a winter in Palestine were experienced by the crusaders at the close of the twelfth century, in all its horrors. Many persons of both sexes perished in consequence of want of food, the intenseness of the cold, and the heaviness of the rains, which kept them wet for four successive days. The ground was alternately deluged with rain, or encrusted with ice, or loaded with snow; the beasts of burthen were carried away by the sudden torrents, that descended (as they still do) from the mountains, and filled the rivers, or sank into the boggy ground. So vehement were the rains, storms of hail, and winds, as to tear up the stakes of the tents, and carry them to a distance. The extremity of the cold and wet killed the horses, and spoiled their provisions. [1]

The hail-stones which fall during the severity of the winter season are very large, and sometimes fatal to man and beast. Such was the storm of hail that discomfited the Amorites (Josh. x. 10.); and such also the *very grievous hail* that destroyed the cattle of the Egyptians. (Exod. ix. 18. 23, 24.) A similar hail storm fell upon the British fleet in Marmorice bay, in Asiasic

[1] Harmer's Observations, vol. i. pp. 36—42.

Turkey, in the year 1801 [1], which affords a fine comment on that expression of the psalmist, *He casteth forth his* ICE *like morsels; who can stand before his cold?* (Psal. cxlvii. 17.) The snow, which falls in Judæa, is by the same elegant inspired writer compared to wool (Psal. cxlvii. 16.); and we are informed that in countries, which are at no great distance from Palestine, the snow falls in flakes as large as walnuts; but not being very hard or very compact, it does no injury to the traveller whom it covers. [2]

But, however severe the cold weather sometimes is in these countries, there are intervals even in the depth of winter when the sun shines and there is no wind, and when it is perfectly warm,—sometimes almost hot,—in the open air. At such seasons the poorer classes in the east enjoy the conversation of their friends, sauntering about in the air, and sitting under the walls of their dwellings; while the houses of the more opulent inhabitants having porches or gateways, with benches on each side, the master of the family receives visitors there, and despatches his business,—few persons (not even the nearest relations) having further admission except on extraordinary occasions. These circumstances materially illustrate a difficult passage in the prophet Ezekiel (xxxiii. 30.)—*Also, thou son of man, the children of thy people are still talking concerning thee* [3] *by the* WALLS AND IN THE DOORS *of the houses, and speak one to another, every one to his brother, saying, Come, I pray you, and hear what is the word that cometh forth from the Lord.* It appears from Ezek. xxxiii. 21. that these things were transacted in the tenth month, corresponding with the close of our December or the commencement of January. The poorer people therefore sat under their walls for the benefit of the sun, while those in better circumstances sat in their porches or gateways, to enjoy its genial rays. [4]

It appears therefore that one part of the winter is, by the inhabitants of the east, distinguished from the rest by the severity

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[1] "On the 8th of February commenced the most violent thunder and hail storm ever remembered, and which continued two days and nights intermittingly. The hail, or rather the *ice stones*, were as big as large walnuts. The camps were deluged with a torrent of them two feet deep, which, pouring from the mountains, swept every thing before it. The scene of confusion on shore, by the horses breaking loose, and the men being unable to face the storm, or remain still in the freezing deluge, surpasses description. It is not in the power of language to convey an adequate idea of such a tempest." Sir Robert Wilson's History of the British Expedition to Egypt, vol. i. p. 8. 8vo edit.

[2] Harmer's Observations, vol. i. p. 45, note.

[3] In our authorised version, the preposition בְּ is rendered *against thee*, which is erroneous, as the context shews that the Jews were talking *of* or *concerning* the prophet, and so it is properly rendered in Psal. lxxxvii. 3. *Glorious things are spoken* of *thee, O city of God.*

[4] Harmer's Observations, vol. i. pp. 50—53.

of the cold, which may be denominated the depth of their winter.

3. The COLD SEASON or Winter Solstice, by the rabbins termed קור (KOR), comprises the latter half of Shebeth, the whole of Adar, and the former half of Nisan, from the beginning of February to the beginning of April. At the commencement of this season, the weather is cold, but it gradually becomes warm and even hot, particularly in the plain of Jericho. Thunder, lightning, and hail are frequent. Vegetable nature now revives; the almond tree blossoms, and the gardens assume a delightful appearance. Barley is ripe at Jericho, though but little wheat is in the ear. The *latter* rains sometimes begin to fall in the end of this season.

4. The HARVEST, by the rabbins denominated קציר (KETSIR), includes the latter half of Nisan, the whole of Jyar (or Zif), and the former half of Sivan, that is, from the beginning of April to the beginning of June. In the first fortnight of this season, the *latter rains* are frequent, but cease towards the end of April, when the sky is generally fair and serene. In the plain of Jericho the heat of the sun is excessive, though in other parts of Palestine the weather is most delightful; and on the sea-coast the heat is tempered by morning and evening breezes from the sea. As the harvest depends on the duration of the rainy season, the *early* or autumnal rains, and the *latter* or spring rains, are absolutely necessary to the support of vegetation, and were consequently objects greatly desired by the Israelites and Jews [1]. These rains, however, were always, chilly (Ezra x. 9. and Sol. Song ii. 11.), and often preceded by whirlwinds (2 Kings iii. 16, 17.) that raised such quantities of sand as to darken the sky, or, in the words of the sacred historian, to make *the heavens black with clouds and wind.* (1 Kings xviii. 45.)

The rains descend in Palestine with great violence; and as whole villages in the east are constructed only with palm branches, mud, and tiles baked in the sun, (perhaps corresponding to and explanatory of the untempered mortar noticed in Ezek. xiii. 11.) these rains not unfrequently dissolve the cement, such as it is, and the houses fall to the ground. To these effects our Lord probably alludes in Matt. vii. 25—27. Very small clouds are likewise the forerunners of violent storms and hurricanes in the east as well as in the west: they rise *like a man's hand,* (1 Kings xviii. 44.) until the whole sky becomes black with rain,

[1] The following are a few among the many allusions in the Scripture to the importance of the early and latter rains, and the earnestness with which they were desired. Deut. xi. 14. Job xxix. 23. Prov. xvi. 15. Jer. iii. 3. v. 24. Hos. vi. 3. Joel ii. 23. Zech. x. 1.

which descends in torrents, that rush down the steep hills, and sweep every thing before them [1]. In our Lord's time, this phenomenon seems to have become a certain prognostic of wet weather. *He said to the people, When ye see* THE *cloud* (ΤΗΝ Νεφελην) [2] *rise out of the west, straightway ye say,* There cometh a shower; AND SO IT IS. (Luke xii. 54.)

5. The SUMMER, by the Rabbins termed קייץ (KYITS), comprehends the latter half of Sivan, the whole of Thammuz, and the former half of Ab, that is, from the beginning of June to the beginning of August. The heat of the weather increases, and the nights are so warm that the inhabitants sleep on their house tops in the open air.

6. The HOT SEASON, by the Rabbins called חום (CHUM), or the *great heat*, includes the latter half of Ab, the whole of Elul, and the former half of Tisri, that is, from the beginning of August to the beginning of October. During the chief part of this season the heat is intense, though less so at Jerusalem than in the plain of Jericho: there is no cold, not even in the night, so that travellers pass whole nights in the open air without inconvenience. Lebanon is for the most part free from snow, except in the caverns and defiles where the sun cannot penetrate.

During the hot season, it is not uncommon in the East Indies for persons to die suddenly, in consequence of the extreme heat of the solar rays, (whence the necessity of being carried in a palanquin). This is now commonly termed a *coup-de-soleil*, or stroke of the sun. The son of the woman of Shunem appears to have died in consequence of a coup-de-soleil (2 Kings iv. 19, 20.); and to this the psalmist alludes, as he also does to some deadly influence of the lunar rays (Psal. cxxi. 2.), though in what that influence consists it is difficult to say. [3]

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[1] A similar phenomenon is noticed by Homer (Iliad. lib. iv. 275—278), and also takes place in Abyssinia. Mr. Bruce, speaking of the phenomena attending the inundation of the Nile, says:—Every morning, "about nine, a small cloud, not above four feet broad, appears in the east, whirling violently round, as if upon an axis; but arrived near the zenith, it first abates its motion, then loses its form, and extends itself greatly, and seems to call up vapours from all opposite quarters. These clouds having attained nearly the same height, rush against each other with great violence, and put me always in mind of Elisha foretelling rain on mount Carmel." Travels, vol. v. p. 336. 8vo.

[2] The article here, is unquestionably demonstrative. See Bp. Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article, p. 327.

[3] The Psalmist's words are—*The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night:* from which last words it is manifest that the lunar rays did produce some bad effects. Perhaps the following fact may serve to elucidate this passage:—In Bengal the moon-beams *have* a pernicious influence. Meat hung up, if exposed to moonlight, will not take the salt, but taints and spoils speedily: whereas the same kind of meat, if kept from the moonlight, will take salt, and keep good for some time. Extract of a letter from India, in the Christian Observer for 1808. vol. viii. p. 754.

From the time of harvest, that is, from the middle of April to the middle of September, it neither rains nor thunders. (Prov. xxvi. 1. 1 Sam. xii. 17.) During the latter part of April, or about the middle of the harvest, the *morning cloud* is seen early in the morning, which disappears as the sun ascends above the horizon. (Hos. vi. 4. xiii. 3.) These light fleecy clouds are without water (νεφελαι ανυδροι); and to them the apostle Jude (verse 12.) compares the false teachers, who even then began to contaminate the church of Christ. In Deut. xxxii. 2. the doctrine of Jehovah is compared to the rain, and clouds are the instruments by which rain is distilled upon the earth. In arid or parched countries, the very appearance of a cloud is delightful, because it is a token of refreshing showers; but when sudden winds arise, and disperse these clouds, the hope of the husbandman and shepherd is cut off. The false teachers alluded to, are represented as *clouds;* they have the *form* and *office* of teachers of righteousness, and from such appearances pure doctrine may naturally be expected. But these are *clouds without water;* they distil no refreshing showers, because they contain none; and they are *carried about by* their passions, as those light and fleecy clouds in question are carried by the winds.[1]

From the Jewish month Sivan, through the entire months of Tammuz, Ab, and the former part of Elul, corresponding with our months of May, June, July, and August, not a single cloud is to be seen; but during the night, the earth is moistened by a copious dew, which in the sacred volume is frequently made a symbol of the divine goodness. (Compare Gen. xxvii. 28. and xlix. 25. where the *blessing from above* is equivalent with dew, Deut. xxxii. 2. xxxiii. 13. Job xxix. 19. Mic. v. 7.) In Arabia Petræa the dews are so heavy, as to wet to the skin those who are exposed to them: but as soon as the sun arises, and the atmosphere becomes a little warmed, the mists are quickly dispersed, and the abundant moisture, which the dews had communicated to the sands, is entirely evaporated. What a forcible description is this of the transiently good impressions, felt by many, to which the prophet Hosea alludes! (vi. 4.) Other references to the refreshing nature of the dews of Palestine, occur in Psal. cxxxiii. 3. and Hos. xiv. 5.[2]

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[1] Dr. A. Clarke, on Jude, 12.

[2] Shaw's Travels, vol. ii. p. 325. The very heavy dews, which fall in the Holy Land, are noticed by almost every one who has travelled in that country. We shall adduce the testimonies of two of the most eminent. Maundrel, travelling near Mount Hermon, in the year 1697, says:—"We were instructed by experience, what the Psalmist means by the *dew of Hermon* (Psal. cxxxiii. 3.), *our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night.*" (Travels from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 77.) Dr. E. D. Clarke, when on his journey from Aboukir to Rosetta, in 1801, says:—

But, however copious the dews are, they nourish only the more robust or hardy plants; and as the season of heat advances, the grass withers, the flowers fade, every green herb is dried up by the roots and dies, unless watered by the rivulets or by the labour of man [1]. To this appearance of the fields, during an eastern summer, the royal psalmist alludes (Psal. xxxii. 4.) If, at this season, a single spark falls upon the grass, a conflagration immediately ensues, especially if there should be any briars or thorns, low shrubs, or woods contiguous. (Psal. lxxxiii. 14. Isa. ix. 18. x. 17, 18. Jer. xxi. 14. Compare also Exod. xxii. 6. and Joel i. 19, 20.) The face of the country becomes entirely changed; the fields, so lately clothed with the richest verdure and adorned with the loveliest flowers, are converted into a brown and arid wilderness; the fountains and rivulets are dried up; and the soil becomes so hard as to exhibit large fissures or clefts. These effects are accelerated if the east wind blow for a few days; which, being usually dry and producing a blight, becomes fatal to the corn and vines (Job. xv. 2. Gen. xli. 6. 23. Ezek. xvii. 10. xix. 12. Hos. xiii. 15. Jonah iv. 8. Psal. ciii. 15, 16.); and is particularly dangerous to navigators in the Mediterranean Sea. This is alluded to in Psal. xlviii. 7., and Ezek. xxvii. 26. The people of the East generally term every wind an east wind, that blows between the east and north and the east and south. The Euroclydon, which caused the wreck of the vessel in which Paul was sailing to Rome, was one of these tempestuous east winds, ανεμος τυφονικος, that drove every thing before it. (Acts xxvii. 14.) Such winds are common in the Mediterranean to this day, where they are called *Levanters*, the term *Levant* meaning that country which lies at the eastern extremity of that sea. [2]

III. In consequence of the paucity of showers in the east, water is an article of great importance to the inhabitants. Hence, in Lot's estimation, it was a principal recommendation of the plain of Jordan that it was *well watered every where:* (Gen. xiii. 10.) and the same advantage continued in later ages to be enjoyed by the Israelites, whose country was intersected by numerous brooks and streams; whence it is not more emphatically than beautifully described as a *land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of vallies and hills.* And the same preference is given to this day by the Eelauts (a Tar-

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"We had a tent allotted to us for the night; it was double lined; yet so *copious are the dews of Egypt,*" (the climate of which country is similar to that of the Holy Land), "*after sunset, that the water ran copiously down the tent-pole.*" (Travels, vol. iii p. 365. 8vo.)

[1] Harmer's Observations, vol. i. p. 6.

[2] Shaw's Travels in Barbary, &c. vol. ii. pp. 127—133.

tar tribe occupying a district in the northern part of the Persian empire), who carry their flocks to the highest parts of the mountains, where the blessings of pasturage and of good water are to be found in abundance. The knowledge of this circumstance will perhaps impart new force to the promises made to the Gentiles by the evangelical prophet. *Their pastures shall be in all high places, they shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the sun or heat smite them; for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them.* (Isa. xlix. 9—11.)[1] See also Rev. vii. 16, 17.

Although *rivers* are frequently mentioned in the sacred writings, yet, strictly speaking, the only river in the Holy Land is the Jordan, which is sometimes designated in the Scripture as *the river* without any addition; as also is the Nile (Gen. xli. 1. Exod. i. 22. ii. 5. iv. 9. vii. 18. and viii. 3. 9. 11.), and, occasionally, the Euphrates (as in Jer. ii. 18.): in those cases, the tenor of the discourse must determine which is the river actually intended by the sacred writers. The name of river is also given to inconsiderable streams and rivulets, as to the Kishon (Judges iv. 7. and v. 21.) and the Arnon (Deut. iii. 16.)[2]

The principal river which waters Palestine is the JORDAN or *Yar-Dan*, i. e. the river of Dan, so called because it takes its rise in the vicinity of the little city of Dan. Its true source is in the lake Phiala near Cæsarea Philippi, at the foot of Antilibanus, whence it passes under ground, and, emerging to the light from a cave in the vicinity of Paneas, it flows due south through the centre of the country, intersecting the lake Merom and the sea or lake of Galilee, and (it is said) without mingling with its waters; and it loses itself in the lake Asphaltites or the Dead Sea, into which it rolls a considerable volume of deep water, and so rapid as to prevent a strong, active, and expert swimmer from swimming across it. The course of the Jordan is about one hundred miles; its breadth and depth are various. Dr. Shaw computed it to be about thirty yards broad, and three yards or nine feet in depth; and states that it discharges daily into the Dead Sea, about 6,090,000 tons of water[3]. Viscount Chateaubriand (who travelled nearly a century after him) found the Jordan to be six or seven feet deep close to the shore, and about fifty paces in breadth. The late Count Volney asserts it to be scarcely sixty paces wide at its embouchure. All travellers concur in stating that its waters are turbid, from the rapidity with which they flow.

Antiently, the Jordan overflowed its banks about the time of

[1] Morier's Second Journey through Persia, p. 121.

[2] In a few instances, the *sea* is called a *river*, as in Hab. iii. 8. where the Red Sea is intended.

[3] Shaw's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 156, 157.

barley harvest (Josh. iii. 15. iv. 18. 1 Chron. xii. 15. Jer. xlix. 19.), or the feast of the passover; when, the snows being dissolved on the mountains, the torrents discharged themselves into its channel with great impetuosity. When visited by Mr. Maundrel at the beginning of the last century, he could discern no sign or probability of such inundations, though so late as the 30th of March; and so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran almost two yards below the brink of its channel. The banks of this river are covered with bushes, reeds, tamarisks, and other shrubs and trees, which form an asylum for various wild animals; so that it may be said to have two banks,—the first is that of the river in its natural state; the second, that of its overflowings [1]. In this thicket, several kinds of wild beasts used formerly to conceal themselves, until the swelling of the river drove them from their coverts. To this fact the prophet Jeremiah alludes, when he compares the impatience of Edom and Babylon, under the divine judgments, to the *coming up of a lion from the swellings of Jordan.* (Jer. xlix. 19.) The banks of this river are *at present* so beset by tamarisks, willows, oleanders, and other shrubs, that it is not visible except on the nearest approach [2]. The passage of this deep and rapid river by the Israelites, at the most unfavourable season, when augmented by the dissolution of the winter-snows, was more manifestly miraculous, if possible, than that of the Red Sea: because here was no natural agency whatever employed; no mighty winds to sweep a passage as in the former case; no reflux in the tide on which minute philosophers might fasten to depreciate the miracle. It seems, therefore, to have been providentially designed, to silence cavils respecting the former: it was done at noon-day, in the presence of the neighbouring inhabitants; and it struck terror into the kings of the Amorites and Canaanites westward of the river, *whose hearts melted, neither was there any spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel.* (Josh. v. 1.)

The other remarkable streams or rivulets of Palestine are the following: 1. The *Arnon*, which descends from the mountains of the same name, and discharges itself into the Dead Sea:— 2. The *Sihor* (the Belus of antient geographers, at present called the Kardanah) has its source about four miles to the east of the heads of the river Kishon. It waters the plains of Acre and Esdraelon, and falls into the sea at the gulph of Keilah [3]:—

[1] Maundrel's Journey, p. 110.

[2] Dr. Macmichael's Travels from Moscow to Constantinople, in the years 1817, 1818. p. 191. (London, 1819. 4to.) The Jordan is annually frequented by many thousand pilgrims, chiefly of the Greek church, under the protection of the Moosillim, or Turkish governor of Jerusalem, and a strong military escort. Ibid. pp. 191, 192.

[3] Shaw's Travel's, vol. ii. p. 33.

3. The brook *Jabbok* takes its rise in the same mountains, and falls into the river Jordan:—4. The *Kanah*, or brook of reeds, springs from the mountains of Judah, but only flows during the winter: it falls into the Mediterranean Sea near Cæsarea:—5. The brook *Besor* (1 Sam. xxx. 9.) falls into the same sea between Gaza and Rhinocorura:—6. The *Kishon* issues from the mountains of Carmel, at the foot of which it forms two streams; one flows eastward into the sea of Galilee, and the other, taking a westerly course through the plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon, discharges itself into the Mediterranean Sea. This is the stream noticed in 1 Kings xviii. 40.—7. *Kedron*, *Kidron*, or *Cedron*, as it is variously termed (2 Sam. xv. 23. 1 Kings xv. 13. 2 Kings xxiii. 6. 12. 2 Chron. xxix. 16. Jer. xxxi. 40. John xviii. 1.), runs in the valley of Jehoshaphat, eastward of Jerusalem, between that city and the mount of Olives; except during the winter, or after heavy rains, its channel is generally dry, but, when swollen by torrents, it flows with great impetuosity [1]. As no mention is made of bridges in Palestine, it is probable that the inhabitants forded the rivers and brooks wherever it was practicable, in the same manner as persons of both sexes do to this day in Bengal, which is alluded to, in Isa. xlvii. 2.

Of the Lakes mentioned in the Scriptures, two are particularly worthy of notice; that of *Gennesareth*, and the *Lake of Sodom*, both of which are termed *seas*, agreeably to the Hebrew phraseology, which gives the name of sea to any large body of water. The *Sea of Galilee*, through which the Jordan flows, was antiently called the *Sea of Chinnereth* (Numb. xxxiv. 11.) or Cinneroth (Josh. xii. 3.), from its vicinity to the town of that name; afterwards Genesar (1 Mac. xi. 67.) and in the time of Jesus Christ Genesareth or Gennesareth (Luke v. 1.) from the neighbouring land of the same name (Matt. xiv. 34. Mark vi. 53.); and also the Sea of Tiberias (John vi. 1. xxi. 1.) from the contiguous city of Tiberias. This immense lake, almost equal in the grandeur of its appearance to that of Geneva, spreads its waters over all the lower territory, extending from the north east to the south west. Its northern coast is said to be entirely covered with basaltes, lava, and other volcanic productions [2]. The waters of this lake abound with fish: this circumstance marks the propriety of our Lord's parable of the net cast into the sea (Matt. xiii. 47, 48.), which was delivered by him from a vessel near the shore. Pliny states this lake to be sixteen miles in length by six miles in breadth.

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[1] In like manner the rivers of Cyprus (which island lies to the north-west of the Holy Land) are dry during the summer months, and are swollen into torrents by sudden rains. Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 75.

[2] Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. p. 260.

Dr. Clarke, by whom it was visited a few years since, describes it as longer and finer than our Cumberland and Westmorland lakes, although it yields in majesty to the stupendous features of Loch Lomond in Scotland: like our Windermere, the lake of Gennesareth is often greatly agitated by winds. (Matt. viii. 23—27.) A strong current marks the passage of the Jordan through the middle of this lake; and when this is opposed by contrary winds, which blow here with the force of a hurricane from the south-east, sweeping from the mountains into the lake, a boisterous sea is instantly raised: this the small vessels of the country are ill qualified to resist. "The wind," says he, "rendered its surface rough, and called to mind the situation of our Saviour's disciples; when, in one of the small vessels, which traverse these waters, they were tossed in a storm, and saw Jesus in the fourth watch of the night walking to them upon the waves." (Matt. xiv. 24—26.)—Its broad and extended surface, covering the bottom of a profound valley, environed by lofty and precipitous eminences, added to the impression of a certain reverential awe under which every Christian pilgrim approaches it, give it a character of dignity unparalleled by any similar scenery [1]. When not agitated by tempests, the water is stated to be as clear as the purest crystal, sweet, cool, and most refreshing to the taste.

The *Lake* or *Sea of Sodom*, or the *Dead Sea*, has been celebrated not only by the sacred writers, but also by Josephus, and several profane authors [2]. It was antiently called in the Scriptures the *Sea of the Plain* (Deut. iii. 17. iv. 49.), being situated in a valley, with a plain lying to the south of it; the *Salt Sea* (Deut. iii. 17. Josh. xv. 5.), from the extremely saline, bitter, and nauseous taste of its waters; the *Salt Sea eastward* (Numb. xxxiv. 3.) and the *East Sea* (Ezek. xlvii. 18. Joel ii. 20.), from its situation relatively to Judæa. By Josephus and other writers it is called the lake *Asphaltites*, from the abundance of bitumen found in it; and also the *Dead Sea*, from antient traditions, erroneously though generally received, that no living creature can exist in its stagnant and hydro-sulphuretted waters, which are in the highest degree salt, bitter, and nauseous, and of such a degree of specific gravity as will enable a man to float on their surface without motion [3]. The

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[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 209, 210. 225.

[2] Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. viii. § 4.; Pliny Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. xvi.; Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. c. vi.; Justin. lib. xxxvi. c. iii.; Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 1087, 1088. edit. Oxon.

[3] Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature, and the Arts, vol. viii. p. 164. An analysis of the water of the Dead Sea (a phial of which had been brought to England by Mr. Gordon of Clunie, at the request of the late Sir Joseph Banks), conducted by Dr. Marcet, gave the following results:—"This water is perfectly transparent, and

acrid saltness of its waters is much greater than that of the sea; and the land, which surrounds this lake, being equally impregnated with that saltness, refuses to produce plants. To this Moses alludes in Deut. xxix. 23. The air itself, which is by evaporation loaded with it, and which is impregnated with the sulphureous and bituminous vapours, is fatal to vegetation; hence arises the *deadly* aspect which reigns around the lake [1]. Here formerly stood the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, which, with three other cities of the plain, were consumed by fire from

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does not deposit any crystals on standing in close vessels.—Its taste is peculiarly bitter, saline, and pungent.—Solutions of silver produce from it a very copious precipitate, showing the presence of marine acid.—Oxalic acid instantly discovers lime in the water.—The lime being separated, both caustic and carbonated alkalies readily throw down a magnesian precipitate.—Solutions of barytes produce a cloud, showing the existence of sulphuric acid.—No alumine can be discovered in the water by the delicate test of succinic acid combined with ammonia.—A small quantity of pulverised sea salt being added to a few drops of the water, cold and undiluted, the salt was readily dissolved with the assistance of gentle trituration, showing that the Dead Sea is not saturated with common salt.—None of the coloured infusions commonly used to ascertain the prevalence of an acid or an alkali, such as litmus, violet, and turmeric, were in the least altered by the water."

Dr. Marcet analysed the water by two different processes, the results of which coincided very nearly; the last of which, being in his judgment the most accurate, is subjoined: On summing up the contents of 150 grains of the water, they appeared to be as follow:

	Salts.		Acid.
Muriat of lime -	5,88	grains	2,89 grains.
Muriat of magnesia	15,37	=	8,61
Muriat of soda -	15,54	=	7,15
Selenite - -	0,08	-	- -
	36,87		18,65

And consequently the proportions of these salts in 100 grains of the water would be:

	Grains.
Muriat of lime - - -	3,920
Muriat of magnesia - -	10,246
Muriat of soda - -	10,360
Sulphat of lime - -	0,054
	24,580

Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for 1807, part ii. pp. 298—312. Another analysis, made by the eminent French chemist, M. Gay-Lussac in 1819, gave nearly similar results. (See Quarterly Journal of Science, &c. vol. viii. p. 165). "Hence it appears that the Dead Sea water *now* contains about *one-fourth* of its weight of salts supposed in a state of perfect desiccation; or if they be desiccated at the temperature of 180° on Fahrenheit's scale, they will amount to *forty-one per cent.* of the water. If any person wish for a stronger confirmation of the Scripture account of the origin of the Dead Sea than this furnishes, we can only pity the miserable state of incredulity to which he is reduced, and commit him to the influences of that power which can cause the 'wilderness to blossom as the rose,' and from 'stones raise up children unto Abraham.'" Eclectic Review for 1809. vol. v. part 1. p. 134.

[1] Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. i. p. 288. 8vo. 3d edit.

heaven; to this destruction there are numerous allusions in the Scriptures, as displaying most signally the certainty and suddenness of the divine anger, which sooner or later overtakes the impenitently wicked. Viewing this sea from the spot where the Jordan discharges its waters into it, this body of water takes a south-easterly direction, visible for ten or fifteen miles, when it disappears in a curve towards the east. The mountains on each side are apparently separated by a distance of eight miles; but the expanse of water at this point has been supposed not to exceed five or six. As the Dead Sea advances towards the south, it evidently increases in breadth [1]. Pliny states the total length to be one hundred miles, and its greatest breadth twenty-five. But modern travellers, who appear to have ascertained its dimensions with accuracy, have estimated its length to be about seventy-two English miles, and its greatest breadth to be nearly nineteen. "Its desolate though majestic features are well suited to the tales related concerning it by the inhabitants of the country, who all speak of it with terror." [2]

Besides the preceding rivers and lakes, the Scriptures mention several *Fountains* and *Wells*. In a country where these are of rare occurrence, it is no wonder that they should antiently have given rise to strife and contention [3]. (Gen. xxi. 25. xxvi. 20.) The most remarkable of these fountains and wells are the *Fountain* or *Pool of Siloam* and *Jacob's Well*.

Siloam was a fountain under the walls of Jerusalem, east, between the city and the brook Kedron: it is supposed to be the same as the fountain En-Rogel, or the Fuller's Fountain. (Josh. xv. 7. and xviii. 16. 2 Sam. xvii. 17. and 1 Kings i. 9.) "The spring issues from a rock, and runs in a silent stream, according to the testimony of Jeremiah. It has a kind of ebb and flood, sometimes discharging its current like the fountain of Vaucluse; at others, retaining and scarcely suffering it to run at all. The pool or rather the two pools of the same name are quite close to the spring. They are still used for washing linen as formerly. The water of the spring is brackish, and has a very disagreeable taste: people still bathe their eyes with it, in memory of the miracle performed on the man born blind [4]. From this pool, on the last day of the feast of tabernacles,

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[1] Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, p. 118.

[2] For an account and refutation of the antient traditions concerning the Dead Sea, see Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 400—406.

[3] When Capt. Light descended, in 1814, into the beautiful plain of Sephora, or Sephoury, at a short distance from Nazareth, he saw in the centre a band of herdsmen, *armed* with muskets, watering their cattle in a large stone reservoir. With them he was obliged to have an altercation before they would permit him to water his horse, without paying for the privilege. Travels, p. 196.

[4] Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 34. 36.

which was a day of great festivity among the Jews, it was the custom to fetch water: some of which they drank with loud acclamations of joy and thanksgiving, and some was brought to the altar, where it was poured upon the evening sacrifice. During this solemn offering, the people sang with transports of joy the twelfth chapter of Isaiah's prophecy, particularly the third verse—*With joy shall ye draw water from the wells of salvation.* To this custom our Lord alludes in John vii. 37.: it was observed, in commemoration of their forefathers being miraculously relieved when they thirsted in the wilderness; and the water poured on the altar was brought as a drink-offering to God, when they prayed for rain against the following seed-time.

Jacob's Well or fountain is situated at a small distance from Sichem or Shechem, also called Sychar, and at present Napolose: it was the residence of Jacob before his sons slew the Shechemites. It has been visited by pilgrims of all ages, but especially by Christians, to whom it has become an object of veneration from the memorable discourse of our Saviour with the woman of Samaria [1]. (John iv. 5—30.)

In consequence of the scarcity of water in the east, travellers are careful to stop as often as possible near some river, fountain, or well: this will probably account for Jacob's halting with his family at the ford Jabbok (Gen. xxxii. 22.); for the Israelites assembling their forces near the fountains of Jezreel (1 Sam. xxix. 1.), as the celebrated Moslem warrior Saladin afterwards did [2]; and for David's men, that were unable to march with him, waiting for him by the brook Besor. (1 Sam. xxx. 21.) It is not improbable that the antient wells, mentioned in Gen. xvi. 14. xxiv. 20. and Exod. ii. 16., were furnished with some conveniences for drawing water to refresh the fainting traveller, and with troughs or other contrivances for supplying cattle with water, similar to those which are to this day found in Persia, Arabia, and the East Indies. Great precautions were taken antiently as well as in modern times, to prevent the moving sands from choking up their wells, by placing a stone over the mouth (Gen. xxix. 2—8.) after the requisite supply had been drawn up; or by *locking* them up, which Sir John Chardin thinks

[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 278—280. Some learned men have conjectured that Jacob's well was only a cistern or reservoir for rain water; but the whole of the surrounding scenery confirms the evangelist's narrative, and the antiquity of the well. Such cisterns, indeed, are common in the oriental deserts to this day; and it is perhaps to conveniences of this kind, made or renewed by the devout Israelites in the valley of Baca, to facilitate their going up to Jerusalem, that the Psalmist refers (lxxxiv. 6, 7.) where he speaks of going from strength to strength till they appeared in Zion. Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 184. To prevent accidents by the owners of such cisterns leaving them uncovered, Moses enacted various regulations. See Exod. xxi. 33, 34.

[2] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 401. The Christian kings of Jerusalem, in the close of the twelfth century, also assembled their forces at a fountain between Nazareth and Sephoris. Ibid.

was done at Laban's well, of which Rachel perhaps kept the key. (Gen. xxix. 6, 9.) The stopping up of wells is to this day an act of hostility in the east, as it was in the days of Abraham and Isaac, (Gen. xxvi. 15—18.) and of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxii. 3, 4.) and also long after among several antient nations. Thus, the Scythians, in their retreat before the Persians under Darius, filled up the wells and fountains which lay in their way [1]: and Arsaces ordered the wells to be broken and filled up, upon the advance of Antiochus from Ecbatana; while the latter, who was fully aware of their consequence to himself and his army, sent a detachment of a thousand horse, to drive away the Persian cavalry who were employed upon this service [2]. Wells and fountains were also lurking places of robbers and assassins, and enemies were accustomed to lie in ambush at them. To this Deborah alludes in her song (Judg. v. 11.). The crusaders suffered much from the Saracens, who lay in ambush for them in like manner; and Dr. Shaw mentions a beautiful well in Barbary, the water of which is received into a large bason for the accommodation of travellers; and which is called *Shrub we krub*, that is, *drink and away*, from the danger which they incur of meeting with assassins there. [3]

In our own time it is the custom for the oriental women, particularly those who are unmarried, to fetch water from the wells, in the mornings and evenings; at which times they go forth adorned with their trinkets. This will account for Rebecca's fetching water (Gen. xxiv. 15.), and will further prove that there was no impropriety in Abraham's servant presenting her with more valuable jewels than those she had before on her hands. (Gen. xxiv. 22—47.) [4]

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[1] Herodotus, lib. iv. c. 120. tom. i. p. 292. Oxon. 1809.

[2] Polybius, lib. x. c. 29. tom. iii. p. 253. edit. Schweighaeuser.

[3] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 409. Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 63. 8vo.

[4] Harmer's Observations, vol. i. pp. 198, 199. vol. ii. pp. 125. 184. 193. vol. iii. p. 401. "In the valley of Nazareth," says Dr. Clarke, "appeared one of those fountains, which, from time immemorial, have been the halting place of caravans, and sometimes the scene of contention and bloodshed. The women of Nazareth were passing to and from the town, with pitchers upon their heads. We stopped to view the group of camels with their drivers who were there reposing; and calling to mind the manners of the most remote ages, we renewed the solicitations of Abraham's servant unto Rebecca, by the well of Nahor. Gen. xxiv. 17." (Travels, vol. iv. p. 165.) The same traveller observed a similar custom in the isle of Syros. (vol. vi. pp. 152, 153.) In Bengal it is the universal practice for the women to go to pools and rivers to fetch water. Companies of four, six, ten, or more, may be seen in every town, daily, going to fetch water, with the pitchers resting on their sides. (Ward's View of the History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 316.) In the island of Goza, which is eighteen miles from Malta, Mr. Jowett says, that the women, as they go to the wells for water, carry their empty pitchers horizontally on their heads, with the mouth looking backwards. (Missionary Register for 1818, p. 297). May not this illustrate Jer. xiv. 3.?

IV. Palestine is a mountainous country, especially that part of it which is situated between the Mediterranean or Great Sea and the river Jordan. The principal *Mountains* are those of Lebanon, Carmel, Tabor, the mountains of Israel, and of Gilead: those which are either within the limits, or in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, have been noticed in pp. 18, 19, *supra*.

Lebanon, by the Greeks and Latins termed Libanus, is a long chain of limestone mountains, extending from the neighbourhood of Sidon on the west to the vicinity of Damascus eastward, and forming the extreme northern boundary of the Holy Land. It is divided into two principal ridges or ranges parallel to each other, the most westerly of which is known by the name of Libanus, and the opposite or eastern ridge by the appellation of Anti-Libanus. These mountains may be seen from a very considerable distance, and some part or other of them is covered with snow throughout the year. On the loftiest summit of all, Dr. Clarke observed the snow lying, not in patches, as he had seen it during the summer upon the tops of very elevated mountains, but investing all the higher part with that perfect white and smooth velvet-like appearance which snow only exhibits when it is very deep—a striking spectacle in such a climate, where the beholder, seeking protection from a burning sun, almost considers the firmament to be on fire [1]. These mountains are by no means barren, but are almost all well cultivated and well peopled: their summits are, in many parts, level, and form extensive plains, in which are sown corn and all kinds of pulse. They are watered by numerous springs, rivulets, and streams of excellent water, which diffuse on all sides a freshness and fertility even in the most elevated regions. To these Solomon has a beautiful allusion (Song iv. 15.) Vineyards, and plantations of mulberry, olive, and fig-trees are also cultivated on terraces formed by walls, which support the earth from being washed away by the rains from the sides of the acclivities [2]. The soil of the declivities, and of the hollows that occur between them, is most excellent, and produces abundance of corn, oil, and wine; which is as much celebrated in the East in the present day as it was in the time of the prophet Hosea, who particularly alludes to it (Hos. xiv. 7.) Lebanon was antiently celebrated for its stately cedars, which are now less numerous than in former times [3]; they grow among

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[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 201, 202. [2] Light's Travels, p. 219.

[3] Mr. Kinneir, who visited this country at the close of the year 1813, says, that the once celebrated cedars are now only to be found in one particular spot of the great

the snow near the highest part of the mountain, and are remarkable, as well for their age and size, as for the frequent allusions made to them in the Scriptures. (See 1 Kings iv. 33. Psal. lxxx. 10. and xcii. 12. &c. &c.) Maundrel [1] reckoned sixteen of the largest size, one of which he measured, and found it to be twelve yards and six inches in girt, and yet sound; and thirty-seven yards in the spread of the boughs. These cedars were the resort of eagles (Ezek. xvii. 3.); as the lofty summits of the mountains were the haunts of lions and other beasts of prey (Sol. Song. iv. 8. Hab. ii. 8.), which used to descend and surprise the unwary traveller. But instead of these, the traveller may now frequently see the hart or the deer issue from his covert to slake his thirst in the streams that issue from the mountains. To this circumstance David beautifully alludes in Psal. xlii. 1., which was composed when he was driven from Jerusalem by the rebellion of Absalom, and was wandering among these mountains.

Anti-Libanus or *Anti-Lebanon* is the more lofty ridge of the two, and its summit is clad with almost perpetual snow, which was carried to the neighbouring towns for the purpose of cooling liquors (Prov. xxv. 13. and perhaps Jer. xviii. 14.); a practice [2] which has obtained in the east to the present day. The most elevated summit of this ridge was by the Hebrews called *Hermon;* by the Sidonians, *Sirion;* and by the Amorites *Shenir* (Deut. iii. 9.): it formed the northern boundary of the country beyond Jordan. But, besides this mountain, there is said to be another of the same name, situated within the land of Canaan, on the west of the river Jordan, and not far from mount Tabor. Very copious dews fall here [3] as they also did in the days of the psalmist (cxxxiii. 3.)

Both Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon are computed to be about fifteen or sixteen hundred fathoms in height, and offer a grand and magnificent prospect to the beholder; from which many elegant metaphors are derived by the sacred writers. (See Isa. x. 34. xxix. 17. and xxxv. 2.) Lebanon was justly considered as a very strong barrier to the Land of Promise, and opposing an almost insurmountable obstacle to the movements of cavalry and to chariots of war. "When therefore Sennacherib, in the arrogance of his heart, and the pride of his strength, wished to express the ease with which he had subdued the greatest difficulties, and how vain was the resistance of Hezekiah and his

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mountainous range which bears the name of Libanus, and that in so scanty a number as not to exceed four or five hundred. Journey through Asia Minor, &c. p. 172. 8vo. 1818.

[1] Maundrel's Journey, p. 191. La Roque, Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban. p. 88.

[2] Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. pp. 156, 157. [3] Maundrel, p. 77.

people, he says: *By the multitude of my chariots am I come to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon; and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof, and the choice fir trees thereof; and I will enter into the height of his border, and the forest of his Carmel.* (Isa. xxxvii. 24.) What others accomplish on foot, with much labour and the greatest difficulty, by a winding path cut into steps, which no beast of burden, except the cautious and sure-footed mule can tread, that haughty monarch vaunted he could perform with horses and a multitude of chariots."[1]

Mount Carmel is situated about ten miles to the south of Acre or Ptolemaïs, on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea: it is a flattened cone, about two thousand feet in height, and very rocky. Its summits abound with oaks and other trees; and, among brambles, wild vines and olive trees are still to be found, proving that industry had formerly been employed on this ungrateful soil. On the side next the sea is a cave, to which some commentators have supposed that the prophet Elijah desired Ahab to bring Baal's prophets, when celestial fire descended on his sacrifice. (1 Kings xviii. 19—40.)—There was another mount Carmel, with a city of the same name, situated in the tribe of Judah, and mentioned in Joshua xv. 55. 1 Sam. xxv. 2. and 2 Sam. iii. 3.

Tabor or *Thabor* is a mountain of a conical form, entirely detached from any neighbouring mountain, and stands on one side of the great plain of Esdraelon: the sides are rugged and precipitous, but clothed with trees and brush wood[2]. Here Barak was encamped, when at the suggestion of Deborah, he descended with ten thousand men, and discomfited the host of Sisera (Judg. iv.) The mountain is computed to be nearly one mile in height: to a person standing at its foot, it appears to terminate in a point; but when arrived at the top, he is agreeably surprised to find a plain not less than three thousand paces in circumference, and full of noble trees. The prospects from this mountain are singularly delightful and extensive. To the south lie the mountains of Engedda and Samaria; to the north-east appears mount Hermon, beneath which were Nain and Endor. To the north are the mountains of Gilboa, so fatal to Saul, and of the Beatitudes, on which Jesus Christ delivered his Sermon to the multitude, who were miraculously fed in its vicinity. The sea of Tiberias is clearly discovered towards the north-east, terminated by the snow-capped Hermon[3]. On

[1] Paxton's Illustrations of Scripture, vol. i. p. 134.

[2] Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, p. 40. The vignette of this mountain in p. 28 is given, by permission, from Dr. E. D. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 234. It represents the mountain as seen in crossing the plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon.

[3] Light's Travels, p. 200.

the eastern side of Tabor there is a small height, which by antient tradition is supposed to have been the scene of our Lord's transfiguration[1]. (Matt. xvii. 1—8. Mark ix. 2—9.) Mount Carmel is to the south-west, and conceals the Mediterranean from view: and at the foot of this mountain the spacious and cultivated plain of Esdraelon spreads itself.

The *Mountains of Israel*, also called the mountains of Ephraim, were situated in the very centre of the Holy Land, and opposite to the mountains of Judah. The soil of both is fertile, excepting those ridges of the mountains of Israel which look towards the region of the Jordan, and which are both rugged and difficult of ascent, and also with the exception of the chain extending from the mount of Olives near Jerusalem to the plain of Jericho, which has always afforded lurking-places to robbers. (Luke x. 30.) The most elevated summit of this ridge, which appears to be the same that was antiently called the rock of Rimmon (Judg. xx. 45, 47.), is at present known by the name of *Quarantania*, and is supposed to have been the scene of our Saviour's temptation (Matt. iv. 8.) It is described by Maundrel[2], as situated in a mountainous desert, and being a most miserably dry and barren place, consisting of high rocky mountains, torn and disordered, as if the earth had here suffered some great convulsion. The mountains of Ebal (sometimes written Gebal) and Gerizim (Deut. xi. 29. xxvii. 4. 12. Josh. viii. 30—35.) are situate, the former to the north, and the latter to the south of Sichem or Napolose, whose streets run parallel to the latter mountain, which overlooks the town. In the mountains of Judah there are numerous caves, some of a considerable size: the most remarkable of these is the cave of Adullam, mentioned in 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2.

The *Mountains of Gilead* are situated beyond the Jordan, and extend from Hermon southward to Arabia Petræa. The northern part of them, known by the name of Bashan, was celebrated for its stately oaks, and numerous herds of cattle pastured there, to which there are many allusions in the Scrip-

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[1] From the silence of the evangelists as to the mountain of transfiguration, and from the circumstance of Jesus Christ being just before at Cæsarea Philippi, some learned men have contended that Tabor could not have been the scene of that great event. No mountain, it is true, is specified by the evangelists, nor is the fact of Tabor being a mountain *apart by itself* any argument in point; but as the sacred writers expressly state it to have happened six days *after* our Saviour's discourse at Cæsarea Philippi, he had time enough to return into Galilee, which was not above twenty-five leagues distant from Tabor. It is therefore most probable that this mountain was the scene of his transfiguration.

[2] Maundrel, pp. 106, 107. A later traveller, however, (Mr. Jolliffe) is of opinion, that the view from this mountain is not sufficiently extensive. Letters from Palestine, p. 129.

tures; (see, among other passages, Deut. xxxii. 14. Psal. xxii. 12. and lxviii. 15. Isa. ii. 13. Ezek. xxxix. 18. Amos iv. 1.) The middle part, in a stricter sense, was termed *Gilead*; and in the southern part, beyond Jordan, were the *Mountains of Abarim* [1], the northern limits of the territory of Moab, which are conjectured to have derived their name from the passes between the hills of which they were formed. The most eminent among these are *Pisgah* and *Nebo*, which form a continued chain, and command a view of the whole land of Canaan (Deut. iii. 27. xxxii. 48—50. xxxiv. 1, 2, 3.) From Mount Nebo Moses surveyed the promised land, before he was *gathered to his people*. (Numb. xxvii. 12, 13.) The Hebrews frequently give the epithet of *everlasting* to their mountains, because they are as old as the earth itself. See, among other instances, Gen. xlix. 26. and Deut. xxxiii. 15.

The mountains of Palestine were antiently places of refuge to the inhabitants when defeated in war (Gen. xiv. 10.); and modern travellers assure us that they are still resorted to for the same purpose [2]. The rocky summits found on many of them appear to have been not unfrequently employed as altars, on which sacrifices were offered to Jehovah, (Judg. vi. 19—21. and xiii. 15—20.); although they were afterwards converted into places for idol worship, for which the prophets Isaiah (lvii. 7.) and Ezekiel (xviii. 6.) severely reprove their degenerate countrymen. And as many of the mountains of Palestine were situated in desert places, the *shadow* they project has furnished the prophet Isaiah with a pleasing image of the security that shall be enjoyed under the kingdom of Messiah [3], (xxxii. 2.)

From the mountains, the transition to the *Vallies* is natural and easy. Of those which are mentioned in the sacred writings, the following are the most celebrated, viz.

1. The *Valley of Blessing* (in Hebrew, the Valley of Berachah), in the tribe of Judah, on the west side of the lake of Sodom and in the wilderness of Tekoah. It derived its name from a signal victory which God granted to the pious king Jehoshaphat over the combined forces of the Moabites, Edomites, and Ammonites.

2. The *Vale of Siddim*, memorable for the overthrow of Chedorlaomer and his confederate emirs or kings. (Gen. xiv. 2—10.)

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[1] *Abarim* denotes passes or passages.

[2] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 429—430.

[3] "The shadow of a great projecting rock is the most refreshing that is possible in a hot country, not only as most perfectly excluding the rays of the sun, but also having in itself a natural coolness, which it reflects and communicates to every thing about it." Bishop Louth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 221. See also Dr. Henderson's Travels in Iceland. vol. i. p. 206.

In this vale stood the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, which were afterwards destroyed by fire from heaven, on which account this vale is also termed the *Salt Sea.* (Gen. xiv. 3.)

3. The *Valley of Shaveh,* also called the *King's Dale* (Gen. xiv. 17. 2 Sam. xviii. 18.), derived its name from a city of the same name that stood in it. Here Melchisedek, king of Salem, met the victorious Abraham after the defeat of the confederate kings. (Gen. xiv. 18.)

4. The *Vale of Salt* is supposed to have been in the land of Edom, east of the Dead Sea, between Tadmor and Bozrah. Here both David and Amaziah discomfited the Edomites. (2 Sam. viii. 13. 2 Kings xiv. 7.)

5. The *Valley of Mamre* received its name from Mamre an Amorite, who was in alliance with Abraham: it was celebrated for the *oak* (or as some critics render it terebinth-) *tree,* under which the patriarch dwelt (Gen. xiii. 18.), in the vicinity of Hebron.

6. The *Valley of the Rephaim* (or the Giant's Valley), was so called from its gigantic inhabitants: it was situated on the confines of the territories allotted to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. (Josh. xv. 8. xviii. 16.) It was memorable, as often times being the field of battle between the Philistines and the Jews under David and his successors. (2 Sam. v. 18. 22. xxiii. 13. 1 Chron. xi. 15. and xiv. 9.) This valley also appears to have been distinguished for its abundant harvests. (Isa. xvii. 5.)

7. The *Valley of Bochim* (or of *Weeping*) was thus denominated from the universal mourning of the Israelites, on account of the denunciations there made against them, for their disobedience to the divine commands respecting the nations whom they had invaded. (Judg. ii. 5.)

8. Three miles from Bethlehem, on the road to Jaffa, lies the celebrated *Terebinthine Vale,* or *Valley of Elah,* renowned for nineteen centuries as the field of the victory gained by the youthful David over the uncircumcised champion of the Philistines, who had *defied the armies of the living God.* (1 Sam. xvii. 2, 3.) Nothing has ever occurred to alter the appearance of the country. The very brook, whence David *chose him five smooth stones,* has been noticed by many a thirsty pilgrim, journeying from Jaffa to Jerusalem; all of whom must pass it in their way. The ruins of goodly edifices attest the religious veneration entertained in later periods for the hallowed spot: but even these are now become so insignificant, that they are scarcely discernible; and nothing can be said to interrupt the native dignity of this memorable scene. [1]

[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 422.

9. The narrow *Valley of Hinnom* lies at the foot of Mount Sion, and is memorable for the inhuman and barbarous, as well as idolatrous worship, here paid to Moloch; to which idol parents sacrificed their smiling offspring by making them pass through the fire. (2 Kings xxiii. 10. 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.) To drown the lamentable shrieks of the children thus immolated, musical instruments (in Hebrew termed *Tuph*) were played; whence the spot, where the victims were burnt, was called Tophet. From the same circumstance Ge-Hinnom (which in Hebrew denotes the *Valley of Hinnom*, and from which the Greek word Γεεννα, *Gehenna*, is derived) is sometimes used to enote hell or hell-fire.

VI. The country of Judæa, being mountainous and rocky, is full of caverns; to which the inhabitants were accustomed to flee for shelter from the incursions of their enemies. (Judg. vi. 2. 1 Sam. xiii. 6. xiv. 11.) Some of these appear to have been on low grounds, and liable to inundations, when the rivers, swollen by torrents or dissolving snows, overflowed their banks, and carried all before them with resistless fury. To the sudden destruction thus produced Isaiah probably alludes. (xxxviii. 17.) Therefore, to enter *into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the Lord*, (Isa. ii. 19.) was to the Jews a very proper image to express terror and consternation. The prophet Hosea has carried the same image further, and added great strength and spirit to it, (x. 8.); which image, together with these of Isaiah, is adopted by the sublime author of the Revelation (vi. 15, 16.), who frequently borrows his imagery from our prophet.[1]

Some of these caves were very capacious: that of Engedi was so large, that David and six hundred men concealed themselves in its sides; and Saul entered the mouth of the cave without perceiving that any one was there. Josephus[3] has taken particular notice of such caverns, which in his time were the abode of robbers. Maundrel[2] has described a large cavern under a high rocky mountain in the vicinity of Sidon, containing two hundred smaller caverns, which are supposed to have been the residence of the original inhabitants. It was probably in some such cave that Lot and his two daughters dwelt after the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 30.): and in similar caverns, excavated by primeval shepherds as a shelter from the scorching beams of the sun, and actually capable of baking bread as well as of dressing meat, Dr. Clarke and his fellow-travellers found a

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[1] Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 37.
[2] Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 15. § 5.
[3] Travels, pp. 158, 159.

grateful protection from the intense heat of the solar rays [1]. These were sometimes the haunts or strong-holds of robbers, (as the excavations in the rocks near Bethlehem are to this day [2]), and to them our Lord probably alludes in Matt. xxi. 13., where he reproaches the Jews with having profaned the temple of God, and made it *a den of thieves*.

VII. Numerous fertile and level tracts are mentioned in the sacred volume, under the title of *Plains*. Three of these are particularly worthy of notice, viz.

1. The *Plain of the Mediterranean Sea*, which reached from the river of Egypt to Mount Carmel. The tract between Gaza and Joppa was simply called the *Plain:* in this stood the five principal cities of the Philistine satrapies, Ascalon, Gath, Gaza, Ekron or Accaron, and Azotus or Ashdod. The tract from Joppa to Mount Carmel was called Saron or Sharon; which however is a different place from the Sharon that lies between Mount Tabor and the Sea of Tiberias, and from another place of the same name, which was celebrated for its pastures, and was situated in the tribe of Gad beyond Jordan.

2. The Plain of Jezreel or of Esdraelon, also called the *Great Plain* (the Armageddon of the Apocalypse), extends from Mount Carmel and the Mediterranean to the place where the Jordan issues from the Sea of Tiberias, through the middle of the Holy Land. Here, in the most fertile part of the land of Canaan, the tribe of Issachar *rejoiced in their tents.* (Deut. xxxii. 18.) In the first ages of Jewish history, as well as during the Roman empire and the crusades, and even in later times, it has been the scene of many a memorable contest. Here it was that Barak, descending with his ten thousand men from Mount Tabor, discomfited Sisera and *all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him*, gathered *from Harosheth of the Gentiles unto the river of Kishon;* when *all the host of Sisera fell upon the sword, and there was not a man left;* when *the kings came and fought, the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo.* (Judg. iv. 13, 15, 16. v. 19.) Here also it was that Josiah, king of Judah, fought in disguise against Necho king of Egypt, and fell by the arrows of his antagonist. (2 Kings xxiii. 9.) So great were the lamentations for his death, that the mourning for Josiah became *an ordinance* in Israel (2 Chron. xxxv. 24, 25.); and *the great mourning in Jerusalem*, foretold by Zechariah (xii. 11.), is said to be as the lamentations in the plain of Es-

[1] Travels in Greece, &c. vol. iv. pp. 189, 190.
[2] Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 421.

draelon, or, according to the prophet's language, *as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon.* Josephus often mentions this very remarkable part of the Holy Land, and always under the appellation of the *Great Plain:* and under the same name it is also mentioned by Eusebius and by Jerome. It has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in this country, from the days of Nabuchadonosor king of the Assyrians, in the history of whose war with Arphaxad it is mentioned as *the Great Plain of Esdrelom* [1], until the disastrous march of the late Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian crusaders, and anti-christian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks and Arabs, warriors *out of every nation which is under heaven,* have pitched their tents in the Plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of Tabor and of Hermon [2]. This plain is inclosed on all sides by mountains: not a house or tree is to be discovered in it, yet the whole appears to be cultivated. It now bears the name of *Fooli,* and has been celebrated in modern times by the victory which Murat gained over the Mamelukes and Arabs, in their attempt to relieve Acri or Acre, in April 1799. [3]

3. The *Region round about Jordan* (Matt. iii. 5), comprised the level country on each side of that river, from the lake of Gennesareth to the Dead Sea. Of this district the *Plain of Jericho,* celebrated for its fertility and the intense heat that prevails there during the hot season, forms a part; as also do the *Valley of Salt* near the Salt or Dead Sea, (where David defeated the Syrians (1 Chron. xviii. 3—8.) and Amaziah discomfited the Edomites [4]), and the *Plains of Moab* where the Israelites encamped [5], and which are also called *Shittim* in Numb. xxv. 1. Josh. ii. 1. and iii. 1. the *Plains of Shittim,* in Numb. xxxiii. 49. (marginal rendering), and the *Valley of Shittim* in Joel, iii. 18.

VIII. Frequent mention is made in the Scriptures of *Wildernesses* or *Deserts,* by which we usually understand desolate places, equally void of cities and inhabitants. The deserts noticed in the Bible, however, are of a different description; as the Hebrews were accustomed to give the name of desert or wilderness to all places that were not cultivated [6], but which were chiefly appropriated to the feeding of cattle, and in many

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[1] Judith i. 8. [2] Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 255—258. [3] Light's Travels, p. 201.
[4] 1 Kings xiv. 7. 2 Chron. xxv. 11. [5] Numb. xxii. 1. xxvi. 3.
[6] The Arabs to this day gives the appellation of *Desert* to any solitude, whether barren or fertile. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 422.

of them trees and shrubs grew wild. Hence this term is frequently applied to the commons (as they would be called in England) which were contiguous to cities or villages, and on which the plough never came. The wildernesses or deserts of Palestine, therefore, are twofold: some are mountainous and well watered, while others are sterile sandy plains, either destitute of water, or affording a very scanty supply from the few brackish springs that are occasionally to be found in them; yet even these afford a grateful though meagre pasturage to camels, goats, and sheep.

The Deserts of the Hebrews frequently derived their appellations from the places to which they were contiguous. Thus the *Desert* or *Wilderness of Shur*, lay towards the north-eastern point of the Red Sea. In this wilderness, Hagar wandered, when unjustly driven from Abraham's house by the jealousy of Sarah (Gen. xvi. 7.): and the Israelites marched through this wilderness after they had miraculously crossed the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 22.), as they also did subsequently through the *Wilderness* or *Desert of Paran*, which lay considerably more to the south (Numb. x. 12.) In this desert (which was situated in Arabia Petræa, near a city of the same name) Ishmael resided: and hence Moses sent out spies to bring intelligence concerning the promised land. (Numb. xiii. 3.) The *Desert of Sinai* was that in the vicinity of Mount Sinai in Arabia: here the Israelites were for a long time encamped, and received the chief part of the laws delivered to them by Jehovah through the ministry of Moses. The *Wilderness of Ziph* was contiguous to a town or village of the same name, and here David concealed himself for some time (1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 15.) But the most celebrated of all is the *Great Desert*, called the *Wilderness* or *Desert of Judea* (Psal. lxiii. title); which, commencing from Tekoah in the tribe of Judah, (whence it is termed the wilderness of Tekoah, 2 Chron. xx. 20.) extends through Arabia Petræa to the Persian Gulph. In this desert John the Baptist abode till the day of his showing unto Israel (Luke i. 80.); and here he first taught his countrymen. (Matt. iii. 1. Mark i. 4. John x. 40.)

The vast *Desert of Arabia*, reaching from the eastern side of the Red Sea to the confines of the land of Canaan, in which the children of Israel sojourned after their departure from Egypt, is in the sacred writings particularly called THE DESERT; very numerous are the allusions made to it, and to the divine protection and support, which were extended to them during their migration. Moses, when recapitulating their various deliverances, terms this desert *a desert land and waste howling wilderness*

(Deut. xxxii. 10.)—and *that great and terrible wilderness*, wherein were *scorpions and drought, where* there was *no water* (Deut. viii. 15.) The prophet Hosea describes it as a *land of great drought* (Hos. xiii. 5.) But the most minute description is that in Jer. ii. 6.—*a land of deserts and of pits, a land of drought, and of the shadow of death* [1], *a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt.* These characteristics of the desert, particularly the want of water will account for the repeated murmurings of the Israelites both for food and water (especially the latter [2]: and the extremity of their sufferings is thus concisely but most emphatically pourtrayed by the psalmist. (cvii. 15.) [3]

Hungry and thirsty, THEIR SOUL FAINTED *in them.*

In this our temperate climate, surrounded as we are with perpetual verdure and with every object that can delight the eye, we can scarcely conceive the horrors encountered by the hapless traveller when crossing the trackless sands, and exposed to all the ardours of a vertical sun. The most recent as well as the most graphic description of a desert (which admirably illustrates the passages above cited), is that given by the enterprising traveller M. Belzoni, whose researches have contributed so much to the elucidation of the sacred writings. Speaking of a desert crossed by him in Upper Egypt, on the western side of the Red Sea, and which is parallel with the great desert traversed by the Israelites on the *eastern* side of that sea, he says, " It is difficult to form a correct idea of a desert, without having been in one: it is an endless plain of sand and stones, sometimes intermixed with mountains of all sizes and heights, without roads or shelter, without any sort of produce for food. The few scattered trees and shrubs of thorns, that only appear when the rainy season leaves some moisture, barely serve to feed wild animals, and a few birds. Every thing is left to nature; the wandering inhabitants do not care to cultivate even these few plants, and when there is no more of them in one place, they go to another. When these trees become old and lose their vegetation, the sun which constantly beams upon them, burns and reduces them to ashes. I have seen many of them entirely burnt. The other

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[1] This expression has exercised the ingenuity of commentators, whose opinions are recited by Mr. Harmer (Observations, vol. iv. pp. 115, 116), but the correctness of the prophetic description is confirmed by the existence of a similar desert in Persia. It is a tract of land broken into *deep ravines, destitute of water, and of dreariness without example.* The Persians have given to it the extraordinary but emphatic appellation of *Malek-el-Moatdereh*, or the *Valley of the Angel of Death.* (Morier's Second Journey, p. 168.)

[2] See particularly Num. xx. 2—5. and xxi. 5.

[3] In the Christian Observer for 1810, pp. 1—9. there is a new and elegant version of the hundred and seventh psalm, accompanied with critical and explanatory notes, from the pen of Mr. Archdeacon Jebb.

smaller plants have no sooner risen out of the earth than they are dried up, and all take the colour of straw, with the exception of the plant *harack;* this falls off before it is dry.

"Generally speaking, in a desert, there are few springs of water, some of them at the distance of four, six, and eight days journey from one another, and not all of sweet water: on the contrary, it is generally salt or bitter; so that, if the thirsty traveller drinks of it, it increases his thirst, and he suffers more than before. But, when the calamity happens, that the next well, which is so anxiously sought for, is found dry, the misery of such a situation cannot be well described. The camels, which afford the only means of escape, are so thirsty, that they cannot proceed to another well: and, if the travellers kill them, to extract the little liquid which remains in their stomachs, they themselves cannot advance any farther. The situation must be dreadful, and admits of no resource. Many perish, *victims of the most horrible thirst.* It is then that the value of a cup of water is really felt. He that has a *zenzabia* of it is the richest of all. In such a case there is no distinction. If the master has none, the servant will not give it to him; for very few are the instances, where a man will voluntarily lose his life to save that of another, particularly in a caravan in the desert, where people are strangers to each other. *What a situation for a man, though a rich one, perhaps the owner of all the caravans! He is dying for a cup of water—no one gives it to him—he offers all he possesses—no one hears him—they are all dying*—though by walking a few hours farther they might be saved.—If the camels are lying down, and cannot be made to rise—*no one has strength to walk*—only he that has a glass of that precious liquor lives to walk a mile farther, and perhaps dies too. If the voyages on seas are dangerous, so are those in the deserts. At sea, the provisions very often fail; in the desert it is worse; at sea storms are met with; in the desert there cannot be a greater storm than to find a dry well:—at sea, one meets with pirates—we escape—we surrender—we die: in the desert they rob the traveller of all his property and water; they let him live perhaps, but what a life! to die the most barbarous and agonising death. In short, *to be thirsty in a desert, without water, exposed to the burning sun without shelter, and* NO HOPES *of finding either, is the most terrible situation that a man can be placed in, and one of the greatest sufferings that a human being can sustain: the eyes grow inflamed; the tongue and lips swell; a hollow sound is heard in the ears, which brings on deafness, and the brains appear to grow thick and inflamed:*—all these feelings arise from the want of a little water. In the midst of all this misery the

geceitful morasses appear before the traveller at no great distance, something like a lake or river of clear fresh water [1]. If perchance a traveller is not undeceived, he hastens his pace to reach it sooner; the more he advances towards it, the more it does from him, till at last it vanishes entirely, and the deluded passenger often asks, where is the water he saw at no great distance? He can scarcely believe that he was so deceived; he protests that he saw the waves running before the wind, and the reflection of the high rocks in the water.

"If unfortunately any one falls sick on the road, there is no alternative; he must endure the fatigue of travelling on a camel, which is troublesome even to healthy people, or he must be left behind on the sand, without any assistance, and remain so till a slow death come to relieve him. What horror! What a brutal proceeding to an unfortunate sick man! No one remains with him, not even his old and faithful servant; no one will stay and die with him, all pity his fate, but no one will be his companion." [2]

The phenomenon, here described, is produced by a diminution of the density of the lower stratum of the atmosphere, which

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[1] Terrific as the above description is, it is confirmed in most of its details by Quintus Curtius; who, describing the passage of Alexander the Great and his army across the deserts of Sogdiana, thus graphically delineates its horrors:—"Amidst a dearth of water, despair of obtaining any kindled thirst before nature excited it. Throughout four hundred stadia not a drop of moisture springs. As soon as the fire of summer pervades the sands, every thing is dried up, as in a kiln always burning. *Steaming from the fervid expanse, which appears like a surface of sea, a cloudy vapour darkens the day. . . . The heat*, which commences *at dawn, exhausts the animal juices, blisters the skin, and causes internal inflammation.* The soldiers sunk under depression of spirits caused by bodily debility." Quint. Curt. lib. vii. c. 5.

[2] Belzoni's Narrative of his Operations and Researches in Egypt, &c., (4to. London, 1820.) pp. 341—343. In another part of his volume, Mr. B. more particularly describes the *mirage* (for such is the appellation by which this phenomenon is now commonly known), in the following terms: "It generally appears like a still lake, so unmoved by the wind, that every thing above is to be seen most distinctly reflected by it. If the wind agitate any of the plants that rise above the horizon of the mirage, the motion is seen perfectly at a great distance. If the traveller stand elevated much above the mirage, the apparent water seems less united and less deep; for, as the eyes look down upon it, there is not thickness enough in the vapour on the surface of the ground to conceal the earth from the sight; but, if the traveller be on a level with the horizon of the mirage, he cannot see through it, so that it appears to him clear water. By putting my head first to the ground, and then mounting a camel, the height of which from the ground might have been about ten feet at the most, I found a great difference in the appearance of the mirage. On approaching it, it becomes thinner, and appears as if agitated by the wind, like a field of ripe corn. It gradually vanishes, as the traveller approaches, and at last entirely disappears, when he is on the spot." (p. 196.) Dr. Clarke has described the mirage, as it appeared to him on his journey to Rosetta, in 1801. (Travels, vol. iii. p. 371.) Similar descriptions, but none so full as that of Mr. Belzoni, may be seen in Elphinstone's Account of the kingdom of Caubul (p. 16. 4to. London, 1815.); Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire (p. 223, 4to. London, 1813); and in Lieut. Pottinger's Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde. (p. 185. 4to. London, 1816.)

is caused by the increase of heat, arising from that communicated by the rays of the sun to the sand with which this stratum is in immediate contact. This phenomenon existed in the great desert of Judæa, and is expressly alluded to by the sublime and elegant Isaiah [1], who, when predicting the blessings of the Messiah's spiritual kingdom, says:

The glowing sand [2] shall become a pool,
And the thirsty soil bubbling springs.

And it is not improbable that Jeremiah refers to the serâb or mirage when, in pouring forth his complaint to God for mercies deferred, he says, *Wilt thou be altogether unto me as waters that be not sure* (marginal rendering of Jer. xv. 18.), that is, *which have no reality*, as the Septuagint translators have rendered it, υδωρ ψευδες ουκ εχον πιςιν.

Frightful as the horrors of the deserts are, they are augmented beyond description, should the traveller be overtaken by one of those sand storms, which prevail during the dry seasons. Sometimes the high winds raise into the air thick clouds of dust and sand, which, descending like a shower of rain, most grievously annoy all among whom they fall, and penetrate the eyes, nostrils, ears, in short every part of the human frame that is exposed to it. At other times the sands are drifted into such heaps, that, if any storm of wind should arise, the track is lost, and whole caravans perish in the inhospitable wilderness. Such are the showers of *powder and dust*, with which Moses denounced that God would *scourge* the disobedient Israelites, in Deut. xxviii. 24. [3]

IX. Moses, addressing the Israelites a short time before his death, characterised the country whither they were going to reside, as a *good land,—a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of vallies and hills.* How justly this corresponded with the actual state of the country, the preceding pages have shewn:—Moses further added, that it was *a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig-trees, and pomegranates, a land of oil olive and honey, whose stones were iron, and out of whose hills they might dig brass.* The enemies of revelation, forming their notions of its former exuberant fertility from the *present* state of the Holy Land under the Turkish government, have insinuated that it never could

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[1] Isa. xxxv. 7. Bp. Lowth's translation.

[2] The phenomenon referred to by Isaiah, is termed by the Arabs, as well as by the Hebrews שרב (serâb); and to this day the Persians and Arabs make use of it, by an elegant metaphor, to express disappointed hope.

[3] Fragments Supplementary to Calmet's Dictionary, No. 172.

have been the lovely and fertile spot which the sacred writings affirm it to have been: but a concise statement of its productions, as we may collect them from the Scriptures, together with the attestations of antient profane writers, as well as of modern voyagers and travellers, will all concur to establish the unimpeachable veracity of the inspired writers. [1]

The Holy Land is said to have exceeded even the very celebrated land of Egypt, in the abundance of its produce. To this wonderful fertility many circumstances are supposed to have contributed; such as the generally excellent temperature of the air, which was never subject to excessive heats (except in the plain of Jericho) or colds; the regularity of its seasons, especially of the former and the latter rain; and the natural richness of the soil, which is a fine mould without stones, and almost without a pebble.

A plenty of wheat was promised to the Israelites on their obedience (Psal. lxxxi. 16. and cxlvii. 14.); and so abundant was the produce of the wheat and barley, that *sixty* and a *hundred fold* rewarded the toil of the cultivator. (Gen. xxvi. 12. and Matt. xiii. 8.) The wheat of Minnith and Pannog was particularly celebrated, and so plentiful that it was exported to Tyre. (Ezek. xxvii. 17.) In the treaty concluded between Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre, for the building of the temple, the Hebrew monarch was to supply the latter annually with *twenty thousand measures of wheat for food to his household* (1 Kings v. 11.), and the same quantity for the hewers that cut timber (2 Chron. ii. 10.), together with an equal measure of barley. More than a thousand years after this time, the coasts of Tyre and Sidon were supplied with corn from Palestine. (Acts xii. 20.) This country also abounded with honey, not only that made by the industrious bees, but also with wild honey (1 Sam. xiv. 25. Deut. xxxii. 14. Psal. lxxxi. 6.) which formed a part of the food of John the Baptist in the wilderness. (Matt. iii. 4.) The mount of Olives and other districts in Judæa and Galilee produced the finest olives; and the red wines of Lebanon were particularly celebrated for their fragrance. (Hos.

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[1] The following account of the soil and productions of Palestine is principally derived from Leland's Palæstina, pp. 380—391.; Hasselquists' Travels; Dr. Shaw's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 138—153.; and Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. i. pp. 290—297. The testimony of Volney is the more valuable, as he was through life an inveterate enemy of the Bible, and directed his great talents to the fruitless task of destroying its credibility. To these are to be added the 'Economical Calendar of Palestine,' translated from the Latin of John Gottlieb Buhle by the learned editor of Calmet's Dictionary, and inserted in the Fragments supplementary to that work. See also an elaborate and pleasing Disquisition on the Agriculture of the Israelites, in Numbers I., II. and IV., of the Investigator, an instructive and well conducted quarterly miscellany.

xiv. 7.) The wines of Helbon furnished a profitable article of export to Damascus. (Ezek. xxvii. 18.)

Various herbs, shrubs and trees, imparted beauty and fragrance to this highly favoured land. Among the herbs and shrubs, the aloe (Psal. xlv. 8. Prov. vii. 17. Sol. Song iv. 14), the hyssop (1 Kings iv. 33. Matt. xxvii. 48. Mark xv. 36.), the rose, especially the rose of Sharon (Sol. Song ii. 1.), the lily (Ibid. ii. 16. iv. 5. v. 13. Matt. vi. 28. [1]), the spikenard (Mark xiv. 3. 5. Sol. Song i. 12.), the mandrake (a species of melon Gen. xxx. 14. Sol. Song vii. 13.), the myrtle (Isa. xlv. 19. and lv. 13.), and the mustard tree (Matt. xiii. 31, 32.), may be distinctly noticed.

Although modern travellers do not mention the existence of any woods or forests, or indeed any considerable number of trees, yet it appears that, antiently, the Holy Land was well covered with wood. We read of several forests and woods in the sacred writings, particularly,

1. The *Forest of Cedars* on mount Lebanon. See 1 Kings vii. 2. 2 Kings xix. 23. Hos. xiv. 5, 6. These noble and beautiful trees have furnished the inspired writers with numerous exquisite similitudes.

2. The *Forest of Oaks* on the mountains of Bashan (Zech. xi. 2.): we may judge of the high estimation in which these oaks were held, from an incidental expression of the prophet Ezekiel; who, speaking of the power and wealth of antient Tyre, says—*Of the oaks of Bashan they have made thine oars.* (Ezek. xxvii. 6.) Groves of oaks, it is well known, were the scenes of idolatry in those remote times, on account of the grateful shelter which they afforded to the deluded worshippers. The prophet Ezekiel expressly alludes to this practice. (Ezek. vi. 13.)

3. The *Forest* or *Wood of Ephraim*, which the children of Ephraim began to cut down (Josh. xvii. 15.), was still standing in the time of David (2 Sam. xviii. 6. 8. 17.) The wood in the vicinity of Bethel mentioned in 2 Kings ii. 24. appears to have been part of the wood of Ephraim.

4. The spacious *Forest of Hareth* in the tribe of Judah, to

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[1] In this passage Jesus Christ is commonly supposed to have referred to the white lily or to the tulip: but neither of these grows wild in Palestine. It is natural to presume that, according to his usual custom he called the attention of his hearers to some object at hand; and as the fields of the Levant are overrun with the *amaryllis lutea*, whose golden liliaceous flowers, in autumn, afford one of the most brilliant and gorgeous objects in nature, the expression of *Solomon in all his glory not being arrayed like one of these*, is peculiarly appropriate. Should this conjecture prove correct, we learn a chronological fact, respecting the season of the year when the Sermon on the Mount was delivered.

which David withdrew to avoid the fury of Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 5.) To these perhaps may be added,

5. The thickets on the banks of the Jordan, in Zech. xi. 3. termed *the pride of Jordan*, which antiently were the coverts of wild beasts, and are to this day composed of oleanders, tamarisks, and other shrubs.

Among the trees, which adorned Palestine, the *palm tree* claims the precedence of notice, on account of its singular utility: it affords a grateful shelter, an agreeable fruit, and a most delicious wine [1]. The finest palm trees grew in the vicinity of Jordan and Engeddi; and they still flourish in the plain of Jericho, which city was antiently termed by way of distinction the *city of palm trees*. In 1818, however, its plantations of palm trees were reduced to about one dozen [2]. The palm trees of Judæa are celebrated by Strabo [3], and by Josephus [4], who has particularly noticed the palm trees of Jericho. The palm tree was the common symbol of Palestine, many coins of Vespasian and other emperors [5] being extant, in which Judæa is personified by a disconsolate woman sitting under a palm tree. As the momentary prosperity of the wicked is frequently compared to the transient verdure of grass; so the durable felicity of the righteous is in Psal. xcii. 12. likened to the lasting strength and beauty of the palm tree. "But chiefly is the comparison applicable to that Just One, the King of Righteousness and Tree of Life; eminent and upright; ever verdant and fragrant; under the greatest pressure and weight of sufferings, still ascending towards Heaven; affording both fruit and protection; incorruptible and immortal." [6]

Olive trees are now, as antiently, abundant and fruitful; and the culture of them continues to form a particular object of attention. Various similitudes are derived from the olive tree by the inspired writers; as well as from the vine which affords a triple produce in each year. Pomegranate and apple trees were likewise cultivated to a considerable extent (Num. xiii. 23. Deut. viii. 8. Joel i. 12.), as also the almond tree, whose fruit is ripe and fit to gather about the middle of April. The citron tree was in great request for its fragrant and refreshing shade, as well as for its delicious fruit. (Sol. Song.

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[1] On the various products of the palm tree, see Kaempfer's Amœnitates Exoticæ, p. 665.

[2] Dr. Macmichael's Travels from Moscow to Constantinople, p. 205, *note*.

[3] Lib. xvi. vol. ii. p. 1085. Oxon. 1807. folio.

[4] De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 6. § 6. lib. iv. c. 8. § 3.

[5] Dr. Shaw has enumerated them. Travels, vol. ii. p. 151.

[6] Bp. Horne's Commentary on Psal. xcii. 12. (Works, vol. ii. p. 145.)

ii. 3. where it is mis-translated apple tree). The sycamore, which partakes of the nature of the fig and the mulberry, also abounded formerly in the plain of Jericho, where it is still to be seen. Its sweetish, watery, but somewhat aromatic and not disagreeable fruit comes to maturity several times in the year, without observing any certain seasons. It frequently attains to a considerable height, and affords a very grateful shade. From its fruit the Arabs extract an oil, which they sell to travellers, who keep it among their other holy things, and pretend that it possesses a singular virtue in curing wounds, for which reason they call it the oil of Zacchæus, attributing its virtue to the stay which Zacchæus made upon the tree! (Luke xix. 4.)

Although the fig-tree in this climate rarely attains any considerable height, yet they grow very large in the east, and some of them are capable of affording shelter to a considerable number of horsemen. The fig-trees of Palestine are of two kinds, viz. 1. The *boccores* or early fig, which sometimes presents fruit so early as the month of January, until March, when it blossoms again, and the fruit is ripe; and, 2. The Kermouse or later fig, which is not ripe before August. It is well known that the fruit of these prolific trees always precedes the leaves: consequently, when Jesus Christ saw one of them in full vigour *having leaves* (Mark xi. 13.) he might, according to the common course of nature, very justly *look for fruit*, and *haply* find some boccores if not some winter figs likewise upon it.

Besides the palm-trees above noticed, Jericho was celebrated for its fragrant balsam, mentioned in the Scriptures under the name of the *balm of Gilead* (Jer. viii. 22. xlvi. 11. li. 8.) This balsam was mentioned by Strabo [1]; and two plantations of it existed during the last war of the Jews with the Romans, for which both parties fought desperately,—the Jews that they might destroy them;—the Romans, that they might prevent them from destruction. Since the country has been under the government of the Turks, the balm of Gilead has ceased to be cultivated in Palestine, though it is found in different parts of Arabia and Egypt. [2]

But the Holy Land was eminently distinguished for its abun-

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[1] Lib. xvi. vol. ii. p. 1085.

[2] For a particular account of the vegetable productions of the Holy Land, the reader is referred to the Hiero-Botanicon of Celsius, (Upsalæ, 1745—1747, in two parts or vols. 8vo.); and for its zoology to the Hierozoïcon of Bochart (folio, Lug. Bat. 1714, or in three vols. 4to. Lipsiæ, 1793 and following years.) The reader, who may not be able to consult these elaborate works, will find much useful information concerning the plants and animals of the Holy Land, in Professor Paxton's Illustrations of Scripture, vol. i. part ii. pp. 231—625.

dance of cattle, to the management and rearing of which the inhabitants chiefly applied themselves. The hilly country not only afforded them variety and plenty of pasture, but also of water, which descending thence, carried fertility into the low lands and vallies. The most celebrated pasture, grounds were on each side of the river Jordan, besides those of Sharon, the plains of Lydda, Jamnia, and some others of less note. The breed of cattle reared in Bashan, and on the mountains of Gilead and Carmel, were remarkable for their size, their strength, and fatness, to which there are frequent allusions in the Scriptures. The cattle of the Israelites comprised every sort of animal that afforded either food or clothing, or was applicable to other useful purposes, as sheep, oxen, goats, camels, and asses. The last-mentioned animals were of a more handsome form than are seen in our colder climate, hence they were chiefly used in travelling in this hilly country, even by persons of rank. Horses do not appear to have been in use, until after the establishment of the monarchy. The various rivers, especially the Jordan, the Lake of Tiberias, and the Mediterranean Sea, afforded great variety and plenty of fish, vast quantities of which were carried to Jerusalem, and, according to Jerome, one of the gates of that city was from this circumstance denominated the *Fish-gate.* The Dead Sea furnished abundance of salt for curing their fish, for which purpose it was said to be superior to every other kind of salt.

Although we have no evidence that the Jews wrought any mines of iron or copper; yet the researches of modern travellers have ascertained that the mountains of Palestine contain iron-mines, particularly those whose summits and sides are occupied by the industrious Druses. Report says, that there was antiently a copper-mine at Aleppo, which (M. Volney is of opinion) must have long since been abandoned. These facts, however, substantiate the accuracy of Moses in his description of the Promised Land,—as *a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose mountains thou mayest dig copper* (Deut. viii. 9.) as the Hebrew ought to be rendered, there being no such thing in nature, as a *brass*-mine.

In perusing the Scripture accounts of this highly favoured country, it ought to be considered that it was then inhabited by an industrious people, who knew how to improve every inch of their land, and by their good husbandry, had made even the most desert and barren places to yield some kind of productions, so that the very rocks, which *now* appear quite naked, then yielded either corn, pulse or pasture. Every man had his own land to improve: and when, in addition to these facts it is

considered that a warm country will support more people than a cold one, the people in southern climates being satisfied with less food than in northern; and that the dominions of David and Solomon comprised a greater extent of territory than many apprehend;—we can be at no loss to account for the vast multitude of inhabitants [1], which the Scriptures assert that Palestine antiently supported, especially when their statements of its fertility and population are confirmed by the testimonies of profane historians.

Thus, Tacitus describes the climate as dry and sultry; the natives, as strong and patient of labour: the soil, as fruitful, exuberant in its produce, like that of Italy, and yielding the palm and balm tree. Libanus or Lebanon, is stated to be the loftiest mountain in the country, and to rise to a great height, affording a grateful shade under its verdant groves, and even in the ardent heat of that sultry region as being covered at the top with perpetual snow [2]. Justin confirms the account of Tacitus, respecting the exuberant produce of Palestine, its beautiful climate, its palm and fragrant balsam trees [3]. The palms of Judæa are celebrated by the elder Pliny [4]; and Ammianus Marcellinus commends the beauty of the country, and its large and handsome cities [5]. But the most memorable testimony is that of Josephus the Jewish historian, which appears in various parts of his writings. Not to multiply unnecessary examples, we may state briefly, that after describing the boundaries of the regions of Upper and Lower Galilee, of Peræa and Samaria, he speaks of their fertility and produce in the following terms.

The two Galilees have always been able to make a strong resistance on all occasions of war: for the Galileans are inured to war from their infancy, and have always been very numerous. Their soil is universally rich, and fruitful, and full of plantations of all sorts of trees; so that its fertility invites the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation. Accordingly, the whole of it is cultivated by its inhabitants, and no part of it lies idle. Although the greater part of Peræa, he continues, is desert, and rough, and much less disposed for the production of the milder sorts of fruits, yet in other parts it has a moist soil, and produces all kinds of fruits. Its plains are planted with trees of all sorts; the olive tree, the vine and the palm trees are principally cultivated there. It is also sufficiently watered with torrents, that

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[1] On the population of the Holy Land, see Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. pp. 98—110.

[2] Taciti Historia. lib. v. c. 6.

[3] Justin. Hist. Philipp. lib. xxxvi. c. 3.

[4] Hist. Nat. lib. xiii. c. 6.

[5] Lib. xiv. c. 8. vol. i. p. 29. edit. Bipont.

issue from the mountains, and with springs which never fail to run, even when the torrents fail them, as they do in the dog-days. Samaria is entirely of the same nature with Judæa. Both countries are composed of hills and vallies; they are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fertile. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both of that which grows wild, and also of that which is the effect of cultivation. They are not naturally watered by many rivers, but derive their chief moisture from rain water, of which they have no want. The waters of such rivers as they have, are exceedingly sweet; and in consequence of the excellence of their grass, the cattle reared in these countries yield more milk than do those of other places.[1]

On the division of the land of Canaan, we are informed (Josh. xv, 20—62.) that not fewer than *one hundred and twelve walled cities* fell to the lot of the tribe of Judah. Many centuries afterwards, Josephus states that the regions of Samaria and Judæa were very full of people, which he notices as the greatest sign of their excellency[2]; that in the two Galilees the villages were extremely numerous and thickly inhabited; and that there also were great numbers of the larger cities, the smallest of which contained a population of fifteen thousand souls[3]. From the two small provinces of Upper and Lower Galilee alone, Josephus collected an army of more than one hundred thousand men[4]. These statements abundantly confirm the narratives of the sacred historians relative to the fertility and vast population of the Holy Land. Compare Numb. xi. 21. Judg. xx. 17. 1 Sam. xv. 4. 1 Chron. xxvii. 4. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. and 2 Chron. xvii. 14—19. Nor are the testimonies less satisfactory, which have been given by Maundrel, Shaw, Hasselquist, and other modern travellers[5], who have visited this country, and especially by Dr. Clarke[6], who thus describes its appearance between Napolose or Sichem and Jerusalem:—"The road," says he, "was mountainous, rocky, and full of loose stones; yet the cultivation was every where marvellous: it afforded one of the most striking pictures of human industry which it is possible to behold. The limestone rocks and valleys of Judæa were entirely covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olive-trees; not a single spot

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[1] Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 3. § 2, 3, 4. [2] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 3. § 4.
[3] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 3. § 2. [4] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 20. § 6.
[5] The most important facts relative to the fertility of Palestine, recorded by Maundrel and Dr. Shaw, are collected by Dr Macknight in discourses vi. and vii. prefixed to the first volume of his Harmony, and the testimonies of Hasselquist and others, are collected by Mr. Harmer. (Observations, vol. i. pp. 243—250.)
[6] Travels, vol. iv. pp. 283—285.

seemed to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, were entirely covered with gardens: all of these were free from weeds, and in the highest state of agricultural perfection. Even the sides of the most barren mountains had been rendered fertile by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another, whereon soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour. Under a wise and beneficial government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest; the salubrity of its air; its limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales,—all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be indeed *a field which the Lord hath blessed* (Gen. xxvii. 28.): *God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.*"

Such being the state of the Holy Land, at least of that part of it which is properly cultivated, we can readily account for the vast population it antiently supported: and although this country, generally speaking, by no means corresponds with the statements we have of its former exuberant fertility and population, yet this is no contradiction to the narrative of the sacred writers. The devastations of the Holy Land by the Assyrians, Chaldees, Syrians, Romans, Saracens, the European crusaders, and Turks,—together with the oppressions of the inhabitants by the Turks in our own time (who not only do not encourage agricultural industry, but also extort to the uttermost from the husbandmen)[1],—to which are to be added the depredations of robbers, and the predatory incursions of the Arabs,—all concur satisfactorily to account for the present state of this country: and, so far is it from contradicting the assertions of the sacred writings, that it confirms their authority; for, in the event of the Israelites proving unfaithful to their covenant engagements with Jehovah, all these judgments were predicted and denounced against them (Lev. xxvi. 32. Deut. xxix. 22. *et seq.*); and the exact accomplishment of these prophecies affords a permanent comment on the declaration of the royal psalmist, that God *turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.* (Psal. cvii. 34.)

X. Yet, lovely as Palestine confessedly was, its beauty and the comforts it afforded were not unalloyed: among the calamities of various kinds, which at different times visited the inhabitants, the pestilence, earthquakes, whirlwinds, the devastations of locusts, famines, volcanoes, and the pestilential Simoom, demand to be distinctly noticed.

[1] Volney has given some painfully interesting details on the oppression of the agricultural inhabitants of Palestine, by their barbarous masters, the Turks. Travels in Egypt, &c. vol. ii. pp. 341—347.

1. Palestine is now, as it antiently was, often afflicted with the *Plague;* which makes its entrance from Egypt and the neighbouring countries. This tremendous scourge is frequently mentioned in the sacred writings. From the insidious manner in which it is first introduced into a country, it is perhaps termed the *pestilence that walketh in darkness.* (Psal. xci. 6.)

2. This region, being mountainous and near the sea, is often shaken by *Earthquakes* [1], from which, however, Jerusalem seems to have suffered little if at all. (Psal. xlvi. 2—5.) Sometimes these earthquakes were accompanied by land-slips, in which pieces of ground, lying on a declivity, are removed from their place. To these (which occasionally happen in the present day [2], and which are not uncommon in Barbary [3],) the Psalmist alludes when he speaks of the *mountains being carried into the midst of the sea* (Psal. xlvi. 2.), of their *skipping like rams, and the little hills like young sheep* (Psal. cxiv. 4. 6.); and also the prophet Isaiah (xxiv. 20.) when he says that *the earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a cottage.* These terrible concussions have supplied the sacred prophets and poets with numerous figures, by which they have represented the concussions and subversions of states and empires. See particularly Isa. xxix. 6. liv. 10. Jer. iv. 24. Hagg. ii. 6, 7. 22. Matt. xxiv. 7.

3. *Tornadoes* or *Whirlwinds,* followed by thunder, lightning and rains, were also very frequent during the winter and cold seasons. Whirlwinds, we have already remarked [4], often preceded rain. In the figurative language of the Scripture, these are termed the *commandment* and the *word* of God (Psal. cxlvii. 15. 18.) [5]; and as they are sometimes fatal to travellers who are overwhelmed in the deserts, the rapidity of their advance is elegantly employed by Solomon to shew the certainty as well as the suddenness of that destruction which will befal the impenitently wicked. (Prov. i. 27.) They are alluded to by Isaiah, as occurring in the deserts which border on the south of Judæa (Isa. xxi. 1.); and they appear to blow from various points of the compass. The prophet Ezekiel speaks of one that came from the north (Ezek. i. 4); but more frequently it blows from

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[1] The coast in general, and indeed the whole of Asia Minor, is still subject to earthquakes. In 1759 there happened one, which caused the greatest ravages, destroying upwards of 20,000 persons in the valley of Balbec. For three months the shocks of it terrified the inhabitants of Lebanon so much, that they abandoned their houses and dwelt under tents. Volney's Travels, vol. i. p. 283.

[2] See a description of one in the same work, vol. i. p. 278.

[3] Shaw's Travels in Barbary, &c. vol. i. pp. 277, 278. [4] See p. 52 *supra.*

[5] The Arabs, to this day, call them *good news* or *messengers*: and in the Koran they are termed the *sent* of God, c. 77. p. 477. of Sale's Translation, 4to edit.

the south (Job xxxvii. 9.), in which case it is generally attended with the most fatal consequences to the hapless traveller. Mr. Morier, describing the whirlwinds of Persia, says, that they swept along the country in different directions, in a manner truly terrific. "They carried away in their vortex sand, branches, and the stubble of the fields, and really appeared to make a communication between the earth and the clouds. The correctness of the imagery used by the prophet Isaiah when he alludes to this phenomenon, is very striking. *The whirlwind shall take them away as stubble.* (Isa. lx. 24.) *Chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like a rolling thing before the whirlwind.* (Isa. xvii. 13.) In the Psalms (lxxiii. 13.) we read, *Make them like a wheel as the stubble before the wind.* This is happily illustrated by the rotary action of the whirlwind, which frequently impels a bit of stubble over a waste, just like a wheel set in a rapid motion [1]." From these phenomena, the sacred writers have borrowed many very expressive figures and allusions. Compare Psal. xviii. 8—15. xxix. 1—10. lv. 8. lxxxiii. 15. Isa. v. 30. viii. 7, 8. xi. 15. xxviii. 2. xxix. 6. Jer. xxiii. 19. Matt. vii. 25.

What tornadoes are on land, water-spouts are at sea, the vacuum being filled with a column of water, instead of earth, sand, &c.—To this phenomenon the Psalmist refers. (xlii. 7.)

4. Frequently the country was laid waste by vast bodies of migrating *Locusts*, whose depredations are one of the most terrible scourges with which mankind can be afflicted. By the prophet Joel (ii. 11.) they are termed the *army of the Lord*, from the military order which they appear to observe; disbanding themselves and encamping in the evening, and in the morning resuming their flight in the direction of the wind, unless they meet with food. (Nah. iii. 17. Prov. xxx. 27.) They fly in countless hosts (Jer. xlvi. 23. Judg. vi. 5.) occupying, it is said, a space of two or three miles in length by a mile or a mile and a half in breadth; so as to obscure the sun, and produce darkness upon the earth. (Joel ii. 2. 10. Exod. x. 15.) The

[1] Morier's Second Journey, p. 202. Mr. Bruce, in his travels to discover the source of the Nile, was surprised by a whirlwind in a plain near that river, which lifted up a camel and threw it to a considerable distance, with such violence as to break several of its ribs: whirled himself and two of his servants off their feet, and threw them violently to the ground; and partly demolished a hut, the materials of which were dispersed all over the plain, leaving the other half standing. Mr. B. and his attendants were literally plastered with mud; if dust and sand had arisen with the whirlwind in the same proportion, instead of mud, they would inevitably have been suffocated (Travels, vol. vi. p. 346.);—a disaster which the late enterprising traveller Mr. Park with difficulty escaped, when crossing the great desert of Sahara in his way to explore the sources of the Niger.

noise made by them is compared to the noise of chariots (Joel ii. 5.): and wherever they settle, they darken the land (Exod. x. 15.) If the weather be cold, they *encamp in the hedges*, until the sun arises, when they resume their progress (Nah. iii. 17.), climbing or creeping in perfect order. Regardless of every obstacle, they mount the walls of cities and houses, and enter the very apartments. (Joel ii. 7—9.) They devour every green herb, and strip the bark off every tree (Exod. x. 12. 15. Joel i. 4. 7. 10. 12. 16. 18. 20.), so as to render the land which before was as the garden of Eden, a desolate wilderness, as if it had been laid waste by fire. (Joel ii. 3.) The noise made by them, when committing their ravages, is compared to the crackling noise of fire among the dry stubble, or a mighty host set in battle array. (Ibid. 5.) So fearful are the effects of their devastations, that every one was filled with dismay (Ibid. 6.), and vainly attempted to prevent them from settling on their grounds by making loud shouts (Jer. li. 14), as the Persian husbandmen [1], the inhabitants of Egypt [2], and the Nogai Tartars [3] do to this day. What aggravates this tremendous calamity is, that when one host has departed, it is succeeded by a second, and sometimes even by a third or a fourth, by which every thing that has escaped the ravages of the preceding, is inevitably consumed by the last company. As Arabia is generally considered as the native country of these depredators, they were carried thence into Egypt by an east wind (Exod. x. 13.), and were removed by a westerly wind (19.) which blew from the Mediterranean Sea (that lay to the north-west of that country), and wafted them into the Red Sea, where they perished. On their departure from a country, they leave their fetid excrements behind them, which pollute the air, and myriads of their eggs deposited in the ground, whence issues in the following year a new and more numerous army. They are generally carried off into the sea by the winds, where they perish; and their dead bodies, putrefying on the shore, emit a most offensive, and (it is said) sometimes even fatal smell. The plague of locusts, predicted by Joel, entered Palestine from Hamath, one of the northern boundaries, whence they are called the *northern* army, and were carried away by the wind, some into the dreary plain on the coast of the *East* (or Dead) *Sea*, and others into the *utmost* (or Mediterranean) *Sea*. (Joel ii. 20.) These predatory locusts are larger than those which

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1 Morier's Second Journey, p. 98.
2 Light's Travels, p. 56. Belzoni's Narrative, p. 197.
3 Baron De Tott's Memoirs, extracted in Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 319.

sometimes visit the southern parts of Europe, being two or three inches long, and as thick as a man's finger. From their heads being shaped like that of a horse, the prophet Joel says, that they *have the appearance of horses;* and on account of their celerity they are compared to horsemen on full gallop (ii. 4.), and also to horses prepared for battle. (Rev. ix. 7.) The locust has a large open mouth; and in its two jaws it has four incisive teeth, which traverse each other like scissors, and from their mechanism are calculated to grasp and cut every thing of which they lay hold. These teeth are so sharp and strong, that the prophet, by a bold figure, terms them the *teeth of a great lion* (Joel i. 6.) In order to mark the certainty, variety, and extent of the depredations of the locusts, not fewer than eight or nine different appellations, expressive of their nature, are given to them in the sacred writings.

Such are the Scripture accounts of this tremendous scourge, which are corroborated by every traveller who has visited the East. The quantity of these insects (to whose devastations Syria, Egypt, and Persia, together with the whole middle part of Asia are subject), is incredible to any person who has not himself witnessed their astonishing numbers. Their numerous swarms, like a succession of clouds, sometimes extend a mile in length, and half as much in breadth, darken the horizon, and intercept the light of the sun. Should the wind blow briskly, so that the swarms are succeeded by others, they afford a lively idea of that similitude of the Psalmist (cix. 23.) of being *tossed up and down as the locusts.* Wherever they alight, the land is covered with them for the space of several leagues, and sometimes they form a bed six or seven inches thick. The noise which they make in browsing on the trees and herbage, may be heard at a great distance, and resembles that of an army foraging in secret, or the rattling of hail-stones. The Tartars themselves are a less destructive enemy than these little animals; one would imagine that fire had followed their progress. Fire itself, indeed, consumes not so rapidly. Wherever their myriads spread, the verdure of the country disappears, as if a covering had been removed; trees and plants, stripped of their leaves and reduced to their naked boughs and stems, cause the dreary image of winter to succeed, in an instant, to the rich scenery of the spring. When these clouds of locusts take their flight, to surmount any obstacle, or to traverse more rapidly a desert soil, the heavens may literally be said to be obscured by them. Should the inhabitants dig pits and trenches, and fill them with water, or kindle fires of stubble therein, to destroy them, rank presses on

rank, fills up the trenches, and extinguishes the fires. Where these swarms are extremely numerous, they climb over every thing in their way, entering the inmost recesses of the houses, adhering to the very clothes of the inhabitants, and infesting their food.[1] The Arabs catch great quantities of locusts, of which they prepare a dish by boiling them with salt, and mixing a little oil, butter, or fat; sometimes they toast them before a fire, or soak them in warm water, and without any other culinary process, devour almost every part except the wings. They are also said to be sometimes pickled in vinegar. The locusts which formed part of John the Baptist's food (Mark i. 6.), were these insects, and not the fruit of the locust tree.[2]

5. The devastations caused by the locusts, together with the absence of the former and latter rains, were generally followed by a scarcity of provisions, and not unfrequently by absolute *Famine*, which also often prevailed in besieged cities to such a degree, that the starving inhabitants not only devoured unclean animals, but also human flesh. Compare Deut. xxviii. 22—42. 56, 57. 2 Sam. xxi. 1. 2 Kings vi. 25—28. xxv. 3. Jer. xiv. 15. xix. 9. xlii. 17. Lam. ii. 20. iv. 10. Ezek. v. 10—12. 16. vi. 12. vii. 15.

6. *Volcanoes*, though not generally apprehended to have existed in Palestine, unquestionably added their horrors to the other calamities with which Divine Providence chastised its inhabitants for their sins. Among the numerous interesting phenomena of nature described in the sacred volume, we no only meet with notices of *lava*, but also (Dr. Henderson conceives) of volcanic mountains, similar to those which abound in Iceland[3]. The prophets appear to have derived some of their sublimest imagery from the tremendous phenomena of a volcanic eruption. Thus Nahum, describing the majesty of God, says, that *the mountains quake at him, and the hills* MELT, *and the earth is* BURNED *at his presence. His fury is* POURED

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[1] Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. i. p. 286. Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 319. Shaw's Travels, vol. i. pp. 340—343. Morier's Second Journey, p. 100. Sir Wm. Ouseley's Travels in Persia from 1810 to 1812, vol. i. pp. 195—200. (4to. London 1819). Mr. Dodwell has given an interesting account of the ravages of the locusts in Greece; where, however, they are smaller than those of the Levant. See his Classical and Topographical Tour, vol. i. pp. 214, 215.

[2] Sir Wm. Ouseley's Travels, vol. i. p. 197. Dodwell's Tour, vol. i. p. 215.

[3] Travels in Iceland, vol. i. p. 150. Edinburgh, 1818, 8vo. In pp. 154—157 this intelligent traveller has offered several ingenious conjectures, (which do not admit of abridgment) respecting the origin of the appellation—*Valley of Siddim*—given to the tract of country on which the devoted cities stood, and also to shew that it is probable that there antiently were in the Holy Land, *Hot Springs*, similar to those which at this day exist in Iceland.

OUT LIKE FIRE, *and the rocks are thrown down by him.* (Nah. i. 5, 6). *Behold,* says Micah, *the Lord cometh forth out of his place, and will come down and tread upon the high places of the earth. And the* MOUNTAINS SHALL BE MOLTEN *under him, and the vallies shall be* CLEFT AS WAX BEFORE THE FIRE, *and as the waters that are poured down a steep place.* (Mic. i. 3, 4.) *O that thou wouldest rend the heavens,* says Isaiah, *that thou wouldest come down, that the* MOUNTAINS MIGHT FLOW DOWN *at thy presence. As when* THE MELTING FIRE BURNETH, THE FIRE CAUSETH THE WATERS TO BOIL, *to make thy name known to thine adversaries, that the nations may tremble at thy presence.* When thou didst terrible things *which we looked not for, thou camest down,* THE MOUNTAINS FLOWED DOWN *at thy presence.* (Isa. lxiv. 1—3.) And Jeremiah, evidently alluding to a volcano, says—*Behold, I am against thee, O* DESTROYING MOUNTAIN, *saith the Lord, which* DESTROYEST *all the earth, and I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and will make thee a* BURNT *mountain. And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be* DESOLATE *for ever.* (Jer. li. 25, 26.) But the passage, which, in Dr. Henderson's opinion, contains the most unequivocal reference to an eruption of lava, is that, in which Eliphaz insidiously reminds Job of the catastrophe which unexpectedly seized the abandoned inhabitants of the cities of the plain:

> "Hast thou observed the ancient tract,
> That was trodden by wicked mortals?
> Who were arrested of a sudden,
> Whose foundation is a *molten flood.*
> Who said to God: Depart from us.
> What can Shaddai do to us?"
> "Though he had filled their houses with wealth.
> (Far from me be the counsel of the wicked!)
> The righteous beheld and rejoiced,
> The innocent laughed them to scorn;
> Surely their substance was carried away,
> And their riches devoured by fire."
>
> JOB xxii. 15—20.

It is, indeed, commonly believed, that the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah was effected by a shower of fire and brimstone miraculously produced in the regions of the air, and Gen. xix. 24. has been adduced in support of the opinion. But the words, *The Lord rained brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven,* are susceptible of a very different interpretation. It is well known that in Scripture, every operation of nature is directly ascribed to God. All her diversified instruments are his servants, and what is performed by them is said to be done by himself.

"The winds are his messengers;
His servants, flames of fire."

Earthquakes, storms, inundations, drought, famine, pestilence, and war, are uniformly represented as coming from the ruler of the universe. When, therefore, the combustible matter in question is declared to proceed from Jehovah, we are in like manner to understand the historian as referring the awful catastrophe immediately to God, as the avenger of iniquity; though, in bringing it about, he might, as in other instances, have availed himself of natural causes. From the geological notices contained in the Bible, relative to the neighbourhood of the devoted cities, it would appear that it abounded with inflammable substances:" and the observations of a late intelligent traveller, corroborate the Scripture narrative in a most striking manner. M. Badhia, (better known by his assumed name of Ali Bey), in his way to Damascus, thus describes a volcanic desert traversed by him, which lies between the river Jordan and that city:—"The Phlegean fields, and all that can present an idea of volcanic destruction, form but a feeble image of the frightful country through which I passed. From the bridge of Jacob [1] to Sassa, the whole ground is composed of nothing but *lava, basaltes, and other volcanic productions:* all is black, porous, or carious; it was like travelling in the infernal regions. Besides these productions, which cover the country, either in detached masses or in large strata, the surface of the ground is entirely covered *with loose volcanic stones,* from three to four inches in circumference to a foot in diameter, all equally black, porous, or carious, as if they *had just come out of the crater.* But it is particularly at the approaches to Sassa, that the traveller meets with groups of crevices, and volcanic mounds, of so frightful a size that he is seized with horror, which is increased if he allows his imagination to wander to the period when these masses were hurled forth with violence from the bowels of the earth. There are evident signs *that all this country was formerly filled with volcanoes, for we beheld several small craters in traversing the plain.*" [2]

From these facts, and from the geological notices contained in the Scriptures respecting the devoted cities, it is most pro-

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[1] The bridge alluded to is known by the name of *Cantara Yacoub,* or Jacob's Bridge: it is of considerable antiquity, and consists of three pointed arches. The river is in this place about 64 feet wide, and does not appear to be very deep; its current is rapid and boisterous, and the water good, but *warm.* Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. pp. 261, 262.

[2] Ibid. p. 263.

bable that the plain in which they stood was at some earlier period subjected to volcanic revolutions. Nothing farther then was necessary, than to set on fire the bitumen, sulphur, &c. that was in the bowels of the earth, which, ravaging with violent fury, an earthquake ensued, and vent being given to the subterraneous elements, a torrent of melted matter was poured forth, that, descending into the plain, carried destruction to its inhabitants, cities, villages, fields, and whatever came in its way. The quantities of sulphur, pumice, and ashes, poured by the volcano to an immense height in the air, and falling from that elevation, might, with strict propriety, be said to have been *rained from heaven.* In allusion to this catastrophe, God is said to *rain* on the wicked, hot ashes, fire, and brimstone. (Psal. xi. 6.)[1] "That an inundation of lava overtook those cities, besides the fiery sulphureous shower described by Moses, is stated in the most express terms, in the passage quoted from Job. Their inhabitants were *arrested* by its torrents. It surrounded their habitations, and cut off all way of escape, *carried before it* their substance, *devoured* their riches with its raging *flames,* and so completely laid waste the spot where they dwelt, that nothing now remained but a *stream of melted matter.* The same fact is obviously implied in the description of the circumstances connected with Lot's escape. Why was he prohibited from lingering in any part of the low land, if not because he would there be exposed to the lava? And what reason can be assigned for his obtaining leave to stop in Zoar; but its lying at some distance from the spot where the lava began to act, as likewise on an elevation whence he could survey the approaching ruin, and retire before the stream reached that place? We accordingly find, that however keen he was on staying there at first, he quitted it before night, for a still more elevated and safer retreat. *And Lot went* UP *out of Zoar, and dwelt in the* MOUNTAIN, *for he feared to dwell in Zoar.* (Gen. xix. 30.) How natural is the incrustation of his wife on the same hypothesis! Remaining in a lower part of the valley, and looking with a wishful eye towards Sodom, she was surrounded, ere she was aware, by the lava, which rising and swelling, at length reached her, and in-

[1] Mr. Holm, in an account of the eruption of the Skaptà volcano in Iceland, quoted by Dr. Henderson, says, "The whole atmosphere was filled with sand, dust, and brimstone, so thick as to occasion a continual darkness. The pumice which fell on the villages, being *red hot,* did considerable damage. Along with the pumice stones, there fell a great quantity of a dirty substance like *pitch,* rolled up sometimes in the form of small balls, and sometimes like rings or garlands. The falling of these *hot substances* was attended with great mischief, as they totally destroyed all manner of vegetation that they came near." Henderson's Iceland, vol. i. p. 152.

crustated her where she stood; so that being, as it were, embalmed by the salso-bituminous mass, she became a conspicuous beacon and admonitory example to future generations. The power of this asphaltic substance in preserving from corruption, is evident, from its being employed by the Egyptians for embalming their mummies [1]. She is said to have been converted into a pillar of *salt*, on account of the quantity of that substance which appeared in the crust, and its abundance in those regions is notorious, both from sacred and profane history: so much so, that the lake which now fills the caverns made by the earthquake, has, among other names, that of the "Salt Sea." [2]

In confirmation of the conflagration of the ground about Sodom and Gomorrah, we may cite the description in Deut. xxix. 22. *All the land* BURNING *with brimstone and salt,* LIKE THE OVERTHROW OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH. Nor was the fire, thus kindled, extinguished for ages; but continued to send forth flames, smoke, bitumen, &c. in the first century of the Christian æra, as we learn from the testimony of Strabo [3], and of Josephus [4]. To these eruptions of flame the apostle Jude appears to allude in the seventh verse of his epistle.

7. But the greatest of all the calamities that ever visited this highly-favoured country, is the pestilential blast, by the Arabs termed the *Sam* wind, by the Persians, *Samoun*, by the Turks *Simoom* or *Samiel*, and by the prophet Jeremiah a *dry wind of the high places in the wilderness.* (Jer. iv. 11.) It blows in Persia, Arabia, and the deserts of Arabia, during the months of June, July, and August; in Nubia during March and April, and also in September, October, and November. It rarely lasts more than seven or eight minutes, but so poisonous are its effects, that it instantly suffocates those who are unfortunate enough to inhale it, particularly if it overtake them when standing upright. Thevenot mentions such a wind, which in 1658 suffocated *twenty thousand* men in one night; and another, which in 1655 suffocated *four thousand* persons. As the principal stream of this pestilential blast always moves in a line, about twenty yards in breadth, and twelve feet above the surface of the earth, travellers in the desert, when they perceive its approach, throw themselves on the ground, with their faces close to the burning sands, and wrap their heads in their robes, or in a piece of carpet, till the wind has passed over them.

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[1] Diod Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. xix. c. 109.
[2] Henderson's Iceland, vol. i. pp. 153, 154.
[3] Strabonis Geographia, lib. xvi. p. 1087. edit. Oxon.
[4] De Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. 8. § 4.

The least mischief which it produces, is the drying up their skins of water, and thus exposing them to perish with thirst in the deserts. When this destructive wind advances, which it does with great rapidity, its approach is indicated by a redness in the air; and, when sufficiently near to admit of being observed, it appears like a haze, in colour resembling the purple part of the rainbow, but not so compressed or thick. When travellers are exposed to a second or third attack of this terrible blast, it produces a desperate kind of indifference for life, and an almost total prostration of strength. Camels and other animals instinctively perceive its approach, and bury their mouths and nostrils in the ground. The effects of this blast on the bodies of those whom it destroys are peculiar. At first view, its victims appear to be asleep: but if an arm or leg be smartly shaken or lifted up, it separates from the body, which soon after becomes black [1]. In Persia, in the district of Dashtistan, a *sam* or *simoom* blew during the summer months, which so totally burnt up all the corn (then near its maturity), that no animal would eat a blade of it, or touch any of its grain [2]. The image of *corn blasted before it be grown up*, used by the sacred historian in 2 Kings xix. 26., was most probably taken from this or some similar cause. The Psalmist evidently alludes (Psal. ciii. 15, 16.) to the desolating influence of the simoom, which was unquestionably the *blast* that destroyed the army of Sennacherib in one night. (2 Kings xix. 7. 35.)

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[1] Bruce's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 462, 463. 484. Harmer's Observations, vol. i. pp 94—96.

[2] Morier's Second Journey, p. 43.

PART II.

ON THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT FROM THE PATRIARCHAL TIMES TO THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

I. *Patriarchal government.*—II. *Government under Moses—a theocracy;—its nature and design.*—1. *Notice of the heads or princes of tribes and families.*—2. *Of the Jethronian Prefects or Judges appointed by Moses.*—3. *Of the Senate or Council of Seventy Assessors.*—4. *Scribes.*—III. *Government of the Judges.*—IV. *Regal Government instituted;—the functions and privileges of the Kings;—Inauguration of the Kings;—Scriptural Allusions to the courts of Sovereigns and Princes explained;—Revenues of the Kings of Israel.*—V. *Schism between the twelve tribes;—the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah founded;—their duration and end.*

I. OF the forms of government which obtained among mankind from the earliest ages to the time of Moses, we have but little information communicated in the Scriptures. The simplicity of manners which then prevailed would render any complicated form of government unnecessary; and accordingly we find that the patriarchs exercised the chief power and command over their families, children, and domestics, without being responsible to any superior authority. Such was the government of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. So long as they resided in the land of Canaan, they were subject to no foreign power, but tended their flocks and herds wherever they chose to go (Gen. xiii. 6—12.), and vindicated their wrongs by arms whensoever they had sustained any injury. (Gen. xiv.) They treated with the petty kings who reigned in different parts of Palestine as their equals in dignity, and concluded treaties with them in their own right. (Gen. xiv. 13. 18—24. xxi. 22—32. xxvi. 16. 27—33. xxxi. 44—54.)

The patriarchal power was a sovereign dominion: so that parents may be considered as the first kings and children the

first subjects. They had the power of disinheriting their children (Gen. xlix. 3, 4. 1 Chron. v. 1.), and also of punishing them with death (Gen. xxxviii. 24.), or of dismissing them from home without assigning any reason. (Gen. xxi. 14.) Further, the patriarchs could pronounce a solemn blessing or curse upon their children, which at that time was regarded as a high privilege and of great consequence. Thus Noah cursed his son Canaan (Gen. ix. 25.); Isaac blessed Jacob (Gen. xxvii. 28, 29. 33.); and Jacob blessed his sons. (Gen. xlix.) On the decease of the father, the eldest son by a natural right of succession inherited the paternal power and dominion, which in those days was one of the rights of primogeniture. To this right the sacerdotal dignity, in the first ages, seems to have been annexed; so that the heads of families not only possessed a secular power, but also officiated as priests in the families to which they belonged. (Gen. viii. 20. xii. 7, 8. xxxv. 1—3.)

Although the sons of Jacob exercised, each, the supreme power in his own family, during their father's life (Gen. xxxviii. 24.), yet the latter appears to have retained some authority over them. (Gen. xlii. 1—4. 37, 38. xliii. 1—13. l. 15—17.) Afterwards, however, as the posterity of Jacob increased, in Egypt, it became necessary to have magistrates or governors, invested with more extensive authority; these are termed *Elders* (Exod. iii. 16.), being probably chosen on account of their age and wisdom. The *Shoterim* or "officers of the children of Israel" (Exod. v. 14, 15. 19.), have been conjectured to be a kind of magistrates elected by them: but, from the context of the sacred historian, they rather appear to have been appointed by the Egyptians, and placed over the Israelites in order to oversee their labour.

II. On the departure of the Israelites from the land of their oppressors, under the guidance of Moses, Jehovah was pleased to institute a new form of government, which has been rightly termed a THEOCRACY; the supreme legislative power being exclusively vested in God or in his ORACLE, who alone could enact or repeal laws. The Hebrew government appears not only designed to subserve the common and general ends of all good governments,—viz. the protection of the property, liberty, safety, and peace of the several members of the community, (in which the true happiness and prosperity of states will always consist);—but also to set apart the Hebrews or Israelites as a *holy people to Jehovah, and a kingdom of priests.* For thus Moses is directed to tell the children of Israel, *Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore if ye will hear my*

voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth is mine, and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation. (Exod. xix. 3, 4, 5, 6.) We learn what this covenant was in a further account of it. *Ye stand this day all of you before the Lord your God, your captains of your tribes, your elders and your officers, and all the men of Israel; that you should enter into covenant with the Lord thy God, and into his oath which the Lord thy God maketh with thee this day; that he may establish thee to day for a people unto himself, and that he may be unto thee a God, as he hath said unto thee, and as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, Isaac, and to Jacob: for ye know,* adds Moses, *how we have dwelt in the land of Egypt, and how we came through the nations which ye passed by; and ye have seen their abominations and their idols, wood and stone, silver and gold, which were among them, lest there should be among you, man, or woman, or family, or tribe, whose heart turneth away this day from the Lord our God to go and serve the Gods of these nations.* (Deut. xix. 10—18.)

From these passages, it is evident that the fundamental principle of the Mosaic Law was the maintenance of one true God, and the prevention, or rather the proscription, of polytheism and idolatry. The covenant of Jehovah with the Hebrew people, and their oath by which they bound their allegiance to Jehovah their God and King, was, that they should receive and obey the laws which he should appoint as their supreme governor, with a particular engagement to keep themselves from the idolatry of the nations round about them, whether the idolatry they had seen while they dwelt in the land of Egypt, or that which they had observed in the nations by which they passed into the promised Land. In keeping this allegiance to Jehovah, as their immediate and supreme Lord, they were to expect the blessings of God's immediate and particular protection in the security of their liberty, peace, and prosperity, against all attempts of their idolatrous neighbours; but if they should break their allegiance to Jehovah, or forsake the covenant of Jehovah, by going and serving other Gods, and worshipping them, then they should forfeit these blessings of God's protection, and the anger of Jehovah should be kindled against the land, to bring upon it all the curses that are written in the book of Deuteronomy. (xix. 25—27.) The substance then of this solemn transaction between God and the Israelites (which may be called the original contract of the Hebrew government) was this:—If the Hebrews would voluntarily consent to receive Jehovah their lord and king, to keep his covenant and laws, to honour and worship him as the one

true God, in opposition to all idolatry; then, though God as sovereign of the world rules over all the nations of the earth, and all nations are under the general care of his providence, he would govern the Hebrew nation by peculiar laws of his particular appointment, and bless it with a more immediate and particular protection; he would secure to them the invaluable privileges of the true religion, together with liberty, peace, and prosperity, as a favoured people above all other nations. In this constitution, it will be observed that it is enforced chiefly by temporal sanctions, and with singular wisdom, for temporal blessings and evils were at that time the common and prevailing incitements to idolatry; but by thus taking them into the Hebrew constitution, as rewards to obedience and punishments for disobedience, they became motives to continuance in the true religion, instead of encouragements to idolatry.[2]

In the theocracy of the Hebrews, the laws were given to them by God, through the mediation of Moses, and they were to be of perpetual force and obligation so long as their polity subsisted. The judges, by whom these laws were administered, were represented as holy persons, and as sitting in the place of God. (Deut. i. 17. xix. 7.) These judges were usually taken from the tribe of Levi; and the chief expounder of the law was the high priest. In this there was a singular propriety; for the Levites, being devoted to the study of the law, were (as will be shewn in a subsequent page) the *literati* among the Israelites. In difficult cases of law however, relating both to government and war, God was to be consulted by Urim and Thummim; and in matters, which concerned the welfare of the state, God frequently made known his will by prophets whose mission was duly attested, and the people were bound to hearken to their voice. In all these cases, Jehovah appears as sovereign king, ruling his people by his appointed ministers.[2]

A subordinate design of this constitution of the Hebrew government was, the prevention of intercourse between the Israelites and foreign nations. The prevalence of the most abominable idolatry among those nations, and the facility with which the Israelites had, on more than one occasion, adopted their idolatrous rites, during their sojourning in the wilderness, rendered this seclusion necessary, in order to secure the fundamental principle of the Mosaic law above mentioned: and many

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[1] Lowman on the Civil Government of the Hebrews, pp. 8—10. See also Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 141—185. for some masterly observations on the introduction of temporal sanctions into the Mosaic law.

[2] Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. pp. 190—196.

of the peculiar laws will, on this principle, be found both wisely and admirably adapted to secure this design. [1]

The form of the Hebrew republic was unquestionably democratical: its head admitted of change as to the name and nature of his office, and at certain times it could even subsist without a general head. When Moses promulgated his laws, he convened the whole congregation of Israel, to whom he is repeatedly said to have *spoken*, but as he could not possibly be heard by six hundred thousand men, we must conclude that he only addressed a certain number of persons, who were deputed to represent the rest of the Israelites. Accordingly in Numb. i. 16. these delegates or representatives are termed קרוּאי העדה (KeRUAY HOëDaH), that is, *those wont to be called the convention*, in our version called the *renowned of the congregation*: and in Numb. xvi. 2. they are denominated נשיאי עדה קרואי הועד (NeSIAY EDaH KeRUAY HöEDaH), that is, *chiefs of the community*, or congregation, *that are called to the convention*, in our version termed, *famous in the congregation, men of renown*. By comparing Deut. xxix. 9. with Josh. xxiii. 2. it appears that these representatives were the *heads of tribes of families*, and *judges* and *officers*; and Michaelis is of opinion that, like the members of our British House of Commons, they acted in the plenitude of their own power, without taking instruction from their constituents. [2]

1. Heads or Princes of tribes and families.—All the various branches of Abraham's descendants, like the antient Germans or the Scottish clans, kept together in a body according to their tribes and families; each tribe forming a lesser commonwealth, with its own peculiar interests, and all of them at last uniting into one great republic [3]. The same arrangement, it is well known, obtained among the Israelites, who appear to have been divided into twelve great tribes, previously to their departure from Egypt. By Moses, however, they were subdivided into certain greater families, which are called משפחות (MiSHPaCHATH) or *families*, by way of distinction, and בתי אבות (BaTeY ABöTH) or *houses of fathers* (Num. i. 2. Josh. vii. 14.); each of whom, again, had their heads, which are

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[1] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 202—225. Mr. Lowman (Civil Government of the Hebrews, pp. 17—31.) has illustrated the wisdom of this second design of the Jewish theocracy by several pertinent examples.

[2] Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 231.

[3] In this manner were the Israelites governed by twelve princes according to the number of Ishmael's sons (Gen. xxv. 16.); and the Bedouins their descendants have always preserved some traces of this patriarchal government. Their families continue together; and under the name of *Emir*, one is prince among people, who are all his kindred within a certain degree of affinity. Ibid. p. 232.

sometimes called *heads of houses of fathers*, and sometimes simply *heads*. These are likewise the same persons, who in Josh. xxiii. 2. and xxiv. 1. are called *Elders*. (Compare also Deut. xix. 12. and xxi. 1—9.) It does not appear in what manner these heads or elders of families were chosen, when any of them died. The princes of tribes do not seem to have ceased with the commencement, at least, of the monarchy: from 1 Chron. xvii. 16—22. it is evident that they subsisted in the time of David; and they must have proved a powerful restraint upon the power of the king.

It will now be readily conceived how the Israelitish state might have subsisted not only without a king, but even occasionally without that magistrate who was called a *Judge*, although we read of no supreme council of the nation. Every tribe had always its own chief magistrate, who may not inaptly be compared to the lords lieutenants of our British counties; subordinate to them, again, were the heads of families, who may be represented as their deputy-lieutenants: and, if there were no *general* ruler of the whole people, yet there were twelve smaller commonwealths, who in certain cases united together, and whose general convention would take measures for their common interest. In many cases particular tribes acted as distinct and independent republics, not only when there was neither king nor judge, but even during the times of the kings. Instances of wars being carried on by one or more particular tribes, both before and after the establishment of the regal government, may be seen in Josh. xvii. 15—17. Judg. iv. 11. and xviii.—xx. 1 Chron. iv. 18—23. 41—43. It appears from 1 Chron. xxiii. 11. that a certain number of persons was necessary to constitute a family, and to empower such a family to have a representative head: for it is there said that the four sons of Shimei had not a numerous progeny, and were therefore reckoned only as one family. Hence we may explain why, according to Micah v. 1. Bethlehem may have been too small to be reckoned among the families of Judah. It is impossible to ascertain, at this distance of time, what number of individuals was requisite to constitute a house or family; but probably the number was not always uniform.[1]

2. The Judges, who were appointed by Moses, had also a right, by virtue of their office, to be present in the *congregation*, or convention of the state. After the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, Moses, for some time, was their sole Judge. Jethro, his father-in-law, observing that the daily duties of this office were too heavy for him, suggested to him

[1] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 244.

(subject to the approbation of Jehovah) the institution of *Judges*, or rulers, *of tens*, *of fifties*, *of hundreds*, and *of thousands*, who determined every affair of little importance among themselves, but brought the *hard causes* to Moses. (Exod. xviii. 14—26.) Of the judges of *tens*, therefore, there must have been *sixty thousand*; of the judges of *fifties*, *twelve thousand*; of the judges of *hundreds*, *six thousand*; and of the judges of *thousands*, *six hundred*. These judges, or Jethronian prefects, (as they have been called), seem to have been a sort of justices of the peace in several divisions, probably taken from the military division of an host into thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens; this was a model proper for them as an army marching, and not unsuitable to their settlement as tribes and families, in a sort of counties, hundreds, and tithings. Perhaps our old Saxon constitution of *sheriffs* in *counties*, *hundredors* or centgraves in *hundreds*, and *deciners* in *decennaries*, may give some light to this constitution of Moses. Some of our legal antiquaries have thought that those constitutions of the Saxons were taken from these laws of Moses, introduced by Alfred, or his direction [1]. It is not probable, that in the public deliberative assemblies the whole sixty thousand judges of tens had seats and voices. Michaelis conjectures that only those of hundreds, or even those only of thousands, are to be understood, when mention is made of judges in the Israelitish conventions.

But, after the establishment of the Hebrews in the land of Canaan, as they no longer dwelt together, in *round numbers*, Moses ordained that judges should be appointed in every city (Deut. xvi. 18.), and it should seem that they were chosen by the people. In succeeding ages these judicial offices were filled by the Levites, most probably because they were the persons best skilled in the law of the Hebrews. (See 1 Chron. xxiii. 4. xxvi. 29—32. 2 Chron. xix. 8—11. xxxiv. 13.)

3. During the sojourning of the Israelites in the wilderness, Moses established a council or SENATE of seventy, to assist him in the government of the people. The Jewish rabbinical writers, who have exercised their ingenuity in conjecturing why the number was limited to seventy, have pretended that this was a permanent and supreme court of judicature; but as the sacred writers are totally silent concerning such a tribunal, we are authorised to conclude that it was only a temporary institution. *After* their return from the Babylonish captivity, it is well known that the Jews did appoint a sanhedrin or coun-

[1] Bacon on English Government, part i. p. 70. Lowman's Civil Government of the Hebrews, p. 162.

cil of seventy at Jerusalem, in imitation of that which Moses had instituted. In the New Testament, very frequent mention is made of this supreme tribunal, of which an account will be found in a subsequent chapter of this volume.

4. Among the persons who appear in the Israelitish congregation or diet, (as Michaelis terms it), in addition to those already mentioned, we find the שוטרים (SHOTERIM) or *scribes*. It is evident that they were different from the Jethronian prefects or judges; for Moses expressly ordained that they should not only appoint judges in every city, but also *shoterim* or scribes. Officers of this description, we have already seen [1] were among the Israelites, during their bondage in Egypt. What their functions were, it is now difficult to ascertain. Michaelis conjectures, with great probability, that they kept the genealogical tables of the Israelites, with a faithful record of births, marriages, and deaths; and that to them was assigned the duty of apportioning the public burthens and services on the people individually. Under the regal government, these scribes were generally taken from the tribe of Levi. (1 Chron. xxiii. 4. 2 Chron. xix. 8—11. and xxxiv. 13). In Deut. xxix. 10. xxxi. 28. Josh. viii. 33. and xxiii. 2. we find them as representatives of the people in the diets, or when they entered into covenant with God. In time of war they were charged with the duty of conveying orders to the army. (Deut. xx. 5.); and in 2 Chron. xxvi. 11. we meet with a *chief scribe*, who appears to have been what is now termed the *muster-master-general.* [2]

III. On the death of Moses, the command of the children of Israel was confided to Joshua, who had been his minister (Exod. xxiv. 13. Josh. i. 1.); and under whom the land of Canaan was subdued, and divided agreeably to the divine injunctions: but his office ceasing with his life, the government of Israel was committed to certain supreme magistrates termed JUDGES. Their dignity was for life; but their office was not hereditary, neither was their succession constant. There also were anarchies, or intervals of several years continuance, during which the Israelites groaned under the tyranny of their oppressors, and had no governors. But though God himself did regularly appoint the judges of the Israelites, the people, nevertheless, on some occasions elected him who appeared to them most proper to deliver them from their immediate oppression: thus Jephthah was chosen by the Israelites beyond Jordan. As, however, it frequently happened that the oppressions which rendered the assistance of judges

[1] See p. 77. *supra.*

[2] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 249—251.

necessary, were not felt equally over all Israel, so the power of those judges, who were elected in order to procure their deliverance from such servitudes, did not extend over all the people, but only over that district which they had delivered. Thus, Jephthah did not exercise his authority on this side Jordan, neither did Barak exercise his judicial power beyond that river. The authority of the judges was not inferior to that of kings: it extended to peace and war. They decided causes without appeal; but they had no power to enact new laws, nor to impose new burthens upon the people. They were protectors of the laws, defenders of religion, and avengers of crimes, particularly of idolatry, which was high treason against Jehovah their Sovereign. Further, these judges were without pomp or splendour, and destitute of guards, train, or equipage; unless indeed their own wealth might enable them to make an appearance suitable to their dignity. Their income or revenue arose solely from presents. This form of administration subsisted from Joshua to Saul, during a period of about 339 years.

IV. At length the Israelites, weary of having God for their king, and provoked by the misconduct of the sons of the judge and prophet Samuel, who in his old age had associated them with himself for the administration of affairs, desired a king to be set over them, *to judge them like all the nations* (1 Sam. viii. 5.), thus undesignedly fulfilling the designs of the Almighty, who had ordained that in the fulness of time the Messiah should be born of a royal house. Such a change in their government Moses foresaw, and accordingly prescribed certain laws for the direction of their future sovereigns. (Deut. xvii. 14—20.) The right of choice was left to the people, but with this limitation, that they must never elect a foreigner. This was a patriotic law, but it did not apply to the case of the nation being at any time subjected, by force of arms, to a foreign prince; though the Pharisees afterwards so explained it. Further, the Israelites were on no account to appoint any one as their king, who was not chosen by God; but this did not extend to their electing every individual king: for, so long as the reigning family did not violate the fundamental laws of the theocracy, they would continue to possess the throne, but, if they tyrannised, they would forfeit it.

The kings were prohibited from multiplying horses, as cavalry would be unnecessary for the defence of Palestine, from its being a mountainous country: nor were they allowed to take many wives. No law of Moses, however, was less observed than this. They were likewise forbidden to collect great quantities of gold and silver; lest they should have in their hands

the means of making themselves rich. In order that they might not be ignorant of religion and of the laws of the Israelites, they were enjoined to have by them a copy of the law, carefully taken from the Levitical exemplars, and to read in it daily[1]. From 1 Sam x. 25. compared with 2 Sam. v. 3. 1 Kings xii. 22—24. and 2 Kings xi. 17. it appears that the Israelitish kings were by no means possessed of unlimited power, but were restricted by a solemn stipulation; although they had a tendency to despotism. (1 Sam. xi. 5—7. and xxii. 17, 18.) They had, however, the right of making war and peace, as well as the power of life and death; and could on particular occasions put criminals to death, without the formalities of justice (2 Sam. i. 5—15. iv. 9—12.): but, in general, they administered justice; sometimes in a summary way by themselves where the case appeared clear, as David did (see 2 Sam. xii. 1—5. xiv. 4—11. and 1 Kings ii. 5—9.), or by judges duly constituted to hear and determine causes in the king's name. (1 Chron. xxiii. 4. xxvi. 29—32.) Michaelis thinks it probable that there were superior courts established at Jerusalem, in which David's sons presided, and that Psal. cxxii. 5. is an allusion to them; but no mention is made of a supreme tribunal in that city earlier than the reign of Jehoshaphat. (2 Chron. xix. 8—11.) Although the kings enjoyed the privilege of granting pardons to offenders at their pleasure without consulting any person; and in ecclesiastical affairs exercised great power, sometimes deposing or condemning to death even the high priest himself (1 Sam. xxii. 17, 18. 1 Kings ii. 26, 27.), and at other times reforming gross abuses in religion, of which we have examples in the zealous conduct of Hezekiah and Josiah: yet this power was enjoyed by them not as *absolute* sovereigns in their own right. They were merely the viceroys of Jehovah, who was the sole legislator of Israel: and therefore as the kings could neither enact a new law nor repeal an old one, the government continued to be a *theocracy*, as well under their permanent administration, as we have seen that it was under the occasional administration of the judges. The only difference, that can be discovered between the two species of government, is that the conduct of the judges was generally directed by *urim*, and that of the kings, either by the inspiration of God vouchsafed to themselves, or by prophets raised up from time to time to reclaim them when deviating from their duty, as laid down by the law.

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[1] The above regulations concerning the Jewish monarchs are fully considered and illustrated by Michaelis. Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 266—283.

[2] Bp. Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. ii. p. 159.

The inauguration of the kings was performed with various ceremonies and with great pomp. The principal of these was anointing with holy oil (Psal. lxxxix. 20.), which was sometimes privately performed by a prophet (1 Sam. x. 1. xvi. 1—13. 1 Kings xix. 16. 2 Kings ix. 1—6.), and was a symbolical prediction that the person so anointed would ascend the throne; but, after the monarchy was established, this unction was performed by a priest (1 Kings i. 39.), at first in some public place (1 Kings i. 32—34.), and afterwards in the temple, the monarch elect being surrounded by his guards. (2 Kings xi. 11, 12. 2 Chron. xxiii.) It is probable also that he was at the same time girded with a sword. (Psalm xlv. 3.) From this ceremony of anointing, kings are in the Scriptures frequently termed the *anointed of the Lord* and *of the God of Jacob.* (1 Sam. xxiv. 6. 10. xxvi. 9. 11. 16. 23. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. Psal. ii. 2. lxxxix. 38. Habak. iii. 13.) A diadem or crown was also placed upon the sovereign's head and a sceptre put into his hand (Ezek. xxi. 26. Psal. xlv. 6. 2 Kings xi. 12.), after which he entered into a solemn covenant with his subjects that he would govern according to its conditions, and to the law of Moses. (2 Sam. v. 3. 1 Chron. xi. 3. 2 Kings xi. 12. 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. compare Deut. xvii. 18.) The nobles in their turn promised obedience, and appear to have confirmed this pledge with a kiss, either of the knees or feet. (Psal. ii. 12.) Loud acclamations accompanied with music then followed, after which the king entered the city. (1 Kings i. 39, 40. 2 Kings xi. 12. 19. 2 Chron. xxiii. 11.) To this practice there are numerous allusions both in the Old Testament (Psal. xlvii. 2—9. xcvii. 1. xcix. 1., &c.), as well as in the New (Matt. xxi. 9, 10. Mark xi. 9, 10. Luke xix. 35—38.); in which last cited passages the Jews, by welcoming our Saviour in the same manner as their kings were formerly inaugurated, manifestly acknowledged him to be the Messiah whom they expected. Lastly, after entering the city, the kings seated themselves upon the throne, and received the congratulations of their subjects. (1 Kings i. 35. 47, 48. xi. 19, 20.) On the inauguration of Saul, however, when there was neither sceptre, diadem, nor throne, these ceremonies were not observed. After the establishment of royalty among the Jews, it appears to have been a maxim in their law, that *the king's person was inviolable, even though he might be tyrannical and unjust* (1 Sam. xxiv. 5—8.); a maxim which is necessary not only to the security of the king, but also to the welfare of the subject. On this principle, the Amalekite, who told David the improbable and untrue story of his having put the mortally wounded Saul to death, that he might not fall into

the hands of the Philistines, was, merely on this his own statement, ordered by David to be instantly despatched, *because he had laid his hand on the Lord's Anointed.* (2 Sam. i. 14.)

The royal apparel was splendid (Matt. vi. 29.), and the retinue of the sovereigns was both numerous and magnificent. (1 Kings iv. 1—24.) Their garments were made of purple and fine white linen (Esth. viii. 15. Luke xvi. 19.); their crowns or diadems glittered with gold, silver, and precious stones. (2 Sam. xii. 30. Zech. vi. 11.) Their arms were decorated with bracelets (2 Sam. i. 10.) as those of the Persian sovereigns are to this day[1]; and their thrones were equally magnificent. The throne of Solomon is particularly described in 1 Kings x. 18—20. Similar to this was the throne on which the sovereign of Persia was seated to receive his late Majesty's ambassador, Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. It was ascended by steps, on which were painted dragons; (that of Solomon was decorated with carved lions; and was also overlaid with fine gold.)[2] The royal sceptre seems to have been various at different times. That of Saul was a javelin or spear (1 Sam. xviii. 10. xxii. 6.), as Justin informs us was antiently the practice among the early Greek sovereigns[3]. Sometimes the sceptre was a walking-stick, cut from the branches of trees, decorated with gold, or studded with golden nails. Such sceptres were carried by judges, and by such a sceptre Homer introduces Achilles as swearing[4], and to a sceptre of this description the prophet Ezekiel unquestionably alludes. (xix. 11.)

It is well known that the tables of the modern oriental sovereigns are characterised by luxurious profusion; and vast numbers are fed from the royal kitchen. This fact serves to account for the apparently immense quantity of provisions stated in 1 Kings iv. 22, 23. 28. to have been consumed by the household of Solomon, whose vessels were for the most part of massive gold (1 Kings x. 21.), and which were furnished throughout the year from the twelve provinces into which he divided his dominions. A similar custom obtains in Persia to this day[5]. Splendid banquets were given by the kings (Dan. v. 1. Matt. xxii. 1. Mark vi. 21.); but it does not appear that women were admitted to them, except in Persia, when the queen was present until the men grew warm with wine. (Dan. v. 2, 3. 23. Esther i. 11. v. 4. 8. vii. 1.)[6]

Numerous are the allusions in the sacred writings to the courts of princes, and to the regal state which they antiently

[1] Morier's Second Journey, p. 173. [2] Ibid. p. 174. [3] Hist. lib. xliii. c. 3.
[4] Iliad, lib. i. v. 234—239. [5] Morier's Second Journey, p. 274.
[6] This is confirmed by Herodotus, lib. v. c. 18.

enjoyed. The eastern monarchs were ever distinguished for studiously keeping up the majesty of royalty, and thus inspiring their subjects with the most reverential awe. They were difficult of access[1], very rarely shewing themselves to their people, and lived in the depths of their vast palaces, surrounded with every possible luxury, and gratifying every desire as it arose. In these kingdoms of slaves it was accounted the summit of human grandeur and felicity to be admitted into that splendid circle which surrounded the person of their sovereign; whence the expression of seeing God (Matt. v. 8.) is to be explained of the enjoyment of the highest possible happiness, namely, his favour and protection, especially in the life to come. And as only a select few in the oriental courts were permitted to behold the face of the monarch, it is in reference to this custom that the angel Gabriel replied to Zachariah (who hesitated to believe his annunciation of the Baptist's birth), that he was Gabriel that stood in the presence of God; thus intimating that he stood in a state of high favour and trust with Jehovah (Luke i. 19.) *To dwell*, or *to stand in the presence of a sovereign* is an oriental idiom, importing the most eminent and dignified station at court.

This allusive phraseology beautifully illustrates another very striking passage of scripture. When the disciples, from their very low conceptions of the nature of Christ's kingdom, were contending among themselves who should be the greatest, our Saviour, in order to dispel these animosities, took a child; and, placing him before them, in the most solemn manner assured them that, *unless they were converted*, and purified their minds from all ambition and worldly thoughts, *they should not enter the kingdom of heaven*, should not be deemed proper subjects of the spiritual kingdom of the Messiah. But, continued Jesus Christ, *whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven*; and, after urging various cautions against harshly treating sincere and humble Christians, he added, *Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always* BEHOLD THE FACE OF MY FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN. (Matt. xviii. 1—10.); referring to the custom of oriental courts, where the great men, those who are highest in office and favour, are most frequently in the prince's palace and presence. (Esth. i. 14. 1 Kings x. 8. xii. 6. 2 Kings xxv. 19.)

[1] Among the Persians it was death to enter the royal presence without being called for, Esther iv. 11. Herodotus (book i. c. 99.) states Deiocès the Mede to have been the first who instituted this ordinance.

On another occasion, after our Lord had promised the apostles that they should sit on twelve thrones to judge the tribes of Israel, still mistaking the spiritual nature of his kingdom, the mother of James and John came to Jesus with her sons, and requested that he would grant that they might sit, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left hand, in his kingdom. (Matt. xx. 20—23.) This alludes to the custom which in those times obtained in the courts of princes; where two of the noblest and most dignified personages were respectively seated, one on each side, next the sovereign himself, thus enjoying the most eminent places of dignity [1]; (compare 1 Kings ii. 19. Psal. xlv. 9. and Heb. i. 3.) In reply to the request of Salome, our Saviour stated that seats of distinguished eminence in his kingdom were not to be given through favour or partiality, but to those only whom God should see properly prepared for them.

The eastern monarchs were never approached but with presents of some kind or other, according to the ability of the individual, who accompanied them with expressions of the profoundest reverence, prostrating themselves to the ground; and the same practice continues to this day. Thus Jacob instructed his sons to carry a present to Joseph, when they went to buy food of him as governor of Egypt. (Gen. xliii. 11. 26.) In like manner the magi, who came from the east to adore Jesus Christ, as king of the Jews, brought him presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. (Matt. ii. 11.) Allusions to this practice occur in Gen. xxxii. 13. 1 Kings x. 2. 10. 25. 2 Kings v. 5.; see also 1 Sam. ix. 7. and 2 Kings viii. 8. The prostrations were made, with every demonstration of reverence, to the ground. Thus David *stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself* before Saul. (1 Sam. xxiv. 8.) The mode of doing reverence to the sovereign, among the antient Persians, was little short of absolute idolatry [2]; and similar prostrations are made by their descendants in the present day. [3] On these occasions, it was usual to address them with some compliment, or with wishes for their long life. Thus the widow of Tekoah, after prostrating herself before David, addressed him with—*My lord is wise according to the wisdom of an angel of God* [4]

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[1] Among the antient Persians, to sit *next* the person of the king, was the highest possible honour. See 1 Esdras iii. 7. iv. 42. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xi. c. iii. § 2.

[2] Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. c. 6. tom. ii. p. 23. (edit. Bipont): lib. viii. c. 5. (p. 118.)

[3] Morier's Second Journey, p. 172.; where an engraving is given, illustrative of the oriental prostrations.

[4] This is very similar to the hyperbolical language, which is addressed by the Hindoos to an European, when they are desirous of obtaining something from him.

(2 Sam. xiv. 4. 20.); and the Chaldean magi accosted Nebuchadnezzar with.—*O king live for ever.* (Dan. ii. 4.)[1] The all but idolatrous homage thus rendered to their monarchs, was exacted by their chief courtiers and favourites of all who approached them: and such was their pride, that the refusal of this homage never failed to involve the refractory individual in ruin. Thus Orsines, a descendant of Cyrus, who had refused to worship the eunuch Bagoas (who had enslaved Alexander by his abominable obsequiousness), fell a victim to the revengeful minion's wounded pride[2]. In like manner, Mordecai's refusal to prostrate himself before Haman (Esth. iii. 2.) would have proved fatal not only to himself but also to the Jewish nation, had not the malignant design of the crafty but mortified Agagite (Esth. iii. 3—6. v. 13.) been providentially frustrated.

Eunuchs were introduced into the courts of princes, and also into the families of great men at a very early period; and black eunuchs appear to have been preferred, (as they still are in the East:) at least we find one in the court of Zedekiah. (Jer. xxxviii. 7.)

Those who rendered personal services to the sovereign had their names inscribed in the public registers (Esth. vi. 1.)[3]; and were rewarded by distinguished marks of the royal favour. Thus Mordecai was arrayed with the royal vestments and led in state on horseback through the street of the city, with the royal diadem on the horse's head. (Esth. vi. 8—11.) On such occasions the person raised to dignity was invested with a new name or title expressive of his deserts. This was the case with Joseph (Gen. xli. 45.), Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25.), Daniel and his companions (Dan. i. 7.); and to this there is an evident allusion in Rev. ii. 17.

The sovereigns of the east, it is well known, are very fond of displaying their gorgeous splendour. The present sovereign of Persia, and (after his example) his sons, generally appoint for the reception of ambassadors, such an hour as, according

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[1] *Saheb*, say they, *can do every thing. No one can prevent the execution of Saheb's commands. Saheb is God.*' (Ward's View of the History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 323.)

[1] A similar salutation is to this day given in India. When a poor man goes into the presence of a king, to solicit a favour, he says, 'O Father! thou art the support of the destitute—*Mayest thou live to old age!*' Ibid. p. 333.

[2] Quintus Curtius, lib. x. c. 1. vol. ii. pp. 199—201. (edit. Bipont.)

[3] Herodotus, lib. viii. c. 85. Thucydides, lib. i. c. 129. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xi. c. 6. The same practice continues to obtain at the Ottoman Porte (Baron De Tott's Mem. vol. ii. p. 15.) and also in Abyssinia, and other parts of the East. Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. i. p. 311.

to the season, or the intended room of audience, will best enable them to display the brilliancy of their jewels in full sunshine. The title of *bright* or *resplendent* was added to the name of one sovereign, who lived upwards of eight centuries ago; because his regal ornaments, glittering in the solar rays on a solemn festival, so dazzled the eyes of all beholders that they could scarcely bear the effulgence: and some knew not which was the monarch, or which the great luminary of the day. Thus Theophylact Simocatta [1] (a Greek historian who flourished in the seventh century of the Christian æra) relates that the Persian king, Hormisdas, sitting on his throne, astonished all spectators by the blazing glories of his jewels. Thus also king Agrippa was almost regarded as a god, so powerfully did his ornamented dress reflect the morning sun-beams [2]: and it was probably the splendour of Solomon '*in all his glory*' when seated on the throne, in addition to the magnificence of his establishment, which so struck the queen of Sheba on beholding them, that '*there was no more spirit in her.*' (1 Kings x. 4, 5.)

Further, whenever the oriental sovereigns go abroad, they are uniformly attended by a numerous and splendid retinue: the Hebrew kings and their sons either rode on asses or mules (2 Sam. xiii. 29. 1 Kings i. 33, 38.) or in chariots, (1 Kings i. 5. 2 Kings ix. 21. x. 15.) preceded or accompanied by their royal guards (who, in 2 Sam. viii. 18. and xv. 18., are termed Cherethites and Pelethites); as the oriental sovereigns do to this day. Further, whenever the Asiatic monarchs entered upon an expedition, or took a journey through desert and untravelled countries, they sent harbingers before them to prepare all things for their passage, and pioneers to open the passes, level the ways, and remove all impediments. The antient sovereigns of Hindoostan used to send persons to precede them in their journies, and command the inhabitants to clear the roads; a very necessary step in a country, where there are scarcely any public roads [3]. To this practice the prophet Isaiah manifestly alludes (Isa. xl. 3. compared with Mal. iii. 1. and Matt. iii. 3.); and we shall obtain a clear notion of the preparation of the way for a royal expedition, and the force and beauty of the prophetic declaration will fully appear, if we attend to the following narrative of the marches of Semiramis into Media, recorded by Diodorus Siculus. [4]

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[1] Theophylact, lib. iv. c. 3. cited by Sir Wm. Ouseley, to whom we are indebted for the above remark, in his Travels in various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia, vol. ii. p. 36. (London, 1821, 4to.)

[2] Acts xii. 21, 22.

[3] Ward's View of the History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 339.

[4] Bibliotheca Historica, lib. ii. c. 13, 14 (vol. ii. pp. 44—46. edit. Bipont.)

"In her march to Ecbatane, she came to the Zarcean mountain, which extending many furlongs, and being full of *craggy precipices* and *deep hollows*, could not be passed without making a long circuit. Being desirous, therefore, of leaving an everlasting memorial of herself, as well as to make a shorter way, she ordered the *precipices to be digged down*, and *the hollow places to be filled up*; and at a great expence she made a shorter and more expeditious road, which to this day is called the road of Semiramis. Afterwards she made a progress through Persia, and all her other dominions in Asia; and wherever she came, she commanded the *mountains* and *craggy precipices to be cut down*, and at a vast expence made the *ways level and plain*. On the other hand, in *low places* she raised *mounds*, on which she erected monuments in honour of her deceased generals, and sometimes whole cities."

The writer of the apocryphal book of Baruch (v. 7.) expresses the same subject by the same images, either taking them from Isa. xl. 3. (or perhaps from lxii. 10—12.) or from the common notions of his countrymen: "For God," says he, "hath appointed that every high *hill*, and banks of long continuance, should be *cast down*, and *vallies filled up*, to *make even the ground* that Israel may go safely in the glory of God." The Jewish church was that desert country to which John the Baptist was sent (Matt. iii. 1—4.), to announce the coming of the Messiah. It was at that time destitute of all religious cultivation, and of the spirit and practice of piety: and John was sent to *prepare the way of the Lord* by preaching the doctrine of repentance. The desert is therefore to be considered as a proper emblem of the rude state of the Jewish church, which was the true wilderness meant by the prophet, and in which John was to prepare the way of the promised Messiah.[1]

With regard to the revenues of the kings of Israel, as none were appointed by Moses, so he left no ordinances concerning them; we may, however, collect from the sacred writings, that they were derived from the following sources:

1. Voluntary offerings, or presents, which were made to them conformably to the oriental custom (1 Sam. x. 27. xvi.

[1] Bishop Lowth on Isaiah xl. 3. vol. ii. pp. 252—254. A practice, similar to that above described, is recorded by the chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the Mogul court in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; who says (p. 128.) that, making a progress with the ambassador and the emperor, they came to a wilderness, "where (*by a very great company sent before us, to make those passages and places fit for us*) A WAY WAS CUT OUT AND MADE EVEN, broad enough for our convenient passage. And in the place, where we pitched our tents, a great compass of ground was rid and made plain for them, by grubbing a number of trees and bushes: yet there we went as readily to our tents, as we did when they were set up in the plains." Fragments supplemental to Calmet's Dictionary, No. 171. See a similar instance in Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. viii. p. 277. 8vo.

20.) Michaelis is of opinion that they were confined to Saul only, as no trace of them is to be found after his time.

2. The produce of the royal flocks (1 Sam. xxi. 7. 2 Sam. xiii. 23. 2 Chron. xxxii. 28, 29.): and as both king and subjects had a common of pasture in the Arabian deserts, Michaelis thinks that David kept numerous herds there (1 Chron. xxvii. 29—31.), which were partly under the care of Arabian herdsmen.

3. The produce of the royal demesnes, consisting of arable lands, vineyards, olive and sycamore grounds, &c. which had originally been uninclosed and uncultivated, or were the property of state criminals confiscated to the sovereign: these demesnes were cultivated by bondsmen and perhaps also by the people of conquered countries (1 Chron. xxvii. 26—31. 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.); and it appears from 1 Sam. viii. 14. xxii. 7. and Ezek. xlvi. 17. that the kings assigned part of their domains to their servants in lieu of salary.

4. Another source of the royal revenue was the tenth part of all the produce of the fields and vineyards, the collection and management of which seem to have been confided to the officers mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 7. and 1 Chron. xxvii. 25. It is also probable from 1 Kings x. 14. that the Israelites likewise paid a tax in money. These imposts Solomon appears to have increased; and Rehoboam's refusal to lessen them is stated by the sacred historian as the cause of the rebellion of the ten tribes against him. (1 Kings xii. 4. 18.) There is an allusion in Mal. i. 8. and Neh. v. 18. to the custom of paying dues in kind to governors, which obtains to this day in Abyssinia.[1]

5. Not only did the most precious part of the plunder of the conquered nations flow into the royal treasury (2 Sam. viii.), but the latter also had tributes imposed on them, which were termed MINCHA, or presents, and were paid partly in money, and partly in agricultural produce. (1 Kings iv. 21. Psal. lxxii. 10. compared with 1 Chron. xxvii. 25—31.)

6. Lastly, the customs paid to Solomon by the foreign merchants who passed through his dominions (1 Kings x. 15), afforded a considerable revenue to that monarch; who, as the Mosaic laws did not encourage foreign commerce, carried on a very extensive and lucrative trade (1 Kings x. 22.), particularly in Egyptian horses and the byssus or fine linen of Egypt[2]. (1 Kings x. 28, 29.)

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[1] Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 353.

[2] Jahn. Archæologia Biblica, pp. 330—332. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 299—307.

V. The kingdom which had been founded by Saul, and carried to its highest pitch of grandeur and power by David and Solomon, subsisted entire for the space of 120 years; until Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon, refused to mitigate the burthens of his subjects, when a division of the twelve tribes took place: ten of which adhering to Jeroboam formed the kingdom of Israel, while the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, continuing faithful in their allegiance to Rehoboam, constituted the kingdom of Judah.

The kingdom of Israel subsisted under various sovereigns during a period of 264 or 271 years, according to some chronologers; its metropolis Samaria being captured by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, B.C. 717 or 719, after a siege of three years; of the Israelites, whose numbers had been reduced by immense and repeated slaughters, some of the lower sort were suffered to remain in their native country; but the nobles and all the more opulent persons were carried into captivity beyond the Euphrates. [1]

The kingdom of Judah continued 388, or, according to some chronologers, 404 years; Jerusalem its capital being taken, the temple burnt, and its sovereign Zedekiah being carried captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar; the rest of his subjects (with the exception of the poorer classes who were left in Judæa) were likewise carried into captivity beyond the Euphrates, where they and their posterity remained seventy years, agreeably to the divine predictions.

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[1] It was the belief of some of the antient fathers of the Christian church, that the descendants of the ten tribes did afterwards return into their own country: and the same notion has obtained among some modern Jews, but neither of these opinions is supported by history. In the New Testament, indeed, we find mention of the twelve tribes (Matt. xix. 28. Luke xxii. 30. Acts xxvi. 7.): and St. James (i. 1.) directs his epistle to them; but it cannot be concluded from these passages, that they were at that time gathered together; all that can be inferred from them is, that they were still in being. Perhaps the whole body of the Jewish nation retained the name of the *twelve tribes* according to the antient division; as we find the disciples called the *twelve* after the death of Judas, and before the election of Matthias. This conjecture becomes the more probable, as it is certain from the testimony of the sacred writers and of Josephus, that there were considerable numbers of Israelites mingled with the Jews, sufficient indeed to authorize the former to speak of the twelve tribes as constituting but one body with the Jewish nation. Beausobre's Introd. to the New Test. (Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 114—116.)

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE JEWS, FROM THEIR RETURN FROM THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY, TO THE SUBVERSION OF THEIR CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

SECTION I.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE JEWS UNDER THE ASMONEAN PRINCES, AND THE SOVEREIGNS OF THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

I. *Brief Account of the Asmonean princes.*—II. *Herod the Great.*—*St. Matthew's narrative of his murder of the infants at Bethlehem confirmed.*—III. *Archelaus.*—IV. *Herod Antipas.*—V. *Philip.*—VI. *Herod Agrippa.*—VII. *Agrippa junior.*

I. ON the subversion of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus the founder of the Persian monarchy, (B. C. 543), he authorised the Jews by an edict to return into their own country, with full permission to enjoy their laws and religion, and caused the city and temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt. In the following year, part of the Jews returned under Zerubbabel, and renewed their sacrifices: the theocratic government, which had been in abeyance during the captivity, was resumed: but the re-erection of the city and temple being interrupted for several years by the treachery and hostility of the Samaritans or Cutheans, the avowed enemies of the Jews, the completion and dedication of the temple did not take place until the year 511 B. C. six years after the accession of Cyrus. The rebuilding of Jerusalem was accomplished, and the reformation of their ecclesiastical and civil polity was effected by the two divinely inspired and pious governors Ezra and Nehemiah. After their death the Jews were governed by their high priests, in subjection however to the Persian kings, to whom they paid tribute, (Ezra iv. 13. vii. 24.), but with the full enjoyment of their other magistrates, as well as their liberties, civil and religious. Nearly three centuries of uninterrupted prosperity ensued, until the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, when they were most cruelly oppressed, and compelled to take up arms in their own defence.

Under the able conduct of Judas surnamed Maccabeus[1], and his valiant brothers, the Jews maintained a religious war

[1] He is generally supposed to have derived this name from a cabalistical word, formed of M. C. B. I. the initial letters of the Hebrew Text, *Mi Chamoka Baelim Jehovah*,

for twenty-six years with five successive kings of Syria; and after destroying upwards of 200,000 of their best troops, the Maccabees finally established the independence of their own country and the aggrandisement of their family. This illustrious house, whose princes united the regal and pontifical dignity in their own persons, administered the affairs of the Jews during a period of one hundred and twenty-six years; until, disputes arising between Hyrcanus II. and his brother Aristobulus, the latter was defeated by the Romans under Pompey, who captured Jerusalem, and reduced Judæa to a tributary province of the republic (B. C. 59.)

II. Julius Cæsar, having defeated Pompey, continued Hyrcanus in the high priesthood, but bestowed the government of Judæa upon Antipater, an Idumean by birth, who was a Jewish proselyte, and the father of Herod surnamed the Great who was subsequently king of the Jews. Antipater divided Judæa between his two sons Phasael and Herod, giving to the former the government of Jerusalem, and to the latter the province of Galilee; which being at that time greatly infested with robbers, Herod signalised his courage by dispersing them, and shortly after attacked Antigonus the competitor of Hyrcanus in the priesthood, who was supported by the Tyrians. In the mean time, the Parthians having invaded Judæa, and carried into captivity Hyrcanus the high priest and Phasael the brother of Herod; the latter fled to Rome, where Mark Antony, with the consent of the senate, conferred on him the title of king of Judæa. By the aid of the Roman arms Herod kept possession of his dignity; and after three years of sanguinary and intestine war with the partisans of Antigonus, he was confirmed in his kingdom by Augustus.

This prince is characterised by Josephus as a person of singular courage and resolution, liberal and even extravagant in his expenditure, magnificent in his buildings, especially in the temple of Jerusalem, and apparently disposed to promote the happiness of every one. But under this specious exterior he concealed the most consummate duplicity: studious only how to attain and to secure his own dignity, he regarded no means, however unjustifiable, which might promote that object of his ambition; and in order to supply his lavish expenditure, he imposed oppressive burthens on his subjects. Inexorably cruel, and a slave to the most furious passions, he imbrued his hands in the blood of his wife, his children, and the greater

i. e. who among the Gods is like unto thee, O Jehovah (Exod. xv. 11.) which letters might have been displayed on his sacred standard, as the letters S. P. Q. R. Senatus Populus Que Romanus, were on the Roman ensigns. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 599.

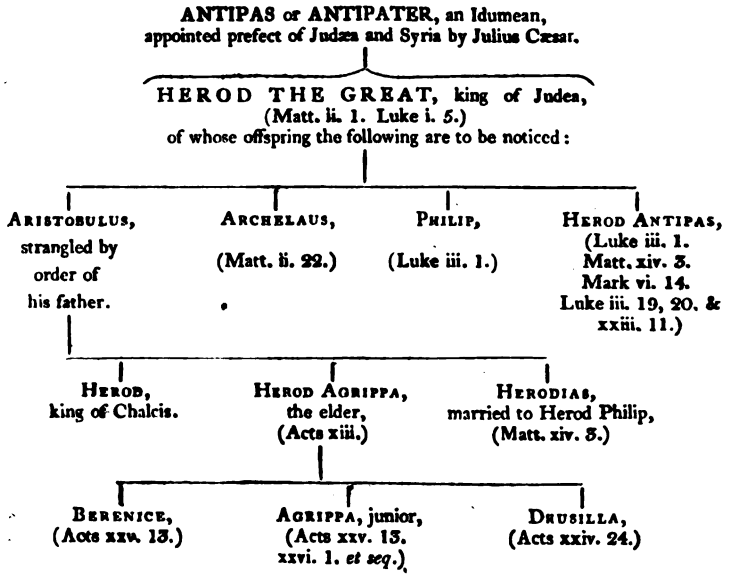
part of his family[1]; such indeed was the restlessness and jealousy of his temper, that he spared neither his people, nor the richest and most powerful of his subjects, not even his very friends. It is not at all surprising that such a conduct should procure Herod the hatred of his subjects, especially of the Pharisees, who engaged in various plots against him: and so suspicious did these conspiracies render him, that he put the innocent to the torture, lest the guilty should escape. These circumstances sufficiently account for Herod and all Jerusalem with him being troubled at the arrival of the Magi, to inquire where the Messiah was born. (Matt. ii. 1—3.) The Jews, who anxiously expected the Messiah 'the Deliverer,' were moved with an anxiety made up of hopes and fears, of uncertainty and expectation, blended with a dread of the sanguinary consequences of new tumults; and Herod, who was a foreigner and usurper, was apprehensive lest he should lose his crown by the birth of a rightful heir. Hence we are furnished with a satis-

[1] "When Herod," says the accurate Lardner, "had gained possession of Jerusalem by the assistance of the Romans, and his rival Antigonus was taken prisoner, and in the hands of the Roman general Sosius, and by him carried to Mark Antony, Herod, by a large sum of money persuaded Antony to put him to death. Herod's great fear was, that Antigonus might sometime revive his pretensions, as being of the Asmonean family. Aristobulus, brother of his wife Mariamne, was murdered by his directions at eighteen years of age, because the people at Jerusalem had shewn some affection for his person. In the seventh year of his reign from the death of Antigonus, he put to death Hyrcanus, grandfather of Mariamne, then eighty years of age, and who had saved Herod's life when he was prosecuted by the Sanhedrin; a man who in his youth and in the vigour of his life, and in all the revolutions of his fortune, had shewn a mild and peaceable disposition. His beloved wife, the beautiful and virtuous Mariamne, had a public execution, and her mother Alexandra followed soon after. Alexander and Aristobulus, his two sons by Mariamne, were strangled in prison by his order upon groundless suspicions, as it seems, when they were at man's estate, were married and had children. I say nothing of the death of his eldest son Antipater. If Josephus's character of him be just, he was a miscreant, and deserved the worst death that could be inflicted; in his last sickness, a little before he died, he sent orders throughout Judæa, requiring the presence of all the chief men of the nation at Jericho. His orders were obeyed, for they were enforced with no less penalty than that of death. When these men were come to Jericho, he had them all shut up in the circus, and calling for his sister Salome, and her husband Alexas, he told them, My life is now but short: I know the dispositions of the Jewish people, and nothing will please them more than my death. 'You have these men in your custody; as soon as the breath 'is out of my body, and before my death can be known, do you let in the soldiers 'upon them and kill them. All Judæa and every family will then, though unwillingly, 'mourn at my death.' Nay Josephus says, 'That with tears in his eyes he conjured 'them by their love to him, and their fidelity to God, not to fail of doing him this 'honour; and they promised they would not fail;' these orders indeed were not executed. But, as a modern historian of very good sense observes, 'the history of 'this his most wicked design takes off all objection against the truth of murdering the 'innocents, which may be made from the incredibility of so barbarous and horrid an act. 'For this thoroughly shews, that there can nothing be imagined so cruel, barbarous, and 'horrid, which this man was not capable of doing.' It may also be proper to observe, that almost all the executions I have instanced in were sacrifices to his state jealousy, and love of empire." Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 23, 25, 26, 28. lib. xvi. c. 7, 8, 11, 12 lib. xvii. c. 6. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. c. ii. § 1.

factory solution of the motive that led him to command all the male children to be put to death, who were under two years of age, in Bethlehem and its vicinity. (Matt. ii. 16.)

No very long time after the perpetration of this crime, Herod died, having suffered the most excruciating pains, in the thirty-seventh year of his being declared king of the Jews by the Romans. The tidings of his decease were received by his oppressed subjects with universal joy and satisfaction.

Herod had a numerous offspring by his different wives, although their number was greatly reduced by his unnatural cruelty in putting many of them to death: but, as few of his descendants are mentioned in the sacred volume, we shall notice only those persons of whom it is requisite that some account should be given for the better understanding of the New Testament. The annexed table will perhaps be found useful in distinguishing the particular persons of this family, whose names occur in the Evangelical histories.



HEROD, misnamed the Great, by his will divided his dominions among his three sons, Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Herod Philip.

III. To Archelaus he assigned Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, with the regal dignity, subject to the approbation of Augustus, who ratified his will as it respected the territorial division, but conferred on Archelaus the title of *ethnarch* or chief of the na-

tion, with a promise of the regal dignity, if he should prove himself worthy of it. Archelaus entered upon his new office amid the loud acclamations of his subjects, who considered him as a king; hence the evangelist says that he *reigned*. (Matt. ii. 22.) His reign, however, commenced inauspiciously; for, after the death of Herod and before Archelaus could go to Rome to obtain the confirmation of his father's will, the Jews having become very tumultuous at the temple in consequence of his refusing them some demands, Archelaus ordered his soldiers to attack them; on which occasion upwards of three thousand were slain[1]. On Archelaus going to Rome to solicit the regal dignity, (agreeably to the practice of the tributary kings of that age, who received their crowns from the Roman emperor), the Jews sent an embassy, consisting of fifty of their principal men, with a petition to Augustus that they might be permitted to live according to their own laws, under a Roman governor. To this circumstance our Lord evidently alludes in the parable related by Saint Luke (xix. 12—27.) *A certain nobleman* (ευγενης, a man of birth or rank, the son of Herod), *went into a far country* (Italy), *to receive for himself a kingdom* (that of Judæa) *and to return. But his citizens* (the Jews) *hated him, and sent a message* (or embassy) *after him* (to Augustus Cæsar), *saying 'We will not have this man to reign over us.'* The Jews however failed in their request; and Archelaus, *having received the kingdom* (or ethnarchy), on his return inflicted a severe vengeance on those *who would not that he should reign over them*[2]. The application of this parable is to Jesus Christ, who foretells that, on his ascension, he would go into a distant country, to receive the kingdom from his father; and that he would return, at the destruction of Jerusalem, to take vengeance on those who rejected him[3]. The subsequent reign of Archelaus was turbulent, and disgraced by insurrections of the Jews against the Romans, and also by banditti and pretenders to the crown: at length, after repeated complaints against his tyranny and mal-administration, made to Augustus by the principal Jews and Samaritans who were joined by his own brothers, Archelaus was deposed and banished to Vienne in

[1] This circumstance probably deterred the Holy Family from settling in Judæa on their return from Egypt; and induced them by the divine admonition to return to their former residence at Nazareth in Galilee (Matt. ii. 22, 23.) Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 717.

[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. ix. § 3. c. xi.

[3] There is an impressive application of this parable in Mr. Jones's Lectures on the figurative language of Scripture, lect. v. near the beginning. (Works, vol. iii. pp. 35, 36.)

Gaul, in the tenth year of his reign; and his territories were annexed to the Roman province of Syria.[1]

IV. Herod Antipas (or Antipater), another of Herod's sons, received from his father the district of Galilee and Peræa, with the title of tetrarch[2]. He is described by Josephus as a crafty and incestuous prince, with which character the narratives of the evangelists coincide; for, having deserted his wife, the daughter of Aretas king of Arabia, he forcibly took away and married Herodias the wife of his brother Herod Philip, a proud and cruel woman, to gratify whom he caused John the Baptist to be beheaded (Matt. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17. Luke iii. 19.), who had provoked her vengeance by his faithful reproof of their incestuous nuptials; though Josephus ascribes the Baptist's death to Herod's apprehension, lest the latter should by his influence raise an insurrection among the people. It was this Herod that laid snares for our Saviour; who, detecting his insidious intentions, termed him *a fox* (Luke xiii. 32.), and was subsequently ridiculed by him and his soldiers. (Luke xxiii. 7—11.) Some years afterwards, Herod aspiring to the regal dignity in Judæa was banished together with his wife, first to Lyons in Gaul, and thence into Spain.[3]

V. Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Batanæa, is mentioned but once in the New Testament. (Luke iii. 1.) He is represented by Josephus as an amiable prince, beloved by his subjects whom he governed with mildness and equity[4]: on his decease without issue, after a reign of thirty-seven years, his territories were annexed to the province of Syria.[5]

VI. Agrippa, or Herod Agrippa, was the son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great, and sustained various reverses of fortune previously to his attaining the royal dignity. At first he resided at Rome as a private person, and ingratiated himself into the favour of the emperor Tiberius; but, being

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[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. xii. § 2.

[2] Concerning the meaning of this term learned men are by no means agreed. In its primary and original signification it implies a governor of the fourth part of a country; and this seems to have been the first meaning affixed to it. But afterwards it was given to the governors of a province, whether their government was the fourth part of a country or not: for Herod divided his kingdom only into three parts. The tetrarchs, however, were regarded as princes, and sometimes were complimented with the title of *king*. (Matt. xiv. 9.) Beausobre's Introd. to the New Test. (Bp. Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 123.) The Romans conferred this title on those princes whom they did not chuse to elevate to the regal dignity: the tetrarch was lower in point of rank than a Roman governor of a province. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. p. 18, 19.

[3] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 7.

[4] Ibid. lib. xvii. c. viii. § 1. lib. xviii. c. v. § 4. De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. xxxiii. § 8. lib. ii. c. vi. § 3.

[5] Ibid. lib. xviii. c. 4. § 6.

accused of wishing him dead that Caligula might reign, he was thrown into prison by order of Tiberius. On the accession of Caligula to the empire, Agrippa was created king of Batanæa and Trachonitis, to which Abilene, Judæa, and Samaria were subsequently added by the emperor Claudius. Returning home to his dominions, he governed them much to the satisfaction of his subjects (for whose gratification he put to death the apostle James, and meditated that of St. Peter who was miraculously delivered, Acts xii. 2—17.), but, being inflated with pride on account of his increasing power and grandeur, he was struck with a noisome and painful disease of which he died at Cæsarea in the manner related by St. Luke. (Acts xii. 21—23.)[1]

VII. Agrippa junior, was the son of the preceding Herod Agrippa: being only seventeen years of age at the time of his father's death, he was judged to be unequal to the task of governing the whole of his dominions. These were again placed under the direction of a Roman procurator or governor, and Agrippa was first king of Chalcis, and afterwards of Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Abilene, to which other territories were subsequently added. It was before this Agrippa and his two sisters Berenice and Drusilla the wife of the Roman governor Felix, that St. Paul delivered his masterly defence[2]. (Acts xxvi.)

SECTION II.

POLITICAL STATE OF THE JEWS UNDER THE ROMAN PROCURATORS, TO THE SUBVERSION OF THEIR CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

I. *Powers and functions of the Roman Procurators.*—II. *Political and civil State of the Jews under their administration.*—III. *Account of Pontius Pilate.*—IV. *And of the procurators Felix and Festus.*

I. THE Jewish kingdom, which the Romans had created in favour of Herod the Great, was of short duration; expiring on his death, by his division of his territories, and by the dominions of Archelaus, which comprised Samaria, Judæa, and Idumæa, being reduced to a Roman province, annexed to

[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 5—8.
[2] Ibid. lib. xix. c. 9. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 12, 13.

Syria, and governed by the Roman procurators. These officers not only had the charge of collecting the imperial revenues, but also had the power of life and death in capital causes: and on account of their high dignity they are sometimes called *governors* (Ηγεμονες). They usually had a council, consisting of their friends and other chief Romans in the province; with whom they conferred on important questions [1]. During the continuance of the Roman republic, it was very unusual for the governors of provinces to take their wives with them. Augustus [2] disapproved of the introduction of this practice, which however was in some instances permitted by Tiberius. Thus Agrippina accompanied Germanicus [3] into Germany and Asia, and Plancina was with Piso, whose insolence towards Germanicus she contributed to inflame [4]: and, though Cæcina Severus afterwards offered a motion to the senate, to prohibit this indulgence, (on account of the serious inconveniences,—not to say abuses, that would result from the political influence which the wives might exercise over their husbands,) his motion was rejected [5], and they continued to attend the procurators to their respective provinces. This circumstance will account for Pilate's wife being at Jerusalem. (Matt. xxvii. 19.)

The procurators of Judæa resided principally at Cæsarea [6], which was reputed to be the metropolis of that country, and occupied the splendid palace which Herod the Great had erected there. On the great festivals, or when any tumults were apprehended, they repaired to Jerusalem, that, by their presence and influence, they might restore order. For this purpose they were accompanied by *cohorts* (Σπειραι, Acts x. 1.) or bands of soldiers, not legionary cohorts, but distinct companies of military: each of them was about one thousand strong [7]. Six of these cohorts were constantly garrisoned in Judæa; five at Cæsarea, and one at Jerusalem, part of which was quartered in the tower of Antonia, so as to command the temple, and part in the prætorium or governor's palace.

These procurators were Romans, sometimes of the equestrian order, and sometimes freedmen of the emperor: Felix (Acts xxiii. 24—26. xxiv. 3. 22—27.) was a freedman of the emperor Claudius [8], with whom he was in high favour. These governors

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[1] Josephus (Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 4. § 4. and De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16. § 1.) mentions instances in which the Roman procurators thus took counsel with their assessors.

[2] Suetonius, in Augusto. c. 24.

[3] Tacitus Annal. lib. ii. c. 54, 55. lib. i. c. 40, 41.

[4] Ibid. lib. i. c. 40.

[5] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 33, 34.

[6] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 3. § 1. lib. xx. c. 5. § 4. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 9. § 2. Tacit. Hist lib. ii. c. 79.

[7] Biscoe on the Acts, ch. ix. § 1. pp. 330—335.

[8] Suetonius in Claudio, c. xxviii.

were sent, not by the senate, but by the Cæsars themselves, into those provinces which were situated on the confines of the empire, and were placed at the emperor's own disposal. Their duties consisted in collecting and remitting tribute, in the administration of justice, and the repression of tumults: some of them held independent jurisdictions, while others were subordinate to the proconsul or governor of the nearest province. Thus Judæa was annexed to the province of Syria.

II. The Jews endured their subjection to the Romans with great reluctance, on account of the tribute which they were obliged to pay: but in all other respects they enjoyed a large measure of national liberty. It appears from the whole tenor of the New Testament, (for the particular passages are too numerous to be cited [1]) that they practised their own religious rites, worshipped in the temple and in their synagogues, followed their own customs, and lived very much according to their own laws. Thus, they had their high priests, and council or senate; they inflicted lesser punishments; they could apprehend men and bring them before the council; and, if a guard of soldiers were necessary, could be assisted by them, on requesting them of the governor. Further, they could bind men and keep them in custody; the council could likewise summon witnesses and take examinations; they could excommunicate persons, and they could inflict scourging in their synagogues. (Deut. xxv. 3. Matt. x. 17. Mark xiii. 9.) Beyond this, however, they were not allowed to go; for, when they had any capital offenders, they carried them before the procurator, who usually paid a regard to what they stated, and, if they brought evidence of the fact, pronounced sentence according to their laws. He was the proper judge in all capital causes; for, after the council of the Jews had had under their consideration the case of Jesus Christ, which they pretended was of this kind, they went with it immediately to the governor, who re-examined it and pronounced sentence. That they had not the power of life and death is evident from Pilate's granting to them the privilege of judging, but not of condemning Jesus Christ, and also from their acknowledgment to Pilate—*It is not lawful for us to put any man to death* (John xviii. 31.); and likewise from the power vested in Pilate of releasing a condemned criminal to them at the passover (John xviii. 39, 40.), which he could not have done if he had not had the power of life and death, as well as from his own declaration that he

[1] See Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book ii. ch. ii., where the various passages are adduced and fully considered.

had power to crucify and power to release Jesus Christ [1]. (John xix. 10.)

III. Of the various procurators that governed Judæa under the Romans, PONTIUS PILATE is the best known, and most frequently mentioned in the sacred writings. He is supposed to have been a native of Italy, and was sent to govern Judæa about the year A. D. 26 or 27. Pilate is characterised by Josephus as an unjust and cruel governor, sanguinary, obstinate, and impetuous; who disturbed the tranquillity of Judæa by persisting in carrying into Jerusalem the effigies of Tiberius Cæsar that were upon the Roman ensigns, and by other acts of oppression, which produced tumults among the Jews [2]. Dreading the extreme jealousy and suspicion of Tiberius he delivered up the Redeemer to be crucified, contrary to the conviction of his better judgment; and in the vain hope of conciliating the Jews whom he had oppressed. After he had held his office for ten years, having caused a number of innocent Samaritans to be put to death, that injured people sent an embassy to Vitellius, proconsul of Syria; by whom he was ordered to Rome, to give an account of his mal-administration to the emperor. But Tiberius being dead before he arrived there, his successor Caligula banished him to Gaul: where he is said to have committed suicide, about the year of Christ 41. [3]

IV. On the death of king Herod Agrippa, Judæa being again reduced to a Roman province, the government of it was confided to Antonius Felix; who had originally been the slave, then the freedman of Nero, and, through the influence of his brother Pallas, also a freedman of that emperor, was raised to the dignity of procurator of Judæa. He liberated that country

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[1] The celebrated Roman jurist, Ulpian, states that the governors of the Roman provinces *had the right of the sword;* which implied the authority of punishing malefactors;—an authority which was personal, and not to be transferred. (Lib. vi. c. 8. de Officio Proconsulis.) And Josephus states (De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 1.) that Coponius, who was sent to govern Judæa as a province after the banishment of Archelaus, was invested by Augustus with the power of life and death. (Dr. Gray's Connexion of Sacred and Profane Literature, vol. i. p. 273. See also Dr. Lardner's Credibility, c. ii. § 6.) The case of the Jews stoning Stephen (Acts vii. 56, 57.) has been urged by some learned men as a proof that the former had the power of life and death, but the circumstances of that case do not support this assertion. Stephen, it is true, had been examined before the great council who had heard witnesses against him, but no where do we read that they had collected votes or proceeded to the giving of sentence, or even to pronounce him guilty: all which ought to have been done, if the proceedings had been regular. Before Stephen could finish his defence, a sudden tumult arose; the people who were present rushed with one accord upon him, and, casting him out of the city, stoned him before the affair could be taken before the Roman procurator. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. p. 592.

[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c 3. § 1, 2.

[3] Ibid. lib. xviii. c. 4. Eusebius Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 7, 8.

from banditti and impostors (the *very worthy deeds* alluded to by Tertullus, Acts xxiv. 2.); but he was in other respects a cruel and avaricious governor, incontinent, intemperate, and unjust. So oppressive at length did his administration become, that the Jews accused him before Nero, and it was only through the powerful interposition of Pallas that Felix escaped condign punishment. His wife, Drusilla, (mentioned Acts xxiv. 24.) was the sister of Agrippa junior, and had been married to Azizus king of the Emesenes: Felix, having fallen desperately in love with her, persuaded her to abandon her legitimate husband and live with him [1]. The knowledge of these circumstances materially illustrates Acts xxiv. 25. and shews with what singular propriety St. Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come. On the resignation of Felix, A.D. 60, the government of Judæa was committed to Portius Festus, before whom Paul defended himself against the accusations of the Jews (Acts xxv.), and appealed from his tribunal to that of Cæsar. Finding his province overrun with robbers and murderers, Festus strenuously exerted himself in suppressing their outrages. He died in Judæa about the year 62. [2]

The situation of the Jews under the procurators was truly deplorable, particularly the two last mentioned. Distracted by tumults, excited on various occasions, their country was overrun with robbers that plundered all the villages whose inhabitants refused to listen to their persuasions to shake off the Roman yoke. Justice was sold to the highest bidder; and even the sacred office of high priest was exposed to sale. But, of all the procurators, no one abused his power more than Gessius Florus, a cruel and sanguinary governor, and so extremely avaricious that he shared with the robbers in their booty, and allowed them to follow their nefarious practices with impunity. Hence considerable numbers of the wretched Jews, with their families, abandoned their native country; while those who remained, being driven to desperation, took up arms against the Romans, and thus commenced that war, which terminated in the destruction of Judæa, and the *taking away of their name and nation.* [3]

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[1] Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. c. 54. Hist. lib. v. c. 9. Sueton. in Claudio, c. 38. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 7. § 2. c. 8. § 5. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 12. § 8.

[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 8. § 9, 10. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 14. § 1.

[3] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 8. 11. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 9, 10.

CHAPTER III:

COURTS OF JUDICATURE, LEGAL PROCEEDINGS, AND CRIMINAL LAW OF THE JEWS.

SECTION I.

JEWISH COURTS OF JUDICATURE, AND LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

I. *Inferior Judges.*—II. *Seat of Justice—Appeals.*—III. *Constitution of the Sanhedrin or Great Council.*—IV. *Form of Legal Proceedings among the Jews.*—1. *Citation of the parties.*—2, 3. *Form of pleading in civil and criminal cases.*—4. *Witnesses.*—5. *The Lot, in what cases used judicially.*—6. *Forms of Acquittal.*—7. *Summary Justice, sometimes clamorously demanded.*—V. *Execution of Sentences, by whom, and in what manner performed.*

I. ON the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan, Moses commanded them to *appoint judges and officers in all their gates, throughout their tribes* (Deut. xvi. 18.); and according to Josephus, these were seven in number, men zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. To each judge (that is, to each college of judges in every city) two officers were assigned out of the tribe of Levi [1]. These judges existed in the time of that historian [2], and, although the rabbinical writers are silent concerning them, yet their silence neither does, nor can outweigh the evidence of an eye witness and magistrate, who himself appointed such judges.

The Priests and Levites, who from their being devoted to the study of the law, were consequently best skilled in its various precepts, and old men, who were eminent for their age and virtue, administered justice to the people: in consequence of their age, the name of *elders* became attached to them. Many instances of this kind occur in the New Testament; they were also called *rulers*, αρχοντες. (Luke xii. 58. where ruler is synonymous with judge [3].) The law of Moses contained the most express prohibitions of bribery (Exod. xxiii. 8.), and partiality; enjoining them to administer justice without respect of persons,

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[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. iv. c. 14. Schulzii Prolusio de variis Judæorum erroribus in Descriptione Templi II. § xv. pp. 27—32. prefixed to his edition of Reland's Treatise De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1775, 8vo.

[2] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 20. § 5.

[3] Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, part iii. c. 10. § 73. p. 356.

and reminding them, that a judge sits in the seat of God, and consequently that no man ought to have any pre-eminence in his sight, neither ought he to be afraid of any man in declaring the law. (Exod. xxiii. 3. 6, 7. Lev. xix. 15. Deut i. 17. xxi. 18—20.) The prophet Amos (viii. 6.) reproaches the corrupt judges of his time, with taking not only silver, but even so trifling an article of dress as a pair of (wooden) sandals, as a bribe, to condemn the innocent poor who could not afford to make them a present of equal value. Turkish officers and their wives in Asia, to this day, go richly clothed in costly silks given them by those who have causes depending before them [1]. It is probable, at least in the early ages after the settlement of the Jews in Canaan, that their judges rode on *white* asses, by way of distinction (Judg. v. 10.), as the *Mollahs* or men of the law do to this day in Persia. [2]

II. In the early ages of the world, the *gate of the city* was the seat of justice (Gen. xxiii. 10. Deut. xxi. 19. xxv. 6, 7.) on which account, in the time of Moses, the judges appear to have been termed the *Elders of the Gate* (Deut. xxii. 15. xxv. 7. Isa. xxix. 21.); for, as all the Israelites were husbandmen, who went out in the morning to work, and did not return until night, the city gate was the place of greatest resort. By this antient practice, the judges were compelled, by a dread of public displeasure, to be most strictly impartial, and most carefully to investigate the merits of the causes which were brought before them. The same practice obtained after the captivity. (Zech. viii. 16.) The Ottoman court, it is well known, derived its appellation of the *Port*, from the distribution of justice and the despatch of public business at its gates. During the Arabian monarchy in Spain, the same practice obtained; and the magnificent gate of entrance to the Moorish palace of Alhamrā at Granada to this day retains the appellation of the *Gate of Justice* or *of Judgment*. [3]

From these inferior tribunals, appeals lay to a higher court, in cases of importance. (Deut. xvii. 8—12.) In Jerusalem, it is not improbable that there were superior courts in which David's sons presided. Psal. cxxii. 5. seems to allude to them: though we do not find that a supreme tribunal was established at Jerusalem earlier than the reign of Jehoshaphat. (2 Chron. xix. 8—11.) It was composed of priests and heads of families, and had two presidents,—one in the person of the high priest, and another who sat in the name of the king.

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[1] Morier's Second Journey, p. 136.
[2] Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 317.
[3] Murphy's Arabian Antiquities of Spain, plates xiv. xv. pp. 8. 9.

III. But the highest and most eminent tribunal of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, was the *Sanhedrin* or Great Council, so often mentioned in the New Testament. It consisted of seventy or seventy-two members, under the chief presidency of the high priest, under whom was a vice-president, called the *Father of the Council.* These assessors comprised three descriptions of persons, viz. 1. The Αρχιερεις, or *Chief Priests,* who were partly such priests as had executed the Pontificate, and partly the princes or chiefs of the twenty-four *courses* or classes of priests, who enjoyed this honourable title; —2. The Πρεσβυτεροι or *Elders,* perhaps the princes of tribes or heads of families;—and 3. The Γραμματεις, *Scribes* or men learned in the law. It does not appear that *all* the elders and scribes were members of this tribunal: most probably, those only were assessors, who were either elected to the office, or nominated to it by royal authority.

The Talmudical writers assert that the Sanhedrin held its sittings in the temple; but they are contradicted by Josephus [1], who speaks of a council house in the immediate vicinity of the temple, where council was in all probability convened; though in extraordinary emergencies it was assembled in the high priest's house, as was the case in the mock trial of Jesus Christ. The authority of this tribunal was very extensive. It decided all causes, which were brought before it, by appeal from inferior courts: and also took cognizance of the general affairs of the nation. *Before* Judæa was subject to the Roman power, the Sanhedrin had the right of judging in capital cases, but not afterwards; the stoning of Stephen being (as we have already observed) a tumultuary act, and not in consequence of sentence pronounced by this Council.

Besides the Sanhedrin, the Talmudical writers assert that there were other smaller councils, each consisting of twenty-three persons, who heard and determined petty causes: two of these were at Jerusalem, and one in every city containing one hundred and twenty inhabitants. Josephus is silent concerning these tribunals, but they certainly appear to have existed in the time of Jesus Christ; who, by images taken from these two courts, in a very striking manner represents the different degrees of future punishments, to which the impenitently wicked will be doomed according to the respective heinousness of their crimes. *But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the* JUDGMENT; *and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in*

[1] De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4. § 2. lib. vi. c. 6. § 3.

danger of the COUNCIL; *but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of* HELL FIRE. (Matt. v. 22.) That is, whosoever shall indulge causeless and unprovoked resentment against his Christian brother, shall be punished with a severity similar to that which is inflicted by the *court of judgment*. He, who shall suffer his passions to transport him to greater extravagances, so as to make his brother the object of derision and contempt, shall be exposed to a still severer punishment, corresponding to that which the *Council* imposes. But he who shall load his fellow Christian with odious appellations and abusive language, shall incur the severest degree of all punishments,—equal to that of being burnt alive in the valley of Hinnom:—which, having formerly been the scene of those horrid sacrifices of children to Moloch by causing them to pass through the fire, the Jews in our Saviour's time used to denote the place of the damned.

It is essential to the ends of justice, that the proceedings of the courts should be committed to writing, and preserved in archives or registries: Josephus informs us that there was such a repository at Jerusalem, which was burnt by the Romans [1], and which was furnished with scribes or notaries, for recording the proceedings. From this place, probably, St. Luke derived his account of the proceedings against the protomartyr Stephen, related in Acts vi. and vii. These tribunals also had inferior *ministers* or *officers* (υπηρεται, Matt. v. 25.), who probably corresponded with our apparitors or messengers; and others whose office it was to carry the decrees into execution, viz. 1. The πρακτορες, or *exactors*, whose business it was to levy the fines imposed by the court; and 2. The βασανισται, or *tormentors*, those whose office it was to examine by torture: as this charge was devolved on jailors, in the time of Christ, the word βασανιστης came to signify a jailor. [2]

III. It appears from Jer. xxi. 12. that causes were heard, and judgment was executed in the morning. According to the Talmud [3] capital causes were prohibited from being heard in the night, as also were the institution of an examination, pronouncing of sentence, and the carrying of it into execution, on one and the same day; and it was enjoined that at least the execution of a sentence should be deferred until the following day. How flagrantly this injunction was disregarded in the case of Jesus Christ, it is scarcely necessary to mention. According to the Talmud also, no judgments could be executed on holy days: but this by no means

[1] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 3. § 3.
[2] Schleusner's and Parkhurst's Lexicons, in voce.
[3] Sanhedrin, IV.

agrees with the end and design of capital punishment expressed in Deut. xvii. 13. viz. *That all the people might hear and fear.* It is evident from Matt. xxvi. 5. that the chief priests and other leading men among the Jews were at first afraid to apprehend Jesus, lest there should be a tumult among the people: it is not improbable that they feared the Galileans more than the populace of Jerusalem, because they were the countrymen of our Lord. Afterwards, however, when the traitor Judas presented himself to them, their fears vanished away.

IV. In the early ages of the Jewish history, judicial procedure must have been summary, as it still is in Asia. Of advocates, such as ours, there is no appearance in any part of the Old Testament. Every one pleaded his own cause; of this practice we have a memorable instance in 1 Kings iii. 15—28. As causes were heard at the city gate, where the people assembled to hear news or to pass away their time, Michaelis thinks that men of experience and wisdom might be asked for their opinions in difficult cases, and might sometimes assist with their advice those who seemed embarrassed in their own cause, even when it was a good one. Probably this is alluded to in Job xxix. 7—17. and Isa. i. 17.[1] From the Romans, the use of advocates, or patrons who pleaded the cause of another, might have passed to the Jews. In this view the word παρακλητος, or advocate, is applied to Christ, our *intercessor, who pleads the cause of sinners* with his father. (1 John ii. 1.) The form of proceeding appears to have been as follows:

1. Those who were summoned before courts of judicature, were said to be προγεγραμμενοι εις κρισιν, because they were cited by posting up their names in some public place, and to these judgment was published or declared in writing. The Greek writers applied the term προγεγραμμενους, to those whom the Romans called *proscriptos* or *proscribed*, that is, whose names were posted up in writing in some public place, as persons doomed to die, with a reward offered to whoever would kill them. To this usage there is an allusion in the epistle of Jude (verse 4.), where the persons, who are said to be προγεγραμμενοι εις τουτο το κριμα, *ordained to this condemnation*, denote not only those who must give an account to God for their crimes, and are liable to his judgment, but who moreover are destined to the punishment which they deserve, as victims of the divine anger[2]. In the sacred writings all false teachers and impure practices have been most openly proscribed

[1] Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. iv. pp. 320—323.
[2] Parkhurst and Schleusner's Lexicons to the New Testament, voce Προγραφω.

and condemned, and in the following verses of the same epistle the apostle distinctly specifies who these persons are.

2. He, who entered the action, went to the judges, and stated his affair to them: and then they sent officers with him to seize the party and bring him to justice. To this our Lord alludes, when he says, (Matt. v. 25.) *Agree with thine adversary while thou art in the way with him*, before thou art brought before the judge, lest thou be condemned. On the day appointed for hearing the cause, the plaintiff and defendant presented themselves before the judges; who at first sat alone. (Deut. xxv. 1.) In later times, the Jewish writers inform us, that there were always two notaries belonging to the court, one of whom stood on the right hand of the judge, who wrote the sentence of acquittal; and the other, on his left hand, who wrote the sentence of condemnation. To this custom probably our Saviour referred (Matt. xxv. 23.) when, speaking of the last judgment, he says, that he will *set the sheep on his right hand*, in order to be acquitted, *and the goats on his left*, in order to be condemned. It appears that the judicial decrees were (as they still are in the East) first written by a notary, and then authenticated or annulled by the magistrate. To this the prophet Isaiah alludes when he denounces a *woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and to the writers that write grievousness* (Isa. x. 1. marginal rendering)[1]. The judges sat, while the defendants stood, particularly during the examination of witnesses. Thus, *Jesus stood before the governor.* (Matt. xxvii. 11.)

3. In criminal cases, when the trial came on, the judge's first care was to exhort the criminal to confess his crime, if he really were guilty: Thus Joshua exhorted Achan to *give glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him.* (Josh. vii. 19.) To this custom of the Jews, St. Paul seems to allude, when he says, *Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth* (Rom. xiv. 22.); that is, who being convinced of the truth of a thing, does not really and effectually condemn himself in the sight of God by denying it. After the accusation was laid before the court, the criminal was heard in his defence, and therefore Nicodemus said to the chief priests and pharisees, *Doth our law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doth?* (John vii. 51.)

4. In matters of life and death, the evidence of one witness was not sufficient: in order to establish a charge, it was necessary to have the testimony of two or three credible and unim-

[1] Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. pp. 519—521.

peachable witnesses (Numb. xxv. 30. Deut. xvii. 6, 7. xix. 15.) Though the law of Moses is silent concerning the evidence of women, Josephus says that it was prohibited on account of the levity and boldness of their sex! He also adds that the testimony of servants was inadmissible, on account of the probability of their being influenced to speak what was untrue, either from hope of gain or fear of punishment. Most likely, this was the exposition of the scribes and pharisees, and the practice of the Jews, in the last age of their political existence[1]. In general, the witnesses to be sworn did not pronounce the formula of the oath, either when it was a judicial one, or taken on any other solemn occasion. A formula was read, to which they said *Amen.* (Lev. v. 2. Prov. xxix. 34. 1 Kings viii. 31.) Referring to this usage, when Jesus Christ was adjured or put upon his oath, he immediately made an answer. (Matt. xxvi. 63.) All manner of false witness was most severely prohibited. (Exod. xx. 13. xxiii. 1—3).

5. In questions of property, in default of any other means of decision, recourse was had to the lot. In this manner, it will be recollected that the land of Canaan was divided by Joshua, to which there are so many allusions in the Old Testament, particularly in the book of Psalms. And it should seem, from Prov. xvi. 33. and xviii. 18. that it was used in courts of justice, in the time of Solomon, though probably only with the consent of both parties. In *criminal* cases, recourse was had to the sacred lot, called Urim and Thummim, in order to *discover*, not to convict the guilty party (Josh. vii. 14—18. 1 Sam. xiv. 37—45.); but it appears to have been used only in the case of an oath being transgressed, which the whole people had taken, or the leader of the host in their name.

A peculiar mode of eliciting the truth was employed in the case of a woman suspected of adultery. She was to be brought by her husband to the tabernacle,—afterwards to the temple; where she took an oath of purgation, imprecating tremendous punishment upon herself. The form of this process (which was the foundation of the trial by ordeal that so generally prevailed in the dark ages) is detailed at length in Numb. v. 11—31., to which the rabbinical writers have added a variety of frivolous ceremonies. If innocent, the woman suffered no inconvenience or injury; but if guilty, the punishment which she had imprecated on herself immediately overtook her.

6. Sentences were only pronounced in the day time; of which circumstance notice is taken in Saint Luke's narrative of our

[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. iv. c. 8. § 15.

Saviour's mock trial. (xxii. 66.) It was the custom among the Jews to pronounce sentence of condemnation in this manner.—*He is guilty of death.* (Matt. xxvi. 16.) In other countries, a person's *condemnation* was announced to him by giving him a *black* stone, and his *acquittal* by giving him a white stone. Ovid mentions this practice thus:

> *Mos erat antiquus, niveis atrisque lapillis,*
> *His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ.*
> *Nunc quoque sic lata est sententia tristis*——
>
> MET. lib. xv. 41—43.

> A custom was of old, and still obtains,
> Which *life* or *death* by suffrages ordains:
> *White stones* and *black* within an urn are cast;
> The *first* absolve, but fate is in the *last*.
>
> DRYDEN.

In allusion to this custom, our Saviour (Rev. ii. 17.) promises to give the spiritual conqueror *a white stone, and on the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it;* which may be supposed to signify—*Well done, thou good and faithful servant.* The white stones of the antients were inscribed with characters; and so is the white stone mentioned in the Apocalypse. According to Persius, the letter Θ was the token of condemnation, or, in a general sense, of condemnation.

> Et potis es *nigrum* vitio prefigere *Theta*.
>
> SAT. iv. 13.

> Fixing thy stigma on the brow of vice.
>
> DRUMMOND.

But on the white stone given by our Lord was inscribed a new name of dignity and honour, *which no man knoweth, but he who receiveth it;* agreeably to the custom of nations, from the earliest ages, by which a person raised to dignity was commonly invested with a new name, expressive of his deserts.[1]

7. Such were the judicial proceedings in ordinary cases, when the forms of law were observed. On some occasions however, when particular persons were obnoxious to the populace, it was usual for them to demand prompt justice upon the supposed delinquents. It is well known that in Asia, to this day, those who demand justice against a criminal, repair in large bodies to the gate of the royal residence, where they make horrid cries, tearing their garments and throwing dust into the air. This circumstance throws great light upon the conduct of the Jews towards Saint Paul, when the chief captain of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem presented himself to them. (Acts xxii. 28—36.) When they found the apostle in the

[1] Wetstein, Doddridge, and Dean Woodhouse on Rev. ii. 17.

temple, prejudiced as they were against him in general, and at that time particularly irritated by the mistaken notion that he had polluted the holy place by the introduction of Greeks into it, they raised a tumult, and were on the point of inflicting summary vengeance on Saint Paul. As soon as the chief captain of the Roman soldiers, who resided in a castle adjoining the temple, heard the tumult, he hastened thither. They then ceased beating the apostle, and addressed themselves to him as the chief official person there, exclaiming, *Away with him*. Permission being at length given to Paul to explain the affair in their hearing, they became still more violently enraged, but not daring to do themselves justice, they demanded it nearly in the same manner as the Persian peasants now do, by loud vociferations, tearing off their clothes, and throwing up dust into the air.[1]

V. As soon as sentence of condemnation was pronounced against a person, he was immediately dragged from the court to the place of execution. Thus our Lord was instantly hurried from the presence of Pilate to Calvary: a similar instance of prompt execution occurred in the case of Achan; and the same practice obtains to this day, both in Turkey and Persia. In those countries, when the enemies of a great man have sufficient influence to procure a warrant for his death, a *capidgi* or executioner is despatched with it to the victim, who quietly submits to his fate[2]. Nearly the same method of executing criminals was used by the antient Jewish princes. It is evidently alluded to in Prov. xvi. 14. Thus, Benaiah was the capidgi (to use the modern Turkish term,) who was sent by Solomon to put to death Adonijah, a prince of the blood royal (1 Kings ii. 25.), and also Joab the commander in chief of the army. (29—31.) John the Baptist was put to death in like manner. (Matt. xiv. 10.) Previously, however, to executing the criminal, it was usual, among the antient Persians, to cover his head, that he might not behold the face of the sovereign. Thus, the head of Philotas, who had conspired against Alexander the Great, was covered[3]: and in conformity with this practice the head of Haman was veiled or covered. (Esth. vii. 8.)

So zealous were the Jews for the observance of their law, that they were not ashamed themselves to be the executioners of it, and to punish criminals with their own hands. In stoning persons, the witnesses threw the first stones, agreeably to the enactment of Moses. (Deut. xvii. 7.) Thus the witnesses against the protomartyr Stephen, after laying down their clothes at the feet of Saul, stoned him (Acts vii. 58, 59.): and to this custom

[1] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 367—369. [2] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 372—376.
[3] Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. c. 8. tom. ii. p. 34. edit. Bipont.

our Saviour alludes, when he said to the Pharisees, who had brought to him a woman, who had been taken in adultery,—*He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.* (John viii.) As there were no public executioners in the more antient periods of the Jewish history, it was not unusual for persons of distinguished rank themselves to put the sentence in execution upon offenders. Thus, Samuel put Agag to death (1 Sam. xv. 33.); and in like manner Nebuchadnezzar ordered Arioch the commander in chief of his forces to destroy the wise men of Babylon, because they could not interpret his dream. (Dan. ii. 24.)

Previously, however, to inflicting punishment, it was a custom of the Jews, that the witnesses should lay their hands on the criminal's head. This custom originated in an express precept of God, in the case of one who had blasphemed the name of Jehovah, who was ordered to be brought without the camp: when all, who had heard him, were appointed to lay their hands upon his head, and afterwards the congregation were to stone him. By this action they signified, that the condemned person suffered justly, protesting that, if he were innocent, they desired that his blood might fall on their own head. In allusion to this usage, when sentence was pronounced against Jesus Christ, the Jews exclaimed,—*His blood be upon us and our children.* (Matt. xxvii. 25.) From the above noticed precept of bringing the criminal without the camp, arose the custom of executing them without the city.

But in whatever manner the criminal was put to death, according to the Talmudical writers, the Jews always gave him some wine with incense in it, in order to stupefy and intoxicate him. This custom is said to have originated in the precept recorded in Prov. xxxi. 6., which sufficiently explains the reason why wine, mingled with myrrh, was offered to Jesus Christ when on the cross. (Mark xv. 23.) In the latter ages of the Jewish polity, this medicated cup of wine, was so generally given before execution, that the word *cup* is sometimes put in the Scriptures for *death* itself. Thus Jesus Christ, in his last prayer in the garden of Gethsemane, said—*If it be possible, let this* CUP *pass from me.* (Matt. xxvi. 39. 42.)

SECTION II.

OF THE ROMAN JUDICATURE, MANNER OF TRIAL, AND TREATMENT OF PRISONERS, AS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Judicial proceedings of the Romans.*—II. *Privileges and treatment of Roman citizens, when prisoners.*—III. *Appeals to the imperial tribunal.*—IV. *The Roman method of fettering and confining criminals.*—V. *The Roman Tribunals.*—VI. *The Areopagus of the Athenians.*

WHEREVER the Romans extended their power, they also carried their laws; and though, as we have already seen, they allowed their conquered subjects to enjoy the free performance of their religious worship, as well as the exercise of some inferior courts of judicature, yet in all cases of a capital nature the tribunal of the Roman prefect or president was the last resort. Without his permission no person could be put to death, at least in Judæa. And, as we find numerous allusions in the New Testament to the Roman judicature, manner of trial, treatment of prisoners, and infliction of capital punishment, a brief account of these subjects (so intimately connected with the political state of Judæa under the Romans) naturally claims a place in the present sketch.[1]

I. "The judicial proceedings of the Romans were conducted in a manner worthy the majesty, honour, and magnanimity of that people. Instances indeed occur of a most scandalous venality and corruption in Roman judges, and the story of Jugurtha and Verres will stand a lasting monument of the power of gold to pervert justice and shelter the most atrocious villainy. But in general in the Roman judicatures, both in the imperial city and in the provinces, justice was administered with impartiality; a fair and honourable trial was permitted;

[1] The materials of this section are principally derived from Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament (a work now of rare occurrence), vol. ii. section xvi. the texts cited being carefully verified and corrected. The subjects of this and the following section are also discussed by Dr. Lardner, Credibility, part i. book i. c. x. § 9—11.: and especially by Calmet in his elaborate *Dissertation sur les supplices dont il est parlé dans l'Ecriture*, inserted in his Commentaire Litterale, tom i. part ii. pp. 387—402. See also Merill's Notæ-philologicæ in passionem Christi, and Wyssenbach's Notæ Nomicophilologicæ in passionem, in vol iii. of Crenius's Fasciculus Opusculorum, pp. 583—691. and Lydius's Florum Sparsio ad Historiam Passionis Jesu Christi, 18mo., Dordrechti, 1672.

the allegations of the plaintiff and defendant were respectively heard; the merits of the cause weighed and scrutinised with cool unbiassed judgment; and an equitable sentence pronounced. The Roman law, in conformity to the first principle of nature and reason, ordained that no one should be condemned and punished without a previous public trial. This was one of the decrees of the twelve tables: *No one shall be condemned before he is tried*[1]. Under the Roman government, both in Italy and in the provinces, this universally obtained. After the cause is heard, says Cicero, a man may be acquitted: but, his cause unheard, no one can be condemned[2]. To this excellent custom among the Romans, which the law of nature prescribes, and all the principles of equity, honour, and humanity dictate, there are several allusions in Scripture. We find the holy apostles, who did not, like frantic enthusiasts and visionaries, court persecution, but embraced every legal method which the usages and maxims of those times had established to avoid it, and to extricate themselves from calamities and sufferings, pleading this privilege, reminding the Romans of it when they were going to infringe it, and in a spirited manner upbraiding their persecutors with their violation of it. When Lysias, the Roman tribune, ordered Saint Paul to be conducted into the castle, and to be examined by scourging, that he might learn what he had done that enraged the mob thus violently against him, as the soldiers were fastening him with thongs to the pillars to inflict this upon him, Paul said to the centurion who was appointed to attend and see this executed, Doth the Roman law authorise you to scourge a freeman of Rome uncondemned, to punish him before a legal sentence hath been passed upon him? (Acts xxii. 25.) The centurion hearing this went immediately to the tribune, bidding him be cautious how he acted upon the present occasion, for the prisoner was a Roman citizen! The tribune upon this information went to him, and said, Tell me the truth, Are you a freeman of Rome? He answered in the affirmative. It cost me an immense sum, said the tribune, to

[1] Interfici indemnatum quemcunque hominem, etiam xii Tabularum decreta vetuerant. Fragment xii. Tab. tit. 27.

[2] Causâ cognitâ multi possunt absolvi: incognitâ quidem condemnari nemo potest. In Verrem, lib. i. c. 25. "Producing the laws which ordain that no person shall suffer death without a legal trial." Dion. Halicarn. lib. iii. p. 153. Hudson. "He did not allow them to inflict death on any citizen uncondemned." Ibid. lib. vi. p. 370. lib. vii. p. 428. edit. Hudson, Oxon. 1704. "They thought proper to call him to justice, as it is contrary to the Roman customs to condemn any one to death without a previous trial." Appian Bell. Civil. lib. iii. p. 906. Tollii, 1670. "Did not you miserably murder Lentulus and his associates, without their being either judged or convicted?" Dion Cassius, lib. 46. p. 463. Reimar.

purchase this privilege[1]. But I was the son of a freeman[2], said the apostle. Immediately, therefore, those who were ordered to examine him by torture desisted; and the tribune was extremely alarmed that he had bound a Roman citizen. In reference to this also, when Paul and Silas were treated with the last indignity at Philippi by the multitude abetted by the magistrates, were beaten with rods, thrown into the public gaol, and their feet fastened in the stocks, the next morning upon the magistrates sending their lictors to the prison with orders to the keeper for the two men, whom they had the day before so shamefully and cruelly treated, to be dismissed, Paul turned to the messengers and said, We are Roman citizens. Your magistrates have ordered us to be publicly scourged without a legal trial. They have thrown us into a dungeon. And would they now have us steal away in a silent and clandestine manner? No! Let them come in person and conduct us out themselves. The lictors returned and reported this answer to the governors, who were greatly alarmed and terrified when they understood they were Roman citizens. Accordingly they went in person to the gaol, addressed them with great civility, and begged them in the most respectful terms that they would quietly leave the town. (Acts xvi. 37.)

"Here we cannot but remark the distinguished humanity and honour which St. Paul experienced from the tribune Lysias. His whole conduct towards the apostle was worthy a Roman. This most generous and worthy officer rescued him from the sanguinary fury of the mob, who had seized the apostle, shut the temple doors, and were in a tumultuous manner dragging him away instantly to shed his blood. Afterwards, also, when above forty Jews associated and mutually bound themselves by the most solemn adjurations, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had assassinated him; when the tribune was informed of this conspiracy, to secure the person of the apostle from the determined fury of the Jews,

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1 Dion Cassius confirms what the tribune here asserts, that this honour was purchased at a very high price. "The freedom of Rome formerly," says the historian, "could only be purchased for a large sum;" but he observes, "that in the reign of Claudius, when Messalina and his freedmen had the management of every thing, this honour became so cheap that any person might buy it for a little broken glass." Dion Cassius, lib. 60. p. 955. Reimar.

2 "But I was free born." Probably St. Paul's family was honoured with the freedom of Rome for engaging in Cæsar's party, and distinguishing themselves in his cause during the civil wars. This thought struck me on reading the following passage in Appian: "He made the Laodiceans and Tarsensians free, and exempted them from taxes, and those of the Tarsensians who had been sold for slaves, he ordered them by an edict to be released from servitude." Appian B. Civil. p. 1077. Tollii, 1670.

he immediately gave orders for seventy horsemen and two hundred spearmen to escort the prisoner to Cæsarea, where the procurator resided; writing a letter in which he informed the president of the vindictive rage of the Jews against the prisoner, whom he had snatched from their violence, and whom[1] he afterwards discovered to be a Roman citizen. In consequence of this epistle Felix gave the apostle a kind and candid reception: when he read it, he turned to him and said, When your accusers come hither before me, I will give your cause an impartial hearing[2]. And accordingly when the high priest Ananias and the Sanhedrin went down to Cæsarea with one Tertullus an orator, whose eloquence they had hired to aggravate the apostle's crimes before the procurator; Felix, though a man of a mercenary and profligate character[3], did not depart from the Roman honour in this regard; and would not violate the usual processes of judgment to gratify this body of men, though they were the most illustrious personages of the province he governed, by condemning the apostle unheard; and yielding him, poor and friendless as he was, to their fury, merely upon their impeachment. He allowed the apostle to offer his vindication and exculpate himself from the charges they had alleged against him; and was so far satisfied with his apology as to give orders for him to be treated as a prisoner at large, and for all his friends to have free access to him; disappointing those who thirsted for his blood, and drawing down upon himself the relentless indignation of the Jews, who, undoubtedly, from such a disappointment, would be instigated to lay all his crimes and oppressions before the emperor.

"The same strict honour, in observing the usual forms and processes of the Roman tribunal, appears in Festus the successor of Felix. Upon his entrance into his province, when the leading men among the Jews waited upon him to congratulate him upon his accession, and took that opportunity to inveigh with great bitterness and virulence against the apostle, soliciting it as a favour (Acts xxv. 3.) that he would send him to Jerusalem, designing, as it afterwards appeared, had he complied with their request, to have hired ruffians to murder him on the road, Festus told them, that it was his will that Paul should remain in custody at Cæsarea; but that any persons whom

[1] Acts xxiii. 27. "I have since learned that he is a Roman citizen."

[2] Acts xxiii. 35. Literally, "Hear it through; give the whole of it an attentive examination." Similar expressions occur in Polybius, lib. i. pp. 39. 170. 187. lib. iv. p. 328. edit. Hanov. 1619. See also Dion. Halicarn. lib. x. p. 304.

[3] Felix per omnem sævitium ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. Tacitus Hist. lib. v. p. 397. edit. Dublin. Felix cuncta maleficia impune ratus. Anal. xii. 54. He hoped also that money, &c. Acts xxiv. 26.

they fixed upon might go down along with him, and produce at his tribunal what they had to allege against the prisoner. This was worthy the Roman honour and spirit. How importunate and urgent the priests and principal magistrates of Jerusalem, when Festus was in this capital, were with him to pass sentence of death upon the apostle merely upon their impeachment, and upon the atrocious crimes with which they loaded him, appears from what the procurator himself told king Agrippa and Bernice upon a visit they paid him at Cæsarea, to congratulate him upon his new government. I have here, said he, a man whom my predecessor left in custody when he quitted this province. During a short visit I paid to Jerusalem, upon my arrival I was solicited by the priests and principal magistrates to pass sentence of death upon him. To these urgent entreaties I replied, that it was not customary for the Romans to gratify (xxv. 16.) any man with the death of another; that the laws of Rome enacted that he who is accused should have his accuser face to face; and have licence to answer for himself concerning the crimes laid against him.[1]

II. "It appears from numberless passages in the classics that a Roman citizen could not legally be scourged.[2] This was deemed to the last degree dishonourable, the most daring indignity and insult upon the Roman name. 'A Roman citizen, judges!' exclaims Cicero in his oration against Verres, 'was publicly beaten with rods in the forum of Messina: during this public dishonour, no groan, no other expression of the unhappy wretch was heard amidst the cruelties he suffered, and the sound of the strokes that were inflicted, but this, I am a Roman citizen! By this declaration that he was a Roman citizen, he fondly imagined that he should put an end to the ignominy and cruel usage to which he was now subjected[3].' The orator afterwards breaks forth into this pathetic prosopopœia: 'O transporting name of liberty! O the distinguished privilege of Roman freedom! O Porcian and Sempronian laws! Are

[1] 'Senators,' saith Piso, 'the law ordains that he who is accused should hear his accusation, and after having offered his defence, to wait the sentence of the judges.' Appian, Bell. Civil. lib. iii. p. 911. Tollii, Amst. 1670. "He said that what he now attempted to do was the last tyranny and despotism, that the same person should be both accuser and judge, and should arbitrarily dictate the degree of punishment." Dion. Halicarn. lib. vii. p. 428. Hudson.

[2] Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum: scelus verberari. In Verrem, lib. v. 170.

[3] Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Messinæ civis Romanus, judices; cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia istius miseri, inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi hæc, Civis Romanus sum. Hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum cruciatumque a corpore dejecturum arbitrabatur. Cicero in Verrem. lib. v. 162.

things at last come to this wretched state, that a Roman citizen, in a Roman province, in the most public and open manner, should be beaten with rods[1]!' The historian Appian, after relating how Marcellus, to express his scorn and contempt of Cæsar, seized a person of some distinction, to whom Cæsar had given his freedom, and beat him with rods, bidding him go and show Cæsar the marks of the scourges he had received, observes, that this was an indignity which is never inflicted upon a Roman citizen for any enormity whatever[2]. Agreeably to this custom, which also obtained at Athens, in the Adelphi of Terence, one of the persons of the drama says to another, If you continue to be troublesome and impertinent, you shall be instantly seized and dragged within, and there you shall be torn and mangled with scourges within an inch of your life. What! a freeman scourged, replies Sannio[3]. To this privilege of Roman citizens, whose freedom exempted them from this indignity and dishonour, there are several references in Scripture. St. Paul pleads this immunity. He said to the centurion, as they were fastening him to the pillar with thongs to inflict upon him this punishment, Is it lawful for you to scourge a Roman[4]? So also at Philippi he told the messengers of the magistrates, They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison, and now do they thrust us out privately; no verily, but let them come themselves and fetch us out. And the sergeants told these words to the magistrates, and they feared when they heard that they were Romans, and were conscious they had used them with a contumely and dishonour which subjected them to the just displeasure of the Roman senate.

"Neither was it lawful for a Roman citizen to be bound[5], to be examined by the question, or to be the subject of any ingenious and cruel arts of tormenting to extort a confession from him. These punishments were deemed servile; torture was not exercised but upon slaves[6]; freemen were privileged from this inhumanity and ignominy. It is a flagrant enormity, says Cicero, for a Roman citizen to be bound[7]: not meaning

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[1] O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium nostræ civitatis! O lex Porcia, legesque Sempronia! Huccine tandem omnia recederunt, ut civis Romanus in provincia populi Romani, delegatis in foro virgis cæderetur. Ibid. 165.

[2] Appian Bell. Civil. lib. ii. p. 751. Tollii.

[3] Nam si molestus pergis esse, jam intro abripiere, atque ibi
Usque ad necem operiere loris. S. loris liber! Adelphi, act ii. scena 1. ver 28.

[4] Acts xxii. 25. The consul Marcellus scourged with rods one of the magistrates of that place who came to Rome, declaring he inflicted this as a public token that he was no Roman citizen. Plutarch, in Cæsar. p. 1324. edit. Gr. Stephen.

[5] Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum. Cicero in Verr. lib. v. 170.

[6] Q. Gallium prætorem, servilem in modum torsit. Sueton. in vita Augusti, cap. 27. p. 192. variorum.

[7] See the last note but one.

by this, that it was unlawful for a Roman to be fettered and imprisoned; but it was in the highest degree unjustifiable and illegal for a freeman of Rome to be bound in order to be tortured for the discovery of his crimes. Dion Cassius, particularising the miseries of Claudius's government, observes, that Messalina and Narcissus, and the rest of his freemen, seized the occasion that now offered to perpetrate the last enormities. Among other excesses they employed slaves and freedmen to be informers against their masters. They put to the torture several persons of the first distinction, not merely foreigners, but citizens; not only of the common people, but some even of the Roman knights and senators: though Claudius, when he first entered upon his government, had bound himself under a solemn oath that he would never apply the torture to any Roman citizen [1]. These two passages from Cicero and Dion illustrate what St. Luke relates concerning Lysias the tribune. This officer, not knowing the dignity of his prisoner, had, in violation of this privilege of Roman citizens, given orders for the apostle to be bound and examined with thongs. (Acts xxii. 24, 25.) When he was afterwards informed by his centurion that St. Paul was a freeman of Rome, the sacred historian observes, that upon receiving this intelligence, the chief captain was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him. (xxii. 29.)

III. "We find that St. Paul, when he discovered that Festus his judge was disposed to gratify the Jews, appealed from a provincial court to the imperial tribunal; transferred his cause, by appeal, from the jurisdiction of the Roman procurator to the decision of the emperor. This appears to be another singular privilege which a freeman of Rome enjoyed. The sacred historian relates, that after Festus had stayed about ten days in the metropolis, he went down to Cæsarea, and the next day after his arrival he summoned a court, ascended the bench, and ordered Paul to be brought before him. Here, as he stood at the bar, his prosecutors from Jerusalem with great virulence charged him with many heinous and atrocious crimes, none of which, upon strict examination, they were able to prove against him. For in his apology he publicly declared, in the most solemn terms, that they could not convict him of any one instance of a criminal behaviour, either to the law, the temple, or to the Roman emperor. Festus then, being (Acts xxv. 9.) desirous to ingratiate himself with the Jews, asked him

[1] Dion Cassius, lib. 60. p. 953. Reimar.

if he was willing his cause should be tried at Jerusalem. To this proposal Paul replied, I am now before Cæsar's tribunal, where my cause ought to be impartially canvassed and decided. You yourself are conscious that I have been guilty of nothing criminal against my countrymen. If I have injured them, if I have perpetrated any capital crime, I submit without reluctance to capital punishment. But if all the charges they have now brought against me are proved to be absolutely false and groundless, no person can condemn me to death merely to gratify them. I appeal to the emperor. Festus, after deliberating with the Roman council, turned and said to him, Have you appealed to the emperor? You shall then go and be judged by the emperor. From the above-mentioned particulars, which are corroborated by several other similar incidents in the Roman history, it appears that a Roman citizen could by appeal remove his cause out of the provinces to Rome. 'It was,' says Mr. Melmoth, 'one of the privileges of a Roman citizen, secured by the Sempronian law, that he could not be capitally convicted but by the suffrage of the people, which seems to have been still so far in force as to make it necessary to send the person here mentioned to Rome[1].' We are informed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus that the ever-memorable Poplicola enacted this law, that if any Roman governor showed a disposition to condemn any one to death, to scourge him, or despoil him of his property, that any private person should have liberty to appeal from his jurisdiction to the judgment of the people, that in the mean time he should receive no personal harm from the magistracy till his cause was finally decided by the people[2]. This law, which was instituted at the first establishment of the commonwealth, continued in force under the emperors. If a freeman of Rome, in any of the provinces, deemed himself and his cause to be treated by the president with dishonour and injustice, he could by appeal remove it to Rome to the determination of the emperor. Suetonius informs us that Augustus delegated a number of consular persons at Rome to receive the appeals of people in the provinces, and that he appointed one person to superintend the affairs of each province[3]. A passage in Pliny's epistle confirms this right and privilege which Roman free-

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[1] Mr. Melmoth's note on the 97th letter in the 10th book of Pliny's Epistles, vol. ii. p. 672. 3d edit.

[2] Dion. Halicarn. lib. v. p. 281. edit. Oxon. 1704. See also p. 334. ejusdem edit.

[3] Appellationes quotannis urbanorum quidem litigatorum prætori delegavit; ac provincialium consularibus viris, quos singulos cujusque provinciæ negotiis reposuisset. Sueton. vit. August. cap. 33. p. 208. edit. var. Lug. Bat. 1662.

men enjoyed of appealing from provincial courts to Rome, and, in consequence of such an appeal, being removed, as St. Paul was, to the capital, to take their trial in the supreme court of judicature. In that celebrated epistle to Trajan, who desired to be informed concerning the principles and conduct of the Christians, he thus writes: 'The method I have observed towards those who have been brought before me as Christians is this—I interrogated them whether they were Christians; if they confessed, I repeated the question twice again, adding threats at the same time, when, if they still persevered, I ordered them to be immediately punished; for I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy certainly deserved correction. There were others also brought before me, possessed with the same infatuation, but, being citizens of Rome, I directed them to be carried thither.'[1]

IV. "The Roman method of fettering and confining criminals was singular. One end of a chain, that was of commodious length, was fixed about the right arm of the prisoner; and the other end was fastened to the left of a soldier. Thus a soldier was coupled to the prisoner, and every where attended and guarded him[2]. This manner of confinement is frequently mentioned, and there are many beautiful allusions to it in the Roman writers. Thus was St. Paul confined. Fettered[3] in this manner, he delivered his apology before Festus, king Agrippa, and Bernice. And it was this circumstance that occasioned one of the most pathetic and affecting strokes of true oratory that ever was displayed either in the Grecian or Roman senate. Would to God that not only YOU, but also ALL that hear me this day, were not almost but altogether such as I am, except these bonds! What a prodigious effect must this striking conclusion, and the sight of the irons held up[4] to enforce it, make upon the minds of the audience! During the two years that St. Paul was a prisoner at large, and lived at Rome in his own hired house, he was subjected to this confinement. Paul was suffered to dwell with a soldier that kept him. The cir-

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[1] Plinii Epistolæ, lib. x. epist. 97. p. 722, 723. ed. var. 1669.

[2] Quemadmodum eadem catena et custodiam et militem copulat, sic ista quæ tam dissimilia sunt, paritur incedunt. Senecæ Epist. 5. tom. ii. p. 13. Gronovii 1672. So also Manilius.

Vinctorum dominus, sociusque in parte catenæ,
Interdum pœnis innoxia corpora servat. Lib. V. v. 628, 629.

[3] In like manner the brave but unfortunate Eumenes addressed a very pathetic speech to his army, with his fetters on. Plutarch, Eumenes. Justin, lib. xiv. cap. 3.

[4] Prolatam, sicut erat catenatus, manum ostendit. Justin, lib. xiv. cap. 3. p. 395. Gronovii.

cumstance of publicly wearing this chain, and being thus coupled to a soldier, was very disgraceful and dishonourable, and the ignominy of it would naturally occasion the desertion of former friends and acquaintance. Hence the apostle immortalises the name of Onesiphorus, and fervently intercedes with God to bless his family, and to remember him in the day of future recompences for a rare instance of distinguished fidelity and affection to him when all had turned away from him and forsaken him. *The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he oft refreshed me, and was not* ASHAMED *of my* CHAIN, *but immediately upon his arrival in Rome he sought me out very diligently till he found me! The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.* (2 Tim. i. 16, 17, 18.)

"Sometimes the prisoner was fastened to two soldiers, one on each side, wearing a chain both on his right and left hand. St. Paul at first was thus confined. When the tribune received him from the hands of the Jews, he commanded him to be bound with two chains. (Acts xxi. 33.) In this manner was Peter fettered and confined by Herod Agrippa. "The same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains." (Acts xii. 6.)

"It further appears that if the soldiers, who were thus appointed to guard criminals, and to whom they were chained, suffered the prisoner to escape, they were punished with death. Thus, when Peter was delivered out of prison by a miracle, the next morning we read there was no small confusion among the soldiers who were appointed his guards, and to whom he had been chained, what was become of Peter.

"Whence it appears that this deliverance had been effected, and his shackles had been miraculously unloosed, without their knowledge, when they were sunk in repose. Upon which Herod, after making a fruitless search for him, ordered all those who had been intrusted with the custody of Peter to be executed. (Acts xii. 19.) In like manner also keepers of prisons were punished with death, if the confined made their escape. This is evident from what is related concerning the imprisonment of Paul and Silas at Philippi. These, after their bodies were mangled with scourges, were precipitated into the public dungeon, and their feet were made fast in the stocks. At midnight these good men prayed and sang praises to God in these circumstances; when suddenly a dreadful earthquake shook the whole prison to its foundation, all the doors in an instant flew open, and the shackles of all the prisoners dropped to the ground. This violent concussion awakening the keeper, when he saw the doors of the prison wide open, he drew his

sword, and was going to plunge it in his bosom, concluding all the prisoners had escaped. In that crisis Paul called to him with a loud voice, entreating him not lay violent hands upon himself, assuring him all the prisoners were safe.

V. "The Roman tribunal, if we may judge of it from what is related concerning Pilate's, was erected on a raised stage, the floor of which was embellished with a tessellated pavement. This consisted of little square pieces of marble, or of stones of various colours, which were disposed and arranged with great art and elegance, to form a chequered and pleasing appearance [1]. Pliny informs us that this refinement was first introduced among the Romans by Sylla [2]. Their great men were so fond of this magnificence, and thought it so essential to the elegance and splendour of life, that they appear to have carried with them these splendid materials to form and compose these elaborate floors, for their tents, for their houses, for their tribunals, wherever they removed [3]—from a depraved and most wretchedly vitiated taste, at last deeming them a necessary and indispensable furniture, not merely a vain and proud display of grandeur and greatness. With this variegated pavement, composed of pieces of marble or stone thus disposed and combined, the evangelist informs us, that the floor of Pilate's tribunal was ornamented. (John xix. 13.) Such an embellishment of a tribunal was only a proud ostentatious display to the world of Italian greatness and magnificence, calculated less for real use than to strike the beholders with an idea of the boundless prodigality and extravagance of the Romans.

"Having mentioned Pilate the Roman procurator, we cannot close this section without remarking the efforts he repeatedly made, when he sat in judgment upon Jesus, to save him from the determined fury of the Jews. Five successive attempts are enumerated by commentators and critics. He had the fullest conviction of his innocence—that it was merely through malice, and a virulence which nothing could placate, that they demanded his execution. Yet though the governor for a long time resisted all their united clamour and importunity, and, conscious that he had done nothing worthy of death, steadily refused to pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon him; yet one argument, which in a menacing manner they addressed

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[1] Opus tessellatum ex parvulis coloris varii lapillis quadratis constabat, quibus solum pavimenti incrustabatur. Varro de re rustica, lib. iii. 1.

[2] Lithostrota acceptavere sub Sylla. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. p. 60.

[3] In expeditionibus tessella at sectilia pavimenta circumtulisse. Suetonius vita J. Cæsaris. cap. 46. p. 74. edit. variorum Lug. Bat. 1662. Vid. etiam not. Salmasii in loc.

to him, at last totally shook his firmness, and induced him to yield to their sanguinary purpose. The Jews, after aggravating his guilt, and employing every expedient in vain to influence the president to inflict capital punishment upon him, at last cried out: *If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend; whosoever maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar. Then delivered he him, therefore, to them to be crucified.* Upon hearing this, all his former firmness instantly vanished; he could stem the torrent of popular fury no longer; to this he yielded, and immediately ordered his execution. This conduct of Pilate arose from his perfect knowledge of the character and temper of his master Tiberius, who was a gloomy old tyrant, day and night incessantly haunted with the fiends of jealousy and suspicion—who would never forgive any innovations in his government, but punished the authors and abettors of them with inexorable death [1]. Pilate therefore, hearing the Jews reiterating this with menaces, that if he let him go he was not Cæsar's friend—knowing the jealousy and cruelty of Tiberius [2], and fearing that the disappointed rage of the Jews would instigate them to accuse him to the old tyrant, as abetting and suffering a person to escape with impunity, who had assumed the regal title and character in one of his provinces, was alarmed for his own safety; and rather than draw down upon his devoted head the resentment of the sovereign, who would never forgive or forget an injury, real or imaginary, contrary to his own judgment and clear persuasion of the innocence of Jesus, sentenced him to be crucified!"

VI. Though not strictly a Roman tribunal, yet as its sittings were permitted by the Roman government, the senate and court of *Areopagus*, at Athens, claims a concise notice in this place. This tribunal is *said* to have been instituted at Athens, by Cecrops the founder of that city, and was celebrated for the strict equity of its decisions. Among the various causes of which it took cognizance, were matters of religion, the consecration of new gods, erection of temples and altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship. On this account, Saint Paul was brought before the tribunal of the Areopagus, as a *setter forth of strange gods, because he preached* unto the Athenians, Jesus and Αναστασις or *the Resurrection.* (Acts xvii. 19.) Its sittings were held on the Αρειος Παγος or *hill of Mars* (whence its name was derived), which is situated in the

[1] See Suetonius, Tacitus, Dion Cassius.

[2] Philo makes the very same remark concerning Pilate, p. 390. edit. Mangey.

midst of the city of Athens, opposite to the Acropolis or citadel, and is an insulated precipitous rock broken towards the south, and on the north side sloping gently down to the temple of Theseus. Its appearance is thus described by Dr. E. D. Clarke:—"It is not possible to conceive a situation of greater peril, or one more calculated to prove the sincerity of a preacher, than that in which the apostle was here placed: and the truth of this, perhaps, will never be better felt than by a spectator, who from this eminence actually beholds the stately monuments of pagan pomp and superstition, by which he, whom the Athenians considered as the *setter forth of strange gods* was then surrounded; representing to the imagination the disciples of Socrates and of Plato, the dogmatist of the porch and the sceptic of the academy, addressed by a poor and lowly man, who, *rude in speech*, without the *enticing words of man's wisdom*, enjoined precepts contrary to their taste, and very hostile to their prejudices. One of the peculiar privileges of the Areopagitæ seems to have been set at defiance by the zeal of Saint Paul on this occasion; namely, that of inflicting extreme and exemplary punishment upon any person, who should slight the celebration of the holy mysteries, or blaspheme the gods of Greece. We ascended to the summit by means of steps cut in the natural stone. The sublime scene here exhibited, is so striking, that a brief description of it may prove how truly it offers to us a commentary upon the apostle's words, as they were delivered upon the spot. He stood upon the top of the rock, and beneath the canopy of heaven. Before him there was spread a glorious prospect of mountains, islands, seas, and skies: behind him towered the lofty Acropolis, crowned with all its marble temples. Thus every object, whether in the face of nature, or among the works of art, conspired to elevate the mind, and to fill it with reverence towards that BEING, *who made and governs the world* (Acts xvii. 24. 28); who sitteth in that light which no mortal eye can approach, and yet is nigh unto the meanest of his creatures; *in whom we live and move and have our being.*"[1]

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[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 263—265. See also Mr. Dodwell's Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece, vol. i. pp. 361, 362.

SECTION III.[1]

ON THE CRIMINAL LAW OF THE JEWS.

I. CRIMES AGAINST GOD.—1. *Idolatry.*—2. *Blasphemy.*—3. *Falsely Prophesying.*—4. *Divination.*—5. *Perjury.*—II. CRIMES AGAINST PARENTS AND RULERS.—III. CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY:—1. *Theft.*—2. *Man-stealing.*—3. *The Crime of denying any thing taken in trust, or found.*—IV. CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON.—1. *Murder.*—2. *Homicide.*—3. *Corporal Injuries.*—4. *Crimes of Lust.*—5. CRIMES OF MALICE.

I. IT has been shewn in a preceding chapter[2], that the maintenance of the worship of the only true God was a fundamental object of the Mosaic polity. The government of the Israelites being a *Theocracy*, that is one, in which the supreme legislative power was vested in the Almighty, who was regarded as their king, it was to be expected that, in a state confessedly religious, crimes against the Supreme Majesty of Jehovah should occupy a primary place in the statutes given by Moses to that people. Accordingly,

1. *Idolatry*, that is, the worship of other gods, in the Mosaic law occupies the first place in the list of crimes. It was indeed, a crime not merely against God, but also against a fundamental law of the state, and consequently was a species of *high treason*, which was capitally punished. This crime consisted not in ideas and opinions, but in the overt act of worshipping other gods. An Israelite therefore was guilty of idolatry,

(1.) When he actually worshipped other gods besides JEHOVAH, the only true God. This was, properly speaking, the state crime just noticed; and it is, at the same time, the greatest of all offences against sound reason and common sense. This crime was prohibited in the first of the ten commandments. (Exod. xx. 3.)

(2.) *By worshipping images*, whether of the true God under a visible form, to which the Israelites were but too prone (Exod. xxxii. 4, 5. Judg. xvii. 3. xviii. 4—6. 14—17. 30, 31. vi. 25—33. viii. 24—27. 1 Kings xii. 26—31.), or of the images of the gods of the Gentiles, of which we have so many

[1] This section is wholly an abridgement of Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iv pp. 1—312.

[2] See p. 78. *supra*.

instances in the sacred history. All *image-worship* whatever is expressly forbidden in Exod. xx. 4, 5.; and a curse is denounced against it in Deut. xxvii. 15.

(3.) *By prostration before, or adoration of, such images,* or of any thing else revered as a god, such as the sun, moon, and stars. (Exod. xx. 5. xxxiv. 14. Deut. iv. 19.) This prostration consisted in falling down on the knees, and at the same time touching the head with the forehead.

(4.) *By having altars or groves dedicated to idols, or images thereof*; all which the Mosaic law required to be utterly destroyed (Exod. xxxiv. 13. Deut. vii. 5. xii. 3.); and the Israelites were prohibited, by Deut. vii. 25, 26., from keeping, or even bringing into their houses, the gold and silver that had been upon any image, *lest it should prove a snare,* and lead them astray: because, having been once consecrated to an idol-god, (considering the then prevalent superstition as to the reality of such deities,) some idea of its sanctity, or some dread of it, might still have continued, and have thus been the means of propagating idolatry afresh among their children.

(5.) *By offering sacrifices to idols,* which was expressly forbidden in Levit. xvii. 1—7., especially human victims, the sacrifices of which (it is well known) prevailed to a frightful extent. Parents immolated their offspring: this horrid practice was introduced among the Israelites, from the Canaanites, and is repeatedly reprobated by the prophets in the most pointed manner. The offering of human victims was prohibited in Levit. xviii. 21. compared with 2, 3. 24—30. xx. 1—5. Deut. xii. 30. and xviii. 10.

(6.) *By eating of offerings made to idols, made by other people,* who invited them to their offering-feasts. Though no special law was enacted against thus attending the festivals of their gods, it is evidently presupposed as unlawful in Exod. xxxiv. 15.

Idolatry was punished by stoning the guilty *individual.* When a whole city became guilty of idolatry, it was considered in a state of rebellion against the government, and was treated according to the laws of war. Its inhabitants, and all their cattle were put to death; no spoil was made, but every thing which it contained was burnt, together with the city itself; nor was it ever allowed to be rebuilt. (Deut. xiii. 13—19.). This law does not appear to have been particularly enforced; the Israelites (from their proneness to adopt the then almost universally prevalent polytheism) in most cases overlooked the crime of a city that became notoriously idolatrous; whence it happened, that idolatry was not confined to any one city, but soon overspread the whole nation. In this case, when the

people, *as a people*, brought guilt upon themselves by their idolatry, God reserved to himself the infliction of the punishments denounced against that national crime; which consisted in wars, famines, and other national judgments, and (when the measure of their iniquity was complete) in the destruction of their polity, and the transportation of the people as slaves into other lands. (Lev. xxvi. Deut. xxviii. xxix. xxxii.) For the crime of seducing others to the worship of strange gods, but more especially where a pretended prophet (who might often naturally anticipate what would come to pass) uttered predictions tending to lead the people into idolatry, the appointed punishment was stoning to death. (Deut. xiii. 2—12.) In order to prevent the barbarous immolation of infants, Moses denounced the punishment of stoning upon those who offered human sacrifices; which the bye-standers might instantly execute upon the delinquent when caught in the act, without any judicial inquiry whatever. (Levit. xx. 2.)

2. God being both the sovereign and the legislator of the Israelites, *Blasphemy* (that is, the speaking injuriously of his name, his attributes, his government and his revelation) was not only a crime against Him, but also against the state; it was therefore punished capitally by stoning. (Lev. xxiv. 10—14.)

3. It appears from Deut. xviii. 20—22. that a *False Prophet* was punished capitally, being stoned to death: and there were two cases, in which a person was held as convicted of the crime, and consequently liable to its punishment, viz. (1.) If he had prophesied any thing in the name of any other god,—whether it took place or not,—he was at all events considered as a false prophet, and, as such, stoned to death (Deut. xiii. 2—6.)—(2.) If a prophet spoke in the name of the true God, he was tolerated, so long as he remained unconvicted of imposture, even though he threatened calamity or destruction to the state, and he could not be punished: but, when the event which he had predicted, did *not* come to pass, he was regarded as an audacious impostor, and, as such, was stoned. (Deut. xviii. 21, 22.)

4. *Divination* is the conjecturing of future events from things which are supposed to presage them. The eastern people were always fond of divination, magic, the curious arts of interpreting dreams, and of obtaining a knowledge of future events. When Moses gave the law which bears his name to the Israelites, this disposition had long been common in Egypt and the neighbouring countries. Now, all these vain arts in order to pry into futurity, and all divination whatever, unless God was consulted by prophets, or by Urim and Thummim (the sacred lot kept by the high priest), were expressly prohibited

by the statutes of Lev. xix. 26. 31. xx. 6. 23. 27. and Deut. xviii. 9—12. In the case of a person transgressing these laws, by *consulting* a diviner, God reserved to himself the infliction of his punishment; the transgressor not being amenable to the secular magistrate. (Lev. xx. 6.) The *diviner* himself was to be stoned (Lev. xx. 27.)

5. *Perjury* is, by the Mosaic law, most peremptorily prohibited as a most heinous sin against God; to whom the punishment of it is left, and who in Exod. xx. 7. expressly promises that he will inflict it, without ordaining the infliction of any punishment by the temporal magistrate; except only in the case of a man falsely charging another with a crime, in which case the false witness was liable to the same punishment which would have been inflicted on the accused party if he had been found to have been really guilty (as is shewn in p. 188, *infra*); not indeed as the punishment of perjury against God, but of false witness.

II. Crimes against Parents *and* Magistrates constitute an important article of the criminal law of the Hebrews.

1. In the form of government among that people, we recognise much of the patriarchal spirit; in consequence of which fathers enjoyed great rights over their families. The *cursing* of parents,—that is, not only the imprecation of evil on them, but probably also all *rude* and *reproachful language* towards them, was punished with death (Exod. xxi. 17. Levit. xx. 9.); as likewise was the *striking* of them. (Exod. xxi. 15.) An example of the crime of cursing of a parent, which is fully in point, is given by Jesus Christ in Matt. xv. 4—6. or Mark vii. 9—12.; "where he upbraids the Pharisees with their giving, from their deference to human traditions and doctrines, such an exposition of the divine law, as converted an action, which, by the law of Moses, would have been punished with death, into a vow, both obligatory and acceptable in the sight of God. It seems, that it was then not uncommon for an undutiful and degenerate son, who wanted to be rid of the burden of supporting his parents, and, in his wrath, to turn them adrift upon the wide world, to say to his father or mother, *Korban*, or, *Be that Korban* (consecrated) *which I should appropriate to thy support;* that is, *Every thing wherewith I might ever aid or serve thee*, and, of course, *every thing, which I ought to devote to thy relief in the days of helpless old age, I here vow unto God.*—A most abominable vow indeed! and which God would, unquestionably, as little approve or accept, as he would a vow to commit adultery. And yet some of the Pharisees pronounced on such vows this strange decision; that they were absolutely obligatory, and that the son, who uttered such words, was bound to abstain

from contributing, in the smallest article, to the use of his parents; because every thing, that should have been so appropriated, had become consecrated to God, and could no longer be applied to their use, without sacrilege and a breach of his vow. But on this exposition, Christ not only remarked, that it abrogated the fifth commandment, but he likewise added, as a counter-doctrine, that Moses, their own legislator, had expressly declared, that *the man who cursed father or mother deserved to die.* Now, it is impossible for a man to curse his parents more effectually, than by a vow like this, when he interprets it with such rigour, as to preclude him from doing any thing in future for their benefit." It is not imprecating upon them a curse in the common style of curses, which evaporate into air; but it is fulfilling the curse, and making it to all intents and purposes effectual.[1]

Of the two crimes above noticed, the act of striking a parent evinces the most depraved and wicked disposition: and severe as the punishment was, few parents would apply to a magistrate, until all methods had been tried in vain. Both these crimes are included in the case of the stubborn, rebellious, and drunkard son; whom his parents were unable to keep in order, and who, when intoxicated, endangered the lives of others. Such an irreclaimable offender was to be punished with stoning. (Deut. xxi. 18—21.) Severe as this law may *seem*, we have no instance recorded of its being carried into effect; but it must have had a most salutary operation in the prevention of crimes, in a climate like that of Palestine, where (as in all southern climates) liquor produces more formidable effects than with us; and where also it is most probable that, at that time, the people had not the same efficacious means which we possess, of securing drunkards, and preventing them from doing mischief.

2. Civil government being an ordinance of God, provision is made in all well regulated states for respecting the persons of magistrates. We have seen in a former chapter[2], that when the regal government was established among the Israelites, the person of the king was inviolable, even though he might be tyrannical and unjust. It is indispensably necessary to the due execution of justice, that the persons of magistrates be sacred, and that they should not be insulted in the discharge of their office. All reproachful words or curses, uttered against persons invested with authority, are prohibited in Exod. xxii. 28. No punishment, however, is specified; probably it was left to the discretion of the judge, and was different according to the rank of the magistrate, and the extent of the crime.

[1] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 300.

[2] See p. 86, *supra*.

III. The CRIMES or offences AGAINST PROPERTY, mentioned by Moses, are theft, man-stealing, and the denial of any thing taken in trust, or found.

1. On the crime of *Theft*, Moses imposed the punishment of double (and in certain cases still higher) restitution; and if the thief were unable to make it (which however could rarely happen, as every Israelite by law had his paternal field, the crops of which might be attached), he was ordered to be sold for a slave, and payment was to be made to the injured party out of the purchase money. (Exod. xxii. 1. 3.) The same practice obtains, according to Chardin, among the Persians. The wisdom of this regulation is much greater than the generality of mankind are aware of: for, as the desire of gain and the love of luxuries are the prevalent inducements to theft, restitution varied according to circumstances would effectually prevent the unlawful gratification of that desire, while the idle man would be deterred from stealing by the dread of slavery, in which he would be compelled to work by the power of blows. If, however, a thief was found breaking into a house in the night season, he might be killed (Exod. xxii. 2.), but not if the sun had arisen, in which case he might be known and apprehended, and the restitution made, which was enjoined by Moses. When stolen oxen or sheep were found in the possession of the thief, he was to make a *two-fold* restitution to the owner, who thus obtained a profit for his risk of loss. (Exod. xxii. 3.) This punishment was applicable to every case, in which the article stolen remained unaltered in his possession. But, if it was already alienated or slaughtered, the criminal was to restore, *four-fold* for a *sheep*, and *five-fold* for an ox (Exod. xxii. 1.), in consequence of its great value and indispensable utility, in agriculture, to the Israelites, who had no horses. In the time of Solomon, when property had become more valuable from the increase of commerce, the punishment of restitution was increased to *seven-fold*. (Prov. vi. 30, 31.) When a thief had nothing to pay, he was sold as a slave (Exod. xxii. 2.), probably for as many years as were necessary for the extinction of the debt, and, of course, perhaps for life; though in other cases the Hebrew servant could be made to serve only for six years. If, however, a thief,—after having denied, even upon oath, any theft with which he was charged,—had the honesty or conscience to retract his perjury, and to confess his guilt, instead of double restitution, he had only to repay the amount stolen, and one-*fifth* more. (Levit. vi. 2, 5.) In case of debt also, the creditor might seize the debtor's person and sell him, together with his wife and children, if he had any. This is inferred from the words of the

statute, in Levit. xxv. 39. There is an allusion to this custom in Job xxiv. 9.; and a case in point is related in 2 Kings iv. 1. This practice also obtained among the Jews in the days of Nehemiah (v. 1—5.), and Jesus Christ refers to it in Matt. xviii. 25.

2. *Man-stealing*, that is, the seizing or stealing of the person of a free-born Israelite, either to use him as a slave himself, or to sell him as a slave to others, was absolutely and irremissibly punished with death. (Exod. xxi. 16. Deut. xxiv. 7.)

3. "Where a person was judicially convicted of having *denied any thing committed to his trust*, or found by him, his punishment, as in the case of theft, was double restitution; only that it never, as in that crime, went so far as quadruple, or quintuple restitution; at least nothing of this kind is ordained in Exod. xxii. 8. If the person accused of this crime had sworn himself guiltless, and afterwards, from the impulse of his conscience, acknowledged the commission of perjury, he had only one-fifth beyond the value of the article denied to refund to its owner." (Levit. vi. 5.)

IV. Among the CRIMES which may be committed AGAINST THE PERSON,

1. *Murder* claims the first place. As this is a crime of the most heinous nature, Moses has described four accessory circumstances or marks, by which to distinguish it from simple homicide or manslaughter, viz. (1.) When it proceeds from *hatred* or enmity. (Numb. xxxv. 20, 21. Deut. xix. 11.)—(2.) When it proceeds from *thirst* of blood, or a desire to satiate revenge with the blood of another. (Numb. xxxv. 20.)—(3.) When it is committed *premeditatedly and deceitfully*. (Exod. xxi. 14.)—(4.) When a man lies in wait for another, falls upon him, and slays him. (Deut. xix. 11.)—The punishment of murder was death without all power of redemption.

2. *Homicide* or *Manslaughter* is discriminated by the following adjuncts or circumstances:—(1.) That it takes place *without* hatred or enmity. (Numb. xxxv. 22. Deut. xix. 4—6.)—(2.) *Without* thirst for revenge. (Exod. xxi. 13. Numb. xxxv. 22.)—(3.) When it happens by mistake (Numb. xxxv. 11. 15.) (4.) By *accident*, or (as it is termed in the English law) *chance-medley*. (Deut. xix. 5.) In order to constitute wilful murder, besides enmity, Moses deemed it essential, that the deed be perpetrated by a blow, a thrust, or a cast, or other thing of such a nature, as inevitably to cause death (Numb. xxxv. 16—21.); such as, the use of an iron tool,—a stone, or piece of wood, that may probably cause death,—the striking of a man with the fist,

out of enmity,—pushing a man down in such a manner that his life is endangered,—and throwing any thing at a man, from sanguinary motives, so as to occasion his death. The punishment of homicide was confinement to a city of refuge, as will be shewn in the following section.

Besides the two crimes of murder and homicide, there are two other species of homicide, to which no punishment was annexed, viz.—(1.) If a man caught a thief breaking into his house by night, and killed him, *it was not blood-guiltiness*, that is, he could not be punished; but if he did so when the sun was up, it was *blood-guiltiness;* for the thief's life ought to have been spared, for the reason annexed to the law (Exod. xxii. 2, 3.); viz. because then the person robbed, might have it in his power to obtain restitution; or, at any rate, the thief, if he could not otherwise make up his loss, might be sold, in order to repay him.—(2.) If the Goël or avenger of blood overtook the innocent homicide before he reached a city of refuge, and killed him while his *heart was hot*, it was considered as done in justifiable zeal (Deut. xix. 6.); and even if he found him without the limits of his asylum, and slew him, he was not punishable. (Numb. xxxv. 26, 27.) The taking of pecuniary compensation for murder was prohibited; but the *mode* of punishing murderers was undetermined; and indeed it appears to have been left in a great degree to the pleasure of the Goël. An exception, however, was made to the severity of the law in the case of a perfect slave (that is, one not of Hebrew descent) whether male or female. Although a man had struck any of his slaves, whether male or female, with a stick, so as to cause their death, unless that event took place immediately, and under his hand, he was not punished. If the slave survived one or two days, the master escaped with impunity: it being considered, that his death might not have proceeded from the beating, and that it was not a master's interest to kill his slaves, because, as Moses says (Exod. xx. 20, 21.), *they are his money.* If the slave died under his master's hand while beating him, or even during the same day, his death was to be avenged; but, in what manner Moses has not specified. Probably the Israelitish master was subjected only to an arbitrary punishment, regulated according to circumstances by the pleasure of the judge.

In order to increase an abhorrence of murder, and to deter them from the perpetration of so heinous a crime,—when it had been committed by some person unknown, the city nearest to which the corpse was found was to be ascertained by mensuration: after which the elders or magistrates of that city were

required to declare their utter ignorance of the affair in the very solemn manner prescribed in Deut. xxi. 1—9.

3. For other *corporal injuries*, of various kinds, different statutes were made, which shew the humanity and wisdom of the Mosaic law. Thus, if a man injured another in a *fray*, he was obliged to pay the expenses of his cure, and of his bed, that is, the loss of his time arising from his confinement. (Exod. xxi. 18, 19.) By this admirable precept, most courts of justice still regulate their decisions in such cases.—If a pregnant woman was hurt, in consequence of a fray between two individuals,—as posterity among the Jews was among the peculiar promises of their covenant,—in the event of her premature delivery, the author of the misfortune was obliged to give her husband such a pecuniary compensation as he might demand; the amount of which, if the offender thought it too high, was to be determined by the decision of arbiters. On the other hand, if either the woman or her child was hurt or maimed, the law of retaliation took its full effect, as stated in Exod. xxi. 22—25.—The law of retaliation also operated, if one man hurt another by either assaulting him openly, or by any insidious attack, whether the parties were both Israelites, or an Israelite and a foreigner. (Levit. xxiv. 19—22.) This equality of the law, however, did not extend to slaves: but if a master knocked out the eye or tooth of a slave, the latter received his freedom as a compensation for the injury he had sustained. (Exod. xxi. 26, 27.) If this noble law did not teach the unmerciful slave-holder *humanity*, at least it taught him caution; as one rash blow might have deprived him of all right to the future services of his slave, and consequently self interest would oblige him to be cautious and circumspect.

4. The crime, of which decency withholds the name, as nature abominates the idea, was punished with death (Levit. xviii. 22, 23. xx. 13. 15, 16.), as also were adultery (Levit. xx. 10.),—it should seem by stoning (Ezek. xvi. 38. 40. John viii. 7.) except in certain cases which are specified in Levit. xix. 20—22. Other crimes of lust, which were common among the Egyptians and Canaanites, are made capital by Moses. For a full examination of the wisdom of his laws on these subjects, the reader is referred to the Commentaries of Michaelis. [1]

V. In nothing, however, were the wisdom and equity of the Mosaic law more admirably displayed, than in the rigour with which CRIMES OF MALICE were punished. Those pests of society, malicious informers, were odious in the eye of that

[1] Vol. iv. pp. 163—203.

law (Levit. xix. 16—18.): and the publication of false reports, affecting the characters of others, is expressly prohibited in Exod. xxiii. 1.; though that statute does not annex any punishment to this cirme. One exception, however, is made, which justly imposes a very severe punishment on the delinquent. See Deut. xxii. 13—19. All manner of false witness was prohibited even though it were to favour a poor man. (Exod. xx. 13. xxiii. 1—3.) But in the case of false testimony against an innocent man, the matter was ordered to be investigated with the utmost strictness, and, as a species of wickedness altogether extraordinary, to be brought before the highest tribunal, where the priests and the judges of the whole people sat in judgment: and, after conviction, the false witness was subjected to punishment, according to the law of retaliation, and beyond the possibility of reprieve: so that he suffered the very same punishment which attended the crime of which he accused his innocent brother. (Deut. xix. 16—21.) No regulation can be more equitable than this, which must have operated as a powerful prevention of this crime. Some of those excellent laws, which are the glory and ornament of the British constitution, have been made on this very ground. Thus, in the 37 Edw. III. c. 18. it is enacted that all those who make suggestion, shall suffer the same penalty to which the other party would have been subject, if he were attainted, in case his suggestions be found evil. A similar law was made in the same reign. (38 Edw. III. c. 9.) By a law of the twelve tables, false witnesses were thrown down the Tarpeian rock. In short, false witnesses have been deservedly execrated by all nations, and in every age.

SECTION IV.

ON THE PUNISHMENTS MENTIONED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

Design of Punishments. — Classification of Jewish Punishments. — I. PUNISHMENTS, NOT CAPITAL.—1. *Scourging.*—2. *Retaliation.*—3. *Pecuniary Fines.*—4. *Offerings in the nature of punishment.*—5. *Imprisonment.*—*Oriental mode of treating prisoners.*—6. *Depriving them of sight.*—7. *Cutting or plucking off the hair.*—8. *Excommunication.* — II. CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.—1. *Slaying with the sword.*—2. *Stoning.*—3. *Decapitation.*—4. *Precipitation.* 5. *Drowning.*—6. *Bruising in a mortar.*—7. *Dichotomy, or cutting asunder.*—8. Τυμπανισμος, *or beating to death.*—9. *Exposing to wild beasts.*—10. *Crucifixion.*—(1.) *Prevalence of this mode of Punishment among the antients.*—(2.) *Ignominy of Crucifixion.*——(3.) *The circumstances of our Saviour's Crucifixion considered and illustrated.*

THE end of punishment is expressed by Moses, to be the determent of others from the commission of crimes. His language is, that *others may hear and fear, and may shun the commission of like crimes.* (Deut. xvii. 13. xix. 20.) By the wise and humane enactments of this legislator, the parents are not to be put to death for their children, nor children for their parents (Deut. xxiv. 16.), as was afterwards the case with the Chaldeans (Dan. vi. 24.), and also among the kings of Israel (1 Kings xxi. and 2 Kings ix. 26), on charges of treason. Of the punishments mentioned in the sacred writers, some were inflicted by the Jews in common with other nations, and others were peculiar to themselves. They are usually divided into two classes, *non-capital* and *capital.*

I. The NON-CAPITAL or inferior PUNISHMENTS, which were inflicted for smaller offences, are eight in number, viz.

1. The most common corporal punishment of the antient Mosaic law was *Scourging.* (Lev. xix. 20. Deut. xxii. 18. xxv. 2, 3.) After the captivity it continued to be the usual punishment for transgressions of the law, so late indeed as the time of Josephus [1]; and the apostle tells us that he suffered it *five* times (2 Cor. xi. 24.) In the time of our Saviour it was not confined to the judicial tribunals, but was also inflicted in the synagogues (Matt. x. 17. xxiii. 34. Acts xxii. 19. xxvi. 11.) The penalty of scourging was inflicted by judicial sentence. The offender having been admonished to acknowledge his guilt, and the witnesses pro-

[1] Ant. Jud. lib. iv. c. 8. § 11.

duced against him as in capital cases, the judges commanded him to be tied by the arms to a low pillar: the culprit being stripped down to his waist, the executioner, who stood behind him upon a stone, inflicted the punishment both on the back and breast with thongs ordinarily made of ox's hide or leather. The number of stripes depended upon the enormity of the offence. According to the talmudical writers[1], while the executioner was discharging his office, the principal judge proclaimed these words with a loud voice:—*If thou observest not all the words of this law, &c. then the Lord shall make thy plagues wonderful, &c.* (Deut. xxvii. 58, 59.); adding, *Keep therefore the words of this covenant, and do them, that ye may prosper in all that ye do* (Deut. xxix. 9.); and concluding with these words of the Psalmist (lxxviii. 38.):—*But he being full of compassion forgave their iniquities:* which he was to repeat, if he had finished these verses before the full number of stripes was given. It was expressly enacted that no Jew should suffer more than forty stripes for any crime, though a less number might be inflicted. In order that the legal number might not be exceeded, the scourge consisted of three lashes or thongs; so that, at each blow, he received three stripes: consequently, when the full punishment was inflicted, the delinquent received only thirteen blows, that is, *forty stripes save one;* but if he were so weak, as to be on the point of fainting away, the judges would order the executioner to suspend his flagellation. Among the Romans, however, the number was not limited, but varied according to the crime of the malefactor and the discretion of the judge. It is highly probable that, when *Pilate took Jesus and scourged him,* he directed this scourging to be unusually severe, that the sight of his lacerated body might move the Jews to compassionate the prisoner, and desist from opposing his release. This appears the more probable; as our Saviour was so enfeebled by this scourging, that he afterwards had not strength enough left, to enable him to drag his cross to Calvary.

Among the Jews, the punishment of scourging involved no sort of ignominy, which could make the sufferer infamous or an object of reproach to his fellow citizens. It consisted merely in the physical sense of the pain.

2. *Retaliation,* or the returning of like for like, was the punishment inflicted for corporal injuries to another,—*eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.* (Exod. xxi. 24.) It appears, however, to have been rarely, if ever, strictly put in execution: but the injurious party was to give the injured person satisfaction. In this sense the ταυτοπαθεια among the Greeks

[1] Cited by Dr. Lightfoot, Works, vol. i. p. 901.

and the *Lex Talionis* among the Romans was understood; and an equivalent was accepted, the value of an eye, a tooth, &c. for the eye or tooth itself. It should seem that, in the time of Jesus Christ, the Jews had made this law (the execution of which belonged to the civil magistrate) a ground for authorising private resentments, and all the excesses committed by a vindictive spirit. Revenge was carried to the utmost extremity, and more evil returned than what had been received. On this account, our Saviour prohibited retaliation in his divine sermon on the mount. (Matt. vii. 38, 39.)

3. *Restitution.*—Justice requires that those things which have been stolen or unlawfully taken from another should be restored to the party aggrieved, and that compensation should be made to him by the aggressor. Accordingly, various fines or pecuniary payments were enacted by the Mosaic law; as

(1.) Fines, עֹנֶשׁ (onesh), strictly so called, went commonly to the injured party; and were of two kinds,—*Fixed*, that is, those of which the amount was determined by some statute, as for instance, that of Deut. xxii. 19. or xxii. 29;—and *Undetermined*, or where the amount was left to the decision of the judges. (Exod. xxi. 22.)

(2.) Two-fold, four-fold, and even five-fold *restitution* of things stolen, and restitution of property unjustly retained, with twenty per cent. over and above. Thus, if a man killed a beast, he was to make it good, beast for beast. (Levit. xxiv. 18.)—If an ox pushed or gored another man's servant to death, his owner was bound to pay for the servant thirty shekels of silver. (Exod. xxi. 32.)—In the case of one man's ox pushing the ox of another man to death, as it would be very difficult to ascertain which of the two had been to blame for the quarrel, the two owners were obliged to bear the loss. The living ox was to be sold, and its price, together with the dead beast, was to be equally divided between them. If, however, one of the oxen had previously been notorious for pushing, and the owner had not taken care to confine him, in such case he was to give the loser another, and to take the dead ox himself. (Exod. xxi. 36.)—If a man dug a pit and did not cover it, or let an old pit remain open, and another man's beast fell into it, the owner of such pit was obliged to pay for the beast, and had it for the payment. (Exod. xxi. 23, 24.)—When a fire was kindled in the fields and did any damage, he who kindled it, was to make the damage good. (Exod. xxii. 5.) [1]

(3.) *Compensation*, not commanded, but only allowed, by law, to be given to a person injured, that he might depart from his

[1] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. ii. pp. 365—367.

suit, and not insist on the legal punishment, whether corporal or capital. It is termed either כֹּפֶר (KOPheR), that is *Compensation*, or פִּדְיוֹן נֶפֶשׁ (PIDJON NEPheSH), that is, *Ransom of Life*. In one case it is most expressly permitted (Exod. xxi. 30.); but it is prohibited in the case of murder and also in homicide. (Numb. xxxv. 31, 32.) The highest fine leviable by the law of Moses was *one hundred shekels* of silver, a great sum in those times, when the precious metals were rare.

4. To this class of punishments may be referred the *Sin* and *Trespass Offerings* which were in the nature of punishments. They were in general extremely moderate and were enjoined in the following cases:

(1.) For every unintentional transgression of the Levitical law, even if it was a sin of *commission*, (for in the Mosaic doctrine concerning sin and trespass offerings, all transgressions are divided into sins of *commission*, and sins of *omission*), a sin-offering was to be made, and thereupon the legal punishment was remitted; which, in the case of wilful transgression, was nothing less than extirpation. (Lev. iv. 2. v. 1. 4—7.)

(2.) Whoever had made a rash oath, and had not kept it, was obliged to make a sin-offering; not, however, for his inconsideration, but for his neglect. (Lev. v. 4.)

(3.) Whoever had, as a witness, been guilty of perjury—not, however, to impeach an innocent man, (for in that case the *lex talionis* operated,) but—in not testifying what he knew against a guilty person, or in any other respect concerning the matter in question; and in consequence thereof felt disquieted in his conscience, might, without being liable to any farther punishment, or ignominy, obtain remission of the perjury, by a confession of it, accompanied with a trespass-offering. (Lev. v. 1.)

(4.) Whoever had incurred debt to the sanctuary, that is, had not conscientiously paid his tithes, had his crime cancelled by making a trespass-offering, and making up his deficiencies with twenty per cent. over and above. (Lev. v. 14, 15.)

(5.) The same was the rule, where a person denied any thing given him in trust, or any thing lost, which he had found, or any promise he had made; or again, where he had acquired any property dishonestly, and had his conscience awakened on account of it,—even where it was a theft, of which he had once cleared himself by oath, but was now moved by the impulse of his conscience to make voluntary restitution, and wished to get rid of the guilt. (Lev. vi. 1—7.) By the offering made on such an occasion, the preceding crime was wholly cancelled; and because the delinquent would otherwise have had to make resti-

tution, from *two* to *five* fold, he now gave twenty per cent. over and above the amount of his theft.

(6.) In the case of adultery committed with a slave, an offering was appointed by Lev. xix. 20—22.; which did not, however, wholly cancel the punishment, but mitigated it from death, which was the established punishment of adultery, to that of stripes.

Such measures as these, Michaelis remarks, must have had a great effect in prompting to the restitution of property unjustly acquired: but in the case of crimes, of which the good of the community expressly required that the legal punishment should uniformly and actually be put in execution, no such offering could be accepted.

5. *Imprisonment* does not appear to have been imposed by Moses as a punishment, though he could not be unacquainted with it; for he describes it as in use among the Egyptians. (Gen. xxxix. 19,20, 21.) The only time he mentions it, or more properly *arrest*, is solely for the purpose of keeping the culprit safe until judgment should be given on his conduct. (Lev. xxiv. 12.) In later times, however, the punishment of the prison came into use among the Israelites and Jews; whose history, under the monarchs, abounds with instances of their imprisoning persons, especially the prophets, who were obnoxious to them for their faithful reproofs of their sins and crimes. Thus, Asa committed the prophet Hanani to prison, for reproving him (2 Chron. xvi. 10.)[1]; Ahab committed Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 27.), as Zedekiah did the prophet Jeremiah, for the same offence. (Jer. xxxvii. 21.) John the Baptist was imprisoned by Herod, misnamed the Great (Matt. iv. 12.); and Peter, by Herod Agrippa. (Acts xii. 4.) Debtors (Matt. xviii. 30.), and murderers (Luke xxiii. 19.) were also committed to prison. We read also of Τηρησις Δημοσια, a common prison, a public gaol (Acts v. 8.), which was a place of durance and confinement for the worst sort of offenders.

In their prisons, there was usually a dungeon (Jer. xxxviii. 6.), or a *pit* or *cistern*, as the word בור (BOR) is rendered in Zech. ix. 11. where it unquestionably refers to a prison: and from this word we may conceive the nature of a dungeon, viz. that it was a place, in which indeed there was no water, but in its bottom *deep mud*; and accordingly we read that Jeremiah, who was cast into this worst and lowest part of the prison, *sunk*

[1] This place is termed the *prison-house:* but it appears that suspected persons were sometimes confined in part of the house which was occupied by the great officers of state, and was converted into a prison for this purpose. In this manner Jeremiah was at first confined (Jer. xxxvii. 15.); and a similar practice obtains in the East to this day. See Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 503.

into the mire. (Jer. xxxviii. 6.) Into such a horrid place was Joseph cast in Egypt. (Gen. xli. 14.)

In the prisons also were *stocks*, for detaining the person of the prisoner more securely. (Jer. xx. 2. xxix. 26.) Michaelis conjectures that they were of the sort by the Greeks called Πεντεσυριγγον, wherein the prisoner was so confined, that his body was kept in an unnatural position, which must have proved a torture truly insupportable. The Εσωτερα Φυλακη, or *inner prison*, into which Paul and Silas were *thrust* at Philippi, is supposed to have been the same as the pit or cistern above noticed; and here *their feet were made fast in the wooden stocks* (Acts xvi. 24.), το ξυλον. As this prison was under the Roman government, these stocks are supposed to have been the *cippi* or large pieces of wood in use among that people, which not only loaded the legs of prisoners but sometimes distended them in a very painful manner. Hence the situation of Paul and Silas would be rendered more painful than that of an offender sitting in the stocks, as used among us; especially if (as is very possible) they lay on the hard or dirty ground, with their bare backs, lacerated by recent scourging.[1]

The keepers of the prison antiently had, as in the East they still have, a discretionary power to treat their prisoners just as they please; nothing further bring required of them, than to produce them when called for. According to the accurate and observant traveller, Chardin, the gaoler is master to do as he pleases, to treat his prisoner well or ill; to put him in irons or not, to shut him up closely, or to hold him in easier restraint; to admit persons to him, or to suffer no one to see him. If the gaoler and his servants receive large fees, however base may be the character of the prisoner, he shall be lodged in the best part of the gaoler's own apartment: and, on the contrary, if the persons, who have caused the prisoner to be confined, make the gaoler greater presents, he will treat his victim with the utmost inhumanity. Chardin illustrates this statement by a narrative of the treatment received by a very great Armenian merchant. While he bribed the gaoler, the latter treated him with the greatest lenity: but afterwards, when the adverse party presented a considerable sum of money, first to the judge, and afterwards to the gaoler, the hapless Armenian first felt his privileges retrenched; he was next closely confined, and then was treated with such inhumanity, as not to be permitted to drink oftener than once in twenty-four hours, even during the hottest time in the summer. No person was allowed

[1] Doddridge's Expositor, on Acts xvi. 24.

to approach him but the servants of the prison: at length he was thrown into a dungeon, where he was in a quarter of an hour brought to the point to which all this severe usage was designed to force him [1]. What energy does this account of an eastern prison give to those passages of Scripture, which speak of the *soul coming into iron* (Psal. cv. 17. marginal rendering), of *the sorrowful* SIGHING *of the prisoner coming before God* (Psal. lxxix. 11.), and of Jeremiah's being kept in a dungeon many days, and supplicating that he might not be remanded thither lest he should die! (Jer. xxxvii. 16—20.)

5. *Banishment* was not a punishment enjoined by the Mosaic law; but after the captivity, both exile and forfeiture of property were introduced among the Jews: and it also existed under the Romans, by whom it was called *diminutio capitis*, because the person banished lost the right of a citizen, and the city of Rome thereby lost a head [2]. But there was another kind of exile, termed *disportatio*, which was accounted the worst kind. The party banished forfeited his estate; and being bound, was put on board ship, and transported to some island specified exclusively by the emperor, there to be confined in perpetual banishment. In this manner the apostle John was exiled to the little island of Patmos (Rev. i. 9.), where he wrote his Revelation.

6. In the East, antiently, it was the custom to *put out the eyes of prisoners.* Thus Sampson was deprived of sight by the Philistines (Judg. xvi. 21.), and Zedekiah by the Chaldees. (2 Kings xxv. 7.) It is well known that cutting out one or both the eyes has been frequently practised in Persia, as a punishment for treasonable offences. To the great work of restoring eye-balls to the sightless by the Messiah, the prophet Isaiah probably alludes in his beautiful prediction cited by our Lord and applied to himself in Luke iv. 18. [3]

7. *Cutting off the hair* of criminals seems to be rather an ignominious than a painful mode of punishment: yet it appears that pain was added to the disgrace, and that the hair was violently plucked off, as if the executioner were plucking a bird alive. This is the literal meaning of the original word, which in Neh. xiii. is rendered *plucked off their hair*; sometimes hot ashes were applied to the skin, after the hair was torn off, in order to render the pain more exquisitely acute. In the spurious book, commonly termed the fourth book of Macca-

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[1] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 504, 505.
[2] Dr. Adam's Roman Antiquities, pp. 66, 67.
[3] Fragments supplementary to Calmet, No. 192.

bees, it is said that the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes caused the hair and skin to be entirely torn off the heads of some of the seven Maccabean brethren. As an historical composition this book is utterly destitute of credit; but it shows that the mode of punishment under consideration was not unusual in the East. This sort of torture is said to have been frequently inflicted on the early martyrs and confessors for the Christian faith.

8. *Exclusion from sacred worship*, or *excommunication*, was not only an ecclesiastical punishment, but also a civil one; because in this theocratic republic, there was no distinction between the divine and the civil right. The earliest vestiges of this punishment are to be found after the return from the Babylonish captivity. In later times, according to the rabbinical writers, there were three degrees of excommunication among the Jews. The *first* was called נדוי (NIDUI), removal or separation from all intercourse with society: this is, in the New Testament, frequently termed casting out of the synagogue. (John ix. 22. xvi. 2. Luke vi. 22, &c.) This was in force for thirty days, and might be shortened by repentance. If the person continued in his obstinacy after that time, the excommunication was renewed, with additional solemn maledictions. This *second* degree was called חרם (CHEREM), which signifies to *anathematise* or devote to death. The third and last degree of excommunication was termed שם אתא (SHAM-ATHA) or מרן אתא (MARAN-ATHA), that is, *the Lord cometh*, or *may the Lord come*; intimating that the salvation of those against whom it was fulminated, had nothing more to expect but the terrible day of judgment.

The condition of those who were excommunicated was the most deplorable that can be imagined. They were debarred of all social intercourse, and were excluded from the temple and the synagogues, on pain of severe corporal punishment. Whoever had incurred this sentence was loaded with imprecations; as appears from Deut. xxvii. where the expression *cursed* is *he*, is so often repeated: whence to *curse* and to *excommunicate* were equivalent terms with the Jews. And therefore St. Paul says that *no man, speaking by the Spirit of God, calleth Jesus anathema* or *accursed* (1 Cor. xii. 3.), that is, curses Him as the Jews did, who denied him to be the Messiah, and excommunicated the Christians. In the second degree, they delivered the excommunicated party over to Satan, devoting him by a solemn curse: to this practice St. Paul is supposed to allude (1 Cor. v. 5.); and in this sense he expresses his desire even to be *accursed for his brethren* (Rom. ix. 3.), that is to be ex-

communicated, laden with curses, and to suffer all the miseries consequent on the infliction of this punishment, if it could have been of any service to his brethren the Jews. In order to impress the minds of the people with the greater horror, it is said that, when the offence was published in the synagogue, all the candles were lighted, and when the proclamation was finished, they were extinguished, as a sign that the excommunicated person was deprived of the light of Heaven: further, his goods were confiscated, his sons were not admitted to circumcision; and if he died without repentance or absolution, by the sentence of the judge a stone was to be cast upon his coffin or bier, in order to shew that he deserved to be stoned.[1]

II. The Talmudical writers have distinguished the CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS of the Jews into *lesser deaths*, and such as were *more grievous*: but there is no warrant in the Scriptures for these distinctions, neither are these writers agreed among themselves what particular punishments are to be referred to these two heads. A capital crime was termed, generally, a *sin of death* (Deut. xxii. 6.), or a *sin worthy of death* (Deut. xxi. 22.); which mode of expression is adopted, or rather imitated, by the apostle John, who distinguishes between a *sin unto death* and a *sin* NOT *unto death*. (1 John v. 16.) Criminals, or those who were deemed worthy of capital punishment, were called *sons* or *men of death* (1 Sam. xx. 31. xxvi. 16. 2 Sam. xix. 29. marginal rendering); just as he, who had incurred the punishment of scourging, was designated a *son of stripes* (Deut. xxv. 2. Heb.). Those who suffered a capital punishment, were said to be *put to death for their own sin.* (Deut. xxiv. 16. 2 Kings xiv. 6.) A similar phraseology was adopted by Jesus Christ, when he said to the Jews, *ye shall die in your sins.* (John viii. 21, 24.) Ten different sorts of capital punishments are mentioned in the sacred writings, viz.

1. *Slaying by the sword* is commonly confounded with decapitation or beheading. They were however two distinct punishments. The laws of Moses are totally silent concerning the latter practice, and it appears that those who were slain with the sword were put to death in any way which the executioner thought proper. See 1 Kings ii. 25. 29. 31. 34. 46. This punishment was inflicted in two cases:—(1.) When a murderer was to be put to death; and (2.) When a whole city or tribe was hostilely attacked for any common crime, *they smote all* (as the Hebrew phrase is) *with the edge of the sword.* (Deut.

[1] Grotius's Note, or rather Dissertation, on Luke vi. 22. Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. pp. 747—749. Selden, de Jure Naturæ et Gentium, lib. iv. c. 8.

xiii. 13—16.) Here doubtless the sword was used by every one, as he found opportunity.

With respect to the case of murder, frequent mention is made in the Old Testament of the גאל (GOËL) or *blood-avenger;* and various regulations were made by Moses concerning this person.

The inhabitants of the East, it is well known, are now, what they antiently were, exceedingly revengeful. If, therefore, an individual should unfortunately happen to lay violent hands upon another person and kill him, the next of kin is bound to avenge the death of the latter, and to pursue the murderer with unceasing vigilance until he have caught and killed him, either by force or by fraud. The same custom exists in Arabia [1], and it appears to have been alluded to by Rebecca: when she learnt that Esau was threatening to kill his brother Jacob, she endeavoured to send the latter out of the country, saying, *Why should I be bereft of you both in one day?* (Gen. xxvii. 15.) She could not be afraid of the magistrate for punishing the murder, for the patriarchs were subject to no superior in Palestine: and Isaac was much too partial to Esau, for her to entertain any expectation, that *he* would condemn him to death for it. It would therefore appear that she dreaded lest he should fall by the hand of the *blood-avenger*, perhaps of some Ishmaelite. The office, therefore, of the Goël was in use before the time of Moses, and it was probably filled by the nearest of blood to the party killed, as the right of redeeming a mortgaged field is given to him. To prevent the unnecessary loss of life through a sanguinary spirit of revenge, the Hebrew legislator made various enactments concerning the blood-avenger. In most ages and countries, certain reputed sacred places enjoyed the privileges of being asylums: Moses, therefore, taking it for granted that the murderer would flee to the altar, commanded that when the crime was deliberate and intentional, he should be torn even from the altar, and put to death. (Exod. xxi. 14.) But in the case of unintentional murder, the man-slayer was enjoined to flee to one of the six cities of refuge, which (we have already seen [2]) were appropriated for his residence. The roads to these cities, it was enacted, should be kept in such a state that the unfortunate individual might meet with no impediment whatever in his way. (Deut. xix. 3.) If the Goël overtook the fugitive before he reached an asylum, and put him to death, he was not considered as guilty of blood: but if the man-slayer had reached a place

[1] Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, pp. 26—30.

[2] See p. 10, *supra*.

of refuge, he was immediately protected, and an inquiry was instituted whether he had a right to such protection and asylum, that is, whether he had caused his neighbour's death *undesignedly*, or was a *deliberate murderer*. In the latter case he was judicially delivered to the Goël, who might put him to death in whatever way he chose: but in the former case the homicide continued in the place of refuge until the high priest's death, when he might return home in perfect security. If, however, the Goël found him without the city or beyond its suburbs, he might slay him without being guilty of blood. (Numb. xxxv. 26, 27.) Further to guard the life of man, and prevent the perpetration of murder, Moses positively prohibited the receiving of a sum of money from a murderer in the way of compensation. (Numb. xxxv. 31.) It should seem that if no avenger of blood appeared, or if he were dilatory in the pursuit of the murderer, it became the duty of the magistrate himself to inflict the sentence of the law: and thus we find that David deemed this to be his duty in the case of Joab, and that Solomon, in obedience to his father's dying intreaty, actually discharged it by putting that murderer to death. (1 Kings ii. 5, 6. 28—34.) There is a beautiful allusion to the blood-avenger in Heb. vi. 17, 18.

Hewing in pieces with the sword may be referred to this class of punishments. Thus Agag was executed, as a criminal, by the prophet Samuel (1 Sam. xv. 33.); and recent travellers inform us that criminals are literally hewed in pieces in Abyssinia, Persia, and in Asiatic Turkey.[1]

2. *Stoning* was denounced against idolaters, blasphemers, sabbath-breakers, incestuous persons, witches, wizards, and children who either cursed their parents or rebelled against them. (Lev. xx. 2. 27. xxiv. 14. Deut. xiii. 10. xvii. 5. xxi. 21. and xxii. 21: 24.) It was the most general punishment, denounced in the law against notorious criminals; and this kind of punishment is intended by the indefinite term of *putting to death*. (Lev. xx. 10. compared with John viii. 5.) Michaelis supposes that the culprit was bound, previously to the execution of his sentence. The witnesses threw the first stones, and the rest of the people then followed their example. Instances of persons being stoned, in the Old Testament, occur in Achan (Josh. vii. 25.), Adoram (1 Kings xii. 18.), Naboth (1 Kings xxi. 10.), and Zechariah (2 Chron. xxiv. 21.)

In the New Testament we meet with vestiges of a punishment, which has frequently been confounded with lapidation:

[1] Bruce's Travels, vol. iv. p. 81. Harmer's Observations, vol. iv. pp. 229, 230. Capt. Light's Travels in Egypt, Nubia, &c. p. 194.

it originated in the latter times of the Jewish commonwealth, and was termed the *rebels' beating*. It was often fatal, and was inflicted by the mob with their fists, or staves, or stones, without mercy, or the sentence of the judges. Whoever transgressed against a prohibition of the wise men, or of the scribes, which had its foundation in the law, was delivered over to the people to be used in this manner, and was called *a son of rebellion*[1]. The frequent taking up of stones by the Jews against our Saviour, mentioned in the New Testament, and also the stoning of Stephen (Acts vii. 59.), and of Paul (Acts. xiv. 19.), were instances of this kind.

Although the law of Moses punished no one with infamy, during life, yet three marks of infamy are denounced against those who were punished capitally, viz.:—(1.) *Burning* the criminal who had been stoned, agreeably to the antient consuetudinary law. (Gen. xxxviii. 24. Lev. xx. 14. xxi. 9.)—(2.) *Hanging*, either on a tree or on a gibbet (for the Hebrew word signifies both); which was practised in Egypt (Gen. xl. 17—19.), and also enjoined by Moses. (Numb. xxv. 4, 5. Deut. xxi. 22.) The five Canaanitish kings were first slain and then hanged. (Josh. x. 16.) Persons who were hanged were considered as *accursed of God*, that is, punished by him, and abominable; on which account they were to be taken down and buried the same day. (Deut. xxi. 23.) The hanging of Saul's sons recorded in 2 Sam. xxi. 6., was done, *not* by the Israelites, but by the *Gibeonites*, who were of Canaanitish origin, and probably retained their old laws. The hanging mentioned by Moses was widely different from crucifixion, which was a Roman punishment: on account of its ignominy, however, the Jews subsequently extended the declaration of Moses to it, and accounted the crucified person as accursed. (John xix. 31—34. Gal. iii. 13.)—(3.) The *Lapidation* or *heaping of stones*, on the bodies of criminals, who had been already stoned to death, or slain by the sword, or upon their remains, when consumed by fire. Such a heap was accumulated over Achan (Josh. vii. 25, 26.), and also over Absalom. (2 Sam. xviii. 17.) The Arabs, long after the time of David, expressed their detestation of deceased enemies in the same manner.[2]

The preceding are the only capital punishments denounced in the Mosaic Law: in subsequent times others were introduced among the Jews, as their intercourse increased with foreign nations.

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[1] Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 901, 902.

[2] Michaelis has given some instances of this practice, see his Commentaries, vol. iii. p. 430.

3. *Decapitation*, or beheading, though not a mode of punishment enjoined by Moses, was certainly in use before his time. It existed in Egypt (Gen. xl. 17.), and it is well known to have been inflicted under the princes of the Herodian family. Thus John the Baptist was beheaded (Matt. xiv. 8—12.) by one of Herod's life-guards, who was despatched to his prison for that purpose. (Mark. vi. 27.)

4. *Precipitation*, or casting headlong from a precipice, was a punishment rarely used; though we meet with it in the history of the kings, and in subsequent times. Amaziah, king of Judah, forced ten thousand Idumæan prisoners of war to leap from the top of a high rock. (2 Chron. xxv. 12.) The Jews attempted to precipitate Jesus Christ from the brow of a mountain. (Luke iv. 29.) James, surnamed the Just, was thrown from the highest part of the temple into the subjacent valley. The same mode of punishment, it is well known, obtained among the Romans, who used to throw certain malefactors from the Tarpeian rock [1]. The same practice obtains among the Moors at Constantine, a town in Barbary. [2]

5. *Drowning* was a punishment in use among the Syrians, and was well known to the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, though we have no evidence that it was practised by them. It was also in use among the Greeks and Romans. The emperor Augustus, we are told, punished certain persons, who had been guilty of rapacity in the province (of Syria or of Lycia), by causing them to be thrown into a river, with a heavy weight about their necks [3]. Josephus [4] also tells us that the Galileans revolting, drowned the partisans of Herod in the sea of Gennesareth. To this mode of capital punishment Jesus Christ alludes in Matt. xviii. 6. [5]

6. *Bruising*, or *pounding in a mortar*, is a punishment still in use among the Turks. The ulema or body of lawyers are, in Turkey, exempted from confiscation of their property, and from being put to death, except by the pestle and mortar. Some of the Turkish guards, who had permitted the escape of the Polish prince Coreski in 1618, were pounded to death in great mortars of iron [6]. This horrid punishment was not unknown in the time of Solomon, who expressly alludes to it in Prov. xxvii. 22.

7. *Dichotomy*, or *cutting asunder*, was a capital punishment

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[1] Livy, Hist. lib. vi. c. 20.

[2] Pitt's Religion and Manners of the Mahometans, pp. 311, 312. London edit. 1810.

[3] Suetonius, in Augusto. c. 67. [4] Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 15. § 10.

[5] Grotius in loc. [6] Knolles's History of the Turks, vol. ii. p. 947. Lond. 1687.

antiently in use in the countries contiguous to Judæa. The rabbinical writers report that Isaiah was thus put to death by the profligate Manasseh; and to this Saint Paul is supposed to allude. (Heb. xi. 37.) Nebuchadnezzar threatened it to the Chaldee magi, if they did not interpret his dream (Dan. ii. 5.), and also to the blasphemers of the true God. (Dan. iii. 29.) Herodotus says, that Sabacho had a vision, in which he was commanded to *cut in two* all the Egyptian priests; and that Xerxes ordered one of the sons of Pythias to be cut in two, and one half placed on each side of the way, that his army might pass between them [1]. Trajan is said to have inflicted this punishment on some rebellious Jews. It is still practised by the Moors of Western Barbary, and also in Persia. [2]

The heads, hands, and feet of state criminals, were also frequently cut off, and fixed up in the most public places, as a warning to others. This punishment obtains among the Turks, and was inflicted on the sons of Rimmon, who had treacherously murdered Ishbosheth, by command of David; who further ordered that the assassin's hands and feet should be hung up over the pool of Hebron, which was probably a place of great resort. [3]

8. *Beating to death* (Τυμπανισμος) was practised by Antiochus towards the Jews (2 Macc. vi. 19. 28. 30.), and is referred to by Saint Paul. (Heb. xi. 35.) This was a punishment in use among the Greeks, and was usually inflicted upon slaves. The real or supposed culprit was fastened to a stake, and beaten to death with sticks. The same punishment is still in use among the Turks, under the appellation of the bastinado: with them, however, it is seldom mortal.

9. *Exposing to wild beasts* appears to have been a punishment among the Medes and Persians. It was inflicted first on the exemplary prophet Daniel, who was miraculously preserved, and afterwards on his accusers, who miserably perished. (Dan. vi. 7. 12. 16—24.) From them it appears to have passed to the Romans. In their theatres, they had two sorts of *amusements*, each sufficiently barbarous. Sometimes they cast men naked to the wild beasts, to be devoured by them: this punishment was inflicted on slaves and vile persons. Sometimes persons were sent into the theatre, armed, to fight with wild beasts: if they conquered, they had their lives and liberty:

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[1] Raphelii Annotationes in Nov. Test. ex Herodoto, tom. i. p. 376. Other instances from antient writers are given by Dr. Whitby, on Matt. xxiv. 51. and Kuinoël, Comment. in Hist. Lib. Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 633.

[2] Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 457. Morier's Second Journey, p. 96.

[3] Harmer's Observations, vol. i. pp. 501, 502.

but if not, they fell a prey to the beasts. To this latter usage (on which some further particulars are given in a subsequent page,) Saint Paul refers in 1 Tim. iv. 17. and 1 Cor. xv. 32.

In the case of certain extraordinary criminals, besides inflicting upon them the sentence to which they had been condemned, it was not unusal to demolish their houses, and reduce them to a common place for filth and dung. Among other things, Nebuchadnezzar denounced this disgrace to the diviners of Chaldea, if they did not declare his dream to him (Dan. ii. 5.); and afterwards to all such as should not worship the god of Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego. (Dan. iii. 29.) And Darius threatened the same punishment to those who should molest the Jews. (Ezra vi. 11.) In this way the Romans destroyed the house of Spurius Cassius, after they had precipitated him from the Tarpeian rock, for having (as they said) aimed at tyranny. [1]

10. Crucifixion was a punishment which the antients inflicted only on the most notorious criminals and malefactors. The cross was made of two beams, either crossing at the top at right angles, or in the middle of their length like an X. There was, besides, a piece on the centre of the transverse beam, to which was attached the accusation, or statement of the culprit's crime; together with a piece of wood that projected from the middle, on which the person sat as on a kind of saddle, and by which the whole body was supported. Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, gives this description; and it is worthy of note, that he lived in the former part of the second century of the Christian æra, before the punishment of the cross was abolished. The cross, on which our Lord suffered, was of the former kind, being thus represented on all antient monuments, coins, and crosses.

Crucifixion is one of the most cruel and excruciating deaths, which the art of ingeniously tormenting and extinguishing life ever devised. The body of the criminal was fastened to the upright beam by nailing or tying the feet to it, and on the transverse beam by nailing and sometimes tying the hands to it. Those members, being the grand instruments of motion, are provided with a greater quantity of nerves, which (especially those of the hands) are peculiarly sensible. As the nerves are the instruments of all sensation or feeling, wounds in the parts where they abound must be peculiarly painful; especially when inflicted with such rude instruments as large nails, forcibly driven through the exquisitely delicate tendons, nerves,

[1] Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. viii. c. 78, 79.

and bones of those parts. The horror of this punishment will appear, when it is considered that the person was permitted to hang (the whole weight of his body being borne up by his nailed hands and feet, and by the projecting piece in the middle of the cross), until he perished through agony and want of food. There are instances of crucified persons living in this exquisite torture several days. The wise and adorable Author of our being has formed and constituted the fabric of our bodies in such a merciful manner, that nothing violent is lasting. Friendly death sealed the eyes of those wretches generally in two days. Hunger, thirst, and acute pain dismissed them from their intolerable sufferings. The rites of sepulture were denied them. Their dead bodies were generally left on the crosses on which they were first suspended, and became a prey to every ravenous beast and carnivorous bird.[1]

(1.) Crucifixion obtained among several antient nations, the Egyptians[2], Persians, Greeks[3], and Carthaginians. The Carthaginians generally adjudged to this death their unfortunate and unsuccessful commanders[4]. There are many unhappy instances of this. They crucified Bomilcar[5], whom Justin calls their king, when they detected his intended design of joining Agathocles. They erected a cross in the midst of the forum, on which they suspended him, and from which, with a great and unconquered spirit, amidst all his sufferings, he bitterly inveighed against them, and upbraided them with all the black and atrocious crimes they had lately perpetrated. But this manner of executing criminals prevailed most among the Romans. It was generally a servile punishment, and chiefly inflicted on vile, worthless, and incorrigible slaves[6]. In reference to this, the apostle, describing the condescension of Jesus, and his submission to this most opprobious death, represents him as taking

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1 Pasces in cruce corvos. Horat. Epist. lib. i. epist. 16. ver. 48.
Vultur, jumento et canibus, crucibusque relictis
Ad fœtus properat, partemque cadaveris affert. Juvenal. Satyr. 14. ver. 77, 78.

2 Thucydides, lib. i. sect. 110. p. 71. edit. Duker. Justin, treating of the affairs of Egypt, says: Concursu multitudinis et Agathocles occiditur, et mulieres in ultionem Eurydices patibulis suffiguntur. Justin, lib. 30. cap. 2. p. 578. edit. Gronovii. Herodoti Erato. p. 451. edit. Wesseling, 1763. See also Thalia, p. 260. and Polyhymnia. p. 617. ejusdem editionis.

3 Alexander crucified two thousand Tyrians. Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus ira præbuit regis; duo millia, in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies, crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris spatium, dependerunt. Q. Curtii, lib. iv. cap. 4. p. 187. edit. Snakenburgh, 1724. See also Plutarch in vita Alex. and Justin, lib. 18. cap. 3.

4 Duces bella pravo consilio gerentes, etiamsi prospera fortuna subsecuta esset, cruci tamen suffigebantur. Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 7. p. 191. edit. Torren. Leidæ, 1726.

5 Bomilcar rex Pœnorum in medio foro a pœnis patibulo suffixus est. De summa cruce, veluti de tribunali, in Pœnorum scelera concionaretur. Justin, lib. xxii. cap. 7. p. 505. ed. Gronovii.

6 Pone crucem servo. Juvenal, Sat. 6. ver. 218.

upon him the form of a servant (Phil. ii. 7, 8.), and becoming obedient to death, even the death of the cross.

(2.) "It was universally and deservedly reputed the most shameful and ignominious death to which a wretch could be exposed. In such an exit were comprised every idea and circumstance of odium, disgrace, and public scandal." Hence the apostle magnifies and extols the great love of our Redeemer, "in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us," and "for the joy set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame," (Rom. v. 8. Heb. xii. 2.); disregarding every circumstance of public indignity and infamy with which such a death was loaded. It was from the idea they connected with such a death, that the Greeks treated the apostles with the last contempt and pity for publicly embarking in the cause of a person who had been brought to this reproachful and dishonourable death by his own countrymen. The preaching of the cross was to them foolishness (1 Cor. 1. 23.); the promulgation of a system of religion that had been taught by a person who, by a national act, had publicly suffered the punishment and death of the most useless and abandoned slave, was, in their ideas, the last infatuation; and the preaching of Christ crucified, publishing in the world a religion whose founder suffered on a cross, appeared the last absurdity and madness [1]. The Heathens looked upon the attachment of the primitive Christians to a religion, whose publisher had come to such an end, as an undoubted proof of their utter ruin, that they were destroying their interest, comfort, and happiness, by adopting such a system founded on such a dishonourable circumstance [2]. The same inherent scandal and ignominy had crucifixion in the estimation of the Jews. They indeed annexed more complicated wretchedness to it, for they esteemed the miscreant who was adjudged to such an end not only to be abandoned of men, but forsaken of God. He that

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1 "From this circumstance," says Justin Martyr, "the Heathens are fully convinced of our madness for giving the second place after the immutable and eternal God, and Father of all, to a person who was crucified! Justin Martyr, Apol. 2. p. 60, 61. edit. Paris, 1636. Et qui hominem summo supplicio pro facinore punitum, et crucis ligna feralia ceremonias fabulatur, congruentia perditis sceleratisque tribuit altaria; ut id colant quod merentur. Minucius Felix, p. 57. edit. Davis. Cantab. 1712. Nam quod religioni nostræ hominem noxium et crucem ejus adscribitis, longe de vicinia veritatis erratis. Min. Felix, p. 147. ejusdem editionis.

2 That this was the sentiment of the Heathens concerning the Christians, St. Paul informs us, and he exhorts the Philippians not to be discouraged by it, Philip. i. 28. Not intimidated in any thing by your adversaries; for though they look upon your attachment to the gospel as an undoubted proof of your utter ruin, yet to you it is a demonstration of your salvation—a salvation which hath God for its author.

is hanged, says the law, is accursed of God. (Deut. xxi. 23.) Hence St. Paul, representing to the Galatians the grace of Jesus, who released us from that curse to which the law of Moses devoted us, by being made a curse for us, by submitting to be treated for our sakes as an execrable malefactor, to show the horror of such a death as Christ voluntarily endured, adds, *It is written in the law, Cursed is every one that is hanged on a tree!* (Galat. iii. 13.) And from this express declaration of the law of Moses concerning persons thus executed, we may account for that aversion the Jews discovered against Christianity, and perceive the reason of what St. Paul asserts, that their preaching of Christ crucified was to the Jews a stumbling block. (1 Cor. i. 23.) The circumstance of the cross caused them to stumble at the very gate of Christianity.[1]

(3.) The several circumstances related by the four evangelists as accompanying the crucifixion of Jesus were conformable to the Roman custom in such executions; and, frequently occurring in antient authors, do not only reflect beauty and lustre upon these passages, but happily corroborate and confirm the narrative of the sacred penmen. We will exhibit before our readers a detail of these as they are specified by the evangelists.[2]

Every mark of infamy that malice could suggest was accumulated on the head of our Redeemer. While he was in the high priest's house, *they did spit in his face and buffetted him, and others smote him with the palms of their hands, saying, Prophesy unto us thou Christ, who is he that smote thee?* (Matt. xxvi. 67, 68. Mark xiv. 65.) Pilate, hearing our Lord was of Galilee sent him to Herod; and before he was dismissed by him, *Herod, with his men of war, set him at nought; and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe.* (Luke xxiii. 11.) He was insulted and mocked by the soldiers, when Pilate ordered him to be scourged the first time, that by that lesser punishment he might satisfy the Jews and save his life, as

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[1] Trypho the Jew every where affects to treat the Christian religion with contempt, on account of the crucifixion of its author. He ridicules its professors for centering all their hopes in a man who was crucified! Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 33. The person whom you call your Messiah, says he, incurred the last disgrace and ignominy, for he fell under the greatest curse in the law of God; he was crucified! p. 90. Again, we must hesitate, says Trypho, with regard to our believing a person, who was so ignominiously crucified, being the Messiah; for it is written in the law, Cursed is every one who is hanged on a cross. Justin Martyr Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 271. edit. Jebb. London, 1719. See also pages 272. 283. 378. 392. See also Eusebii Hist. Eccl. p. 171. 744. Cantab.

[2] For this account of crucifixion the author is indebted to Dr. Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, part i. book i. c. 7. §§ ix.—xvii. and Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 336—353.

as is related by St. John. After Pilate had condemned him to be crucified, the like indignities were repeated by the soldiers, as we are assured by two evangelists. (Matt. xxvii. 27—31. Mark xv. 16—20.) *And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe, and when they had platted a crown of thorns*[1], *they put it on his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail! king of the Jews. And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head.*

These are tokens of contempt and ridicule which were in use at that time. Dio, among the other indignities offered to Sejanus the favourite of Tiberius, (in whose reign our Saviour was crucified), as they were carrying him from the senate-house to prison, particularly mentions this:—'That they struck him on the head.' But there is one instance of ridicule which happened so soon after this time, and has so great a resemblance to that to which our Saviour was exposed, that it deserves to be stated at length. Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, had, in the very beginning of his reign, given Agrippa the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, being about the fourth part of his grandfather Herod's dominions, with the right of wearing a diadem or crown. When he was setting out from Rome to make a visit to his people, the emperor advised him to go by Alexandria as the best way. When he came thither he kept himself very private; but the Alexandrians having got intelligence of his arrival there, and of the design of his journey, were filled with envy, as Philo says, at the thoughts of a Jew having the title of king. They had recourse to various expedients, in order to manifest their indignation: one was the following:—"There was," says Philo[2], "one Carabas, a sort of distracted fellow, that in all seasons of the year went naked about the streets. He was somewhat between a madman and a fool, the common jest of boys and other idle people. This wretch they brought into

[1] Various opinions have been offered concerning the species of thorn, intended by the sacred writers. Bartholin wrote an elaborate dissertation *De Spinea Corona*, and Lydius has collected the opinions of several writers in his Florum Sparsio ad Historiam Passionis Jesu Christi. (Analect. pp. 13—17.) The intelligent traveller, Hasselquist, says, that the *naba* or *nabka* of the Arabians "is in all probability the tree which afforded the crown of thorns put on the head of Christ: it grows very commonly in the East. *This plant was very fit for the purpose; for it has many* SMALL AND SHARP SPINES, *which are well adapted to give pain.* The crown might easily be made of these soft round and pliant branches: and what in my opinion seems to be the greatest proof is, that the leaves very much resemble those of ivy, as they are of a very deep green. Perhaps the enemies of Christ would have a plant somewhat resembling that with which emperors and generals were used to be crowned, that there might be calumny even in the punishment." Hasselquist's Voyages and Travels in the Levant, pp. 288, 289.

[2] In Flacc. p. 970, B. C.

the theatre, and placed him on a lofty seat, that he might be conspicuous to all: then they put a thing made of paper on his head for a crown, the rest of his body they covered with a mat instead of a robe, and for a sceptre one put into his hand a little piece of a reed which he had just taken up from the ground. Having thus given him a mimic royal dress, several young fellows with poles on their shoulders came and stood on each side of him as his guards. Then there came people toward him, some to pay their homage to him, others to ask justice of him, and some to know his will and pleasure concerning affairs of state; and in the crowd were loud and confused acclamations of Maris, Maris; that being, as they say, the Syriac word for Lord, thereby intimating whom they intended to ridicule by all this mock shew; Agrippa being a Syrian, and king of a large country in Syria."

When Pilate had pronounced the sentence of condemnation on our Lord, and publicly adjudged him to be crucified, he gave orders that he should be scourged. *Then Pilate took Jesus and scourged him. And when he had scourged Jesus,* says another of the evangelists, *he delivered him to be crucified.* Among the Romans, scourging was always inflicted previously to crucifixion. Many examples might be produced of this custom. Let the following suffice. Livy, speaking of the fate of those slaves who had confederated and taken up arms against the state, says, that many of them were slain, many taken prisoners, and others, after they had been whipped or scourged [1], were suspended on crosses. Philo, relating the cruelties which Flaccus the Roman prefect exercised upon the Jews of Alexandria, says, that after they were mangled and torn with scourges [2] in the theatres, they were fastened to crosses. Josephus also informs us that at the siege of Jerusalem great numbers of the Jews were crucified, after they had been previously whipped, and suffered every wanton cruelty. [3]

"After they had inflicted this customary flagellation, the evangelist informs us that they obliged our Lord to carry to the place of execution the cross, or at least the transverse beam of it, on which he was to be suspended. Lacerated, therefore, with the stripes and bruises he had received, faint with the loss

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[1] Multi occisi, multi capti, alii verberati crucibus affixi. Livii, lib. xxxiii. 36.

[2] Philo in Flac. p. 529. edit. Mangey. See also pages 527, 528. ejusdem editionis. The Roman custom was to scourge before all executions. The magistrates bringing them out into the forum, after they had scourged them according to custom, they struck off their heads. Polybii Hist. lib. i. p. 10. tom. 1. edit. Gronovii. 1670.

[3] Josephus de Bello Jud. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 353. Havercamp. Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. cap. 14. § 9. p. 182. Haverc.

of blood, his spirits exhausted by the cruel insults and blows that were given him when they invested him with robes of mock royalty, and oppressed with the incumbent weight of his cross; in these circumstances our Saviour was urged along the road. We doubt not but in this passage to Calvary every indignity was offered him. This was usual [1]. Our Lord, fatigued and spent with the treatment he had received, could not support his cross. The soldiers therefore who attended him compelled one Simon, a Cyrenean, who was coming from the country to Jerusalem, and happened then to be passing by them, to carry it for him. This circumstance here mentioned of our Lord bearing his cross was agreeable to the Roman custom. Slaves and malefactors, who were condemned to this death, were compelled to carry the whole or part of the fatal gibbet on which they were destined to die. This constituted a principal part of the shame and ignominy of such a death. Cross-bearer was a term of the last reproach among the Romans. The miserable wretch, covered with blood, from the scourges that had been inflicted upon him, and groaning under the weight of his cross, was, all along the road to the place of execution, loaded with every wanton cruelty [2]. So extreme were the misery and sufferings of the hapless criminals who were condemned to this punishment, that Plutarch makes use of it as an illustration of the misery of sin, that every kind of wickedness produces its own particular torment; just as every malefactor, when he is brought forth to execution, carries his own cross [3]. He was pushed, thrown down, stimulated with goads, and impelled forwards by every act of insolence and inhumanity that could be inflicted [4]. There is great reason to think that our blessed Redeemer in his way to Calvary experienced every abuse of this nature, especially when he proceeded slowly along, through languor, lassitude, and faintness, and the soldiers and rabble found his strength incapable of sustaining and dragging his cross any farther. On this occasion we imagine that our Lord suffered very cruel treatment from those who attended him. Might not the scourging that was inflicted, the blows he had received from the soldiers when in derision they paid him homage, and the abuse he suffered in his way to Calvary, greatly contribute to

[1] Vid. Justi Lipsii de cruce, lib. ii. cap. 6. p. 1180. Vesaliæ.

[2] Plutarch de tardâ Dei vindictâ, p. 982. edit. Gr. 8vo. Steph. Dionysii Halicar. lib. vii. tom. i. p. 456. Oxon. 1704.

[3] O carnificium cribrum, quod credo fore:
Ita te forabunt patibulatum per vias
Stimulis, si huc reveniat senex. Plautus Mostel.
Act. i. sc. 1. ver. 53. edit. var. 1684.

[4] Nec dubium est quin impulerint, dejecerint, erexerint, per sævitiam aut per lusum. Lipsius de cruce, tom. vi. p. 1180. Vesaliæ.

accelerate his death, and occasion that speedy dissolution at which one of the evangelists tells us Pilate marvelled?

"When the malefactor had carried his cross to the place of execution, a hole was dug in the earth, in which it was to be fixed; the criminal was stripped, a stupifying potion was given him, the cross was laid on the ground, the wretch distended upon it, and four soldiers, two on each side, at the same time were employed in driving four large nails through his hands and feet. After they had deeply fixed and rivetted these nails in wood, they elevated the cross with the agonising wretch upon it; and, in order to infix it the more firmly and securely in the earth, they let it violently fall into the cavity they had dug to receive it. This vehement precipitation of the cross must give the person that was nailed to it a most dreadful convulsive shock, and agitate his whole frame in a dire and most excruciating manner. These several particulars the Romans observed in the crucifixion of our Lord. Upon his arrival at Calvary he was stripped: a stupefying draught was offered him, which he refused to drink. This, St. Mark says, was a composition of myrrh and wine. The design of this potion was, by its inebriating and intoxicating quality, to blunt the edge of pain, and stun the quickness of sensibility [1]. Our Lord rejected this medicated cup, offered him perhaps by the kindness of some of his friends, it being his fixed resolution to meet death in all its horrors; not to alleviate and suspend its pains by any such preparation, but to submit to the death, even this death of crucifixion, with all its attendant circumstances." He had the joy that was set before him, in procuring the salvation of men, in full and immediate view. He wanted not, therefore, on this great occasion, any thing to produce an unnatural stupor, and throw oblivion and stupefaction over his senses [2]. He cheerfully and voluntarily drank the cup, with all its bitter ingredients, which his heavenly Father had put into his hands. Our Lord was fastened to his cross, as was usual, by four soldiers [3], two on each side, according to the

[1] Sese multimodis conculcat ictibus, myrrhæ contra præsumptione munitus. Apuleii Metamorph. lib. viii. Again: Obfirmatus myrrhæ presumptione nullis verberibus, ac ne ipsi quidem succubuit igni. Lib. x. Apuleii Met. Usque hodie, says St. Jerome, Judæi omnes increduli Dominicæ resurrectionis aceto et felle potant Jesum, et dant ei vinum myrrhatum, ut dum consopiant, et mala eorum non videat. Hieronymus ad Matth. xxvii.

[2] See Dr. Benson's Life of Christ, p. 508.

[3] Monet nos quoque non parum evangelista, qui quatuor numerat milites crucifigentes, scilicet juxta quatuor membra figenda. Quod clarum etiam est ex tunicæ partitione, quæ quatuor militibus facienda erat. Cornelii Curtii de Clavis Dominicis p. 35. edit. Antwerpiæ, 1670. The four soldiers who parted his garments, and cast lots for his vesture, were the four who raised him to the cross, each of them fixing a limb, and who, it seems, for this service had a right to the crucified person's clothes. Dr. Macknight, p. 604, second edition, 4to.

respective limbs they severally nailed. While they were employed in piercing his hands and feet, it is probable that he offered to Heaven that most compassionate and affecting prayer for his murderers, in which he pleaded the only circumstance that could possibly extenuate their guilt: *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do!* It appears from the evangelists that our Lord was crucified without the city. *And he bearing his cross went forth to a place called the place of a skull, which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha.* (John xix. 17.) *For the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city.* (ver. 20.) And the apostle to the Hebrews has likewise mentioned this circumstance: *Wherefore Jesus also—suffered without the gate.* (Heb. xiii. 12.) This is conformable to the Jewish law, and to examples mentioned in the Old Testament. (Numb. xv. 35.) *And the Lord said unto Moses, The man shall surely be put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp.* (1 Kings xxi. 13.) *Then they carried him* [Naboth] *forth out of the city, and stoned him with stones that he died.* This was done at Jezreel, in the territories of the king of Israel, not far from Samaria. And if this custom was practised there, we may be certain the Jews did not choose that criminals should be executed within Jerusalem, of the sanctity of which they had so high an opinion, and which they were very zealous to preserve free from all ceremonial impurity, though they defiled it with the practice of the most horrid immoralities. It is possible indeed that they might, in their sudden and ungoverned rage, (to which they were subject in the extreme at this time,) upon any affront offered to their laws or customs, put persons who thus provoked them to death, upon the spot, in the city, or the temple, or wherever they found them; but whenever they were calm enough to admit the form of a legal process, we may be assured that they did not approve of an execution within the city. And among the Romans this custom was very common [1], at least in the provinces. The robbers of Ephesus, whom [2] Petronius Arbiter mentions, were crucified by order of the governor of the province without the city. This was the custom, likewise in Sicily, as appears from Cicero. [3]

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[1] Credo ego istoc exemplo tibi esse eundum actutum extra portam, dispessis manibus patibulum quom habebis. Plautus in Mil. Glor. act. 2. scen. iv.

[2] Quum interim imperator provinciæ latrones jussit crucibus adfigi, secundum illam eandem casulam, in qua recens cadaver matrona deflebat. Satyr. c. 71.

[3] Quid enim attinuit, cum Mamertini more atque instituto suo crucem fixissent post urbem in via Pompeia: te jubere in ea parte figere, quæ ad fretum spectaret? In Verr. lib. v. c. 66. n. 169.

It was customary for the Romans, on any extraordinary execution, to put over the head of the malefactor an inscription denoting the crime for which he suffered. Several examples of this occur in the Roman history [1]. It was also usual at this time at Jerusalem, to post up advertisements which were designed to be read by all classes of persons, and in several languages. Titus, in a message which he sent to the Jews when the city was on the point of falling into his hands, and by which he endeavoured to persuade them to surrender, says: 'Did you not erect pillars, *with inscriptions on them, in the* GREEK *and in our* (the LATIN) *language*, "Let no one pass beyond these bounds?"' [2] In conformity to this usage, an inscription by Pilate's order was fixed above the head of Jesus, written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, specifying what it was that had brought him to this end. This writing was by the Romans called *titulus*, a *title* [3], and it is the very expression made use of by the evangelist John, *Pilate wrote a* TITLE (εγραψε ΤΙΤΛΟΝ), *and put it on the cross.* (John xix. 19.) After the cross was erected, a party of soldiers was appointed to keep guard [4], and to attend at the place of execution till the criminal breathed his last; thus also we read that a body of Roman soldiers, with a centurion, were deputed to guard our Lord and the two malefactors that were crucified with him. (Matt. xxvii. 54.)

While they were thus attending them, it is said, our Saviour complained of thirst. This is a natural circumstance. The exquisitely sensible and tender extremities of the body being thus perforated, the person languishing and faint with loss of blood, and lingering under such acute and excruciating torture, —these causes must necessarily produce a vehement and excessive thirst. One of the guards, hearing this request, hasted and took a sponge, and filled it from a vessel that stood by, that was full of vinegar. The usual drink of the Roman soldiers was vinegar and water [5]. The knowledge of this custom illustrates this passage of sacred history, as it has sometimes been inquired, for what purpose was this vessel of vinegar? Considering, however, the derision and cruel treatment which

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[1] Dion Cassius, lib. liv. p. 732. edit. Reimar, 1750. See also Sueton. in Caligula, c. 32. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. v. p. 206. Cantab. 1720.

[2] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 2. § 4.

[3] See instances in Suetonius, in Caligula. c. 34.; and in Domitian. c. 10.

[4] Miles cruces asservabat, ne quis corpora ad sepulturam detraheret. Petronius Arbiter, cap. 111. p. 513. edit. Burman. Traject. ad Rhen. 1709. Vid. not. ad loc.

[5] The Roman soldiers, says Dr. Huxham, drank posca (viz. water and vinegar) for their common drink, and found it very healthy and useful. Dr. Huxham's Method for preserving the Health of Seamen, in his Essay on Fevers, p. 263. 3d edition. See also Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus. vol. ii. 278. See also Macknight in loc.

Jesus Christ had already received from the soldiers, it is by no means improbable that one of them gave him the vinegar with the design of augmenting his unparalleled sufferings. After receiving this, Jesus "cried with a loud voice, and uttered, with all the vehemence he could exert, that comprehensive word on which a volume might be written, *It is finished!* the important work of human redemption is finished; after which he reclined his head upon his bosom, and dismissed his spirit." (Matt. xxvii. 50.)

The last circumstance to be mentioned relative to the crucifixion of our Saviour, is the petition of the Jews to Pilate, that the death of the sufferers might be accelerated, with a view to the interment of Jesus. All the four evangelists have particularly mentioned this circumstance. *Joseph of Arimathea went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus; then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered. And when Joseph had taken the body, he laid it in his own new tomb.* (Matt. xxvii. 58—60. Mark xv. 45, 46. Luke xxiii. 50—53. John xix. 38—40.) And it may be fairly concluded, the rulers of the Jews did not disapprove of it; since they were solicitous that the bodies might be taken down, and not hang on the cross the next day. (John xix. 31.) *The Jews, therefore,* says St. John, *because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain on the cross on the sabbath day (for that sabbath day was an high day;) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away.*

Burial was not always allowed by the Romans in these cases. For we find that sometimes a soldier was appointed to guard the bodies of malefactors, that they might not be taken away and buried [1]. However it seems that it was not often refused, unless the criminals were very mean and infamous. Cicero reckons it one of the horrid crimes of Verres's administration in Sicily, that he would take money of parents for the burial of their children whom he had put to death [2]. Both Suetonius [3] and Tacitus [4] represent it as one of the uncommon cruelties of Tiberius, in the latter part of his reign, that he generally denied burial to those who were put to death by his orders at Rome. Ulpian, in his treatise of the duty of a proconsul, says: 'The bodies of those who are condemned to death are not to

[1] See the passage cited from Petronius Arbiter, in note [4]. p. 162.

[2] Rapiunt eum ad supplicium dii patrii: quod iste inventus est, qui e complexu parentum abreptos filios ad necem duceret, et parentes pretium pro sepultura posceret. In Ver. lib. i. cap. 3.

[3] Nemo punitorum non & in Gemonias abjectus uncoque tractus. Vit. Tiber. c. 61.

[4] Et quia damnati, publicatis bonis, sepulturâ prohibebantur. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 29.

be denied to their relations:' and Augustus writes, in the tenth book of his own life, 'that he had been wont to observe this custom[1];' that is, to grant the bodies to relations. Paulus says: 'that the bodies of those who have been punished, [with death,] are to be given to any that desire them in order to burial.'[2]

It is evident, therefore, from these two lawyers, that the governors of provinces had a right to grant burial to the bodies of those who had been executed by their order: nay, they seem to intimate, that it ought not usually to be denied when requested by any.

Hence it appears, that burial was ordinarily allowed to persons who were put to death in Judæa: and the subsequent conduct of Pilate shews that it was seldom denied by the Roman governors in that country. There is, moreover, an express command in the law (of which we know that the later Jews were religiously observant, that the bodies of those who were hanged should not be suffered to remain all night upon the tree. (Deut. xxi. 23.)[3] The next day, therefore, after the crucifixion, being, as one of the evangelists says, a *high day* (John xix. 31.), a number of leading men among the Jews waited on Pilate in a body, to desire that he would hasten the death of the malefactors hanging on their crosses. Pilate, therefore, dispatched his orders to the soldiers on duty, who broke the legs of the two criminals who were crucified along with Christ; but when they came to Jesus, finding he had already breathed his last, they thought this violence and trouble unnecessary; but one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, whose point appears to have penetrated into the pericardium, or membrane surrounding the heart; for St. John, who says he was an eye witness of this, declares that there issued from the wound a mixture of blood and water. This wound, had he not been dead, must necessarily have been fatal. This circumstance St. John saw, and has solemnly recorded and attested.[4]

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[1] Corpora eorum qui capite damnantur cognatis ipsorum neganda non sunt: & id se observasse etiam D. Aug. lib. x. de vitâ suâ, scribit. Hodie autem eorum, in quos animadvertitur, corpora non aliter sepeliuntur, quam si fuerit petitum et permissum: et nonnunquam non permittitur, maxime majestatis causâ damnatorum. l. i. ff. de cadaver. Punit.

[2] Corpora animadversorum quibuslibet petentibus ad sepulturam danda sunt. l. iii. eod.

[3] See an instance, incidentally mentioned by Josephus. De Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. 5. § 2.

[4] And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe. John xix. 35.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE JEWISH AND ROMAN MODES OF COMPUTING TIME, MENTIONED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *Days.* — II. *Hours.*—III. *Weeks.*—IV. *Months.*—V. *Years, Civil, Ecclesiastical and Natural.—Jewish Calendar.*—VI. *Parts of time taken for the whole.*—VII. *Remarkable Æras of the Jews.*

IT is well known that, in the perusal of antient authors, we are liable to fall into many serious mistakes, if we consider their modes of computing time to be precisely the same as ours: and hence it becomes necessary that we observe their different notations of time, and carefully adjust them to our own. This remark is particularly applicable to the sacred writers, whom sceptics and infidels have charged with various contradictions and inconsistencies, which fall to the ground as soon as the various computations of time are considered and adapted to our own standard. The knowledge of the different divisions of time mentioned in the Scriptures will elucidate the meaning of a multitude of passages with regard to seasons, circumstances, and ceremonies.

I. The Hebrews computed their DAYS from evening to evening, according to the command of Moses [1]. (Lev. xxiii. 32.) It is remarkable that the evening or natural night precedes the morning or natural day in the account of the creation (Gen. i. 5, &c.): whence the prophet Daniel employs the compound term *evening-morning* (Dan. viii. 14. marginal reading) to denote a civil day in his celebrated chronological prophecy of the 2300 days: and the same portion of time is termed in Greek νυχθημερον.

The Romans had two different computations of their days, and two denominations for them. The one they called the *civil*, the other the *natural* day: the first was the same as ours; the second, which was the vulgar computation, began at six in

[1] Tacitus, speaking of the antient Germans, takes notice that their account of time differs from that of the Romans; and that instead of days they reckoned the number of nights. De Mor. Germ. c. xi. So also did the antient Gauls (Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. xvii.); and vestiges of this antient practice still remain in our own country. We say last *Sunday se'nnight*, or *this day fortnight*.

the morning, and ended at six in the evening [1]. The *civil* day of the Jews varied in length according to the seasons of the year: the longest day in the Holy Land is only fourteen hours and twelve minutes, of our time; and the shortest day, nine hours and forty-eight minutes. This portion of time was at first divided into *four* parts (Nehem. ix. 3.); which, though varying in length according to the seasons, could nevertheless be easily discerned from the position or appearance of the sun in the horizon. Afterwards, the civil day was divided into twelve hours, which were measured either from the position of the sun, or from dials constructed for that purpose.

II. These HOURS were equal to each other, but unequal with respect to the different seasons of the year; thus the twelve hours of the longest day in summer were much longer than those of the shortest day in winter. The *earliest* mention of hours in the sacred writings occurs in the prophecy of Daniel (iii. 6. 15. v. 5.): and as the Chaldeans, according to Herodotus [2], were the inventors of this division of time, it is probable that the Jews derived their hours from them. It is evident that the division of hours was unknown in the time of Moses, (compare Gen. xv. 12. xviii. 1. xix. 1. 15. 23.); nor is any notice taken of them by the most antient of the profane poets, who mentions only the *morning* or *evening* or *mid-day* [3]. With Homer correspond the notations of time referred to by the royal psalmist, who mentions them as the times of prayer. (Psal. lv. 17.) The Jews computed their hours of the civil day from six in the morning till six in the evening: thus their *first* hour corresponded with our *seven* o'clock; their *second* to our *eight*; their *third* to our *nine*, &c. The knowledge of this will illustrate several passages of Scripture, particularly Matt. xx. where the third, sixth, ninth, and eleventh hours (v. 3. 5. 6. 9.) respectively denote nine o'clock in the morning, twelve at noon, three and five in the afternoon; see also Acts ii. 15. iii. 1. x. 9. 30. The first three hours (from six to nine) were their morning: during the *third* hour, from eight to nine, their morning sacrifice was prepared, offered up, and laid on the altar precisely at nine o'clock; this interval they termed the *preparation*. (Παρασκευη, John xix. 14. where the "preparation of the passover" fixes the precise time when our Saviour

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[1] Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. lxxvii.; Censorinus de Die Natali, c. xxiii.; Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. iii. c. iii. See also Dr. Ward's Dissertations on several passages of Scripture, p. 126.; and Dr. Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. Prelim. Obs. v.

[2] Lib. ii. c. cix.

[3] ——— ——— Ηως, η Δειλη, η μεσον ημαρ. Hom. Il. lib. xxi. 3.

was before Pilate.) Josephus confirms the narrative of the evangelists.[1]

The night was originally divided into three parts or watches (Psal. lxiii. 6. xc. 4.), although the division of twelve hours like those of the day afterwards obtained. The *first* or beginning of watches is mentioned in Lam. ii. 19.; the *middle watch* in Jud. vii. 19.; and the *morning watch* in Exod. xiv. 24. It is probable that these watches varied in length according to the seasons of the year: consequently those, who had a long and inclement winter watch to encounter, would ardently *desire* the approach of morning light, to terminate their watch. This circumstance would beautifully illustrate the fervour of the psalmist's devotion, (Psal. cxxx. 6.) as well as serve to explain other passages of the Old Testament[2]. These *three* watches are also mentioned by various profane writers.[3]

During the time of our Saviour, the night was divided into four watches, a fourth watch having been introduced among the Jews from the Romans, who derived it from the Greeks. The second and third watches are mentioned in Luke xii. 38.; the fourth in Matt. xiv. 25.; and the four are all distinctly mentioned in Mark xiii. 35. *Watch therefore, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh; at* EVEN (Οψε, or the late watch), *or at* MIDNIGHT (μεσονυκτιου), *or at the* COCK-CROWING (αλεκτοροφωνιας), *or in the* MORNING (πρωι, the early watch). Here, the *first* watch was at even, and continued from six till nine; the *second* commenced at nine and ended at twelve, or midnight; the *third* watch, called by the Romans *gallicinium* lasted from twelve to three; and the *morning watch* closed at six. A double cock-crowing indeed is noticed by St. Mark, (xiv. 30.) where the other evangelists mention only one. (Matt. xxvi. 34. Luke xxii. 34. John xiii. 38.) But this may be easily reconciled. The Jewish doctors divided the cock-crowing

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[1] During the siege of Jerusalem, the Jewish historian relates that the priests were not interrupted in the discharge of their sacred functions, but continued twice a day, in the morning, and at the ninth hour (or at three o'clock in the afternoon), to offer up sacrifices at the altar. The Jews, rarely if ever, ate or drank till after the hour of prayer (Acts x. 30.), and on sabbath days not till the sixth hour (twelve at noon, Josephus, de vita sua, § 54): which circumstance well explains the apostle Peter's defence of those on whom the Holy Spirit had miraculously descended on the day of Pentecost. (Acts ii. 15.)

[2] Thus the 134th psalm gives us an instance of the temple watch: the whole psalm is nothing more than the alternate cry of two different divisions of the watch. The first watch addresses the second (v. 1, 2.), reminding them of their duty; and the second answers (v. 3.) by a solemn blessing. The address and the answer seem both to be a set form, which each individual proclaimed or sung aloud, at stated intervals, to notify the time of the night. Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 357.

[3] See Homer, Iliad. lib. x. v. 252, 253. Livy, lib. vii. c. xxxv. and Xenophon Anab. lib. iv. p. 250. (edit. Hutchinson.)

into the first, second, and third; the heathen nations in general observed only *two*. As the cock crew the *second* time after Peter's third denial, it was this second or principal cock-crowing, (for the Jews seem in many respects to have accommodated themselves to the Roman computation of time), to which the evangelists Matthew, Luke, and John refer. Or, perhaps, the second cock-crowing of the Jews might coincide with the second of the Romans.[1]

It may be proper to remark that the word *hour* is frequently used with great latitude in the Scriptures, and sometimes implies the space of time occupied by a whole watch. Matt. xxv. 13. xxvi. 40. Mark xiv. 37. Luke xxii. 59. Rev. iii. 3.) Perhaps the third *hour* mentioned in Acts xxiii. 23. was a military *watch* of the night.[2]

The Jews reckoned two evenings: the former began at the ninth hour of the natural day, or three o'clock in the afternoon; and the latter at the eleventh hour. Thus the paschal lamb was required to be sacrificed *between the evenings*, (Exod. xii. 6. Lev. xxiii. 4.); which Josephus tells us, the Jews in his time did, from the ninth hour until the eleventh[3]. Hence the law, requiring the paschal lamb to be sacrificed "at even, at the going down of the sun," (Deut. xvi. 6.) expressed both evenings. It is truly remarkable that "Christ our passover," the antitype of the paschal lamb, "expired at the ninth hour, and was taken down from the cross at the eleventh hour, or sun-set."[4]

III. Seven nights and days constituted a WEEK; six of these were appropriated to labour and the ordinary purposes of life, and the *seventh* day or *sabbath* was appointed by God to be observed as a day of rest *because that on it he had rested from all his work which God had created and made*. (Gen. ii. 3.) This division of time was universally observed by the descendants of Noah; and, being lost during the bondage of the Israelites in Egypt, was revived and enacted by Moses, agreeably to the divine command. This is evident from the word *Sabbat* or *Sabbata*, denoting a week among the Syrians, Arabians, Christian Persians, and Ethiopians, as in the following antient Syriac Calendar, expressed in Hebrew characters[5]

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1 Lightfoot Hor. Heb. on John xiii. 38. (Works, vol. ii. p. 597.) Grotius and Whitby on Matt. xxvi. 34. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 112. By which writers various passages of classical authors are cited.

2 Fragments annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, No. cclxiii. p. 164.

3 De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. ix. §3.

4 Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 114. In the two following pages, he illustrates several apparently chronological contradictions between the evangelists with equal felicity and learning.

5 This calendar is taken from Bp. Marsh's Translation of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. p. 136.

חד־שבתא	- *One of the Sabbath*, or *Week*	-	Sunday.
תרן־שבתא	- *Two of the Sabbath*	- -	Monday.
תלת־שבתא	- *Three of the Sabbath*	- -	Tuesday.
ארבעא־שבתא	- *Four of the Sabbath*	- -	Wednesday.
חמשא־שבתא	- *Five of the Sabbath*	- -	Thursday.
ער־שבא	- *Eve of the Sabbath*	- -	Friday.
שבתא	- *The Sabbath* -	- -	Saturday.

The high antiquity of this calendar is evinced by the use of the cardinal numbers *one, two, three*, &c. instead of the ordinals, *first, second, third*, &c. following the Hebrew idiom; as in the account of the creation, where we read in the original, "*one* day—*two* day—*three* day," &c.; where the Septuagint retains it in the first, calling it, ἡμερα μια. It is remarkable that all the evangelists follow the Syriac calendar, both in the word σαββατα, used for "*a week*," and also in retaining the cardinal number μια σαββατων, "*one of the week*," to express the day of the resurrection. (Matt. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 2. Luke xxiv. 1. John xx. 1.) Afterwards Mark adopts the usual phrase, πρωτη σαββατυ, "*the first of the week*" (Mark xvi. 9.) where he uses the singular σαββατον for *a week*; and so does Luke, as Νηςευω δις τυ σαββατυ, "I fast twice in *the week*." (Luke xviii. 12.)

The Syriac name for Friday, or the sixth day of the week, is also adopted by Mark, who renders it προσαββατον, "*sabbath-eve*," (xv. 42.) corresponding to παρασκευη, "*preparation-day*." (Matt. xxvii. 62. Mark xv. 42. Luke xxiii. 54. John xix. 31.) And Josephus also conforms to this usage, except that he uses σαββατα in the singular sense, for the *sabbath-day*, in his account of a decree of Augustus, exempting the Jews of Asia and Cyrene from secular services, εν σαββασι, η τη προ ταυτης παρασκευη, απο της ὡρας εννατης. "On the *sabbath*-day, or *on the preparation*-day before it, from the *ninth hour*."[1] The first three evangelists also use the plural σαββατα, to denote the sabbath-day. (Matt. xii. 5—11. Mark i. 21. and ii. 23. Luke iv. 16, &c.) Whereas John, to avoid ambiguity, appropriates the singular σαββατον to the *sabbath*-day, and the plural σαββατα to *the week*. (John v. 9—16. vii. 22, &c. xx. 1.)

The *second sabbath after the first* (Luke vi. 1.), δευτεροπρωτον, or rather the *second prime sabbath*, concerning which commentators have been so greatly divided, appears to have been the first sabbath after the second day of unleavened bread or of the passover week. Besides weeks of days, the Jews had *weeks of*

[1] Antiq. 16, 7, 2. [2] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 120.

seven years, (the seventh of which was called the *sabbatical year*); and weeks of seven times seven years, or of forty-nine years, which were reckoned from one jubilee to another. The fiftieth or *jubilee* year was celebrated with singular festivity and solemnity.

IV. The Hebrews had their MONTHS, which like those of all other antient nations were lunar ones, being measured by the revolutions of the moon, and consisting alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days. While the Jews continued in the land of Canaan, the commencement of their months and years was not settled by any astronomical rules or calculations, but by the *phasis* or actual appearance of the moon. As soon as they saw the 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 it, they informed the Sanhedrin, and public notice was given, first, by the sounding of trumpets, to which there is an allusion in Psal. lxxxi. 3.; and afterwards lighting beacons throughout the land; though (as the mishnical rabbins tell us) after they had frequently been deceived by the Samaritans who kindled false fires, they used to announce the appearance by sending messengers. As however they had no months longer than thirty days, if they did not see the new moon the night following the thirtieth day, they concluded that the appearance was obstructed by the clouds; and, without watching any longer, made the next day the first day of the following month. But, on the dispersion of the Jews throughout all nations, having no opportunities of being informed of the appearance of the new moons, they were obliged to have recourse to astronomical calculations and cycles, in order to fix the beginning of their months and years. At first, they employed a cycle of eighty-four years: but this being discovered to be defective, they had recourse to the Metonic cycle of nineteen years; which was established by the authority of rabbi Hillel, prince of the Sanhedrin, about the year 360 of the Christian æra. This they still use, and say that it is to observed until 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.[1]

Originally, the Jews had no particular names for their months,

[1] Dr. A. Clarke, at the end of his commentary on Deuteronomy, has given six elaborately constructed tables explanatory of the Jewish calendar. Mr. Allen has also given six tables; which, though less extensive than the preceding, are well calculated to afford a clear idea of the constructions and variations of the Jewish calendar. See Modern Judaism, pp. 369—377.

but called them the *first*, *second*, &c. Thus, the Deluge began in the *second* month, and came to its height in the *seventh* month, at the end of 150 days, (Gen. vii. 11—24. viii. 4.); and decreased until the *tenth* month, when the tops of the mountains were seen. (viii. 5.) Afterwards they acquired distinct names: thus, Moses named the *first* month of the year *Abib*, (Exod. xii. 2. xiii. 4.); signifying *green*, from the green ears of corn at that season; for it began about the vernal equinox. The second month was named *Zif*, signifying in Chaldee *glory*, or *splendour*; in which the foundation of Solomon's temple was laid. (1 Kings vi. 1.) The seventh month was styled *Ethanim*, which is interpreted *harvests*, by the Syriac version. (Kings viii. 2.) The eighth month, *Bul*; from *the fall* of the leaf. (1 Kings viii. 2.) But concerning the origin of these appellations critics are by no means agreed: on their return from the Babylonish captivity, they introduced the names which they had found among the Chaldeans and Persians. Thus, the first month was also called *Nisan*, signifying *flight*; because in that month the Israelites were thrust out of Egypt (Exod. xii. 39.); the third month, *Sivan*, signifying *a bramble* (Esth. iii. 7. Nehem. ii. 1.); and the sixth month, *Elul*, signifying *mourning*, probably because it was the time of preparation for the great day of atonement, on the tenth day of the seventh month. (Neh. vi. 15.) The ninth month was called *Chisleu*, signifying *chilled*; when the cold weather sets in, and fires are lighted. (Zech. vii. 1. Jer. xxxvi. 22.) The tenth month was called *Tebeth*, signifying *miry*, (Esth. ii. 16.) The eleventh, *Shebet*, signifying a *staff*, or a *sceptre*. (Zech. i. 7.) And the twelfth *Adar*, signifying a *magnificent mantle*, probably from the profusion of flowers and plants with which the earth then begins to be clothed in warm climates. (Ezra vi. 15. Esther iii. 7.) It is said to be a Syriac term. (2 Mac. xvi. 36.) [1]

V. The Jews had four sorts of YEARS,—one for plants, another for beasts, a third for sacred purposes, and the fourth was civil and common to all the inhabitants of Palestine.

1. The *year of plants* was reckoned from the month corresponding with our January; because they paid tithe-fruits of the trees which budded at that time.

2. The second year was that of *beasts*; for when they tithed their lambs, the owner drove all the flock under a rod, and

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[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 127.

they marked the tenth, which was given to the Levites. They could, however, only take those which fell in the year, and *this* year began at the month Elul, or the beginning of our August.

But the two years which are the most known are the *civil* and the *ecclesiastical* years.

3. The *Civil Year* commenced on the fifteenth of our September, because it was an old tradition that the world was created at that time. From this year the Jews computed their jubilees, dated all contracts, and noted the birth of children, and the reign of kings. It is said also, that this month was appointed for making war; because, the great heats being past, they then went into the field. In 2 Sam. xi. 1. we read that *David sent Joab and his servants with him, and all Israel, to destroy the Ammonites, at the return of the year* (marginal rendering), *at the time when kings go forth to battle*, that is, in the month of September. The annexed table exhibits the months of the Jewish civil year with the corresponding months of our computation:

1. Tisri	corresponds with part of	September and October.
2. Marchesvan		October and November.
3. Chisleu or Kisleu		November and December.
4. Thebet		December and January.
5. Sebat		January and February.
6. Adar		February and March.
7. Nisan or Abib		March and April.
8. Jyar or Zif		April and May.
9. Sivan		May and June.
10. Thammuz		June and July.
11. Ab		July and August.
12. Elul		August and September.

Some of the preceding names are still in use in Persia.

4. The *Ecclesiastical* or *Sacred Year* began in March, or on the first day of the month Nisan, because at that time they departed out of Egypt. From that month they computed their feasts, and the prophets also occasionally dated their oracles and visions. Thus Zechariah (vii. 1.) says that *the word of the Lord came unto him in the fourth* day *of the ninth month*, even in *Chisleu;* which answers to our November, whence it is evident that he adopted the ecclesiastical year commenced in March. The month Nisan is noted in the Old Testament for the *overflowings of Jordan* (Josh. iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15.); which were common at that season, the river being swollen by the melted snows that poured in torrents from Mount Lebanon. The following table presents the months of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, compared with our months:

1. Nisan or Abib (Neh. ii. 1 Esth. iii. 7.)	answers to part of March and April.	
2. Jyar or Zif		April and May.
3. Sivan (Esth. viii. 9.)		May and June.
4. Thammuz		June and July.
5. Ab		July and August.
6. Elul (Neh. vi. 15.)		August and September.
7. Tisri		September and October.
8. Marchesvan		October and November.
9. Kisleu or Chisleu (Zech. vii. 1. Neh. i. 1.)		November and December
10. Thebet		December and January.
11. Sebat (Zech. i. 7.)		January and February.
12. Adar (Ezr. vi. 15. Esth. iii. 7.)		February and March.

The Jewish months being regulated by the phases or appearances of the moon, their years were consequently lunar years, consisting of twelve lunations, or 354 days and 8 hours; but as the Jewish festivals were held not only on certain fixed days of the month, but also at certain seasons of the year, consequently great confusion would, in process of time, arise by this method of calculating: the *spring* month sometimes falling in the middle of *winter*, it became necessary to accommodate the lunar to solar years, in order that their months, and consequently their festivals, might always fall at the same season. For this purpose, the Jews added a whole month to the year, as often as it was necessary; which occurred commonly once in three years, and sometimes once in two years. This intercalary month was added at the end of the ecclesiastical year after the month Adar, and was therefore called Ve-Adar or the second Adar.

As agriculture constituted the principal employment of the Jews, they also divided their *natural* year into seasons with reference to their rural work. These, we have seen, were six in number, each of two months duration, including one whole month and the halves of two others. See an account of them, in pp. 29—34. of this volume, under the *Climate and Seasons of the Holy Land.*

To this natural division of the year there are several allusions in the sacred writings: as in Jer. xxxvi. 22. where king Jehoiakim is said to be sitting in the winter-house in the ninth sacred month Chisleu, the latter half of which fell in the winter or rainy season; so, in Ezra x. 13. it is said that the congregation of the people, which had been convened on the twentieth day of the same month, were not able to stand out in the open air, because it was "a time of much rain." The knowledge of this mode of dividing the year illustrates John x. 22, 23. and accounts for our Lord's walking in the portico of the temple at

the feast of dedication, which was celebrated towards the close of the same month.

Further, the Jews divided their solar year into four parts, called by them *Tekuphat* (that is, *revolutions of time*), or quarters, which they distinguished by the names of the months with which they commenced: thus, the vernal equinox is termed *Tekuphat Nisan;* the autumnal equinox, *Tekuphat Tisri;* the winter solstice, *Tekuphat Tebeth;* and the summer solstice, *Tekuphat Thammuz.* Some critics have conjectured that our Lord refers to the intervening space of four months, from the conclusion of seed-time to the commencement of the harvest, in John iv. 35.

The following CALENDAR will present to the reader a view of the entire JEWISH YEAR. It is abridged from father Lamy's *Apparatus Biblicus* [1], with additions from the Calendar printed by Calmet, at the end of his Dictionary of the Bible. In it are inserted the festivals and fasts celebrated by the Jews; including not only those enacted by the law of Moses, and which are described in a subsequent part of this work, but likewise those which were not established until after the destruction of the temple, and those which are observed by the Jews to the present time. The lessons also are introduced which they were accustomed to read in the synagogues.—Those days, on which no festival or fast was celebrated, are designedly omitted.

1. TISRI, FORMERLY CALLED ETHANIM.

The FIRST *month of the civil year, the* SEVENTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has thirty days, and corresponds with part of our September and October.*

1. Rosch Haschana, the beginning of the civil year. The feast of trumpets, commanded in Leviticus. (Lev. xxiii. 24, 25. Num. xxix. 1. Jer. xli. 2.)

3. The fast of Gedaliah; because Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, and all the Jews that were with him, were slain at Mizpah. (2 Kings xxv. 25.) This is the fast that Zechariah calls the fast of the seventh month. (Zech. viii. 19.)

5. A fast. Twenty Israelites were killed: Rabbi Akiba, the son of Joseph, was loaded with irons, and died in prison.

7. A fast, appointed on account of the golden calf. (Exod. xxxii. 6, 7, 8.)

[1] Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 155, *et seq.*

The lessons for this day were Deut. xxvi. 1. to Deut. xxix. and the lxth chapter of Isaiah.

10. The fast of expiation. (Lev. xxiii. 27.)

14. The lessons for this day were from Deut. xxix. 10. to Deut. xxxi. 1. when the year had most Sabbaths; and when fewest, the book was finished on this day. And from Isa. lxi. 1. to Isa. lxiii. 10.

15. The feast of tabernacles. (Lev. xxiii. 34, 35.) It lasted seven days, exclusive of the octave, or eighth day.

21. Hosanna Rabba, the seventh day of the feast of tabernacles; or, the feast of branches.

The lessons for this day were from Gen. i. 1. to Gen. vi. 9. and from Isa. xlii. 5. to Isa. xliii. 11.

22. The octave of the feast of tabernacles. (Lev. xxiii. 36.)

23. The solemnity of the law, in memory of the covenant and death of Moses. On this day Solomon's dedication was finished. (1 Kings viii. 65.)

28. The lessons were from Gen. vi. 9. to Gen. xii. 1. and from Isa. liv. 1. to Isa. lv. 5.

30. On this day the lessons were from Gen. xii. 1. to Gen. xviii. 1. and from Isa. xl. 27. to Isa. xli. 17. (This day is the fast held in commemoration of the murder of Gedaliah, whom Nebuchadnezzar made governor of Judæa, after he had destroyed Jerusalem, according to Dr. Prideaux.) [1]

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2. MARCHESVAN.

The SECOND *month of the civil year, the* EIGHTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has only twenty-nine days, and corresponds with part of our October and November.*

1. The new moon. (Calmet observes (in the Jewish Calendar, at the end of his Dictionary of the Bible) that the Jews always made two new moons for every month; the first of which was the last day of the preceding month; and the first day of the month was the second new moon of that month.)

3. The lessons for this day were from Gen. xviii. 1. to Gen. xxiii. 1. and from 2 Sam. iv. 1. to 2 Sam. iv. 38.

6. A fast, appointed on account of Zedekiah's having his eyes put out by the command of Nebuchadnezzar, after he had seen his children slain before his face. (2 Kings xxv. 7. Jer. lii. 10.)

8. The lessons for this day were from Gen. xxiii. 1. to Gen. xxv. 19. and from 1 Sam. i. 1. to 1 Sam. i. 32.

15. The lessons for this day were from Gen. xxv. 19. to Gen. xxviii. 10. and from Mal. i. 1. to Mal. ii. 8.

19. Fast to expiate the crimes committed on account of the feast of tabernacles.

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[1] Connection, part i. book i. under the year 588.

23. A fast in memory of the stones of the altar which the Gentiles profaned, 1 Mac. iv. 46.

The lessons for this day were from Gen. xxviii. 10. to Gen. xxxii. 3. and from Hos. xi. 7. to Hos. xiv. 3.

25. A fast in memory of some places which the Cuthæans seized, and were recovered by the Israelites after the captivity.

In this month the Jews prayed for the rain, which they call Jore, or the autumnal rain, which was very seasonable for their seed. Genebrard pretends that they did not ask for this rain till the next month. Perhaps there might be no stated time for asking for it; that might depend upon their want of it. The Jews say it was in October; and it was called in general the autumnal rain, which season lasted three months.

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3. CHISLEU, OR CASLEU.

The THIRD *month of the civil year, the* NINTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has thirty days, and corresponds with part of our November and December.*

1. The new moon.

2. Prayers for rain.

3. A feast in memory of the idols, which the Asmonæans threw out of the temple.

6. The lessons for this day were, from Gen. xxxii. 3. to Gen. xxxvii. 1. and the whole book of Obadiah, or from Hos. xii. 12. to the end of the book.

7. A fast, instituted because king Jehoiakim burned the prophecy of Jeremiah, which Baruch had written. (Jer. xxxvi. 23.) This fast Dr. Prideaux places on the 29th of this month [1]. But Calmet places it on the sixth of this month, and makes the seventh of this month a festival, in memory of the death of Herod the Great, the son of Antipater. Scaliger will have it that it was instituted on account of Zedekiah's having his eyes put out, after his children had been slain in his sight.

10. The lessons for this day were from Gen. xxxvii. 1. to Gen. xli. 1. and from Amos ii. 6. to Amos iii. 9.

17. The lessons for this day were from Gen. xli. 1. to Gen. xliv. 18. and from 1 Sam. iii. 15. to the end of the chapter.

25. The dedication of the temple. This feast lasted eight days.

The lessons for this day were from Gen. xliv. 18. to Gen. xlvii. 27. and from Ezek. xxxvii. 15. to the end of the chapter.

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[1] Connection, part i. book i. under the year 685.

4. THEBETH, OR TEBETH.

The FOURTH *month of the civil year, the* TENTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has but twenty-nine days, and corresponds with part of our December and January.*

1. The new moon.

3. The lessons for this day were from Gen. xlvii. 27. to the end of the book, and the thirteen first verses of the second chapter of the first book of Samuel.

8. A fast on account of the translation of the Bible into Greek. Philo, in his life of Moses says, that the Jews of Alexandria celebrated a feast on this day, in memory of the 72 Interpreters. But the Jews at present abominate that version.

9. A fast, the reason of which is not mentioned by the Rabbins.

10. A fast on account of the siege which the king of Babylon laid to Jerusalem. (2 Kings xxv.)

11. The lessons were the five first chapters of Exodus, and with them from Isa. xxvii. 6. to Isa. xxvii. 14. or else from Jer. i. 1. to Jer. ii. 4.

17. The lessons for this day were, from Exod. vi. 1. to Exod. x. 1. and from Ezek. xxviii. 25. to Ezek. xxx. 1.

25. The lessons for this day were from Exod. x. 1. to Exod. xiii. 17. and from Jer. xlvi. 13. to the end of the chapter.

28. A fast in memory of Rabbi Simeon's having driven the Sadducees out of the Sanhedrin, where they had the upper hand in the time of Alexander Jannæus; and his having introduced the Pharisees in their room.

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5. SEBAT, SHEVET, OR SHEBAT.

The FIFTH *month of the civil year, the* ELEVENTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has thirty days, and corresponds with part of our January and February.*

1. The new moon. In this month the Jews began to reckon the years of the trees which they planted, whose fruit was not to be eaten till after they had been planted three years. Calmet fixes the beginning of this year of trees to the 15th day of this month.

2. A rejoicing for the death of Alexander Jannæus.

3. Now is read from Exod. xiii. 17. to Exod. xviii. 1. and from Judg. iv. 4. to Judg. vi. 1.

A fast in memory of the death of the elders who succeeded Joshua, Judg. ii. 10.

8. A fast, because on this day died the just men who lived in the days of Joshua. (Judg. ii. 10.)

10. The lessons were from Exod. xviii. 1. to Exod. xxi. 1. and the whole sixth chapter of Isaiah.

17. The lessons for this day were from Exod. xxi. 1. to Exod. xxv. 1. and Jer. xxxiv. from v. 8. to the end of the chapter.

23. A fast in memory of the insurrection of the other tribes against that of Benjamin, on account of the death of the Levite's wife. (Judg. xx.)

26. Now is read, from Exod. xxv. 1. to Exod. xxvii. 20. and from 1 Sam. v. 12. to 1 Sam. vi. 14.

29. Now is read, from Exod. xxvii. 20. to Exod. xxx. 11. and Ezek. xliii. from the 10th verse to the end of the chapter.

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6. ADAR.

The SIXTH *month of the civil year, the* TWELFTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has only twenty-nine days, and corresponds with part of our February and March.*

1. The new moon. Genebrard places the first fruits on this day.

3. The lessons for this day were from Exod. xxx. 11. to Exod. xxxv. 1. and from 1 Sam. xviii. 1. to 1 Sam. xviii. 39.

7. A fast on account of the death of Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews. (Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6.)

9. A fast. The schools of Schammai and Hillel began to be divided.

12. The lessons are from Exod. xxxv. 1. to Exod. xxxviii. 21. and from 1 Sam. xvii. 13. to 1 Sam. xvii. 26. (This day is also a feast in memory of the death of Hollianus and Pipus, two proselytes and brothers, who chose rather to die than violate the law.)[1]

13. A festival on account of the death of Nicanor (2 Mac. xv. 37.), Gen. places the fast of Esther (Est. iv. 16.) on this day.

14. Purim the first, or the Little Feast of Lots.

15. Purim the second, or the Great Feast of Lots. (Est. ix. v. 18.) An account of these festivals is given in a subsequent part of this volume.

The dedication of the temple of Zorobabel (Ez. vi. 16.) was made in this month, but the day is not known.

18. Now is read from Exod. xxxviii. 21. to the end of the book; and from 1 Sam. vii. 50. to 1 Sam. viii. 21.

20. A fast in memory of the rain obtained of God, by one Onias Hammagel, in a time of great dearth.

25. The lessons were the five first chapters of Leviticus, and from Isa. xliii. 21. to Isa. xliv. 24.

28. A feast. The Grecian edict, which forbad the Jews the use of circumcision, recalled.

The intercalary month was inserted here, when the year was to consist of thirteen lunar months; and the month so added was called Ve-adar, that is, the second Adar.

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[1] Selden, l. 3. c. 13. de Syned. ex Megill. Taanith. Calmet's Calend.

7. ABIB, or NISAN.

The SEVENTH *month of the civil year, the* FIRST *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has thirty days, and corresponds with part of our March and April.*

1. The new moon. A fast on account of the death of the children of Aaron. (Levit. x. 1.)

3. The lessons were from Lev. vi. 1. to Lev. ix. 1. and from Jer. vii. 21. to Jer. viii. 4.

10. A fast on account of the death of Miriam. (Numb. xx. 1.) On this day every one provided himself with a lamb against the fourteenth.

12. The lessons were from Lev. ix. 1. to Lev. xii. 1. and from 2 Sam. vi. 1. to 2 Sam. vii. 17.

14. The passover. The Jews now burn all the leavened bread they have in their houses.

15. The feast of unleavened bread.

16. The morrow after the feast of the passover. On this second day the Jews offered up to God the Omer, that is, the sheaf of the new barley-harvest, which was cut and carried into the temple with much ceremony. The fifty days of Pentecost were reckoned from this day.

19. The lessons were from Lev. xii. 1. to Lev. xiv. 1. and from 2 Sam. iv. 42. to 2 Sam. v. 20.

21. The last day of the feast of unleavened bread.

26. A fast for the death of Joshua. (Josh. xxiv. 29.)

27. The lessons were from Lev. xiv. 1. to Lev. xvi. 1. and 2 Sam. vii. 3. to the end of the chapter.

29. Genebrard observes, that the Jews in this month prayed for the spring rain, or the latter rain, which was seasonable for their harvest. (Deut. xi. 14. Zech. x. 1.) This is that rain which the Hebrews call Malkosh, that is, the rain which prepares for the harvest, and makes the grain swell.

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8. JYAR, or ZIF.

The EIGHTH *month of the civil year, the* SECOND *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has only twenty-nine days, and corresponds with part of our April and May.*

1. The new moon.

3. The lessons were from Lev. xvi. 1. to Lev. xix. 1. and 17 verses of Ezek. xxii.

10. A fast for the death of Eli, and the taking of the ark. (1 Sam. iv. 18.)

11. The lessons were from Lev. xix. 1. to Lev. xx. 1. and from Amos ix. 7. to the end; or else from Ezek. xx. 2. to Ezek. xxi. 21.

14. The second passover (Numb. ix. 10, 11.) in favour of those who could not, or were not suffered to celebrate the passover the last month.

19. The lessons were from Lev. xxi. 1. to Lev. xxv. 1. and from Ezek. iv. 15. to the end of the chapter.

23. A feast. Simon takes Gaza, according to Scaliger.

26. The lessons were from Lev. xxv. 1. to Lev. xxvi. 3. and from Jer. xxxii. 6. to Jer. xxxii. 28.

28. A fast for the death of Samuel, who was lamented by all the people. (1 Sam. xxv. 1.)

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9. SIVAN, or SIUVAN.

The NINTH *month of the civil year, the* THIRD *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has thirty days, and corresponds with part of our May and June.*

1. The new moon.

3. The lessons were from Lev. xxvi. 3. to the end of the book, and from Jer. xvi. 19. to Jer. xvii. 15.

6. The feast of Pentecost, which is also called the feast of weeks, because it fell just seven weeks after the morrow after the feast of the passover.

10. Numbers is begun and read to ch. iv. v. 21. and from Hosea i. 10. to Hosea ii. 21.

15. A feast in memory of the victories of the Maccabees over the Bathsurites, 1 Mac. v. 52.

17. A feast for the taking of Cæsarea by the Asmonæans.

19. The lessons were from Num. iv. 21. to Num. viii. 1. and from Judg. ii. 2. to the end of the chapter.

23. A fast, because Jeroboam forbad the ten tribes, which obeyed him, to carry up their first-fruits to Jerusalem. (1 Kings xii. 27.)

25. A fast, on account of the murder of the Rabbins, Simon the son of Gamaliel, Ishmael the son of Elisha, and Ananias the Sagan, that is, the high priest's vicar.

26. The lessons were from Num. viii. 1. to Num. xiii. 1. and from Zech. ii. 10. to Zech. iv. 8.

27. A fast, because Rabbi Hanina, the son of Tardion, was burnt, and with him the book of the law.

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10. THAMMUZ or TAMMUZ.

The TENTH *month of the civil year, the* FOURTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has only twenty-nine days, and corresponds with part of our June and July.*

1. The new moon.

3. The lessons were from Num. xiii. 1. to Num. xvi. 1. and the second chapter of Joshua.

10. The lessons were from Num. xvi. 1. to Num. xix. 1. and from 1 Sam. xi. 14. to 1 Sam. xii. 23.

14. A feast for the abolition of a pernicious book of the Sadducees against the oral law and traditions.

17. The fast of the fourth month, because the tables of the law were broken, the perpetual sacrifice ceased, Epistemon burned the law, and set up an idol in the temple.[1] (Exod. xxxii. 19.)

19. The lessons were from Num. xix. 1. to Num. xxii. 2. and the eleventh chapter of Judges to the 34th verse.

26. The lessons were from Num. xxii. 2. to Num. xxv. 10. and from Mic. v. 7. to Mic. vi. 9.

29. The lessons were from Num. xxv. 10. to Num. xxx. 2. and from 1 Sam. xviii. 46. to the end of the chapter.

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11. AB.

The ELEVENTH *month of the civil year, the* FIFTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has thirty days, and corresponds with part of our July and August.*

1. The new moon. A fast on account of the death of Aaron the high-priest. (Num. xxxiii. 38.)

3. The lessons were from Num. xxx. 2. to Num. xxxiii. 1. and from Jer. i. 1. to Jer. ii. 4.

9. The fast of the fifth month, because the temple was first burnt by the Chaldees, and afterwards by the Romans, on this day; and because God on this day declared in the time of Moses that none of those who came out of Egypt should enter into the land of promise. (Num. xiv. 29. 31.)

12. The book of Numbers is now finished; and from Jer. ii. 4. to Jer. ii. 29. is also read.

18. A fast, because in the time of Ahaz the evening lamp went out. Genebrard calls this lamp the Western Lamp.

20. Deuteronomy is begun and read from i. 1. to iii. 23. and the first chapter of Isaiah to verse 28.

21. Selden asserts that this was the day that all the wood which was wanted in the temple was brought into it; but others think that this was done in the next month.

24. A feast for the Maccabees having abolished that law of the Sadducees whereby sons and daughters inherited alike.

28. The lessons were from Deut. iii. 23. to Deut. vii. 12. and Isa. xl. to verse 27.

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[1] See Prideaux's Con. p. 1. b. 1. under the year 588.

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12. ELUL.

The TWELFTH *month of the civil year; the* SIXTH *month of the ecclesiastical year; it has but twenty-nine days, and corresponds with part of our August and September.*

1. The new moon.

3. The lessons were from Deut. vii. 12. to Deut. xi. 26. and from Isa. xlix. 14. to Isa. li. 4.

7. The dedication of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah.

12. The lessons were from Deut. xi. 27. to Deut. xvi. 18. and from Isa. liv. 11. to Isa. lv. 4.

17. A fast, because of the death of the spies who brought up the evil report of the land of promise. (Num. xiv. 36, 37.)

20. The lessons were from Deut. xvi. 18. to Deut. xxi. 10. and from Isa. li. 12. to Isa. lii. 13.

21. The festival of wood-offering (*xylophoria*).

22. A feast in memory of the punishment of the wicked and incorrigible Israelites.

28. The lessons were from Deut. xxi. 10. to Deut. xxvi. 1. and Isa. liv. to verse 11.

29. This is the last day of the month, on which the Jews reckoned up the beasts that had been born, the tenths of which belonged to God. They chose this day to do it in, because the first day of the month Tisri was a festival, and therefore they could not tithe a flock on that day.

VI. In common with other nations, the Jews reckoned any *part* of a period of time for the whole, as in Exod. xvi. 35. An attention to this circumstance will explain several apparent contradictions in the sacred writings: thus, a part of the day is used for the whole, and part of a year for an entire year.

In Gen. xvii. 12. circumcision is enjoined to be performed when a child is *eight days old*, but in Lev. xii. 3. on the *eighth day*; accordingly when Jesus Christ is said to have been circumcised *when eight days were accomplished* (Luke ii. 21.), and John the Baptist *on the eighth day* (Luke i. 59.), the last, which was the constant usage, explains the former passage. Abenezra, an eminent Jewish commentator (on Levit. xii. 3.), says, that if an infant were born in the *last* hour of the day, such hour was counted for one *whole* day. This observation critically reconciles the account of our Lord's resurrection in Matt. xxvii. 63. and Mark viii. 31. "*three days after*," with that of his resurrection "*on the third day*," according to Matt. xvi. 21. Luke ix. 22., and according to fact: for, as our Lord was crucified on Good Friday, about the sixth hour, or noon, the remainder of that day to sun-set, according to the Jewish computation,

was reckoned as one day. Saturday, it is universally admitted, formed the *second* day; and as the third day began on Saturday at sun-set, and our Saviour rose about sun-rise on the following morning, that part of a day is justly reckoned for the third day; so that the interval was "*three days and three nights*," or three calendar days current, not exceeding 42 hours, and consequently not two entire days[1]. This observation also illustrates 2 Chron. x. 5. 12.

In like manner, in some parts of the East, the year ending on a certain day, any portion of the foregoing year is taken for a whole year: so that, supposing a child to be born in the last week of our December, it would be reckoned one year old on the first day of January, because born in the old year. If this mode of computation obtained among the Hebrews, the principle of it easily accounts for those anachronisms of single years, or parts of years taken for whole ones, which occur in sacred writ: it eases the difficulties which concern the half years of several princes of Judah and Israel, in which the latter half of the deceased king's last year has hitherto been supposed to be added to the former half of his successor's first year.

"We are told," (1 Sam. xiii. 1. marg. reading) "a son of one year was Saul in his kingdom; and two years he reigned over Israel," that is, say he was crowned in June; he was consequently *one year* old on the first of January following, though he had only reigned six months,—*the son* of a year. But, after this so following first of January, he was in the second year of his reign; though, according to our computation, the first year of his reign wanted some months of being completed: in this, his *second* year, he chose three thousand military, &c. guards.

"The phrase (απο διετης) used to denote the age of the infants slaughtered at Bethlehem, (Matt. ii. 16.) "from two years old and under," is a difficulty that has been deeply felt by the learned. Some infants *two weeks* old, some *two months*, others *two years*, equally slain! Surely those born so long before could not possibly be included in the order, whose purpose was to destroy a child, certainly born within *a few* months. This is regulated at once by the idea that they were *all* of nearly equal age, being recently born; some not long *before* the close of the old year, others a little time *since* the beginning

[1] Dr. Hales, to whom we are partly indebted for the above remark, has cited several passages from profane authors, who have used a similar phraseology (Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 121, 122.) Similar illustrations from Rabbinical writers are collected by Dr. Lightfoot (Hor. Heb. in Matt. xii. 40.) and by Reland (Antiq. Heb. lib. iv. c. 1.)

of the new year. Now, those born *before* the close of the old year, though only a few months or weeks, would be reckoned not merely *one year* old, but also in their second year, as the expression implies; and those born *since* the beginning of the year, would be well described by the phrase "*and under*," that is, under one year old;—Some, *two years* old, though not born a complete twelvemonth (perhaps in fact barely six months); others, *under* one year old, yet born three, four, or five months, and therefore a trifle younger than those before described: according to the time which Herod had diligently inquired of the wise men, IN *their second year and* UNDER."[1]

VII. Besides the computation of years, the Hebrews first and the Jews afterwards, were accustomed to reckon their time from some remarkable æras or epochas. Thus, 1. From Gen. vii. 1. and viii. 13. it appears that they reckoned from the lives of the patriarchs or other illustrious persons: 2. From their departure out of Egypt, and the first institution of their polity (Exod. xix. 1. xl. 17. Numb. i. 1. ix. 1. xxxiii. 38. 1 Kings vi. 1.) 3. Afterwards, from the building of the temple (1 Kings ix. 10. 2 Chron. viii. 1.), and from the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel: 4. Then from the commencement of the Babylonian captivity (Ezek. i. 1. xxxiii. 21. xl. 1.); and perhaps also from their return from captivity, and the dedication of the second temple. In process of time they adopted, 5. The æra of the Seleucidæ, which in the books of Maccabees is called the æra of the Greeks, and began from the year when Seleucus Nicanor attained the sovereign power, that is, about 312 years before the birth of Jesus Christ. This æra the Jews continued to employ for a thousand years. They were further accustomed to reckon their years from the years when their princes began to reign. Thus, in 1 Kings xv. 1. Isa. xxxvi. 1. and Jer. i. 2, 3. we have traces of their antiently computing according to the years of their kings; and in later times, (1 Macc. xiii. 42. xiv. 27.) according to the years of the Asmonæan princes. Of this mode of computation we have vestiges in Matt. ii. 1. Luke i. 5. and iii. 1. Lastly, ever since the compilation of the Talmud, the Jews have reckoned their years from the creation of the world.[2]

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1 Calmet's Dictionary, 4to edit. vol. ii. Supplementary Addenda.

2 Schulzii Compendium Archæologiæ Hebraicæ, lib. i. c. 11. pp. 94—107. Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, book i. ch. 5. vol. i. pp. 138—154. Calmet's Dictionary, articles Day, Week, Month, Year. Jahn, Archæologia Biblica, pp. 34—38. 156—162. Jennings' Jewish Antiquities, book iii. ch. i. pp. 296—308. See also Wachner's Antiquitates Hebræorum, pars ii. p. 5. *et seq.*

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE TRIBUTE AND TAXES MENTIONED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *Annual Payments made by the Jews for the support of their sacred worship.*—II. *Tributes paid to their own sovereigns.*—III. *Tributes and Customs paid by them to foreign powers.*—*Notice of the Money-changers.*—IV. *Account of the Publicans or Tax-Gatherers.*

As no government can be supported without great charge, it is but just that every one who enjoys his share of protection from it, should contribute towards its maintenance and support. On the first departure of the Israelites from Egypt, before any regulation was made, the people contributed, on any extraordinary occasion, according to their ability, as in the case of the voluntary donations for the tabernacle. (Exod. xxv. 2. xxxv. 5.) After the tabernacle was erected a payment of half a shekel was made by every male of twenty years of age and upwards (Exod. xxx. 13, 14.), when the census, or *sum of the children of Israel* was taken: and on the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, an annual payment of the *third part* of a shekel was made, for the maintenance of the temple-worship and service (Neh. x. 32.) Subsequently, the enactment of Moses was deemed to be of perpetual obligation [1], and in the time of our Saviour a two drachmæ, or half a shekel, was paid by every Jew, whether native or residing in foreign countries: besides which every one, who was so disposed, made voluntary offerings according to his ability (Mark xii. 41—44.) Hence vast quantities of gold were annually brought to Jerusalem into the temple [2], where there was an apartment called the *Treasury* (Γαζοφυλακιον), specially appropriated to their reception. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Vespasian by an edict commanded that the half-shekel should in future be brought by the Jews, wherever they were, into the capitol [3]. In addition to the preceding payments for the support of their sacred worship, we may notice the first fruits and tenths, of which an account is found in Part III. Chap. IV. *infra*.

II. Several of the Canaanitish tribes were tributary to the Israelites even from the time of Joshua (Josh. xvi. 10. xvii. 13.

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[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6. § 6. Philonis Judæi Opera, tom. ii. p. 224.
[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 7. § 2. Cicero, Orat. pro Flacco, c. 28.
[3] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 6. § 6.

Jud. i. 28. 33.), whence they could not but derive considerable wealth. The Moabites and Syrians were tributary to David (2 Sam. viii. 2. 6.): and Solomon at the beginning of his reign compelled the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, who were left in the country, to pay him tribute, and to perform the drudgery of the public works which he had undertaken, and from which the children of Israel were exempted. (1 Kings ix. 21, 22. 33. 2 Chron. viii. 9.) Towards the end of his reign, however, he imposed a tribute on them also (1 Kings v. 13, 14. ix. 15. xi. 27.), which alienated their minds, and sowed the seeds of that discontent, which afterwards ripened into open revolt by the rebellion of Jeroboam the son of Nebat.

III. Afterwards, however, the Israelites being subdued by other nations, were themselves compelled to pay tribute to their conquerors. Thus, Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, imposed a tribute of one hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold. (2 Kings xxiii. 33. 35.) After their return from captivity, the Jews paid tribute to the Persians, under whose government they were (Ezra iv. 13. vii. 24.); then to the Greeks, from which, however, they were exonerated when under the Maccabees they had regained their liberty [1]. In later times, when they were conquered by the Roman arms under Pompey, they were again subjected to the payment of tribute, even though their princes enjoyed the honours and dignities of royalty, as was the case with Herod the Great (Luke ii. 1—5.): and afterwards, when Judæa was reduced into a Roman province, on the dethronement and banishment of his son Archelaüs, the Romans imposed on Jews not only the annual capitation tax of a denarius, but also a tax on goods imported or exported, and various other taxes and burthens. To this capitation tax the evangelists allude in Matt. xxii. 17. and Mark xii. 14. where it is termed νομισμα κηνσου (*numisma census*), or the tribute money. The Jews paid it with great reluctance; and raised various insurrections on account of it. Among these malcontents, Judas surnamed the Gaulonite or Galilean distinguished himself: he pretended that it was not lawful to pay tribute to a foreigner; that it was the badge of actual servitude, and that they were not allowed to own any for their master, who did not worship the Lord. These sentiments animated the Pharisees, who came to Christ with the insidious design of ensnaring him by the question, whether it was lawful to pay

[1] 1 Mac. x. 29, 30. xi. 35, 36. xv. 5. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 2. § 3. c. 4. § 9. c. 6. § 6.

tribute to Cæsar, or not? Which question he answered with equal wisdom and regard for the Roman government. (Matt. xxii. 17—21.) With these sentiments the Jews continued to be animated long after the ascension of Jesus Christ: and it should seem that some of the first Hebrew Christians had imbibed their principles. In opposition to which, the apostles Paul and Peter, in their inimitable epistles, strenuously recommend and inculcate on all sincere believers in Jesus Christ, the duties of submission and obedience to princes, and a conscientious discharge of their duty, in paying tribute. (Rom. xiii. 8. 1 Pet. ii. 13.)

To supply the Jews, who came to Jerusalem from all parts of the Roman empire to pay the half-shekel, with coins current there, the money changers (κολλυβιςαι) stationed themselves at tables, in the courts of the temple, and chiefly it should seem in the court of the Gentiles, for which they exacted a small fee, *kolbon* (κολλυβος). It was the tables on which these men trafficked for this unholy gain, which were overturned by Jesus Christ. (Matt. xxi. 12.)

The money-changers (called τραπεζιται in Matt. xxv. 7. and κερματιςαι in John ii. 14.) were also those who made a profit by exchanging money. They supplied the Jews, who came from distant parts of Judæa and other parts of the Roman empire, with money, to be received back at their respective homes, or which perhaps they had paid before they commenced their journey. It is likewise probable that they exchanged foreign coins for such as were current at Jerusalem.

IV. The provincial tributes were usually farmed by Roman knights[2], who had under them inferior collectors: Josephus has made mention of several Jews who were Roman knights[3], whence Dr. Lardner thinks it probable that they had merited the equestrian rank by their good services in collecting some part of the revenue. The collectors of these tributes were known by the general name of Τελωναι, that is *publicans*, or tax-gatherers. Some of them appear to have been receivers-general for a large district, as Zaccheus, who is styled a *chief publican* (Αρχιτελωνης). Matthew, who is termed simply a *publican* (Τελωνης), was one who sat at the receipt of custom where the duty was paid on imports and exports. (Matt. ix. 9. Luke v. 29. Mark ii. 14.) These officers, at least the infe-

[1] Grotius, Hammond, and Whitby on Matt. xxi. 12. Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. p. 225.

[2] Cicero, in Verrem, lib. iii. c. 72. Orat. pro Planco, c. 9. De Petitione Consulatûs, c. 1. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 6.

[3] De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 14. § 9.

rior ones (like the *rahdars* or toll-gatherers, in modern Persia[1]), were generally rapacious, extorting more than the legal tribute; whence they were reckoned infamous among the Greeks, and various passages in the gospels shew how odious they were to the Jews (Mark ii. 15, 16. Luke iii. 13.), insomuch that the Pharisees would hold no communication whatever with them, and imputed it to our Saviour as a crime that he *sat at meat* with publicans. (Matt. ix. 10, 11. xi. 19. xxi. 31, 32.) The payment of taxes to the Romans was accounted by the Jews an intolerable grievance: hence those who assisted in collecting them were detested as plunderers in the cause of the Romans, as betrayers of the liberties of their country, and as abettors of those who had enslaved it; this circumstance will account for the contempt and hatred so often expressed by the Jews in the evangelical histories against the collectors of the taxes or tribute.[2]

The parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke xviii. 10—13.) will derive considerable illustration from these circumstances. Our Saviour, in bringing these two characters together, appears to have chosen them as making the strongest contrast between what, in the public estimation, were the extremes of excellence and villainy. The Pharisees, it is well known, were the most powerful sect among the Jews, and made great pretences to piety: and when the account of the Persian rahdars given in note[1] is recollected, it will account for the Pharisee, in addressing God, having made *extortioners* and *the unjust*, almost synonymous terms with publicans; because, from his peculiar office, the rahdar is almost an extortioner by profession.[3]

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[1] The *rahdars*, or toll-gatherers, are appointed to levy a toll upon *Kafilehs* or caravans of merchants; "who in general exercise their office with so much brutality and extortion, as to be execrated by all travellers. The police of the highways is confided to them, and whenever any goods are stolen, they are meant to be the instruments of restitution; but when they are put to the test, are found to be inefficient. None but a man in power can hope to recover what he has once lost..... The collections of the toll are farmed, consequently extortion ensues; and as most of the rahdars receive no other emolument than what they can exact over and above the prescribed dues from the traveller, their insolence is accounted for on the one hand, and the detestation in which they are held on the other. Morier's Second Tour, p. 70.

[2] Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. c. 9. § 10, 11.

[3] Morier's Second Tour, p. 71.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE TREATIES, OR COVENANTS, AND CONTRACTS OF THE JEWS.

I. *Treaties, how made and ratified.—Covenant of Salt.—Allusions in the Scriptures to the making of Treaties or Covenants.*—II. *Contracts for the Sale and Cession of alienable Property, how made.*

I. A TREATY is a pact or covenant made with a view to the public welfare by the superior power. It is a common mistake that the Israelites were prohibited from forming alliances with Heathens: this would in effect have amounted to a general prohibition of alliance with any nation whatever, because at that time all the world were Heathens. In the Mosaic law, not a single statute is enacted, that prohibits the conclusion of treaties with Heathen nations in general; although, for the reasons therein specified, Moses either commands them to carry on eternal war against the Canaanites, Amalekites, Moabites, and Ammonites, or else forbids all friendship with these particular nations. It is however clear, from Deut. xxiii. 4—9. that he did not entertain the same opinion with regard to *all* foreign nations: for in that passage, though the Moabites are pronounced to be an abomination to the Israelites, no such declaration is made respecting the Edomites. Further, it is evident that they felt themselves bound religiously to observe treaties when actually concluded, though one of the contracting parties had been guilty of fraud in the transaction. David and Solomon lived in alliance with the king of Tyre; and the former with the king of Hamath (2 Sam. viii. 9, 10.); and the queen of Sheba cannot be regarded in any other light than as an ally of Solomon's. The only treaties condemned by the prophets are those with the Egyptians and Assyrians, which were extremely prejudicial to the nation, by involving it continually in quarrels with sovereigns more powerful than the Jewish monarchs.

II. Various solemnities were used in the conclusion of treaties; sometimes it was done by a simple junction of the hands. (Prov. xi. 21. Ezek. xvii. 18.) The Hindoos to this day ratify an engagement by one person laying his right hand on the hand of the other[1]. Sometimes also the covenant was

[1] Ward's View of the History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 328.

ratified by erecting a heap of stones, to which a suitable name was given, referring to the subject-matter of the covenant (Gen. xxxi. 44—54.); that made between Abraham and the king of Gerar was ratified by the oath of both parties, by a present from Abraham to the latter of seven ewe lambs, and by giving a name to the well which had given occasion to the transaction. (Gen. xxi. 22—32.) It was moreover customary to cut the victim (which was to be offered as a sacrifice upon the occasion) into two parts, and so placing each half upon two different altars, to cause those who contracted the covenant to pass between both. (Gen. xv. 9, 10. 17. Jer. xxxiv. 18.) This rite was practised both by believers and heathens at their solemn leagues; at first doubtless with a view to the great sacrifice, who was to purge our sins in his own blood: and the offering of these sacrifices, and passing between the parts of the divided victim, was symbolically staking their hopes of purification and salvation on their performance of the conditions on which it was offered.

This remarkable practice may be clearly traced in the Greek and Latin writers. Homer has the following expression:

> Ὅρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες. Iliad, lib. ii. ver. 124.
> *Having cut faithful oaths.*

Eustathius explains the passage by saying, they were oaths relating to important matters, and were made by the division of the victim. See also Virgil, Æn. viii. ver. 640.

The editor of the fragments supplementary to Calmet[1] is of opinion that what is yet practised of this ceremony may elucidate that passage in Isa. xxviii. 15. *We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us, for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves.* As if it had been said:—We have cut off a covenant sacrifice, a purification offering with death, and with the grave we have settled, so that the scourge shall not injure us. May not such a custom have been the origin of the following superstition related by Pitts? "If they (the Algerine corsairs) at any time happen to be in a very great strait or distress, as being chased, or in a storm, they will gather money, light up candles in remembrance of some dead marrabot (saint) or other, calling upon him with heavy sighs and groans. If they find no succour from their before mentioned rites and superstitions, but that the danger rather increases, then they go to sacrificing a sheep (or two or three upon occasion, as they think needful),

[1] No. 129.

which is done after this manner: having cut off the head with a knife, they immediately take out the entrails, and throw them and the head overboard; and then, with all the speed they can (without skinning) they cut the body into two parts by the middle, and throw one part over the right side of the ship, and the other over the left, into the sea, as a kind of propitiation. Thus those blind infidels apply themselves to imaginary intercessors, instead of the living and true God[1]." In the case here referred to, the ship passes between the parts thus thrown on each side of it. This behaviour of the Algerines may be taken as a pretty accurate counterpart to that of making *a covenant with death* and with imminent danger of destruction, by appeasing the angry gods.

Festivities always accompanied the ceremonies attending oaths. Isaac and Abimelech feasted at making their covenant (Gen. xxvi. 30.), *and he made them a feast, and they did eat and drink.* (Gen. xxxi. 54.) *Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread.* This practice was also usual amongst the heathen nations.[2]

Afterwards, when the Mosaic law was established, and the people were settled in the land of Canaan, the people feasted, in their peace offerings, on a part of the sacrifice, in token of their reconciliation with God (Deut. xii. 6, 7.): and thus, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, we renew our covenant with God, and (in the beautiful language of the communion office of the Anglican church) "we offer and present ourselves, our souls, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice" unto Him, being at His table feasted with the bread and wine, the representation of the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood; who by himself once offered upon the cross has made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and atonement for the sin of the whole world.

Sometimes the parties to the covenant were sprinkled with the blood of the victim. Thus Moses, after sprinkling part of the blood on the altar, to shew that Jehovah was a party to the covenant, sprinkled part of it on the Israelites, and said unto them, *Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you.* (Exod. xxiv. 6. 8.) To this transaction Saint Paul alludes in his Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 20.), and explains its evangelical meaning.

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[1] Travels, p. 18.

[2] Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. ii. p. 84.—Fifth edition. See examples of the antient mode of ratifying covenants, in Homer. Il. lib. iii. verses 103—107. 245 *et seq.* Virgil. Æn. lib. viii. 641. xii. 169, *et seq.* Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lib. v. c. 1. Hooke's Roman History, vol. i. p. 67.

The Scythians are said to have first poured wine into an earthen vessel, and then the contracting parties, cutting their arms with a knife, let some of the blood run into the wine, with which they stained their armour. After which they themselves, together with the other persons present, drank of the mixture, uttering the direst maledictions on the party who should violate the treaty.[1]

Another mode of ratifying covenants was by the superior contracting party presenting to the other some articles of his own dress or arms. Thus *Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to the sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.* (1 Sam. xviii. 4.) The highest honour, which a king of Persia can bestow upon a subject, is to cause himself to be disapparelled, and to give his robe to the favoured individual.

In Numb. xviii. 19. mention is made of a *covenant of salt.* The expression appears to be borrowed from the practice of ratifying their federal engagements by salt; which, as it not only imparted a relish to different kinds of viands, but also preserved them from putrefaction and decay, became the emblem of incorruptibility and permanence. It is well known, from the concurrent testimony of voyagers and travellers, that the Asiatics deem the eating together as a bond of perpetual friendship: and as salt is now (as it antiently was) a common article in all their repasts, it may be in reference to this circumstance that a perpetual covenant is termed *a covenant of salt;* because the contracting parties ate together of the sacrifice offered on the occasion, and the whole transaction was considered as a league of endless friendship[3]. In order to assure those persons to whom the divine promises were made, of their certainty and stability, the Almighty not only willed that they should have the force of a covenant; but also vouchsafed to accommodate Himself (if we may be permitted to use such an expression) to the received customs. Thus, he constituted the rainbow a sign of his covenant with mankind, that the earth should be no more destroyed by a deluge (Gen. ix. 12—17); and in a vision appeared to Abraham to pass between the divided pieces of the sacrifice, which the patriarch had offered. (Gen. xv. 12—17.) Jehovah further instituted the rite of circumcision, as a token of the covenant between

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[1] Herodotus, lib. iv. c. 70. vol. i. p. 273. Oxon. 1809. Denghæi Analecta, l. p. 69.

[2] Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 94. Burder's Or. Cust. vol. i. p. 206.

[3] Some pleasing facts from modern history, illustrative of the covenant of salt, are collected by the industrious editor of Calmet. Fragments, No. 130.

himself and Abraham (Gen. xvii. 9—14.); and sometimes sware by Himself (Gen. xxii. 16. Luke i. 73.), that is, pledged his eternal power and godhead for the fulfilment of his promise, there being no one superior to Himself to whom he could make appeal, or by whom he could be bound. Saint Paul beautifully illustrates this transaction in his epistle to the Hebrews. (vi. 13—18.) Lastly, the whole of the Mosaic constitution was a mutual covenant between Jehovah and the Israelites; the tables of which being preserved in an ark, the latter was thence termed the *ark of the covenant*, as (we have just seen) the blood of the victims slain in ratification of that covenant, was termed the *blood of the covenant*. (Exod. xxiv. 8. Zech. ix. 11.) Referring to this, our Saviour, when instituting the Lord's supper, after giving the cup, said *This is* (signifies or represents) *my blood of the New Covenant, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.* (Matt. xxvi. 28.) By this very remarkable expression, Jesus Christ teaches us, that as his body was to be *broken* or crucified υπερ ημων *in our stead*, so his blood was to be *poured out* (εκχυνομενον, a sacrificial term) to make an *atonement*, as the words *remission* of sins evidently imply; for *without shedding of blood* there *is no remission* (Heb. ix. 22), nor any remission by shedding of blood but in a sacrificial way. Compare Heb. ix. 20. and xiii. 12.

II. What treaties or covenants were between the high contracting powers who were authorised to conclude them, that contracts of bargain and sale are between private individuals.

Among the Hebrews, and long before them among the Canaanites, the purchase of any thing of consequence was concluded and the price paid, at the gate of the city, as the seat of judgment, before all who went out and came in. (Gen. xxiii. 16—20. Ruth iv. 1, 2.) As persons of leisure, and those who wanted amusement, were wont to sit in the gates, purchases there made could always be testified by numerous witnesses. From Ruth iv. 7—11. we learn another singular usage on occasions of purchase, cession and exchange, viz. that in earlier times, the transfer of alienable property was confirmed by the proprietor plucking off his shoe at the city gate, in the presence of the elders and other witnesses, and handing it over to the new owner. The origin of this custom it is impossible to trace: but it had evidently become antiquated in the time of David, as the author of the book of Ruth introduces it as an unknown custom of former ages.

In process of time the joining or striking of hands, already mentioned with reference to public treaties, was introduced as

a ratification of a bargain and sale. This usage was not unknown in the days of Job (xvii. 3.), and Solomon often alludes to it. (See Prov. vi. 1. xi. 15. xvii. 18. xx. 16. xxii. 26. xxvii. 13.) The earliest vestige of written instruments, sealed and delivered for ratifying the disposal and transfer of property, occurs in Jer. xxxii. 10—12., which the prophet commanded Baruch to bury in an earthen vessel in order to be preserved for production at a future period, as evidence of the purchase. (14, 15.) No mention is expressly made of the manner in which deeds were antiently cancelled. Some expositors have imagined, that in Col. ii. 14. Saint Paul refers to the cancelling of them by blotting or drawing a line across them, or by striking them through with a nail: but we have no information whatever from antiquity to authorise such a conclusion.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS AND OTHER NATIONS MENTIONED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

SECTION I.

ON THE MILITARY DISCIPLINE OF THE JEWS.

I. *The earliest wars, predatory excursions.*—II. *Character of the wars of the Israelites—Their levies how raised—Cherethites and Pelethites.—Standing armies of the sovereigns of Israel.*—III. *Officers of the Jewish armies;—which were sometimes conducted by the kings in person.*—IV. *Encampments.*—V. *Military Schools and training.*—VI. *Defensive Arms.*—VII. *Offensive Arms.*—VIII. *Fortifications.*—IX. *Mode of declaring war.*—X. *Order of battle—Treatment of the slain of captured cities, and of captives.*—XI. *Triumphant reception of the conquerors.*—XII. *Distribution of the Spoil.—Military honours conferred on eminent warriors.*

I. THERE were not wanting in the earliest ages of the world, men who, abusing the power and strength which they possessed to the purposes of ambition, usurped upon their weaker neighbours. Such was the origin of the kingdom founded by the plunderer Nimrod (Gen. x. 8—10.), whose name signifies a *rebel;* and it was most probably given him, from his rejection of the laws both of God and man, and supporting by force a tyranny over others. As mankind continued to increase, quarrels and contests would naturally arise, and, spreading from individuals to families, tribes and nations, produced wars. Of the military affairs of those times we have very imperfect notices in the Scriptures. These wars, however, appear to have been nothing more than predatory incursions, like those of the modern Wahabees and Bedouin Arabs, so often described by oriental travellers. The patriarch Abraham, on learning that his kinsman Lot had been taken captive by Chedorlaomer and his confederate emirs or petty kings, mustered his tried servants, three hundred and eighteen in number; and coming against the enemy by night, he divided his forces and totally discomfited them. (Gen. xiv. 14—16.) The other patriarchs also armed their servants and dependents, when a conflict was expected. (Gen. xxxii. 7—12. xxxiii. 1.)

II. Although the Jews are now the very reverse of being a military people (in which circumstance we may recognise the

accomplishment of prophecy [1]), yet antiently they were eminently distinguished for their prowess. But the notices concerning their discipline, which are presented to us in the sacred writings, are few and brief.

The wars in which the Israelites were engaged, were of two kinds, either such as were expressly enjoined by divine command, or such as were voluntary and entered upon by the prince for revenging some national affronts, and for the honour of his sovereignty. Of the first sort were those undertaken against the seven nations of Canaan, whom God had devoted to destruction, viz. the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites (strictly so called), the Perizzites, the Hivites, the Jebusites, and the Girgashites. These the Israelites were commanded to extirpate, and to settle themselves in their place. (Deut. vii. 1, 2. and xx. 16, 17.) There were indeed other nations who inhabited this country in the days of Abraham, as may be seen in Gen. xv. 19, 20. But these had either become extinct since that time, or being but a small people were incorporated with the rest. To these seven nations no terms of peace could be offered, for being guilty of gross idolatries and other detestable vices of all kinds, God thought them unfit to live any longer upon the face of the earth. These wars thus undertaken by the command of God, were called the *wars of the Lord*, of which a particular record seems to have been kept, as mentioned in Numb. xxi. 14.

In the voluntary wars of the Israelites, which were undertaken upon some national account, such as most of those were in the times of the Judges, when the Moabites, Philistines, and other neighbouring nations invaded their country, and such as that of David against the Ammonites, whose king had affronted his ambassadors,—there were certain rules established by God, which were to regulate their conduct, both in the undertaking and carrying on of these wars. As, first, they were to proclaim peace to them, which if they accepted, these people were to become tributaries to them; but if they refused, all the males, upon besieging a city, were allowed to be slain if the Israelites thought fit; but the women and little ones were to be spared, and the cattle with the other goods of the city were to belong as spoil, to the Israelites. (Deut. xx. 10—15.) Secondly, in besieging a city they were not to commit unnecessary waste and depredations, for though they were allowed to cut down barren trees of all sorts, to serve the purposes of their approaches, yet they were obliged to spare the fruit-trees, as

[1] See Levit. xxvi. 36. Deut. xxviii. 65, 66.

being necessary to support the lives of the inhabitants in future times, when the little rancour, which was the occasion of their present hostilities, should be removed and done away. (Deut. xx. 19, 20.)

The Israelites, in the beginning of their republic, appear to have been a timorous and cowardly people; their spirits were broken by their bondage in Egypt; and this base temper soon appeared upon the approach of Pharaoh and his army, before the Israelites passed through the Red Sea, which made them murmur so much against Moses. (Exod. xiv. 10, 11, 12.) But in no instance was their cowardice more evident, than when they heard the report of the spies concerning the inhabitants of the land, which threw them into a fit of despair, and made them resolve to return into Egypt, notwithstanding all the miracles wrought for them by God. (Numb. xiv. 1—6.) It was on this account that David, who was well acquainted with their disposition, says, that *they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them, but thy right hand and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favour unto them.* (Psal. xliv. 3.)

After their departure from Egypt, the whole of the men, from twenty years and upwards until the age of fifty (when they might demand their discharge if they chose), were liable to military service, the priests and Levites not excepted. (Numb. i. 3. 22. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. 1 Kings ii. 35.) Like the militia in some countries, they were always ready to assemble at the shortest notice. If the occasion were extremely urgent, affecting their existence as a people, all were summoned to war: but ordinarily, when there was no necessity for convoking the whole of their forces, a selection was made. Thus Joshua chose twelve thousand men, in order to attack the Amalekites (Exod. xvii. 9, 10.): in the war with the Midianites, one thousand men were selected out of each tribe (Numb. xxxi. 4, 5.) and in the rash assault upon the city of Ai, three thousand men were employed. (Josh. vii. 3, 4.) The book of Judges furnishes numerous instances of this mode of selection. Hence we read in the Scriptures of *choosing* the men, not of levying them. In like manner, under the Roman republic, all the citizens of the military age (seventeen to forty-six years) were obliged to serve a certain number of campaigns, when they were commanded. On the day appointed, the consuls held a levy (*delectum habebant*), by the assistance of the military or legionary tribunes; when it was determined by lot in what manner the tribes should be called. The consuls ordered such as they pleased to be cited out of each tribe, and every one

was obliged to answer to his name under a severe penalty. On certain occasions, some of the most refractory were put to death[1]. To the above described mode of selecting troops, our Saviour alluded, when he said, that *many are called but few chosen* (Matt. xx. 16.): the great mass of the people being convened, choice was made of those who were the most fit for service.

This mode of selecting soldiers accounts for the formation of those vast armies, in a very short space of time, of which we read in the Old Testament. The men of Jabesh Gilead who, in the beginning of Saul's reign, were besieged by the Ammonites, had only seven days respite given them to send messengers to the coasts of Israel, after which, if no relief came to them, they were to deliver up the city and have their eyes put out, which was the best condition, it seems, they could procure. (1 Sam. xi. 1, 2, 3.) As soon as Saul was informed of it, he by a symbolical representation of cutting a yoke of oxen in pieces, and sending them all over Israel, signified what should be done to the oxen of such who did not appear upon this summons. In consequence of this summons, we find that an army of *three hundred and thirty thousand men* was formed, who relieved the place within the seven days allowed them. In like manner, when the children of Israel had heard of the crime that was committed by the inhabitants of Gibeah against the Levite's concubine, it is said, that they resolved not to return to their houses till they had fully avenged this insult (Judg. xx. 8.), and accordingly upon the tribe of Benjamin's refusing to deliver up these men, an army was soon gathered together of four hundred thousand men of war, (verse 17.) Nor was the providing of their armies with necessaries any impediment to these sudden levies; for in the beginning of the Jewish republic, their armies consisting altogether of infantry, every one served at their own expense, and ordinarily carried their own arms and provisions along with them. And thus we find that Jesse sent a supply of provisions by David to his other three sons that were in Saul's camp (1 Sam. xvii. 13. 17.), which gave David an opportunity of engaging Goliath; and this was the chief reason why their wars in those days were ordinarily but of a short continuance, it being hardly possible that a large body could subsist long upon such provisions as every one carried along with him. After the time of Solomon, their armies became vastly numerous: we read that Abijah king of Judah had an army of

[1] Dr. Adam's Roman Antiquities, pp. 362, 363. fifth edit.

four hundred thousand men, with which he fought Jeroboam king of Israel, who had double that number (2 Chron. xiii. 3.), and it is said there were five hundred thousand killed of Jeroboam's army. (ver. 17.) Asa, king of Judah had an army of nearly six hundred thousand men, when he was attacked by Zerah the Ethiopian with an host of a million of men. (2 Chron. xiv. 8, 9.) Jehoshaphat king of Judah had eleven hundred and sixty thousand men, without reckoning the garrisons in his fortified places. (2 Chron. xvii. 14—19.)

Various regulations were made by Moses concerning the Israelitish soldiers, which are characterised by equal wisdom and humanity. Not to repeat what has already been noticed in p. 196, we may remark that the following classes of persons were wholly exempted from military service (Deut. xx. 5—8. xxiv. 5.), viz.:

1. He, who had built a new house, and had not dedicated it, was to return home, lest he should die in battle, and another man dedicate it. From the title of Psal. xxx.—*A Psalm or Song at the dedication of the house of David*, it was evidently a custom in Israel to dedicate a new house to Jehovah, with prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, in order that he might obtain the divine blessing.

2. Those who had planted a vine or olive yard, and who had not yet eaten of its produce.

3. Every man who had betrothed a wife and had not taken her home. It is well known, that among the Jews a considerable time sometimes elapsed between the espousal or betrothing of the parties and the celebration of a marriage. When the bridegroom had made proper preparations, the bride was conducted to his house and the nuptials were consummated.

3. Every newly married man, during the first year after his marriage. The humanity of these three exemptions will be the more evident, when it is recollected that, antiently, it was deemed an excessive hardship for a person to be obliged to go to battle (in which there was a probability of his being slain) who had left a new house unfinished, a newly purchased heritage half tilled, or a wife with whom he had just contracted marriage. Homer represents the case of Protesilaus as singularly afflicting, who was obliged to go to the Trojan war, leaving his wife in the deepest distress, and his house unfinished [1]

4. The last exemption was in favour of the *fearful and faint-hearted*; an exemption of such a disgraceful nature, that

[1] Iliad, lib. ii. 700—702.

one would think it never would have been claimed. Such, however, was the case in Gideon's expedition against the Midianites. Ten thousand only remained out of *thirty-two thousand*, of which number his army originally consisted; twenty-two thousand having complied with his proclamation, that *whosoever was fearful and afraid* might return and depart early from mount Gilead. (Judg. vii. 3.) Before the regal government was established, the Israelitish army was entirely disbanded at the conclusion of a war. The earliest instance recorded of any military force being kept in time of peace, is in the reign of Saul, who retained two thousand for his body guard, and one thousand for his son Jonathan's guard. (1 Sam. xiii. 1, 2.) David had a distinct guard, called Cherethites and Pelethites, concerning the origin of whose name various contradictory opinions have been offered. Josephus, however, expressly says that they were his guards, and the Chaldee paraphrast terms them *archers* and *slingers*[1]. Besides these he had twelve bodies of twenty-four thousand men each, who were on duty for one month, forming an aggregate of two hundred and eighty-eight thousand men (1 Chron. xxvii. 1—15.) Subsequently, when the art of war was improved, a regular force seems to have been kept up both in peace and war; for, exclusive of the vast army which Jehoshaphat had in the field, we read that he had troops throughout all the fenced cities, which doubtless were garrisoned in time of peace as well as during war.

III. The officers who were placed at the head of the Hebrew forces appear not to have differed materially from those whom we find in antient and modern armies.

The principal officer, who, in the Scriptures is termed the captain of the Lord's Host, appears to have been of the same rank with him who is now called the commander in chief of an army. Such were Joshua and the Judges under the primitive constitution of their government as settled by God himself: such was Abner under Saul (2 Sam. ii. 8.), Joab under David (2 Sam. xx. 23.), and Amasa under Absalom, when he was raising a rebellion against his father. (2 Sam. xvii. 25.) The command and authority of this captain of the host appear to have been very great, sometimes indeed nearly equal to that of the sovereign. David seems to have been afraid of Joab his commander in chief; otherwise he would never have suffered him to live after the sanguinary assassinations which he had

[1] On this subject the reader may consult the Dissertations of Ikenius, De Crethi et Plethi, (Lug. Bat. 1749.), and of Lakemacher, Observationes Philologicæ, part ii. pp. 11—44.: and Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, § 232.

perpetrated. It is evident that the captain of the host enjoyed great influence in the time of Elisha; for we read, that the prophet having been hospitably entertained by an opulent woman at Shunem, and being desirous of making her some acknowledgment for her kindness, ordered his servant Gehazi to inquire what she would wish to have done for her. *Wouldst thou be spoken for to the king, or to the CAPTAIN OF THE HOST?* (2 Kings iv. 13.)

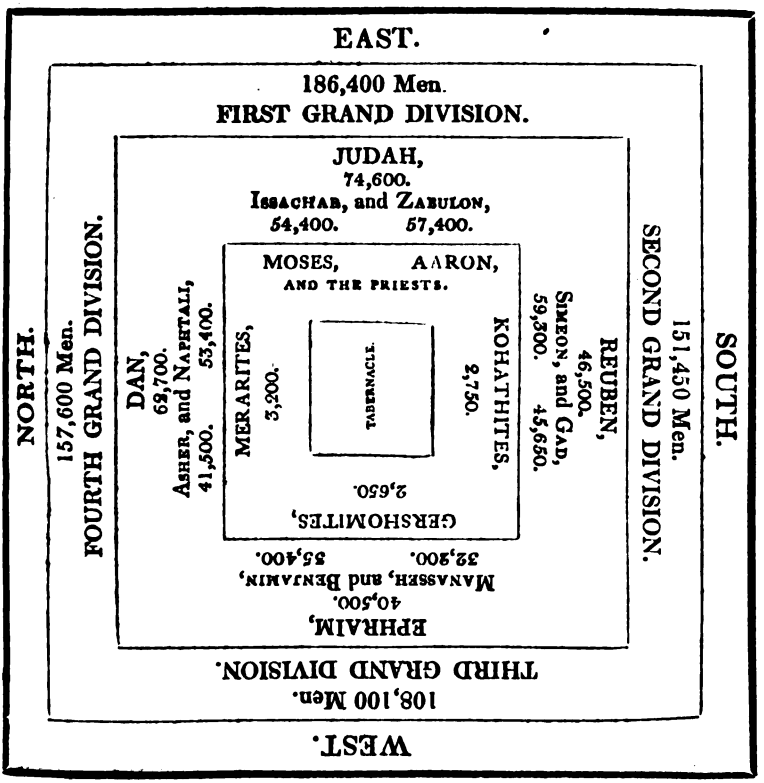
The other officers that governed the army are styled captains of thousands, captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens; of these mention is made in 1 Chron. xii. 14. 20. xiii. 1. xxviii. 1. and 2 Kings i. 9. 11. 13. These, probably, were of the same rank with those whom Moses constituted in the wilderness, rulers of thousands, &c. (Exod. xviii. 25.) and who at first acted in a double capacity, being at the same time civil magistrates and military officers. The captains of thousands seem to have been much the same as colonels of regiments with us; and the captains of hundreds might probably answer to those who in our army have the command of troops and companies; the captains of fifties and tens to our subalterns, serjeants, and corporals. All these, after the monarchy took place, received their commissions from the king in the same manner as at present, as appears from 2 Sam. xviii. 1. and 2 Chron. xxv. 5. After the establishment of the monarchy, the kings went to war in person, and at first fought on foot, like the meanest of their soldiers. Thus David fought, until the danger to which he exposed himself became so great, that his people would no longer allow him to lead them on to battle. (2 Kings xxi. 17.) It does not appear that there were any horse in the Israelitish army before the time of Solomon. The soil and climate of Judæa, indeed, were unfavourable to the rearing of horses, which could be of little use, and were therefore prohibited. In the time of David there were none; for the rebel Absalom was mounted on a mule in the battle in which he lost his life. (2 Sam. xviii. 9.) Solomon, who had married the daughter of the king of Egypt, procured horses from that country at a great expense (1 Kings x. 28, 29.); and afterwards had four thousand stalls for horses and chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen. (2 Chron. ix. 25.) Subsequent kings of Judah and Israel went into the battle in chariots, arrayed in their royal vestments, or sometimes in disguise. They generally had a spare chariot to attend them: thus we read that king Josiah, after he was mortally wounded, was taken out of his war-chariot, and put into another, in which he was carried to Jerusalem. (2 Chron. xxxv. 23, 24. 1 Kings xxii. 34.)

Military chariots were much in use among the Egyptians, Canaanites, and other oriental nations. Two sorts are mentioned in the Scriptures; one in which princes and generals rode, the other to break the enemy's battalions by rushing in among them, armed with iron, which caused terrible havoc. The most antient war-chariots, of which we read, are those of Pharaoh, which were destroyed in the Red Sea. (Exod. xiv. 7.) The Canaanites, whom Joshua engaged at the waters of Merom, had cavalry and a multitude of chariots. (Josh. xi. 4.) Sisera, the general of Jabin, king of Hazor, had nine hundred chariots of iron in his army. (Judg. iv. 3.) The tribe of Judah could not obtain possession of part of the lands allotted to them, because the inhabitants of the country were strong in chariots of iron. (Judg. i. 19.) The Philistines, in their war with Saul, had thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen. (1 Sam. xiii. 5.) David, having taken a thousand war-chariots from Hadadezer, king of Damascus, ham-strung the horses, and burnt nine hundred chariots, reserving only one hundred. (2 Sam. viii. 4.) It does not appear that the Hebrews ever used chariots in war, though Solomon had a considerable number; but we know of no military expedition in which he employed them. In the book of Maccabees, mention is made of chariots armed with scythes, which the king of Syria led against the Jews. (2 Mac. xiii. 2.)

IV. No information is given us in the Scriptures, concerning the order of encampment adopted by the Israelites after their settlement in Canaan. During their sojourning in the wilderness, the form of their camp, according to the account given in Numb. ii., appears to have been quadrangular, having three tribes placed on each side, under one general standard, so as to inclose the tabernacle, which stood in the centre. Between these four great camps and the tabernacle were pitched four smaller camps of the priests and Levites, who were immediately in attendance upon it; the camp of Moses and of Aaron and his sons (who were the ministering priests, and had the charge of the sanctuary) was on the east side of the tabernacle, where the entrance was. From Isa. liv. 2. it appears that the tents, under which they lived, were nearly the same as those which are now in use in the East. Every family and household had their particular ensign; under which they encamped or pursued their march. The rabbinical writers assert that the standard of Judah was a lion; that of Reuben, the figure of a man; that of Ephraim, an ox; that of Dan, an eagle with a serpent in his talons [1]: but for these assertions there is no foun-

[1] Lamy de Tabernaculo, lib. iii. c. 2.

dation. They are probably derived from the patriarch's prophetic blessing of his children, related in Gen. xlix. It is far more probable, that the names of the several tribes were embroidered in large letters on their respective standards, or that they were distinguished by appropriate colours. The following diagram, after Rechenberg and other writers on Jewish antiquities, will perhaps give the reader a tolerable idea of the beautiful order of the Israelitish encampment; the sight of which, from the mountains of Moab, extorted from Balaam (when *he saw Israel abiding* in his tents *according to their tribes*) the following exclamation:—*How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob*, and *thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the vallies are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign aloes which the Lord hath planted*, and *as cedar trees beside the waters.* (Numb. xxiv. 2. 5, 6.)



During the encampment of the Israelites in the wilderness, Moses made various salutary enactments, which are recorded

in Deut. xxiii. 10—15., for guarding against the vice and uncleanness that might otherwise have prevailed among so large a body of people, forming an aggregate of upwards of three millions. The following was the order of their march: when they were to remove (which was only when the cloud was taken off the tabernacle) the trumpet was sounded, and upon the first alarm the standard of Judah being raised, the three tribes which belonged to it set forward; then the tabernacle being taken down, which was the proper office of the Levites, the Gershonites and the Merarites (two families of that order) attended the waggons with the boards, staves, &c. When these were on their march a second alarm was sounded, upon which the standard of Reuben's camp advanced with the three tribes under it. After them followed the Kohathites (the third family of the Levites) bearing the sanctuary, that is the Holy of Holies and the utensils thereto belonging; and because this was less cumbersome than the boards, pillars, and other parts of the tabernacle, and more holy, it was on that account not put into a waggon, but carried on their shoulders. Next followed the standard of Ephraim's camp with the tribes belonging to it; and last of all the other three tribes under the standard of Dan brought up the rear; Moses and Aaron overseeing the whole, that every thing was done as God had directed, while the sons of Aaron were chiefly employed in blowing the trumpets, and other offices properly belonging to them.

From 1 Sam. xxvi. 5., as rendered in our authorised version (*Saul lay in the trench, and the people pitched round about him*), it has been imagined that the Israelites had a fortified camp. The proper rendering is, that *Saul lay among the baggage*, with his spear stuck at his head (v. 7.), in the same manner as is usual among the Persians [1], and also among the Arabs to thisday, wherever the disposition of the ground will permit it; their emir or prince being in the centre, and the Arabs around him at a respectful distance. When David is represented as sometimes secreting himself in the night, when he was with his armies, instead of lodging with the people (2 Sam. xvii. 8, 9.), it probably means that he did not lodge in the middle of the camp, which was the proper place for a king, in order that he might the better avoid any surprise from his enemies. [2]

V. In antient times the Hebrews received no pay, during their military service: the same practice of gratuitous service obtained among the Greeks and Romans, in the early period of

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[1] Morier's Second Journey into Persia, pp. 115, 116.
[2] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 430, 431.

their respective republics[1]. The Cherethites and Pelethites appear to have been the first stipendiary soldiers: it is however probable that the great military officers of Saul, David, Solomon, and the other kings had some allowance, suitable to the dignity of their rank. The soldiers were paid out of the king's treasury: and in order to stimulate their valour, rewards and honours were publicly bestowed on those who distinguished themselves against the enemy; consisting of pecuniary presents, a girdle or belt, a woman of quality for a wife, exemptions from taxes, promotion to a higher rank in the army, &c., all of which were attended with great profit and distinction. (2 Sam. xviii. 11. Jos. xv. 16. 1 Sam. xviii. 25. 1 Chron. xi. 6.) In the age of the Maccabees, the patriot Simon both armed and paid his brave companions in arms, at his own expense. (1 Mac. xiv. 32.) Afterwards, it became an established custom, that all soldiers should receive pay. (Luke iii. 14. 1 Cor. ix. 7.)

It appears from various passages of Scripture, and especially from Isa. ii. 4. and Mic. iv. 3., that there were military schools, in which the Hebrew soldiers were trained, by proper officers, in those exercises which were in use among the other nations of antiquity. Swiftness of foot (2 Sam. ii. 18.) was an accomplishment highly valued among the Hebrew warriors, both for attacking and pursuing an enemy, as well as among the antient Greeks and Romans. Ποδας ωκυς Αχιλλευς, *the swift-footed Achilles*, is an epithet given by Homer to his hero, not fewer than thirty times in the course of the Iliad. David expressed his gratitude to God for making his feet like hinds' feet for swiftness, and teaching his hands to war, so that a bow of steel was broken by his arms. (Psal. xviii. 33, 34.) The tribe of Benjamin could boast of a great number of brave men, who could use their right and left hands with equal dexterity (Judg. xx. 16. 1 Chron. xii. 2.), and who were eminent for their skill in the use of the bow and the sling. The *men of war*, out of the tribe of Gad, who came to David when persecuted by Saul, are described as being *men of might, fit for the battle, that could handle shield and buckler, whose faces were like the faces of lions, and* who were as *swift as the roes upon the mountains.* (1 Chron. xii. 8.)

VI. The Hebrews do not appear to have had any peculiar military habit. As the flowing dress, which they ordinarily wore would have impeded their movements, they girt it closely around them, when preparing for battle, and loosened it on their return. (2 Sam. xx. 8. 1 Kings xx. 11.) They used the

[1] Livy, lib. iv. c. 59. Bruning's Antiquit. Græc. p. 102.

same arms as the neighbouring nations, both defensive and offensive, and these were made either of iron or of brass, principally of the latter metal. In the Scriptures we read of brazen shields, helmets, and bows; the helmet, greaves, and target of the gigantic Goliath were all of brass, which was the metal chiefly used by the antient Greeks [1]. The national museums of most countries contain abundant specimens of brazen arms, which have been rescued from the destroying hand of time. Originally, every man provided his own arms: but after the establishment of the monarchy, depôts were formed, whence they were distributed to the men as occasioned required. (2 Chron. xi. 12. xxvi. 14, 15.)

Of the *defensive arms* of the Hebrews, the following were the most remarkable, viz.

1. The *Helmet* כובע (KOBANG), for covering and defending the head. This was a part of the military provision made by Uzziah for his vast army (2 Chron. xxvi. 14.): and long before the time of that king, the helmets of Saul and of the Philistine champion were of the same metal. (1 Sam. xvii. 38. 5.) This military cap was also worn by the Persians, Ethiopians, and Libyans (Ezek. xxxviii. 5.), and by the troops which Antiochus sent against Judas Maccabeus. (1 Macc. vi. 35.)

2. The *Breast plate* or *Corslet*, שריון (SHIRION), was another piece of defensive armour. Goliath, and the soldiers of Antiochus (1 Sam. xvii. 5. 1 Macc. vi. 35.) were accoutred with this defence, which, in our authorised translation is variously rendered *habergeon*, *coat of mail*, and *brigandine*. (1 Sam. xvii. 38. 2 Chron. xxvi. 14. Isa. lix. 17. Jer. xlvi. 4.) Between the joints of this *harness* (as it is termed in 1 Kings xxii. 4.), the profligate Ahab was mortally wounded by an arrow shot at a venture. From these various renderings of the original word, it should seem that this piece of armour covered both the back and breast, but principally the latter. The corslets were made of various materials: sometimes they were made of flax or cotton, woven very thick, or of a kind of woollen felt: others again were made of iron or brazen scales, or laminæ, laid one over another like the scales of a fish; others were properly what we call coats of mail; and others were composed of two pieces of iron or brass, which protected the back and breast. All these kinds of corslets are mentioned in the Scriptures. Goliath's *coat of mail* (1 Sam. xvii. 5.) was literally, a *corslet*

[1] Calmet, in his elaborate Dissertation sur la Milice des Anciens Hebreus (Comment. tom. iii. p. 529), has collected numerous examples from Homer, Hesiod, Virgil, and various other classic writers, in which brazen arms and armour are mentioned.

of scales, that is, composed of numerous laminæ of brass, crossing each other. It was called by Virgil and other Latin writers *squama lorica*[1]. Similar corslets were worn by the Persians and other nations. The breast-plate worn by the unhappy Saul, when he perished in battle, is supposed to have been of flax, or cotton, woven very close and thick. (2 Sam. i. 9. marginal rendering.)

3. The *Shield* defended the whole body during the battle. It was of various forms, and made of wood covered with tough hides, or of brass, and sometimes was overlaid with gold. (1 Kings x. 16, 17. xiv. 26, 27.) Two sorts are mentioned in the Scriptures, viz. The צִנָּה (TSINNAH) great shield or buckler, and the מָגֵן (MAGEN), or smaller shield. It was much used by the Jews, Babylonians, Chaldeans, Assyrians and Egyptians. David, who was a great warrior, often mentions a shield and buckler in his divine poems, to signify that defence and protection of Heaven which he expected and experienced, and in which he reposed all his trust. (Psal. v. 12.) And when he says, *God will with favour compass the righteous as with a shield*, he seems to allude to the use of the great shield *tsinnah* (which is the word he uses) with which they covered and defended their whole bodies. King Solomon caused two different sorts of shields to be made, viz. the tsinnah (which answers to clypeus among the Latins,) such a large shield as the infantry wore, and the maginnim or scuta, which were used by the horsemen, and were of a much less size (2 Chron. ix. 15, 16.). The former of these are translated targets, and are double in weight to the other. The Philistines came into the field with this weapon: So we find their formidable champion was appointed (1 Sam. xvii. 7.) One bearing a shield went before him, whose proper duty it was to carry this and some other weapons, with which to furnish his master upon occasion.

A shield-bearer was an office among the Jews as well as the Philistines, for David when he first went to court was made king Saul's armour-bearer, (1 Sam. xvi. 21.) and Jonathan had a young man who bore his armour before him. (1 Sam. xiv. 1.) Besides this tsinnah, or great massy shield, Goliath was furnished with a less one (1 Sam. xvii. 6. and 45.) which is not expressed by one of the forementioned words, but is called *cidon*, which we render a target in one place and a shield in another, and was of a different nature from the common shields. He seems not only to have held it in his hand when he had occasion to use it, but could also at other times conveniently hang it about his neck and

[1] Æneid. lib. ix. 707.

turn it behind, on which account it is added, that it was between his shoulders. The loss of the shield in fight was excessively resented by the Jewish warriors, as well as lamented by them, for it was a signal ingredient of the public mourning, that *the shield of the mighty was vilely cast away.* (2 Sam. i. 21.) David, a man of arms, who composed the beautiful elegy on the death of Saul related in 2 Sam. i. 19—27., was sensible how disgraceful a thing it was for soldiers to quit their shields in the field, yet this was the deplorable case of the Jewish soldiers in that unhappy engagement with the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 7.), they fled away and left their shields behind them; this vile and dishonourable casting away of that principal armour is the deserved subject of this lofty poet's lamentation.

But these honourable sentiments were not confined to the Jews. We find them prevailing among most other antient nations, who considered it infamous to cast away or lose their shield. With the Greeks it was a capital crime, and punished with death. The Lacedemonian women, it is well known, in order to excite the courage of their sons, used to deliver to them their fathers shields, with this short address: "This shield thy father always preserved; do thou preserve it also, or perish." Alluding to these sentiments, Saint Paul, when exhorting the Hebrew Christians to stedfastness in the faith of the Gospel, urges them not to *cast away their confidence*, their confession of faith, which *hath great recompence of reward*, no less than the approbation of God, the peace which passeth all understanding *here*, and the glories of heaven as their *eternal* portion. (Heb. x. 35.)

It may be further observed, that they used to oil, scour, and polish their shields, (as indeed it was the custom to be equally careful of their other armour,) as may be inferred from the prophet's expressions of *furbishing the spears and making bright the arrows* (Jer. lxvi. 4. and li. 11.), but more especially their shields (which were weapons they highly valued, and upon which they generally engraved their names and warlike deeds, if they achieved any.) These weapons were carefully polished with oil, and made exceedingly bright; whence two places of Scripture may receive some light; the former occurs in the chapter before cited, where it is said *the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as if it had not been anointed with oil.* For so the latter clause may be understood to refer to the shield and not to Saul, and the Hebrew text will bear this version. The meaning then is, that the shields were cast away and trodden under foot, as if they had not been made bright with oil. And that other

passage of the prophet, *anoint the shield* (Isa. xxi. 5.), is a plain reference to this antient custom of polishing their shields with oil, and therefore the import of these words is this, *furbish and make ready that weapon, and prepare for battle:* it may be further observed, that as they anointed their shields to give them a brightness and lustre, so they covered them with a case when they had them not in use, in order to preserve them from being rusty and soiled; hence we read of *uncovering the shield*, which signifies preparing for war, and having that weapon especially in readiness. (Isa. xxii. 6.)

4. Another defensive provision in war, was the *military girdle*, which was for a double purpose: first, in order to wear the sword, which hung, as it does this day, at the soldier's girdle or belt. (1 Sam. xvii. 39.) Secondly, it was necessary to gird their clothes and armour together, and thus David girded his sword upon his armour. To gird and to arm are synonymous words in Scripture; for those who are said to be able to put on armour, are, according to the Hebrew and the Septuagint, girt with a girdle, and hence comes the expression of girding to the battle. (1 Kings xx. 11. Isa. viii. 9. 2 Sam. xxii. 40. 1 Sam. xviii. 4.) There is express mention of this military girdle, where it is recorded, that Jonathan, to assure David of his entire love and friendship by some visible pledges, stripped himself not only of his usual garments, but his military habiliments, his sword, bow, and girdle, and gave them to David.

5. Boots or greaves, were part of the antient defensive harness, because it was the custom to cast certain εμποδια, impediments (so called because they entangled the feet, afterwards known by the name of gall-traps, which since, in heraldry, are corruptly called call-trops) in the way before the enemy: the military boot or shoe, was therefore necessary to guard the legs and feet from the iron stakes placed in the way to gall and wound them; and thus we are enabled to account for Goliah's greaves of brass which were upon his legs.

VII. The offensive weapons were of two sorts, viz. such as were employed when they came to a close engagement; and those with which they annoyed the enemy at a distance. Of the former description were the sword and the battle-axe.

1. The sword is the most antient weapon of offence mentioned in the Bible. With it Jacob's sons treacherously assassinated the Schechemites. (Gen. xxxiv. 2.) It was worn on the thigh (Psal. xlv. 4. Exod. xxxii. 27), and it should seem, on the left thigh; for it is particularly mentioned that Ehud put a dagger or short sword under his garments on his right thigh. (Judg. iii. 16.) There appear to have been two

kinds of swords in use, a larger one with one edge, which is called in Hebrew the *mouth* of the sword (Josh. vi. 21.); and a shorter one with two edges, like that of Ehud. The modern Arabs, it is well known, wear a sabre on one side, and a *cangiar* or dagger in their girdles.

2. Of the battle-axe we have no description in the sacred volume: it seems to have been a most powerful weapon in the hands of cavalry, from the allusion made to it by Jeremiah. *Thou art my battle-axe* and *weapons of war: for with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms: and with thee will I break in pieces the horse and his rider, and with thee will I break in pieces the chariot and his rider.* (Jer. li. 20, 21.)

The other offensive weapons, for annoying the enemy at a distance, were the spear or javelin, the sling, and the bow and arrow.

3. The spear or javelin, (as the words רמח (ROMACH), and חניתי (CHANITH), are variously rendered in Numb. xxv. 7. 1 Sam. xiii. 19. and Jer. xlvi. 4.) were of different kinds, according to their length or make. Some of them might be thrown or darted (1 Sam. xviii. 11.); others were a kind of long swords (Numb. xxv. 8.); and it appears from 2 Sam. ii. 23. that some of them were pointed at both ends. When armies were encamped, the spear of the general or commander-in-chief was stuck into the ground at his head.[1]

4. Slings are enumerated among the military stores collected by Uzziah. (2 Chron. xxvi. 14.) In the use of the sling, David eminently excelled, and slew Goliath with a stone from one. The Benjaminites were celebrated in battle because they had attained to a great skill and accuracy in handling this weapon; *they could sling stones to a hair's breadth, and not miss* (Judg. xx. 16.); and where it is said that they were left-handed, it should rather be rendered ambodexters, for we are told, they could use *both the right hand and the left* (1 Chron. xii. 2.); that is, they did not constantly use their right hand as others did, when they shot arrows or slung stones, but they were so expert in their military exercises, that they could perform them with their left hand as well as with their right.

5. Bows and arrows are of great antiquity; indeed, no weapon is mentioned so early. Thus Isaac said to Esau, *Take thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow* (Gen. xxvii. 3.); though it is true, these are not spoken of as used in war, but in hunting, and so they are supposed and implied before this; where it is

[1] See p. 204, *supra*, for examples of this custom.

said of Ishmael, that he became an archer, he used bows and arrows in shooting of wild beasts. (Gen. xxi. 20.) This afterwards became so useful a weapon, that care was taken to train up the Hebrew youth to it betimes. When David had in a solemn manner lamented the death of king Saul, he gave orders for teaching *the young men the use of the bow* (1 Sam. i. 18), that they might be as expert as the Philistines, by whose bows and arrows Saul and his army were slain. These were part of the military ammunition, (for in those times bows were instead of guns, and arrows supplied the place of powder and ball.) From the book of Job (xx. 24.) it may be collected, that the military bow was made of steel, and consequently was very stiff and hard to bend, on which account they used their foot in bending their bows; and therefore when the prophets speak of *treading the bow*, and of *bows trodden*, they are to be understood of *bows bent*, as our translators rightly render it (Jer. l. 14. Isa. v. 28. xxi. 15.); but the Hebrew word which is used in these places, signifies *to tread upon*. This weapon was thought so necessary in war, that it is there called *the bow of war* or the *battle-bow*. (Zech. ix. 10. x. 14.)

VIII. Many of the cities of Palestine, being erected on eminences, were fortified by nature; but most frequently they were surrounded with a lofty wall, either single or double, (Deut. xxviii. 52. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Isa. xxii. 11.); on which were erected towers or bulwarks. (2 Chron. xiv. 7. xxvi. 9. Psal. xlviii. 13.) These towers were furnished with machines, from which the besieged could discharge arrows and great stones. (2 Chron. xxvi. 15.) It was also usual to erect towers on the confines of a country, to repress the incursions of troublesome neighbours, and which also served as occasional places of refuge. The tower of Peniel (Judg. viii. 9. 17.), and those erected by Uzziah (1 Chron. xxvi. 6.), appear to have been of this description: and similar towers were afterwards erected by the crusaders [1]. When the Israelites were about to besiege a city, they dug trenches, drew a line of circumvallation, erected ramparts, built forts against it, and cast a mount against it; and set the camp also against it, and set battering rams also against it round about. (2 Sam. xvii. 20. Lam. ii. 8. Ezek. iv. 2.) These engines *of shot*, as our margin renders it in the prophecy of Jeremiah (vi. 6.), in all probability, resembled in some measure the balistæ and catapultæ among the Romans; which were used for throwing stones and arrows; and antiently served instead of mortars and carcasses. Further,

[1] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 415—418. 425—428.

in order to give notice of an approaching enemy, and to bring the dispersed inhabitants of the country together, they used to set up beacons on the tops of mountains, as a proper alarm upon those occasions.

Such were the various instruments of offence and defence in use among the antient Israelites. Sometimes, however, they were very badly provided with military weapons: for, after the Philistines had gained many considerable advantages over them, and in effect subdued their country, they took care that no smith should be left throughout the land of Israel, to prevent them from making swords and spears; so that the Israelites were obliged to go down to the Philistines whenever they had occasion to sharpen their instruments of husbandry. (1 Sam. xiii. 19, 20. 22.) Long before the reign of Saul, we read that there *was not a shield or spear among forty thousand in Israel.* (Judg. v. 8.); though it is probable that they had other military weapons which are not mentioned. After Nebuchadnezzar had captured Jerusalem, he adopted the policy of the Philistines, and took all the craftsmen and smiths with him to Babylon, that the poorest of the people, whom he had left behind, might be in no condition to rebel. (2 Kings xxiv. 14.)

It was an antient custom to *shoot an arrow* or *cast a spear* into the country which an army intended to invade. As soon as Alexander had arrived on the coasts of Ionia, he threw a dart into the country of the Persians[1]. The throwing of a dart was considered as an emblem of the commencement of hostilities among the Romans[2]. Some such custom as this appears to have obtained among the eastern people: and to this the prophet Elisha alluded when he termed the arrow shot by the king of Israel, *the arrow of deliverance* from Syria (2 Kings xiii. 17.); meaning that, as surely as that arrow was shot towards the lands which had been conquered from the Israelites by the Syrians, so surely should those lands be reconquered and restored to Israel.

IX. Previously to undertaking a war, the heathens consulted their oracles, soothsayers, and magicians; and after their example, Saul, when forsaken by God, had recourse to a witch, to know the result of the impending battle (1 Sam. xxviii. 7.): they also had recourse to divination by arrows, and inspection of the livers of slaughtered victims. (Ezek. xxi. 21.) The Israelites, to whom these things were prohibited, formerly consulted the

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[1] Justin, Hist. Philipp. lib. ii.

[2] Livy, lib i. c. 32. Other instances from the Roman history may be seen in Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 362.

urim and thummim, or the sacred lot. (Judg. i. 1. xx. 27, 28. xxiii. 2. xxviii. 6.) After the establishment of the monarchy, the kings, as they were piously or impiously disposed, consulted the prophets of the Lord or the false prophets, the latter of whom (as it was their interest) failed not to perusade them that they should succeed. (1 Kings xxii. 6—13. 2 Kings xix. 2. 20.) Their expeditions were generally undertaken in the spring (2 Sam. xi. 1.), and carried on through the summer. Previously to the engagement, the combatants anointed their shields, and took food that their strength might not fail them. (Isa. xxi. 5. Jer. xlvi. 3, 4.) Of the precise mode in which the Jewish armies were drawn up, the Scriptures give us no information: but, as the art of war was then very imperfect, much reliance was placed in the multitude of combatants,—a notion, the fallacy of which is exposed in Psal. xxxiii. 16.

From the time of Moses to that of Solomon, the ark of the covenant was present in the camp, the symbol of the divine presence, and an incitement to valiant achievements. It was taken by the Philistines in the time of the high priest Eli (1 Sam. iv. 11.), but subsequently restored. In like manner, the Philistines carried their deities into the field of battle (1 Chron. xiv. 12.); and it appears that Jeroboam and the Israelites of the ten tribes had their golden calves with them in the field. (2 Chron. xiii. 8.) Before they engaged in battle, the law of Moses appointed two priests to blow with two silver trumpets (Numb. x. 9.) which are described by Josephus [1] to have been a cubit long, and narrow like a pipe, but wider, as ours are, at the bottom; no more than two were at first ordered for present use, but more were afterwards made when the priests and the people were increased. There were others called trumpets of rams' horns (Josh. vi. 4.), probably from their shape, which were used in war, to incite the soldiers to fight. These instruments were blown to call the people to the sanctuary to pay their devotion, and to pray to God before they engaged; and they were sounded with a particular blast, that they might know the meaning of the summons: Then *the anointed for the war*, going from one battalion to another, was to exhort the soldiers to fight valiantly. (Deut. xx. 2.) The rabbins [2] have a conceit, that the Romans learnt both the form of encamping, out of the law of Moses, and also to make orations to their armies before they went to fight; but it is more reasonable to think that they taught those who were leaders of others, to encourage them to follow their example. There were officers whose duty it was to make pro-

[1] Antiq. l. 3. c. 11.

[2] Misch. Sota, c. 8.

clamation, that those whose business it was, should make sufficient provision for the army before they marched; and every tenth man was appointed for that purpose. (Josh. i. 10, 11. Judg. xx. 10.) In later times the kings themselves addressed their armies (2 Chron. xiii. 4—12. xx. 21.), and afterwards the Maccabean generals. (1 Macc. iv. 8—11.) Sometimes they advanced to battle singing hymns (2 Chron. xx. 21, 22.); and the signal was given by the priests sounding the trumpets (Numb. x. 9. Judg. vi. 34. 2 Chron. xiii. 14. 1 Macc. iii. 54. iv. 13.) It should seem that a custom prevailed among the antient idolatrous nations of the East, of the efficacy of devoting an enemy to destruction. Under this persuasion Balak engaged Balaam to curse the Israelites because they were too mighty for him (Numb. xxii. 6.); and Goliath cursed David by his gods. (1 Sam. xvii. 43.) The Romans in later times had a peculiar form of evoking or calling out the gods, under whose protection a place was supposed to be, and also of devoting the people, which is fully described by Macrobius[1]: and many accounts are related in the Hindoo puranus of kings employing sages to curse their enemies, when too powerful for them.

X. The onset of the battle, after the custom of the orientals to this day, was very violent (Numb. xxiii. 24. xxiv. 8, 9.), and was made with a great shout. (Exod. xxxii. 17. 1 Sam. xvii. 20. 52. 2 Chron. xiii. 15.) The same practice obtained in the age of the Maccabees. (1 Macc. iii. 54.) All the wars, in the earliest times, were carried on with great cruelty and ferocity; of which we may see instances in Judg. viii. 7. 16. 2 Kings iii. 27. viii. 12. xv. 16. 2 Chron. xxv. 12. Amos i. 3. 13. and Psal. cxxxvii. 8, 9. Yet the kings of Israel were distinguished for their humanity and lenity towards their enemies. (1 Kings xx. 31. 2 Kings vi. 21—23. 2 Chron. xxviii. 8—15.) When the victory was decided, the bodies of the slain were interred. (1 Kings xi. 15. 2 Sam. ii. 32. xxi. 14. Ezek. xxxix. 11, 12. 2 Macc. xii. 15.) Sometimes, however, the heads of the slain were cut off, and deposited in heaps at the palace gate (2 Kings x. 7, 8.), as is frequently done to this day in Turkey, and in Persia[2]: and when the conquerors were irritated at the obstinacy with which a city was defended, they refused the rites of burial to the dead, whose bodies were cast out, a prey to carnivorous birds and beasts. This barbarity is feelingly deplored by the Psalmist (lxxix. 1—3.) And on some occasions the remains of the slain were treated with every mark of indignity.

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[1] Saturnalia, lib. iii. c 9.

[2] Morier's Second Journey, p. 186.

Thus the Philistines *cut off the head of Saul, and stripped off his armour, which they put in the house of* their deity, *Ashtaroth* or Astarte; *and they fastened his body and the bodies of his sons to the wall of Beth-shan*; whence they were soon taken by the brave inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead. (1 Sam. xxxi. 9—12.) A heap of stones was raised over the grave of princes, as in the case of Absalom. (2 Sam. xviii. 17.) The daily diminishing cairn of pebble-stones, situated about two miles from the lake of Grasmere in Cumberland, and known by the appellation of *Dunmail Raise-Stones*, was raised in like manner to commemorate the name and defeat of Dunmail, a petty king of Cumbria, A. D. 945 or 946, by the Anglo-Saxon monarch Edmund I.

When a city was taken, after being rased to the foundation, it was sometimes sowed with salt, and ploughed up, in token of perpetual desolation. In this manner Abimelech, after putting the inhabitants of Shechem to the sword, levelled it with the ground, and sowed it with salt: and thus, many centuries after, the emperor Frederick Barbarossa (A. D. 1163), irritated at the long and strenuous defence made by the besieged inhabitants of Milan, on capturing that city, abandoned it to pillage, and sparing nothing but the churches, ordered it to be entirely rased to the ground, which *was ploughed and sown with salt*, in memory of its rebellion [1]. The prophet Micah (iii. 12.) foretold that Jerusalem should be *ploughed as a field*, and his prediction (as we have seen in another part of this work) was most literally fulfilled after Jerusalem was taken by the Roman army under Titus.

Various indignities and cruelties were inflicted on those who had the misfortune to be taken captive. On some occasions particular districts were marked out for destruction (2 Sam. viii. 2.) Of those whose lives were spared, the victors set their feet upon the necks (Josh. x. 24.), or mutilated their persons (2 Sam. iv. 12. Ezek. xxiii. 25.), or imposed upon them the severest and most laborious occupations. (2 Sam. xii. 31.) Women and children were exposed to treatment at which humanity shudders. (Zech. xiv. 2. Esth. iii. 13. 2 Kings viii. 12. Psal. cxxxvii. 9. Isa. xiii. 16. 18. 2 Kings xv. 16. Hos. xiii. 16. Amos i. 13.) And whole nations were carried into captivity, and transplanted to distant countries: this was the case with the Jews, and instances of similar conduct are not wanting in the modern history of the East. Still further to show their absolute superiority, the victorious sovereigns used

[1] Modern Universal History, vol. xxvi. p. 11. 8vo edit.

to change the names of the monarchs whom they subdued. Thus we find the king of Babylon changing the name of Mattaniah into Zedekiah, when he constituted him king of Judah. (2 Kings xxiv.) Archbishop Usher remarks, that the king of Egypt gave Eliakim the name of Jehoiakim, thereby to testify that he ascribed his victory over the Babylonians to Jehovah the God of Israel, by whose excitation, as he pretended (2 Chron. xxxv. 21, 22.), he undertook the expedition. Nebuchadnezzar also ordered his eunuch to change the name of Daniel, who afterwards was called Belteshazzar; and the three companions of Daniel, whose names formerly were Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, he called Shadrech, Mesech, and Abednego. (Dan. i. 7.) It was likewise a custom among the heathens to carry in triumph the images of the gods of such nations as they had vanquished: Isaiah prophesies of Cyrus, that in this manner he would treat the gods of Babylon, when he says, *Bel boweth, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle, and themselves have gone into captivity.* (Isa. xlvi. 1, 2.) Daniel foretels, that the gods of the Syrians with their princes, should be carried captive into Egypt (Dan. xi. 8.) And similar predictions are to be met with in Jeremiah (xlviii. 7.) and in Amos (i. 15.)

XI. On their return home, the victors were received with every demonstration of joy. The women preceded them with instruments of music, singing and dancing. In this manner Miriam and the women of Israel joined in chorus with the men, in the song of victory which Moses composed on occasion of the overthrow of Pharaoh and his Egyptian host in the Red Sea, and which they accompanied with timbrels and dances. (Exod. xv. 1—21.) Thus, also, Jephthah was hailed by his daughter, on his return from discomfiting the children of Ammon (Judg. xi. 34.); and Saul and David were greeted in like manner, on their return from the defeat of the Philistines. *The women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music. And the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands!* (1 Sam. xviii. 7, 8.) The victorious army of Jehoshaphat, the pious king of Judah, long afterwards, *returned, every man of Judah and Jerusalem, with the king at their head, to go again to Jerusalem with joy; for the Lord had made them to rejoice over their enemies. And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries and harps and trumpets unto the house of the Lord.* (2 Chron. xx. 27, 28.) In further commemoration of signal victories, it was a common practice, both among the antient heathen nations

and the Jews, to hang up the arms that were taken from their enemies in their temples. Thus we find, that the sword with which David cut off Goliath's head, being dedicated to the Lord, was kept as a memorial of his victory, and of the Israelites' deliverance, and was deposited in the tabernacle; for we find that when David came to Abimelech at Nob, where the tabernacle was, Abimelech acknowledged it was there, and delivered it to David. (1 Sam. xxi. 8, 9.) For when occasions of state required it, it was no unusual thing to take such trophies down, and employ them in the public service. Thus when Joash was crowned king of Judah, Jehoiada, the high priest (who had religiously educated him,) *delivered to the captains of hundreds spears, and bucklers and shields that had been king David's, which were in the house of God.* (2 Chron. xxiii. 9.)

XII. By the law of Moses (Levit. xi. 32, 33.) the whole army that went out to war were to stay without seven days before they were admitted into the camp, and such as had had their hands in blood, or had touched a dead body, though killed by another, were to be purified on the third and on the seventh day by the water of separation. All spoil of garments, or other things that they had taken, were to be purified in the same manner, or to be washed in running water, as the method was in other cases. All sorts of metals had, besides sprinkling with the water of separation, a purification by fire, and what would not bear the fire passed through the water before it could be applied to use.

In the distribution of the spoil, the king antiently had the tenth part of what was taken. Thus Abraham gave a tenth to Melchisedec king of Salem. (Gen. xiv. 20.) And if any article of peculiar beauty or value were found among the spoil, it seems to have been reserved for the commander-in-chief. To this Deborah alludes in her triumphal ode. (Judg. v. 30.) After the establishment of the monarchy, the rabbinical writers say (but upon what authority it is impossible now to ascertain) that the king had all the gold, silver, and other precious articles, besides one half of the rest of the spoil, which was divided between him and the people. In the case of the Midianitish war (Numb. xxxi. 27.), the whole of the spoil was, by divine appointment, divided into two parts; the army that won the victory had one, and those that stayed at home had the other, because it was a common cause in which they engaged, and the rest were as ready to fight as those that went out to battle; this division was by a special direction, but was not the rule in after ages; for, after the general had taken what he pleased for himself, the rest was divided among the soldiers, as well those who kept the

baggage, or were disabled by wounds or weariness, as those who were engaged in the fight, but the people had no share; and this was ordained, as a statute to be observed throughout their generations (1 Sam. xxx. 24.); but in the time of the Maccabees the Jewish army thought fit to recede from the strictness of this military law, for when they had obtained a victory over Nicanor, under the conduct of Judas, they divided *among themselves many spoils, and made the maimed, orphans, widows, yea, and the aged also, equal in spoils with themselves.* (2 Macc. viii. 28. 30.) In the Midianitish war, after the distribution of the spoils among the army and the people, there was another division made for the service of the priesthood, and the Levitical ministry. (Num. xxxi. 28—30.) The priests, out of the share that fell to the army, were allotted one out of five hundred of all the women and children, and cattle that were taken; and the Levites, from the part that fell to the people, received one out of fifty, so that the priests had just a tenth part of what was allowed to the Levites, as they had a tenth part of the Levitical tythes, which was paid them for their constant support; but whether this was the practice in future wars is uncertain. Sometimes all the spoils were, by divine appointment; ordered to be destroyed; and there is an instance in the siege of Jericho, when all the silver and the gold (except the gold and the silver of their images, which were to be consumed utterly), and vessels of brass and iron, were devoted to God, and appropriated to his service. They were to be brought into the treasury which was in the tabernacle, after they were purified by making them pass through the fire according to the law; the Jews conceive, that these spoils (called in the Scripture the accursed thing on the account of their being devoted with a curse upon him who should take them for his own use) were given to God, because the city was taken upon the sabbath day. But in succeeding ages, it appears to be an established rule that the spoil was to be divided among the army actually engaged in battle; those who had the charge of the baggage (as already noticed) being considered entitled to an equal share with the rest. (1 Sam. xxx. 24.)

Besides a share of the spoil and the honours of a triumph, various military rewards were bestowed on those warriors who had pre-eminently distinguished themselves. Thus Saul promised to confer great riches on the man who should conquer Goliath, and further to give his daughter in marriage to him, and to exempt his father's house from all taxes in Israel. (1 Sam. xvii. 25.) How reluctantly the jealous monarch fulfilled his promise is well known. David promised the com-

mand in chief of all his forces to him who should first mount the walls of Jerusalem, and expel the Jebusites out of the city (2 Kings v. 8. 1 Chron. xi. 6.); which honour was acquired by Joab. In the rebellion of Absalom against David, Joab replied to a man who told him that the prince was suspended in an oak,—*Why didst thou not smite him to the ground, and I would have given thee ten* shekels *of silver and a girdle?* (2 Sam. xviii. 11.) Jephthah was constituted *head and captain* over the Israelites beyond Jordan, for delivering them from the oppression of the Ammonites. (Judg. xi. 11. compared with xii. 7.)

After the return of the Jewish armies to their several homes, their military character was laid aside. The militia, which had been raised for the occasion, was disbanded; their warlike instruments, with the exception of such as were private property, were delivered up as the property of the state, until some future war should call them forth (2 Chron. xi. 12); and the soldiers themselves returned (like Cincinnatus) to the plough, and the other avocations of private life. To this suspension of their arms, the prophet Ezekiel alludes (xxvii. 10, 11.) when he says that *they of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut, and of Arvad,* were in the Tyrian army *as men of war,* and *hanged their shields upon the walls of Tyre.* To the same custom also the bridegroom refers in the sacred idyls of Solomon (Song iv. 4), when he compares the neck of his bride to *the tower of David builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men.*

SECTION II.

ALLUSIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT TO THE MILITARY DISCIPLINE AND TRIUMPHS OF THE ROMANS.

I. *Roman Military Officers mentioned in the New Testament.*—II. *Allusions to the Armour of the Romans.*—III. *To their Military Discipline.—Strict Subordination.—Rewards to soldiers who had distinguished themselves.*—IV. *Allusions to the Roman Triumphs.*

I. AT the time the evangelists and apostles wrote, the Romans had extended their empire almost to the utmost boundaries of the then known world, principally by their unparalleled military discipline and heroic valour. Judæa was at this time subject to their sway, and their troops were stationed in different parts of that country.

We learn from Josephus, that the tower of Antonia, which overlooked the temple, was always garrisoned by a legion of soldiers; and that, on the side where it joined to the porticoes of the temple, there were *stairs* reaching to each portico, by which a company, band, or detachment descended, and kept guard (κουςωδιαν), in those porticoes, to prevent any tumult at the great festivals [1]. The commanding officer of this force is in the New Testament termed the *captain*, the *chief captain of the band*, and the *captain of the temple*. (John xviii. 3. 12. Mark xv. 6. Matt. xxvii. 27. 64, 65. Acts x. 1. xxi. 31, 32. 37—40. Acts iv. 1. and v. 24.) It was the Roman captain of this fort, whose name was Claudius Lysias, that rescued Paul when the Jews were beating him and intended to kill him. (Acts xxi. 31. xxii. 4. xxiii. 26.)

The allusions, in the New Testament, to the military discipline, armour, battles, sieges, and military honours of the Greeks, and especially of the Romans, are very numerous; and the sacred writers have derived from them metaphors and expressions of singular propriety, elegance, and energy, for animating Christians to fortitude against temptations, and to constancy in the profession of their holy faith under all persecutions, and also for stimulating them to persevere unto the end, that they may receive those final honours and that immortal crown which await victorious piety.

II. In the following very striking and beautiful passage of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (vi. 11—17.), the various parts of the panoply armour of the heavy troops among the Greeks and Romans (those who had to sustain the rudest assaults) are distinctly enumerated, and beautifully applied to those moral and spiritual weapons with which the believer ought to be fortified. *Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done* [2] *all to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of*

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[1] De Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 5. § 8. Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 4. § 3.

[2] Ephes. vi. 13. Απαντα κατειργασαμενοι. This verb frequently signifies to *despatch* a foe, totally to vanquish and subdue an adversary. So it should be translated in this place. Ον αυτοχειρια κατειργασατο: Whom he *despatched* with his own hand. Dion Halicarn. tom. i. p. 99. Oxon. 1704. Πανυ πολιμια κατειργασαμενοι: Having quelled all hostilities. Idem, p. 885. Μεθ' ὑς ηδη πολλους πολιμιους κατειργασθε: By which you have vanquished many enemies. Polyænus Stratag. p. 421. Ludg. 1589. Πυλας αβατους σιδηρῳ κατειργασαμην. Idem, p. 599. Casaubon. Ταυρον αγριον — ταις χερσι μοναις κατειργασμενῳ: He despatched a wild bull only with his hands. Appian.

righteousness: and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace: above all[1], *taking the shield*[2] *of faith, wherewith you shall be able to quench all the fiery darts*[3] *of the wicked. and take the helmet*[4] *of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.*

Having thus equipped the spiritual soldier, the apostle proceeds to shew him how he is to use it: he therefore subjoins—*Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance.* The Greeks and other antient nations, we have already observed, offered up prayers before they went into the battle. Alluding to this, Saint Paul adds, *praying always*, at all seasons and on all occasions, *with all prayer* (more correctly, *supplication* for what is good) and *deprecation* of evil; *and watching thereunto*—being always on their guard lest their spiritual enemies should surprise them—*with all perseverance*, being always intent on their object, and never losing sight of their danger or of their interest.[5]

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vol. i. p. 201. Amst. 1670. See also pp. 5. 291. 410. 531. Tollii. The word here used by the apostle has also this signification in Dion Cassius, Josephus, and Philo.

[1] Επι πασιν, after all, or, besides all: it never signifies above all. Αυτος δε καλεπως επι πασι διεζαινον: After all, he himself passed with difficulty. Plutarch, Cæsar, p. 1311. edit. Gr. Stephan. Αγων πρωτον την φαλαγγα, μετα ταυτα τους ιππεις, επι πασι δε το σκευοφορον: First, he led up the phalanx, next the cavalry, after all the baggage. Polybius, p. 664. Casaubon. Επι πασι δε Ασσις ετεσι και τεσσαρακοντα και μησι δυο: After all, Assis reigned forty-nine years and two months. Josephus contra Apion. p. 445. Havercamp.

[2] The shield here intended (θυρεος) is the *scutum*, or large oblong shield of the Romans, which was made of wood covered with hides, and derived its name from its resemblance to a door (θυρα). As faith is that Christian grace, by which all the others are preserved and rendered active, it is here properly represented under the figure of a shield; which covered and protected the whole body; and enables the believer to *quench*—to intercept, blunt, and extinguish, as on a shield—*the fiery darts of the wicked one*, that is, all those evil thoughts, and strong injections, as they are termed, which inflame the passions of the unrenewed, and excite the soul to acts of transgression.

[3] Βελη πεπυρωμενα. These dreadful weapons were frequently employed by the antients. Πορφυρα τοξευματα. Appian. p. 329. Πυρφορεις οιστοις βαλλεσθαι. Thucydides, tom. ii. lib. xi. p. 202. Glasg.

Τουνς, αγρει δαιμον, ιχνις πυροεντας οιστους.
Oppian. Κυνηγ. lib. ii. ver. 425.

[4] On the tops of the antient helmets, as well as in those now in use, is a crest or ridge, furnished with ornaments; some of the antient helmets had emblematic figures, and it is probable that Saint Paul, who in 1 Thess. v. 8. terms the helmet *the hope of salvation*, refers to such helmets as had on them the emblematic representation of hope. His meaning therefore is, that as the helmet defended the head from deadly blows, so the *hope of salvation* (of conquering every adversary, and of surmounting every difficulty, through Christ strengthening the Christian), built on the promises of God, will ward off, or preserve him from, the fatal effects of all temptations, from worldly terrors and evils, so that they shall not disorder the imagination or pervert the judgment, or cause men to desert the path of duty, to their final destruction.

[5] Drs. Chandler, Macknight, and A. Clarke on Eph. vi. 11—17. In the fifth of Bishop Horne's Discourses (Works, vol. v. pp. 60—72.) the reader will find an admirable and animated exposition of the Christian armour.

In the epistle to the Romans, the apostle, exhorting men to renounce those sins to which they had been long accustomed, and to enter upon a new and holy life, uses a beautiful similitude borrowed from the custom of soldiers throwing off their ordinary habit in order to put on a suit of armour. *The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore* CAST OFF *the works of darkness, and let us* PUT ON *the* ARMOUR *of light*[1]. (Rom. xiii. 12.) In another passage he represents, by a striking simile, in what manner the apostles were fortified against the opposition with which they were called to conflict in this world. *By the word of truth, by the power of God, by the* ARMOUR *of righteousness* ON THE RIGHT HAND AND ON THE LEFT. (2 Cor. vi. 7.)

III. It is well known that the strictest subordination and obedience were exacted of every Roman soldier. An allusion to this occurs in Matt. viii. 8, 9.; to understand which it is necessary to state a few particulars relative to the divisions of the Roman army. Their infantry were divided into three principal classes, the *Hastati*, the *Principes*, and the *Triarii*, each of which was composed of thirty *manipuli* or companies, and each manipulus contained two *centuries* or hundreds of men; over every company was placed two centurions, who however were very far from being *equal* in rank and honour though possessing the same office. The triarii and principes were esteemed the most honourable, and had their centurions elected *first*, and these took precedency of the centurions of the Hastati, who were elected *last*. The humble centurion, who besought the aid of the compassionate Redeemer, appears to have been of this last order. He was a *man under authority*, that is, of the Principes or Triarii, and had none *under* him but the hundred men, who appear to have been in a state of the strictest military subordination, as well as of loving subjection to him. *I am*, said the centurion, *a man under authority, having soldiers under me, and I say to this* man, Go, and he goeth, *and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my slave* (Τῳ δουλῳ μου), *Do this, and he doeth it.* The application of his argument, addressed to Christ, seems to be this:—If I, who am a person subject to the controul of others, yet have some so completely subject to myself, that I can say to one, *Come, and he cometh*, &c., how much more then canst *thou* accomplish

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[1] Ἀποθωμεθα τα ἐργα του σκοτους και ενδυσωμεθα τα ὁπλα του φωτος. Fulgentiaque induit arma. Virgil Æneid ii. ver. 747. Πρωτον τοινυν ἀποδυσωμεν, ἀναγκη γαρ τους μελλοντας ὁπλιζεσθαι, γυμνουσθαι προτερον. Lucian. tom. ii. p. 256. edit. Grævii.

whatsoever thou willest, being under no controul, and having all things under thy command.[1]

There are two striking passages in Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, which greatly illustrate this speech of the centurion: —Speaking of the Saturnalia, he says—"We agreed to play Agamemnon and Achilles. He who is appointed for Agamemnon says to me—'Go *to Achilles, and force away Briseis.*'—I GO.—'COME.'—*I come.*[2]"—Again, discoursing on all things being under the divine inspection, he says:—"When God *commands* the plants to *blossom*, they *bear blossoms*. When he *commands* them to *bear seed*, they *bear seed*. When he *commands* them to *bring forth fruit*, they *put forth their fruit*. When he *commands* them to *ripen*, they *grow ripe*. When he *commands* them to *fade* and *shed their leaves*, and to remain inactive, and involved (or contracted) within themselves, they thus remain and are inactive.[3]

Nor is the military subordination adverted to by the centurion without its (almost *verbal*) parallel in modern times in the East:—Kirtee-Ranah, a captive Ghoorkha chief, who was marching to the British head-quarters,—on being interrogated concerning the motives that induced him to quit his native land and enter into the service of the Rajah of Nepāl,—replied in the following very impressive manner:—"*My master, the rajah, sent me: He says to his people,—to one,* 'Go *you to Gurwhal;*' *to another,* 'Go *you to Cashmire, or to any distant part.*' —'*My Lord, thy slave* OBEYS; *it is* DONE.'—None ever inquires into the reason of an order of the rajah."[4]

In his epistle to Timothy, who appears to have been greatly dejected and dispirited by the opposition he met with, St. Paul animates him to fortitude, and among other directions encourages him to ENDURE HARDSHIP as a good soldier of Jesus Christ (2 Tim. ii. 3.)—and what hardship a Roman soldier supported, the following passage in Josephus will abundantly evince. It is the most striking commentary upon this text that ever was written. "When they march out of their encampment, they advance in silence and in great decorum, each man keeping his proper rank just as in battle. Their infantry is armed with breast plates and helmets, and they carry a sword on each side. The sword they wear on their left side is by far the longest, for

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1 Dr. A. Clarke on Matt. viii. 9.

2 Arrian's Epictetus, book i. c. 25. § 1. (Mrs. Carter's translation, vol. 1. p. 113.)

3 Ibid. book i. c. 14. Raphelii Annotationes in Sacram Scripturam, ex Herodoto, &c. vol. i. pp. 242, 243.

4 Frazer's Notes on the Hills at the Foot of the Himala Mountains, p. 226. London, 1820, 4to.

that on the right is not above a span's length. That select body of infantry, which forms part of the general's life-guards, is armed with lances and bucklers, but the rest of the phalanx have a spear and a long shield, besides which they bear a saw and a basket, a spade and a hatchet; they also carry with them a cord, a sickle, a chain, and provisions for three days! so that a Roman foot-soldier is but very little different from a BEAST OF BURDEN.'

It is well known that the Roman soldiers were not allowed to marry: by this prohibition the Roman providence, as much as possible, studying to keep their military disembarrassed from the cares and distractions of secular life. To this law the apostle refers: *no one that warreth,* ENTANGLETH HIMSELF WITH THE AFFAIRS OF THIS LIFE; that he *may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier.* (2 Tim. ii. 4.)

The names of those who died or were cashiered for misconduct, were expunged from the muster-roll. To this custom, probably, the following text alludes: in this view the similitude is very striking, *I will not* BLOT OUT *his* NAME *out of the* BOOK *of life.* (Rev. iii. 5.)[3]

The triumphant advancement of the Christian religion through the world he compares to the irresistible *progress* of a victorious *army,* before which every *fortified place,* and all *opposition,* how *formidable* soever, yielded and fell. (2 Cor. x. 4.) *For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through*

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[1] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 5. § 5. The following particulars, collected from Roman authors, will confirm and illustrate the statements of Josephus:—"The load which a Roman soldier carried, is almost incredible (Virg. Georg. iii. 346. Horat. Sat. ii. 10.); victuals, (*cibaria*) for *fifteen* days (Cic. Tusc. ii. 15, 16.), sometimes more (Liv. Epit. 57.), usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes drest food (*coctus cibus*, Liv. iii. 27.), utensils (*utensilia*, ib. 42.), a saw, a basket, a mattock, an axe, a hook, and leathern thong, a chain, a pot, &c. (Liv. xxviii. 45. Horat. Epod. ix. 13.), stakes, usually three or four, sometimes twelve (Liv. iii. 27.); the whole amounting to *sixty* pounds weight, besides arms; for a Roman soldier considered these not as a burden but as a part of himself (arma membra milites ducebant. Cic. Tusc. ii. 16.)"—Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 377.

[2] Τοις δε τραπομενοις, επειδη γυναικας ουκ εδυναντο εκ γε των νομων εχειν. Dion Cassius, lib. lx. p. 961. Reimar. Tacitus speaking of some Roman veterans says: Neque conjugiis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti. Taciti Annales, tom. ii. lib. xiv. cap. xxvii. p. 210. Dublin.

[3] It is however possible that this allusion may be drawn from *civil* life, in which case the meaning of the above-cited passage will be this:—As in states and cities, those who obtained freedom and fellowship were enrolled in the public registers, which enrolment was their title to the privileges of citizens; so the king of Heaven, of the New Jerusalem, engages to preserve in his register and enrolment, in the book of life, the names of those, who, like the faithful members of the church of Sardis, in a corrupted and supine society, shall preserve allegiance, and a faithful discharge of their Christian duties. He will own them as his fellow citizens, before men and angels. Compare Matt. xx. 32. Luke xii. 8. See also Psal. lxix. 28. Ezek. xiii. 9. Exod. xxxiii. 33. Dan. xii. 1. Mal. iii. 16. Luke x. 20. Dr. Woodhouse on the Apocalypse, p. 84.

God[1] *to the pulling down of strong holds: casting down imaginations, and every thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ*[2]. *Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them.*

By a very striking metaphor, taken from the *pay* of a soldier, he represents the *wages* with which SIN rewards those who *fight* under her *banners*, to be certain and inevitable *death*. The WAGES[3] of SIN is DEATH.

Our Lord in that wonderful prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem accurately represents the Roman manner of besieging and taking towns,—which was by investing the place, digging a deep trench round it, and encompassing it with a strong wall, to prevent escape, and consume the inhabitants by famine. *The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a* TRENCH *about thee, and* COMPASS *thee* ROUND, *and keep thee in on every side: and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation.* (Luke xx. 42. 43.)

In expatiating upon the difficulties and distresses with which the first preachers of the Gospel conflicted, the apostle Paul in a strong figure compares their situation to that of an *army pent up* in a *narrow* place—*annoyed* on *every* side—but not totally *precluded* from an *escape*[4]—their condition to the last degree *perplexed* and *wretched*, yet not altogether *desperate* and *forlorn*. (2 Cor. iv. 8.) We are *troubled* on *every side*, yet not *distressed*: we are *perplexed*, but not in *despair*.

Once more, as among the other military honours and recompences, rich and splendid *crowns*[5], frequently of *gold*, were publicly bestowed upon the illustrious conqueror, and upon

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[1] Δυνατὰ τῷ Θεῷ, exceeding powerful. Moses is called ἀστεῖος τῷ Θεῷ, exceeding beautiful. Acts viii. 20.

[2] See the conquest of the Gospel and its triumph over idolatry in a very striking manner represented by Eusebius, lib. x. p. 468. Cantab.

[3] Rom. vi. 23. Ὀψώνια, the pay of a soldier. Ὀψώνιον τῇ στρατιᾷ,—καθηγεμονίας ἀργυρίου: Bringing money to pay the army. Dion. Halicarn. tom. i. p. 568. Οἰκον. ἀλλὰ ὀψώνια τι καὶ τ' ἄλλα ἐσιν ἰδίοις τῇ στρατιᾷ. p. 587.

[4] Ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι.

[5] Στεφανοῦς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις συχνοὺς — χρυσοῦς ἐλάβε: He received several *crowns of gold* on account of his victories. Dion Cassius, lib. xlii. p. 334. edit. Reimar. Vid. etiam notas Fabricii ad loc. Τοῖς δὲ δὴ ναυκρατήσασι καὶ στεφάνους ἐλαίας ἔδωκε; To those who had conquered in the naval engagement he gave *crowns of olive*. Lib. xlix. p. 597. See also pp. 537. 580. So also Josephus says that Titus gave *crowns of gold* to those who had distinguished themselves in the siege of Jerusalem. στεφάνους ἐπέθηκε χρυσοῦς. Bel. Jud. lib. vii. p. 404. See also p. 412. Havercamp.

every man, who acting worthy the Roman name, had distinguished himself by his valour and his virtue—in allusion to *this* custom how beautiful and striking are those many passages of sacred Scripture, which represent Jesus Christ, before *angels* and the whole assembled *world*, acknowledging and applauding distinguished piety, and publicly conferring *crowns* of immortal *glory* upon *persevering* and *victorious* holiness. *Be thou faithful unto death: I will give thee a* CROWN *of life.* (Rev. ii. 10.) *Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the* CROWN *of life* (James i. 12.), *which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. When the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a* CROWN *of glory that fadeth not away.* (1 Pet. v. 4.) *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a* CROWN *of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day: and not to* ME *only, but unto* ALL *them also that love his appearing.* (2 Tim. iv. 8.)

V. But the highest military honour that could be conferred in the Roman state was a *triumph*, or solemn procession, with which a victorious general and his army advanced through the city to the capitol; and which was the most grand and magnificent spectacle ever beheld in antient times. After a decisive battle gained, and the complete conquest of a kingdom, the most illustrious captives in war, kings, princes, and nobles, with their wives and children, to the perpetual infamy of this people, were, with the last dishonour and ignominy, led in fetters before the general's chariot, through the public streets of Rome; scaffolds being every where erected, the streets and public places crowded, and this barbarous and uncivilised nation all the while in the highest excesses of joy, and in the full fruition of a spectacle that was a reproach to humanity. Nor was only the [1] sovereign of large and opulent kingdoms, the magnanimous hero [2] who had fought valiantly for his country

[1] Behind the children and their train walked Perseus himself [the captive king of Macedon,] and wearing sandals of the fashion of his country. He had the appearance of a man overwhelmed with terror, and whose reason almost staggered under the load of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favourites, whose countenances were oppressed with sorrow; and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, testified to the spectators that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. Plutarchi Vitæ, in Æmil. tom. ii. pp. 186, 187. edit. Briani.

[2] Thus, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, the Numidian and Carthaginian captive generals were led in triumph. Και Καρχηδονιων αυτων και Νομαδων ἑστι των ἡγεμονων ἐληφθησαν. Appian. tom. i. p. 58. edit. Tollii. Amst. 1670. Several kings, princes, and generals were also led in Pompey's triumph. Παρηγετο δε και ὁ Κολχων

and her liberties, the weak and tender sex, born to an happier fate, and young children [1] insensible of their wretched condition, led in triumph; but vast numbers of waggons, full of rich furniture, statues, pictures, plate, vases, vests [2], of which they had stripped palaces and the houses of the great; and carts loaded with the arms they had taken from the enemy, and with the coin [3] of the empires they had conquered, pillaged, and enslaved, preceded the triumphal car. On this most splendid occasion, imperial Rome was a scene of universal festivity: the temples were all thrown open, were adorned with garlands, and filled with clouds of incense and the richest perfumes [4]: the spectators were clothed in white garments [5]: hecatombs of victims were slain [6], and the most sumptuous entertainments [7] were given. The illustrious captives, after having been dragged through the city in this procession, and thus publicly exposed, were generally imprisoned, frequently strangled and dispatched [8] in dungeons, or sold for slaves [9].—To *several* of these well-known circumstances, attending a *Roman triumph*, the sacred writers evidently allude in the following passages.

σκηπτουχος. Ολθαμης, και Ιουδαιων βασιλευς Αριστοβουλος. και οι Κιλικων τυραννοι, και Σκυθων βασιλεις γυναικες· και ηγεμονες τρεις ιδηρων, και Αλβανων δυο, και Μιτυδρος ο Λαοδικεως, ιστραχος του Μιθριδατου γενομενος. Appian. tom. i. p. 417.

[1] Plutarch, in his account of the triumph of Æmilius at the conquest of Macedon, represents this tragical circumstance in a very affecting manner. The king's *children* were also led captive, and along with them a train of nurses, and tutors, and governors; all bathed in tears, stretching out their hands to the spectators, and teaching the children to entreat and supplicate their mercy. There were two boys and a girl, whose tender age rendered them insensible to the greatness of their calamity, and this their insensibility was the most affecting circumstance in their unhappy condition. Plutarch. Æmil. tom. ii. p. 186. See also Appian. p. 417. edit. Amst. 1670.

[2] Κρατηρας αργυρους, και κιρβιτα, και φιαλας, και κυλικας. Plutarch. ibid. p. 497. Αιχμαλωτοις ανδριασι και γραφαις και πολυσσοις κ. λ. p. 496. See also Appian. tom. i. p. 58. and p. 417. Tollii.

[3] Ανδρις ιστορουσιν τριακοσιαι, νομισμα φερουσας αργυρουν. κ. λ. Ειτα μετα τουτους οι το χρυσουν νομισμα φερουσις. Plutarch. tom. ii. p. 184. Appian. p. 417.

[4] Πας δι ναος ανεφλεγε, και στεφανων και θυμιαματων ην πλησης. Plutarch. tom. i. p. 496. Gr. 8vo.

[5] Niveos ad fræna Quirites. Juvenal. Sat. x. ver. 45. Καθαραις εσθησι κεκοσμημενοι. Plutarch. p. 496. Steph.

[6] Μετα τουτους ηγον χρυσοκερω τροφιμι βους, εκατον εικοσι, μετρας ησκημενοι και ταινιαις. After these were led one hundred and twenty fat oxen, which had their horns gilded, and which were adorned with ribbands and garlands. Plutarch, ii. p. 185.

[7] Αφικομενος δε εις το Καπιτωλιον ο Σκιπιων, την μεν πομπην κατεπαυσιν, ειστιε δι τους φιλους, ωσπερ ειθος εστιν, εις το ιερον. Appian. tom. i. p. 59. edit. Amst. 1670.

[8] Ηρωδιων δ' εις Καπιτωλιον, ευθυς των αιχμαλωτων, ως ετερω των θριαμβοις παραγαγων [απεκτεινε] Appian, p. 418. For example, Aristobulus king of the Jews, after having been exposed, and dragged through the city in Pompey's triumph, was immediately after the procesion was concluded put to death: Tigranes, some time afterwards, Αριστοβουλος ευθυς απηχθη, και Τιγρανης υστερον. Appian de Bellis Mithrid. p. 419. Amst. 1670. See also, p. 403.

[9] Longe plurimos captivos ex Etruscis ante currum duxit, quibus sub hasta venumdatis. Livy, lib. vi. p. 409. edit. Elz. 1634.

In the *first* of which, Jesus Christ is represented as a great *conqueror*, who, after having totally *vanquished* and *subjugated* all the *empires* and kingdoms of false religion, and *overturned* the mighty *establishments* of *Judaism* and *Paganism*, supported by the *great* and *powerful*, celebrates a most magnificent TRIUMPH over them, *leads* them in *procession*, openly *exposing* them to the *view* of the WHOLE WORLD, as the captives of his omnipotence, and the trophies of his Gospel! *Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them!*[1]—The *second* passage, whose beautiful and striking imagery is taken from a *Roman triumph*, occurs 2 Cor. ii. *Now thanks be unto God, who always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place. For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish: to the one we are a savour of death unto death; and to the other, of life unto life.* In this passage, God Almighty, in very striking sentiment and language, is represented as *leading the Apostles in triumph*[2] through the world, shewing them every where as the monuments of his grace and mercy, and by their means *diffusing* in every place the *odour* of the knowledge of God—in reference to a triumph, when all the temples were filled with fragrance, and the whole air breathed perfume:—and the apostle, continuing the allusion, adds, that this *odour* would prove the means of the *salvation* of some, and *destruction* of others—as in a triumph, after the pomp and procession was *concluded*, some of the captives were *put to death*, others *saved alive.*[3]

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[1] Coloss. ii. Θριαμβευσας αυτους, Leading them in triumph.

[2] Θριαμβευοντι ημας, Causeth us to triumph; rather, leadeth us about in triumph. Εθριαμβευθη και ανηρεθη. He was led in triumph and then put to death. Appian. p. 403. Amst. 1670. "The Greek word, Θριαμβευοντι, which we render *causeth us to triumph*, properly signifies to *triumph over*, or to *lead in triumph*, as our translators themselves have rightly rendered it in another place, Coloss. ii. 15. And so the apostle's true meaning is plainly this: Now thanks be to God, who always triumpheth over us in Christ: *leading us about in triumph*, as it were in solemn procession. This yields a most congrous and beautiful sense of his words. And in order to display the force of his fine sentiment, in its full compass and extent, let it be observed, that when St. Paul represents himself and others, as being led about in triumph, like so many captives, by the prevailing power and efficacy of Gospel grace and truth, his words naturally imply and suggest three things worthy of particular notice and attention; namely, a contest, a victory, and an open shew of this victory." (Brekell's Discourses, pp. 141, 142.) "While God was leading about such men in triumph, he made them very serviceable and successful in promoting Christian knowledge in every place wherever they came." (Ibid. p. 151.)

[3] Brünings Compendium Antiquitatum Græcarum e profanis sacrarum, pp. 107—136.; and his Appendix de Triumpho Romanorum, pp. 415—434.; Lydii Diatriba de Triumpho Jesu Christi in Cruce, pp. 285—300. of his work intituled Florum Sparsio ad Historiam Passionis Jesu Christi (Dordrecht, 1672. 18mo.); Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 29—34. 47—58.

PART III.

ON THE SACRED AFFAIRS OF THE JEWS, AND OF OTHER NATIONS INCIDENTALLY MENTIONED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

CHAPTER I.

OF SACRED PLACES.

THE whole world being the workmanship of God, there is no place, in which men may not testify their reverence for His supreme Majesty. From the very first beginning of time God had always some place appropriated for the solemn duties of religious worship. Adam, even during his continuance in paradise, had some place where to present himself before the Lord; and after his expulsion thence his sons in like manner had whither to bring their oblations and sacrifices. This probably was the reason why Cain did not immediately fall upon his brother, when his offering was refused, because perhaps the solemnity and religion of the place, and sensible appearance of the divine Majesty there, struck him with a reverential awe that might cause him to defer his villainous design till he came into the field, where he slew him.

The patriarchs, both before and after the flood, used altars and mountains and groves for the same purpose: Thus we read of Noah's building an altar to the Lord, and offering burnt-offerings upon it. (Gen. viii. 20.) Abraham, when he was called to the worship of the true God, erected altars wherever he pitched his tent (Gen. xii. 8. and xiii. 4.): He planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the Lord (Gen. xxi. 33.); and it was upon a mountain that God ordered him to offer up his son Isaac. (Gen. xxii. 2.) Jacob in particular called a place by the name of God's House, where he vowed to pay the tithes of all that God should give him. (Gen. xxviii. 22.)

In the wilderness, where the Israelites themselves had no settled habitations, they had by God's command a moving tabernacle; and as soon as they were fixed in the land of promise, God appointed a temple to be built at Jerusalem, which David

intended, and his son Solomon performed: After the first temple was destroyed, another was built in the room of it (Ezra iii. 8.), which Christ himself owned for his *house of prayer* (Matt. xxi. 13.), and which both he and his apostles frequented, as well as the synagogues.

In the very first ages of Christianity we see in the sacred writings more than probable footsteps of some determined places for their solemn assemblies, and peculiar only to that use. Of this nature was that *upper room* into which the apostles and disciples, after their return from our Saviour's ascension, went up as into a place commonly known and separated to divine use. (Acts i. 13.) Such another (if not the same) was that one place, in which they were all assembled on the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost visibly came down upon them (Acts ii. 1.); and this is the more probable because the multitude, who were mostly *strangers of every nation under heaven*, came so readily to the place, upon the first rumour of so extraordinary an incident, which supposes it to be commonly known as the place where Christians used to meet together. And as many of the first believers sold their houses and lands, and laid the money at the apostles feet, to supply the necessities of the church, so it is not unlikely that others might give their houses, or at least some convenient room in it, for a place of worship; which may be the reason why the apostle so often salutes such and such a person, and the church in this house (Rom. xvi. 5. 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Colos. iv. 15.): for that this salutation is not used, merely because their families were Christians, appears from other salutations of the same apostle, where Aristobulus and Narcissus, &c. are saluted with their houshold. (Rom. xvi. 10, 11. 2 Tim. iv. 19.)

Solomon, indeed, at the consecration of the temple, acknowledges that *the heaven of heavens could not contain God, and much less the house which he had built him.* (1 Kings viii. 27.) But it will not therefore follow, that there is no necessity for places to be appropriated to divine worship: These are requisite for this purpose, that all the offices of religion may be performed with more decency and solemnity, and by such structures to defend us from many inconveniencies, which would extremely incommode us in paying our duty to God. It is the same thing doubtless to the Almighty wherever we pray, so long as we pray with a pious mind and a devout heart, and make the subject of our prayers such good things as he has permitted us to ask; but it was not consistent with the preservation of the Jewish state and religion, that God should be publicly worshipped in every place; for since the Jews were on every side surrounded

with idolaters, it was highly necessary that in all divine matters there should be a strict union between them all, both in heart and voice, and consequently that they should all meet together in one place to worship God, lest they should fall into idolatry, which actually came to pass after the kingdom was divided, and the places of worship by that means became distinct; and therefore though Solomon knew very well that in every place God was ready to hear the prayers of devout supplicants, yet for the preservation of peace and unity, he, at the consecration of the temple, thought proper to leave this impression on the minds of the people, that as God had ordained he should be publicly worshipped in the manner prescribed by him, so he would be found more exorable to the prayers which were offered up in that temple (as the place of public worship) rather than in any other place, thereby to excite them to resort frequently to it. It is beyond all doubt however, that pious persons among the Jews worshipped God also in private, and in their families; in which they might be assisted by the priests and Levites, who having no distinct portion of the land allotted to them, were dispersed among all the tribes; and thus it is said of Daniel, that in his chamber *he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before God.* (Dan. vi. 10.)

There were several public places appropriated by the Jews for religious worship, viz. 1. The *Tabernacle*, which in time gave place to 2. The *Temple*, both of which are oftentimes in Scripture called the sanctuary; between which there was no other difference as to the principal design (though there was in beauty and workmanship) than that the tabernacle was a moveable temple, as the temple was an immoveable tabernacle; on which account the tabernacle is sometimes called the temple (1 Sam. i. 9. and iii. 3.), as the temple is sometimes called the tabernacle. (Jer. x. 20. Lam. ii. 6.) 3. There were also places of worship called in Scripture *High Places*, used promiscuously during the times of both the tabernacle and temple until the captivity; and lastly, there were *Synagogues* among the Jews, and other places, used only for prayer, called *proseuchæ* or *oratories*, which chiefly obtained after the captivity; of these various structures some account will be found in the following sections.

SECTION I.

OF THE TABERNACLE.

I. *Different Tabernacles in use among the Israelites.*—II. THE TABERNACLE, *so called by way of eminence, not of Egyptian Origin.*—*Its Materials.*—III. *Form and Construction of the Tabernacle.*—*Its Contents.*—IV. *Its Migrations.*

I. MENTION is made in the Old Testament of three different tabernacles previously to the erection of Solomon's temple. The *first*, which Moses erected for himself, is called the *tabernacle of the congregation* (Exod. xxxiii. 7.): here he gave audience, heard causes, and inquired of Jehovah, and here also at first, perhaps, the public offices of religion were solemnised. The *second* tabernacle was that erected by Moses for Jehovah, and at his express command, partly to be a palace of his presence as the king of Israel (Exod. xl. 34, 35.), and partly to be the medium of the most solemn public worship, which the people were to pay to him. (26—29.) This tabernacle was erected on the first day of the first month in the second year after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. The *third* public tabernacle was that erected by David in his own city, for the reception of the ark, when he received it from the house of Obed-Edom. (2 Sam. vi. 7. 1 Chron. xvi. 1.) Of the second of these tabernacles we are now to treat, which was called THE TABERNACLE by way of distinction. It was a moveable chapel, so contrived as to be taken to pieces and put together again at pleasure, for the convenience of carrying it from place to place.

II. It has been imagined that this tabernacle, together with all its furniture and appurtenances, was of Egyptian origin; that Moses projected it after the fashion of some such structure which he had observed in Egypt, and which was in use among other nations; or 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. The heathen nations, it is true, had such tabernacles or portable shrines as are alluded to by the prophet Amos (v. 26.), which might bear a great resemblance to that of the Jews; but it has neither been proved, nor is it probable, that they had them *before* the Jews, and that the Almighty so

far condescended to indulge the Israelites, a wayward people, and prone to idolatry, as to introduce them into his own worship. It is far more likely that the heathens derived their tabernacles from that of 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.[1]

The materials of the tabernacle were provided by the people; every one brought his oblation according to his ability: those of the first quality offered gold, those of a middle condition brought silver and brass and shittim-wood[2]; and the offerings of the meaner sort consisted of yarn, fine linen, goats-hair and skins; nor were the women backward in contributing to this work, for they willingly brought in their bracelets, ear-rings, and other ornaments, and such of them as were skilful in spinning made yarn and thread. In short, the liberality of the people on this occasion was so great, that Moses was obliged by proclamation to forbid any more offerings, and thereby restrain the excessive zeal of the people for that service. (Exod. xxxv. and xxxvi.)

This tabernacle was set up in the wilderness of Sinai, and carried along with the Israelites from place to place as they journeyed towards Canaan, and is often called the tabernacle of the congregation. The form of it appears to have closely resembled our modern tents, but it was much larger, having the sides and roof secured with boards, hangings, and coverings, and was surrounded on all sides by a large outer-court, which was inclosed by pillars, posted at equal distances, whose spaces were filled up with curtains fixed to these pillars; whence it is evident that this tabernacle consisted first of the tent or house itself which was covered, and next of the court that surrounded it, which was open; all which are minutely and exactly described in Exod. xxv.—xxx. xxxvi.—xl. from which chapters the following particulars are abridged.

III. The tent itself was an oblong square, thirty cubits in length, and ten in height and breadth. The inside of it was divided by a veil or hanging, made of rich embroidered linen,

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[1] The hypothesis above noticed was advanced by Spencer in his learned, but in many respects fanciful treatise, De Legibus Hebræorum, lib. iii. diss. i. c. 3. and diss. vi. c. 1. His arguments were examined and refuted by Buddeus in his Historia Ecclesiastica Veteris Testamenti, part i. pp. 310. 548.

[2] This *shittim-wood* is supposed to have been either the acacia or the cedar, both which grow in Egypt and in Syria. The acacia is delineated by Prosper Alpinus, De Plantis Ægyptiacis, c. 4. Hasselquist found it in Palestine (Tour in the Levant, p. 250.), and Dr. Pococke found it both on Mount Sinai and in Egypt. The cedar has been already mentioned.

which parted the holy place from the holy of holies. The holy place, (which is called the *first tabernacle*, Heb. ix. 2. 6.) was twenty cubits long, and ten wide; and the holy of holies, (called the *second tabernacle*, Heb. ix. 7.) was ten cubits long, and ten broad. In the holy place stood the altar of incense overlaid with gold, the table of shewbread, consisting of twelve loaves, and the great candlestick of pure gold, containing seven branches: none of the people were allowed to go into the holy place, but only the priests. The holy of holies (so called because it was the most sacred place of the tabernacle, into which none went but the high priest) contained in it the ark, called the ark of the testimony (Exod. xxv. 22.) or the ark of the covenant. (Josh. iv. 7.) This was a small chest or coffer made of shittim wood, overlaid with gold, into which were put the two tables of the law (as well the broken ones, say the Jews, as the whole) with the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod that budded (Heb. ix. 4.), which passage of the Apostle explains what is meant by the pot of manna being laid up before the Lord (Exod. xvi. 33.), and Aaron's rod being laid before the testimony of the Lord (Numb. xvii. 10.), that is, within the very ark itself; for though, when this ark was put afterwards into the temple of Solomon, it is declared there was nothing in it save the two tables which Moses put therein at Horeb (2 Chron. v. 10.) yet that might be owing to the various accidents which befel it while in the hands of the Philistines and others.

The lid or covering of this ark was wholly of solid gold, and called the mercy-seat: at the two ends of it were two cherubim (or hieroglyphic figures, the form of which it is impossible now to ascertain) looking inwards towards each other, with wings expanded, which embracing the whole circumference of the mercy-seat, met on each side in the middle. Here the Shechinah or Divine Presence rested, both in the tabernacle and temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it. (Lev. xvi. 2.) From this the divine oracles were given out by an audible voice, as often as Jehovah was consulted on behalf of his people. (Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89.) And hence it is that God is so often said in Scripture, *to dwell between the cherubim* (2 Kings xix. 15. Psal. lxxx. 1.), because there was the seat or throne of the visible appearance of his glory among them; and this was the reason why not only in the temple, when they came up there to worship, but every where else in their dispersion through the whole world, whenever they prayed, they turned their faces towards the place where the

ark stood, and directed all their devotions that way. (1 Kings viii. 48. Dan. vi. 10.)

The boards or planks, of which the body of the tabernacle was composed, were forty-eight in number, each a cubit and a half wide, and ten cubits high. Twenty of them were required to make up one side of the tabernacle, and twenty the other, and at the west end of it were the other eight, which were all let in to one another, by two tenons above and below, and compacted together by bars running from one end to the other; but the east end, which was the entry, was open, and only covered with a rich curtain of blue silk, and fine twined linen, wrought with needle-work.

The roof of the tabernacle was a square frame of planks, resting upon their bases, and over these were coverings or curtains of different kinds; of which the first on the inside was made of fine linen, curiously embroidered in various colours of crimson and scarlet, purple and hyacinth. The next was made of goats' hair curiously wove together; and the last or outmost was of sheep and badgers-skins (some dyed red, and others of azure blue) which served to preserve the other rich curtains from the rain, and to protect the tabernacle itself from the injuries of the weather.

Round about the tabernacle was a large oblong court, an hundred cubits long, and fifty broad, encompassed with pillars overlaid with silver, and whose capitals were of the same metal, but their bases were of brass. Ten of these pillars stood towards the west, six to the east, twenty to the north, and twenty to the south, at five cubits distance from each other. Over these hung curtains made of twined linen thread in the manner of net work, which surrounded the tabernacle on all sides, except at the entrance of the court, which was covered with a curtain made of richer materials.

In this court stood a brasen vessel, called the brasen laver, in which the priests washed their hands and feet, whenever they were to offer sacrifice, or go into the tabernacle; and directly opposite to the entrance of the tabernacle stood the brasen altar of burnt-offerings, in the open air, that the fire which was kept perpetually upon it, and the smoke arising from the victims that were burnt there, might not spoil the inside of the tabernacle: at the four corners of this altar there was something like four horns, and as the altar itself was hollow and open both at top and bottom, from these horns there hung a grate made of brass, (fastened with four rings and four chains) on which the wood and the sacrifices were

burnt; and as the ashes fell through, they were received below in a pan.

There is no precept in the law to make the altar a privileged place, but in conformity to the customs of other nations the Jews seemed to have done it; for from the words in Exod. xxi. 14. where God ordered the wilful murderer *to be taken from his altar, that he may die*, it seems unquestionably true, that both in the wilderness, and afterwards in Canaan, this altar continued a sanctuary for those who fled unto it; and very probably it was the horns of this altar (then at Gibeon) that Adonijah and Joab took hold of (1 Kings i. 50. and ii. 28.), for the temple of Solomon was not then erected.[1]

The fire that was upon this altar of burnt-offerings, was at first miraculously kindled by God, when Aaron, after the consecration of himself and his sons, offered their first burnt-offering for themselves and the people; at which time it pleased God, as a token of his approbation, to consume the victim with fire. (Levit. ix. 24.) God had beforehand ordered that the fire on this altar, when once kindled, should never go out. (Levit. vi. 12, 13.)

It was reckoned an impious presumption to make use of any other but this sacred fire in burning incense before the Lord; which was sufficiently notified to Aaron by an injunction given him, that he was to light the incense offered to God, in the most holy place on the great day of expiation, at this fire only. (Levit. xvi. 12, 13.) Notwithstanding which prohibition Nadab and Abihu, two unhappy sons of Aaron, forgetful of their duty, took their censers, and putting common fire in them, laid incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the Lord in their daily ministrations, which profane approach God immediately resented; for we are told, that *a fire went*

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[1] It is evident from this and other passages of Scripture, that the altar was considered as an asylum: and it is well known that, among almost all the heathen nations of antiquity, the altars of their deities were accounted so sacred that the vilest miscreant found safety, if he once reached an altar. Hence arose many abuses, and justice was greatly perverted: so that it became a maxim that the guilty should be punished even though they should have taken refuge there. We have remarked above that the presumptuous murderer was, by divine command, to be dragged thence and put to death. Euripides thus alludes to a similar ordinance among the heathen nations in his time:—

> Εγω, γαρ οστις μη δικαιος ων ανηρ
> Βωμον προσιξει, τον νομον χαιρειν ιων,
> Προς την δικην αγοιμ' αν, ου τρεσας θεους.
> Κακον γαρ ανδρα χρη κακως πασχειν αει.
>
> Eurip. Frag. 42. edit. Musgrave.

In English thus:

"If an unrighteous man availing himself of the law, should claim the protection of the altar, I would drag him to justice, nor fear the wrath of the gods: for it is necessary that a wicked man should always suffer for his crimes." Dr. A. Clarke on 1 Kings, ii. 30.

out from the Lord, and devoured them, so that they died. (Levit. x. 1.)

After the Israelites were settled in the land of promise, it appears that this tabernacle was surrounded with a great many other tents or cells, which were placed about it in the same manner as the buildings were afterwards placed around the temple. These were absolutely necessary for the reception of the priests during the time of their ministration, and for laying up the utensils and provisions which were used in the tabernacle; this explains what is related of Eli's sons going into the kitchen where the peace-offerings were dressing, and taking out of the pots whatever the flesh-hook brought up. (1 Sam. ii. 14.) And thus Eli is said to be laid down in his place (iii. 2.), that is, was gone to bed in one of these tents near the tabernacle, next to which Samuel lay, which made him (being then a child) run to Eli, when he heard the voice of the Lord, thinking that Eli had called (4, 5., &c.) and this also explains what is said of David (Matt. xii. 4.) that *he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shew-bread*, that is, he came to the priest's habitation, which was among these tents round the tabernacle, and which were reckoned as parts of the house of God; for that David did not go into the tabernacle itself, and take the shew-bread from the table that stood there, is evident from 1 Sam. xxi. 6. where it is said that the shew-bread delivered by the priest to David, was indeed bread that had been hallowed, but was removed from before the Lord, other bread having been put in its place, which was done every Sabbath day, according to the law. (Levit. xxiv. 8.) So that the bread which was removed, belonging to the priest, came into his custody, and was properly under his hand (3.), of which he gave David a share, whose present necessity justified the action.

When the tabernacle was finished, it was consecrated, with all the furniture therein, by being anointed with a peculiar oil, which God gave directions to prepare for that very purpose (Exod. xxx. 22., &c.), after which He made his people sensible of his special presence in it, covering it with a cloud which overshadowed it by day, and by night gave light, as if it had been a fire, and by giving answers in an audible manner from the ark when consulted by the high priest.

Whenever the Israelites changed their camp the tabernacle was taken down, and every Levite knew what part he was to carry, for this was a part of their office; and sometimes, upon extraordinary occasions, the priests themselves bore the ark, as when they passed over Jordan, and besieged Jericho. (Josh. iii. 14. and vi. 6.) Concerning the manner of carrying the several

parts of it, see Numb. iv. When they encamped, the tabernacle stood always in the midst, being surrounded by the army of the Israelites on all sides in a quadrangular form, divided according to their several tribes; the Israelitish camp being at the distance of two thousand cubits from the tabernacle, which by computation is reckoned a mile, and is called *a sabbath day's journey* (Acts 1. 12.) as being the distance they had to go on that day to the place of worship. Moses and Aaron, with the priests and Levites, encamped in their tents next the tabernacle, between it and the army.

IV. The tabernacle being so constructed as to be taken to pieces and put together again as occasion required, it it was removed as often as the camp of the Israelites moved from one station to another; and thus accompanied them in all their marches, until they arrived at the land of Canaan. It was at first set up at Gilgal, being the first encampment of the Israelites in Canaan; and here it continued for about seven years, during which Joshua was occupied in the conquest of that country. When they came to the river Jordan, over which they were to pass, the priests that bore the ark of the covenant were commanded to go first, by which an immediate miracle was wrought: for the waters of Jordan, though swollen at that time by torrents from the mountains, suspended their course, and standing on an heap, left the land dry, so that all the people passed over. (Josh. iii. 6—17.) While Jericho was invested, we find that the ark was carried seven times round the city, after which the walls of it fell down, and then the Israelites entered and sacked the place. (Josh. vi. 6—20.)

Afterwards the tabernacle was pitched in Shiloh, being nearly in the centre of the country then subdued; here we read of it in the days of Eli who was both priest and judge; for the Israelites being beaten by the Philistines, they sent and fetched the ark of the covenant from Shiloh into their camp, that the presence of it might be auspicious to them. (1 Sam. iv. 4.) However the Philistines still prevailing, the ark of God was taken and carried to Ashdod, one of the cities of the Philistines, who placed it in the temple of Dagon their idol-god. (1 Sam. v. 1, 2.) And now the tabernacle and the ark were entirely, and, as some think, for ever separated. The Lord, however, shewed his displeasure against the men of Ashdod for detaining the ark, and smote them with a terrible disease; upon which the ark was removed to Gath, another of their cities, and from thence to Ekron a third city; the inhabitants of both which places underwent the same chastisement with those of Ashdod for their presumption in detaining it. (1 Sam. v. 8—12.)

At length the Philistines, after the ark had been in their custody seven months, sent it to Bethshemesh (a city in the tribe of Judah bordering upon the Philistines) with an offering of jewels and gold as an atonement for their sin. (1 Sam. vi.) The men of Bethshemesh received it, but their curiosity prompting them to look into it, they were suddenly slain in great numbers: Thence it was taken away at their request by the men of Kirjath-jearim (another city in the same tribe), and put into the custody of Abinadab of Gibeah, their neighbour, where it remained twenty years (2 Sam. vi. 3, 4.), during which time it appears that Saul ordered Abijah the high priest to bring it to his camp in Gibeah. (1 Sam. xiv. 18.) After which it was returned again to the house of Abinadab. When David was king, and had gotten full possession of Jerusalem, he made an attempt to bring the ark thither, but was discouraged by an example of the divine vengeance upon one of the sons of Abinadab, who unadvisedly laid his hands upon it; on which account David left it at the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite. (2 Sam. vi. 10.)

With Obed-Edom the ark remained three months; after which it was brought with great solemnity into that part of Jerusalem called the city of David, where a place was prepared and a tent pitched for it (2 Sam. vi. 17. 1 Chron. xv. 25. and xvi. 1.), and there it remained till it was put into the temple afterwards built by Solomon, upon which occasion it appears that the 132d Psalm was composed. From the temple of Solomon it was afterwards removed (probably by one of the idolatrous kings of Judah) for we find the pious king Josiah ordering it to be replaced. (2 Chron. xxxv. 3.) It is supposed to have been consumed in the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, which took place not many years afterwards.

With regard to the tabernacle and the other sacred things belonging to it, we read that in the days of Saul it had been removed from Shiloh to Nob, a city on this side of the Jordan, between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, not far from the city of Jerusalem (1 Sam. xxi. 1.); which had been assigned to the priests and Levites for their habitation, among whom Abimelech and his son Abiathar were successively high priests. (Mark ii. 26.) In the reign of David, it was at Gibeon in the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chron. xvi. 39. xxi. 29.); probably because Saul had commanded Doeg to assassinate all the priests at Nob; which sanguinary commission he executed so successfully, that Abiathar alone escaped to David. Here also it was at the commencement of Solomon's reign (2 Chron. i. 3.), after which time the Scriptures are silent concerning it.

SECTION II.

OF THE TEMPLE.

I. *The Temple of Solomon.*—II. *The Second Temple.—Its various Courts.—Reverence of the Jews for it.*

HAVING taken a survey of the tabernacle, we proceed to the Temple at Jerusalem, which was erected nearly upon the same plan as the former structure, but in a more magnificent and expensive manner. According to the opinion of some writers, there were *three* temples, viz. the first, erected by Solomon; the second, by Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest; and the third, by Herod a few years before the birth of Christ. But this opinion is, very properly, rejected by the Jews; who do not allow the third to be a new temple, but only the second temple rebuilt: and this opinion corresponds with the prophecy of Haggai (ii. 9.), that *the glory of this latter house,*—the temple built by Zerubbabel, *should be greater than that of the former;* which prediction was uttered with reference to the Messiah's honouring it with his presence and ministry.

I. The first temple is that which usually bears the name of Solomon; the materials for which were provided by David before his death, though the edifice was raised by his son. It stood on Mount Moriah, an eminence of the mountainous ridge in the Scriptures termed Mount Sion (Psal. cxxxii. 13, 14), which had been purchased of Araunah or Ornan, the Jebusite. (2 Sam. xxiv. 23, 24. 1 Chron. xxi. 25.) The plan and whole model of this superb structure were formed after that of the tabernacle, but of much larger dimensions. It was surrounded, except at the front or east end, by three stories of chambers, each five cubits square, which reached to half the height of the temple; and the front was ornamented with a magnificent portico, which rose to the height of one hundred and twenty cubits: so that the form of the whole edifice was not unlike that of some antient churches, which have a lofty tower in the front, and a low aisle running along each side of the building. The utensils for the sacred service were the same; excepting that several of them, as the altar, candlestick, &c. were larger, in proportion to the more spacious edifice to which they belong. Seven years and six months were occupied in the erection of the superb and magnificent temple of Solomon;

by whom it was dedicated[1] with peculiar solemnity to the worship of the Most High, who on this occasion vouchsafed to honour it with the Shechinah, or visible manifestation of His presence. Various attempts have been made to describe the proportions and several parts of this structure: but as no two writers scarcely agree on this subject, a minute description of it is designedly omitted. It retained its pristine splendour only thirty-three or thirty-four years, when Shishak king of Egypt took Jerusalem, and carried away the treasures of the temple[2]: and after undergoing subsequent profanations and pillages, this stupendous building was finally plundered and burnt by the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar in the year of the world 3416, or before Christ 584. (2 Kings xxv. 13—15. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17—20.)

After the captivity the temple emerged from its ruins, being rebuilt by Zerubbabel[3], but with vastly inferior and diminished glory; as appears from the tears of the aged men who had beheld the former structure in all its grandeur. (Ezra iii. 12.) The second temple was profaned by order of Antiochus Epiphanes (A. M. 3837. B. C. 163.); who caused the daily sacrifice to be discontinued, and erected the image of Jupiter Olympius on the altar of burnt offering. In this condition it continued three years (1 Macc. i. 62.), when Judas Maccabeus purified and repaired it, and restored the sacrifices and true worship of Jehovah. (A. M. 3840. B. C. 160.)

Some years before the birth of our Saviour, the repairing or rather *gradual* rebuilding of this second temple, which had become decayed in the lapse of five centuries, was undertaken by Herod the Great, who for nine years employed eighteen thousand workmen upon it, and spared no expense to render it equal, if not superior, in magnitude, splendour, and beauty to any thing among mankind. Josephus calls it a work the most admirable of any that had ever been seen or heard of, both for its curious structure and its magnitude, and also for the vast wealth expended upon it, as well as for the universal reputation of its sanctity[4]. But though Herod accomplished his original design in the time above specified, yet the Jews continued to ornament and enlarge it, expending the sacred treasure in annexing additional buildings to it; so that they might

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[1] In the year of the world 3001; before Christ 999.

[2] In the year of the world 3033; before Christ 967. 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26. 2 Chron. xii. 9.

[3] Ezra i.—vi. Josephus Ant. Jud. lib. xi. c. 4.

[4] De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 4. § 8.

with great propriety assert that their temple had been forty and six years in building.[1]

Before we proceed to describe this venerable edifice, it may be proper to remark, that by the temple is to be understood not only the fabric or house itself, which by way of eminence is called *the Temple*, viz. the holy of holies, the sanctuary, and the several courts both of the priests and Israelites; but also all the numerous chambers and rooms which this prodigious edifice comprehended, and each of which had its respective degree of holiness, increasing in proportion to its contiguity to the holy of holies. This remark it will be necessary to bear in mind, lest the reader of Scripture should be led to suppose that whatever is there said to be transacted in the temple was actually done in the interior of that sacred edifice. To this infinite number of apartments into which the temple was disposed our Lord refers (John xiv. 2.); and, by a very striking and magnificent simile borrowed from them, he represents those numerous seats and mansions of heavenly bliss which his *Father's house* contained, and which were prepared for the everlasting abode of the righteous. The imagery is singularly beautiful and happy, when considered as an allusion to the temple, which our Lord not unfrequently called *his Father's house.*

The second temple, originally built by Zerubbabel, after the captivity, and repaired by Herod, differed in several respects from that erected by Solomon, although they agreed in others.

The temple erected by Solomon was more splendid and magnificent than the second temple, which was deficient in five remarkable things that constituted the chief glory of the first: —these were the ark and mercy seat,—the shechinah or manifestation of the divine presence in the holy of holies,—the sacred fire on the altar, which had been first kindled from heaven,—the urim and thummim,—and the spirit of prophecy.

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[1] John ii. 20. There is therefore no real contradiction between the sacred writer and Josephus. The words of the evangelist are "forty and six years was this temple in building." This, as Calmet well observes, is not saying that Herod had employed forty-six years in erecting it. Josephus acquaints us that Herod began to rebuild the temple, yet so as not to be esteemed a new edifice, in the eighteenth year of his reign (Antiq. lib. xv. c. 14.) computing from his being declared king by the Romans, or in the fifteenth year (Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 16.) reckoning from the death of Antigonus. He finished it for use in about nine years (Ant. xv. 14.); but it continued increasing in splendour and magnificence through the pious donations of the people (Bell. Jud. v. 14.) to the time of Nero, when it was completed, and 18,000 workmen were dismissed from that service. From the eighteenth of Herod, who reigned thirty-seven years, to the birth of Christ, more than a year before the death of that prince, was above sixteen years, added to which the age of Christ, now thirty, gives forty-six complete years.

But the second temple surpassed the first in glory, being honoured by the frequent presence of our divine Saviour, agreeably to the prediction of Haggai (ii. 9.) Both, however, were erected upon the same site, a very hard rock, encompassed by a very frightful precipice; and the foundation was laid with incredible expense and labour. The superstructure was not inferior to this great work: the height of the temple wall, especially on the south side, was stupendous. In the lowest places it was three hundred cubits, or four hundred and fifty feet, and in some places even greater. This most magnificent pile was constructed with hard white stones of prodigious magnitude.[1]

The temple itself, strictly so called, (which comprised the portico, the sanctuary, and the holy of holies), formed only a small part of the sacred edifice on mount Moriah; being surrounded by spacious courts, making a square of half a mile in circumference. It was entered through nine gates, which were on every side thickly coated with gold and silver: but there was one gate without the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, the most precious metal in antient times, and far surpassed the others in beauty. For while these were of equal magnitude, the gate composed of Corinthian brass was much larger; its height being fifty cubits and its doors forty cubits, and its ornaments both of gold and silver being far more costly and massive. This is supposed to have been the "gate called Beautiful" in Acts iii. 2., where Peter and John, in the name of Christ, healed a man who had been lame from his birth.

The first or outer court, which encompassed the holy house and the other courts, was named the *Court of the Gentiles;* because the latter were allowed to enter into it, but were prohibited from advancing further. It was surrounded by a range of porticoes or cloisters, above which were galleries or apartments supported by pillars of white marble, each consisting of a single piece, and five and twenty cubits in height. One of these was called *Solomon's Porch* or piazza, because it stood on a vast terrace, which he had originally raised from a 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; and as this terrace was the only work of Solomon's that remained in the second temple, the piazza which stood upon it retained the name of that prince. Here it was that our Lord was walking at the feast of dedication (John x. 23.[1]; and that the lame man, when healed by Peter

[1] Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. § 5.

and John, glorified God before all the people[1]. (Acts iii. 11.) This superb portico is termed the ROYAL PORTICO by Josephus, who represents it as the noblest work beneath the sun, being elevated to such a prodigious height that no one could look down from its flat roof to the valley below, without being seized with dizziness, the sight not reaching to such an immeasurable depth. The south-east corner of the roof of this portico, where the height was greatest, is supposed to have been the πτερυγιον, pinnacle, or extreme angle, whence Satan tempted our Saviour to precipitate himself. (Matt. iv. 5, Luke iv. 9.) This also was the spot where it was predicted that the abomination of desolation, or the Roman ensigns, should stand. (Dan. ix. 27. Matt. xxiv. 15.) Solomon's portico was situated in the eastern front of the temple, opposite to the mount of Olives, where our Lord is said to have sat when his disciples came to show him the grandeur of its various buildings, of which, grand as they were, he said, the time was approaching when one stone should not be left upon another, (Matt. xxiv. 1—3.) This outermost court being assigned to the Gentile proselytes, the Jews, who did not worship in it themselves, conceived that it might be lawfully put to profane uses: for here we find that the buyers and sellers of animals for sacrifices, and also the money-changers, had stationed themselves; until Jesus Christ, awing them into submission by the grandeur and dignity of his person and behaviour, expelled them, telling them that it was the house of prayer *for all nations*, and that it had a relative sanctity, and was not to be profaned. (Matt. xxi. 12, 13. Mark xi. 15—17.)

Within the court of the Gentiles stood the court of the Israelites divided into two parts or courts, the outer one being appropriated to the women, and the inner one to the men. The court of the women was separated from that of the Gentiles by a low stone wall or partition, of elegant construction, on which stood pillars at equal distances, with inscriptions in Greek and Latin, importing that no alien should enter into the holy place. To this wall St. Paul most evidently alludes in Eph. ii. 13, 14. "But now in Christ Jesus, ye, who sometimes were far off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ: for he is our peace, who hath made both one, (united both Jews and Gentiles into one church), and hath broken down the *middle*

[1] Of the same kind with these porticoes, cloisters, or piazzas, were doubtless the five porticoes which surrounded the pool of Bethesda. (John v. 2.) 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. Jenning's Jewish Antiq. p. 267.

wall of partition between us;" having abolished the law of ordinances by which, as by the wall of separation, both Jews and Gentiles were not only kept asunder, but also at variance. In this court was the treasury, over against which Christ sat, and beheld how the people threw their voluntary offerings into it for furnishing the victims and other things necessary for the sacrifices. (Mark xii. 41. John viii. 20.)

From the court of the women, which was on higher ground than that of the Gentiles, there was an ascent of fifteen steps into the inner or men's court; and so called because it was appropriated to the worship of the male Israelites. In these two courts, collectively termed the court of the Israelites, were the people praying, each apart by himself, for the pardon of his sins, while Zechariah was offering incense within the sanctuary. (Luke i. 10.)

Within the court of the Israelites was that of the priests, which was separated from it by a low wall, one cubit in height. This inclosure surrounded the altar of burnt offerings, and to it the people brought their oblations and sacrifices; but the priests alone were permitted to enter it. From this court twelve steps ascended to the *temple* strictly so called, which was divided into three parts, the portico, the outer sanctuary, and the holy place. In the *portico* were suspended the splendid votive offerings made by the piety of various individuals. Among its other treasures, there was a golden table given by Pompey, and several golden vines of exquisite workmanship as well as of immense size: for Josephus relates that there were clusters as tall as a man. And he adds, that all around were fixed up and displayed the spoils and trophies taken by Herod from the Barbarians and Arabians. These votive offerings, it should seem, were visible at a distance: for when Jesus Christ was sitting on the mount of Olives, and his disciples called his attention to the temple, they pointed out to him the *gifts* with which it was adorned. (Luke xxi. 5.) This porch had a very large portal or gate, which, instead of folding doors was furnished with a costly Babylonian veil, of many colours, that mystically denoted the universe. From this the *Sanctuary* or holy place was separated from the holy of holies, by a double veil, which is supposed to have been the veil that was rent in twain at our Saviour's crucifixion; thus emblematically pointing out that the separation between Jews and Gentiles was abolished, and that the privilege of the high priest was communicated to all mankind, who might thenceforth have access to the throne of grace through the one great mediator, Jesus Christ.

(Heb. x. 19—22.) The holy of holies was twenty cubits square: into it no person was ever admitted but the high priest, who entered it once a year on the great day of atonement. (Exod. xxx. 10. Levit. xvi. 2. 15. 34. Heb. ix. 2—7.)

Magnificent as the rest of the sacred edifice was, it was infinitely surpassed in splendour by the inner temple or sanctuary. Its appearance, according to Josephus, had every thing that could strike the mind or astonish the sight: for it was covered on every side with plates of gold, so that when the sun rose upon it, it reflected so strong and dazzling an effulgence, that the eye of the spectator was obliged to turn away, being no more able to sustain its radiance than the splendour of the sun. To strangers who were approaching, it appeared at a distance like a mountain covered with snow; for where it was not decorated with plates of gold, it was extremely white and glistering. On the top it had sharp pointed spikes of gold, to prevent any bird from resting upon it and polluting it. There were, continues the Jewish historian, in that building several stones which were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth.[1] "When all these things are considered, how natural is the exclamation of the disciples when viewing this immense building at a distance: "Master, see what MANNER of STONES (ποταποι λιθοι, what very large stones) and what BUILDINGS are here!" (Mark xiii. 1.); and how wonderful is the declaration of our Lord upon this, how unlikely to be accomplished before the race of men who were then living should cease to exist. "Seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down.[2]" Improbable as this prediction must have appeared to the disciples at that time, in the short space of about thirty years after it was exactly accomplished; and this most magnificent temple, which the Jews had literally turned into a den of thieves, through the righteous judgment of God upon that wicked and abandoned nation, was utterly destroyed by the Romans A. M. 4073. (A. D. 73.), on the same month, and on the same day of the month, when Solomon's temple had been rased to the ground by the Babylonians!

Both the first and second temples were contemplated by the Jews with the highest reverence; of their affectionate regard for the first temple, and for Jerusalem, within whose walls it was built, we have several instances in those psalms which were composed

[1] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. c. ix. § 3. De Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 5. § 1—6.
[2] Mark xiii. 2. Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. p. 161.

during the Babylonish captivity; and of their profound veneration for the second temple we have repeated examples in the New Testament. They could not bear any disrespectful or dishonourable thing to be said of it. The least injurious slight of it, real or apprehended, instantly awakened all the choler of a Jew, and was an affront never to be forgiven. Our Saviour, in the course of his public instructions happening to say, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again[1]"; it was construed into a contemptuous disrespect, designedly thrown out against the temple; his words instantly descended into the heart of a Jew, and kept rankling there for several years; for upon his trial, this declaration, which it was impossible for a Jew ever to forget or to forgive, was immediately alleged against him as big with the most atrocious guilt and impiety: they told the court they had heard him publicly assert, I am able to destroy this temple[2]. The rancour and virulence they had conceived against him for this speech, which they imagined had been levelled against the temple, was not softened by all the affecting circumstances of that excruciating and wretched death they saw him die: even as he hung upon the cross, with infinite triumph, scorn, and exultation, they upbraided him with it, contemptuously shaking their heads, and saying: "Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself! If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross." (Matt. xxvii. 40.)

The superstitious veneration, which this people had for their temple, further appears from the account of Stephen. When his adversaries were baffled and confounded by that superior wisdom and those distinguished gifts which he possessed, they were so exasperated at the victory he had gained over them, that they suborned persons to swear, that they had heard him speak blasphemy against Moses and against God. These inflaming the populace, the magistrates, and the Jewish clergy, the holy man was seized, dragged away, and brought before the Sanhedrin. Here the false witnesses whom they had procured, stood up and said, This person before you is continually uttering the most reproachful expressions against this sacred place[3], meaning the temple. This was blasphemy not to be pardoned. A judicature composed of high priests and scribes would never forgive such impiety.

Thus also, when St. Paul went into the temple to give public notice, as was usual, to the priests, of his having purified and

[1] John ii. 19.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 61. "This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it in three days."

[3] Acts vi. 13.

bound himself with a religious vow along with four other persons, declaring the time when this vow was made, and the oblations he would offer for every one of them at his own expense when the time of their vow was accomplished, some Jews of Asia Minor, when the seven days prescribed by the law were almost completed, happening to see him in the temple, struck with horror at the sight of such apprehended profanation, immediately excited the populace, who all at once rushed upon him and instantly seized him, vehemently exclaiming, "Men of Israel, help! this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people," (the Jews) "and the law, and this place; and further, brought Greeks into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place[1]." They said this, because they had a little before seen Trophimus an Ephesian along with him in the city, and they instantly concluded he had brought him into the temple. Upon this the whole city was immediately raised; all the people at once rushed furiously upon him, and dragged him out of the temple, whose doors were instantly shut. Being determined to murder him, news was carried to the Roman tribune that the whole city was in a commotion. The uproar now raised among the Jews, and their determined resolution to imbrue their hands in the blood of a person who had spoken disrespectfully of the temple, and who they apprehended had wantonly profaned it by introducing Greeks into it, verify and illustrate the declaration of Philo; that it was certain and inevitable death for any one who was not a Jew to set his foot within the inner courts of the temple.[2]

It only remains to add, that it appears from several passages of Scripture, that the Jews had a body of soldiers who guarded the temple, to prevent any disturbance during the ministration of such an immense number of priests and Levites. To this guard Pilate referred, when he said to the chief priests and Pharisees who waited upon him to desire he would make the sepulchre secure, *Ye have a watch*[3], *go your way, and make it as secure as ye can.* Over these guards one person had the supreme command, who in several places is called the captain of the temple or officer of the temple guard. "And as they spake unto the people, the priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees came upon them." (Acts iv. 1. v. 25, 26. John xviii. 12.) Josephus mentions such an officer.[4]

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[1] Acts xxi. 28.

[2] Θανατος ανεφαιρετος ὡριζαι κατα των εις τους ενδον περιβολους παριλθοντων—των ουχ' ομοιων. Philo legat. ad Caium. p. 577. Mangey.

[3] Matt. xxvii. 65. Εχετε κουστωδιαν, Ye have a guard. See Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i p. 267.

[4] Τον στρατηγον Ανανον, Ananias, the commander of the temple, Antiq. Jud. lib. xx. c. vi. § 2. Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 17. § 2. Αφικνουμενος εις τον Ελεαζαρον στρατηγοντα,

SECTION III.

OF THE HIGH PLACES, AND PROSEUCHÆ, OR ORATORIES OF THE JEWS.

I. *Of the High Places.*—II. *Of the Proseuchæ, or Oratories.*

BESIDES the tabernacle, which has been described in a former section, the Old Testament makes frequent mention of places of worship, called *High Places*, which were in use both before and after the building of the temple. In the early ages of the world, the devotion of mankind seems to have delighted greatly in groves, woods, and mountains, not only because these retired places were naturally fitted for contemplation, but probably also because they kindled a certain sacred dread in the mind of the worshipper. It is certain that nothing was more antient in the East, than altars surrounded by groves and trees, which made the place very shady and delightful in those hot countries. The idolaters in the first ages of the world, who generally worshipped the sun, appear to have thought it improper to straiten and confine the supposed infiniteness of this imaginary deity within walls, and therefore they generally made choice of hills and mountains, as the most convenient places for their idolatry; and when in after-times they had brought in the use of temples, yet for a long time they kept them open-roofed. Nay, the holy patriarchs themselves, who worshipped the true God, generally built their altars near to some adjacent grove of trees, which, if nature denied, were usually planted by the religious in those days. When Abraham dwelt at Beersheba in the plains of Mamre, it is said, *He planted a grove there, and called upon the name of the Lord the everlasting God* (Gen. xxi. 33.), and doubtless that was the place to which the patriarch and his family resorted for public worship.

But at length these hills and groves of the heathen idolaters, as they were more retired and shady, became so much the fitter for the exercise of their diabolical rites, and for the commission of the obscene and horrid practices that were usually perpetrated there; for they came at length to be places purposely set apart for prostitution. In many passages of Scripture it is recorded of the Israelites (who in this respect imitated the heathens) that they secretly did the things which

having the chief regard to Eleazar, the governor of the temple. Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 17. § 2. edit. Hudson. Harwood's Introd. vol. ii. p. 166. 170. and Dr. Lardner's Credibility, book i. ch. xi. § 1. ch. ix. § 4.

were not right, that they set up images and groves in every high hill, and under every green tree, and there burnt incense in all the high places, and *wrought wickedness to provoke the Lord, as did the heathen.* (2 Kings xvii. 9—13.) On this account therefore God expressly commanded the Israelites, that they should utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations of Canaan, whose land they should possess, served their gods upon the high mountains and upon the hills; and to pay their devotions and bring their oblations to that place only which God should choose. (Deut. xii. 2—15.) Nay to prevent every approach to the idolatrous customs of the heathens, they were forbidden to plant any trees near the altar of the Lord. (Deut. xvi. 21.)

It was not therefore from any dislike of hills or groves, that God prohibited the offering sacrifices there, or that pious kings so zealously suppressed and destroyed them, but because God intended to keep up an *unity in the place of worship* among his people, (at least in sacrificing) as the best preservative against idolatry: For as the Israelites were a people naturally inclined to *go a whoring after other gods,* and were under great temptations of doing so, from the practice of the Canaanites who lived among them, and were gross idolaters, it gave them too visible an advantage of following these abominations, when every one was at liberty to offer sacrifices where he pleased, and without proper restrictions in the way and manner of doing it. And as the imitation of the heathens in their places of worship was one step towards their idolatry, so it was a considerable advance towards the commission of all the gross obscenities, which these places of darkness and obscurity afforded; and we may readily conclude that if once they fell into the same religion, they would also fall into the same immoral practices which that religion taught them to be acceptable to their gods. Now, that wickedness of the grossest sort did attend the idolatrous worship in such places, is sufficiently evident from 1 Kings xv. 12. 2 Kings xxiii. 7. Rom. i. 21. 28, &c.

It is therefore clear from the command of God, so pathetically enforced in the above-cited text (Deut. xii. 2—15), that after God should fix upon a place for his public worship, it was entirely unlawful to offer sacrifices upon high places, or any where else but in the place God did choose: So that after the building of the temple, the prohibition of high places and groves (so far at least as concerned the sacrificing in them) unquestionably took place. And it was for their disobedience to this command, by their sacrificing upon high places and in groves, even after the temple was erected (2 Kings xv. 35.), and for not destroying the high places of the heathens, where their idol gods were worshipped, which by that command and in

many other places of Scripture (Numb. xxxiii. 52.), they were expressly appointed to do;—that the prophets with so much holy zeal reproached the Israelites. We have indeed several instances in Scripture besides that of Abraham, where the prophets and other good men are said to have made use of these high places for sacrificing, as well as other less solemn acts of devotion, and which are not condemned. Thus, Samuel, upon the uncertain abode of the ark, fitted up a place of devotion for himself and his family in a high place, and built an altar there, and sacrificed upon it. (1 Sam. ix. 12. 19. 25.) Gideon also built an altar and offered a sacrifice to God upon the top of a rock (Judg. vi. 25, 26.); and the tabernacle itself was removed to the high place that was at Gibeon. (1 Chron. xvi. 39. and xxi. 29.) But all this was *before* the temple was erected, which was the first fixed place that God appointed for his public worship; after which other places for sacrificing became unlawful.

That the Israelites, both kings and people, offered sacrifices upon these high places even after the temple was built, will evidently appear by noticing a few passages in their history; for (not to mention Jeroboam and his successors in the kingdom of Israel), whose professed purpose was to innovate every thing in matters of religion, and who had peculiar priests whom they termed prophets of the groves (1 Kings xviii. 19.), it is clear that most of the kings of Judah,—even such of them who were otherwise zealous for the observance of the law,—are expressly recorded as blameable on this head, and but few have the commendation given them of destroying these high places. No sooner had Rehoboam the son of Solomon, after the revolt of the ten tribes from him, strengthened himself in his kingdom, but we read that Judah *did evil in the sight of the Lord, and built them high places, and images, and groves, on every high hill, and under every green tree.* (1 Kings xiv. 22, 23.)

In the reign of Asa, his grandson, things took another turn, for of him it is said, that *he took away the altars of the strange gods, and the high places, and brake down the images, and cut down the groves* (2 Chron. xiv. 3.), even without sparing those of his mother (xv. 16.), which passage seems to be contradicted by 1 Kings xv. 14. It should, however, be recollected, that there were two kinds of high places, one frequented even by devout worshippers who lived at a distance from Jerusalem, and made use of by them in sacrificing, and for other religious purposes; and which were tolerated contrary to the divine command by such of their kings who otherwise are said to be pious princes. The other kind of high places were such as were considered

as abominable from their first institution, and made the receptacle of idolatry and wickedness. These last were the high places which Asa took away; but those where God alone was worshipped, had obtained so long, and were looked upon with so sacred a veneration, that for fear of giving a general offence he did not venture to abolish them. But however well-meaning the pious intentions of good people in this were, yet the conduct of their kings was highly blameable in giving the least countenance to it, as being contrary to the divine command. The truth is, these high places were famous either for the apparition of angels, or some other miraculous event, had either been places of abode for the ark of the Lord, or those in which some prophet or patriarch of old had been accustomed to pray and sacrifice, and therefore they were regarded as consecrated to the service of God; nor was there strength enough in the government to overcome this inveterate prejudice, till Hezekiah and Josiah arose, who (to prevent the calamities that were coming on the nation) had the courage to effect a thorough reformation.

Towards the conclusion of Asa's reign, when he grew more infirm in body, and perhaps more remiss in the cause of God, it appears that these wicked high places began to be renewed; for it is said of Jehoshaphat his son, that *he took away the high places and groves out of Judah* (2 Chron. xvii. 6.), which after all we must understand either of his having given orders only to have them taken away, or seen it done but in part, without totally removing such as devout worshippers frequented; for afterwards when his character comes to be summed up, there is this reservation (possibly more through the fault of his subjects than himself,) *howbeit the high places were not taken away.* (2 Chron. xx. 32.)

Of Jehoshaphat's son and successor Jehoram, it it said, *that he made high places in the mountains of Judah.* (2 Chron. xxi. 11.) And though Joash, one of his sons, set out well, yet in the latter part of his life he was perverted by his idolatrous courtiers, who served groves and idols, to whom it appears he gave a permission for that purpose; for after making their obeisance we are told, *that he hearkened to them, and then they left the house of God.* (2 Chron. xxiv. 17, 18.) Nor was the reign of Amaziah the son of Joash any better, for still the people *sacrificed and burnt incense on the high places* (2 Kings xiv. 4.); and though Uzziah his son is said to have done *that which was right in the sight of God,* yet this exception appears against him, *that the high places were not removed, but the people still sacrificed there* (2 Kings xv. 3, 4.); the same observation is

made of Jotham and Ahaz. (2 Chron. xxviii. 4.) But Hezekiah who succeeded them was a prince of extraordinary piety: he *removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves* (2 Kings xviii. 4.), *which his son Manasseh again built up.* (2 Kings xxi. 2.) At length good king Josiah, a prince very zealous for the true religion, utterly cleared the land from the high places and groves, and purged it from idolatry: But as the four succeeding reigns before the Babylonian captivity were very wicked, we may presume that the high places were again revived, though there is no mention of them after the reign of Josiah.

II. From the preceding facts and remarks, however, we are not to conclude, that the prohibition relating to high places and groves, which extended chiefly to the more solemn acts of sacrificing there, did on any account extend to the prohibiting of other acts of devotion, particularly *prayer*, in any other place besides the temple, the high places and groves of the heathen (which were ordered to be rased) only excepted. For we learn from the sacred writings, that prayers are always acceptable to God in every place, when performed with a true and sincere devotion of heart, which alone gives life and vigour to our religious addresses. And therefore it was that in many places of Judæa, both before and after the Babylonian captivity, we find mention made in the Jewish and other histories of places built purposely for prayer, and resorted to only for that end, called *proseuchæ* or *oratories.*

These places of worship were very common in Judæa (and it should seem in retired mountainous or elevated places) in the time of Christ; they were also numerous at Alexandria, which was at that time a large and flourishing commercial city, inhabited by vast numbers of Jews: and it appears that in heathen countries they were erected in sequestered retreats, commonly on the banks of rivers, or on the sea-shore. The proseuchæ or oratory at Philippi, where *the Lord opened the heart of Lydia, that she attended unto the things which were spoken by Paul,* was *by a river side.* (Acts xvi. 13, 14. 16.) And Josephus has preserved the decree of the city of Halicarnassus, permitting the Jews to erect oratories, part of which is in the following terms: —"We ordain, that the Jews who are willing, both men and women, do observe the sabbaths and perform sacred rites according to the Jewish law, and *build proseuchæ by the sea-side, according to the custom of their country:* and if any man, whether magistrate or private person, give them any hindrance or disturbance, he shall pay a fine to the city."[1]

[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 10. (al. 24.)

It is a question with some learned men, whether these proseuchæ were the same as the synagogues (of which an account will be found in the following section), or distinct edifices from the latter. Both Josephus and Philo, to whom we may add Juvenal, appear to have considered them as synonymous; and with them agree Grotius, Ernesti, Drs. Whitby, Doddridge, and Lardner [1]: but Calmet, Drs. Prideaux and Hammond, and others, have distinguished between these two sorts of buildings, and have shewn that though they were *nearly* the same, and were sometimes confounded by Philo and Josephus, yet that there was a real difference between them; the synagogues being in cities, while the proseuchæ were without the walls, in sequestered spots, and (particularly in heathen countries) were usually erected on the banks of rivers, or on the sea-shore (Acts xvi. 13.), without any covering but galleries or the shade of trees. Dr. Prideaux think the proseuchæ were of greater antiquity than the synagogues, and were formed by the Jews in open courts, in order that those persons who dwelt at a distance from Jerusalem might offer up their private prayers in them as they were accustomed to do in the courts of the temple or of the tabernacle. In the synagogues, he further observes, the prayers were offered up in public forms, while the proseuchæ were appropriated to private devotions: and from the oratory, where our Saviour spent a whole night in prayer, being erected on a mountain (Luke vi. 12.), it is highly probable that these proseuchæ were the same as the high places, so often mentioned in the Old Testament. [2]

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[1] Philo de Legatione ad Caium, p. 1011. Josephus de vita sua, § 54. Juvenal Sat. iii. 14. Grotius, Whitby, and Doddridge on Luke vi. 12. Ernesti Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, pp. 363, 364. edit. 4ta. 1792. Lardner's Credibility, book i. c. iii. § 3. Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 171—180.

[2] Dr. Hammond on Luke vi. 12. and Acts xvi. 13—16. Calmet's Dict. voce Proseucha. Prideaux's Connexion, part i. book vi. sub anno 444. vol. i. pp. 387—390. edit. 1720.

SECTION IV.

OF THE SYNAGOGUES.

I. *Nature and Origin of Synagogues.—The Synagogue of the Libertines explained.*—II. *Form of the Synagogues.*—III. *The Officers or Ministers.*—IV. *The Service performed in the Synagogues.*—V. *On what Days performed.*—VI. *Ecclesiastical Power of the Synagogues.*—VII *The Shemoneh Esreh, or Nineteen Prayers used in the Synagogue Service.*

I. THE *Synagogues* were buildings in which the Jews assembled for prayer, reading and hearing the Sacred Scriptures, and other instructions. Though frequently mentioned in the historical books of the New Testament, their origin is not very well known; and many learned men are of opinion that they are of recent institution.

Although sacrifices could only be offered at the holy tabernacle or temple, yet it does not appear that the Jews were restricted to any particular place for the performance of other exercises of devotion. Hence, formerly, the praises of Jehovah were sung in the schools of the prophets, which the more devout Israelites seem to have frequented on sabbath days and new moons for the purpose of instruction and prayer. (1 Sam. x. 5—11. xix. 18—24. 2 Kings iv. 23.) During the Babylonish captivity, the Jews, being deprived of the solemn ordinances of divine worship, resorted to the house of some prophet, or other holy man, who was in the practice of giving religious instruction to his own family, and of reading the Scriptures. (Compare Ezek. xiv. 1. and xx. 1. with Neh. viii. 18.) At length these domestic congregations became fixed in certain places, and a regular order of conducting divine worship was introduced. Philo[1] thinks these edifices were originally instituted by Moses: but as no mention is made of them during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, their origin in Jerusalem is referred to the reigns of the Asmonæan princes, under whom they were first erected, and were soon greatly multiplied; though in Alexandria and other foreign places, where the Jews were dispersed, they were certainly of much greater antiquity.[2]

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[1] Philo, De Vita Mosis, lib. iii. p. 685.
[2] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 3. § 3.

In the time of the Maccabees, synagogues became so frequent, that they were to be found in almost every place in Judæa. Maimonides[1] says, that wherever any Jews were, they erected a synagogue. Not fewer than four hundred and eighty are said to have been erected in Jerusalem, previously to its capture and destruction by the Romans. In the evangelical history we find, that wherever the Jews resided, they had one or more synagogues, constructed after those at Jerusalem. Hence we find, in Acts vi. 9. synagogues belonging to the Alexandrians, the Asiatics, the Cilicians, the Libertines, and the Cyrenians, which were erected for such Jewish inhabitants of those cities, as should happen to be at Jerusalem.

With regard to the synagogue of the Libertines, a considerable difference of opinion exists among the learned, whether these Libertines were the children of freed men (Italian Jews or proselytes), or African Jews from the city or country called Libertus, or Libertina, near Carthage. The former opinion is supported by Grotius and Vitringa; the latter (which was first hinted by Oecumenius, a commentator in the close of tenth century), by professor Gerdes, Wetstein, Bishop Pearce, and Schleusner.

It is well known that the antient Romans made a distinction between the *Liberti* and the *Libertini*. The *Libertus* was one who had been a slave, and obtained his freedom[2]; the *Libertinus* was the son of a Libertus[3]. 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*[4]. 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[5], and in remembrance

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[1] In Tephilla, c. 11.

[2] Cives Romani sunt Liberti, qui vindictâ, censu aut testamento, nullo jure impediente manumissi sunt. Ulpian. tit. 1. § 6.

[3] 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 vita Claudii, cap. xxiv. § 4. p. 78. Pitisei.

[4] Quintilian. de Institutione Oratoria, lib. v. cap. x. p. 246. edit. Gibson, 1639. Qui servus est, si manumittatur fit Libertinus—Justinian. Institut. lib. i. tit. v. Libertini sunt, qui ex justa servitute manumissi sunt. Tit. iv. Ingenuus 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.

[5] 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 vita Tiberii, cap. xxxvi. Josephus (Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. iii. § 5. edit. Haverc.)

of their captivity called themselves Libertini, and formed a synagogue by themselves, is differently conjectured by the learned. It is probable, that the Jews of Cyrenia, Alexandria, &c. erected synagogues at Jerusalem at their own charge, for the use of their brethren who came from those countries, as the Danes, Swedes, &c. have built 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.

In support of the second opinion above noticed, viz. that the Libertines derived their name from Libertus or Libertina, a city in Africa, it is urged that Suidas in his Lexicon, on the word Λιβερτινος, says, that it was ονομα εθνους, a national appellative; and that the *Glossa interlinearis*, of which Nicholas de Lyra made great use in his notes, has, over the word Libertini, *e regione*, denoting that they were so styled from a country. Further, in the acts of the celebrated 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*, Januarius, by the grace of God, bishop of the holy church of Libertina; and therefore Fabricius in his Geographical Index of Christian bishoprics, has 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 called from the places whence they came, it is probable that the Libertines were denominated in like manner; 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. Upon the whole, therefore, there is little reason to doubt of the Libertines being so called from the place 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.

II. It does not appear from the New Testament that the synagogues had any peculiar *form*. The building of them was

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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.

regarded as a mark of piety (Luke vii. 5.): and they were erected within or without the city, generally in an elevated place, and were distinguished from the proseuchæ by being roofed. Each of them had an altar, or rather table, on which the book of the law was spread; and on the east side there was an ark or chest, in which the volume of the law was deposited. The seats were so disposed that the people always sat with their faces towards the elders, and the place where the law was kept: and the elders sat in the opposite direction, that is to say, with their backs to the ark and their faces to the people. The seats of the latter, as being placed nearer the ark, were accounted the more holy, and hence they are in the New Testament termed the *chief seats in the synagogue*, which the Pharisees affected, and for which our Lord inveighed against them. (Matt. xxiii. 6.) A similar precedency seems to have crept into the places of worship even of the very first Christians, and hence we may account for the indignation of the apostle James (ii. 3.) against the undue preference that was given to the rich. The women were separated from the men, and sat in a gallery inclosed with lattices, so that they could distinctly see and hear all that passed in the synagogue, without themselves being exposed to view.

III. For the maintenance of good order, there were in every synagogue certain officers, whose business it was to see that all the duties of religion were decently performed therein. These were, 1. The Αρχισυναγωγος, or ruler of the synagogue. (Luke xiii. 4. Mark v. 22.) It appears from Acts xiii. 15., collated with Mark v. 22. and John vi. 59., that there were several of these rulers in a synagogue. They regulated all its concerns, and gave permission to persons to preach. They were always men advanced in age, and respectable for their learning and probity. The Jews termed them *Haeamim*, that is, *sages* or *wise men*, and they possessed considerable influence and authority. They were judges of thefts, and similar petty offences: and to them Saint Paul is supposed to allude in 1 Cor. vi. 9., where he reproaches the Corinthian Christians with carrying their differences before the tribunals of the Gentiles, as if they had no persons among them who were capable of determining them. *Is it so*, says he, *that there is not a* WISE MAN *among you? no, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren?* These rulers likewise had the power of inflicting punishment on those whom they judged to be rebellious against the law; in allusion to which circumstance Christ forewarned his disciples that they *should be scourged in the synagogues.* (Matt. x. 17.)

2. Next to the Αρχισυναγωγος, or ruler of the synagogue, was an officer, whose province it was to offer up public prayers to God for the whole congregation: hence he was called *Sheliach Zibbor*, or the angel of the church, because, as their messenger, he spoke to God for them. Hence also, in Rev. ii. iii. the ministers of the Asiatic churches are termed *angels*.

3. The *Chazan* appears to have been a different officer from the *Sheliach Zibbor*, and inferior to him in dignity. He seems to have been the person, who in Luke iv. 20. is termed υπηρετης, the *minister*, and who had the charge of the sacred books.

IV. The service performed in the synagogue consisted of three parts, viz. prayer, reading the Scriptures, and preaching, or exposition of the Scriptures.

1. The first part of the synagogue service is *Prayer;* for the performance of which, according to Dr. Prideaux, they had liturgies, in which are all the prescribed forms of the synagogue worship. The most solemn part of these prayers are the שמונה עשרה (SHEMONEH ESREH), or the eighteen prayers, 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. Such 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 since 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 composed when there was neither temple nor sacrifice; 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 [1], &c. They could not,

[1] The fifth, tenth, eleventh, and fourteenth collects have the same allusion and reference as the seventeenth. See the original prayers in Maimonides de Ordine Precum, or in Vitringa, (de Synag. vetere, lib. iii. part ii. 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.

therefore, be the composition of Ezra, who did not receive his commission from Artaxerxes to go to Judæa, till more than fifty years after the second temple was built, and its worship restored. The probability is, that the forms of prayer for the synagogue worship were at first very few, and that *some were in use in the time of Jesus Christ*, the number of which was subsequently increased. To the eighteen prayers above-mentioned, another was added, a short time before the destruction of the second temple, by Rabbi Gamaliel, or, according to some writers, by Rabbi Samuel, one of his scholars. It is directed against apostates and heretics, appellations which the Jews liberally employ to designate all Christians, whether of Jewish or of Gentile descent. This additional prayer is now inserted as the twelfth, and the number is nineteen. They are required to be said by all Jews without exception, who are of age, three times every day, either in public at the synagogue, or at their own houses, or wherever they may happen to be. As some readers may be curious to see them, they are subjoined, at the end of this section. [1]

2. The second part of the synagogue service is the *Reading of the Scriptures*, which is of three sorts, *the Kirioth-Shema*, —the reading of the whole law of Moses, and portions out of the prophets and the Hagiographa or holy writings.

(1.) The *Kirioth-Shema*, consists of three portions of Scripture, viz. Deut. vi. 6—9. Deut. xi. 13—21. Numb. xv. 37—41. As the first of these portions commences with the word *shema*, that is *hear*, they are collectively termed the Shema, and the reading of them is called *kirioth-shema*, or the reading of the Shema. This reading or recital is preceded and followed by several prayers and benedictions; and, next to the saying of the nineteen prayers above noticed, is the most solemn part of the religious service of the Jews; who, believing the commands in Deut. vi. 7. and xi. 19. to be of perpetual obligation, repeat the Shema daily, every morning and evening.

(2.) The *Law* was divided into fifty-three, according to the Masorets, or, according to others, fifty-four *Parashioth* 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 *parashioth* or sections, had a respect to their intercalary year, which was every second or third, and consisted of thir-

[1] See pp. 269—272. *infra*.

teen months; so that the whole law was read over this year, allotting one *parashioth* or section to every Sabbath: and in 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.

(3.) The portions selected out of the prophetical writings are termed *Haphtoroth.* When Antiochus Epiphanes conquered the Jews about the year 163 before the Christian æra, he prohibited the public reading of the law in the synagogues, on pain of death. The Jews, in order that they might not be wholly deprived of the word of God, selected from other parts of the Sacred Writings, *fifty-four* portions, which were termed HAPHTORAS, הפטורת *haphtoroth*, from פטר *patar*, he *dismissed, let loose, opened*—for though the LAW was *dismissed* from their synagogues, and was *closed* to them by the edict of this persecuting king, yet the *prophetic writings*, not being under the *interdict*, were left *open*: and therefore they used them in place of the others. It was from this custom of the Jews, that the primitive Christians adopted theirs, of reading a lesson every Sabbath out of the Old and New Testaments. The following tables exhibit the parashioth or sections of the law, and the haphtoroth or sections of the prophets (which were substituted for the former), as they have been read together ever since the days of the Asmonæans or Maccabees, and as they continue to be read in the various synagogues belonging to the English, Portuguese, Italian, Dutch, and German Jews.

A GENERAL VIEW OF ALL THE SECTIONS OF THE LAW, JEWISH SYNAGOGUES, FOR EVERY PARASHIOTH, or *Sections* of the LAW.

SECT.			
		GENESIS.	
i.	ברשית	Bereshith,	i. 1. to vi. 8.
ii.	תלדות נח	Toledoth noach,	vi. 9. to xi. 32.
iii.	לך לך	Lec leca,	xii. 1. to xvii. 27.
iv.	ויראא	Vaiyera,	xviii. 1. to xxii. 24.
v.	חייה שרה	Chaiyeh Sarah,	xxiii. 1. to xxv. 18.
vi.	תלדת	Toledoth,	xxv. 19. to xxviii. 9.
vii.	ויצא	Vaiyetse,	xxviii. 10. to xxxii. 3.
viii.	וישלח	Vaiyishlach,	xxxii. 4. to xxxvi. 43.
ix.	וישב	Vaiyesheb,	xxxvii. 1. to xl. 23.
x.	מקץ	Mikkets,	xli. 1. to xliv. 17.
xi.	ויגש	Vaiyiggash,	xliv. 18. to xlvii. 27.
xii.	ויחי	Vayechei,	xlvii. 28. to l. 26.
		EXODUS.	
xiii.	שמות	Shemoth,	i. 1. to vi. 1.
xiv.	וארה	Vaera,	vi. 2. to ix. 35.
xv.	בא אל פרעה	Bo el Paraôh,	x. 1. to xiii. 16.
xvi.	בשלח	Beshalach,	xiii. 17. to xvii. 16.
xvii.	יתרי	Yithro	xviii. 1. to xx. 26.
xviii.	משפטים	Mishpatim,	xxi. 1. to xxiv. 18.
xix.	תרומה	Terumah,	xxv. 1. to xxvii. 19.
xx.	תצוה	Tetsaveh,	xxvii. 20. to xxx. 10.
xxi.	כי תשא	Kei tissa,	xxx. 11. to xxxiv. 35.
xxii.	ויקהל	Vaiyakhel,	xxxv. 1. to xxxviii. 20.
xxiii.	פקודי	Pekudey,	xxxviii. 21. to xl. 38.
		LEVITICUS.	
xxiv.	ויקרא	Vaiyikra,	i. 1. to vi. 7.
xxv.	ויקרא צו	Vaiyikra Tsau,	vi. 8. to viii. 36.
xxvi.	שמיני	Shemini	ix. 1. to xi. 47.
xxvii.	תזריע	Tazriâ,	xii. 1. to xiii. 59.
xxviii.	מצרע	Metsorâ,	xiv. 1. to xv. 33.
xxix.	אחרי מות	Acharey Moth	xvi. 1. to xviii. 30.
xxx.	קדשים	Kedushim,	xix. 1. to xx. 27.
xxxi.	אמר	Emor,	xxi. 1. to xxiv. 23.
xxxii.	בהר סיני	Behar Sinai,	xxv. 1. to xxvi. 2.
xxxiii.	בחקתי	Bechukkotai,	xxvi. 3. to xxvii. 34.

AND SECTIONS OF THE PROPHETS, AS READ IN THE DIFFERENT SABBATH OF THE YEAR.

HAPHTOROTH, or *Sections* of the PROPHETS.

Portuguese and Italian Jews.	*German and Dutch Jews.*
Isa. xlii. 5—21.	Isa. xlii. 5—25. xliii. 10.
Isa. liv. 1—10.	Isa. liv. 1—17. lv. 1—5.
Isa. xl. 27—31. xli. 1—16.	Ditto.
2 Kings iv. 1—23.	2 Kings iv. 1—37.
1 Kings i. 1—31.	Ditto.
Mal. i. 1—14. ii. 1—7.	Ditto.
Hos. xi. 7—12. xii. 1—11.	Ditto.
Obad. i. 1—21.	Hos. xii. 12—14. xiii. 1—16.
Amos ii. 1—16. iii. 1—8.	Ditto.
1 Kings iii. 15—28. iv. 1.	Ditto.
Ezek. xxxvii 15—28.	Ditto.
1 Kings ii. 1—12.	Ditto.
Jer. i. 1—19. ii. 1—3.	Isa. xxvii. 6. to xxix. 23.
Ezek. xxviii. 25. to xxix. 21.	Ditto.
Jer. xlvi. 13—28.	Ditto.
Judg. v. 1—31.	Judg. iv. 4. to v. 1—31.
Isa. vi. 1—13.	Isa. vi. 1—13. vii. 1—6. ix. 6, 7.
Jer. xxxiv. 8—22. & xxxiii. 25, 26.	Ditto.
1 Kings v. 12—18. vi. 1—13.	Ditto.
Ezek. xliii. 10—27.	Ditto.
1 Kings xviii. 20—39.	1 Kings xviii. 1—39.
1 Kings vii. 13—26.	1 Kings vii. 40—50.
1 Kings vii. 40—50.	1 Kings vii. 51. viii. 1—21.
Isai. xliii. 21—28. xliv. 1—25.	Ditto.
Jer. vii. 21—34. viii. 1—3. ix. 23, 24.	Ditto.
2 Sam. vi. 1—19.	2 Sam. vi. 1—23. vii. 1—17.
2 Kings iv. 42—44. v. 1—19.	Ditto.
2 Kings vii. 3—20.	Ditto.
Amos ix. 7—15.	Ezek. xxii. 1—19.
Ezek. xx. 2—20.	Amos ix. 7—15.
Ezek. xliv. 15—31.	Ditto.
Jer. xxxii. 6—27.	Ditto.
Jer. xvi. 19—21. xvii. 1—14.	Ditto.

PARASHIOTH.

Sect.			
		NUMBERS.	
xxxiv.	במדבר	Bemidbar,	i. 1. to iv. 20.
xxxv.	נשא	Naso,	iv. 21. to vii. 89.
xxxvi.	בהעלתך	Behaâlotica,	viii. 1. to xii. 16.
xxxvii.	שלך	Shelach,	xiii. 1. to xv. 41.
xxxviii.	קרח	Korach,	xvi. 1. to xviii. 32.
xxxix.	חקת	Chukkath,	xix. 1. to xxii. 1.
xl.	בלק	Balak,	xxii. 2. to xxv. 9.
xli.	פינחס	Pinchas,	xxv. 10. to xxx. 1.
xlii.	מטנת	Mattoth,	xxx. 2. to xxxii. 42.
xliii.	מסעי	Masêy,	xxxiii. 1. to xxxvi. 13.
		DEUTERONOMY.	
xliv.	דברים	Debarim,	i. 1. to iii. 22.
xlv.	ואתחנן	Vaethchanan,	iii. 23. to vii. 11.
xlvi.	עקב	Ekeb,	vii. 12. to xi. 25.
xlvii.	ראה	Reeh,	xi. 26. to xvi. 17.
xlviii.	שפטים	Shophetim,	xvi. 18. to xxi. 9.
xlix.	תצא	Tetse,	xxi. 10. to xxv. 19.
l.	תבוא	Tabo,	xxvi. 1. to xxix. 8.
li.	נצבים	Nitsabim,	xxix. 9. to xxx. 20.
lii.	וילך	Vaiyelec,	xxxi. 1. to xxxi. 30.
liii	האזינו	Haazinu.	xxxii. 1. to xxxii. 52.
liv.	וזות הברכה	Vezot Habaracah	xxxiii. 1. to xxxiv. 12.

In the synagogues, the law was always read in Hebrew; whence it became necessary, as soon as that language ceased to be vernacular among the Jews, to establish an interpreter, by whom the Jewish scriptures were expounded in the Chaldee dialect, which was spoken by them after the return from the Babylonian captivity.[1] The doctor or reader therefore, having the interpreter always by him, softly whispered in his ears what he said, and this interpreter repeated aloud to the people what had thus been communicated to him. To this custom our Saviour is supposed to have alluded when he said to his disciples, *What ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops.* (Matt. x. 27.)[2]

[1] From this practice originated the Chaldee-Paraphrases, of which an account has been given in a former volume of this work.

[2] Dr. Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ, on Matt. x. 27.

HAPHTOROTH.

Portuguese and Italian Jews.	*German and Dutch Jews.*
Hos. i. 10, 11. ii. 1—20.	Ditto.
Judg. xiii. 2—25. - - -	Ditto.
Zech. ii. 10—13. iii. 1—13. iv. 1—7.	Ditto.
Josh. ii. 1—24. - - - -	Ditto.
1 Sam. xi. 14, 15. xii. 1—22. -	Ditto.
Judg. xi. 1—33. - - - -	Ditto.
Micah v. 7—15. vi. 1—8. - -	Ditto.
1 Kings xx. 46. xix. 1—21. - -	Ditto.
Jer. i. 1—19. ii. 1—3. - - -	Ditto.
Jer. ii. 4—28. iv. 1, 2. - -	Jer. ii. 4—28. iii. 4.
Isai. i. 1—27. - - - -	Ditto.
xl. 1—26. - - - -	Ditto.
xlix. 14—26. l. 1—3. - -	Ditto.
liv. 11—17. lv. 1—5. - -	Ditto.
li. 12—23. lii. 1—12. - -	Ditto.
liv. 1—10. - - - -	Ditto.
lx. 1—22. - - - -	Ditto.
lxi. 10, 11. lxii. 1—12. lxiii. 1—9.	Ditto.
Hos. xiv. 1—9. Mic. vii. 18—20. -	Isa. lv. 6—13. lvi. 1—8.
2 Sam. xxii. 1—51. Some say Ezek. xvii. 22—24. xviii. 1—32. - -	Hos. xiv. 1—9. Joel ii. 1—27.
Josh. i. 1—18. Eccles. i.—xii. inclusive.	Ditto. [1]

3. The third and last part of the synagogue service is, *Exposition of the Scriptures*, and *Preaching to the people from them*. The first was performed *at* the time of reading them, and the other *after* the reading of the law and the prophets. In Luke iv. 15—22. we have an account of the service of the synagogue in the time of Christ; from which it appears, that he taught the Jews in their synagogues in both these ways: *And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all. And*

[1] The above tables are copied from Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary on Deut. xxxiv., who states that he has in general followed the divisions in the best Masoretic Bibles, from which our common English Bibles in some cases will be found to vary a little. On the above tables, Dr. Clarke remarks, that though the Jews are agreed in the sections of the law that are read every sabbath; yet they are not agreed in the haphtoras, or sections from the prophets; as it appears above, that the Dutch and German Jews differ in several cases from the Italian and Portuguese; and there are some slighter variations besides those above which he has not noticed.

he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias: and when he had unrolled the volume [1] *he found the place where it was written, 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord!' And he folded the volume* [2], *and he gave it again to the minister and sat down: and the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened on him. And he began to say unto them: This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. And all bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth.*

From this passage we learn that, when Jesus Christ came to Nazareth, his own city, he was called out, as a member of that synagogue, to read the haphtorah, that is, the section or lesson out of the prophets for that day; which appears to have been the fifty-first haphtorah, and to have commenced with the *first* verse of Isa. lxi. and not with the tenth, as in the table above given. "Have the Jews," asks an eminent commentator, "altered this haphtorah, knowing the use which our blessed Lord made of it among their ancestors [3]?" Further, he stood up (as it was customary, at least, for the officiating minister to do out of reverence for the word of God) to read the Scriptures; and unrolled the manuscript until he came to the lesson appointed for that day; which having read, he rolled it up again, and gave it to the proper officer; and then he sat down and expounded it, agreeably to the usage of the Jews. In like manner, according to the custom of their public instructors, we find our Saviour *sitting down* (Matt. v. 1.) before he began to deliver his sermon on the mount to the assembled multitudes; and upon another

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[1] Ἀνεκτυξας το βιβλιον. This word signifies to *unfold*, *unroll*. The books of the antients were written on parchment and rolled up. Hence the word *volume*. Αλλ' ουκ ανεκτυξαντες αυτους και τω χειρε περιβαλοντες αλληλοις; Why do not we unfold our arms, and clasp each other in them? Dion. Halicarn. lib. 6. p. 392. Hudson. Τον επιστολην ΑΝΕΠΤΥΞΑΣ, unfolding the letter. Josephus de vitâ suâ, p. 21. Havercamp. Γραψας εις βιβλιον τα εδουλετο, αλειψν των Περσων επωησατο, μετα δε, ΑΝΕΠΤΥΞΑΣ, ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ [the very expression of the evangelist.] Herodotus, lib. i. c. 125. tom. i. p. 158. edit. Oxon. 1809. The sacred writings, used to this day in all the Jewish synagogues, are written on skins of basil, parchment, or vellum, pasted end to end, and *rolled* on two *rollers*, beginning at each end; so that, in reading from right to left, they roll off with the *left*, while they roll on with the right hand. (Dr. A. Clarke on Luke vi. 17.)

[2] Πτυξας το βιβλιον.

[3] Dr. A. Clarke, on Deut. xxxiv.

occasion *sitting down*, and out of the ship teaching the people who were collected on the shore. (Matt. xiii. 1.) So also it is said of the scribes, who were the Jewish clergy, that they *sat* (Matt. xxiii. 2.) *in Moses' chair: Whatever therefore they bid you observe, that observe and do, but do not after their works, for they say, and do not.* But, when Christ entered any synagogue of which he was not a member (as it appears from Luke iv. 16. he always did on every sabbath day, wherever he was), he taught the people in sermons after the law and the prophets had been read.

It should seem also, at least in foreign countries where places of worship were established, that when strangers, who were Jews, arrived at such towns, and went to offer their devotions, it was usual for the presidents of the synagogue, after the appointed portion out of the law and the prophets was read, to send a servant to them, and in a very respectful manner to request that if they could impart any thing that might contribute to the religious instruction and edification of the audience, they would deliver it. This token of respect and politeness shown to strangers, appears from the following passage in the Acts of the Apostles. (Acts xiii. 14, 15.) When Paul and his companions, on their arrival at Antioch in Pisidia, went into the Jewish synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down, after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogues sent to them, saying, *Men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. Upon which Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand, said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience.*

The synagogues, however, were not only places set apart for prayer; they were also schools where youth were instructed. The sages (for so were the teachers called) sat upon elevated benches, while the pupils stood at their feet or before them[1]; which circumstance explains St. Paul's meaning (Acts xxii. 3.) when he says that he was *brought up* AT THE FEET *of Gamaliel.*

V. Their synagogue days were the sabbath, and the second and fifth days of each week, answerable to our Saturday, Monday, and Thursday, besides their holy days. And their synagogue hours, on which divine service was performed, were thrice on each of these days, viz. in the morning, afternoon,

[1] Fleury, Lamy, and other eminent critics, have supposed that the Jewish youth *sat* on low seats or on the ground, at the feet of their preceptors, who occupied a lofty chair: but Vitringa has shown, from Jewish authority, that the disciples of the rabbins *stood* before them in the manner above represented. See his treatise de Synag. Vet. lib. i. p. 1. c. 7. Kypke (Observ. Sacræ, in Nov. Fœd. Libros, vol. ii. pp. 114, 115.) has collected a variety of passages from Greek writers, to show that the expression παρα τους ποδας, *at the feet*, is equivalent to πλησιον, *near* or *before*.

and at night. For they held it to be a constant rule, that all were to pray unto God *three times* every day, after the example of David (Psal. liv. 6.), and of Daniel (Dan. vi. 10.); so that they reckoned themselves strictly bound to perform this somewhere every day, as well as on the synagogue days. If at home, they prayed there; and thus we are told that Cornelius was praying in his own house at the *ninth hour* of the day (that is, at the time of the evening sacrifice) when the angel appeared unto him. (Acts x. 30.) And in like manner Peter prayed about the *sixth hour*, when he had the vision of the great sheet. (Acts x. 9.) But if they were abroad, though in the market-place or in the street, at the usual hour of prayer, they made no difficulty of doing it there; and for this our Saviour reproved them, *that they loved to pray standing in the corners of the streets* (Matt. vi. 5.), thereby affecting to be seen of men: but generally such whose leisure would allow them, went to the synagogue on the usual days of worship.

VI. Those who had been guilty of any notorious crime, or were otherwise thought unworthy, were cast out of these synagogues, that is, excommunicated, and excluded from partaking with the rest in the public prayers and religious offices there performed; so that they were looked upon as mere Heathens, and shut out from all benefit of the Jewish religion, which exclusion was esteemed scandalous. We are told that the Jews came to a resolution, that *whoever confessed that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue.* (John ix. 22.) And therefore when the blind man, who had been restored to sight, persisted in confessing that he believed the person who had been able to work such a miracle could not have done it, if *he were not of God, they cast him out.* (ver. 33, 34.)[1]

VII. The following are the *Shemoneh Esreh*, or nineteen prayers of the Jews, referred to in page 260, as translated by Dr. Prideaux. That which was formerly the *nineteenth* is now the *twelfth* in the order in which they stand in the Jewish liturgies. The first or *precatory* part of each article was pronounced by the priest, and the last or *eucharistical* part was the response of the people.

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[1] Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. ii. pp. 219—221. Prideaux's Connections, (book vi. sub anno 444.) vol. i. pp. 374—391. Fleury's Manners of the Israelites by Dr. Clarke, pp. 336—338. Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. pp. 180. 182. Schulzii Archæol. Heb. pp. 225, 226. Reland's Antiq. Hebr. part i. c. 10. pp. 136—140. Ikenii Antiq. Hebr. part 1. c. 9. pp. 100—105. Shachtii Animadversiones ad Ikenii Antiq. Heb. pp. 452—470. Lardner's Credibility, book i. c. 9. § 6. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 447. 595.; and Dr. Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book ii. c. 2. pp. 271—285. On the synagogue worship of the Modern Jews, see Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 319—354.

"1. Blessed be thou, O LORD our GOD, the GOD of our fathers, the GOD of Abraham, the GOD of Isaac, the GOD of Jacob, the great GOD, powerful and tremendous, the high GOD, bountifully dispensing benefits, the creator and possessor of the universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy love sendest a redeemer to those who are descended from them, for thy name's sake, O King our LORD and helper, our Saviour and our shield.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who art the shield of Abraham.*

"2. Thou, O LORD, art powerful for ever; thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save; thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustainest with thy beneficence all that are therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou raisest up those who fall; thou healest the sick, thou loosest them who are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those who sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to thee, O thou LORD of might! and who is like unto thee, O our king, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring as the grass in the field! Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who raisest the dead again to life!*

"3. Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day, Selah. For a great king and a holy art thou, O GOD.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD GOD, most holy!*

"4. Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding: give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who graciously givest knowledge unto men!*

"5. Bring us back, O our Father, to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts, and do thou, O our king, draw us near to thy worship, and convert us to thee by perfect repentance in thy presence.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance!*

"6. Be thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for we have sinned: pardon us, O our king, for we have transgressed against thee. For thou art a God, good and ready to pardon.—*Blessed art thou, O Lord most gracious, who multipliest thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins!*

"7. Look, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our litigations; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption for thy name's sake. For thou art our GOD, our king, and a strong redeemer.—*Blessed art thou, O Lord, the redeemer of Israel.*

"8. Heal us, O LORD our GOD, and we shall be healed; save us, and we shall be saved. For thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a GOD who healest, and art merciful.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD our GOD, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel!*

"9. Bless us, O LORD our GOD, in every work of our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us, upon the face of all our land, and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who givest thy blessing to the years!*

"10. Gather us together by the sound of the great trumpet, to the enjoyment of our liberty; and lift up thy ensign to call together all the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth into our own land.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel!*

"11. Restore unto us our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning; and remove far from us affliction and trouble, and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD our king, who lovest righteousness and justice!*

"12. [1] Let there be no hope to them, who apostatise from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let [2] the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out, and broken in our days.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD our GOD, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud!* [3]

"13. Upon the pious and the just, and upon [4] the proselytes of justice, and upon the remnant of thy people of the

[1] This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians, or as others say by Rabbi Samuel the little, who was one of his scholars.

[2] The Roman empire.

[3] The twelfth prayer, as now used by the Jews, varies considerably from that above given. In the Prayer Book of the *German* and *Polish Jews*, it stands thus:—'O let the slanderers have no hope, all the wicked be annihilated speedily, and all the tyrants be cut off quickly; humble thou them quickly in our days. *Blessed art thou, O Lord, who destroyest enemies and humblest tyrants.*' In the Prayer Book of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, this prayer runs thus:—"Let slanderers have no hope, and all presumptuous apostates perish as in a moment; and may thine enemies, and those who hate thee, be suddenly cut off, and all those who act wickedly be suddenly broken, consumed, and rooted out; and humble thou them speedily in our days. *Blessed art thou, O Lord, who destroyest the enemies and humblest the proud!*" Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 329.

[4] Concerning these supposed proselytes of justice, see page 276, *infra*.

house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved, O LORD our GOD, and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name; and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed, for we put our trust in thee.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who art the support and confidence of the just!*

"14. Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem, thy city, as thou hast promised; build it with a building to last for ever, and do this speedily even in our days.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who buildest Jerusalem!*

"15. Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up, and flourish; and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation. For we hope for thy salvation every day.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish!*

"16. Hear our voice, O LORD our GOD, most merciful Father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our prayers with thy mercy and favour, and send us not away from thy presence, O our king. For thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who hearest prayer!*

"17. Be thou well pleased, O LORD our GOD, with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers; restore thy worship to [1] the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy people be continually well pleasing unto thee.—*Blessed art thou, O LORD, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion.*

"18. We will give thanks unto thee with praise. For thou art the LORD our GOD, the GOD of our fathers, for ever and ever. Thou art our rock, and the rock of our life, and the shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life which is always in thy hands, and because of thy signs, which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders, and marvellous loving kindness, which are morning, and evening, and night before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee. And for all these mercies be thy name, O king, blessed and exalted, and lifted up on high for

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[1] i. e. The Adytum Templi, which in the Temple of Jerusalem was the holy of holies, into which none ever entered but the high priest once a year on the great day of expiation. From this place after the Babylonish captivity were wanting the ark, the mercy seat, the Shechinah of the divine presence, and the Urim and Thummim, which causing an imperfection in their worship in respect of what it was formerly, a restoration of them seems to be the subject of this petition.

ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O God of our salvation, and our help. Selah.—*Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and to whom it is fitting alway to give praise.*

"19. Give peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, our Father, even all of us together as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine eyes, to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment.—*Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace.* Amen."

CHAPTER II.

SACRED PERSONS.

SECTION I.

OF THE JEWISH CHURCH AND ITS MEMBERS.

I. *The whole nation accounted holy.*—II. *Members of the Jewish Church; Hebrews of the Hebrews.*—III. *Proselytes.*—IV. *Jews of the Dispersion.*—V. *Hellenistic Jews.*—VI. *The Libertines.*—VII. *Devout Men.*—VIII. *Circumcision.*—IX. *Proselytes how introduced into the Jewish Church.*

I. JEHOVAH, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, having been pleased to prefer the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, before every other nation, and to select them from every other people for the purposes of imparting to them the revelation of his will, and of preserving the knowledge and worship of the true God; He is thence said to have chosen them, and they are in many passages of Scripture represented as his chosen and elect people [1]. And because they were by the will of God set apart, and appropriated in a special manner to his honour and obedience, and furnished with extraordinary motives to holiness, God is therefore said to have sanctified them. (Lev. xx. 8. xxi. 8. xxii. 9. 16. 32.) For these reasons they are termed a holy nation, a kingdom of priests, and also saints [2]; and their covenant relation to God is urged upon them as a motive to holiness of heart and practice. (Lev. xix. 2. xx. 7, 8. 26. xi. 45. Exod. xxii. 31.) But the Jews of later times, becoming proud of these titles, and of their ecclesiastical privileges, extended their charity only to those of their own faith; while towards the rest of mankind they cherished a sullen and inveterate hatred, accounting them to be profane persons and sinners [3]. This relative or imputed holi-

[1] Compare Deut. iv. 37. vii. 6. x. 15. 1 Kings viii. 22, *et seq.* 1 Chron. xvi. 13. Psal. cv. 6. xxxiii. 12. cv. 43. cvi. 5. cxxxv. 4. Isa. xli. 8, 9. xliii. 20. xliv. 1, 2. xlv. 4. and Ezek. xx. 5.

[2] Compare Exod. xix. 6. Lev. xi. 44, 45. xix. 2. xx. 26. Deut. vii. 6. xiv. 2, 21. xxvi. 19. xxviii. 9. xxxiii. 3. 2 Chron. vi. 41. Psal. xxxiv. 9. l. 5. 7. lxxix. 2. cxxxii. 9. cxlviii. 14.

[3] Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium. Such is the character of the Jews, given by the Roman historian, as they were in the time of our Saviour (Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. 5. tom. iii. p. 267. edit. Bipont.); which is abundantly confirmed by the sacred writers. See Matt. ix. 10, 11. xxvi. 45. Gal. ii. 15, 17. 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.

ness of the Jews as a covenant people, separated and consecrated to the worship of the true God, was perpetual, (in other words it was to subsist until the institution of the Gospel dispensation); although the Jews were often extremely corrupt in their manners, as the numerous denunciations of the prophets sufficiently indicate. Hence some of the rabbinical writers call the most wicked kings of Israel and Judah holy,—holy, or righteous, and Israelite, being with them convertible terms, (compare Wisd. x. 15. 17. 20. xviii. 1. 7. 9. 20.): and in the time of our Lord the Jews held the preposterous notion, that though they should continue in their sins, yet, because they were the offspring of Abraham, God would not impute their sins to them.[1]

The apostles being Jews by birth, though they wrote in Greek, have retained their national idiom, and have borrowed the Old Testament phraseology, which they have applied to Christians, in order to convey to them accurate ideas of the magnitude of God's love to them in Christ. Thus, the apostles not only call them disciples and brethren, that is, friends united in the same profession of faith by bonds equally close as those of brothers, "having one Lord, one faith, one baptism;" but, because all true Christians are by the will of God set apart and appropriated in an especial manner to his honour, service, and obedience, and are furnished with extraordinary helps and motives to holiness, they are therefore said to be *sanctified*, (1 Cor. i. 2. vi. 11. Heb. ii. 11. x. 29. Jude 1.); and are further styled holy, holy brethren, a holy nation, and saints.[2]

II. The first members of this church were the immediate descendants of Abraham by Isaac and Jacob, whom God, having delivered from their oppressive bondage in Egypt, chose for himself to be his peculiar people, and their direct issue, without any intermixture of Gentile blood or language. These are termed by St. Paul *Hebrews of the Hebrews* (Phil. iii. 5.), as opposed to the *Hellenistic Jews*, or those who lived among the Greeks, whose language they spoke, and who were called *Hellenists*. (Acts vi. 1. ix. 29. xi. 20.) Many of the latter were descended from parents, *one* of whom only was a Jew. Of this description was Timothy. (Acts xvi. 1.) Those, who were born in Judæa, of parents rightly descended from Abraham, and who received their education in Judæa, spoke the language

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[1] See Whitby on Matt. iii. 9.

[2] See Col. iii. 12. 1 Thess. v. 27. Heb. iii. 9. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Acts ix. 32, 41. xxvi. 10. Rom. i. 7. xii. 13. xv. 25, 26. xvi. 15. 1 Cor. i, 2. 2 Cor. i. 1. xiii. 13. Phil. iv. 22. Eph. i. 1. Phil. i. 1. and Col. i. 2. Bishop Watson's Coll. of Tracts, vol. iii. p. 328. 356. Jahn, Archæol. Hebr. p. 492, 493.

of their forefathers, and were thoroughly instructed in the learning and literature of the Jews, were reckoned more honourable than the Hellenists [1]; and, to mark the excellence of their lineage and language, they were called *Hebrews*;—a name the most antient, and therefore the most honourable, of all the names borne by Abraham's descendants; for it was the name given to Abraham himself, by the Canaanites, to signify that he had come from the other side of the Euphrates. A *Hebrew*, therefore, possessing the character and qualifications above described, was more honourable than an *Israelite*; as that name indicated only that a person was a member of the commonwealth of Israel, which a Jew might be, though born and educated in a foreign country. Saint Paul, indeed, was born at Tarsus, in Cilicia; yet, being a Hebrew of the Hebrews, who received his education at Jerusalem, spoke the language used there, and understood the Hebrew in which the antient oracles of God were written, he was a Jew of the most honourable class; and, therefore, when cautioning the Philippians against Judaising teachers and unbelieving Jews, he enumerates this privilege among those of which (if salvation were to be obtained by them), he *might have confidence in the flesh.* (Phil. iii. 4, 5.) The privileges of the Israelites, which were very highly esteemed by all Jews are enumerated by St. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, in a very animated manner. [2]

III. Although the constitution of the Jewish polity and the laws of Moses allowed no other nations to participate in their sacred rites, yet they did not exclude from them such persons as were willing to qualify themselves for conforming to them. Hence they admitted proselytes, who renounced the worship of idols, and joined in the religious services of the Jews; although they were not held in the same estimation as Jews by birth, descent, and language, who, we have just seen, were

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[1] It has been remarked that Greek words ending in ιστης imply inferiority. Thus, the Ελληνες (*Hellen*ES) were distinguished from the Ελληνισται (*Hellen*ISTÆ); the *former* imply *pure* or *native* Greeks, who spohe the Greek tongue in its purity; and the *latter*, *Jews* or others sojourning among the Greeks, who spoke the Greek language according to the Hebrew idiom. These were the Ελληνισται, Hellenists or *Grecians* who *murmured against the Hebrews.* (Acts vi. 1.) "Pythagoras divided his disciples into two classes. Those, who were capable of entering into the spirit and mystery of his doctrine, he called Πυθαγορειοι, *Pythago*REANS; those, who were of a different cast, he termed Πυθαγοριστοι, or *Pythago*RISTS. The former were eminent and worthy of their master; the latter, but *indifferent*. The same distinction is made between those who were called Αττικους or *Atti*CS, and Αττικιστας or *Atti*CISTS,—the pure and less pure Greeks, as between those called Ελληνας and Ελληνιστας, *Hellen*ES and *Hellen*ISTS, pure Greeks, and Græcising Jews." Iamblichus de vita Pythag. c. 18. and Schoettgen. cited by Dr. A. Clarke on Acts vi. 1.

[2] See Drs. Whitby, Doddridge, Macknight, A. Clarke, or Messrs. Scott, Henry, &c. on Rom. ix. 4. and Phil. iii. 5.

termed Hebrews of the Hebrews. During the time of Jesus Christ, the Jews, especially the Pharisees, greatly exerted themselves in making proselytes to their religion and sect.[1]

Calmet, and some other learned men after him, have distinguished two kinds of proselytes, namely, 1. *Proselytes of the gate*, who dwelt either in or out of the land of Israel, and worshipped the true God, observing the seven precepts of Noah[2], but without obliging themselves to circumcision or any other legal ceremony; and, 2. *Proselytes of justice or of righteousness*, who were converts to Judaism, and engaged themselves to receive circumcision, as well as to observe the whole of the Mosaic law. There does not, however, appear to be any foundation in the Scriptures for such a distinction: nor can any with propriety be termed proselytes, except those who *fully* embraced the Jewish religion. The Scriptures mention only two classes of persons, viz. the Israelites or Hebrews of the Hebrews above-mentioned, and the Gentile converts to Judaism, which last are called by the names of strangers and sojourners, or proselytes.[3]

VI. In consequence of the Babylonish captivity, the Jews were dispersed among the various provinces of the great Babylonian empire; and though a large portion of them returned under Zerubbabel, it appears that a considerable part remained behind. From this circumstance, as well as from various

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[1] Compare Acts vi. 5. xiii. 43. and Matt. xxiii. 15. with Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. ix. § 1. and lib. xx. c. iii. § 4.

[2] These precepts are by the Jewish doctors termed the seven precepts of Noah, and (they pretend) were given by God to the sons of Noah. They are as follow:—1. Not to commit idolatry; 2. Not to blaspheme the name of God; 3. To constitute upright judges for the maintenance of justice, and its impartial administration to all persons; 4. Not to commit incest; 5. Not to commit murder; 6. Not to rob or steal; 7. Not to eat a member of any living creature. "Every one," says a living Jewish writer, "that observes these seven commandments, is entitled to happiness. But to observe them merely from a sense of their propriety, is deemed by Maimonides insufficient to constitue a pious Gentile, or to confer a title to happiness in the world to come; it is requisite that they be observed, *because* they are divine commands." See Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 107. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 148, 149.

[3] These two classes are very frequently mentioned in the books of Moses; thus in Levit. xxv. we have "the children of Israel" (ver. 2.) and "the strangers that sojourn" among them, (ver. 45.) See also Ezek. xiv. 7.——"Every one of the house of Israel, or of the stranger that sojourneth in Israel, that separateth himself from me, and setteth up idols in his heart:"—It is evident that, by the "stranger," in this passage, is meant a proselyte who had been converted to the worship of Jehovah, otherwise he could not have been separated from him. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. *ut supra*. Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. ch. iii. pp. 63—80. Dr. Lardner has remarked that the notion of two sorts of proselytes is not to be found in any Christian writer before the *fourteenth* century; see his arguments at large, Works, vol. vi. pp. 522—533. or vol. iii. pp. 397—400. 4to. and vol. xi. pp. 313—324. 8vo. or vol. v. pp. 485—493. 4to. This observation renders it probable that the nineteenth (or twelfth) prayer of the Jews in p. 270. *supra*, is not of so early a date as is commonly supposed.

other causes, it happened, in the time of our Lord, that great numbers of Jews were to be found in Greece, and all the other parts of the Roman empire, which, at that time had no other limits but those of the then known world [1]. It was of the Jews "dispersed among the Gentiles" that our Lord spoke in John vii. 37.: and to them he is also supposed to have alluded when he said that he had other sheep (John x. 16.), but without excluding the Gentiles, who also were to enter into his sheepfold, or be admitted into his church. To these dispersed Jews it was, that St. Peter and St. James inscribed their respective epistles; the former to those who were scattered through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia, (1 Pet. i. 1.); and the latter, to the twelve tribes who were dispersed throughout the then known world. (James i. 1.) The Jews, who were assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, were of the dispersion. (Acts ii. 5—11.)

V. There were also Jews who lived in those countries where Greek was the living language, and perhaps spoke no other. These are distinguished in the New Testament from the Hebrews or *native* Jews, who spoke what was then called Hebrew (a kind of Chaldaico-Syriac), by the appellation of Hellenists, or Grecians as they are termed in our authorized English version. These in all other respects were members of the Jewish church; they are repeatedly mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and it was a party of the Hellenistic Jews that requested to see Jesus. [2]

VI. During the time of our Saviour there was a considerable number of Jews resident at Rome: Josephus estimates them at eight thousand; and Philo, who relates that they occupied a large quarter of the city, says, that they were chiefly such as had been taken captive at different times, and had been carried into Italy, where they had subsequently acquired their freedom, and were called *Libertines*. The synagogue of the Libertines, mentioned in Acts vi. 9. is, by some critics, supposed to have belonged to this class of Jews [3]: but we have already shewn that they derived their name from the city of Libertus, or Libertina, in Africa. [4]

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[1] Philo de Legatione ad Caium, p. 1031. et in Flaccum, p. 971. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvi. c. 6. lib. xii. c. 3. lib. xiv. c. 10. Cicero Orat. pro Flacco, c. 28.

[2] John xii. 20. See also Acts vi. 1. ix. 29. and xi. 20. and the commentators on those passages.

[3] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 11. (al. 13.) lib. xviii. c. 3. (al. 4.) § 4, 5. Philo de Legat. ad Caium, p. 1014. Tacitus, Annal. lib. ii. c. 85. Suetonius in Tiberio, c. 36. Wolfius on Acts vi. 1. has detailed the various opinions of learned men respecting the Libertines.

[4] See pp. 256, 257. *supra*.

VII. In consequence of this dispersion of the Jews throughout the Roman empire, and the extensive commerce which they carried on with other nations, their religion became known, and the result was the prevalence of a somewhat purer knowledge of the true God among the Gentiles. Hence we find, that there were many who, though they did not adopt the rite of circumcision, yet had acquired a better knowledge of the Most High than the Pagan theology furnished, and who in some respects conformed to the Jewish religion. Of this description appear to be the '*devout men, who feared God*,' who are frequently mentioned in the New Testament [1], and particularly the pious centurion Cornelius, of whom the sacred writer has given us so pleasing an account. (Acts x.)

VIII. All these persons, with the exception of the last class, were members of the Jewish church, participated in its worship, and regulated themselves by the law of Moses (or at least professed to do so), and by the other inspired Hebrew books, whence their sacred rites and religious instruction were derived. No person however was allowed to partake of the sacred ordinances, until he had undergone the rite of circumcision. This rite is first mentioned in Gen. xvii. 10—12., where we read that it was a seal of the covenant which God made with Abraham and his posterity. Afterwards, when God delivered his law to the children of Israel, he renewed the ordinance of circumcision, which from that time became a sacrament of the Jewish religion. Hence the protomartyr Stephen calls it the 'covenant of circumcision,' (Acts vii. 8.); and Jesus Christ also ascribes its institution to Moses, though it was derived from the patriarchs. (John vii. 22.) Besides the design which God proposed to himself in establishing this ceremony, he appointed it for some other ends, suited to the circumstances of the Israelites; a brief consideration of which will illustrate many important passages of Scripture. In the first place it included in it so solemn and indispensable an obligation to observe the whole law, that circumcision did not profit those who transgressed. (Rom. ii. 25.) Hence the Jews are in the Scriptures frequently termed the *circumcision*, that is, persons circumcised, as opposed to the uncircumcised Gentiles, who are styled the *uncircumcision*, (Rom. iii. 1. 30. iv. 12. Gal. ii. 7—9. Eph. ii. 11. Phil. iii. 5.); the abstract being put for the concrete. Thus, our Saviour is called the minister of circumcision; and therefore St. Paul says, that whoever is circumcised, is bound to keep

[1] See Acts xiii. 43. 50. xvi. 14. xvii. 4, 17. and xviii. 7.

the whole law. (Gal. v. 3.) For the same reason Jesus Christ was circumcised, that he might be made under the law, to fulfil the promise of the Messiah, and redeem those who were under the law. (Gal. iv. 4.) Secondly, as only circumcised persons were deemed to be visible members of the Jewish church, so none but these were permitted to celebrate the great festivals, particularly the passover. On this account it was that Joshua commanded all the Israelites, who having been born in the wilderness remained uncircumcised, to undergo the rite of circumcision, previously to their entering the land of Canaan (Josh. v. 4. 6. 9.); on which occasion God told them that he had removed or rolled away the reproach of Egypt from them; in other words, that they should thenceforth be regarded as his peculiar people, and no longer as the slaves of Egypt. The knowledge of this circumstance beautifully illustrates Eph. ii. 11—13.; where St. Paul, describing the wretched state of the Gentiles before their conversion, represents them as aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and consequently excluded from all its privileges and blessings. Thirdly, circumcision was an open profession of the worship of the true God, and consequently an abjuration of idolatry; on this account we are told that during the persecution of Antiochus the heathen put to death those Jewish women who had caused their children to be circumcised [1]; and such Jews as apostatised to heathenism took away as much as possible every vestige of circumcision. At this rite was an open profession of the Jewish religion, some zealous converts from that faith to Christianity strenuously urged its continuance, especially among those who were of Jewish origin; but this was expressly prohibited by St. Paul. (1 Cor. vii. 18.)

Lastly, circumcision was appointed for mystical and moral reasons: it was, as baptism is with us, an external sign of inward purity and holiness: hence these expressions of "circumcising the foreskin of the heart," the "circumcision of the heart," the "circumcision made without hands," the "uncircumcised in heart," &c. so often occurring in the Scriptures. [2]

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[1] 1 Macc. i. 63. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. 7.

[2] See Lev. xxvi. 41, 42. Deut. x. 16. xxx. 6. Jer. iv. 4. ix, 25, 26. Rom. ii. 25—29. Col. ii. 11. Acts vii. 51. Circumcision was that rite of the law by which the Israelites were taken into God's covenant; and (in the spirit of it) was the same as baptism among Christians. For as the form of baptism expresses the putting away of sin, circumcision was another form to the same effect. The Scripture speaks of a "circumcision made without hands," of which that made with hands was no more than an outward sign, which denoted "the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh," (Col. ii. 11.) and becoming a new creature; which is the sense of our baptism. Of this inward and spiritual grace of circumcision the apostle speaks expressly in another place: "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward

The sacrament of circumcision was enjoined to be observed on the eighth day (Gen. xvii. 12.), including the day when the child was born, and that on which it was performed; and so scrupulous were the Jews in obeying the letter of the law, that they never neglected it, even though it happened on the sabbath day. (John vii. 22, 23.) This they termed "driving away the sabbath." If they were obliged to perform circumcision, either sooner or later, it was considered as a misfortune, and the circumcision so administered, though valid, was not deemed equally good with that done on the eighth day: and when this ceremony was deferred, it was never used to drive away the sabbath. It was for this reason that St. Paul accounted it no small privilege to have been circumcised on the eighth day. Accordingly John the Baptist (Luke i. 59.) and Jesus Christ (Luke ii. 21.) were circumcised exactly on that day. There was a peculiar fitness in the circumcision of Jesus Christ: for, as the Jews reckoned it dishonourable to associate with uncircumcised persons (Acts xi. 3.), it was necessary that he should be circumcised in order to qualify him for conversing familiarly with them, and also for discharging the other duties of his ministry. Besides, as the Messiah was to be descended from Abraham, whose posterity were distinguished from the rest of mankind by this rite, he received the seal of circumcision to show that he was rightly descended from that patriarch: and as every person that was circumcised was "a debtor to the whole law" (Gal. v. 3.) it was further necessary that Jesus Christ the true Messiah should be circumcised; because, being thus subjected to the law of Moses, he was put in a condition to fulfil all righteousness, and redeem those who were under the law[1]. (Gal. iv. 4, 5.)

"in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the "heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter." (Rom. ii. 28.) Some may suppose that this spiritual application of circumcision, as a sacrament, was invented after the preaching of the gospel, when the veil was taken from the law; but this doctrine was only enforced to those who had it before, and had departed from the sense of their own law; for thus did Moses instruct the Jews, that there is a "foreskin of the heart" which was to be "circumcised" in a moral or spiritual way, before they could be accepted as the servants of God; and again, that the Lord would "circumcise their heart, to love "him with all their heart, and with all their soul," (Deut. x. 16. and xxx. 6.); which was the same as to say, that he would give them what circumcision signified, making them Jews inwardly, and giving them the inward grace with the outward sign; without which the letter of baptism avails no more now than the letter of circumcision did then: and we may say of the one as is said of the other, "He is not a Christian which is one "outwardly, and baptism is *not the putting away the filth of the flesh* by washing with "water, but *the answer of a good conscience towards God.*" (1 Pet. iii. 21.) Rev. W. Jones on the Figurative Language of Scripture, (Works, vol. iii. pp. 77, 78.) On this subject Dr. Graves has some excellent remarks, in his Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 241—250.

[1] Macknight and Whithy on Luke ii. 21.

At the same time that the child was circumcised, we learn from the Gospel, that it was usual for the father, or some near relation, to give him a name. Thus John the Baptist and Jesus Christ both received their names on that day. (Luke i. 59. ii. 21.) It appears, however, that the Jews had several names during the period comprised in the evangelical history. Thus it was customary with them, when travelling into foreign countries, or familiarly conversing with the Greeks and Romans, to assume a Greek or Latin name of great affinity, and sometimes of the very same signification with that of their own country, by which name they were usually called among the Gentiles. So Thomas was called Didymus (John xi. 16.); the one a Syriac and the other a Greek word, but both signifying *a twin.* (See Acts i. 23. xii. 12. 2 Pet. i. 1. Col. iv. 11. &c.) Sometimes the name was added from their country, as Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot (Matt. x. 4.); but more frequently from their assuming a new and different name upon particular occurrences in life. (See 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4. 2 Kings xxiv. 17. John i. 42.) The same practice obtains in the East to this day.[1]

However necessary circumcision was while the ceremonial law remained in force, it became equally indifferent and unnecessary on the abrogation of that law by the destruction of the temple. Until that time the apostles allowed it to be performed on the Jewish converts to Christianity; but they expressly prohibited the imposition of such a yoke on the necks of the Gentile converts: and therefore St. Paul, who has fully proved how unprofitable and unnecessary it is (1 Cor. vii. 19.), thought it proper to have Timothy circumcised, because his mother was of Jewish extraction (Acts xvi. 1—3.); though he would not, on the other hand, allow this ceremony to be performed on Titus, because he was a Greek (Gal. ii. 3.):—thus giving to the church in all ages a most excellent pattern, either of condescension or resolution, in insisting upon or omitting things indifferent, according to the difference of times and circumstances.[2]

IX. In the initiation of proselytes to the Jewish religion, according to the rabbinical writers, the three following obser-

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[1] See Harmer's Observations, vol. iv. pp. 431—433.

[2] Beausobre and L'Enfant's Introd. to the New Test. (Bishop Watson's Coll. of Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 205, 206.) Schulzii, Archæol. Hebr. pp. 159—166. Ikenii, Antiq. Hebr. pp. 343—347. Stosch. Compend. Archæol. Œconomicæ Nov. Test. § 32—36. Edwards on the Authority, &c. of Scripture, vol. ii. pp. 313—330. Mr. Allen has given an interesting account of the mode of circumcision that obtains among the Jews of the present time, in his "Modern Judaism," pp. 283—296.

vances were appointed, namely, circumcision, baptism, and the offering of sacrifice.

1. *Circumcision* was the seal of the covenant into which the poselyte entered with God, and of the solemn profession which he made to observe the entire law of Moses: and if the proselyte were a Samaritan, or of any other nation that used that rite, blood was to be drawn afresh from the part circumcised.

2. The second ceremony was *washing* or *baptism*; which must be performed in the presence of at least three Jews of distinction. At the time of its performance the proselyte declared his abhorrence of his past life, and that no secular motives, but a sincere love for the law of Moses, induced him to be baptised: and he was then instructed in the most essential parts of the law. He promised, at the same time, to lead a holy life, to worship the true God, and to keep his commandments.

3. The third ceremony to be performed was that of *offering sacrifice*.

All these rites, except circumcision, were performed by the women, as well as the men, who became proselytes: and it was a common notion among the Jews, that every person who had duly performed them all was to be considered as a new-born infant. Thus Maimonides expressly says:—"A Gentile who is become a proselyte, and a slave who is set at liberty, are both as it were new-born babes; which is the reason why those who before were their parents, are now no longer so."[1]

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[1] Some learned men have supposed that our Lord alluded to this rabbinical tradition when he reproached Nicodemus with being a master in Israel (John iii. 10.), and yet being at the same sime ignorant how a man could be born a second time. But it is most probable that Jesus Christ referred to that spiritual meaning of circumcision above noticed (see p. 279 and note [2] *supra*); because there are no traces of Jewish proselyte baptism *earlier than the middle of the second century*. Consequently it is more likely that the Jews took the hint of proselyte baptism from the Christians, *after* our Saviour's time, than that he borrowed his baptism from theirs; which, whenever it came into practice, was one of those additions to the law of God so severely censured by him. (Matt. xv. 9.) The arguments on the much disputed question, Whether baptism was in use, or not, before the time of our Saviour, are reviewed by Carpzov in his Apparatus Antiquitatum Sacrarum, p. 49. and by Dr. Jennings in his Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. 3. pp. 65—68. See also Dr. Whitby's Paraphrase and Notes on John iii. 4, 5, 6. It may not be irrelevant to remark that the learned Dr. Campbell refers our Lord's censure of Nicodemus, not to the rabbinical notion above mentioned, but rather to his entire ignorance of that effusion of the Spirit which would take place under the Messiah, and which had been so clearly foretold by the prophets. Translation of the Four Gospels, vol. ii. p. 515. 3d edit.

SECTION II.

ON THE MINISTERS OF THE TEMPLE AND OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL OR SACRED PERSONS.

I. *Of the Levites.*—II. *The Priests, their functions, maintenance, and privileges.*—III. *The High Priest.—Succession to the pontifical dignity.—His qualifications, functions, dress and privileges.*—IV. *Officers of the Synagogue.*—V. *The Nazarites; nature of their vows.*—VI. *The Rechabites.*—VII. *The Prophets.*

THE Jews, on the establishment of their republic, had no king but Jehovah himself; and the place appointed for their sacrifices and prayers was at the same time both the temple of their God and the palace of their sovereign. This circumstance will account for the pomp and splendour of their worship, as well as the number, variety, and gradations in rank of their ministers; which were first established by Moses, and afterwards renewed by David, with increased splendour, for the service of the temple. To this service the tribe of Levi was especially devoted, instead of the first-born of the tribes of Israel, and was disengaged from all secular labours. The honour of the priesthood, however, was reserved to the family of Aaron alone, the rest of the tribe being employed in the inferior offices of the temple: so that all the priests were Levites, but all the Levites were not priests.

I. Originally, the tribe of Levi was divided into the three families and orders of Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites (1 Chron. vi. 16, &c.), but afterwards they were divided by David (1 Chron. xxiii.) into four classes.

Their principal office was to wait upon the priests, and be assisting to them in the service of the tabernacle and temple; so that they were properly the ministers and servants of the priests, and obliged to obey their orders. (Numb. iii. 9. 1 Chron. xxiii. 28.) But the particular duties incumbent upon them were different in the time of Moses, while the Israelites were in the wilderness, from those which they had to discharge afterwards, in the days of David and Solomon. In the wilderness the tabernacle was always in a moveable condition as well as the Israelites; and at that time the chief business of the Levites was, when the Israelites journeyed, to take down the tabernacle, to carry it about as the host removed, to take care of all the instruments and sacred vessels belonging to it, and when the army pitched their tents to set them up again. Aaron, indeed,

together with his sons the priests, were to take the ark of the covenant, the tableof shew-bread, the candlestick, the altar of incense, and the altar of burnt-offerings, with all the utensils belonging thereto, and to cover them up severally with decency and care, in the manner as prescribed in Numb. iv. 5—15. But all these things were to be borne and carried by the Levites, in the doing of which the priests were to appoint every one of the Levites to his service and his burden. (ver. 19.)

In order that we may the better understand this precept, it should be observed, that the Israelitish camp was never to move until the cloud (which was the token of the divine presence) was taken up and removed from off the tabernacle (Exod. xl. 36, 37. Numb. x. 11.); so that when the cloud rested upon the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord filled the house, none but Aaron might enter into the most holy place, where the ark was, and that but one day in the year. But in their journeyings the glory of the Lord, which made that place so holy, being for the present removed in the cloud, when it was taken up from the tabernacle, not only Aaron, but also his sons the priests, might go into the most holy place without any irreverence, and cover the ark according to the directions given by God.

For the more regular performance of the several duties belonging to the tabernacle, the whole business was divided between the Kohathites, the Gershonites and the Merarites. The first were principally concerned in carrying the ark and sacred vessels belonging to the tabernacle under the conduct of Eleazer the priest (Numb. iv. 15.), which being the most honourable employment was given to them, most probably out of respect to Moses, who was descended of this family. The Gershonites and Merarites, under the direction of Ithamar, had the burden and charge of every thing else belonging to the tabernacle, as the coverings, hangings, woodwork, cords, pins, &c. (ver. 24—34.) Now when the Israelites were encamped, these three families of Levites were to pitch their tents round three sides of the tabernacle, and Moses and Aaron with their sons round the fourth quarter; by which means they were so disposed, as to be each of them as near as conveniently they could to their respective charges. Such was the office of the Levites in the time of Moses.

Afterwards, when the Israelites were settled in the promised land, this employment of the Levites in carrying the tabernacle and its utensils ceased; and therefore David and Solomon appointed them to new offices. They were chiefly indeed employed about the service of the temple, but during their recess,

while they were not in attendance there, they were dispersed through the whole country, and employed in the service of the state as well as of the church. David made six thousand of them officers and judges (1 Chron. xxiii. 4.); they also took care to instruct the people where they resided in the Mosaic law, by expounding the several parts of it; and, according to the Jews, they kept the public records and genealogies of the several tribes.

In the business about the temple, some of the chief amongst them had the charge of the treasures of the temple. (1 Chron. xxvi. 20.) Others of a lower rank were to prepare the shew-bread and unleavened cakes, with the proper quantity of flour for the morning and evening service. (1 Chron. xxiii. 29.) From which text it appears also that they had in their custody within the sanctuary the original standard for weights and measures, liquid and dry, according to which every thing of this kind was to be regulated. Hence it is we read often in Scripture of the shekel of the sanctuary, not that there were two sorts of shekels, one sacred and another civil, but because weights and measures, being reckoned among the sacred things, were kept in the sanctuary, as they were in the temples of the Pagans, and afterwards in Christian churches.[1]

In the temple-service many of the Levites were employed as porters to guard the gates and passages into the temple. (1 Chron. ix. 17.) Others were more honourably employed as singers in the temple, and were to stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise in the evening. (1 Chron. xxiii. 30.) And this we find they did in a very solemn manner at the dedication of the temple. (2 Chron. v. 12, 13.) The whole body of the Levites in David's time was eight and thirty thousand from thirty years old and upwards (1 Chron. xxiii. 3.), of which number he appointed four and twenty thousand to attend the constant duty and work of the temple; and these being divided as the priests were into four and twenty courses, (as appears from 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. and 2 Chron. xxxi. 17.), there were one thousand for each week. Six thousand again were to be officers and judges, as already mentioned, four thousand for porters, and four thousand for singers. (1 Chron. xxiii. 4, 5.) The four and twenty courses of singers are mentioned in 1 Chron. xxv. 8—31. This disposition of them was afterwards confirmed by Solomon when the temple was finished (2 Chron. viii. 14.); and all these had their chiefs or overseers as well as the priests. (Ezra viii. 29.)

[1] Novels of Justinian, nov. 128. cap. 15.

The duty of the porters was not only to be a military guard upon the temple, but to take care that no person who was unclean or uncircumcised might enter the court of the Israelites. (2 Chron. xxiii. 19.) And however mean their employment was, yet it was the pious desire of David, *rather to be a doorkeeper in the house of God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.* (Psal. lxxxiv. 10.) The order of singers was instituted by David, and it appears that the whole book of psalms was composed for this kind of devotion. David (by whom the greatest number was composed) directed many of them to the chief musician, for this very purpose, that they might be used in the service of the house of God. And we have one particular instance in which it is said, that *David delivered this psalm to thank the Lord into the hand of Asaph and his brethren.* (1 Chron. xvi. 7.) The principal persons of this order, and who had the superintendency over all the rest, were Heman and Asaph of the line of Gershon, and Jeduthun of the line of Merari, of whom we have an account in 1 Chron. xxv.

In the service of the tabernacle Moses did not appoint the use of any musical instruments; he only caused some trumpets to be made, which upon solemn occasions were to be sounded, at the time when the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were upon the altar. (Numb. x. 10.) But David, by the advice of the prophets Gad and Nathan, introduced several kinds of music into the service of the temple, as a thing highly conducive to inspire people with respect, with joy, and with affection for the solemnities and assemblies of religion. (2 Chron. xxix. 25. 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. and xxv. 1.) These instruments were confided to the care of the Levites; some of whom played on instruments, while others sang psalms, but all were divided into companies over whom a president was placed. (1 Chron. xxv.)

It was not birth alone which gave the Levites a title to officiate, they were obliged also to receive a sort of consecration, which consisted chiefly in sprinkling them with water, in washing, and in offering sacrifices. (Numb. viii. 6, 7, 8.) The usual age, at which the Levites were to enter to their office, was at five and twenty years, and so to continue till fifty. (Numb. viii. 24, 25.) But there was a particular precept which restrained the Kohathites (one of the three branches) from being employed to carry the holy things belonging to the sanctuary, till they were of the age of thirty (Numb. iv. 30.), probably, because these being the most valuable and important of all the moveables belonging to the tabernacle, required therefore persons of greater

experience and strength. Afterwards, when David new moulded the constitution of the Levites, he (by the same authority which impowered him to give directions about the building and situation of the house of God), ordered that for the future the Levites should be admitted at the age of twenty years. (1 Chron. xxiii. 24.) It does not appear by the first institution of the Levites that they had any peculiar habit in the ceremonies of religion, by which they were distinguished from other Israelites.

None of the Levites, of what degree or order soever, had any right to sacrifice, for that was the proper duty of the priests only: The Levites indeed were to assist the priests in killing and flaying the sacrifices, and during the time they were offered up, to sing praises to God: and in this sense the two passages in 1 Chron. xxiii. 31. and 2 Chron. xxxi. 2. are commonly understood; neither had they any title to burn incense to the Lord; and though the speech of Hezekiah (mentioned in 2 Chron. xxix. particularly ver. 11.) seems to imply otherwise, yet we ought to consider that he is speaking there to the priests as well as to the Levites. It was upon account of their aspiring to the priest's office in this particular of burning incense, that Korah and his company (who were Levites) were miraculously destroyed, and their censers ordered to be beaten into broad plates, and fixed upon the altar, to be perpetual monuments of their presumptuous sacrilege, and a caution to all the children of Israel, that none presume to offer incense before the Lord, but the seed of Aaron, who alone were commissioned to the priestly office.

As the Levites were subordinate to the priests, so they the Levites had others under them, called *Nethinims*, whose business it was to carry the water and wood, that was wanted in the temple for the use of the sacrifices, and to perform other laborious services there. They were not originally of Hebrew descent, but are supposed to be chiefly the posterity of the Gibeonites, who for their fraudulent stratagem in imposing upon Joshua and the Hebrew princes (Josh. ix. 3—27.), were condemned to this employment, which was a sort of honourable servitude. We read in Ezra, that the Nethinims were devoted by David and the other princes to the service of the temple (Ezra viii. 20.), and they are called the children of Solomon's servants (Ezra ii. 58.), being probably a mixture of the race of the Gibeonites, and some of the remains of the Canaanites, whom Solomon constrained to various servitudes. (1 Kings ix. 20, 21.) They had a particular place in Jerusalem where they

dwelt, called Ophel, for the conveniency of being near the service of the temple. (Neh. iii. 26.)

In order to enable the Levites to devote themselves to that service, forty-eight cities were assigned to them for their residence on the division of the land of Canaan; thirteen of these were appropriated to the priests[1], to which were added the tithes of corn, fruit, and cattle. The Levites, however, paid to the priests a tenth part of all their tithes; and as they were possessed of no landed property, the tithes which the priests received from them were considered as the first fruits which they were to offer to God. (Numb. xviii. 21—24.)

II. Next to the Levites, but superior to them in dignity, were the ordinary PRIESTS, who were chosen from the family of Aaron exclusively. They served immediately at the altar, prepared the victims, and offered the sacrifices. They kept up a perpetual fire on the altar of the burnt-sacrifices, and also in the lamps of the golden candlestick in the sanctuary; they kneaded the loaves of shew-bread, which they baked, and offered on the golden altar in the sanctuary; and changed them every sabbath day. Every day, morning and evening, a priest (who was appointed at the beginning of the week by lot) brought into the sanctuary a smoking censer of incense, which he set upon the golden table, and which on no account was to be kindled with strange fire, that is, with any fire but that which was taken from the altar of burnt sacrifice. (Lev. x. 1, 2.) And as the number and variety of their functions required them to be well read in their law, in order that they might be able to judge of the various *legal* uncleannesses, &c.[1] this circumstance caused them to be consulted as interpreters of the law (Hos. iv. 6. Mal. ii. 7., &c. Lev. xiii. 2. Numb. v. 14, 15.), as well as judges of controversies. (Deut. xxi. 5. xvii. 8—13.) In the time of war, their business was to carry the ark of the covenant, to sound the holy trumpets, and animate the army to the performance of its duties. To them also it belonged publicly to bless the people in the name of the Lord.

The priests were divided by David into twenty-four classes (1 Chron. xxv.); which order was retained by Solomon; (2 Chron. viii. 14.) and at the revivals of the Jewish religion by the kings Hezekiah and Josiah. (2 Chron. xxxi. 2. xxxv. 4, 5.) As, however, only four classes returned from the Babylonish captivity (Ezra ii. 36—39. Neh. vii. 39—42. xii. 1.),

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[1] See p. 10. *supra*.

these were again divided into twenty-four classes, each of which was distinguished by its original appellation. This accounts for the introduction of the class or order of Abiah, mentioned in Luke i. 5., which we do not find noticed among those who returned from the captivity. One of these classes went up to Jerusalem every week to discharge the sacerdotal office, and succeeded one another on the sabbath day, till they had all attended in their turn. To each order was assigned a president (1 Chron. xxiv. 6. 31. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14.), whom some critics suppose to be the same as the *chief priests* so often mentioned in the New Testament, and in the writings of Josephus[1]. The prince or prefect of each class appointed an entire family to offer the daily sacrifices; and at the close of the week they all joined together in sacrificing. And as each family consisted of a great number of priests, they drew lots for the different offices which they were to perform. It was by virtue of such lot that the office of burning incense was assigned to Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, *when he went into the temple of the Lord.* (Luke i. 9.)

The sacerdotal dignity being confined to certain families, every one who aspired to it was required to establish his descent from those families: on this account the genealogies of the priests were inscribed in the public registers, and were preserved in the archives of the temple[2]. Hence, in order to preserve the purity of the sacerdotal blood, no priest was permitted to marry a harlot or profane woman, or one who had been divorced: and if any one laboured under any bodily defect, this excluded him from serving at the altar. Purity of body and sanctity of life were alike indispensable; nor could any one undertake the priestly office, in the early period of the Jewish polity, before he had attained thirty years, or, in later times, the age of twenty years[3]. According to Maimonides, the priest, whose genealogy was defective in any respect, was clothed in black, and veiled in black, and sent without the verge of the court of the priests; but every one that was found perfect and right was clothed in white, and went in and ministered with his brethren the priests. It is not improbable

[1] See Matt. xxvii. i. Acts iv. 23. v. 24. ix. 14, 21. xxii. 30. xxiii. 14. xxv. 15. xxvi. 10.; and also Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 8. § 8. De Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. 3. § 7. c. 4. § 3. et de vita sua, § 2, 5.

[2] Ezra ii. 62. Neh. vii. 64. Josephus contra Apion. lib. i. § 7. et in vita sua, § 1.

[3] Levit. xxi. 7. 17—23. Numb. iv. 3. 2 Chron. xxxi. 17. Maimonides has enumerated not fewer than 140 bodily defects which disqualified persons for the priesthood. See Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 12. § 2. and compare Carpzov's Apparatus Antiquitatum Sacrarum, p. 89. et seq.

that St. John refers to this custom of the Jewish sanhedrin in Rev. iii. 5. Those priests, whose birth was pure, lived in certain apartments of the temple, in which was deposited wood for the altar, and were employed in splitting and preparing it, to keep up the sacred fire[1]. No particular ceremony appears to have taken place at the consecration of the ordinary priests, who were admitted to the exercise of their functions by "*filling their hands*," as the Scriptures term it,—that is, by making them perform the offices of their order. But when the priests had departed from their religion, or had been a long time without discharging their functions (which happened under some of the later kings of Judah), it was deemed necessary to sanctify anew such priests, as well as those who had never exercised their ministry. (2 Chron. xxix. 34.)

The priests were not distinguished by their sacerdotal habits, unless when engaged in the service of the altar. Of these garments there are four kinds mentioned in the books of Exodus (xxviii.) and Leviticus (viii.) viz. 1. Linen drawers; 2. A linen tunic, which reached down to the ancles, fitting closely to the body, and the sleeves of which were tightly drawn round the arms: it was without seam, and woven from the top throughout. Such was the tunic worn by Jesus Christ, for which the soldiers cast lots[2]; 3. A girdle; and, 4. A tiara, which was originally a pointed kind of bonnet or turban, made of several rolls of linen cloth twisted round the head, but in the time of Josephus it approached somewhat to a globular form.[3]

In order that the priests, as well as the Levites, might be wholly at liberty to follow their sacred profession, they were exempted from all secular burthens or labours. Of the Levitical cities already mentioned, thirteen were assigned for the residence of the priests, with their respective suburbs (Numb. xxxv.); the limits of which were confined to a thousand cubits beyond the walls of the city, which served for out-houses, as stables, barns, and perhaps for gardens of herbs and flowers. Beyond this they had two thousand cubits more for their pasture, called properly the *fields of the suburbs*. (Levit. xxv. 34.) So that

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[1] Lamy, Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 213.

[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 7. § 2. See also the observations of Ernesti, Inst. Interp. Nov. Test. part ii. c. 10. § 88. pp. 371—373. It was for a long time supposed that the art of making such vests was irrecoverably lost. Braunius however rediscovered it, and procured a loom to be made, in which tunics were woven all of one piece. See his treatise de Vestitu Sacerdotum Hebræorum, lib. i. c. 16. p. 264.

[3] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. iii. c. 7. § 3.

there were in the whole three thousand cubits round the city; and in this sense we are to understand Numb. xxxv. 4, 5., where the word suburbs comprehends both the houses without the walls, and also the fields. But though the tribe of Levi had no portion in Canaan assigned them in the first division of it, yet they were not prevented from purchasing land, houses, goods, or cattle, out of their own proper effects. Thus we read that Abiathar had an estate of his own at Anathoth, to which Solomon banished and confined him (1 Kings ii. 26.); and the prophet Jeremiah, who was also a priest, purchased a field of his uncle's son in his own town. (Jer. xxxii. 8, 9.) Such were the residences allotted to the priests. Their maintenance was derived from the tithes offered by the Levites out of the tithes by them received, from the first fruits, from the first clip of wool when the sheep were shorn, from the offerings made in the temple, and from their share of the sin-offerings and thanksgiving-offerings sacrificed in the temple, of which certain parts were appropriated to the priests. Thus, in the peace-offerings, they had the shoulder and the breast (Lev. vii. 33, 34.): in the sin-offerings, they burnt on the altar the fat that covered certain parts of the sacrifice; the rest belonged to the priest. (Lev. vii. 6. 10.) To him also was appropriated the skin or fleece of every victim; and when an Israelite killed an animal for his own use, there were certain parts assigned to the priest. (Deut. xviii. 3.) All the first-born also, whether of man or beast, were dedicated to God, and by virtue of that devotion belonged to the priests. The men were redeemed for five shekels (Numb. xviii. 15, 16.): the first-born of impure animals were redeemed or exchanged, but the clean animals were not redeemed. They were sacrificed to the Lord; their blood was sprinkled about the altar, and the rest belonged to the priests: who also had the first-fruits of trees, that is, those of the fourth year (Numb. xviii. 13. Lev. xix. 23, 24.), as well as a share in the tithes of the spoils taken in war. (Numb. xxxi. 28—41.) Such were the principal revenues of the priests, which, though they were sufficient to keep them above want, yet were not (as some writers have imagined) so ample as to enable them to accumulate riches, or to impoverish the laity; thus their political influence, arising from their sacred station, as well as from their superior learning and information, was checked by rendering them dependent on the people for their daily bread. By this wise constitution of Moses, they were deprived of all power, by which they might injure the liberty of the other tribes, or in any way endanger the Israelitish polity, by any ambitious

views or prospects: for not only were all the estates of the Levites and priests, but also their persons, given into the hands of the other tribes, as so many hostages, and as a security for their good behaviour. They were so separated from one another, that they could not assist each other in any ambitious design: and they were so dispersed among the other tribes, that these could attach the whole subsistence as well as arrest all the persons of the Levites and priests at once, in the event of any national quarrel, or if they were suspected of forming any evil designs against the other tribes of Israel. Hence we may perceive, that, whatever power or influence the Mosaic constitution gave the Levites to do good, the same constitution carefully provided, that they should have no power, either to disturb the peace, or to endanger the liberties of their country.[1]

III. Over all the priests was placed the HIGH PRIEST, who enjoyed peculiar dignities and influence. He alone could enter the Holy of Holies in the temple: the supreme administration of sacred things was confided to him; he was the final arbiter of all controversies; in later times he presided over the sanhedrin, and held the next rank to the sovereign or prince. His authority, therefore, was very great at all times, especially when he united the pontifical and regal dignities in his own person. In the Old Testament he is sometimes called *the priest* by way of eminence (Exod. xxix. 30. Neh. vii. 65.), and sometimes the head or chief of the high priests, because the appellation of high priests was given to the heads of the sacerdotal families or courses.

The pontifical dignity, in its first institution, was held for life, provided the high priests were not guilty of crimes that merited deposition. For we read that Solomon deprived Abiathar of this office for being concerned in treasonable practices with Adonijah, who aspired to the throne of Israel. (1 Kings ii. 27.) At its first institution, also, the high priesthood was made hereditary in the family of Aaron (Numb. iii. 10.), who was the first person invested with this dignity. (Lev. viii. 1. *et seq.* Heb. v. 4, 5.) From Aaron it descended to Eleazar, his eldest son, from whom it passed in long succession to Eli; from him, on account of the wickedness of his sons, the dignity subsequently devolved to the descendants of Ithamar the second son of Aaron. (1 Sam. ii. 35, 36.) In the reign of Solomon, however, it returned again into the family

[1] Lowman's Civil Government of the Hebrews, p. 124.

of Eleazar by Zadok (1 Kings ii. 35.); in which it remained until the Babylonian captivity. During this period the high priest was elected by the other priests, or else by an assembly partly consisting of priests.

The first high priest, after the return from the captivity, was Joshua the son of Josedek, of the family of Eleazar; whence the succession went into a private Levitical family. The office was then filled by some of the princes of the Maccabean family. According to the law, it was or ought to have been held for life; but this was very ill obeyed under the Roman government, especially during the time of our Saviour, and in the latter years of the Jewish polity, when election and the right of succession were totally disregarded. The dignity, sanctity, and authority of the high priest were then almost annihilated; and this office was not unfrequently sold to the highest bidder, to persons who had neither age, learning, nor rank to recommend them; nay, even to individuals who were not of the sacerdotal race; and sometimes the office was made annual [1]. This circumstance will account for the variations in the lists of the succession to the high priesthood contained in the Scriptures, in Josephus, and in the Talmudical writers [2]; and will also explain the circumstance of several high priests being in existence at the same time, or rather of there being several pontifical men who, having once held the office for a short time, seem to have retained the original dignity attached to the name. [3]

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[1] Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. 3. § 7, 8.

[2] That this was the case with Annas and Caiaphas, is fully proved by Dr. Lardner's Credibility, book ii. c. 4. § 1. (Works, vol. i. pp. 383—386.) The various successions of the high priests are given at length by Reland, Antiq. Hebr. par. ii. c. 2. pp. 160—168. Utrecht, 12mo, 1717; and by Calmet, Dict. voce Priest, from whom we have copied the Table in the following pages.

[3] Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. c 2. § 2. c. 4. § 3.

The following TABLE exhibits a CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES OF THE HIGH PRIESTS OF THE HEBREWS, *from the Commencement to the Subversion of their State and Government.*

1. *Succession, taken from several places of the Holy Scriptures.*	2. *Succession, taken from* 1 *Chron. vi.* 3—15.	3. *Succession, taken from Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. v. c.* 15. *lib. x. c.* 15.	4. *Succession, taken from the Jewish Chronicle, intitled Seder Olam.*
1. Aaron, the brother of Moses, created high-priest, A. M. 2514, died 2552.	1. Aaron.	1. Aaron.	1. Aaron.
2. Eleazar, created in 2552, and died about 2571.	2. Eleazar.	2. Eleazar.	2. Eleazar.
3. Phinehas, A. M. 2571, died 2590.	3. Phinehas.	3. Phinehas.	3. Phinehas.
4. Abiezer, or Abishua. } these were under the judges.	4. Abishua.	4. Abiezer.	4. Eli.
5. Bukki.	5. Bukki.	5. Bukki.	5. Ahitub.
6. Uzzi	6. Uzzi.	6. Uzzi.	6. Abiathar.
7. Eli, of the race of Ithamar, created in 2848, died in 2888.	7. Zerahiah.	7. Eli.	7. Zadok.
8. Ahitub I.	8. Meraioth.	8. Ahitub.	8. Ahimah, under Rehoboam.
9. Ahiah. He lived in 2911, or 2912.	9. Amariah.	9. Ahimelech.	9. Azariah, under Abiah.
10. Ahimelech, or Abiathar, he was murdered by Saul, 2944.	10. Ahitub I.	10. Abiathar.	10 Jehoachash, under Jehoshaphat.
11. Abiathar, Ahimelech, or Abimelech, under David, from 2944 to 2989.	11. Zadok I.	11. Zadok.	11. Jehoiarib, under Jehoram.
12. Zadok I. under Saul, David, and Solomon, from 2944 to about 3000.	12. Ahimaaz.	12. Ahimaaz.	12. Jehoshaphat, under Ahaziah.
13. Ahimaaz, under Rehoboam, about A. M. 3030.	13. Azariah.	13. Azariah.	13. Jehoiadah, } under Joash
14. Azariah, under Jehoshaphat; perhaps the same as Amariah. (2 Chron. xix. 11.)	14. Johanan, 1 Chron. vi. 9, 10.	14. Joram.	14. Phadaiah, } under Joash
15. Johanan, perhaps Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash, 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, in 3126. He died at the age of 130.	15. Azariah.	15. Issus.	15. Zedekiah, under Amaziah.
16. Azariah, perhaps the same with Zechariah, son of Jehoiadah, who was killed in 3164.	16. Amariah.	16. Axiora.	16. Joel, under Uzziah.
17. Amariah, perhaps Azariah, under Uzziah, in 3221.	17. Ahitub II.	17. Phideus.	17. Jotham, under Joatham.
18. Ahitub II. } Under Jotham,	18. Zadok II.	18. Sudeas.	18. Uriah, under Ahaz.
19. Zadok II. } king of Judah.	19. Shallum.	19. Julus.	19. Neriah, under Hezekiah.

1. *Succession, taken from several places of the Holy Scriptures.*	2. *Succession, taken from 1 Chron. vi. 3—15.*	3. *Succession, taken from Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. v. c. 15. lib. x. c. 11.*	4. *Succession, taken from the Jewish Chronicle, intitled Seder Olam.*
20. Uriah, under Ahaz, 3265.	20. Hilkiah.	20. Jotham.	20. Hosaiah, under Manasseh.
21. Shallum, the father of Azariah, and grandfather to Hilkiah.	21. Azariah.	21. Uriah.	21. Shallum, under Amon.
22. Azariah, who lived in the time of Hezekiah (2Chron. xxxi. 10.), 3278.	22. Seraiah.	22. Neriah.	22. Hilkiah, under Josiah.
23. Hilkiah, under Hezekiah.	23. Jeozadak.	23. Odeas.	23. Azariah, under Jehoiakim and Zedekiah.
24. Eliakim, or Joakim, under Manasseh, and at the time of the siege of Bethulia, in 3348. He continued to live under Josiah to 3380, and longer. He is also called Hilkiah. (Baruch i. 7.)	24. Joshua.	24. Saldam.	24. Jehozadak, after the taking of Jerusalem.
25. Azariah, perhaps Neriah, the father of Seraiah and of Baruch.		25. Hilkiah.	25. Jesus, son of Jehozadak, after the captivity.
26. Seraiah, the last high-priest before the captivity; put to death in 3414.		26. Seraiah.	
27. Jehozadak, during the captivity of Babylon, from 3414 to 3469.		27. Jehozadak.	
28. Joshua, or Jesus, the son of Jehozadak: he returned from Babylon in 3468.		28. Jesus, or Joshua.	

The following is collected from Ezra, Nehemiah, and Josephus.

29. Joachim, under the reign of Xerxes, Jos. Ant. l. ii. c. 5.

30. Eliasib, Joasib, or Chasib, under Nehemiah, A. M. 3550.

31. Joiada, or Juda, Neh. xii. 10.

32. Jonathan, or John.

33. Jeddoa, or Jaddus, who received Alexander the Great at Jerusalem in 3673, and died in 3682.

34. Onias I. made high-priest in 3681, governed 21 years, and died in 3702.

35. Simon I. called the Just, made high priest in 3702 or 3703, and died in 3711.

36. Eleazar, made in 3712. It was under this Pontiff, as they tell us, that the translation of the Septuagint was made, about the year 3727: he died 3744.

37. Manasseh, made in 3745, died in 3771.

38. Onias II. made in 3771, died in 3785.

39. Simon II. made in 3785, and died in 3805.

40. Onias III. made in 3805, deposed 3829, died in 3834.

Succession of High Priests after the Captivity.

41. Jesus, or Jason, made in 3830, deposed in 3831.

42. Onias IV. otherwise called Menelaus, made in 3832, died in 3842.

43. Lysimachus, vicegerent of Menelaus, killed in 3834.

44. Alcimus, or Jacimus, or Joachim, made in 3842, died 3844.

45. Onias V. He did not exercise his pontificate at Jerusalem, but retired into Egypt, where he built the temple Onion in 3854.

46. Judas Maccabæus, restored the altar and the sacrifices in 3840, died in 3843.

47. Jonathan, the Asmonean, brother to Judas Maccabæus, created high-priest in 3843, and died in 3860.

48. Simon Maccabæus, made in 3860, died in 3869.

49. John Hircannus, made in 3869, died in 3898.

50. Aristobulus, king and pontiff of the Jews, died 3899.

51. Alexander Jannæus, also king and pontiff during 27 years, from 3899 to 3926.

52. Hyrcanus was high priest for the space of 32 years in the whole, from 3926 to 3958.

53. Aristobulus, brother to Hyrcanus, usurped the high-priesthood, and held it three years and three months, from 3935 to 3940.

54. Antigonus, his son, also usurped the priesthood in prejudice to the rights of Hyrcanus, and possessed it for three years and seven months, from 3964 to 3967, when he was taken by Sosius.

55. Ananeel of Babylon, made high-priest by Herod in 3968 till 3970.

56. Aristobulus, the last of the Asmoneans; he did not enjoy the pontificate a whole year. He died in 3970. Ananeel was made high priest a second time in 3971.

57. Jesus, the son of Phabis, deposed in 3981.

58. Simon, son of Boethus, made high-priest in 3981, deposed in 3999.

59. Matthias, son of Theophilus, made high-priest in 3999. Ellem was substituted in his place for a day, because of an accident that happened to Matthias, which hindered him performing his office that day.

60. Joazar, son of Simon, son of Boethus, made high-priest in 4000, the year of the birth of Jesus Christ, four years before the commencement of the vulgar era.

61. Eleazar, brother to Joazar, made high priest in 4004, of Christ 4, of the vulgar era 1.

62. Jesus, son of Siah, made high-priest in the year of the vulgar era 6. Joazar was made a second time in 7, and deposed in 13.

63. Ananus, son of Seth, for 11 years, from 4016 to 4027, of the vulgar era 24.

64. Ishmael, son of Phabi, in 24.

65. Eleazar, son of Ananus, made in 24.

66. Simon, son of Camithus, made high-priest in 25.

67. Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas, made in 26, and continued till 35.

68. Jonathan, son of Ananus, made in 35, and continued till 37.

69. Theophilus, son of Jonathan, made in 37, and continued till 41.

70. Simon, surnamed Cantharus, and son of Simon Boethus, was made high-priest in 41.

Succession of High Priests after the Captivity.

71. Matthias, son of Ananus, made high-priest in 42.

72. Elioneus, made in 44, and continued till 45. Simon, son of Cantharus, was a second time made high-priest, A. D. 45, and deposed the same year.

73. Joseph, son of Caneus, was made high priest in A.D. 45, till 47.

74. Ananias, the son of Nebodeus, was made high-priest in the year of the vulgar era 47, and enjoyed the priesthood till 63.

75. Ismael was ordained high-priest, A. D. 63.

76. Joseph, surnamed Cabei, in 63.

77. Ananus, the son of Ananus, in 63.

78. Jesus, the son of Ananus, in 64.

79. Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, in 64.

80. Matthias, the son of Theophilus, was made high priest in the year of the vulgar Christian æra 70.

81. Phannias, the son of Samuel, was made high-priest in the year 70, in which year Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed by the Romans, and a final period was put to the Jewish priesthood.

Of those who discharged the functions of high priest during the decline of the Jewish polity, there are two particularly mentioned in the New Testament, namely Annas (John xviii. 13, 14. Acts iv. 6.), and Caiaphas. (Matt. xxvi. 3. 57. John xviii. 13. 24. 28.) The former is by Josephus called Ananus, of which name Annas is an abridgment: the latter he calls Joseph, intimating also that he was known by the name of Caiaphas[1]. Annas enjoyed the singular felicity, (which indeed had never happened to any other of the Jewish high priests), not only of having himself held the supreme pontifical office for many years, but also of seeing it filled by several successors out of his own family, five of them being his sons, and others his sons-in-law. Hence, although he was deprived of the high priesthood by the Romans, he afterwards continued to take the chief sway in the administration of the Jewish affairs; and is represented in the sacred history, together with Caiaphas, as being chief priest and exercising supreme authority. In order that the person of the high priest might be more holy, he was inaugurated with great splendour; being invested (after ablution was performed) with the sacred habiliments which conferred this dignity, and anointed with a precious oil prepared and preserved for this exclusive purpose.

[1] Luke iii. 2. Acts iv. 6. In like manner Josephus (de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 12. § 6.) places Jonathan, who had been high priest (Antiq. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 4. § 3), and who still continued to possess great authority, before Ananias, who at that time discharged the functions of sovereign pontiff, (Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 5. § 2.) See also Lardner's Credibility, book i. c. 7. § 1. and book ii. c. 4. (Works, vol. i. pp. 143, 383—389.)

(Exod. xxix. 7. xxx. 23, *et seq.* Lev. viii. 12.) But, after the erection of the second temple, this anointing ceased, and the inauguration of the high priest was accomplished by arraying him with the pontifical robes worn by his predecessor.

Besides the garments which were common to the high priest, as well as to the inferior members of the sacerdotal order, there were four peculiar to himself, viz. 1. The *coat or robe of the ephod*, which was made of blue wool; on its hem there were seventy-two golden bells, separated from one another by as many artificial pomegranates [1]. 2. The *ephod*, a vest which was fastened on the shoulders, the hinder part reaching down to the heels, while the fore part descended only a little below the waist. It was of fine twisted linen, splendidly wrought with gold and purple: to each of the shoulder-straps of this ephod was fastened a precious stone, on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes of Israel. 3. The *breastplate of judgment* or oracle, a piece of cloth doubled, one span square, and of similar texture and workmanship with the ephod: on it were set twelve precious stones, containing the engraved names of the twelve sons of Jacob, and also the words *Urim* and *Thummim*, signifying "lights and perfections," and emblematical of divine illumination. Concerning the nature of the Urim and Thummim, learned men are not agreed. All that we know with certainty is, that when the high priest went to ask counsel of Jehovah, he presented himself arrayed with this breastplate, and received the divine commands. This mode of consultation subsisted under the tabernacle erected by Moses in the wilderness, and until the building of Solomon's temple. 4. Lastly, the high priest wore a plate of pure gold upon his forehead, on which were engraven the two Hebrew words קדש ליהוה KODESH LA-JEHOVAH, or "Holiness unto the Lord," emblematical of that holiness which was the scope and end of the law. This plate was called the crown: it was tied to the high priest's tiara by a blue riband. With all these vestments he was obliged to be arrayed, whenever he ministered in the tabernacle or temple, but at other times he wore the ordinary dress of the priests: and this, according to some learned persons, was the reason why St. Paul (Acts xxiii. 5.) knew not that Ananias was the high priest, when he appeared before him in the Sanhedrin [2]. The supreme pontiff was not allowed to rend his garments, as

[1] Similar bells are still in use in the East. See Hasselquist's Travels, p. 58. and D'Arvieux's Travels in Arabia the Desart, p. 226.

[2] The dress and ornaments of the high priest above noticed, together with the mode of consecrating him, as directed by Moses, are described at length in Exod. xxviii. and xxix. 1—37.

the other Jews did, on any occasions of domestic calamity (Levit. xxi. 10.); but in the time of Jesus Christ it had become lawful, or at least was tolerated as an expression of horror at hearing what was deemed blasphemy against God. This will explain the conduct of Caiaphas, who is said (Matt. xxvi. 65.) to have rent his garments.[1]

The high priest, who was the chief man in Israel, and appeared before God in behalf of the people in their sacred services, and who was appointed for sacrifice, for blessing, and for intercession, was a type of Jesus Christ, that great high priest, who offered himself a sacrifice for sin, who blesses his people, and who *evermore liveth to make intercession for them.* The term *priest* is also applied to every true believer, who is enabled to offer up himself a spiritual sacrifice acceptable to God through Christ. (1 Pet. ii. 5. Rev. i. 6.)[2]

IV. Next to the Levites, priests, and high priests, the *Officers of the synagogue* may be mentioned here, as being in some degree sacred persons; since to them was confided the superintendence of those places which were set apart for prayer and instruction. Their functions and powers have been fully stated in pp. 258, 259, *supra.*

V. The NAZARITES or NAZARENES (as the Hebrew word Nazir implies) were persons separated from the use of certain things, and sequestered or consecrated to Jehovah. They are commonly regarded as sacred persons: a notice of their institute will be found *infra* in Chapter VI. Sect. I. § III. 2.

VI. The Rechabites are by many writers considered as a class of holy persons, who, like the Nazarites, separated themselves from the rest of the Jews, in order that they might lead a more pious life. But this is evidently a mistake: for they were not Israelites or Jews, but Kenites or Midianites, who used to live in tents, and traverse the country in quest of pasture for their cattle, as the Nabathæan Arabs antiently did, and as the modern Arabians, and Crim-Tatars (or Tartars[4])

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[1] Besides the authorities already cited in the course of this article, the reader who is desirous of investigating the nature and functions of the Jewish priesthood is referred to Reland's Antiquitates veterum Hebræorum, part ii. c. 1—6. pp. 141—238.; Ikenius's Antiquitates Hebraicæ, part i. c. 10 & 11. pp. 105—128; and to Schacht's Animadversiones ad Ikenii Antiquitates, pp. 471—544. Dr. Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. 5. pp. 95—174. Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. i. pp. 251—262. and Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 401. 915—918. and vol. ii. pp. 377—380. 397. 681.

[2] The typical nature of the Jewish priesthood, especially of the high priest, is discussed by the Rev. W. Jones, in his Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture, and on the Epistle to the Hebrews, (Works, vol. iii. pp. 58—62. 223—227.)

[3] Josephus, De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 15. § 1.

[4] See Mrs. Holderness's Notes relating to the Manners and Customs of the Crim Tatars, London, 1821, 12mo. An instructive and unassuming little work.

still do. Their manner of living was not the result of a religious institute, but a mere civil ordinance grounded upon a national custom. They derived their name from Jonadab the son of Rechab, a man of eminent zeal for the pure worship of God against idolatry; who assisted king Jehu in destroying the house of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal. (2 Kings x. 15, 16. 23.) It was he who gave the rule of life to his children and their posterity, which is recorded by the prophet Jeremiah (xxxv. 5—7.); and which consisted of these three articles: 1. That they should drink no wine; 2. That they should neither possess nor occupy any houses, fields, or vineyards; and, 3. That they should dwell in tents. In these regulations he appears to have had no religious, but merely a prudential view, as is intimated in the reason assigned for them, viz. that they might live many days in the land where they were strangers. And such in fact would be the natural consequence of their temperate and quiet mode of living. On the first invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, with intent to besiege Jerusalem, these Rechabites apprehending themselves in more danger in the open country, came to Jerusalem for safety: By these people God intended to convince the Jews of their disobedience to him; and therefore he ordered his prophet Jeremiah to bring them to an apartment of the temple, and there offer them wine to drink, which when they refused, on account of its being contrary to their institution, which they never had violated, the prophet, after due commendation of their obedience, turned it upon the Jews, and reproached them who were God's peculiar people, for being less observant of his laws, than these poor Rechabites had been of the injunctions of their ancestors. (Jer. xxxv.) Wherefore the law declares (ver. 18, 19.) that, *because the Rechabites had obeyed the precepts of Jonadab their father, therefore Jonadab should not want a man to stand before him for ever.* The Rechabites flourished as a community about one hundred and eighty years: but, after the captivity, they were dispersed, unless the Essenes, who are noticed in a subsequent section, succeeded them in their way of life.[1]

VII. The PROPHETS were eminently distinguished among the persons accounted holy by the Jews: they were raised up by God in an extraordinary manner for the performance of the most sacred functions. Originally they were called *Seers:* they discovered things yet future, declared the will of God,

[1] Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 223. Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. i. pp. 227, 228. Mede's Works, p. 127. Calmet, Commentaire Littérale, tome vi. p. xvii. The reader will find an instructive discourse on the history of the Rechabites, in Dr. Townson's Works, vol. ii. pp. 215—225.

and announced their divine messages, both to kings and people, with a confidence and freedom that could only be produced by the conviction that they were indeed authorised messengers of Jehovah. The gift of prophecy was not always annexed to the priesthood: there were prophets of all the tribes, and sometimes even among the Gentiles. The office of a prophet was not confined to the prediction of future events; it was their province to instruct the people, and they interpreted the law of God: hence the words *prophet* and *prophecy* are, in many passages of the Scriptures, synonymous with interpreter or teacher, and interpretation or teaching. It is unanimously agreed both by Jews and Christians that Malachi was the last of the prophets under the Old Testament dispensation: and it is a remarkable fact, that so long as there were prophets among the Jews, they were not divided by sects or heresies, although they often fell into idolatry. This circumstance may thus be accounted for.—As the prophets received their communications of the divine will *immediately* from God himself, there was no alternative for the Jews: either the people must obey the prophets, and receive their interpretations of the law, or no longer acknowledge that God who inspired them. When, however, the law of God came to be explained by weak and fallible men, who seldom agreed in their opinions, sects and parties were the unavoidable result of such conflicting sentiments. [1]

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[1] For a more particular account of the sacred prophets, see Vol. IV. pp. 154—160. *infra.*

CHAPTER III.

SACRED THINGS.

On the Sacrifices and other Offerings of the Jews.

General classification of sacrifices and offerings;—I. BLOODY OFFERINGS, *and the divine origin of sacrifices;*—1. *Different kinds of victims;*—2. *Selection of victims;*—3. *Manner of presenting them;*—4. *Libations,*—5. *Immolation of the sacrifice;*—6. *The place and time appointed for sacrificing;*—7. *Different kinds of fire-sacrifices;*—i. *Burnt-offerings:* — ii. *Peace-offerings;* — iii. *Sin-offerings;* — iv. *Trespass-offerings;* — *National, regular, weekly, monthly, and annual sacrifices;*—II. UNBLOODY OFFERINGS.—III. DRINK OFFERINGS. — IV. ORDINARY OBLATIONS, — *the shew-bread and incense.*—V. VOLUNTARY OBLATIONS, *Corban.* — VI. PRESCRIBED OBLATIONS;—1. *First-fruits;*—2. *Tithes.*

THE sacrifices and oblations of the Jews demand particular notice in this sketch of their ecclesiastical state. Such a ritual as they were enjoined to observe, the multiplicity of victims they were appointed statedly to offer, together with the splendour of that external worship in which they were daily engaged, —all tended to replenish and adorn their language with numerous allusions, and striking metaphors derived from the pomp of their religion. Hence it is that the writings of the Jews, more than of any other people, abound with phrases and terms borrowed from the temple worship and service. The psalms and prophetical writings may in particular be adduced in illustration of this remark. *Purge me with hyssop,* says David, *and I shall be clean.—Thou shalt be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness.* (Psal. li. 7. 19.) *Let my prayer come before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.* (Psal. cxli. 2.) *Therefore will I offer the sacrifice of joy.* (Psal. cxvi. 17.) *The sin of Judah,* says Jeremiah, *is - - - - graven upon the horns of your altars.* (Jer. xvii. 1.)—*Take away all our iniquity and receive us graciously; so will we render thee the calves of our lips.* (Hos. xiv. 2.) Nor are similar examples wanting in the New Testament, whose inspired authors, being educated in the Jewish religion, retain the same phraseology, which has enriched their writings with numerous beautiful and expressive allusions to the national sacrifices and ceremonies.

Michaelis classes the offerings prescribed to the Israelites under three general heads—namely, *bloody* offerings, or sacrifices strictly so called; *unbloody* offerings, or those taken only from the vegetable kingdom; and *drink offerings*, or libations, which were a kind of accompaniment to the two preceding. We shall follow this classification, as enabling us to present to our readers the most compendious account of the Jewish sacrifices.

I. Bloody offerings were sacrifices properly and strictly so called; by which we may understand the infliction of death on a living creature, generally by the effusion of its blood in a way of religious worship, and the presenting of this act to God as a supplication for the pardon of sin, and as a supposed mean of compensation for the insult and injury offered by sin to his majesty and government. Sacrifices have in all ages, and by almost every nation, been regarded as necessary to placate the divine anger, and to render the Deity propitious[1]: but whether this universal notion derived its origin from divine revelation, or was suggested by conscious guilt and a dread of the divine displeasure, is a question that cannot be easily decided. It is however not improbable that it originated in the former, and prevailed under the influence of the latter. The Scripture account of sacrifices leads us to conclude that they were instituted by divine appointment, immediately after the entrance of sin by the fall of Adam and Eve, to be a type or significant emblem of the great atonement or all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ[2]. Accordingly we find Abel, Noah, Abraham, Job, and others, offering sacrifices in the faith of the Messiah that was to be revealed; and the divine acceptance of their sacrifices is particularly recorded.

1. In all bloody sacrifices it was essential that the animals slaughtered should be clean; but it does not appear that all clean animals were to be offered indiscriminately. Fishes were not brought to the altar; and hence the Israelites are no where prohibited from eating their blood, but only that of birds and quadrupeds. (Lev. vii. 26.) It would seem that *all* clean birds

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[1] To this notion of sacrifice our Saviour alluded in John xvi. 2. where he tells his disciples that such would be the enmity with which they should be pursued, that he who should kill them would be deemed to have slain a sacrifice highly *acceptable* to the Almighty—"He that killeth you shall *think he doeth God service.*" In reference also to this notion of sacrifices, the apostle by a very beautiful and expressive figure represents Christ as loving us, and giving himself for us, *an offering and a sacrifice to God, of a sweet-smelling savour.* (Eph. v. 2.) Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. p. 218.

[2] The divine origin of sacrifices is fully proved by Bp. Magee, in his Discourses on the Atonement, vol. i. pp. 44—60, and vol. ii. pp. 22—46. 184—189.

might be offered, (Lev. xiv. 4—7.) though the dove was the most common offering of this class. Of quadrupeds, oxen, sheep, and goats were the only kinds which were destined for the altar. No wild beasts were admissible; and hence comes the expression in the law of Moses (Deut. xii. 15. 22. xv. 22.), *It shall be eaten like the roe or the hart;* by which he means to intimate that, in killing a beast, all religious intention and all idea of sacrifice was to be avoided.[1]

2. In the selection of the victims, the utmost care was taken to choose such only as were free from every blemish. Unless it were pure and immaculate, it was to be rejected, as a sacrifice unacceptable to Jehovah. (Levit. xxii. 22.) In a beautiful allusion to this circumstance, St. Paul beseeches Christians, by the mercies of God, to *present their bodies a living sacrifice holy and acceptable*, which is their reasonable service. (Rom. xii. 1.) Hence also Jesus Christ is styled a *lamb without blemish and without spot*. (1 Pet. i. 19.)

It was a custom among nations contiguous to Judæa, and particularly among the Egyptians[2], to *set a seal* upon a victim that was deemed proper for sacrifice. With this custom the Jews could not be unacquainted; and it is possible that similar precautions were in use among themselves, especially as they were so strictly enjoined to have their sacrifices *without spot and without blemish.* To such a usage Jesus Christ is supposed to have alluded, when speaking of the sacrifice of himself, he says—*Him hath God the Father* SEALED. (John vi. 27. 51.) 'Infinite justice found Jesus Christ to be without spot or blemish, and therefore *sealed*, pointed out and accepted him as a proper sacrifice and atonement for the sin of the whole world. Collate Heb. vii. 26—28 Eph. v. 27. 2 Pet. iii. 14. and especially Heb. ix. 13, 14. *For, if the blood of* BULLS *and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth,—how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal*

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[1] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. p. 95.

[2] The following account of the manner in which the Egyptians provided white bulls for their sacrifices, will materially explain the custom above alluded to.—"They sacrifice white bulls to Apis, and for that reason make the following trial. If they find one black hair upon him, they consider him as unclean. In order that they may know this with certainty, the priest appointed for this purpose views every part of the animal both standing and lying on the ground: after this, he draws out his tongue, to see if he be clean by certain signs; and in the last place he inspects the hairs of his tail, that he may be sure they are, as by nature they should be. If, after this search, the animal is found unblemished, he signifies it by *tying a label to his horns;* then, having applied wax, he *seals it with his ring*, and they lead him away; for it is death to sacrifice one of these animals, unless he has been *marked with such a seal.*" Herodotus, lib ii. c 38. vol. i. p. 113. edit. Oxon.

Spirit offered himself WITHOUT SPOT *to God, purge your consciences from dead works.*[1]

3. The victim thus chosen, being found immaculate, was led up to the altar by the person offering the sacrifice; who laid his hand upon its head, on which he leaned with all his strength; and, while the sacrifice was offering, said some particular prayers; and if several persons united in offering the same victim, they put their hands upon it in succession[2]. By this imposition of hands the person presenting the victim acknowledged the sacrifice to be his own; that he loaded it with his iniquities; that he offered it as an atonement for his sins; that he was worthy of death because he had sinned, having forfeited his life by violating the law of God; and that he intreated God to accept the life of the innocent animal in the place of his own. In this respect the victims of the Old Testament were types of Jesus Christ, *the lamb of God that* TAKETH AWAY *the sin of the world* (John i. 39.), and on whom Jehovah in the fulness of time *laid the iniquity of us all*[3]. (Isa. liii. 6. with 1 Pet. ii. 24.)

4. When the victim devoted to the sacrifice was brought before the altar, the priest, having implored the divine favour and acceptance by prayer, poured wine upon its head: and after the performance of this solemn act of religion, which was termed a *libation*, the victim was instantly led to the slaughter. To this circumstance St. Paul, knowing the time of his martyrdom to be very near, has a very striking allusion; representing this rite, which immediately preceded the death of the victim, as already performed upon him, implying that he was now devoted to death, and that his dissolution would speedily follow. *I am now ready to be offered*, says he (2 Tim. iv. 6.); literally, *I am already poured out as a libation; the time of my departure is at hand.* A similar expressive sacrificial allusion occurs in Phil. ii. 17. *Yea*, says the holy apostle, *and if I be* POURED OUT *upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.* In this passage he represents the faith of the Philippians as the sacrificial victim, and compares his blood, willingly and joyfully to be shed in martyrdom, to the libation poured out on occasion of the sacrifice.[4]

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[1] Dr. A. Clarke, on John vi. 27.

[2] The nature and mystical import of laying hands on the head of the victim are largely considered by Bp. Magee in his Discourses on the Atonement, vol. i. pp. 336—377.

[3] On the vicarious import of the Mosaic sacrifices, see the same work, vol. i. pp. 352—366.

[4] Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, p. 621. Drs. Macknight and A. Clarke on the passages cited.

5. The animal thus conducted to the altar was next immolated, by cutting the throat and windpipe entirely through at one stroke; the blood being caught in a vessel, and sprinkled round about upon the altar. By this sprinkling the atonement was made, for the blood was the life of the beast, and it was always supposed that life went to redeem life. (Lev. i. 5—7.) The blood remaining after these aspersions, was poured out at the foot of the altar, either all at once, or at different times, according to the nature of the sacrifice offered. Around the altar there was a kind of trench into which the blood fell; whence it was conveyed by subterraneous channels into the brook Cedron. This altar, being very high, is considered by Lamy as a type of the cross to which our Saviour was fixed, and which he washed with his precious blood. The victim being thus immolated, the skin was stripped from the neck; its breast was opened; its bowels were taken out, and the back bone was cleft. It was then divided into quarters; so that, both externally and internally, it was fully exposed to view. To this custom of laying open the victim, St. Paul has a very beautiful and emphatic allusion in one of the most animated descriptions ever written, of the mighty effects produced by the preached Gospel. (Heb. iv. 12, 13.) *The word of God is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; for all things are naked and* OPENED *to the eyes of him to whom we must give an account.* Previously to laying the sacrifice on the altar, it was salted *for the fire* (Lev. ii. 13. Ezek. xliii. 24. Mark ix. 46.); the law prohibiting any thing to be offered there which was not salted: and according to the nature of the sacrifice, either the whole or part of the victim was consumed upon the altar, where the priests kept a fire perpetually burning.

6. Before the building of the temple, sacrifices were offered up at the door of the tabernacle; but after its erection it was not lawful to offer them elsewhere. (Deut. xii. 14.) This prohibition took from the Jews the liberty of sacrificing in any other place. The victims might indeed be slain *in* any part of the priest's court, but not without its precincts: and there they were also obliged to sacrifice the paschal lamb. All the victims were to be offered by day-light, and the blood was always to be sprinkled on the same day that they were slain; as it became polluted as soon as the sun was set. If, however, the sprinkling had been made in the day-time, the members and entrails of the victim might be consumed during the night.

7. The sacrifices of the altar were, in general, called by the Hebrews *Korbanim*, that is, offerings or oblations to God, from the Hebrew word *karab*, to approach or bring nigh. This term consequently denotes something *brought nigh*, in order to be dedicated or offered to God, to whom the person offering thus had access in the way appointed by the law: and therefore, at the close of the enumeration of all offerings by fire it is added (Lev. vii. 37, 38.), *This is the law . . . . which the Lord commanded Moses in Mount Sinai, in the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer or bring nigh their* KORBANIM, that is, offerings or sacrifices of all sorts.[1]

The Jewish fire-sacrifices were of three kinds: viz.

i. The BURNT OFFERINGS, or *Holocausts*, were free-will offerings wholly devoted to God, according to the primitive patriarchal usage. The man himself was to bring them before the Lord, and they were offered in the manner described in page 305. The victim to be offered was, according to the person's ability, a bullock without blemish, or a male of the sheep or goats, or a turtle-dove or pigeon. (Levit. i. 3. 10. 14.) If, however, he was too poor to bring either of these, he was to offer a mincha or meat-offering, of which an account is given in a subsequent page[2]. The burnt-offerings are in Hebrew termed עלה (OLAH), which signifies to *ascend*; because this offering, as being wholly consumed, ascended, as it were, to God in smoke or vapour. It was a very expressive type of the sacrifice of Christ, as nothing less than his *complete* and full sacrifice could make atonement for the sins of the world.

ii. The PEACE OFFERINGS (Levit. iii. 1.) were also free-will offerings, in token of peace and reconciliation between God and man: they were either eucharistical, that is, offered as thanksgivings for blessings received, or were offered for the impetration of mercies. These offerings consisted either of animals, or of bread or dough; if the former, part of them was burnt upon the altar, especially all the fat, as an offering to the Lord; and the remainder was to be eaten by the priest and the party offering. To this sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving Saint Paul alludes in Heb. xiii. 15, 16. In this kind of sacrifices the victims might be either male or female, provided they were without blemish. The parts of both, which were appropriated to the priests and Levites, were called *heave* or *wave offerings*; because they were *heaved* or lifted up towards heaven, and *waved* to and fro, before they were eaten, in acknowledgment

[1] Dr. Owen on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercitat. xxiv. p. 307.
[2] See p. 310. *infra*.

of the goodness and kindness of God, and also in token of their being consecrated to him. (Lev. iii. 1—6. Exod. xxix. 26, 27. Numb. xviii. 24—28.)

The peace-offerings are in Hebrew termed שלמים (SHELAMIM), from שלם (SHALAM), to complete or make whole: because, by these offerings that which was *deficient* was considered as being now *made up;* and that which was broken, viz. the covenant of God, by his creature's transgression, was supposed to be made whole: so that, after such an offering, the sincere and conscientious mind was authorised to consider itself as reconciled to God, and that it might lay confident hold on this covenant of peace. To this Saint Paul alludes in that fine passage contained in Eph. ii. 14—19.

The appointed seasons and occasions of the peace-offering were, 1. At the consecration of a priest. (Exod. xxix. 1—37.) 2. At the expiration of the Nazarite vow. (Numb. vi. 13—21.) 3. At the solemn dedication of the tabernacle and temple; and 4. *At the purification of a leper.*[1]

iii. SIN OFFERINGS, in Hebrew termed חטאה (CHATAAH), (from the word חטא (CHATA), to miss the mark), were offered for sins committed either through ignorance, or wilfully against knowledge; and which God always punished unless they were expiated. These offerings in general consisted of a sin-offering to God, and a burnt-offering, accompanied with restitution of damage (Levit. v. 2—19. vi. 1—7.), conformably to which our Lord requires previous reconciliation with an injured brother, including restitution, before the burnt-offering or gift would be acceptable to God. (Matt. v. 23, 24.) St. Paul (Eph. v. 2.) terms Christ's giving himself for us an offering (i. e. a peace-offering), and a *sacrifice* or sin-offering to God for a sweet-smelling savour. (Compare Lev. iv. 31.) In the

[1] The signs of that horrible disease in oriental countries, the leprosy, and of its cure, are minutely described in Levit. xiii. for the information of the priests, who were required to inspect and certify the fact, in order to re-admit the patient into society. "Among the sacrifices and ceremonies of his purification, which are minutely described in Levit. xiv. the following is remarkable: The priest was required to take two small birds, and to kill one of them over an earthen vessel filled with river water, so that the blood might be mixed with the water. He was then to dip the other or living bird into the water, and sprinkle the leper with it seven times with a stick of cedar wood, upon which a bunch of *hyssop* was tied with a scarlet thread; after which the priest was to pronounce him purified, and let loose the living bird into the open air. (Levit. xiv. 2—7.) This ceremony seems to be typical of the purification of our sins by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ (Isa. liii. 15. 1 Pet. i. 2.), which flowed out of his wounded side mixed with water (John xix. 34.); while the dismissal of the living bird resembles that of the scape goat into the wilderness, with the sins of the leper upon him. Our Lord expressly commanded the lepers, whom he healed, to conform to the law." (Matt. viii. 4. Mark i. 44. Luke v. 14. xvii. 14.) Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. p. 273.

warm climates nothing is more refreshing than fragrant odours: and as, in the highly figurative language of the antient Hebrews, *smelling* is used to denote the perception of a *moral quality* in another, God is said to smell a sweet savour from sacrifice, to signify that he perceived with pleasure the good disposition which the offerer expressed by such an act of worship. When, therefore, the apostle tells us that Christ gave himself for us, an offering and a sweet-smelling sacrifice to God, he teaches us that Christ's sacrifice for us was highly acceptable to God, not only as a signal instance of obedience to his Father's will, but also on account of its happy influence in establishing the moral government of God[1]. The sacrifices offered for the purification of lepers, as well as of women after child-birth (Levit. xii. Luke ii. 24.), were reckoned among the sin-offerings, inasmuch as leprosy and the pains of child-bearing were considered as punishments for some particular sin; though both were accompanied by eucharistic sacrifices for the recovery of the persons offering them. Maimonides adds, that if the person who offered this sacrifice did not repent, and make public confession of his sins, he was not cleansed or purified by it.[2]

iv. The TRESPASS OFFERINGS were made, where the party offering had just reason to doubt whether he had violated the law of God or not. (Levit. v. 17, 18.) They do not appear to have differed materially from sin-offerings[3]. In both these kinds of sacrifices, the person who offered them placed his hands on the victim's head (if a sin-offering), and confessed his sin over it, and his trespass over the trespass-offering; saying, "I have sinned, I have done iniquity, I have trespassed, and have done thus, and thus, and do return by repentance before thee, and with *this* I make atonement." The animal was then considered as vicariously bearing the sins of the person who brought it[4]. In Isa. liii. 10. Jesus Christ is said to make his soul an offering for sin, אשם (ASH*a*M), the very word used in the law of Moses to denote a trespass-offering.

All these sacrifices were occasional, and had reference to individuals; but there were others which were national and regular, daily, weekly, monthly, and annual. The *perpetual or daily sacrifice* was a burnt-offering, consisting of two

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1 Macknight on Eph. v. 2.

2 De Ratione Sacrificii, c. iii. n. 15.

3 Michaelis is of opinion that sin offerings were made for sins of *commission*, and trespass-offerings for sins of *omission*. Commentaries, vol. iii. p. 96.

4 Dr. A. Clarke on Exod. xxix. 10.

lambs, which were offered every day, morning and evening, at the third and ninth hours. (Exod. xxix. 38—40. Levit. vi. 9—18. Numb. xxviii. 1—8.) They were burnt as holocausts, but by a small fire, that they might continue burning the longer. With each of these victims was offered a bread-offering and a drink-offering of strong wine. The morning sacrifice, according to the Jews, made atonement for the sins committed in the night, and the evening sacrifice expiated those committed during the day.

The *Weekly Sacrifice* on every sabbath day was equal to the daily sacrifice, and was offered in addition to it. (Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.)

The *Monthly Sacrifice*, on every new moon, or at the beginning of each month, consisted of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of a year old, together with a kid for a sin-offering, and a suitable bread and drink-offering. (Numb. xxviii. 11—14.)

The *Yearly Sacrifices* were those offered on the great annual festivals; viz. 1. The paschal lamb at the passover, which was celebrated at the commencement of the Jewish *sacred* year; 2. On the day of Pentecost, or day of first-fruits; 3. On the new moon, or first day of the seventh month, which was the beginning of their *civil* year, or in-gathering of the fruits and vintage; and all these stated burnt-offerings were to be accompanied with a sin-offering of a goat, to show their insufficiency to "make the comers thereunto perfect" (Numb. xxviii. Heb. x. 1.); 4. Lastly, on the day of expiation, or great day of atonement. As a particular account is given of these solemn festivals in the following section, we proceed briefly to notice the second general class of sacrifices, viz.

II. The UNBLOODY SACRIFICES or MEAT-OFFERINGS, (Levit. ii.), which were taken solely from the vegetable kingdom. They consisted of meal, bread, cakes, ears of corn, and parched grain, with oil and frankincense prepared according to the divine command. Regularly they could not be presented as sin-offerings, except in the single case of the person who had sinned being so poor, that the offering of two young pigeons or two turtle-doves exceeded his means. They were to be free from leaven or honey; but to all of them it was necessary to add pure salt, that is, saltpetre.

III. DRINK-OFFERINGS were an accompaniment to both bloody and unbloody sacrifices; they were never used separately, and consisted of wine, which appears to have been partly poured upon the brow of the victim in order to consecrate it, and partly allotted to the priests, who drank it with their portions of both these kinds of offerings. The Psalmist

shows how the use of drink-offerings degenerated amongst idolaters, who in their superstitious rage made use of the blood of living creatures, perhaps of men, in their libations. *Their* DRINK-OFFERINGS OF BLOOD, says he, *will I not offer.* (Psal. xvi. 4.[1])

Besides the various kinds of sacrifices above described, there were some oblations made by the Jews consisting of incense, bread, and other things; which have been divided by Lamy into three sorts, viz. such as were *ordinary* or *common*; *voluntary* or free oblations; and such as were *prescribed.*

IV. The ORDINARY oblations were, 1. Of the *shew-bread,* (Heb. *bread of the face*), which consisted of twelve loaves, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. They were placed hot, every sabbath day, by the priests, upon the golden table in the sanctuary, before the Lord; when they removed the stale loaves which had been exposed for the whole of the preceding week. 2. *Incense,* consisting of several fragrant spices, prepared according to the instructions given to Moses in Exod. xxx. 34—36. It was offered twice every day, morning and evening, by the officiating priest, upon an altar of gold, where no bloody sacrifice was to come, during which solemn rite the people prayed without in silence. (Luke i. 10.) But on the great day of expiation the high priest himself took fire from the great altar in a golden censer; and, on descending from the altar, he received incense from one of the priests, which he offered on the golden altar. During such offering the people prayed silently without: and to this most solemn silence St. John alludes in Rev. viii. 1., where he says that *there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour*[2]. To this oblation of incense the psalmist refers (cxli. 2.) in his devotions, and explains his meaning by his application of it: *Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense.*—"As the smoke and odour of this offering was wafted into the holy place, close by the veil of which stood the altar of incense, so do the prayers of the faithful ascend upwards, and find admission to the highest heaven[3]." (Acts x. 4.)

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[1] Schulzii Archæol. Heb. pp. 250—280. Lamy, Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. pp. 187—203. Relandi Antiq. Sacr. Hebræorum, part iii. cap. i.—v. pp. 290—368. Ikenii Antiq. Heb. part i. cap. xiii. xiv. pp. 152—191. Beausobre and L'Enfant's Introd. to the New Test. (Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 196—199.) Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. ch. v. pp. 155—174. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 94—97. 109—115, 246—254. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol ii. book ii. pp. 270—272. Jahn, Archæol. Bib. pp. 506—525. Dr. Owen on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercit. xxiv. pp. 306—318. Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 926—941.

[2] Sir Isaac Newton on the Apocalypse, p. 264. See also Woodhouse on Rev. viii. 1. p. 199.

[3] Jones on the Fig. Lang. of Scrip. Lect. iv. towards the close. "The prayer of faith," adds this learned and pious writer, "is acceptable to God, as the fragrance of

V. The VOLUNTARY or FREE oblations were either the fruits of promises or of vows; but the former were not considered so strictly obligatory as the latter, of which there were two kinds: 1. The *vow of consecration*, when any thing was devoted either for sacrifice, or for the service of the temple, as wine, wood, salt, &c.; and, 2. The *vow of engagement*, when persons engaged to do something that was not in itself unlawful, as not to eat of some particular meat, not to wear some particular habits, not to drink wine, nor to cut their hair, &c. When the Jews made a vow, they made use of one of these two forms: "*I charge myself with a burnt offering;*" or, "*I charge myself with the price of this animal for a burnt-offering.*" Besides these they had other shorter forms; for instance, when they devoted all they had, they merely said, "*All I have shall be corban,*" that is, "I make an oblation of it to God." Among other false doctrines taught by the Pharisees, who were the depositaries of the sacred treasury, was this, that as soon as a person had pronounced to his father or mother this form of consecration or offering, *Be it corban* (that is devoted), *whatever of mine shall profit thee* (Mark vii. 11.), he thereby consecrated all he had to God, and must not thenceforth do any thing for his indigent parents if they solicited support from him. With great reason therefore does Jesus Christ reproach them with having destroyed by their tradition, not only that commandment of the law which enjoins children to honour their fathers and mothers, but also another divine precept, which, under the severest penalty, forbad that kind of dishonour which consists in contumelious words. (Mark vii. 9, 10. 13.) They, however, proceeded even further than this unnatural gloss; for, though the son did not directly give, or mean to give, any thing to God at that time, yet if he afterwards should repent of his rashness, and wish to supply them with any thing, what he had formerly said precluded the possibility of doing so; for his property became eventually devoted to God, and, according to the Pharisaic doctrine, the sacred treasury had a claim upon it, in preference to the parents. The words "be it corban," or devoted, consequently implied an im-

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incense is agreeable to the senses of man; and, as the incense was offered twice a day, in the morning and evening, the spirit of this service is to be kept up at those times throughout all generations. The prophet Malachi (upon a *forced* and erroneous interpretation of whose words alone the church of Rome has founded and defended the use of incense in her worship) foretold that it should be observed throughout the world (Mal. i. 11.), and in the Revelation we hear of this incense as now actually carried up and presented in heaven. (Rev. v. 8.) Happy are they who fulfil this service; and at the rising and going down of the sun send up this offering to heaven, as all Christians are supposed to do, at least twice in every day." Ibid. (Works, vol. iii. p. 66.)

precation against himself, if he should ever afterwards bestow any thing for the relief of his parents: as if he should say to them, "May I incur all the infamy of sacrilege and perjury if ever ye get any thing from me;" than which it is not easy to conceive of any thing spoken by a son to his parents, more contemptuous or more barbarous, and therefore justly denominated κακολογια, "opprobrious language [2]."

VI. The PRESCRIBED OBLATIONS were either first-fruits or tithes.

1. All the *First Fruits*, both of fruit and animals, were consecrated to God, (Exod. xxii. 29. Numb. xviii. 12, 13. Deut. xxvi. 2. Neh. x. 35, 36.): and the first fruits of sheep's wool were offered for the use of the Levites. (Deut. xviii. 4.) The amount of this gift is not specified in the law of Moses, which leaves it entirely to the pleasure of the giver: the Talmudical writers, however, inform us, that liberal persons were accustomed to give the fortieth, and even the thirtieth; while such as were covetous or penurious gave only a sixtieth part. The first of these they called an oblation with a good eye, and the second an oblation with an evil eye. To this traditional saying our Lord is, by some learned men, supposed to have alluded in Matt. xx. 15. Among animals, the males only belonged to God: and the Jews not only had a right, but were even obliged, to redeem them in the case of men and unclean animals, which could not be offered in sacrifice. These first-fruits were offered from the feast of pentecost until that of dedication, because after that time the fruits were neither so beautiful nor so good as before. Further, the Jews were prohibited from gathering in the harvest until they had offered to God the *omer*, that is the new sheaf, which was presented the day after the great day of unleavened bread: neither were they allowed to bake any bread made of new corn until they had offered the new loaves upon the altar on the day of pentecost; without which all the corn was regarded as unclean and unholy. To this St. Paul alludes in Rom. xi. 16.; where he says, *If the* FIRST FRUIT *be holy, the lump also is holy.* The presentation of the first fruits was a solemn and festive ceremony. At the beginning of harvest, the sanhedrin deputed a number of priests to go into the fields and reap a handful of the first ripe corn: and these, attended by great crowds of people, went out of one of the gates of Jerusalem into the neighbouring corn-fields. The first fruits thus

[1] Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Four Gospels, vol. ii. pp. 379—382. third edition.

reaped were carried with great pomp and universal rejoicing through the streets of Jerusalem to the temple. The Jewish writers say that an ox preceded them, with gilded horns and an olive crown upon his head, and that a pipe played before them until they approached the city: on entering it they crowned the first fruits, that is, exposed them to sight with as much pomp as they could, and the chief officers of the temple went out to meet them. They were then devoutly offered to God in grateful acknowledgment of his providential goodness in giving them the fruits of the earth. These first fruits, or handful of the first ripe grain, gave notice to all who beheld them that the *general* harvest would soon be gathered in. How beautiful and striking is St. Paul's allusion to this religious ceremony in that most consolatory and closely reasoned chapter, the fifteenth of his first epistle to the Corinthians, in which, from the resurrection of Jesus Christ, he argues and establishes the certainty of the general resurrection; and represents Christ as the first fruits of a glorious and universal harvest of all the sleeping dead! *Now is Christ risen, and become the* FIRST FRUITS *of them that slept.* (1 Cor. xv. 20.) The use which the apostle makes of this image is very extensive. "In the first place, the growing of grain from the earth where it was buried is an exact image of the resurrection of the body: for, as the one is *sown*, so is the other, and neither *is quickened* except it first die and be buried. Then the whole harvest, from its relation to the first fruits, explains and ensures the order of our resurrection. For is the sheaf of the first fruits reaped? then is the whole harvest ready. Is Christ risen from the dead? then shall all rise in like manner. Is he accepted of God as an holy offering? then shall every sheaf that has grown up with him be taken from the earth and sanctified in its proper order:—*Christ the* FIRST FRUITS, *and afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming*[1]." (1 Cor. xv. 23.)

2. Besides the first fruits, the Jews also paid the *Tenths* or *Tithes* of all they possessed. (Numb. xviii. 21.) They were in general collected of all the produce of the earth (Lev. xxvii. 30. Deut. xiv. 22, 23. Neh. xiii. 5, 10.), but chiefly of corn, wine, and oil, and were rendered every year except the sabbatical year. When these tithes were paid, the owner of the fruits

[1] Jones's Works, vol. iii. p. 64. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. p. 307. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 146—149. Beausobre's Introd. to the New Test. (vol. iii. p. 200. of Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts.) Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 984. vol. ii. p. 184. 306, 307. Lamy's Apparatus, vol. i. p. 204. Ikenii Antiq. Hebr. part i. c. 15. pp. 210—224. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 287—292. Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. pp. 203—206.

further gave another tenth part, which was carried up to Jerusalem, and eaten in the temple at offering feasts, as a sign of rejoicing *and gratitude to God.* These are called *second tithes* [1]. The Levites paid a tenth of the tithes they received to the priests. Lastly, there were tithes allotted to the poor, for whom there was also a corner left in every field, which it was not lawful to reap with the rest (Lev. xix. 9. Deut. xxiv. 19.); and they were likewise allowed such ears of corn, or grapes, as were dropped or scattered about, and the sheaves that might be accidentally forgotten in the field. Field-tithes might be redeemed by those who desired it, on paying one-fifth in addition; but all conversion of the tithes of cattle was prohibited. (Lev. xxvii. 32, 33.) The payment and appretiation of them Moses left to the consciences of the people, without subjecting them to judicial or sacerdotal visitations, but at the same time he did not prohibit the Levites from taking care that they duly received what was their own. The conscientious accuracy of the people, with respect to the second tithe, he secured merely by the declaration which they made every three years before God. From trifling articles he in no case required tithes; though we learn from the Gospel that the Pharisees affected to be scrupulously exact in paying tithe of every the least herb. (Matt. xxiii. 23.) If, however, a person had committed a trespass against the sanctuary, that is, had not paid the tithes of any particular things, and if at any time afterwards, his conscience were awakened to a sense of his guilt, he had it in his power to make an atonement, without incurring any civil disgrace, by simply paying an additional fifth, with his tithe, and making a trespass-offering [2]. (Lev. v. 14—16.)

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[1] On the application of these second tithes, see Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp 142, 145.

[2] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 141—145.

CHAPTER IV.

SACRED TIMES AND SEASONS OBSERVED BY THE JEWS.

I. THE SABBATH.—*How observed.—Jewish worship on that day.—Their prayers, public and private; attitudes at prayer; forms of prayer.*—II. *Their manner of worshipping in the temple.*—III. *New moons.*—IV. *Annual festivals.*—V. THE PASSOVER; *when celebrated, and with what ceremonies; its mystical or typical reference.*—VI. THE DAY OF PENTECOST.—VII. THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.—VIII. THE FEAST OF TRUMPETS.—IX. DAY OF EXPIATION.—X. *Annual Festivals instituted by the Jews.*—FEAST OF PURIM.—XI. THE FEAST OF DEDICATION.—*Other festivals observed at stated intervals.*—XII. THE SABBATICAL YEAR.—XIII. THE YEAR OF JUBILEE.

IN order to perpetuate the memory of the numerous wonders God had wrought in favour of his people, Moses by the divine command instituted various festivals, which they were obliged to observe: these sacred seasons were either weekly, monthly, or annual, or recurred after a certain number of years.

I. Every *seventh day* was appropriated to sacred repose, and called the SABBATH; although this name is in some passages given to other festivals, as in Levit. xxv. 4., and sometimes it denotes a week, as in Matt. xxviii. 1. Luke xxiv. 1., Acts xx. 7. and 1 Cor. xvi. 2. (Gr.) It was originally instituted to preserve the memory of the creation of the world (Gen. ii. 3.): whether it continued to be observed by the Israelites as a day of rest and holy convocation during their residence in Egypt, is a question concerning which learned men are by no means agreed. When, however, God gave them rest in the land of Canaan, he gave them his sabbaths to be statedly kept. (Exod. xx. 10, 11. and xvi. 23.)

In the observance of the sabbath, the following circumstances were enjoined by divine command. 1. This day was to be held sacred as a day of worship, in memory of the creation of the world by Jehovah, and also as a day of repose both for man and beast, that they might be refreshed, and not have their bodily strength exhausted by uninterrupted labour (Gen. ii. 1—3. Exod. xx. 10, 11. Ezek. xx. 20.); hence the celebration of the sabbath was the making of a weekly profession that they received and revered the Creator of heaven and earth, and was closely connected with the fundamental principle of the Mosaic law, whose object was to keep the people from idolatry, and

to maintain the worship of the one true God; and hence also the punishment of death was denounced against the wilful profanation of this solemnity. 2. On this day they were most religiously to abstain from all manner of work. (Exod. xx. 10. xxiii. 12. xxxi. 12—17. xxxv. 2. Deut. v. 14, 15. Jer. xvii. 22) It was therefore unlawful to gather manna (Exod. xvi. 22—30.), to light a fire for culinary purposes (Exod. xxxv. 3. Numb. xv. 32—36.), and to sow or reap. (Exod. xxxiv. 21.) To these enactments the Jewish doctors added a variety of other regulations, for which there is not the slightest foundation in the law of Moses. Thus, it was formerly accounted unlawful to repel force by force on the sabbath-day [1]; and how much its observance was strained by the traditions of the elders in the time of our Lord, is sufficiently manifest. Hence we find it was deemed unlawful to pluck ears of corn (Matt. xii. 2.) to satisfy the cravings of nature, because that was a species of reaping. We learn from the talmudical writers that it was unlawful to use oil medicinally, though they allowed it as a luxury; the anointing of the body with fragrant oils being then, as it is now in the East, one of their highest enjoyments. It was a traditional rule of the antient Jewish doctors, that "whatever could possibly be done on the day before, or might be deferred until the following day, ought not to drive out the sabbath;" an excellent maxim when rightly understood, but when applied to cases of infirmity or sickness, they manifestly showed that they did not comprehend the meaning of the divine declaration—"I will have mercy and not sacrifice." In *chronical diseases*, therefore, of which description were those cured by Jesus Christ on the sabbath-day, they conceived that the persons who had so long struggled with them might very well bear them a day longer, rather than prepare medicines or in any way attempt to be cured on that day. The knowledge of this circumstance will greatly illustrate the conduct of our Lord in healing the sick on the sabbath-day, and particularly the man who had been born blind. (John ix.) The rule above stated was made before he began to teach, and he gladly availed himself of the first opportunity to refute their erroneous notions, and expose their gross prevarication in interpreting many of the sabbatical laws. Further, seeing it was prohibited to put fasting spittle upon or into the eyes of a blind man on the sabbath-day, our Saviour effected a cure by using both clay and spittle (John ix. 6. 14.), to shew his divine au-

[1] 1 Macc. ii. 31—38. See other examples in Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. vi. § 2. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16. § 4. lib. iv. c. 2. § 3. and de vitâ suâ, § 32.

thority, in employing means to human reason the most improper, even on that sacred day, directly in opposition to the above rule; which was good and just in itself, but hypocritical, superstitious, and cruel when applied to the case of healing on the sabbath [1]. The services of the temple, however, might be performed without profaning the sabbath, such as preparing the sacrifices (Lev. vi. 8—13. Numb. xxviii. 3—10. Matt. xii. 5.); and it was also lawful to perform circumcision on that day. (John vii. 23.) 3. The sabbath was to be devoted to chearful rest, that not only the Israelites, but also strangers living with them, as well as their cattle, might be refreshed. (Exod. xxiii. 12.) Hence it is not improbable that they celebrated sacrificial or offering feasts, to which, from the commencement of their polity, the poor were invited. In later times, at least, we know from history, that the Jews purchased and prepared the best viands they could procure for the sabbath-day, in order to do it honour; and that they actually had sabbath-feasts, to which they even invited persons with whom they were unacquainted. [2]

The sabbath commenced at sun-set, and closed at the same time on the following day. (Matt. viii. 16. Mark i. 32.) Whatever was necessary was prepared on the latter part of the preceding day, that is, of our Friday: hence the day preceding the sabbath (προσαββατον) is in the New Testament termed the *preparation* (παρασκευη), in Matt. xxvii. 62. Mark xv. 42. Luke xxiii. 54. and John xix. 14. 31. 42.

We know not with certainty from the Mosaic writings what constituted the most antient worship of the Israelites on the sabbath-day. It is, however, evident from the New Testament that the celebration of this day chiefly consisted in the religious exercises which were then performed: though there is no injunction recorded, except that a burnt-offering of two lambs should on that day be added to the morning and evening sacrifices (Numb. xxviii. 9.); and that the shewbread should be changed. (Levit. xxiv. 8.) In the synagogues, as we have already seen, the sacred writings were read and expounded,

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[1] Dr. Wotton's Misna, title Shabbath, pp. 101—103. 123. The sabbath, we may observe, was a type of that eternal rest which all the true servants of God will hereafter enjoy in heaven. See Jones's Lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews, Lect. ii. (Works, vol. iii. pp. 240—242.)

[2] Luke xiv. 1. and Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ on that passage. (Works, vol. ii. pp. 445, 446.) See also Wetstein's Notes, vol. i. p. 750. Michaelis remarks that our Saviour's observation in Luke xiv. 12—14. can only be fully understood in reference to a feast that formed a part of divine worship, and, as such, might look for a recompence from God: for we do not in ordinary cases expect that God should reward us in another world for every entertainment we give. Commentaries, vol. iii. p. 158.

to which was sometimes added a discourse or sermon by some doctor or eminent teacher. (Luke iv. 16. Acts xiii. 15.)

Prayer also appears to have formed a part of their sacred worship in the synagogue, and especially in the temple (1 Sam. i. 9, 10. 1 Kings viii. 29, 30. 33. Psal. xxviii. 2. Luke xviii. 10.): the stated hours were at the time of offering the morning and evening sacrifice, or at the third and ninth hours (Acts ii. 15. and iii. 1.); although it was the custom of the more devout Jews, as David (Psal. lv. 17.) and Daniel (vi. 10.) to pray three times a day. Peter *went up on the house-top to pray.* (Acts x. 9.) A similar usage obtains among the Hindoos to this day [1]. Previously to offering up their supplications they washed their hands, to signify that they had put away sin and purposed to live a holy life, The *public* prayers were first offered at the tabernacle, and afterwards in the temple and synagogues, by the minister appointed for that purpose, the people answering (*in the synagogues only*) at the conclusion with a loud Amen [2]. (Neh. viii. 6.) *Private* prayers were offered by individuals in a low tone of voice (1 Sam. i. 13. Luke xviii. 11.) with the head covered [3]: either standing (Luke xviii. 11.) or kneeling (Ezra ix. 5. Luke xxii. 41. Acts vii. 60.); sometimes bowing the head towards the earth (Exod. xxxiv. 8.), and at others, with the whole body prostrate on the ground. (Psal. xcv. 6. Matt. xxvi. 39.) Sometimes they smote upon the breast, in token of their deep humiliation and penitence (Luke xviii. 13.), or spread forth their hands (Isa. i. 15.), or lifted them up to heaven. (Psal. cxli. 2. Lam. iii. 41.) Of this last posture in prayer many instances occur, both in sacred and profane authors. It was adopted by the primitive Christians when pouring forth their supplications: they stood up, says Tertullian, and directed their eyes towards heaven with expanded hands [4]. A similar testimony is given by Clement of Alexandria [5]: "We lift up our head, and elevate our hands to-

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[1] Ward's History, &c of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 342.

[2] The Jews attribute a wonderful efficacy to this word; and have an idle tradition that the gates of paradise will be opened to him who says Amen with all his might.

[3] The reason of this custom was to profess themselves reverent and ashamed before God, and unworthy to appear before him. It was a maxim of the Jews—"Let not the wise men, nor the scholars of the wise men, pray, unless they be covered." It appears that the Corinthians, though converted to the Christian faith, in this respect conformed to the Jewish practice; and therefore St. Paul remonstrated against it. 1 Cor. xi. 4. Lightfoot's Hor. Heb. in loc. (Works, ii. 769, 770.)

[4] Apolog. c. 30. p. 30. edit. Rigaltii.

[5] Stromata, lib. ii. p. 722. Dr. Harwood (Introd to New Test. vol. ii. p. 301.) has given several passages from classic authors, confirming the antiquity of this posture in prayer. The practice of extending the hands in prayer still obtains in the East. See Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. pp. 511—513. Fragments supplementary to Calmet, No. cclxxviii.

wards heaven." So also, Saint Paul, when exhorting Christians to pray for all classes of persons, describes the gesture then used in prayer. (1 Tim. ii. 8.)—*Wherefore* LIFT UP *holy* HANDS *without wrath or doubting.* Those who affected superior sanctity, or who, from motives of ostentation and hypocrisy, it appears, prayed in the streets [1], and *made long prayers,* were severely censured by our Lord for their formal and hypocritical devotion. (Matt. vi. 5. and xxiii. 14.) When at a distance from the temple, the more devout Jews turned themselves towards it when they prayed. We have an instance of this in the conduct of Daniel [2]. (Dan. vi. 10.)

What the stated public prayers were in the time of our Lord it is now impossible exactly to ascertain; it is probable that many of the eighteen prayers, which are said to have been collected together by Rabbi Gamaliel the Elder, the master of St. Paul, were then in use; and as all persons were not able to commit them to memory, it is also probable that a summary of them was drawn up. But we know certainly that it was customary for the more eminent doctors of the Jews to compose forms of short prayers, which they delivered to their scholars. Thus John the Baptist gave his disciples such a form: and Jesus Christ, at the request of his disciples, gave them that most perfect model emphatically termed *the Lord's Prayer,* which the very learned Mr. Gregory has shown that he collected out of the Jewish euchologies: he has translated the whole form from them as follows:—

"Our Father, which art in heaven, be gracious unto us! O Lord our God, hallowed be thy name, and let the remembrance of thee be glorified in heaven above, and upon earth here below. Let thy kingdom reign over us, now and for ever. The holy men of old said, remit and forgive unto all men whatsoever they have done against me. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil thing. For thine is the kingdom, and thou shalt reign in glory for ever, and for evermore." [3]

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[1] This practice is also general throughout the East. Both Hindoos and Musulmauns offer their devotions in the most public places; as, at the landing places of rivers, in the public streets, and on the roofs of boats, without the least modesty or effort at concealment. Ward's History of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 335. See also Fragments, No. cv., and Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ on Matt. vi. 5. (Works, ii. 156.)

[2] Lamy is of opinion that Hezekiah did so, and that we are to understand his *turning his face to the wall* (2 Kings xx. 2.) of his turning towards the temple. De Tabernaculo, lib. vii. c. 1. § 5.

[3] See the works of the Rev. and learned Mr. John Gregorie, p. 168. London, 1683. See also Dr. Lightfoot's Hor. Heb. on Matt. vi. 9—13. Drusius, in Critici Sacri, vol. vi. col. 259, 260. Whitby, and other commentators, in loc. Dr. Hales has an

II. With what reverence the Jews regarded their temple, we have already seen [1]: and in proportion to the sanctity of the place was the solemn and holy behaviour required of all who came to worship there. The law, indeed, had prohibited the approach of all uncleanness; but to the enactments of Moses the great masters of traditions added a variety of other trifling regulations, which the law had not named, while they scrupled not to make the "house of prayer," a den of thieves. Dr. Lightfoot has collected many of these traditions respecting the temple-worship; an abridgment of which will form a proper supplement to the preceding observations.

1. No man might enter the "mountain of the house," for so they called the temple, with his staff; weapons of offence being unsuited to the house of peace; and it being reputed indecorous to lean, when there, on any other staff than God. On this account it was, that our Lord expelled the buyers and sellers of cattle from the temple with a whip of cords. (John ii. 15.)—2. No man was permitted to enter with shoes on his feet [2], nor with dust on his feet, which he was obliged to wipe or wash, (thus intimating the necessity of approaching the Most High divested of all worldly cares and affections); nor with money in his purse, nor with his purse about him.—3. Having arrived at the temple every worshipper was prohibited from spitting there, as well as from using any irreverent gestures, or making it a thoroughfare to shorten his distance in crossing from one part of the city to another: and on entering the court, he must walk leisurely and gravely to his place, and there demean himself as in the presence of God.—4. Having now entered to pray and attend the service, he was to stand with his feet one even with the other; and, casting his eyes downward, while he raised his heart upward, must cross his hands upon his breast, and stand as a servant before his master, with all reverence and fear. The practice of looking down in prayer the Jews derived from those passages of Scripture, which speak of being ashamed to look up towards heaven, on account of their sinfulness: to this position of looking down and laying his hands upon his heart, the demeanor of the devout publican (Luke xviii. 13.) seems to be parallel. Even the priests, when they pronounced the blessing upon the people, neither looked

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excellent commentary on this prayer, in his Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1005—1011. The forms, &c. of prayer of the modern Jews are described by Mr. Allen, Modern Judaism, pp. 326—354.

[1] See pp. 246—248, *supra*.

[2] This prohibition was derived from the command of God to Moses (Exod. iii. 5.), and Joshua (v. 15.) The same usage obtains throughout the East to this day.

up towards heaven, nor level upon the people, but down upon the ground; and the people were prohibited from looking upon them.—5. However weary the worshipper might be with standing, he might on no account sit down either in the Israelites' or priests' court; no person whatever being allowed that privilege, except the kings of the house of David.—6. Having offered their prayers in the manner already noticed [1], and performed the services, they were to depart in the same order in which they had entered: and as they were prohibited to turn their backs upon the altar, they went backward till they were out of the court, and departed from the temple by a different gate from that by which they had entered. [2]

III. The Jewish months being lunar were originally calculated from the first appearance of the moon, on which the *Feast of the new moon*, or beginning of months (as the Hebrews termed it) was celebrated. (Exod. xii. 2. Numb. x. 10. xxviii. 11. Isa. i. 13, 14.) It seems to have been in use long before the time of Moses, who by the divine command prescribed what ceremonies were then to be observed. It was proclaimed with the sound of trumpets (Numb. x. 10. Psal. lxxxi. 3.); and several additional sacrifices were offered. (Numb. xxviii. 11—15.)

IV. Besides the sabbath, Moses instituted other festivals: three of these, viz. the passover, the feast of pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles, which are usually denominated the *Great Festivals*, were distinguished from the sabbath, and indeed from all other holy days, by the circumstance of each of them lasting seven (one for eight) successive days; during which the Jews were bound to rejoice before the Lord for all their deliverances and mercies. (Deut. xvi. 11—15.) All the males of the twelve tribes were bound to be present at these grand festivals (Exod. xxxiv. 23. Deut. xvi. 16.); and for their encouragement to attend they were assured that "no man should desire their land" during their absence (Exod. xxxiv. 24.); in other words, that they should be secure from hostile invasion during their attendance on religious worship:—a manifest proof this of the divine origin of their religion, as well as of the power and particular providence of God, in working thrice every year an especial miracle for the protection of his people. The design of these meetings was partly to unite the Jews among themselves, and, teaching them to regard each other as brethren and fellow-citizens, to promote mutual love and friendship.

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[1] See pp. 319, 320. *supra*.
[2] Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. pp. 947—950.

To this the psalmist probably refers in Psal. cxxii. 3, 4. and it was partly that, as one church, they might make one congregation, and join in solemn worship together. Further, so large a concourse of people would give the greater solemnity to these festivals: and, as no Israelite was to present himself before the Lord without some offering (Deut. xvi. 16, 17.), ample provision was thus made for the support of the ministers of the sanctuary. On these occasions, although the men were required to attend, it does not appear that women were prevented from going if they chose, at least to the passover, (see 1 Sam. i. 3. 7. Luke ii. 41.) For greater security, however, against the attacks of robbers on the road, they used to travel in large companies, those who came from the same city, canton, or district, forming one company. They carried necessaries along with them, and tents for their lodging at night[1]. It was among such a "company" that Joseph and Mary sought Jesus Christ (Luke ii. 44.): and to their journeying through a dreary valley on one of these festivals, the psalmist probably alludes (lxxxiv. 6.) Further, as the Jewish sanctuary and service contained in them a shadow of good things to come, and were typical of the Christian Church, this prescribed concourse from all parts of the country 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 St. Paul, alluding to these general assemblies of the Israelites on the three grand feasts, says "We are come to the *general assembly* of the church." (Heb. xii. 23.)

But besides the benefits to be derived from the religious celebration of these ordinances, Michaelis has pointed out several instances in which they produced a salutary effect on the community. Not only would their meeting together in one place for the purposes of religion and social intercourse tend to prevent a total alienation of rival tribes, as well as civil war, but it would also afford them an opportunity of being

[1] Nearly similar to this is the mode of travelling in the East to this hour. Such companies they now call caravans; and in many places there are buildings fitted up for their reception, called *caravanserais*. This account of the Israelites' mode of travelling furnishes a ready answer to the question, how Joseph and Mary could make a day's journey without discovering, before night, that Jesus was not in the "company." In the day-time, as circumstances might lead them, the travellers would probably mingle with their friends and acquaintance; but in the evening, when they were about to encamp, every one would join the family to which he belonged. As Jesus then did not appear when it was growing late, his parents first sought him, where they supposed he would most probably be, among his relations and acquaintance; and not finding him, returned to Jerusalem. Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 449. note on Luke ii. 44.

mutually reconciled. Further, it is not improbable that these annual meetings promoted the internal commerce of the Israelites, who were prohibited from carrying on traffic with foreigners, and lastly, they had an important influence on the Jewish calendar, inasmuch as the year was arranged, so that the various festivals should fall in their respective months without interfering with the labours of the field. [1]

V. The first and most eminent of these festivals was the PASSOVER [2], instituted the night before the Israelites' departure from Egypt, for a perpetual memorial of their signal deliverance, and of the favour which God shewed them in passing over and sparing their first-born, when he slew the first-born of the Egyptians. (Exod. xii. 12—14. 29, 30—51.) This festival was also called the *feast or the days of unleavened bread*, (Exod. xxiii. 15. Mark xiv. 1. Acts xii. 3.); because it was unlawful to eat any other bread during the seven days the feast lasted. The name was also by a metonymy given to the lamb that was killed on the first day of this feast, (Ezra vi. 20. Matt. xxvi. 17.) whence the expressions, to *eat the passover*, (Mark xiv. 12, 14.) and to *sacrifice* [3] the passover. (1 Cor. v. 7.) Hence also St. Paul calls Jesus Christ our passover (ibid.), that is, our true paschal lamb. But the appellation, passover, belongs more particularly to the second day of the feast, viz. the fifteenth day of the month Nizan [4]. It was ordained to be celebrated on the anniversary of the deliverance of the Israelites. This was an indispensable rite to be observed by every Israelite except in particular cases, enumerated in Numb. ix. 1—13., on pain of death [5]: and no uncircumcised person was allowed to partake of the passover [6]. On this festive occasion, it was the custom

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[1] Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. iii. pp. 182—189. Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. iv. pp. 331, 332.

[2] On the true meaning of the word *passover*, Bp. Magee has a learned disquisition in vol. i. of his Discourses on the Atonement, pp. 309—321. That it was a kind of fœderal rite (as the Eucharist also is) between God and man, Dr. Cudworth has solidly proved in his "True Notion of the Lord's Supper," chap. vi. pp. 28—36. at the end of vol. ii. of his "Intellectual System," 4to edit.

[3] That the passover was a proper and real sacrifice, see largely proved by Bp. Magee in the same work, vol. i. p. 297—309.

[4] Lev. xxiii. 6. Mark xiv. 1. Josephus Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. x. § 5.

[5] In like manner, Dr. Waterland has observed, a contempt and rejection of at least the thing signified by the sacrament of the Lord's supper, must necessarily exclude every man from the benefits of Christ's passion and death.

[6] So, in the early ages of Christianity, no person was permitted to come to the Lord's supper until he had been baptised. As soon, however, as the passover was celebrated, every one was at liberty to go home the very next morning if he pleased (Deut. xvi. 7.), of course while the festival lasted, in order that those Jews, who came from a distance, might return in time for getting in the harvest. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 183, 184.

at Jerusalem for the inhabitants to give the free use of their rooms and furniture to strangers at the passover. This usage will explain the circumstance of our Saviour's sending to a man to prepare for his eating the passover, who, by the relation, appears to have been a stranger to him. Further, in order to render this grand festival the more interesting, a custom was introduced in the later times of the Jewish polity, of liberating some criminal. By whom or at what time this practice originated it is now impossible accurately to determine: the most probable opinion is, that it was introduced by the Romans themselves, perhaps by Pilate at the commencement of his procuratorship of Judæa, with the permission of Augustus, in order to gratify the Jews by shewing them this public mark of respect [1]. However this may be, it had become an established custom from which Pilate could not deviate (Matt. xxvii. 15. Luke xxiii. 17. John xviii. 39.), and therefore he reluctantly liberated the malefactor Barabbas.

As the very interesting history of this most solemn of all the Jewish festivals is copiously related in the twelfth chapter of Exodus, it is unnecessary to detail it again in this place: but as various traditional observances were in after times added to the Mosaic precepts concerning this sacrifice, to which there are manifest allusions in the New Testament, we shall trace them, as briefly as the important nature of the subject will admit, under the following heads:—1. The time when it was to be kept;—2. The ceremonies with which it was to be celebrated;—3. The mystical signification of these rites.

1. *Of the time when the passover was to be kept.* This festival commenced on the evening subsequent to the fourteenth day of the month Nizan, the first in the Jewish sacred or ecclesiastical year (Exod. xii. 6. 8. 18. Levit. xxiii. 4—8. Numb. xxviii. 16—27.), with eating what was called the paschal lamb; and it was to continue seven whole days, that is, until the twenty-first. The day preceding its commencement was called the *preparation of the passover.* (John xix. 14.) During its continuance no leavened bread was allowed to be used; hence the fourteenth day of the month Nisan might with great propriety be called (as we find it is in Matt. xxvi. 17. Mark

1 Hottinger has discussed the various opinions on the origin of this usage, in a dissertation *De ritû dimittendi reum in festo Paschatis,* Tempe Helvetic. vol. iv. p. 264. From the Jews the custom proceeded to the Christians; Valentinian and several other emperors having issued their edict, that some prisoners should be liberated from their bonds at the annual commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection. This custom obtained among the Venetians till the close of the last century; but whether it is still observed, we have not been able to ascertain.

xiv. 12.) the first day of unleavened bread, because the passover began in the evening. The *fifteenth* day however might also be called the first day of unleavened bread [1]: since, according to the Hebrew computation of time, the evening of the fourteenth was the dawn or beginning of the fifteenth, on which day the Jews began to eat unleavened bread. (Exod. xii. 18.) But, if any person were prevented from arriving at Jerusalem in time for the feast, either by any uncleanness contracted by touching a dead body, or by the length of the journey, he was allowed to defer his celebration of the passover until the fourteenth day of the following month, in the evening, (Num. ix. 10—12.) As it is not improbable that some difference or mistake might arise in determining the new moon, so often as such difference recurred, there would consequently be some discrepancy as to the precise time of commencing the passover. Such a discordance might easily arise between the rival and hostile sects of Pharisees and Sadducees: and such a difference, it has been conjectured, did exist at the time Jesus Christ celebrated the passover with his disciples, one whole day before the Pharisees offered their paschal sacrifice [2]. Sacrifices peculiar to this festival were to be offered every day during its continuance: but the first and last days, (the fifteenth and twenty-first) were to be sanctified above all the rest, by abstaining from servile labour, and holding a sacred convocation. (Exod. xii. 15. Levit. xxiii. 7, 8.)

2. *Of the ceremonies with which the passover was to be celebrated.*—The paschal lamb was to be a male, without blemish, of the first year, either from the sheep or the goats [3] (Exod. xii. 5.): it was to be taken from the flocks four days before it was killed; and one lamb was to be offered for each family, and if its members were too few to eat a whole lamb, two families were to join together. In the time of Josephus a paschal

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[1] The fifteenth day is so called in Levit. xxiii. 6, and by Josephus, who expressly terms the *second day* of unleavened bread, the sixteenth day of the month. Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. x. § 5.

[2] That a difference did exist as to the time of beginning the passover is intimated in John xiii. 1, 2. xviii. 28. and xix. 14. 31. The conjecture above noticed was made by Schulze, (Archæol. Hebr. p. 319.); and if it could be substantiated, would reconcile the seeming differences occurring in the evangelists respecting the time when Christ actually celebrated the passover. Dr. A. Clarke has collected the principal opinions on this much contested point, in his discourse on the Eucharist, pp. 5—24. See also Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book iii. c. iv. pp. 336—340.

[3] The Hebrew work שה seh, means either a lamb or a kid: either was equally proper. The Hebrews however in general preferred a lamb. Theodoret understands the law to mean, he that has a lamb, let him offer it; but let him that has none, offer a kid. On the selection of the victim see pp. 121, 122, *supra*.

society consisted at least of ten persons to one lamb and not more than twenty [1]. Our Saviour's society was composed of himself and the twelve disciples. (Matt. xxvi. 20. Luke xxii. 14.) Next followed the killing of the passover; before the exode of the Israelites from Egypt, this was done in their private dwellings, but after their settlement in Canaan, it was ordered to be performed "in the place which the Lord should choose to place his name there." (Deut. xvi. 2.) This appears to have been at first wherever the ark was deposited, and ultimately at Jerusalem in the courts of the temple [2]. Every particular person (or rather a delegate from every paschal society [3]) slew his own victim: according to Josephus, between the *ninth* hour, or *three* in the afternoon, and the *eleventh*, that is, about sun-set: and within that space of time it was, that Jesus Christ our true paschal lamb was crucified. (Mat. xxvii. 46.) The victim being killed, one of the priests received the blood into a vessel, which was handed from one priest to another until it came to him who stood next the altar, and by whom it was sprinkled at the bottom of the altar. After the blood was sprinkled, the lamb was hung up and flayed; this being done, the victim was opened, the fat was taken out and consumed on the altar, after which the owner took it to his own house. The paschal lamb was to be roasted *whole*, 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 culinary utensils might be packed up ready for their departure while the lamb was roasting.

After the lamb was thus dressed, it was eaten by each family or paschal society [4]. 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. (Exod. xii. 8. 11. 46.) The posture of travellers was enjoined them, both to enliven their faith in the promise of their then speedy deliverance from 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;

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[1] De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. ix. § 3.

[2] The area of the three courts of the temple, besides the rooms and other places in it, where the paschal victim might be offered, contained upwards of 435,600 square cubits; so that was ample room for more than 500,000 men to be in the temple at the same time. Lamy, De Tabernaculo, lib. vii. c. ix. § 4, 5.

[3] See Lightfoot's Temple Service, ch. xii. § 5. (Works, vol. i. pp. 957—959.)

[4] Beausobre says that these sodalities were called *brotherhoods*, and the guests, *companions* or *friends*: and that our Saviour's reproof of Judas by calling him friend or companion (Matt. xxvi. 50.) was both just and cutting, because he betrayed him after having eaten the passover with him.

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 engaged in any laborious employment. [1]

Further, 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 a kind 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 journies they would be called to undertake;——on this account, he ordered them to make no provision for their present journey, particularly, not to take shoes on their feet, but to be shod with sandals. (Matt. x. 10. comp. with Mark vi. 9.)

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. (Gen. xxxii. 10.) [2] Of this sort was probably Moses's rod which he had in his hand, when God sent him with a message to Pharaoh (Exod. iv. 2.), 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 journies, to take a spare staff with them, for fear one should fail. When Christ, therefore, sent his apostles on the embassy above mentioned, he ordered them not to take staves (Luke ix. 3. Mark vi. 8.), that is, only one staff or walking stick, without making provision of a spare one, as was common in long journeys.

The paschal lamb was to be eaten with unleavened bread, on pain of being cut off from Israel, or excommunicated; though some critics understand this of being put to death. The reason of this injunction was, partly to remind them of the hardships

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[1] Thus when Elisha sent his servant Gehazi on a message in haste, he bade him "gird up his loins," 2 Kings iv. 29.; and when our Saviour set about washing his disciples feet, "he took a towel and girded himself," John xiii. 4.

[2] David beautifully alludes to this custom in the twenty-third Psalm; where (v. 4.) expressing his trust in the goodness of the Almighty, to enable him to pass tranquilly through the article of death, he exclaims, *Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me, thy* ROD *and thy* STAFF, *they comfort me.*

they had sustained in Egypt, unleavened being more heavy and less palatable than leavened bread; on which account it is called the bread of affliction (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 said, that their "dough was not leavened, because they were thrust out of Egypt and could not tarry," (Exod. xii. 39.); 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." (Deut. xvi. 3.) This rite, therefore, was not only observed at the first passover, but in all succeeding ages. But from the metaphorical sense in which the term *leaven* is used [1], this prohibition is supposed to have had a moral view; and that the divine legislator's intention was, that the Israelites should cleanse their minds from malice, envy, and hypocrisy; in a word, from the leaven of Egypt. In consequence of this injunction, the Hebrews, as well as the modern Jews, have always taken particular care to search for all the leaven that might be in their houses, and to burn it. [2]

The passover was likewise to be eaten "with bitter herbs:" this was doubtless prescribed as a memorial of their severe bondage in Egypt, which made their lives *bitter* unto them; and possibly also to denote that the haste in which they departed, compelled them to gather such wild herbs as most readily presented themselves. To this sauce the Jews afterwards added another, made of dates, raisins, and several ingredients beaten together to the consistence of mustard, which is called charoseth, and is designed to represent the clay in which their forefathers wrought while they were in bondage to the Egyptians.

It was further prescribed, that they should eat the flesh of the lamb, without breaking any of his bones. (Exod. xii. 46.) This the latter Jews understand, not of the smaller bones, but only of the greater, which had marrow in them. Thus was this

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[1] Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 953, 954. Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 381.

[2] See Matt. xvi. 6. St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians a short time before the passover, exhorts them to cleanse out the old leaven of lewdness by casting the incestuous person out of the church; and to *keep the feast* (of the Lord's Supper) *not with the old leaven* of sensuality and uncleanness, with which they were formerly corrupted, *neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread* (or qualities) *of sincerity and truth*. Macknight on 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.; who observes, that it is probable from this passage that the disciples of Christ began very early to celebrate the Lord's Supper with peculiar solemnity, annually on the day on which the Redeemer suffered, which was the day of the Jewish passover, called in modern language *Easter*. It is with beautiful propriety therefore that this passage of St. Paul is introduced by the Anglican church among the occasional versicles for Easter Sunday.

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.

Lastly, it was ordered that nothing of the paschal lamb should remain till the morning; but, if it were not all eaten, it was to be consumed by fire. (Exod. xii. 10.) The same law was extended to all eucharistical sacrifices (Lev. xxii. 30.); 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 to teach the Jews to treat with reverence whatever was consecrated more especially to the service of God.

Such were the circumstances under which the first passover was celebrated by the Israelites; for, after they were settled in the land of Canaan, they no longer ate it standing, but the guests reclined on their left arms upon couches placed round the table. (John xiii. 23.) This posture, according to the talmudical writers, was an emblem of that rest and freedom which God had granted to the children of Israel by bringing them out of Egypt. This custom of reclining at table, over one another's bosom, was a sign of *equality* and strict union among the guests. [1]

Dr. Lightfoot has collected from the Talmud a variety of passages relative to the Jewish mode of celebrating the passover; from which we have abridged the following particulars, as they are calculated materially to illustrate the evangelical history of our Lord's last passover, recorded in Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. and John xiii.

(1.) The guests being placed around the table, they mingled a cup of wine with water, over which the master of the family (or, if two or more families were united, a person deputed for the purpose) gave thanks, and then drank it off. The thanksgiving for the wine was to this effect, "*Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast created the fruit of the vine;*" and for the day, as follows—"*Blessed be thou for this good day, and for this holy convocation, which thou hast given us for joy and rejoicing! Blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified Israel and the times!*" Of these cups of wine they drank four in the course of the ordinance.

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[1] This custom, Beausobre well observes, will explain several passages of Scripture, particularly those in which mention is made of Abraham's bosom (Luke xvi. 22.), and of the son's being *in the bosom of the father*, (John i. 18. compared with Phil. ii. 6. and John xiii. 23.)

(2.) They then washed their hands, after which the table was furnished with the paschal lamb, roasted whole, with bitter herbs, and with two cakes of unleavened bread, together with the remains of the peace-offerings sacrificed on the preceding day, and the charoseth, or thick sauce, above mentioned.

(3.) The officiator, or person presiding, then took a small piece of sallad, and having blessed God for creating the fruit of the ground, he ate it, as also did the other guests; after which all the dishes were removed from the table, that the children might inquire and be instructed in the nature of the feast. (Exod. xii. 25, 26.) The text on which they generally discoursed was Deut. xxvi. 5—11. In like manner our Saviour makes use of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to declare the great mercy of God in our redemption; for it *shows forth the Lord's death till he come* to judge the world. The "continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits we receive thereby," which has been observed ever since the time of the apostles, is a permanent and irrefragable argument for the reality of that "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," which was made by Jesus Christ "by his one oblation of himself" upon the cross; in opposition to the opinion of those who deny the divinity of our Saviour, and the vicarious nature of his death.

(4.) Then replacing the supper, they explained the import of the bitter herbs and paschal lamb: and over the *second* cup of wine repeated the hundred and thirteenth and hundred and fourteenth psalms, with an eucharistic prayer.

(5.) The hands were again washed, accompanied by an ejaculatory prayer; after which the master of the house proceeded to break and bless a cake of the unleavened bread, which he distributed among the guests, reserving half of the cake beneath a napkin, if necessary, for the *aphicomen*, or last morsel; for the rule was, to conclude with eating a small piece of the paschal lamb, or, after the destruction of the temple, of unleavened bread. In like manner our Lord, upon instituting the sacrament of the eucharist, which was prefigured by the passover, took bread; and having blessed or given thanks to God, he brake it, and gave it to his diciples, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me.* (Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24.) In the communion service of the Anglican church, the spirit and design both of the type and antitype are most expressively condensed into one point of view in the following address to the communicant:—*TAKE and EAT this in*

REMEMBRANCE that Christ died for THEE, and feed upon him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving.

(6.) They then ate the rest of the cake with the bitter herbs, dipping the bread into the charoseth, or sauce, above mentioned. To this practice the evangelists Matthew (xxvi. 21—25.) and Mark (xiv. 18—21.) manifestly allude: and into this sauce our Saviour is supposed to have dipped the sop which he gave to Judas. (John xiii. 26.)

(7.) Next they ate the flesh of the peace-offerings which had been sacrificed on the fourteenth day, and then the flesh of the paschal lamb, which was followed by returning thanks to God, and a second washing of hands.

(8.) A third cup of wine was then filled, over which they blessed God, or said grace after meat (whence it was called the *cup of blessing*), and drank it off. To this circumstance Saint Paul particularly alludes when he says,—*The CUP of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ.* (1 Cor. x. 16.) It was also at this part of the paschal supper that our Lord *took the cup, saying, This is the NEW TESTAMENT* (rather *covenant*) *IN MY BLOOD, which is shed for you, and for many, for the REMISSION OF SINS.* (Luke xxii. 20. Matt. xxvi. 27.) The *cup* here is put for *wine*; and *covenant* is put for the *token* or *sign* of the covenant. The *wine*, as representing Christ's *blood*, answers to the blood of the passover, which typified it; and the *remission of sins* here, answers to the passing over there, and preserving from death [1].

(9.) Lastly, a fourth cup of wine was filled, called the cup of the hallel: over it they completed, either by singing or recitation, the great hallel, or hymn of praise, consisting of psalms cxv. to cxviii. inclusive, with a prayer, and so concluded [2]. In like manner our Lord and his disciples, when

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[1] Clarke on the Eucharist, p. 39. On this part of the institution of the Lord's Supper, Dr. Lightfoot has the following admirable remarks. "*This is my blood of the New Testament.* Not only the seal of the covenant, but the sanction of the new covenant. The end of the Mosaic economy, and the confirming of a new one. The confirmation of the old covenant was by the *blood of bulls and goats* (Exod. xxiv. Heb. ix.), because blood was still to be shed: the confirmation of the new was by a cup of wine; because under the new covenant there is no further shedding of blood. As it is here said of the cup, *This cup is the New Testament in my blood*; so it might be said of the *cup of blood.* (Exod. xxiv.) *That cup was the Old Testament in the blood of Christ*: there, all the articles of that covenant being read over, Moses sprinkled all the people with blood, and said, *This is the blood of the covenant which God hath made with you*; and thus that old covenant, or testimony, was confirmed. In like manner, Christ, having published all the articles of the new covenant, he takes the cup of wine, and gives them to drink, and saith, *This is the New Testament in my blood*, and thus the new covenant was established."—(Works, vol. ii. p. 260.) Hor. Heb. on Matt. xxvi. 27.

[2] Lightfoot's Temple Service, c. xiii. (Works, vol. i. pp. 959—967.) See also

they had sung a hymn, departed to the Mount of Olives. (Matt. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 26.)

3. *With regard to the mystical signification of the passover,* we know generally from Saint Paul (1 Cor. v. 7.) who calls Jesus Christ *our passover,* that this Jewish sacrament had a typical reference to him: but, concerning the points of resemblance between the type and antitype, learned men are not agreed. Godwin[1] has enumerated *thirteen* points of coincidence; Dr. Lightfoot[2], *seventeen;* and Keach[3], *nineteen.* The most judicious view of this subject which we have seen is that of Herman Witsius[4], who has treated it under four general heads, viz. the person of Christ,—his sufferings,—the fruits or effects of them,—and the manner in which we are made partakers of them. The following particulars are abridged from this eminent divine.

First, 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. (John i. 29. 36.) The fitness and propriety of 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 choler of any animal in the brute creation, was a very proper emblem of our Saviour's humility and meekness; and of his inoffensive behaviour (Matt. xi. 29.); for he, by whose precious blood we were redeemed, was "a lamb without blemish and without spot," (1 Pet. i. 19.): 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.* (Isa. liii. 7.) By his almighty power he could have delivered himself out of the hands of his enemies, as he had done on former occasions (Luke iv. 29, 30. John viii. 59.); 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

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Mr. Ainsworth's learned and interesting notes on Exod. xii. in his Annotations on the Pentateuch.

[1] Godwin's Moses and Aaron, pp. 114, 115.

[2] Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 1008, 1009.

[3] Keach's Key to Scripture Metaphors, pp. 979, 980. 2d edit. See also M'Ewen on the Types, pp. 148—152.

[4] Witsius, de Œconomia Fœderum, lib. iv. c. 9. sections xxxv.—lviii. or vol. ii. pp. 275—282 of the English translation.

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 (Heb. vii. 26.); 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 become one of us by taking our flesh and blood, and *was made in all things like to his brethren.* (Heb. ii. 14. 17.) 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* (Isa. ix. 6.) 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 publicly in his office as a Saviour, four years before his death.

Secondly, 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," (Exod. xii. 6.); and so the whole estate of the Jews, the priests, scribes, elders, rulers, and the populace in general, (compare Mark xiv. 43. with Luke xxiii. 13.) 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 [1], as representing its antitype enduring, on our account, the fierceness of God's anger, which is said to "burn like fire," (Psal. lxxxix. 46. Jer. iv. 4.) Hence that complaint of our suffering

[1] Justin Martyr, who flourished in the early part of the second century, in his conference with Trypho the Jew, has the following remarkable passage: "This lamb," says he, "which was to be entirely roasted, was a symbol of the punishment of the cross, which was inflicted on Christ. For the lamb which was roasted was so placed as to resemble the figure of a cross; with one spit it was pierced longitudinally, from the tail to the head; with another it was transfixed through the shoulders, so that the fore legs became extended." Vid. Just. Martyri Opera ab Oberthur, vol. ii. p. 106. "To some this may appear trifling; but it has seemed right to the wisdom of God to typify the most interesting events by emblems, of comparatively less moment. He is sovereign of his own ways, and he chooses often to confound the wisdom of the wise, not only by the foolishness of preaching, but also by the various means he employs to bring about the great purposes of his grace and justice. The manner of this roasting was certainly singular; and of the fact we cannot doubt, for Trypho himself neither attempted to ridicule nor deny it." Dr. A. Clarke's Discourse on the Eucharist, p. 32. For an interesting account of the manner in which the modern Jews celebrate the passover, see Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 380—385.

Saviour in the prophecy 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." (Psal. xxii. 14, 15.) There was further, a remarkable correspondence between 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 choose 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 took place the next day, between the two evenings, according to the most probable interpretation of that phrase, namely, between noon and sun-set.

Thirdly, Several of the 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.* (1 Pet. i. 2. Heb. xii. 24.) 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; 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." (Heb. ix. 12. Rom. viii. 21.)

Fourthly, The manner in which we are to be made partakers of 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 its flesh. 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 (Psal. xxiv. 7.); 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. (1 Sam. xvi. 7.) 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 heart sprinkled from an evil conscience.* (Heb. x. 22.)

By eating the flesh of the lamb, we have no difficulty in understanding 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. (John vi. 53.)

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, submit to him, and trust 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 passion, 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* (Phil. iii. 10.), and elsewhere observes, *that if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him.* (2 Tim. ii. 12.)

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 protection from the wrath of God, and our Redeemer from spiritual bondage and misery. (1 Cor. v. 7, 8.)

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 between the type and the antitype. (John xix. 33. 36.) There is evidently more fancy than judgment in that mystical interpretation, which some have put on this circumstance; who by the bones understand those secrets of God, or those hard and difficult things in the divine counsels, which we are not able to comprehend, and of which we should therefore be humbly content to be ignorant, 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." (Deut. xxix. 29.)

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?* (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15.)

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 may call them. They are not to consider 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." (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," (Heb. vi. 18.); we must not delay and trifle, but "give diligence to make our calling and election sure." (2 Pet. i. 10.); for the kingdom of heaven is said to "suffer violence, and the violent take it by force." (Matt. xi. 12.)

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 be condemned as apostates. (Heb. vi. 4—6. x. 39. 2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.)

On the second day of the festival (the sixteenth of the month Nisan) was offered the sheaf of the first-fruits of the barley harvest, which was usually ripe at this season, as a grateful acknowledgement of the goodness of God, in bestowing upon them both the former and the latter rains (Jer. v. 24.), and also of his right to confer or withhold them as he pleases. It was accompanied with a particular sacrifice, the circumstances of which are detailed in Levit. xxiii. 9—14.

VI. The second of the three great Jewish festivals was the

FEAST OF PENTECOST, which is called by various names in the sacred writings; as the *feast of weeks* (Exod. xxxiv. 22. Deut. xvi. 10. 16.), because it was celebrated seven weeks or a week of weeks after the first day of unleavened bread;—the *feast of harvest* (Exod. xxiii. 16.), and also the *day of first-fruits* (Numb. xxviii. 26.), because on this day the Jews offered thanksgivings to God for the bounties of harvest, and presented to him the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest, in bread baked of the new corn. (Exod. xxiii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 14—21. Numb. xxviii. 26—31.) The form of thanksgiving for this occasion is given in Deut. xxvi. 5—10. On this day also was commemorated the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. The Greek word Pentecost, Πεντηκοστη (Acts ii. 1. xx. 16.), is derived from the circumstance of its being kept on the *fiftieth* day after the first day of unleavened bread. The number of Jews assembled at Jerusalem on this joyous occasion was very great[1]. This festival had a typical reference to the miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles and first fruits of the Christian church on the day of Pentecost (corresponding with our Whit-Sunday,) on the fiftieth day after the resurrection of Jesus Christ.[2]

VII. The FEAST OF TABERNACLES, like the preceding festival, continued for a week. It was instituted to commemorate the dwelling of the Israelites in tents while they wandered in the desert. (Lev. xxiii. 34. 43.) Hence it is called by St. John the *feast of tents* (σκηνοπηγια, John vii. 2.)[3] It is likewise termed the *feast of ingatherings*, (Exod. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22.) Further, the design of this feast was, to return thanks to God for the fruits of the vine, as well as of other trees, which were gathered about this time, and also to implore his blessing upon those of the ensuing year. The following were the principal ceremonies observed in the celebration of this feast.

1. During the whole of the solemnity they were obliged to dwell in tents, which antiently were pitched on the flat terrace-like roofs of their houses. (Neh. viii. 16.)

2. Besides the ordinary daily sacrifices, there were several extraordinary ones offered on this occasion, which are detailed in Numb. xxix.

3. During the continuance of this feast, they carried in their hands branches of palm-trees, olives, citrons, myrtles, and

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[1] Acts ii. 9—11. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. ii. c. iii. § 1.

[2] Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 321—323. Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 179. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 960. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii p. 184. Relandi Antiq. Hebr. p. 472.

[3] A similar appellation is given by Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xi. c. 5. § 5. lib. viii. c. 4 § 1.

willows (Levit. xxiii. 40. Neh. viii. 15. 2 Macc. x. 7.)[1]; singing *Hosanna, Save I beseech thee* (Psal. cxviii. 25.), in which words they prayed for the coming of the Messiah. These branches also bore the name of Hosanna, as well as all the days of the feast. In the same manner was Jesus Christ conducted into Jerusalem by the believing Jews, who, considering him to be the promised Messiah, expressed their boundless joy at finding in him the accomplishment of those petitions, which they had so often offered to God for his coming, at the feast of tabernacles. (Matt. xxi. 8, 9.) During its continuance, they walked in procession round the altar with the abovementioned branches in their hands, amid the sound of trumpets, singing Hosanna; and on the last or seventh day of the feast, they compassed the altar seven times. This was called the Great Hosanna. To this last ceremony St. John probably alludes in Rev. vii. 9, 10. where he describes the saints as standing before the throne "*clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.*"

4. One of the most remarkable ceremonies performed at this feast, was the libation or pouring out of water, drawn from the fountain or pool of Siloam, upon the altar[2]. As, according to the Jews themselves, this water was an emblem of the HOLY SPIRIT, Jesus Christ manifestly alluded to it, when he "cried, saying *If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.*" (John vii. 37. 39.)

No festival was celebrated with greater rejoicings than this, which Josephus calls "a most holy and most eminent feast[3]." Dancing, music, and feasting were the accompaniments of this festival, together with such brilliant illuminations as lighted the whole city of Jerusalem. These rejoicing are supposed to have taken place in the court of the women, in order that they might be partakers of the general hilarity.[4]

VIII. To the three grand *annual* festivals above described, Moses added two others, which were celebrated with great solemnity, though the presence of every male Israelite was not

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[1] Lamy adds, that the Jews tied these branches with gold and silver strings, or with ribands, and did not lay them aside the whole day; carrying them into their synagogues, and keeping them by them while they were at their prayers. App. Bib. vol. i. p. 183.

[2] See pp. 41, 42, *supra*, where this ceremony is described.

[3] Ant. Jud. lib. viii. c. iv. § 1. The greatness of these rejoicings, and their happening at the time of vintnage, led Tacitus to suppose that the Jews were accustomed to sacrifice to Bacchus. Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. c. 5. (tom. iii. p. 268. edit. Bipont.)

[4] Schulzii Archæol. Heb. pp. 323—326. Relandi Antiq. Heb. p. 477. Ikenii Antiq. Heb. pp. 134, 135. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 964. vol. ii. pp. 641—643. Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus, p. 295. Harmer's Observations, vol. i. p. 13.

absolutely required. The first of these was the FEAST OF TRUMPETS, and was held on the first and second days of the month Tisri, which was the commencement of the civil year of the Hebrews: this feast derives its name from the blowing of trumpets in the temple with more than usual solemnity. (Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24.) On this festival they abstained from all labour (Levit. xxiii. 25.), and offered particular sacrifices to God, which are described in Numb. xxix. 1—6.

IX. The other feast abovementioned was the FAST OR FEAST OF EXPIATION, OR DAY OF ATONEMENT; which day the Jews observed as a most strict fast[1], abstaining from all servile work, taking no food, and *afflicting their souls.* (Levit. xxiii. 27—30.) Of all the sacrifices ordained by the Mosaic law, the sacrifice of the atonement was the most solemn and important: it was offered on the tenth day of the month Tisri, by the high priest alone, for the sins of the whole nation. "On this day only, in the course of the year, was the high priest permitted to enter the sanctuary[2], and not even then without due preparation, under pain of death; all others being excluded from the tabernacle during the whole ceremony. (Levit. xvi. 2—17.) Previously to his entrance he was to wash himself in water, and to put on the holy linen garments, with the mitre; and to bring a young bullock into the outer sanctuary, and present it before the Lord to be a sin-offering for himself and his household, including the priests and Levites, and a ram also for a burnt-offering. (xvi. 3, 4.) Next, he was to take two young goats, and present them before the Lord, at the door of the tabernacle, to be a sin-offering for the whole congregation of Israel, and a ram also for a burnt-offering. (xvi. 5.) He was then to cast lots upon the two goats, which of them should be sacrificed as a sin-offering to the Lord, and which should be let go for a scape-goat into the wilderness.

"After this, he was first to sacrifice the bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his household, and to take some of the

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[1] The Jewish fasts, whether public or private, were distinguished by every possible mark of grief; the people being clothed in sackcloth, with ashes strewed on their heads, downcast countenances, rent garments, and (on public occasions) with loud weeping and supplication. (2 Sam. xiii. 19. Psal. xxxv. 13. Isa. lviii. 5. Lam. ii. 10. Joel i. 13, 14. ii. 12, 13.) At these times they abstained from food until evening. The sanctimonious Pharisees (who, besides the regular seasons, fasted twice a week, Luke xviii. 12.) affected the utmost humility and devotion, disfiguring their faces and avoiding every appearance of neatness; against this conduct our Lord cautions his disciples, in Matt. vi. 16, 17. See Lightfoot's Hor. Heb. on that passage, and also on Matt. ix. 14. and Luke xviii. 12. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. x. § 3.

[2] When the tabernacle was to be removed, and set up again, the inner sanctuary might safely be entered, but not at other times.

blood into the inner sanctuary, bearing in his hand a censer with incense burning, kindled at the sacred fire on the altar, and to sprinkle the blood with his finger upon the mercy-seat, and before it, seven times; to purify it from the pollution it might be supposed to have contracted from his sins and transgressions during the preceding year. He was then to sacrifice the allotted goat, for the sins of the whole nation, and to enter the inner sanctuary a second time, and to sprinkle it with blood as before, to purify it from the pollution of the people's sins and transgressions of the foregoing year. After which, he was to purify, in like manner, the tabernacle and the altar. He was next to bring the live goat, and lay both his hands upon its head, and confess over him all the iniquities, transgressions, and sins of the children of Israel, putting them upon the head of the goat; and then to send him away by the hand of a fit person into the wilderness, to bear away upon him all their iniquities to a land of separation, where they should be remembered no more. After this atonement he was to put off his linen garments, and leave them in the sanctuary, and to wash himself again in water, and put on his usual garments; and then to offer burnt-offerings for himself and for the people, at the evening sacrifice. (Lev. xvi. 3—28.)

"The whole of this process seems to be typical or pre-figurative of the grand atonement to be made for the sins of the whole world by Jesus Christ, *the high priest of our profession* (Heb. iii. 1.), and a remarkable analogy thereto may be traced in the course of our Lord's ministry. He began it with personal purification at his baptism, to *fulfil all legal righteousness.* (Matt. iii. 13—15.) Immediately after his baptism, he was led, by the impulse of the HOLY SPIRIT, into the wilderness, as the true scape-goat, who *bore away our infirmities, and carried off our diseases.* (Isa. liii. 4—6. Matt. viii. 17.) Immediately before his crucifixion, *he was afflicted,* and *his soul was exceeding sorrowful unto death,* when he was to be made a sin-offering, like the allotted goat, (Psal. xl. 12. Isa. liii. 7. Matt. xxvi. 38. 2 Cor. v. 21. Heb. i. 3. ; and *his sweat, as great drops of blood falling to the ground,* corresponded to the sprinkling of the mercy seat, (Luke xxii. 44.); and when, to prepare for the sacrifice of himself, he consecrated himself in prayer to God, (John xvii. 1—5. Matt. xxvi. 39—46.); and then prayed for his household, his apostles, and disciples (John xvii. 6—9.), and for all future believers on him, by their preaching. (John xvii. 20—26.) He put off his garments at his crucifixion, when he became the sin-offering, (Psal. xxii. 18. John xix. 23, 24.); and as our spiritual high priest entered once for all into the

most holy place, heaven, to make intercession with God for all his faithful followers. (Heb. vii. 24—28. ix. 7—15.) *Who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification*[1]." (Rom. iv. 25.)

X. Besides the annual festivals above described, the Jews in later times introduced several fast and feast days in addition to those instituted by Moses. The two principal festivals of this kind were the feast of purim, and that of the dedication of the second temple.

The FEAST OF PURIM or of *Lots*, as the word signifies, is celebrated on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar (or of Ve-Adar if it be an intercalary year), in commemoration of the providential deliverance of the Jews from the cruel machinations of Haman, who had procured an edict from Artaxerxes to extirpate them. (Esth. iii.—ix.) On this occasion the entire book of Esther is read in the synagogues of the modern Jews, not out of a printed copy, but from a roll which generally contains this book alone. All Jews, of both sexes, and of every age, who are able to attend, are required to come to this feast, and to join in the reading, for the better preservation of the memory of this important fact. When the roll is unfolded, the chazan or reader says, 'Blessed be God, the King of the world, who hath sanctified us by his precepts, and commanded us to read the Megillah! Blessed be God, who in those days worked miracles for our fathers!' As often as the name of Haman occurs, the whole congregation clap their hands, stamp with their feet, and exclaim, 'Let his name be blotted out! May the memory of the wicked rot!' The children at the same time hiss, and strike loudly on the forms with little wooden hammers made for the purpose. When the reader comes to the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters, where the names of Haman's ten sons occur, he pronounces them with great rapidity and in one breath, to intimate that they were all hanged, and expired in the same moment. In most manuscripts and editions of the book of Esther, the ten names contained in the chapters just mentioned are written under each other in ten lines, no other word being connected with them, in order to exhibit the manner in which they were hanged, viz. on a pole fifty cubits, that is, seventy-five feet high; each of

[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. pp. 274. 276. See also Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book iii. ch. viii. pp. 378—388. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 961. 962. Relandi Antiq. Hebr. p. 491, *et seq.* Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 328—334. The typical reference of the sacrifice offered on this day is discussed at considerable length by Witsius, De Œcon. Fœd. lib. iv. c. vi. or vol. ii. pp. 213—231. of the English translation. On the manner in which this fast is observed by the modern Jews, see Allen's Modern Judaism, pp. 391—399.

the brothers being immediately suspended, the one under the other, in one perpendicular line.

When the chazan has finished the reading, the whole congregation exclaim—'Cursed be Haman!—Blessed be Mordecai! Cursed be Zeresh!—Blessed be Esther! Cursed be all idolaters!—Blessed be all the Israelites! And blessed likewise be Harbonah, at whose instance Haman was hanged!' In order to heighten the general joy on this festival, Buxtorf relates that some Jews wore particoloured garments, and young foxes' tails in their hats, and ran about the synagogue exciting the congregation to laughter! Further, to excite and increase mirth, the men and women exchange apparel; this, though positively forbidden by the law, they consider innocent and allowable on this festive occasion, which is a season of peculiar gaiety. Alms are given to the poor; relations and friends send presents to each other; and all furnish their tables with every luxury they can command. These two days are the bacchanalia of the modern Jews; who think it no sin to indulge themselves largely in their cups, some of them indeed to intoxication, in memory of Esther's banquet of wine; at which she succeeded in defeating the sanguinary designs of Haman.[1]

XI. The FEAST OF DEDICATION (mentioned in John x. 22.) was instituted by Judas Maccabeus, in imitation of those by Solomon and Ezra, as a grateful memorial of the cleansing of the second temple and altar, after they had been profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes. (1 Mac. iv. 52—59.) It commenced on the twenty-fifth of the month Cisleu, corresponding with our December, and lasted eight days. This festival was also called the *feast of lights*, because the Jews illuminated their houses in testimony of their joy and gladness on this very important occasion[2]. The whole of this feast was spent in singing hymns, offering sacrifices, and every kind of diversion[3]: it was celebrated with much solemnity in the time of Josephus.

Besides these two festivals, we find several others incidentally mentioned in the Old Testament, as being observed by the Jews in later ages, though not appointed by Moses. Such are the fast of the fourth month, on account of the taking of

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[1] Buxtorf de Synagog. Jud. cap. xxix. Iken. Antiq. Hebr. pp. 336—338. Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 334, 335. Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 405. Dr. Clarke's Commentary on Esther.

[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xii. c. vii. § 6, 7.

[3] Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 335, 336. Lamy. vol. i. p. 186. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. pp. 246. 979. vol. ii. pp. 576. 1033. 1039. Relandi Antiq. Heb. p. 534.

Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (Jer. lii. 6, 7.); the fast of the fifth month, on account of their burning the temple and city (2 Kings xxv. 8.); that of the seventh month, on account of the murder of Gedaliah (2 Kings xxv. 25.); and the fast of the tenth month, when the Babylonian army commenced the siege of Jerusalem. (Jer. lii. 4.) All these fasts are enumerated together in Zech. viii. 19.; and to them we may perhaps add the *xylophoria*, or feast of wood-offering, when the people brought and offered large quantities of wood for the use of the altar: it is supposed to have been celebrated in the time of Nehemiah (x. 34.) in whose praises, on this occasion, the Jews largely expatiated, and related several wonderful tales concerning him and the fire lighted upon the altar. (2 Macc. i. 18—22.)

The preceding are the chief annual festivals noticed in the sacred writings, that are particularly deserving of attention: the Jews have various others of more modern institution which are here designedly omitted. We therefore proceed to notice those extraordinary festivals which were only celebrated after the recurrence of a certain number of years. The first of these was,

XII. The sabbatical year. For, as the seventh day of the week was consecrated as a day of rest to man and beast, so this gave rest to the land: which, during its continuance, was to lie fallow, and the "sabbath of the land," or its spontaneous produce was dedicated to charitable uses, to be enjoyed by the servants of the family, by the way-faring stranger, and by the cattle. (Levit. xxv. 1—7. Exod. xxiii. 11.) This was also the year of release from personal slavery (Exod. xxi. 2.), as well as of the remission of debts. (Deut. xv. 1, 2.) Beausobre is of opinion that the frequent mention made in the New Testament, of the remission of sins, is to be understood as an allusion to the sabbatical year. In order to guard against famine on this and the ensuing year, God was graciously pleased to promise a triple produce of the lands upon the sixth year, sufficient to supply the inhabitants till the fruits or harvest sown in the eighth year were ripe. (Levit. xxv. 2—20.) This was a singular institution, peculiar to a theocracy. And the breach of it was among the national sins that occasioned the captivity, that *the land might enjoy her sabbaths*, of which she had been defrauded by the rebellion of the inhabitants [1]. (Levit. xxvi. 34. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.)

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[1] Schulzii. Archæol. Hebr. pp. 337—339. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 387. *et seq.* Leusden, Philol. Hebr. Mixt. p. 307. Reland's Antiq. Hebr. p. 524. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. p. 278.

XIII. The JUBILEE was a more solemn sabbatical year, held every seventh sabbatical year, that is, at the end of every forty-nine years, or the fiftieth current year. (Levit. xxv. 8—10.) Concerning the etymology of the Hebrew word *jobel* (whence our jubilee is derived) learned men are by no means agreed; the most probable of these conflicting opinions is that of Calmet, who deduces it from the Hebrew verb *jabal*, to recall, or bring back; because estates, &c. that had been alienated were then brought back to their original owners. Such appears to have been the meaning of the word, as understood by the Septuagint translators, who render the Hebrew word *jobel* by αφεσις, *remission*, and by Josephus, who says that it signified liberty.[1]

This festival commenced on the tenth day of the month Tisri, in the evening of the day of atonement (Levit. xxv. 9.); a time, Bishop Patrick remarks, peculiarly well chosen, as the Jews would be better disposed to forgive their brethren their debts when they had been imploring pardon of God for their own transgressions. It was proclaimed by the sound of trumpet throughout the whole land, on the great day of atonement, All debts were to be cancelled; all slaves or captives were to be released. Even those who had voluntarily relinquished their freedom at the end of their six years' service, and whose ears had been bored in token of their perpetual servitude, were to be liberated at the jubilee: for then they were to *proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.* (Levit. xxv. 10.) Further, in this year all estates that had been sold, reverted to their original proprietors, or to the families to which they had originally belonged; thus provision was made, that no family should be totally ruined, and doomed to perpetual poverty: for the family estate could not be alienated for a longer period than fifty years. The value and purchase-money of estates therefore diminished in proportion to the near approach of the jubilee. (Levit. xxv. 15.) From this privilege, however, houses in walled towns were excepted: these were to be redeemed within a year, otherwise they belonged to the purchaser, notwithstanding the jubilee (*v.* 30.) During this year, as well as in the sabbatical year, the ground also had its rest, and was not cultivated.[2]

The law concerning the sabbatical year, and especially the year of jubilee, affords a decisive proof of the divine legation of

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[1] Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. xii. § 3.

[2] Schulzii Archæol. Hebr. pp. 341—344. Relandi Antiq. Hebr. p. 529. Jennings's Jewish Antiq. book iii. ch. x. pp. 397—400. Leusden, Philol. Hebræo. Mixt. p. 309. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 376—386.

Moses. No legislator, unless he were conscious that he was divinely inspired, would have committed himself by enacting such a law: nor can any thing like it be found among the systems of jurisprudence of any other nations, whether antient or modern. "How incredible is it, that any legislator would have ventured to propose such a law as this, except in consequence of the fullest conviction on both sides, that a peculiar providence would constantly facilitate its execution. When this law, therefore, was proposed and received, such a conviction must have existed in both the Jewish legislator and the Jewish people. Since then, nothing could have produced this conviction, but the experience or the belief of some such miraculous interposition as the history of the Pentateuch details, the very existence of this law is a standing monument that, when it was given, the Mosaic miracles were fully believed. Now this law was coeval with the witnesses themselves. If then the facts were so plain and public, that those who witnessed them could not be mistaken as to their existence or miraculous nature, the reality of the Mosaic miracles is clear and undeniable."[1]

The reason and design of the law of the jubilee was partly political and partly typical. It was *political*, to prevent the too great oppression of the poor as well as their liability to perpetual slavery. By this means the rich were prevented from accumulating lands upon lands, and a kind of equality was preserved through all the families of Israel. Never was there any people so effectually secure 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 from what tribe and family the Messiah sprung. Upon which 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.

[1] Gr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 171.

A further civil use of the jubilee might be for the easier 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 be one design of this institution to mark out these large portions of time for the readier computation of successive ages.

There was also a typical design and use of the jubilee, which is pointed out by the prophet Isaiah, when he says 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 blind 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." (Isa. lxi. 1, 2.) Where "the acceptable year of the Lord," when "liberty was proclaimed to the captives," and "the opening of the prison to them that were bound," evidently refers to the jubilee; but, in the prophetic 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.

That our Lord began his public ministry on a jubilee, Dr. Hales thinks, is evident from his declaration, "The LORD hath *anointed* me (as THE CHRIST) to preach the Gospel to the poor: he hath *sent* me (as SHILOH, "THE APOSTLE") to heal the broken hearted, to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and restoration of sight to the blind; to set at liberty the bruised; to *proclaim the acceptable year of* THE LORD [1]," (Luke iv. 18, 19.)

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[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. p. 279. Lightfoot's Works, vol. i. p. 619. The best practical illustration we have seen, of the analogy between the Mosaic jubilee and the gospel, is to be found in the reverend and learned Dr. Claudius Buchanan's "Three Sermons on the Jubilee," celebrated on the 25th October 1809, on the occasion of our late venerable Sovereign's entering on the fiftieth year of his reign.

CHAPTER V.

SACRED OBLIGATIONS AND DUTIES.

SECTION I.

OF VOWS.

I. *Nature of Vows—how far acceptable to God.*—II. *Requisites essential to the validity of a vow.*—III. *Different sorts of vows.*—1. *The Cherem or irremissible vow.*—2. *Other vows that might be redeemed.*—*Of the Nazareate.*

I. A VOW is a religious engagement or promise voluntarily undertaken by a person towards Almighty God. "Unless the Deity has expressly declared his acceptance of human vows, it can at best be but a very doubtful point, whether they *are* acceptable in his sight; and if they are not so, we cannot deduce from them the shadow of an obligation; for it is not from a mere offer alone, but from an offer of one party, and its acceptance by another, that the obligation to fulfil an engagement arises. The divine acceptance of vows, we can by no means take for granted; considering that from our vows God can derive no benefit, and that, in general, they are of just as little use to man. In Matt. xv. 4—6. and Mark vii. 9—13. Christ himself notices the vow of *Korban* (already considered), which was common in his time, and by which a man *consecrated* what he was bound to apply to the support of his parents; and he declares it to be so impious that we cannot possibly hold it to be acceptable to God. In the New Testament, no vows whatever are obligatory, because God has nowhere declared that he will accept them from Christians. But the people of Israel *had* such a declaration from God himself; although even *they* were not counselled or encouraged to make vows. In consequence of this declaration, the vows of the Israelites were binding; and *that*, not only in a moral view, but according to the national law; and the priest was authorised to enforce and estimate their fulfilment. The principal passages relating to this point, are Lev. xxvii. Numb. xxx. and Deut. xxiii. 18. 21, 22,23.

II. In order to render a vow valid, Moses requires,

1. That it be *actually uttered with the mouth*, and not merely made in the heart. In Numb. xxx. 3. 7. 9. 13. and Deut. xxiii. 24.

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[1] Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. ii. pp. 263—266.

he repeatedly calls it *the expression of the lips*, or, *what has gone forth from the mouth;* and the same phrase occurs in Psalm lxvi. 14. If, therefore, a person had merely made a vow in his heart, without letting it pass his lips, it would seem as if God would not accept such a vow; regarding it only as a resolution to vow, but not as a vow itself.

This limitation is humane, and necessary to prevent much anxiety in conscientious people. If a vow made in the heart be valid, we shall often be difficulted to distinguish whether what we thought of was a bare intention, or a vow actually completed. Here, therefore, just as in a civil contract with our neighbour, words—*uttered* words—are necessary, to prevent all uncertainty.

2. The party making the vow must be in his own power and competent to undertake the obligation. Therefore the vows of minors were void unless they were ratified by the express or tacit consent of their parents. In like manner, neither married women nor slaves could oblige themselves by vow, unless they were ratified by their husbands or masters.

3. The things vowed to be devoted to God must be *honestly* obtained. It is well known that, in antient times, many public prostitutes dedicated to their gods a part of their impure earnings. This is most expressly forbidden by Moses. (Deut. xxxiii. 18.)

III. There are two sorts of vows mentioned in the Jewish Law, viz. 1. The חרם (CHEREM), which was the most solemn of all, and was accompanied with a form of execration, and which could not be redeemed; and, 2. The נדרים (NEDERIM), or common vows.

1. The cherem is no where mentioned by Moses; nor does he specify by what solemnities or expressions it was distinguished from other vows, but pre-supposes all this as already well known. The species of cherem with which we are best acquainted, was the previous devotement to God of hostile cities, against which they intended to proceed with extreme severity; and *that* with a view the more to inflame the minds of the people to war. In such cases, not only were all the inhabitants put to death, but also, according as the terms of the vow declared, no booty was made by any Israelite; the beasts were slain; what would not burn, as gold, silver, and other metals, was added to the treasure of the sanctuary; and every thing else, with the whole city burnt, and an imprecation pronounced upon any attempt that should ever be made to rebuild it. Of this the history of Jericho (Josh. vi. 17—19. 21—24. and vii. 1. 12—26.) furnishes the most remarkable example.

In Moses' lifetime we find a similar vow against the king of Arad. (Numb. xxi. 1—3.)

If an Israelitish city introduced the worship of strange gods, it was (as we have already seen) in like manner, to be devoted or consecrated to God, and to remain un-rebuilt for ever. (Deut. xiii. 16—18.) Jephthah's dedication of his daughter has generally supposed to have been a cherem: but we have shewn in another part of this work, that he did not sacrifice her. The text (Judg. xi. 30. says that *Jephthah vowed a vow*, (נדר, NEDER) *unto the Lord*, and again (verse 39.) that *he did with her according to his vow* (נדר). There is no word in either of these passages, that either expresses or implies a cherem.

2. The common vows were divided into two sorts, viz. 1. Vows of dedication, and, 2. Vows of self-interdiction or abstinence.

i. The נדר (NEDER) or vow, in the stricter sense of the word, was when a person engaged to do any thing, as, for instance, to bring an offering to God; or otherwise to dedicate any thing unto him. Things vowed in this way, were, 1. *Unclean beasts.* These might be estimated by the priest, and redeemed by the vower, by the addition of one-fifth to the value. (Lev. xxvii. 11—13.)—2. *Clean beasts used for offerings.* Here there was no right of redemption; nor could the beasts be exchanged for others under the penalty of both being forfeited, and belonging to the Lord. (Lev. xxvii. 9, 10.)—3. *Lands and houses.* These had the privilege of valuation and redemption. (Lev. xxvii. 14—24.)—To these we have to add, 4. *The person of the vower himself*, with the like privilege. (Lev. xxvii. 1—8.) To this species of vow Michaelis thinks the *second tenths* may have belonged, as Moses no where speaks of them as a new institution. They most probably derived their origin from the vow made by Jacob, which is recorded in Gen. xxviii. 22.

ii. Vows of *self-interdiction* or *self-denial* were, when a person engaged to abstain from any wine, food, or any other thing. These are especially distinguished by Moses from other vows, in Numb. xxx., and are there termed אסר (ASSAR), or אסר על נפש (ASSAR *al* NEPHESH), that is, a *bond upon the soul, or person, a self-interdiction from some desire of nature, or of the heart*, or, in other words, a *vow of abstinence* particularly from eating and drinking. Among this species of vows may be classed those of the *Nazareate* or *Nazaritism*; which, Michaelis is of opinion, was not instituted by Moses, but was of more antient, and probably of Egyptian origin; the Hebrew legislator giving certain injunctions for the better regulation and

performance of these vows. The statutes respecting the Nazareate are related in the sixth chapter of the book of Numbers. Lamy, Calmet, and others have distinguished two classes of Nazarites: first, *those who were Nazarites by birth*, as Sampson and John the Baptist were; and, secondly, *those who were Nazarites by vow and engagement*; who followed this mode of living for a limited time, at the expiration of which they cut off their hair at the door of the tabernacle, and offered certain sacrifices. The Nazarites were required to abstain from wine, fermented liquors, and every thing made of grapes, to let their hair grow, and not to defile themselves by touching the dead: and if any person had accidentally expired in their presence, the Nazarites of the second class were obliged to recommence their Nazariteship.

Similar to the Nazareate was the vow frequently made by devout Jews, on their recovery from sickness, or deliverance from danger or distress; who, for thirty days before they offered sacrifices, abstained from wine, and shaved the hair of their head [1]. This usage illustrates the conduct of St. Paul, as related in Acts xvii. 18. The apostle, in consequence of a providential deliverance from some imminent peril not recorded by the sacred writer, bound himself by a vow, which the law in this case required him to pay at Jerusalem. In consequence of this transaction St. Luke relates, that he shaved his head at Cenchrea. St. Paul, in his intended journey afterwards to Judæa, says, *he must needs go to Jerusalem*: for the laws respecting the Nazarite's vow required the person who had entered into this engagement, if he were in a foreign country when he first laid himself under this solemn obligation, to go up to Jerusalem to accomplish it. Here several appointed sacrifices were offered, and a certain course of purifications and religious observances was prescribed and performed. This appears from another passage in the same sacred writer. (Acts xxi. 21—27.) "*We have four men who have a* VOW *on them: them take and* PURIFY *thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that* THEY MAY SHAVE THEIR HEADS. *Then*

[1] An usage, similar to the vow of Nazariteship, exists in Persia to this day. It frequently happens after the birth of a son, that if the parent be in distress, or the child be sick, or that there be any cause of grief, the mother makes a vow, that no razor shall come upon the child's head for a certain portion of time, and sometimes for his whole life, as Samuel was. (1 Sam. i. 11.) If the child recovers, and the cause of grief be removed, and if the vow be but for a time, so that the mother's vow be fulfilled, then she shaves his head at the end of the time prescribed, makes a small entertainment, collects money and other things from her relations and friends, which are sent as *Netzers* or offerings to the mosque at Kerbelah, and are there consecrated. Morier's Second Journey, p. 109.

Paul took the men: and the next day purifying himself with them, entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification; and that an offering should be offered for every one of them. And when the SEVEN *days were almost ended,*" &c. Josephus presents us with an instance parallel to this of St. Paul, in the person of Bernice, who went to Jerusalem, in order to perform a vow which she had made to God.

SECTION II.

ON THE PURIFICATIONS OF THE JEWS.

I. *Materials, with which the Purifications of the Jews were performed.* —II. *Ceremonies of Purification.*—III. *Of the Persons lustrated.*—IV. *Account of the different kinds of legal impurities, particularly* 1. *The Leprosy of the Person.*—2. *The Leprosy of Clothes.*—3. *The House Leprosy.*—V. *Minor legal impurities, and their lustrations.*

IT was requisite that every one who was about to make any offering to Jehovah should be cleansed from all impurities, or lustrated,—to adopt an expression in common use among the Romans. The materials, form, and ceremonies of these lustrations, which were prescribed by Moses, were various, according to different circumstances. The design of them all was not only to preserve both the health and morals of the Israelites, but also to intimate how necessary it was to preserve inward purity, without which they could not be acceptable to God, though they might approach his sanctuary.

I. The purifications were for the most part performed with water, sometimes with blood (Heb. ix. 21, 22.), and with oil. (Exod. xxxix. 26. Lev. viii. 10, 11.)[2] The water of purification was to be drawn from a spring or running stream, and was either pure, or mixed with blood (Heb. ix. 19.), or with the ashes of the red heifer. For preparing these ashes, a heifer of a red colour was burnt with great solemnity. This ceremony is described at length in the nineteenth chapter of the

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[1] Ibid. See Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 221. Calmet's Dictionary, voce *Nazarite*. Fleury's Manners of the Israelites, pp. 338, 339. Lardner's Credibility, book i. c. 9. § 7. (Works, vol. i. pp. 208—212.) Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. 8. pp. 214—220. Reland's Antiq. Hebr. part i. c. 10. pp. 284—289. Michaelis's Commentaries on the Law of Moses, vol. ii. pp. 260—271. 280—283. Dr. Randolph's Discourse on Jephthah's Vow, in his View of Christ's Ministry, &c. vol. ii. pp. 166—272.

[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 8. § 6.

book of Numbers. As all the people were to be interested in it, the victim was to be provided at their charge. This Jewish rite certainly had a reference to things done under the Gospel, as St. Paul has remarked in his epistle to the Hebrews. *For if the blood of bulls and of goats* (alluding to the sin-offerings, and to the scape-goat), *and* THE ASHES OF A HEIFER, *sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ . . . . purge* (or purify) *your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.* As the principal stress of allusion in this passage is to the ordinance of the red heifer, we may certainly conclude that it was designed to typify the sacrifice of our adorable Redeemer.

In the ordinance of the red heifer, we may perceive the wisdom of Moses (under the guidance of Jehovah) in taking every precaution that could prevent the Israelites from falling into idolatry. The animal to be selected was a *heifer*, in opposition to the superstition of the Egyptians, who held these to be sacred, and worshipped Isis under the form of a heifer:—it was also to be a *red heifer without spot*, that is, altogether red, because *red bulls* were sacrificed to appease the evil demon Typhon, that was worshipped by the Egyptians; *wherein* was *no blemish*, so that it was free from every imperfection;—*on which never came yoke*, because any animal that had been used for any common purpose, was deemed improper to be offered in sacrifice to God.[1]

The animal being slain, and her blood sprinkled as directed in Numb. xix. 3, 4. was then reduced to ashes, which were to be collected and mixed with running water (ver. 9. 17.), for the purpose of lustration.

II. The Jews had two sorts of washing; one,—of the whole body, by *immersion*, which was used by the priests at their consecration, and by the proselytes at their initiation;—the other, of the hands or feet, called *dipping* or *pouring of water*, and which was of daily use, not only for the hands and feet but also for the cups and other vessels used at their meals. (Matt. xv. 2. Mark vii. 3, 4. John ii. 6.) To these two modes of purification Jesus Christ seems to allude in John xiii. 10.; where the being *wholly washed* implies one who had become a disciple of Christ, and consequently renounced the sins of his former life. He who had so done, was supposed to be wholly washed, and not to need another immersion, in imitation of

[1] This opinion obtained among the antient Greeks. See particularly Homer's Iliad, x. 291—293, and Odyssey, iii. 382, and Virgil's Georgics, iv. 550, 551.

the ceremony of initiation, which was never repeated among the Jews. All that was necessary in such case was, the dipping or rinsing of the hands and feet agreeably to the customs of the Jews. Sometimes the lustration was performed by sprinkling blood, or anointing with oil. Sprinkling was performed either with the finger or with a branch of cedar and hyssop tied together with scarlet wool. (Levit. xiv. 4. 6. Numb. xix. 18. Psal. li. 7.)

III. The objects of lustration were either persons or things dedicated to divine worship. The Levites, priests, and, above all, the high priest, underwent a purification previously to undertaking their office. In like manner the Israelites were commanded to sanctify themselves by ablutions both of their persons and clothes, &c. previously to receiving the law (Exod. xix. 10, 11. 14, 15. Heb. ix. 19.); and after the giving of the law and the people's assent to the book of the covenant, Moses sprinkled them with blood. (Exod. xxiv. 5—8. Heb. ix. 19.) So also were the tabernacle, and all its sacred vessels anointed with oil (Exod. xxx. 26—28. xl. 9—11. Levit. viii. 10, 11.), and as Saint Paul further intimates were sprinkled with the blood of the victims.

Those who were about to offer sacrifice unto Jehovah, were also to be lustrated (1 Sam. xvi. 5. Judith xvi. 22.); as well as those who were repairing to divine worship to offer their prayers (xxiv. 3, 4. xxvi. 6. Judith xii. 7, 8.); and especially the priests and the high priest, before they executed their respective offices. (Exod. xxx. 20.) Lastly, all who according to the Mosaic law were adjudged impure, were to be purified before they could be admitted into the congregation of the Lord. (Numb. xix. 20.)

IV. In the Mosaic law, those persons are termed *unclean*, whom others were obliged to avoid touching. or even meeting, unless they chose to be themselves defiled, that is, cut off from all intercourse with their brethren; and who, besides, were bound to abstain from frequenting the place where divine service, and the offering-feasts were held, under penalties still more severe.

The duration and degrees of impurity were different. In some instances, by the use of certain ceremonies, an unclean person became purified at sunset; in others, this did not take place, until eight days after the physical cause of defilement ceased. Lepers were obliged to live in a detached situation, separate from other people, and to keep themselves actually at a distance from them. They were distinguished by a peculiar dress; and if any person approached, they were bound to give

him warning, by crying out, *Unclean! unclean!* Other polluted persons, again, could not directly touch those that were clean, without defiling them in like manner, and were obliged to remain without the *camp*, that they might not be in their way. (Numb. v. 1—4.) Eleven different species of impurity are enumerated in the Levitical law, to which the later Jews added many others. But the severest of all was,

1. The *Leprosy*, an infectious disease of slow and imperceptible progress, beginning very insidiously and gently, for the most part with one little bright spot, which causes no trouble, though no means will make it disappear: but increasing with time into furfuraceous scales that ultimately become a thick scab, it imperceptibly passes into a disease, which, though divested of its deadly nature in our temperate climates and by our superior cleanliness, is in the East attended with the most formidable symptoms: such as mortification and separation of whole limbs, and when arrived at a certain stage, it is altogether incurable. Among the heathens, the leprosy was considered as inflicted by their gods, by whom alone it could be removed, and the same notion appears to have prevailed among the Israelites; for when the king of Syria sent Naaman, his commander in chief, to the king of Israel, to heal him of his leprosy, the latter exclaimed,—*Am I* GOD, *to kill and make alive, that this man sent unto* ME, *to recover a man of his leprosy?* (2 Kings v. 7.)

This frightful disease was not peculiar to the Israelites, but antiently was endemic (as it now is in Egypt, and other countries.) The burning ulceration with which the great adversary of man afflicted the venerable patriarch Job (ii. 7.), is generally understood to be the *elephantiasis* or leprosy of the Arabians; and derives its name from its rendering the skin of the patient, like that of an elephant, scabrous and dark coloured, and furrowed all over with tubercles, loathsome alike to the individual and to the spectators. The Mosaic statutes respecting leprosy are recorded in Lev. xiii. and xiv. Numb. v. 1—4. and Deut. xxiv. 8, 9. They are in substance as follows:—

1. The suspected person was to be inspected by a priest, both as acting in a judicial capacity, and as being skilled in medicine. The signs of the disease, which are circumstantially pointed out in the statute itself, accord with these which have been noticed by modern physicians. If, on the first inspection, there remained any doubt as to the spot being really a symptom of leprosy, the inspected person was shut up up for *seven* days, in order that it might be ascertained, whether it spread, disappeared, or remained as it was; and this confine-

ment might be repeated. During this time, it is probable that means were used to remove the spot. If in the meantime it spread, or continued as it was, without becoming paler, it excited a strong suspicion of real leprosy, and the person inspected was declared unclean. If it disappeared, and after his liberation became again manifest, a fresh inspection took place.

2. The unclean were separated from the rest of the people. So early as the second year of the Exodus, lepers were obliged to reside without the camp (Numb. v. 1—4.); and so strictly was this law enforced, that the sister of Moses himself becoming leprous, was expelled from it. (Numb. xii. 14—16.) When the Israelites came into their own land, and lived in cities, the spirit of the law thus far operated, that lepers were obliged to reside in a separate place, which was called (בית חפשית) BETH CHOPHSCHITH, or the *house of uncleanness;* and from this seclusion, not even kings, when they became leprous, were exempted. (2 Kings xv. 5.) As, however, a leper cannot always be within doors[1], and may, consequently, sometimes meet clean persons, he was obliged, in the *first* place, to make himself known by his dress, and to go about with torn clothes, a bare head, and his chin covered; and, in the *next* place, when any one came too near him, to cry out that he was *Unclean.* (Numb. xiii. 45, 46.)

3. Although a leper, merely meeting and touching a person, could not have immediately infected him; yet, as such a rencontre and touch would have rendered him Levitically unclean, in order to prevent leprosy from spreading, in consequence of close communication, it was an established rule to consider a leprous person as likewise unclean in a Levitical or civil sense; and, consequently, whoever touched him, became also unclean; not indeed medically or physically so, that is *infected* by one single touch, but still unclean in a civil sense.

4. On the other hand, however, for the benefit of those found clean, the law itself specified those who were to be pronounced free from the disorder; and such persons were then clear of all reproach, until they again fell under accusation from manifest symptoms of infection.

The man who, on the first inspection, was found clean, or in whom the supposed symptoms of leprosy disappeared during confinement, was declared clean; only in the latter case, he was

[1] In the East, lepers are not at this day absolutely interdicted from going abroad; for they are not considered as pestilential.—Niebuhr says (p. 136.), "I might have seen numbers of them; but whenever I observed any of them meeting me in the streets, I deemed it prudent to avoid them."

obliged to have his clothes washed. If, again, he had actually had the disorder, and got rid of it, the law required him to make certain offerings, in the course of which he was pronounced clean.

5. The leprous person was to use every effort in his power to be healed; and therefore was strictly to follow the directions of the priests. This, Michaelis is of opinion, may fairly be inferred from Deut. xxiv.

6. When healed of his leprosy, the person was to go and shew himself to the priests, that he might be declared clean, and offer the sacrifice enjoined in that case; and, when purified, that he might be again admitted into civil society. (Matt. viii. 4. Levit. xiv. 11—32.)

7. Lastly, As this disease was so offensive to the Israelites, God commanded them to use frequent oblations, and prohibited them from eating swine's flesh and other articles of animal food that had a tendency to produce this disease.

The peculiar lustrations, which a person who had been healed of a leprosy was to undergo, are detailed in Levit. xiv.

Besides the leprosy of the person, Moses mentions two other species of leprosy, viz. of clothes and of houses, which are in a great measure unknown in Europe.

2. The *Leprosy of Clothes* is described in Levit. xiii. 47—59, as consisting of green or reddish spots, which remain in spite of washing and still spread; so that the cloth becomes bald or bare, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. From the information which Michaelis received from a woollen manufacturer, he supposes this disease to arise in woollen cloth, from the use of the wool of sheep that have died of disease; which, when worn next the skin (as in the east), is very apt to produce vermin. With respect to leather and linen, he could obtain no information.

Clothes suspected to be thus tainted, were to be inspected by the priest; if they were found to be corroded by the leprosy, they were to be burnt; but if, after being washed, the plague was found to have departed from them, they were to be pronounced clean.

3. The *House-Leprosy* is said in Levit. xiv. 33—57. to consist of greenish or reddish spots or dimples, that appear on the walls, and continually spread wider and wider. Michaelis considers it to be the same as the *salt-petre*, which sometimes attacks and corrodes houses that stand in damp situations. Although in Europe unattended with any injury to health, in Palestine it might be hurtful; so that the Mosaic regulations in this respect are both wise and provident.

When a house was suspected to be thus tainted, the priest was to examine it, and ordered it to be shut up seven days. If he found that the plague or signs of the plague had not spread, he commanded it to be shut up seven days more. On the thirteenth day he revisited it; and if he found the infected place *dim*, or gone away, he took out that part of the wall, carried it out to an unclean place, mended the wall, and caused the whole house to be newly plastered. It was then shut up a third seven days; he once more inspected it on the nineteenth day; and if he found that the plague had broken out anew, he ordered the house to be pulled down. If on the other hand it was pronounced to be clean, an offering was made on the occasion; in order that every one might certainly know that it was not infected, and the public might be freed from all apprehensions on that account.

V. Various other legal impurities are enumerated in Levit. xii. 1—8. and xv., which it is not necessary to detail. To which we may add, that all human corpses and the carcases of beasts that died in any other way than by the knife, were regarded as unclean. Whoever touched the *former*, or went into the *tent* or *apartment* (after the Israelites had houses), where a corpse lay, was unclean for seven days; and whoever touched a dead body, or even a human bone, or a grave in the fields, was unclean for the same period. The body of a clean beast that fell not by the knife, but died in any other way, defiled the person who touched it, until the evening (Levit. xi. 39.); and the carcases of unclean beasts, by whatever means they died, did the same. (Levit. v. 2. xi. 8. 11. 24, 25. 27, 28. 31. Deut. xiv. 8.) The consequence of this law was, that the carcases of beasts were not suffered to remain above ground, but were put into the earth, that passengers might not be in danger of pollution from them.

By these wise enactments, the spreading of contagious diseases would be effectually prevented, which in hot climates are peculiarly rapid and fatal. For the same reason also, Michaelis is of opinion, that Moses commanded the Israelites to break earthen vessels, which were liable to be defiled by being left uncovered in a tent or apartment where a person died, or a a corpse lay (Numb. xix. 15.), or by an unclean beast falling into them (Levit. xi. 33.), or by the touch of a diseased person. (Levit. xv. 12.)[1]

Such are the Mosaic statutes concerning purifications and impurities. Profane scoffers, who deride those things, the

[1] Schulzii Archæologia Hebraica, pp. 303—310. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iii. pp. 254—335.

reason and propriety of which they will not take the trouble to investigate, have ridiculed them as too minute,—especially those respecting the different species of leprosy,—and as unworthy to be made part of a divine law. But every well regulated mind surely must discern in them both the goodness and wisdom of Jehovah towards his chosen people, in giving them precepts which were calculated not only to preserve their health and regulate their morals, but also to accustom them to obedience to his will in every respect. The leprosy has ever been considered as a lively emblem of that moral taint or corruption of the nature of every man *that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam*[1]; as the sacrifices which were to be offered by the healed leper, prefigured that spotless *Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.*

[1] Article IX. of the Confession of the Anglican church.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE CORRUPTIONS OF RELIGION BY THE JEWS.

SECTION I.

ON THE IDOLATRY OF THE JEWS.

I. *Origin and Progress of Idolatry.*—II. *Sketch of its History among the Israelites and Jews.*—III. *Idols worshipped by the Israelites alone.*—IV. *Idols of the Ammonites, worshipped by the Israelites.*—V. *Idols of the Canaanites or Syrians.*—VI. *Phœnician Idols.*—VII. *Idols worshipped in Samaria during the captivity.—Hieroglyphic Stones, why prohibited to the Jews.*—VIII. *Idols of the Greeks and Romans mentioned in the New Testament.*—IX. *Allusions in the Scriptures to the idolatrous worship of the heathen nations.*

1. IDOLATRY is the superstitious worship of idols or false gods. From Gen. vi. 5. compared with Rom. i. 23. there is every reason to believe that it was practised before the flood; and this conjecture is confirmed by the apostle Jude (ver. 4.), who describing the character of certain men in his days that *denied the only Lord God*, adds, in the eleventh verse of his epistle, *Woe unto them, for they are gone into the way of Cain;* whence it may be inferred that Cain and his descendants were the first who threw off the sense of a God, and worshipped the creature instead of the Creator. "That the worship of the one true God was the religion of Noah and his posterity before the dispersion of mankind, admits not a doubt. In this primitive and patriarchal religion, as incidentally disclosed by Moses, we discover the leading characters of that worship which was afterwards restored and guarded by the Jewish institutions; and which was calculated to preserve the knowledge of God, as the Creator of the world, by the observance of the sabbath; as well as to inculcate the heinousness of sin, and typify the death of Christ, by the use of sacrifice. These simple ceremonies, together with the observance of the great rules of morality, and the prohibition of blood, in order to excite a stronger abhorrence against shedding the blood of one another, formed the entire exterior of the religion of Noah. The higher we are able to trace the history of every antient nation, and the nearer we ap-

proach the sources of eastern tradition, the more plain traces do we discover of this pure and simple worship; in which every father of a family acted as its priest, and assembled his progeny round the rustic altar of earth, to join in the sacrifice and the prayers he offered to the Creator and Governor of the world; to deprecate his wrath, and implore his blessing. But the corrupt imaginations of men's hearts would not permit them to rest satisfied with a religion so pure and a ritual so simple: they looked to the sun[1] in its glory, they observed the moon and the stars walking in their brightness: they felt the benefits which through their influence were derived to men. They perhaps first considered them as the peculiar residence, or the chief ministers, or the most worthy representatives, of the Divinity; and in honouring and worshipping them, possibly conceived they were honouring the majesty, and fulfilling the will of their Creator: but they soon forgot the Creator whom they could not see, and gave his glory to the creature, whose existence was obvious to sense and captivating to the imagination. They seem to have conceived these luminaries to be moved and animated by distinct and independent spirits[2], and therefore fit objects of immediate worship. To represent them in their absence, they erected pillars and statues on the tops of hills and mountains, or on pyramids and high buildings, raised for the purpose[3]; as if they could thus approach nearer the presence of their divinities. They set apart priests, and appointed times and sacrifices suited to the luminary they adored: hence the rising and the setting sun, the different seasons of the year, the new and full moon, the quarters of the heavens, the constellations and conjunctions of the stars, acquired a peculiar sacredness, and were conceived to possess a peculiar influence. It now became the interests of the priests to persuade men, that the[4] pillars and statues set up as representatives of the host of heaven, partook themselves of the same spirit, and communicated the same influence, as the sacred objects which they represented. Thus degraded man bowed down to the senseless image which he had himself set up, and forgot *that there was*

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[1] Vide Job xxxi. 26, 27. Deut. iv. 19. Wisdom of Sol. xiii. 2, 3. Maimonides de Idololatria, the five first chapters. Diod. Siculus, lib. i. cap. i. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. i. cap. ix. Herodotus, Clio, cap. cxxxi. Plato in Cratylus, p. 397.—Vine also Banier's Mythology, book iii. ch. iii. Leland's Advantage of Revelation, part i. ch. iii. And Bryant's Analys. of Mythology, who affirms that the gods of Greece, were originally one god, the sun. vol. i. 305.

[2] Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. ii. cap. xv. to xxiii.

[3] Maimonides More Nevochim, pars iii. cap. xxix. p. 423. Winder's History of Knowledge, vol. i. cap. xii. sect. 3.

[4] Maimonides ut supra. Herodot. Clio, cap. xiii.: and as to the use of mountains by the Persians. Ibid.

a lie in his right hand. (Isa. xliv. 20.) From similar principles[1], other men adopted different objects of worship; light and air, wind and fire, seemed to them active spirits, by whose beneficent energy all the operations of nature were conducted and controlled. Water and earth[2] formed the universal parents, from which all things derived their origin, and to which they were still indebted for their sustenance. Thus these also became the objects, first of gratitude and admiration, next of awe and reverence. They also had their temples and emblematic images, their priests and worshippers. But the folly of idolatry did not stop here. Not satisfied with adoring the host of heaven and the elements of nature, as the beneficent instruments of blessing, human weakness led man, first to tremble with horror, and then to bow down with a base and grovelling superstition to objects of an opposite nature, to every thing which seemed gloomy and malignant. The[3] mixture of good and evil in the world suggested the idea of an evil principle independent of and at war with the good, which it was necessary to soothe and conciliate. Darkness, storm, and pestilence, the fates, the furies, and a multitude of similar objects, were honoured with a heart-debasing homage, by their terrified and trembling votaries. Nor was this yet the worst[4]; gratitude to the inventor of useful arts, to the wise legislator, to the brave defender of his country, combined with the vanity of kings, the pride of conquerors, and even private affection and fond regret for the parent, the child, the consort, the friend, led men first to erect monuments to the memory of the dead, and then to worship them as divine. They sometimes transferred to these their fellow-creatures, the names of the luminaries and elements of nature, whose utility and beneficence they conceived were thus best represented. Hence, in process of time, arose a[5] communication of attributes and honours, of priests and worshippers; and,—to close the degrading catalogue of idolatrous absurdities, and verify St. Paul's assertion, that *professing themselves to be wise, they became fools,*—Egypt[6],

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[1] Wisdom, xiii. 2. Herod. Clio, cap. cxxx. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. ii. cap. xxviii. Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 24, 25.

[2] Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. i. cap. x.

[3] Vide Vossius de Idololatria, lib. i. cap. v. Vossius however imputes, as appears to me, a much greater antiquity to this species of idolatry, than the testimony of history warrants. Vide the authorities quoted in note 1, p. 361.

[4] Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. ii. cap. xxiv. Leland's Advantage of Revelation, part i. ch. iv.

[5] Warb. Div. Leg. b. ii. sect. vi.

[6] Vide Selden de Diis Syris. Prologomena, cap. iii. p. 53.; and Bryant's Analys. of Mythology, vol. i. p. 331, &c. Warburton's Divine Legat. b. iv. sect. iv. vol. iii.

the chief seat of antient wisdom and policy, of arts and letters, introduced objects of worship, still more grovelling and base than any which had preceded. In some instances, the policy of its kings led them to encourage the preservation of those animals, whose labours they employed in cultivating the earth, or whose useful activity they saw exerted in destroying the venomous reptiles and destructive animals by which they were infested. For this purpose, they sanctified them as emblematic of some divinity, or even worshipped them as in themselves divine; while, on the other hand, the Egyptian priests, with an affectation of mysterious wisdom, expressed the attributes of God, the operations of the elements, the motions and influences of the heavenly bodies, the rising and falling of the Nile and its effects, by symbolic representations derived from the known and familiar properties of animals and even vegetables. Hence these became, first, representations of their divinities, and afterwards the direct objects of divine reverence. Thus man was taught to bow down to birds and beasts and creeping things, to plants and herbs, to stocks and stones. Nothing was too base for grovelling superstition to adore; the heavens, the earth, the air, the sea, each hill, each river, each wood, was peopled with imaginary deities; every nation, every city, every family, had its peculiar guardian gods. The name and reverence of the Supreme Father of the universe was banished from the earth; or, if remembered at all, men scrupled not to associate with him their basest idols; and deeming him too exalted and remote to regard human affairs, they looked to these idols as the immediate authors of evil and of good; they judged of their power, by comparing the degrees of prosperity their worshippers enjoyed. Was one nation or family more successful than another, their guardian gods were adopted by their rivals; and every day extended more widely this intercommunity of folly and of blasphemy." [1]

II. The heavenly bodies, we have seen, were the first objects of idolatrous worship; and Mesopotamia and Chaldaea were the countries where it chiefly prevailed after the deluge. Before Jehovah vouchsafed to reveal himself to them, both Terah and his son Abraham were idolaters (Josh. xxiv. 2.), as also was Laban, the father-in-law of Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 19. 30.); though he appears to have had some idea of the true

p. 197. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. i. sect. xxxvi. Cudworth's Intellectual System, ch. iv. sect. xviii.

[1] Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch, vol. i. pp. 183—190.

God, from his mentioning the name of Jehovah on several occasions. (Gen. xxiv. 31. 50, 51.) Previously to Jacob and his sons going into Egypt, idolatry prevailed in Canaan: and while their posterity were resident in that country, it appears from Josh. xxiv. 14. and Ezek. xx. 7, 8, that they worshipped the deities of Egypt.

On their departure from that country, although Moses by the command and instruction of Jehovah had given to the Israelites such a religion as no other nation possessed, and notwithstanding all his laws were directed to preserve them from idolatry; yet, so wayward were the Israelites, that almost immediately after their deliverance from bondage, we find them worshipping idols. (Exod. xxxii. 1. Psal. cvi. 19, 20. Acts vii. 41—43.) Soon after their entrance into the land of Canaan, they adopted various deities that were worshipped by the Canaanites, and other neighbouring nations (Judges ii. 13. viii. 33.); for which base ingratitude they were severely punished. Shortly after the death of Joshua, the government became so unsettled, that *every man did that which seemed right in his own eyes.* The prophet Azariah describes the infelicity of these times, when he says, *They were without the true God, without a teaching priest, and without the law* (2 Chron. xv. 3.): and as anarchy prevailed, so did idolatry, which first crept into the tribe of Ephraim in house of Micah, and thence soon spread itself amongst the Danites. Micah is said to have had *a house of Gods, to have made an ephod and teraphim, and to have consecrated one of his sons as the priest of his family.* (Judg. xvii. 5.) In this he appears (as the Jews afterwards did) to have blended the worship of God and the worship of idols together; for throughout the whole story both Micah and his mother seem to retain a reverence for Jehovah: it is said that *she dedicated the silver to the Lord.* (ver. 3.) And so far did they shew a regard to the law of God, that a priest was consecrated to serve in this newly erected chapel, and an ephod provided in imitation of the priestly vestments used at the tabernacle in Shiloh; but still this teraphim seems to be an intermediate image, in the likeness of which God was worshipped by them, and consequently their worship was idolatrous.

This growing evil soon spread amongst the Danites, who robbed Micah of his gods. Here it took deep root, having escaped the reformation of the judges, although they were all of them very zealous for Jehovah; which might be occasioned either from Dan's lying at the extremity of the kingdom, or because scarcely any of the judges ruled over all the

people, but only over such tribes as they had freed from captivity: and no doubt the prevalency of idolatry here, was one great reason why Jeroboam afterwards made choice of Dan as a depository of one of his golden calves. Nor were the other tribes free from this infection, during this dissolution of the government, for it is said, *They forsook the Lord and served Baal and Ashtaroth, and the other gods of the people round about them.* (Judg. ii. 11—13.)

Under the government of Samuel, Saul, and David, the worship of God seems to have been purer than in former times: there was indeed a corruption and irregularity very visible in their manners, but fewer complaints of idolatry were made than at other times. Solomon is the first king, who, out of complaisance to the strange women he had married, caused temples to be erected in honour of their gods, and did so far impiously comply with them himself, as to offer incense to these false deities (1 Kings xi. 5—8.): so fatal an evil is lust to the best understandings, which besots every one it overcomes, and reigns over them with uncontrolled power! Solomon, it is true, did not arrive at that pitch of audacity which some of his successors afterwards did, nor did he entirely forsake the Lord, but seemed to encourage the worship at the temple; but his giving the smallest countenance in the breach of the divine law among a people so prone to idolatry, could not but be attended with the worst consequences, especially being done by a prince, who enjoyed such an eminent degree of knowledge and understanding, and whom God had exalted to the highest pitch of grandeur and magnificence: but God soon made him understand, how fatal his apostacy would prove to him and his posterity; and accordingly, upon his death, the glory of his kingdom was speedily eclipsed by the revolt of the ten tribes and the division of his kingdom.

This civil defection was attended with a spiritual one, for Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who succeeded him in the government of the ten tribes which had revolted (and who himself had probably been initiated in the idolatrous worship of the neighbouring nations, when he took refuge from Solomon's jealousy at the court of Shishak), soon introduced the worship of two golden calves, the one at Dan and the other at Bethel, which he assured them *were the gods which had brought them out of Egypt*, whence he had himself but lately come. He made choice of Bethel, because it had long been esteemed as a place sacred for the real appearance of God in antient times to Jacob, and might therefore induce the people to a readier belief of the

residence of the same Deity now; and Dan (as already observed) being at the extremity of the kingdom, was the place whither that part of the country resorted on account of Micah's teraphim.

But though Jeroboam thus instituted idolatry more from some reasons of state than from any concern for religion, yet God did not fail to testify his abhorrence of such wicked practices by a miraculous judgment on him. While he was personating the high-priest at Bethel, and burning incense at the feast he had instituted, the altar rent at the word of the prophet, whom God sent out of Judah; and while he stretched out his hand for revenge upon the man of God, it *dried up, so as he could not pull it in again.* (1 Kings xiii. 4, 5.) Now did he, who had but just before threatened the prophet, humbly supplicate a cure from the hand that gave the wound, and a new miracle was immediately wrought for his relief. But this only restored him to the use of his arm, it did not bring back either himself or his people to a sense of their sin, for he died in his idolatry, as did all the kings of Israel after him.

Idolatry being thus established in Israel by public authority, and countenanced by all their princes, was universally adopted by the people, notwithstanding all the remonstrances against it by the prophets whom God sent to reclaim them from time to time, and who stood as a barrier against this growing wickedness, regardless of all the persecutions of impious Jezebel, who did what she could quite to extinguish the worship of the true God. At length this brought a flood of calamities upon that kingdom, and was the source of all the evils with which that people were afterwards afflicted; so that after a continual scene of tragical deaths, civil wars, and judgments of various kinds, they were at length carried away captive by Salmaneser into Assyria.

The people of Judah were little better. One might justly have expected, that, if there had been no other reason than state policy for preserving the true religion in its native purity, that alone would have been sufficient to prevent any other false worship from being set up, and that the same motives, which induced the ten tribes to establish a strange worship, would have induced Judah to be jealous for the true one. But the event proved otherwise; for notwithstanding the great strength added to the kingdom of Judah, by those who resorted thither out of other tribes for the sake of religion, prosperity inflated Rehoboam and soon ruined him. It is said that he continued but *three years walking in the ways of David*

and Solomon. (2 Chron. xi. 17.) After which these idolatrous inclinations began to appear, which probably were instilled into him by his mother Naamah, who was an Ammonitess. (1 Kings xiv. 21.) In short, *he forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him* (2 Chron. xii. 1.), and fell into the grossest idolatry *above all that their fathers had done.* (1 Kings xiv. 22.) But God soon corrected him and his people, having delivered them into the hands of Shishak king of Egypt, who with a vast army entered the country, took their cities, and plundered Jerusalem and the temple of all the riches which David and Solomon had treasured up there. (2 Chron. xii. 2.) However, upon their repentance and humiliation, the anger of Jehovah was soon mitigated; and we do not find that the kingdom of Judah fell into any gross acts of idolatry till the reign of Ahaz, who was the most impious prince that ever sat upon that throne. He was not content *with walking in the ways of the kings of Israel, and making molten images of Baalim* (2 Chron. xxviii. 2.), but he carried his wicked inclinations still farther, and imitated the old inhabitants of the land in an idolatrous practice, which before his time is not to be met with; for it is said of him that *he burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children in the fire* (ver. 3.); or, as we read in 2 Kings xvi. 3. *He made his son to pass through the fire,* which doubtless was the *passing through the fire to Moloch,* so expressly prohibited in Levit. xviii. 21.

For these impieties Ahaz was justly punished by God, and after a constant course of all manner of wickedness, died in the flower of his age; but was happily succeded by his son Hezekiah, who among other reformations, it is said, *broke in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made, to which the children of Israel did burn incense.* (2 Kings xviii. 4.) But Hezekiah's reformation was soon overturned upon the succession of his wicked son Manasseh, who seems to have made it his business to search out what God in his law had forbidden, and to make the practice of it his study; for of him we are informed, that *he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the Lord, caused his children to pass through the fire, used inchantment and witchcraft, dealt with familiar spirits and wizards, and set a carved image in the house of God.* (2 Chron. xxxiii. 3—8.)

The princes who succeeded (Josiah only excepted) and their people, seem to have lived in a kind of competition with one another in wickedness and idolatry, and to have given a loose to the wildness of their imaginations in the worship of God,

which brought upon Judah and her people the utmost fury of God's wrath, and those judgments which had been decreed, and which ended in the captivity of king and people[1]. At length, however, become wiser by the severe discipline they had received, the tribes that returned into their native country from the Babylonian captivity wholly renounced idolatry; and thenceforth uniformly evinced the most deeply-rooted aversion from all strange deities and foreign modes of worship. This great reformation was accomplished by Ezra and Nehemiah, and the eminent men who accompanied or succeeded them; but, in the progress of time, though the exterior of piety was maintained, the "power of godliness" was lost; and we learn from the New Testament, that, during our Saviour's ministry, the Jews were divided into various religious parties, which widely differed in opinion, and pursued each other with the fiercest animosity and with implacable hatred.

Very numerous are the idols mentioned in the Scriptures, particularly in the Old Testament. It is proposed in the following pages of this section to offer, in the first place, a short notice of the idols which were peculiar to the Israelites; and, secondly, of those which they adopted from the Ammonites, Syrians, Phenicians, Babylonians, and other nations of antiquity.[2]

III. Idols worshipped particularly by the Israelites. —Scarcely, as we have already observed, had the children of Israel been delivered from their cruel bondage in Egypt, when they returned to those idols, to which they had been accustomed.

1. The first object of their idolatrous worship was a *golden calf*. (Exod. xxxii. 1—6.) Having been conducted through the wilderness by a pillar of cloud and fire, which preceded them in their marches, while that cloud covered the mountain where Moses was receiving the divine commands, they imagined that it would no longer be their guide; and therefore they applied to Aaron to make for them a sacred sign or symbol, as other nations had, which might visibly represent

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[1] Calmet, Commentaire Litteral, tom. vi. pp. 729—735.

[2] The following account of the idols worshipped by the Jews, is abridged principally from Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus. vol. ii. pp. 176—188. Calmet's Commentaire Dissertations in his Commentaire Litteral, tom. i. part ii. p. 173—178. and tom. vi. pp. 745—752.; and his Dictionary of the Bible under the several names of the idol deities, Lewis's Origines Hebraeæ, vol. iii. pp. 1—102.; and Jahn's Archaeologia Biblica, pp. 541—571.

God to them. With this request Aaron unhappily complied: *the people offered burnt offerings and brought peace offerings, and sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play.* The materials of this idol were the golden ear-rings of the people, worn in these eastern countries by men as well as women; and probably they were some of the jewels which they had demanded of the Egyptians. These were cast in a mold by Aaron, and subsequently chiselled into a calf, which is generally supposed to have been an exact resemblance of the celebrated Egyptian deity, Apis, who was worshipped under the form of an ox. This antient Egyptian superstition is still perpetuated on Mount Libanus, by those Druses who assume the name of Okkals, and who pay divine honours to a *calf.*[1]

2. In imitation of this were the two golden calves made by Jeroboam, the first king of Israel, after the secession of the ten tribes. The Egyptians had two oxen, one of which they worshipped under the name of Apis, at Memphis, the capital of Upper Egypt, and the other under the name of Mnevis, at Hierapolis, the metropolis of Lower Egypt. In like manner, Jeroboam set up one of his calves at Bethel, and the other at Dan. (1 Kings xii. 28—32.) Like the idolaters in the wilderness, this leader of the rebels proclaimed before the idols upon the feast of their consecration, *These are thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt!* as if he had said, "God is every where in his essence, and cannot be included in any place; he dwells among you here as well as at Jerusalem, and if you require any symbols of his presence, behold here they are in these calves which I have set up;" for they could not be so stupid as to believe, that the idols taken just before out of the furnace, had been their deliverers so many ages before. It is evident, that the worship of these calves was not regarded by the sacred writers and by the prophets, as an absolute *Pagan* idolatry, but only as a schism, which was indeed very criminal in itself, but did not come up to the degree of a total apostacy; for the history of the revolt of the ten tribes introduces Jeroboam speaking not like a person whose intention was to make the people change their religion, but as representing to them that the true God, being every where, was not confined to any certain place, and therefore they might pay their devotions to him as well in Dan and Bethel, as at Jerusalem.

The worship offered before these images, is supposed to have been in imitation of the ceremonies of the Mosaic law; indeed, had it been otherwise, God would have reproached them with

[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 204.

it by his prophets, which he no where appears to have done: it is only to be observed, that Jeroboam altered the day of the feast of the seventh month (being the feast of tabernacles); which, instead of celebrating it upon the fifteenth day of the seventh month, he transferred to the fifteenth day of the following month. So he offered upon the altar that he had made in Bethel, the fifteenth day of the eighth month, in the month which he had devised of his own heart, and ordained a feast, and offered upon the altar, and burnt incense. (1 Kings xii. 33.) Had he introduced any other alterations, they would questionless have been mentioned in the history. The sacred writer says, in the month he had devised, but does not say he devised the feast, or ceremonies of the feast, which it is generally believed that he appointed to be celebrated every year at Bethel, in the same manner as the feast of tabernacles was at Jerusalem; but the most forcible argument to prove that he made no alteration in the worship, is the following: Shalmaneser the king of Assyria having carried into captivity the ten tribes, sent into their country a colony of Assyrians and Chaldeans, who carried along with them their idols, and worshipped them; but the king being informed that they were devoured by lions, because they did not worship the God of the country, he commanded one of the priests whom they brought from Samaria to be carried thither, and he dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear the Lord. This expedient succeeded so well, that the inhabitants were no more a prey to the wild beasts, which is deemed a convincing argument that the Samaritans worshipped the true God, who had put them in possession of that country, and that it was by the same manner of worship they had received from Moses, otherwise this worship could not have been prevailing with God to withdraw the lions from among them.

As most of the priests of the family of Aaron, and the Levites, who had their cities and abodes among the ten revolted tribes, retired into the dominions of the king of Judah, to avoid joining in the schism, which proved a great additional strength to the house of David; Jeroboam seized their cities and estates, and he eased the people of paying their tithes, there being none to demand them; so he gratified them by making priests out of every tribe and family, even in the extreme part of the country. Thus, as he transferred the kingdom from the house of David, so he removed the priesthood from the family of Aaron, and threw it open, that any man might be admitted to that honourable employment. This raised his popularity, and no doubt, ingratiated him with the Israelites; and it is supposed, that as he had priests, so he had Levites also of the same

description; that is, some to serve under the priests as they did; but, in opposition to the established rule, these lower officers always ministered in black vestments. The pontificate and supremacy over this schismatical priesthood, he reserved in his own hands; for the temple which he erected to inclose his calves, and the altars he built for sacrifices, he consecrated himself, and presumed to perform the highest part of the priests' office, viz. the burning of incense. These idols were at length destroyed by the kings of Assyria; the calf in Bethel was carried to Babylon, with other spoils, by Shalmaneser, and the other, in Dan, was seized by Tiglath-Pileser, about ten years before, in the invasion which he made upon Galilee, in which province the city stood.

3. The *brasen serpent* was an image of polished brass, in the form of one of those fiery serpents which were sent to chastise the murmuring Israelites in the wilderness, and whose bite caused violent heat, thirst, and inflammation. By divine command *Moses made a serpent of brass* or copper, and *put it upon a pole; and it came to pass that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived.* (Numb. xxi. 6—9.) This brasen serpent was preserved as a monument of the divine mercy, but in process of time became an instrument of idolatry. When this superstition began, it is difficult to determine; but the best account is given by the Jewish rabbi, David Kimchi, in the following manner. From the time that the kings of Israel did evil, and the children of Israel followed idolatry, till the reign of Hezekiah, they offered incense to it; for, it being written in the law of Moses *whoever looketh upon it shall live*, they fancied they might obtain blessings by its mediation, and therefore thought it worthy to be worshipped. It had been kept from the days of Moses, in memory of a miracle, in the same manner as the pot of manna was: and Asa and Jehosaphat did not extirpate it when they rooted out idolatry, because in their reign they did not observe that the people worshipped this serpent, or burnt incense to it; and therefore they left it as a memorial. But Hezekiah thought fit to take it quite away, when he abolished other idolatry, because in the time of his father they adored it as an idol; and though pious people among them accounted it only as a memorial of a wonderful work, yet he judged it better to abolish it, though the memory of the miracle should happen to be lost, than suffer it to remain, and leave the Israelites in danger to commit idolatry hereafter with it.

On the subject of the serpent-bitten Israelites being healed by looking at the brasen serpent, there is a good comment in the book of Wisdom, chap. xvi. ver. 4—12. in which are these remarkable

words:—"They were admonished, having a sign of salvation, (*i. e.* the brasen serpent) to put them in remembrance of the commandments of thy law. For he that turned himself towards it, was not saved by the THING that he saw, but by THEE, that art the saviour of all." (ver. 6, 7.) To the circumstance of looking at the brazen serpent in order to be healed, our Lord refers (John iii. 14, 15.) *As Moses lifted up the brazen serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have eternal life.* The brasen serpent was certainly *no type* of Jesus Christ —but from our Lord's words, we may learn, 1. That *as* the serpent was lifted up on the pole or *ensign; so* Jesus Christ was lifted up on the cross. 2. That *as* the Israelites were to look at the brasen serpent; *so* sinners must look to Christ for salvation. 3. That *as* God provided no other remedy than this *looking*, for the wounded Israelites, *so* he has provided no other way of salvation than *faith* in the blood of his son. 4. That *as* he who looked at the brasen serpent, was *cured* and did *live; so* he that believeth on the Lord Jesus Christ shall *not perish*, but have *eternal life*. 5. That *as* neither the *serpent*, nor *looking at it*, but the invisible power of God healed the people; so neither the *cross* of Christ, nor his merely *being crucified*, but the *pardon* he has *bought by his blood*, communicated by the *powerful energy of his Spirit*, saves the souls of men. May not all these things be plainly seen in the *circumstances* of this transaction, without making the *serpent* a type of Jesus Christ, (the most exceptionable that could possibly be chosen) and running the parallel, as some have done, through ten or a dozen of particulars?[1]

4. In Judg. viii. 24—27. we read that Gideon made an *Ephod* of gold, from the spoils of the Midianites. This ephod is supposed to have been a rich sacerdotal garment, made in imitation of that worn by the high priest at Shiloh. But whether Gideon meant it as a commemorative trophy, or had a Levitical priest in his house, it is difficult to determine. *It became*, however, *a snare to all Israel*, who dwelt in Gilead, and on the eastern side of the Jordan; who thus having an ephod and worship in their own country, would not so readily go over to the tabernacle at Shiloh, and consequently fell into idolatry, and worshipped the idols of their neighbours the Phœnicians. (Judg. viii. 27. 33.)

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[1] Dr. A. Clarke on Numb. xxi. 9. See also a pleasing and instructive contemplation of Bishop Hall on this subject.

5. The *Teraphim*, it appears from 1 Sam. xix. 13, were carved images in a human form, and household deities, like the *penates* and *lares* of the Romans many centuries afterwards (Gen. xxxi. 19. 34, 35. 1 Sam. xix. 13—17.); of which oracular inquiries were made. (Judg. xvii. 5. xviii. 5, 6. 14—20. Zech. x. 2. Hos. iii. 4.) This is confirmed by 1 Sam. xv. 23. (marginal rendering), where the worship of teraphim is mentioned in conjunction with divination. They appear to have been introduced among the Israelites from Mesopotamia; and continued to be worshipped until the Babylonish captivity.

IV. Idol gods of the Ammonites, worshipped by the children of Israel.

1. *Moloch*, also called Molech, Milcom or Melcom, was the principal idol of the Ammonites (2 Kings xi. 7.), yet not so appropriated to them, but that it was adopted by other neighbouring nations for their god. Some writers have supposed that Moloch was the same as Saturn, to whom it is well known that human victims were offered. But he rather appears to have been Baal or the Sun (Jer. xxxii. 35.), and was the Adrammelech and Anammelech of the Sepharvaites, who burnt their children to them in the fire. There is great reason to think that the Hebrews were addicted to the worship of this deity before their departure from Egypt, since both the prophet Amos (v. 26.) and the protomartyr Stephen (Acts vii. 43.) reproach them with having carried the tabernacle of their god Moloch with them in the wilderness. Solomon built a temple to Moloch on the Mount of Olives (1 Kings xi. 7.), and his impiety was followed by other kings, his successors, who had apostatised from the worship of Jehovah. The valley of Tophet and Hinnom, on the east of Jerusalem, was the principal scene of the horrid rites performed in honour of Moloch (Jer. xix. 5, 6.), who, it is probable, was the same as the Baal, Bel, or Belus of the Carthaginians, Sidonians, Babylonians and Assyrians.

V. Idol-gods of the Canaanites or Syrians, worshipped by the Israelites.

1. Mr. Selden, in his elaborate treatise on the Syrian gods[1], mentions a goddess, whom he terms *Good Fortune*, as the first idol mentioned in the Scriptures, and worshipped by the Hebrews. This opinion is founded on the exclamation of Leah (Gen. xxx. 11.), when her handmaid Zilpah bore a son to Jacob. *She said, I am prosperous* (or as some in the present day, who ascribe every thing to chance, would say—*Good luck to me*); *and*

[1] De Diis Syris, Syntag. i. c. 1. (Works, vol. ii. pp. 255, 256.)

she called his name Gad, that is, *prosperity*. Although this interpretation has been questioned, yet in Isa. lxv. 11. Gad is unquestionably joined with Meni (or the Moon), and both are names of idols, where the prophet says,

> Ye . . . . . have deserted JEHOVAH
> And have forgotten my holy mountain;
> Who set in order a table for Gad
> And fill out a libation to Meni.
>
> Bp. Lowth's Translation.

What these objects of idolatrous worship were, it is now impossible exactly to ascertain: it is probable that the latter was an Egyptian deity. Jerome, as cited by bishop Lowth, gives an account of the idolatrous practice of the apostate Jews, which is alluded to by the prophet, of making a feast, or a *lectisternium* as the Romans called it, for these pretended deities. "It is," he says, "an antient idolatrous custom in every city in Egypt, and especially in Alexandria, that on the last day of the last month in the year they set out a table with various kinds of dishes, and with a cup filled with a mixture of water, wine, and honey, indicating the fertility of the past or future year. This also the Israelites did." [1]

2. *Ahad* or *Achad* is the name of a Syrian deity, under which the sun was worshipped: it is mentioned in Isa. lxvi. 17. where the rites of this god are described.

> They who sanctify themselves, and purify themselves
> In the gardens, after the rites of Achad;
> In the midst of those who eat swines' flesh,
> And the abomination, and the field mouse;
> Together shall they perish, saith JEHOVAH.
>
> Bp. Lowth's Version.

3. *Baal-peor* (Numb. xxv. 1—3.) was a deity of the Moabites and Midianites, supposed to be the same as the Priapus of the Romans, and worshipped with similar obscene rites. (Compare Hos. ix. 10.) Selden imagined that this idol was the same with Pluto, from Psal. cvi. 28. *They joined themselves unto Baal-peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead.* But this may mean nothing more than the sacrifices and offerings made to idols, who are properly termed *dead*, in opposition to the true God, the Creator and Preserver of all things, who is in the Scriptures repeatedly and emphatically termed *the living God. Chemosh, the abomination of Moab*, to whom Solomon erected an altar on the Mount of Olives (1 Kings xi. 7.), is supposed to have been the same deity as Baal-peor. Servants are known by the name of their lord. As the Israelites were called by the name of the true God (2 Chron. vii. 14.), so the Moabites are called (Numb.

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[1] Bp. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 375.

xxi. 29.), by the name of their god, *the people of Chemosh*; and other idolatrous nations were designated in a similar manner. See Mic. iv. 5.

4. *Rimmon* was an idol of the Syrians, but not worshipped by the Israelites: it is mentioned in 2 Kings v., and is supposed to have been the same as the Jupiter of the antients.

5. *Ashtaroth* or *Astarte* (Judg. ii. 3. 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. 1 Kings xxv. 2 Kings xxiii. 13.), is generally understood to have been the moon; though in later times this idol became identified with the Syrian Venus, and was worshipped with impure rites. Astarte is still worshipped by the Druses of Mount Libanus.[1]

VI. PHŒNICIAN IDOLS WORSHIPPED BY THE ISRAELITES.

1. None of the heathen deities, mentioned in the Old Testament, is more celebrated than *Baal*.

The word signifies lord, master, and husband; a name which doubtless was given to their supreme deity, to him whom they looked upon as the master of men and gods, and of the whole of nature. This name had its original from Phœnicia, Baal being a god of the Phœnicians, and Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians, brought this deity from the city of Zidon; for he was the god of Tyre and Sidon, and was certainly the Ζεὺς of the Greeks, and the Jupiter of the Latins. This god was known under the same name all over Asia; it is the same as the Bel of the Babylonians; and the same name and the same god went to the Carthaginians, who were a colony of the Phœnicians; witness the name of Hannibal, Asdrubal, Adherbal, all consisting of Bel or Baal, being the name of the deity of that country, which was according to the custom of the East, where the kings and great men of the realm added to their own names those of their gods. In short, it seems to be a name common to all idols, to whatever country they belonged; and when it is mentioned in the holy writings without any explanatory circumstance annexed, it is usually understood to be the principal deity of that nation or place of which the sacred writer was speaking.

This false deity is frequently mentioned in Scripture in the plural number, Baalim (1 Sam. vii. 4.), which may either signify, that the name of Baal was given to many different gods, or may imply a plurality of statues consecrated to that idol, and bearing several appellations, according to the difference of places; just as the antient heathens gave many surnames to Jupiter, as Olympian, Dodonæan, and others, according to the names of the places where he was worshipped.

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[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. v. pp. 32. 455—459.

The false gods of Palestine and the neighbouring nations were called Baal in general; but there were other Baals whose name was compounded of some additional word, such as Baalpeor, Baalberith, Baalzebub, and Baalzephon. The first of these has already been noticed in the preceding paragraph.

2. *Baalberith* was the idol of the Shechemites (Judg. viii. 33.); and the temple of this deity was their arsenal and public treasury. As the Hebrew word Berith signifies a covenant or contract, this god is supposed to have had his appellation from his office, which was to preside over covenants and contracts.

3. *Baalzebub* or *Belzebub* was the god of the Ekronites (2 Kings i. 3.), but the origin of the name (which in Hebrew denotes the *god of flies*), it is difficult to ascertain. As the vicinity of this country was long after infested with minute flies that stung severely all on whom they settled, it is not improbable that Ekron was infested in a similar manner, and that its inhabitants had a deity whom they supplicated for the prevention or removal of this plague[1]. The Jews, in the time of Christ, called the *prince of the devils* by the name of Beelzebub. (Matt. xii. 24. Luke xi. 15.)

4. *Baalzephon* is supposed to have been an idol, erected to guard the confines of the Red Sea, and also the name of a place, where a temple was erected for the use of mariners.

5. *Dagon*, the tutelary deity of the people of Ashdod or Azotus, was the *Derceto* of the heathens. Its name signifies a *fish*; and its figure is said to have been that of a man from the navel upwards, and that of a fish downwards. It is not improbable that this idol was commemorative of the preservation of Noah in the ark.

6. Tammuz or Thammuz, though an Egyptian deity, is the same as the Adonis of the Phœnicians and Syrians. For this idol the Jewish women are said to have sat weeping before the north gate of the temple. (Ezek. viii. 14.) Lucian[2] has given an account of the rites of this deity, which illustrates the allusion of the prophet. "I saw," says he, "at Biblis, the great temple of Venus, in which are annually celebrated the mysteries of Adonis in which I am initiated; for it is said, that he was killed in the country by a wild boar, and in perpetual remembrance of this event, a public mourning is solemnised every year with doleful lamentations; then follows a funeral as of a dead body, and next day is celebrated his resurrection, for it is said, he flew up into heaven; one of the ceremonies is for women to have their heads shaved in the same

[1] See Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 323—325.

[2] In his treatise De Deâ Syriâ. Op. tom. ix. pp. 89—91. edit. Bipont.

manner as the Egyptians at the death of Apis. Those who refuse to be shaved are obliged to prostitute themselves a whole day to strangers, and the money which they thus acquire is consecrated to the goddess. But some of the Biblians say, that all those ceremonies are observed for Osiris, and that he is buried in their country, not in Egypt. In order to which there comes yearly a head made of papyrus, brought by sea, from Egypt to Biblis, and I myself have seen it." Procopius, in his commentary on Isaiah, more particularly explains this rite, and observes, that the inhabitants of Alexandria annually prepare a pot in which they put a letter directed to the women of Biblis, by which they are informed that Adonis is found again. This pot being sealed up, they commit it to the sea, after performing some ceremonies over it, and command it to be gone away: Accordingly, the vessel immediately steers its course to Biblis, where it puts an end to the women's mourning.

This Syrian Venus had a temple upon the top of this mountain, which was built out of the way in a by-place, in the midst of a wood; it was demolished by the emperor Constantine [1], who put an end to all the filthy ceremonies which had been performed in it. The image of this goddess, according to Macrobius [2], represented a woman in mourning covered with a veil, having a dejected countenance, and tears seeming to run down her face.

7. The *Baithylia* or *Consecrated Stones*, adored by the early Phœnicians, are supposed to have been the most antient objects of idolatrous worship; and probably were afterwards formed into beautiful statues, when the art of sculpture became tolerably perfected. They originated in Jacob's setting up and anointing with oil the stone which he had used for a pillow, as a memorial of the heavenly vision with which he had been favoured (Gen. xxviii. 18.), and also to serve as a token to point out to him the place, when God should bring him back again. The idolatrous unction of stones, consecrating them to the memory of great men, and worshipping them after their death, must have prevailed to a great extent in the time of Moses; who therefore prohibited the Israelites from erecting them. (Levit. xxvi. 1.) The practice of setting up stones as a guide to travellers, still exists in Persia and other parts of the East. [3]

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[1] Eusebius de Laudibus Constantini, pp. 736, 737. edit. Reading.

[2] Saturnalia, lib. 1. c. 21.

[3] In the course of Mr. Morier's journey in the interior of that country, he remarked that his old guide "every here and there placed a stone on a conspicuous bit of rock, or two stones, one upon the other, at the same time uttering some words which" (says this intelligent traveller,) "I learnt were a prayer for our safe return. This explained to me, what I had frequently seen before in the East, and particularly

VII. IDOLS WORSHIPPED IN SAMARIA DURING THE CAPTIVITY.

The deities noticed in the preceding pages are the chief idols antiently adored in Palestine; but there were other false gods worshipped there, which were imported into Samaria, after Shalmaneser had carried the ten tribes into captivity, by the colony of foreigners which he sent to occupy their country. These men brought their idols with them. The men of *Babylon*, had their *Succoth-benoth*, which was the Babylonish Melitta, in honour of whom young women prostituted themselves. The men of *Cuth* or *Cutha* brought their *Nergal*, or the sun; it was represented by a cock, which animal was dedicated to Apollo or the Sun. The men of *Hamath* had *Ashima;* a deity of which nothing certain is known. The rabbinical writers say, that it was compounded of a man and a goat; consequently it answered to the Pan of the Greek and Roman mythology. The people of *Sepharvaim* brought *Adrammelech* and Anammelech, already noticed. The *Avites* brought *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, which Mr. Selden conjectures, with great probability, to be two different names of the same idol. As Nibhaz in Hebrew and Chaldee, signifies *quick, swift, rapid;* and *Tartak*, in both languages denotes a chariot, M. Jurieu is of opinion, that these two idols together, may mean the sun mounted on his car, as it is well known that the poets and mythologists represented that luminary.

In Levit. xxvi. 1. Moses prohibits the Israelites from setting up any *image of stone*, literally, *figured stone* or *stone of a picture*, in their land. This prohibition was directed against the hieroglyphic figures or stones of the Egyptians, the meaning of which was known only to the priests. With these stones idolatry was practised. In Egypt they were regarded as the god *Thoth*, the god of sciences; and so late as the time of Ezekiel (viii, 8—11.) we find an imitation of this species of idolatry common among the Jews. According, therefore, to that fundamental principle of the Mosaic policy, which dictated the pre-

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on a high road leading to a great town, whence the town is first seen, and where the eastern traveller sets up his stone, accompanied by a devout exclamation, as it were, in token of his safe arrival. The action of our guide appears to illustrate the vow which Jacob made when he travelled to Padan-Aram. (Gen. xxviii. 18—22.) In seeing a stone on the road placed in this position, or one stone upon another, it implies that some traveller has there made a vow or a thanksgiving. Nothing is so natural in a journey over a dreary country, as for a solitary traveller to set himself down fatigued, and to make the vow that Jacob did:—*If God will be with me, and keep me in the way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I reach my father's house in peace*, &c. then I will give so much in charity:—Or again, that, on first seeing the place which he has so long toiled to reach, the traveller should sit down and make a thanksgiving; in both cases setting up a stone as a memorial." Morier's Second Journey, p. 84.

vention of idolatry, it became absolutely necessary to prohibit stones with hieroglyphic inscriptions. Besides, in an age when so great a propensity to idolatry prevailed, stones, with figures upon them which the people could not understand, would have been a temptation to idolatry, even though they had not been deified, (as we know they actually were) by the Egyptians.[1]

VIII. The idols mentioned in the New Testament are doubtless known to every classical reader. It will, therefore, briefly suffice to state here, that Jupiter was the supreme deity, or father of the gods, among the Greeks and Romans; Mercury was the god of eloquence, and the messenger of the other deities. The inhabitants of Lystra, in Lycaonia, struck with the miracle which had been wrought by St. Paul, considered him as Mercury, from his eloquence, and Barnabas as Jupiter, probably (as Chrysostom conjectures) from his being the more majestic person of the two, and consequently answering to the prevalent notions which they had imbibed from statues concerning him. The Diana of the Greeks and Romans, was worshipped with most solemnity at Ephesus, where she is said to have been represented as a woman whose upper part was hung round with breasts, emblematic of the prolific powers of nature. Her image is said to have fallen down from Jupiter (Acts xix. 35.); but it was probably an *aërolite* or *atmospheric stone.* This notion of certain statues having descended on earth from the clouds, to represent particular divinities and to inspire devotion in their temples, was very common in the Heathen world. The palladium at Troy, and the statue of Minerva at Athens, like this of the Ephesian Diana, is said to have dropped from the skies. The avarice of priests forged these stories to dupe and fleece a blind and bigotted people. The same ridiculous tale the Romans were taught to believe concerning their *Ancilia*, or sacred shields, which their history represents to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa Pompilius.[2]

The Romans, also, it is well known, worshipped the virtues and affections of the mind, as *Justice, Fidelity* or *Good Faith, Hope, Fortune, Fame,* &c. and the same superstition prevailed among the inhabitants of Malta, on which island Paul was

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[1] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol iv. pp. 54—59.

[2] The instances above stated are to be found in Herodian, lib. i. p. 26. (Oxon. 1678), Dionysius Halicarn. lib. ii. pp. 122. 125. (Oxon. 1704); Apollodorus, lib. iii. p. 207. (Paris, 1675); Cononis Narrationes, p. 247. (Paris, 1675); Pausanias, lib. i. p. 63. (Lipsiæ, 1696); Euripidis Iphigenia in Tauris, vv. 86. 97. 968. 1364. Plutarch in Numa. Vit., tom. i. pp. 148, 149. (Lond. 1729); and Ovid's Fasti, lib. iii. 373. See also Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. vii. pp. 21, 22.

shipwrecked. When they saw a venomous serpent fasten on the hand of Paul, they concluded that he was a murderer, whom *vengeance*—more correctly the goddess Δικη (Diké or Vindictive Justice) *had not permitted to live.* (Acts xxviii. 4.) We learn from the mythological poet Hesiod, that the Greeks had a female deity of this name.[1]

IX. Very numerous are the allusions in the sacred writings to the idolatrous rites of the heathen, and to their persuasions concerning their power and influence. A few only of these can be here noticed.

1. The heathens had generally a notion, that all deities were local, and limited to a certain country or place, and had no power any where else but in that country or place; and thus we read in 2 Kings xvii. 26. that the colonies sent by the king of Assyria to Samaria in place of the Israelites, attributed their being plagued with lions to their not knowing the manner of the god of the land; and in 1 Kings xx. 23. it is said that the servants of the king of Syria persuaded their master, that the gods of the Israelites were gods of the hills, hearing perhaps that the law was given on Mount Sinai, that the temple was built on Mount Sion, and that they delighted to worship on high places; and therefore they imagined that they would have the advantage by fighting the Israelites in the plain. It is not unlikely that such of the Israelites who were murmurers in the wilderness (being those among them who were most tainted with idolatry) were of this principle with the heathens, and believed that God was a local deity and his power limited; for in this manner it is that the psalmist represents them reasoning with themselves, *Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold he smote the rock that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed, but can he give bread also? Can he provide flesh for his people?* (Psal. lxxviii. 19, 20.)

Another common opinion which prevailed among the heathens, was, that sometimes the immortal gods, disguised in human form[2], deigned to visit mortals. According to their theology, Jupiter and Mercury accompanied each other on these expeditions. Agreeably to this notion, which universally obtained among the Pagans, we find that the Lycaonians, when they saw a miracle performed upon an helpless cripple, immediately cried out in the last astonishment:—The gods are come down upon earth in the shape of men![3] Instantly Paul

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[1] Opera et Dies, v. 254—258.

[2] ——Summo delabor Olympo,
Et deus humanâ lustro sub imagine terras. Ovid. Met. i. 212.

[3] This notion was agreeable to the heathen mythology. In fabulis sæpe videtis fieri, ut Deus aliquis delapsus è cœlo coetus hominum adeat, versetur in terris, cum

and Barnabas were metamorphosed, by their imaginations, into Jove and Mercury, who, according to their creed, were inseparable companions [1] in these visits. These heathens, (as we have already intimated,) recognised Jupiter in Barnabas, because, probably, his appearance and person were more specious and striking; and Paul, whose bodily presence was weak, but whose public talents and rhetoric were distinguished, they persuaded themselves could be no other than Mercury [2] the eloquent interpreter of the gods.

Further, when persons were wrongfully oppressed and afflicted, the heathens believed that the gods interfered in their behalf. The tokens of their presence were *earthquakes, the opening of doors,* and the *loosing of their bonds* [3]. In this manner God bore a miraculous testimony of his approbation to his faithful servants Paul and Silas, when imprisoned at Philippi; and the knowledge of this fact will account for the extreme fright of the gaoler, which terminated so happily for his salvation. (Acts xvi. 25—29.)

2. Although the priesthood constituted a distinct class of persons among the Jews, yet among the Romans, and it should seem also among the Greeks, they did not form a separate order. Among the Romans they were chosen from among the most honourable men in the state. Of this descriptions were the *Asiarchs* mentioned in Acts xix. 31., to whom the public games of Asia Minor were confided: and from Paul being hurried before them by the Ephesian populace, it is generally understood that, at that very time, they were solemnising games [4] in honour of Diana, who was one of the great celestial deities, (the *dii majorum gentium* of the Romans), and who was therefore called *the* GREAT GODDESS, by the recorder or town clerk of Ephesus. (Acts xix. 36. [5]) All the eastern provinces of the

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hominibus adeat, versentur in terris, cum hominibus colloquitur.—Cicero de Harusp. resp. 28. p. 480. edit. Schrevelii. 4to.

Μορφην δ' αμειψας εκ θεου βροτησιαν,
Παριημι Διρκης ναματ', Ισμηνου θ' ὑδωρ. *Euripidis Bacchæ* ver. 4.
Φανεντα θνητοις θειμον', ὁν τικτει Διι. *Ibid.* ver. 42.
Μορφην τ' ιμην μετιβαλον εις ανδρος φυσιν. *Ibid.* ver. 54.

[1] Jupiter huc, specie mortali, cumque parente,
Venit Atlantiades, positis caduciferalis. Ovid. Met. viii. 626.
Jupiter et lato qui regnat in æquore frater,
Carpebant socias Mercurius que vias. Ovid. Fast. lib. v. 495.

[2] Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis. Horat. 1. lib. i. ode 10. 1. Ερμου—λογιωτατου θεων απαντων. Luciani Gallus, p. 160. tom. 2. edit. Grævii.

[3] Elsner, in his notes on Acts xvi. 26. has shewn, by a series of most apposite quotations, that each of these things was accounted a token of the divine appearance in behalf of those who suffered unjustly, and who were dear to the gods. Observationes Sacræ, vol. i. pp. 441—444.

[4] Grotius, Hammond, Poole's Synopsis, Wetstein, and Doddridge on Acts xix. 31.

[5] See Elsner's Observationes Sacræ, vol. i. pp. 460, 461.

Roman empire had officers similar to these Asiarchs, who from their respective districts were called *Syriarchs* (Συριαρχαι), *Phœniciarchs* (Φοινικιαρχαι), and the like.

3. We learn from various profane authors that *high places*, or eminences, were considered to be the abode of the heathen deities, or at least as the most proper for sacrificing; and therefore sacrifices were offered either on the summits of mountains or in woods. Thus it was the custom of the antient Persians, to go up to the tops of the loftiest mountains, and there to offer sacrifices to Jupiter,—distinguishing by that appellation the whole expanse of heaven [1]. Further, as most of these sacrifices were accompanied with prostitution, or other impure rites, they seem to have chosen the most retired spots, to conceal their abominations. On this account, and also to obliterate every vestige of, or temptation to, idolatry, the Israelites were commanded to offer sacrifices to Jehovah, only and exclusively in the place which he should appoint (Deut. xii. 14.); and were also prohibited from sacrificing in *high places* (Levit. xxvi. 30), and from placing *a grove of trees* [2] near his altar. (Deut. xvi. 21.) The profligate Manasseh, however, utterly disregarded these prohibitions, when he *built up again the high places, and reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove.* (2 Kings xxi. 3.) Thus Isaiah (lvii. 4, 5.) reproached the Israelites with the like prevarication, when he said, *Are ye not children of transgression, a seed of falsehood, inflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the vallies under the clefts of the rocks?* And Jeremiah (iii. 6.) reproaches them with having played the harlot, that is, worshipped idols, on every high mountain, and under every green tree. Nor were only mountains, woods and vallies, appointed for the worship of false gods; almost every thing else, among the Pagans, bore the marks of idolatry. Herodotus says, that the Phœnicians, who were the greatest seamen in the world, adorned the heads and sterns of their ships, with the images of their gods: and Luke (Acts xxviii. 11.) has observed, that the vessel which carried St. Paul from Malta to Syracuse, had the sign of Castor and Pollux; and it is not improbable, that the vessel in which Europa was carried away, had the sign of a bull, which gave occasion to the poets to say, that Jupiter carried her away under that shape. Nay, the superstition

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[1] Herodotus, lib. i. c. 131.

[2] In Sir William Ouseley's Travels in the East (vol. i. pp. 359—401.), the reader will find a very learned and very interesting memoir on the *sacred trees* of the antients, which illustrates many important passages of sacred writ.

of the Pagans went so far as to worship the gods and goddesses of all countries, even those which they knew not. Thus there was at Athens, an altar consecrated to the gods and goddesses of Europe, Asia, Libya, and "to the unknown God;" which gave St. Paul occasion to deliver that admirable discourse in the Areopagus, which is related in Acts xvii. 23.

4. The statues of the deities were carried in procession, on the shoulders of their votaries. This circumstance is distinctly stated by Isaiah, in his masterly exposure of the insanity of idolatry (xlvi. 7.) In this way do the Hindoos at present carry their gods: and indeed, so exact a picture has the prophet drawn of the idolatrous processions of this people, that he might be almost supposed to be sitting among them, when he delivered his prediction to the Jews [1]. It was also customary to make *shrines* or portable models of the temples of those deities which were the principal objects of worship. Demetrius and his craftsmen made silver models of the temple of Diana at Ephesus (Acts xix. 24.), which would doubtless be in great request, and perhaps become a kind of substitute for the temple itself to such of her votaries as lived in distant parts of Greece. The tabernacle of Moloch (Amos v. 26.) is supposed to have been a portable temple or shrine, made after the chief temple of that "horrid king," as our great Milton emphatically terms him. [2]

When the heathens offered a sacrifice to any of those numerous divinities which they worshipped, it was usual on this sacred solemnity, in which religion and friendship were harmoniously interwoven and united with each other, for all the sacrificers to have their temples adorned with chaplets of flowers,—and the victim too that was led to the altar, was dressed with fillets and garlands. Abundant examples of this custom are found in almost every page of the Greek and Roman classics. The Lycaonians, who recognised Jupiter in Barnabas, and Mercury in Saint Paul, and, believing themselves honoured with a visit from these divinities, from the miracles which Paul had wrought in restoring a cripple to the full use of his limbs, intended to shew their veneration of this illustrious condescension to them by celebrating a public and solemn sacrifice, and decked themselves, and the victims they intended to immolate, in this manner [3]. The priest, therefore, of Jove, whom it seems

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[1] Ward's History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 330.

[2] See Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 215—218, for some curious information concerning the portable shrines of the antients.

[3] Acts xiv. 13. Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and *garlands* unto the gates, and would have done *sacrifice* unto the people.

they worshipped as the guardian of their city, and whose temple stood a little way[1] out of the town, immediately brought victims and chaplets of flowers to crown the Apostles, agreeably to the Pagan rites,—and in this manner advanced towards the door of the house, where the Apostles lodged, designing to sacrifice to them. This custom, here mentioned, was in conformity with the heathen ritual. All wore garlands at an heathen sacrifice, both the people and the victims.[2]

Singing and dancing were the general attendants of some of these idolatrous rites: Thus, the Israelites danced before the golden calf. (Exod. xxxii. 19.) To this day, dancing before the idol takes place at almost every Hindoo idolatrous feast. But their sacrifices were not confined to irrational victims: it is well known that the practice of offering human victims prevailed to a great extent; and among the Ammonites and Phœnicians they were immolated to propitiate Moloch and Baal; and children were in some manner dedicated and devoted to them. The idolatrous worshippers are said to make them pass through the fire; denoting some rite of dedication and purification. This was most expressly forbidden to the Israelites. (Levit. xviii. 20.) In this manner Ahaz devoted his son (2 Kings xvi. 2.): but as Hezekiah afterwards succeeded his father on the throne of Judah, it is evident that *he* was not put to death. From the declarations of the psalmist (cvi. 36—40.), and of the prophet Ezekiel (xvi. 21. xx. 26, 31.), it is, however, certain that many human victims were thus barbarously sacrificed.

The adoration or worship which idolaters paid to their gods, did not consist barely in the sacrifices which they offered to them, but likewise in prostrations and bowings of the body; thus Naaman speaks of *bowing in the house* of Rimmon. (2 Kings v. 18.) It was also a religious ceremony, to *lift up the hand to the mouth and kiss it*, and then stretching it out, throwing as it were the kiss to the idol: both this and the former ceremony are mentioned in 1 Kings xix. 18. And so Job, in order to express his not having fallen into idolatry, very elegantly says, *If I beheld the sun while it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand*, &c. (Job xxxi.

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[1] Πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. Ibid. Τὸ ΠΡΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ Ἀσκληπιεῖον. The temple of Æsculapius which was before the town, or a little way out of the city. Polybius, lib. i. p. 17. edit. Hanov. 1619.

[2] Data sunt capiti genialia sacra. Ovid. Met. lib. xiii. ver. 929. Στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος Iliad, i. 14. Dr. Harwood's Introduction, vol ii. p 501.

26, 27.), for to *kiss* and to *worship* are synonymous terms in Scripture, as appears from Psal. ii. 12. There is an idolatrous rite mentioned by Ezekiel, called the *putting the branch to the nose* (Ezek. viii. 17.), by which interpreters say is meant, that the worshipper, with a wand in his hand, touched the idol, and then applied the wand to his nose and mouth, in token of worship and adoration. There appears to be this difference, however, between the idolatry of the Jews and that of other nations, viz. that the Jews did not deny a divine power and providence; only they imagined that their idols were the intermediate causes, by which the blessings of the supreme God might be conveyed to them: whereas the heathens believed the idols they worshipped were true gods, and had no higher conceptions, having no notion of one eternal, almighty, and independent Being.[1]

In the account of the decisive triumph of true religion over idolatry, related in 1 Kings xviii. we have a very striking delineation of the idolatrous rites of Baal; from which it appears that his four hundred and fifty priests, or prophets as they are termed, employed the whole day in their desperate rites. The time is divided into two periods, 1. *From morning until noon*, which was occupied in preparing and offering the sacrifice, and in earnest supplication for the celestial fire (for Baal was unquestionably the god of fire or the sun, and had only to work in his own element), vociferating *O Baal, hear us* (1 Kings xviii. 26.); and, 2. *They continued from noon until the time of offering evening sacrifice*, (the time when it was usually offered to Jehovah in the temple at Jerusalem,) performing their frantic rites.

They leaped up and down at the altar[2], that is, they danced around it with strange and hideous cries and gesticulations, tossing their heads to and fro, with great variety of bodily contortions, precisely as the Ceylonese do to this day[3]. In like manner the priests of Mars among the Romans danced and leaped around the altars of that divinity, from which circumstance they derived their name,—Salii[4]. *And it came to*

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[1] On the subject of the idolatrous worship of the heathens, the editor of Calmet's Dictionary has accumulated much interesting information. See the Fragments, particularly Nos. 107. 185. 212, 213.

[2] This is the marginal rendering, and most correct, of 1 Kings xviii. 26.

[3] From the statement of a Ceylonese convert to Christianity (who was formerly one of the principal high priests of Budhoo) Dr. A. Clarke has described the manner and invocations of the pagan inhabitants of that island (Comment. on 1 Kings xviii.); and his account is confirmed by Dr. John Davy, in his recently published Travels in Ceylon.

[4] Jam dederat Saliis (a saltu nomina ducunt)
Armaque et ad certos verba canenda modos.—Ovid. Fast. iii. 387, 388.

pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them: Had not the intrepid prophet of the Lord been conscious of the divine protection, he certainly would not have used such freedom of speech, while he was surrounded by his enemies. *And said, Cry aloud!* Oblige him, by your vociferations, to attend to your suit.—Similar vain repetitions were made by the heathen in the time of our Saviour, who cautions his disciples against them in Matt. vi. 7.[1]—*For he is a god*—the supreme God; you worship him as such; and doubtless he is jealous of his own honour, and the credit of his votaries. *Either he is talking*—he may be giving audience to some others; or, as it is rendered in the margin of our larger Bibles,—*he meditateth*—he is in a profound reverie, projecting some godlike scheme—*or he is pursuing*—taking his pleasure in the chace—*or he is on a journey*, having left his audience chamber he is making some excursions—*or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked.*—— Absurd as these notions may appear to us, they are believed by the Hindoos, to each of whose gods some particular business is assigned, and who imagine that Vishnoo sleeps for months in the year, while others of their deities are often out on journeys or expeditions.[2] Accordingly the priests of Baal *cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner.* This was not only the custom of the idolatrous Israelites, but also of the Syrians, Persians, Indians, Greeks, Romans, and in short of all the antient heathen world. Hence we may see the reason why the Israelites were forbidden to *cut themselves, to make any cuttings in their flesh for the dead*, and *to print any marks upon themselves.* (Deut. xiv. 1. Levit. xix. 28.) For the heathens did these things not only in honour of their gods, but also in testimony of their grief for the loss of any of their neighbours. The Scythians, as we are informed by Herodotus, were accustomed to slash their arms on the death of their kings[3]; and it is not improbable that some similar custom obtained among some one of the neighbouring nations. The modern Persians to this day cut and lacerate themselves, when

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On the custom of dancing around the altars of the gods, the reader will find much curious information in Lomeier's Treatise De veterum Gentilium Lustrationibus, cap. 33. pp. 413, *et seq.*

[1] Not to multiply unnecessary examples, see an illustration of these vain repetitions in the Heautontimoreumenos of Terence, act v. scen. 1. We are informed by Servius that the antient heathens, after supplicating the particular deity to whom they offered sacrifice, used to invoke all the gods and goddesses, lest any one of them should be adverse to the suppliant. Servius, in Virgil. Georg. lib. i. 21. (vol. i. p. 178. of Burmann's edition, Amst. 1746. 4to.)

[2] Ward's History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 324.

[3] Herodotus, lib. iv. c. 71.

celebrating the anniversary of the assassination of Hossein, whom they venerate as a martyr for the Moslem faith.[1]

5. The heathens shewed their veneration for their deities in various ways, the knowledge of which serves to illustrate many passages of Scripture. Thus, nothing was more frequent than prostitution of women, with examples of which the antient writers abound. According to Justin[2], the Cyprian women gained that portion which their husbands received with them, on marriage, by previous public prostitution. And the Phœnicians, as we are informed by Augustin, made a gift to Venus of the gain acquired by the same disgusting means[3]. Hence we may account for Moses prohibiting the Israelites from committing any such atrocities. (Levit. xix. 29).—Others dedicated to them the spoils of war; others votive tablets and other offerings in commemoration of supposed benefits conferred on them.[4]

A more frequent and indeed very general custom was the carrying of marks on their body in honour of the object of their worship. This is expressly forbidden in Levit. xix. 28. To this day, all the castes of the Hindoos bear on their foreheads, or elsewhere, what are called the *sectarian marks*, which not only distinguish them in a civil, but also in a religious point of view, from each other. Most of the barbarous nations lately discovered have their faces, arms, breasts, &c. curiously carved or *tatooed*, probably for superstitious purposes. Antient writers abound with accounts of marks made on the face, arms, &c. in honour of different idols,—and to this the inspired penman alludes, Rev. xiii. 16, 17. xiv. 9. 11. xv. 2. xvi. 2. xix. 20. xx. 4. where, false worshippers are represented as receiving in their hands, and in their forehead, the marks of the beast. These were called σιγματα, *stigmata*, among the Greeks, and to these St. Paul refers, when he says, "I bear about in my body the marks (*stigmata*) of the Lord Jesus." (Gal. vi. 17).

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[1] Mr. Morier has given a long and interesting narrative of this anniversary. "It is," he says, "necessary to have witnessed the scenes that are exhibited in their cities, to judge of the degree of fanaticism which possesses them at this time. I have seen some of the most violent of them, as they vociferated *Ya Hossein!* walk about the streets almost naked, with only their loins covered and their bodies streaming with blood, by the voluntary cuts which they had given to themselves, either as acts of love, anguish, or mortification. Such must have been the cuttings of which we read in Holy Writ." Morier's Second Journey, p. 176.

[2] Hist. lib. xviii. c. 5.

[3] Calmet on Levit. xix. 29. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. iv. pp. 183—185.

[4] See much curious information on this subject in Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 444—448.; and Mr. Dodwell's Classical Tour in Greece, vol. i. pp. 341, 342.

The prohibition in Levit. xix. 27. against the Israelites rounding *the corners of their heads*, and *marring the corners of their beards*, evidently refers to customs which must have existed among the Egyptians during their residence among that people; though it is now difficult to determine what those customs were. Herodotus informs us, that the Arabs shave or *cut their hair round* in honour of Bacchus; who (they say) wore his hair in this way; and that the Macians, a people of Lybia, cut their hair *round*, so as to leave a tuft on the top of the head [1]. In this manner the Chinese cut their hair to the present day. This might have been in honour of some idol, and therefore forbidden to the Israelites.

The *hair* was much used in divination among the antients; and for purposes of religious superstition among the Greeks; and particularly about the time of the giving of this law, as this is supposed to have been the æra of the Trojan war. We learn from Homer, that it was customary for parents to dedicate the hair of their children to some god; which, when they came to manhood, they cut off and consecrated to the deity. Achilles, at the funeral of Patroclus, cut off his golden locks, which his father had dedicated to the river god Sperchius, and threw them into the flood. [2]

From Virgil's account of the death of Dido [3], we learn that the *topmost lock* of hair, was dedicated to the *infernal gods*.

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[1] Herod, lib. iii. c. 8. and lib. iv. c. 175.

[2] Σταις αιαν ιδε πυρης ξανθην αποκειραιο χαιτην,
Την ρα Σπερχειω ποταμω τριφι παλιδοωσαν·
Οχθησας δ' αρα ειπεν ιδων ες οινοπα ποντον,
Σπερχειε, αλλως σοι γε πατηρ ηρησατο Πηλευς. κ. τ. λ.
Iliad. l. xxiii. v. 142, &c.

But great Achilles stands apart in prayer,
And from *his head* divides the *yellow hair*,
Those curling locks *which from his youth he vow'd*
And sacred grew to Sperchius' honoured flood.
Then sighing, to the deep his looks he cast,
And roll'd his eyes around the watry waste.
Sperchius! whose waves in mazy errors lost,
Delightful roll along my native coast!
To whom we vainly *vow'd*, at our return,
These locks to fall, and hecatombs to burn——
So *vow'd* my *father*, but he *vow'd* in vain,
No more Achilles sees his native plain;
In that vain hope, *these hairs no longer grow*;
Patroclus *bears them to the shades below.*——Pope.

[3] *Nondum illi* flavum *Proserpina* vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat orco——
——*Hunc ego Diti*
Sacrum *jussa fero; teque isto corpore solvo.*
Sic ait, et dextra crinem secat:—Æneid. l. iv. v. 698.

If the hair was *rounded*, and dedicated for purposes of this kind, it will at once account for the prohibition in this verse. [1]

A religion so extravagant as that of paganism could not have subsisted so long, had not the priests by whom it was managed contrived to secure the devotion of the multitudes by pretending that certain divinities uttered oracles. The researches of enlightened travellers have laid open the contrivances by which these frauds were managed, at least in Greece [2]. Various were the means by which the credulity of the people was imposed upon. Sometimes they charmed serpents,—extracted their poison and thus rendered them harmless;—a practice to which there are frequent allusions in the Old Testament, and it must have been a gainful and an established traffic. Moses has enumerated six different sorts of diviners into futurity, whom the Israelites were prohibited from consulting, (Deut. xix. 10, 11.) viz. 1. Those who *used divination*,—that is, who endeavoured to penetrate futurity by auguries, using lots, &c.;—2. *Observers of times*, those who pretended to foretell future events by present occurrences, and who predicted political or physical changes from the aspects of the planets, eclipses, motion of the clouds, &c.;—3. *Enchanters*, either those who charmed serpents, or those who drew auguries from inspecting the entrails of beasts, observing the flights of birds, &c.;—4. *Witches*, those who pretended to bring down certain celestial influences to their aid by means of herbs, drugs, perfumes, &c.;—5. *Charmers*, those who used spells for the purposes of divination;—6. *Consulters with familiar spirits*,—Pythonesses, those who pretended to enquire by means of one spirit to get oracular answers from another of a superior order;—and, 7. *Wizards* or *necromancers*, those who (like the witch at Endor) professed to evoke the dead, in order to learn from them the secrets of the invisible world.

Three kinds of divination are particularly mentioned in sacred history, viz. by the cup,—by arrows,—and by the staff.

1. *Divination by the cup* appears to have been the most antient: it certainly prevailed in Egypt in the time of Joseph (Gen. xliv. 5.) [3], and it has from time immemorial been prevalent

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The sisters had not *cut the topmost hair*,
Which Proserpine and they can only know,
Nor made her *sacred to the shades below*—
This off'ring to the *infernal gods* I bear;
Thus while she spoke, *she cut the fatal hair.* ——DRYDEN.

[1] Calmet and Dr. A. Clarke on Levit. xix. 27.

[2] See Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 479, 480; also vol. iii. p. 298.

[3] We have no reason to infer that Joseph practised divination by the cup; although, according to the superstition of those times, supernatural influence might be attributed

among the Asiatics, who have a tradition (the origin of which is lost in the lapse of ages), that there was a cup which had passed successively into the hands of different potentates, and which possessed the strange property of representing in it the whole world and all the things which were then doing in it. The Persians to this day call it the cup of Jemsheed, from a very antient king of Persia of that name, whom late historians and poets have confounded with Bacchus, Solomon, Alexander the Great, &c. This cup, filled with the elixir of immortality, they say, was discovered when digging the foundations of Persepolis. To this cup the Persian poets have numerous allusions; and to the intelligence supposed to have been received from it, they ascribe the great prosperity of their antient monarchs, as by it they understood all events, past, present, and future. Many of the Mohammedan princes and governors affect still to have information of futurity by means of a cup. Thus, when Mr. Norden was at Derri in the farthest part of Egypt, in a very dangerous situation, from which he and his company endeavoured to extricate themselves by exerting great spirit, a spiteful and powerful Arab in a threatening way told one of their people, whom they had sent to him, that he knew what sort of people they were, that *he had consulted his cup*, and had found by it that they were those of whom one of their prophets had said, that Franks would come in disguise, and passing every where, examine the state of the country, and afterwards bring over a great number of other Franks, conquer the country, and exterminate all [1]. It was precisely the same thing that Joseph meant when he talked of *divining by his cup.* [2]

Julius Serenus tells us, that the method of *divining by the cup*, among the Abyssinians, Chaldees, and Egyptians, was to fill it first with water, then to throw into it their plates of gold and silver, together with some precious stones, whereon were engraven certain characters: and, after that, the persons who came to consult the oracle used certain forms of incantation, and so calling upon the devil, received their answers several ways; sometimes by articulate sounds, sometimes by the characters, which were in the cup, rising upon the surface of the water, and by this arrangement forming the answer; and many times by the visible appearing of the persons themselves about whom the oracle was consulted. Cornelius Agrippa [3]

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to *his* cup. And as the whole transaction related in Gen. xliv. was merely intended to deceive his brethren for a short time, he might as well affect divination by his cup, as affect to believe that they had stolen it.

[1] Trav. vol. ii. p. 150.

[2] Harmer, vol. ii. p. 475.

[3] De occult. Philos. l. i. cap. 57.

tells us likewise, that the manner of some was to pour melted wax into a cup containing water, which wax would range itself into order, and so form answers, according to the questions proposed.[1]

2. *Divination by arrows* was an antient method of presaging future events. Ezekiel (xxi. 21.) informs us that Nebuchadnezzar, when marching against Zedekiah and the king of the Ammonites, and coming to the head of two ways, mingled his arrows in a quiver, that he might thence divine in what direction to pursue his march; and that he consulted teraphim, and inspected the livers of beasts, in order to determine his resolution. Jerome, in his commentary on this passage, says that "the manner of divining by arrows was thus. They wrote on several arrows the names of the cities against which they intended to make war, and then putting them promisucously all together into a quiver, they caused them to be drawn out in the manner of lots, and that city, whose name was on the arrow first drawn out, was the first they assaulted."[2]

3. *Rabdomancy*, or divination by the staff, is alluded to by the prophet Hosea (iv. 12.): it is supposed to have been thus performed. The person consulting measured his staff by spans, or by the length of his finger, saying as he measured, "I will go, or, I will not go; I will do such a thing, or, I will not do it;" and as the last span fell out, so he determined. Cyril and Theophylact, however, give a different account of the matter. They say that it was performed by erecting two sticks, after which they murmured forth a certain charm, and then, according as the sticks fell, backwards or forwards, towards the right or left, they gave advice in any affair.[3]

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[1] Dr. A. Clarke on Gen. xliv. 5. Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. i. p. 54.

[2] On this subject see some curious information in the Fragments supplementary to Calmet, No. 179.

[3] Selden de Diis Syris. *Synt.* 1. cap. ii. p. 28. Godwin's Moses and Aaron, p. 216. Pococke and Newcome, in loc. Burder's Oriental Customs, vol ii. p. 135.

SECTION II.

ACCOUNT OF THE JEWISH SECTS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *The Sadducees.*—II. *The Pharisees.*—III. *The Essenes.*—IV. *The Scribes and Lawyers.*—V. *The Samaritans.*—VI. *The Herodians.*—VII. *The Galileans and Zealots.*—VIII. *The Sicarii.*

I. THE sect of the SADDUCEES derived its name from Sadok, a pupil of Antigonus Sochæus, president of the sanhedrin or great council; who flourished about two hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra, and who inculcated the reasonableness of serving God disinterestedly, and not under the servile impulse of the fear of punishment, or the mercenary hope of reward. Sadok, misunderstanding the doctrine of his master, deduced the inference that there was no future state of rewards or punishments. Their principal tenets were the following: 1. *That there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit* (Matt. xxii. 23. Acts xxiii. 8.), and that the soul of man perishes together with the body [1]. 2. That there is no fate or providence, but that all men enjoy the most ample freedom of action; in other words, the absolute power of doing either good or evil, according to their own [2] choice; hence they were very severe judges [3]. 3. They paid no regard whatever to any tradition, adhering strictly to the letter of Scripture, but preferring the five books of Moses to the rest. It has been conjectured by some writers that they rejected all the sacred books but those of Moses, because Jesus Christ preferred to confute them out of these. But this hypothesis is no proof: for, though Josephus frequently mentions their rejecting the traditions of the elders, he no where charges them with rejecting any of the sacred books; and, as he was himself a Pharisee, and their zealous antagonist, he would not have passed over such a crime in silence. It is further worthy of remark, that our Saviour, who so severely censured the Sadducees for their other corruptions, did not condemn them for such rejection.

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1 Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 8. in fine. Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 4.
2 Ibid. Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 5. § 9. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 4.
3 Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 10. § 6. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 4.

In point of numbers, the Sadducees were an inconsiderable sect; but their numerical deficiency was amply compensated by the dignity and eminence of those who embraced their tenets, and who were persons of the first distinction. Several of them were advanced to the high priesthood[1]. They do not however appear to have aspired, generally, to public offices. Josephus affirms that scarcely any business of the state was transacted by them; and that, when they were in the magistracy, they generally conformed to the measures of the Pharisees, though unwillingly, and out of pure necessity; for otherwise they would not have been endured by the multitude.[2]

II. The PHARISEES were the most numerous, distinguished, and popular sect among the Jews; the time when they first appeared is not known, but it is supposed to have been not long after the institution of the Sadducees, if indeed the two sects did not gradually spring up together. They derived their name from the Hebrew word *Pharash*, which signifies *separated* or *set apart*, because they *separated* themselves from the rest of the Jews to superior strictness in religious observances. They boasted that, from their accurate knowledge of religion, they were the favourites of heaven[3]; and thus, trusting in themselves that they were righteous, despised others. (Luke xi. 52. xviii. 9, 11.) Among the tenets inculcated by this sect, we may enumerate the following, viz.

They ascribed all things to fate or providence, yet not so absolutely as to take away the free-will of man, though fate does not co-operate in every action[4]. They also believed in the existence of angels and spirits, and in the resurrection of the dead (Acts xxiii. 8.): but, from the account given of them by Josephus, it appears that their notion of the immortality of the soul was the Pythagorean metempsychosis[5]; that the soul, after the dissolution of one body, winged its flight into another; and that these removals were perpetuated and diversified through an infinite succession, the soul animating a sound and healthy body, or being confined in a deformed and diseased frame, according to its conduct in a prior state of existence. From the Pharisees, whose tenets and traditions the people generally received, it is evident that the disciples of our Lord

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[1] Acts. v. 17. xxiii. 6. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xiii. c. 10. § 6, 7. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 4.

[2] Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 4.

[3] Ibid. lib. xvii. c. 2. § 4.

[4] Ibid. lib. xiii. c. 5. § 9. lib. xviii. c. 2. § 3. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 14. Acts v. 38, 39.

[5] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 1. § 3. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 14. lib. iii. c. 8. § 5. The author of the Book of Wisdom (ch. viii. 20.) seems to allude to the same doctrine, when he tells us *that, being good, he came into a body undefiled.*

had adopted this philosophical doctrine of the transmigration of souls; when, having met a man who had been *born* blind, they asked him whether it were the sins of this man in a pre-existent state which had caused the Sovereign Disposer to inflict upon him this punishment. To this inquiry Christ replied, that neither his vices or sins in a pre-existent state, nor those of his parents, were the cause of this calamity. (John ix. 1—4.) From this notion, derived from the Greek philosophy, we find that during our Saviour's public ministry, the Jews speculated variously concerning him, and indulged several conjectures, which of the antient prophets it was whose soul now animated him, and performed such astonishing miracles. Some contended that it was the soul of Elias; others of Jeremiah; while others, less sanguine, only declared in general terms that it must be the soul of one of the old prophets by which these mighty deeds were now wrought. (Matt. xvi. 14. Luke ix. 19.) [1]

Lastly, the Pharisees contended that God was in strict justice *bound* to bless the Jews, and make them all partakers of the *terrestrial* kingdom of the Messiah, to justify them, to make them eternally happy, and that he could not possibly damn any one of them! The cause of their justification they derived from the merits of Abraham, from their knowledge of God, from their practising the rite of circumcision, and from the sacrifices they offered. And as they conceived works to be meritorious, they had invented a great number of *supererogatory* ones, to which they attached greater merit than to the observance of the law itself. To this notion St. Paul has some allusions in those parts of his epistle to the Romans, in which he combats the erroneous suppositions of the Jews. [2]

The Pharisees were the strictest of the three principal sects that divided the Jewish nation (Acts xxvi. 5.), and affected a singular probity of manners according to their system, which however was for the most part both lax and corrupt. Thus, many things which Moses had *tolerated* in civil life, in order to avoid a greater evil, the Pharisees determined to be morally correct; for instance, the law of retaliation, and that of divorce

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[1] Dr. Lightfoot's Works, vol. ii. pp. 568, 569. Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. p. 355. To this popular notion of a transmigration of souls, Dr. H. ascribes the alarm of Herod, who had caused John the Baptist to be beheaded, when the fame of Christ's miracles reached his court; but, on comparing Matt. xvi. 6. with Mark viii. 15. it appears that Herod was a *Sadducee*, and consequently disbelieved a future state. His alarm therefore is rather to be attributed to the force of conscience, which haunted his guilty mind in despite of his libertine principles.

[2] See Rom. i.—xi. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 2. § 4. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 4. Justin. Dialog. cum Tryphon. Pirke Aboth.

from a wife for *any* cause. (Matt. v. 31. *et seq.* xix. 3—12.) During the time of Christ, there were two celebrated philosophical and divinity schools among the Jews, that of Schammai and that of Hillel. On the question of divorce, the school of Schammai maintained, that no man could legally put away his wife except for adultery: the school of Hillel, on the contrary, allowed of divorce for *any* cause (from Deut. xxiv. 1.), even if the wife found no favour in the eyes of her husband,—in other words, if he saw any woman who pleased him better. The practice of the Jews seems to have gone with the school of Hillel. Thus, we read (in Ecclus. xxv. 26.) "If she go not as thou wouldest have her, cut her off from thy flesh; give her a bill of divorce and let her go:" and in conformity with this doctrine, Josephus [1], who was a Pharisee, relates that he repudiated his wife who had borne him three children, because he was not pleased with her manners or behaviour!

Further, they interpreted certain of the Mosiac laws most literally, and distorted their meaning so as to favour their own philosophical system. Thus, the law of loving their neighbour, they expounded solely of the love of their friends, that is, of the whole Jewish race; all other persons being considered by them as natural enemies (Matt. v. 43. compared with Luke x. 31—33.), whom they were in no respect bound to assist. Dr. Lightfoot has cited a striking illustration of this passage from Maimonides [2]. An oath, in which the name of God was not distinctly specified, they taught was not binding (Matt. v. 33.), maintaining that a man might even swear with his lips, and at the same moment annul it in his heart! So rigorously did they understand the command of observing the sabbath-day, that they accounted it unlawful to pluck ears of corn, and heal the sick, &c. (Matt. xii. 1. *et seq.* Luke vi. 6. *et seq.* xiv. 1. *et seq.*) Those natural laws which Moses did not sanction by any penalty, they accounted among the petty commandments, inferior to the ceremonial laws, which they preferred to the former as being the weightier matters of the law (Matt. v. 19. xv. 4. xxiii. 23.), to the total neglect of mercy and fidelity. Hence they accounted causeless anger and impure desires as trifles of no moment (Matt. v. 21, 22. 27—30.); they com-

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[1] Life of himself. § 76. Grotius, Calmet, Drs Lightfoot, Whitby, Doddridge, and A. Clarke (on Matt. v. 30. *et seq.* and Matt. xix. 3. *et seq.*), have all given illustrations of the Jewish doctrine of divorce from rabbinical writers. See also Selden's Uxor Hebraica, lib. iii. c. 22. (Op. tom. ii. col. 782—786.)

[2] "A Jew sees a Gentile fall into the sea, let him by no means lift him out: for it is written, '*Thou shalt not rise up against the blood of thy neighbour.*' But this is NOT thy neighbour." Works, vol. ii. p. 152.

passed sea and land to make proselytes [1] to the Jewish religion from among the Gentiles, that they might rule over their consciences and wealth: and these proselytes, through the influence of their own scandalous examples and characters, they soon rendered more profligate and abandoned than ever they were before their conversion. (Matt. xxiii. 15.) Esteeming temporal happiness and riches as the highest good, they scrupled not to accumulate wealth by every means, legal or illegal (Matt. v. 1—12. xxiii. 4. Luke xvi. 14. James ii. 1—8.); vain and ambitious of popular applause, they offered up long prayers in public places, but not without a self-sufficiency of their own holiness, (Matt. vi. 2—5. Luke xviii. 11.); under a sanctimonious appearance of respect for the memories of the prophets whom their ancestors had slain, they repaired and beautified their sepulchres, (Matt. xxiii. 29.); and such was their idea of their own sanctity, that they thought themselves defiled if they but touched or conversed with *sinners*, that is, with publicans or tax-gatherers, and persons of loose and irregular lives. (Luke vii. 39. xv. 1. *et seq.*)

But, above all their other tenets, the Pharisees were conspicuous for their reverential observance of the traditions or decrees of the elders: these traditions, they pretended, had been handed down from Moses through every generation, but were not committed to writing; and they were not merely considered as of equal authority with the divine law, but even preferable to it. "The words of the Scribes," said they, "are lovely above the words of the law: for the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the scribes are ALL weighty [2]." Among the traditions thus sanctimoniously observed by the Pharisees, we may briefly notice the following: 1. *The washing of hands* up to the wrist before and after meat (Matt. xv. 2. Mark vii. 3.), which they accounted not merely a religious duty, but

[1] Justin Martyr bears witness to the inveterate malignity of the proselytes of the Pharisees against the name of Christ, at the beginning of the second century. "Your proselytes," says he to Trypho the Jew (p. 350), not only do not believe in Christ, but blaspheme his name with *twofold more virulence than yourselves*. They are ready to shew their malicious zeal against us; and, to obtain merit in your eyes, wish to us reproach, and torment, and death." See further Dr. Ireland's Paganism and Christianity compared, pp. 21—23.

[2] Jerusalem Berachoth, fol. 3. 2. as cited by Dr. Lightfoot on Matt. xv. (Works, ii. p. 199.) The whole of his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on that chapter is singularly instructive. The collection of these traditions, by which the Jews made the law of God of none effect, is termed the Talmud: of which, and of its use in illustrating the Holy Scriptures, an account has already been given. On the traditions of the modern Jews (which illustrate very many passages of the New Testament,) the reader may consult Mr. Allen's Modern Judaism, chap. viii. to xv. pp. 140—280.

considered its omission as a crime equal to fornication, and punishable by excommunication. 2. The *purification* of the cups, vessels, and couches used at their meals by ablutions or washings (Mark vii. 4.); for which purpose the six large water-pots mentioned by St. John (ii. 6.) were destined. But these ablutions are not to be confounded with those symbolical washings mentioned in Psal. xxvi. 6. and Matt. xxvii. 24. 3. *Their fasting twice a week* with great appearance of austerity, (Luke xviii. 12. Matt. vi. 16.); thus converting that exercise into religion which is only a help towards the performance of its hallowed duties. The Jewish days of fasting were the second and fifth days of the week, corresponding with our Mondays and Thursdays: on one of these days they commemorated Moses going up to the mount to receive the law, which, according to their traditions, was on the fifth day or Thursday; and on the other, his descent after he had received the two tables, which they supposed to have been on the second day or Monday. 4. *Their punctilious payment of tithes* (temple-offerings), even of the most trifling things. (Luke xviii. 12. Matt. xxiii. 23.) 5. *Their wearing broader phylacteries and larger fringes* to their garments than the rest of the Jews. (Matt. xxiii. 5.) These phylacteries were pieces of parchment or the dressed skin of some clean animal, inscribed with four paragraphs of the law, taken from Exod. xiii. 1—10. and xiii. 11—16. Deut. vi. 4—9. and xi. 13—21. all inclusive; which the Pharisees, interpreting literally (as do the modern rabbins), Deut. vi. 8. and other similar passages, tied to the fronts of their caps and on their arms. The *fringe* was ordered by Moses, as we read in Numb. xv. 38, 39. He therefore, who wore his phylactery and his fringe of the largest size, was reputed to be the most devout.[1]

With all their pretensions to piety, the Pharisees entertained the most sovereign contempt for the people; whom, being ignorant of the law, they pronounced to be accursed. (John vii. 49.) Yet such was the esteem and veneration in which they were held by the people, that they may almost be said to have given what direction they pleased to public affairs: and hence the great men dreaded their power and authority. It is unquestionable, as Mosheim has well remarked, that the religion of the Pharisees was, for the most part, founded in consummate hypocrisy; and that, at the bottom, they were generally the slaves of every vicious appetite, proud, arrogant,

[1] On the phylacteries and fringes of the modern Jews, Mr. Allen has collected much curious information. Modern Judaism, pp. 304—318.

and avaricious, consulting only the gratification of their lusts, even at the very moment when they professed themselves to be engaged in the service of their Maker. These odious features in the character of the Pharisees caused them to be reprehended by our Saviour with the utmost severity, even more than he rebuked the Sadducees; who, although they had departed widely from the genuine principles of religion, yet did not impose on mankind by a pretended sanctity, or devote themselves with insatiable greediness to the acquisition of honours and riches. [1]

III. The Essenes, who were the third principal sect among the Jews, differed in many respects from the Pharisees and Sadducees, both in doctrines and in practice. They were divided into two classes: 1. The *practical*, who lived in society, and some of whom were married, though it appears with much circumspection. These dwelt in cities and their neighbourhoods, and applied themselves to husbandry and other innocent occupations. 2. The *contemplative* Essenes, who were also called Therapeutæ or Physicians, from their application principally to the cure of the diseases of the soul, devoted themselves wholly to meditation, and avoided living in great towns as unfavorable to a contemplative life. But both classes were exceedingly abstemious, exemplary in their moral deportment, averse from profane swearing, and most rigid in their observance of the sabbath. They held, among other tenets, the immortality of the soul, (though they denied the resurrection of the body), the existence of angels, and a state of future rewards and punishments. They believed every thing to be ordered by an eternal fatality or chain of causes. Although Jesus Christ censured all the other sects of the Jews for their vices, yet he never spoke of the Essenes: neither are they mentioned by name in any part of the New Testament. This silence of the evangelical historians concerning them, is by some accounted for by their eremitic life, which secluded them from places of public resort; so that they did not come in the way of our Saviour, as the Pharisees and Sadducees often did. Others, however, are of opinion, that the Essenes being very honest and sincere, without guile or hypocrisy, gave no room for the reproofs and censures which the other Jews deserved; and therefore no mention is made of them.

But though the Essenes are not expressly named in any of the sacred books, it has been conjectured that they are alluded to in two or three passages. Thus, those whom our Lord terms

[1] Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians, vol. i. p. 83.

eunuchs, who have made themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake (Matt. xix. 12.), are supposed to be the contemplative Essenes, who abstained from all intercourse with women, in the hope of acquiring a greater degree of purity, and becoming the better fitted for the kingdom of God. St. Paul is generally understood to have referred to them, in Col. ii. 18. 23; where "voluntary humility" and "neglecting the body" are peculiarly applicable to the Essenes; who, when they received any persons into their number, made them solemnly swear that they would keep and observe the books of the sect and the names of the angels with care [1]. What is also said in the above cited passage, of "intruding into things not seen," is likewise agreeable to the character of the Therapeutic Essenes; who placing the excellence of their contemplative life in raising their minds to invisible objects, pretended to such a degree of elevation and abstraction, as to be able to penetrate into the nature of angels, and assign them proper names, or rightly interpret those already given them; and also to pry into futurity and predict future events. On these accounts it is highly probable that they were "vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind." Further, the tenets referred to by St. Paul, (Col. ii. 21. "touch not, taste not, handle not,") are such as the Essenes held, who would not taste any pleasant food, but lived on coarse bread and drank nothing but water, and some of whom would not taste any food at all till after sun-set: if touched by any that were not of their own sect, they would wash themselves, as after some great pollution. It has been conjectured that there might be a sodality of Essenes at Colosse, as there were in many other places out of Judæa; and that some of the Christians, being too much inclined to Judaism, might also affect the peculiarities of this sect; which might be the reason of the apostle's so particularly cautioning the Colossians against them. [2]

IV. There is in the Gospels frequent mention of a set of men called SCRIBES and LAWYERS, who are often joined with the chief priests, elders, and Pharisees. They seem to have been men of learning, and on that account to have had great deference paid to them, (Matt. ii. 4. vii. 29.) but strictly speaking, they

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[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8. § 7.

[2] Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. c. 12. p. 243. (Edinb. 1808.) Michaelis thinks that Saint Paul alludes to the tenets and practices of the Essenes in his epistle to the Ephesians, and in his first epistle to Timothy. Introd. to New Test. vol. iv. pp. 79—85. Dr. Prideaux has collected with great industry and fidelity all that Philo, Josephus, and Pliny have recorded concerning the Essenes. Connection, vol, ii. book v. sub anno 107. B. C. pp. 343—363. 8th edit.

did not form any distinct sect. The scribes generally belonged to the sect of the Pharisees, in whose traditions and explanations of the law they were profoundly skilled; and on the sabbath days 'they sat in Moses' seat' and instructed the people. Originally, they had their name from their employment, which at first was *transcribing* the law: but in progress of time they exalted themselves into the public ministry and teachers of it, authoritatively determining what doctrines were or were not contained in the Scriptures, and teaching the common people in what sense to understand the law and the prophets. In short, they were the oracles, which were consulted in all difficult points of doctrine and duty.

LAWYERS (νομικοι, *teachers of the law*) and scribes appear to be synonymous terms, importing one and the same order of men; as St. Matt. (xxii. 35.) calls him a scribe whom St. Mark (xii. 28.) terms a lawyer. Dr. Macknight conjectures the scribes to have been the public expounders of the law, and that the lawyers studied it in private: perhaps, as Dr. Lardner conjectures, they taught in the schools.[1]

V. The SAMARITANS, mentioned in the New Testament, are generally considered as a sect of the Jews; their origin and history have already been related, together with their antipathy to the Jews. Their principal residence is at Sichem or Shechem. In order to complete our notice of this sect, we have subjoined the confession of faith of the modern Samaritans, sent by Eleazar their high priest to the illustrious critic Scaliger, who had applied to them for that purpose.

1. The Samaritans observe the sabbath with all the exactness required in Exodus; for none of them goes out of the place where he is on the sabbath-day, except to the synagogue, where they read the law, and sing the praises of God. They do not lie that night with their wives, and neither kindle nor order fire to be kindled: whereas the Jews transgress the sabbath in all these points: for they go out of town, have fire made, lie with their wives, and even do not wash themselves after it.

2. They hold the passover to be their first festival; they begin at sun-set, by the sacrifice enjoined for that purpose in

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[1] Prideaux, vol. ii. p. 343. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. ch. iv. § 3. (Works, vol. i. p. 126.) Macknight's Harmony, sect. 87. vol. ii. p. 74. (2d edit. 4to.) The *scribes* noticed in the Old Testament, it may not be irrelevant to remark, were political officers of great weight and authority; it being their employment to assist the kings or magistrates, and to keep an account in writing of public acts or occurrences, of the royal revenues, and the muster rolls of the army. (2 Sam. viii. 17. 1 Chron. xxiv. 6. 1 Kings iv. 3. 2 Kings xix. 2. xxii. 8—10. 2 Chron. xxvi. 11.)

Exodus; but they sacrifice *only* on Mount Gerizim, where they read the law, and offer prayers to God, after which the priest dismisses the whole congregation with a blessing.

3. They celebrate for seven days together the feast of the harvest, but they do not agree with the Jews concerning the day when it ought to begin; for these reckon the next day after the solemnity of the passover; whereas the Samaritans reckon fifty days, beginning the next day after the sabbath which happens in the week of the unleavened bread, and the next day after the seventh sabbath following, the feast of the harvest begins.

4. They observe the feast of expiation on the tenth of the seventh month: they employ the four and twenty hours of the day in prayers to God, and singing his praises, and fasting. For all except sucking children fast, whereas the Jews except children under seven years of age.

5. On the fifteenth of the same month, they celebrate the feast of tabernacles upon the same Mount Gerizim.

6. They never defer circumcision farther than the eighth day, as it is commanded in Genesis, whereas the Jews defer it sometimes longer.

7. They are obliged to wash themselves in the morning, when they have lain with their wives, or have been sullied in the night by some uncleanness, and all vessels that may become unclean become so, when they touch them before they have washed.

8. They take away the fat from sacrifices, and give the priests the shoulder, the jaws, and the belly.

9. They never marry their nieces as the Jews do, and have but one wife, whereas the Jews may have many.

10. They believe in God, in Moses, and in Mount Gerizim. Whereas, say they, the Jews put their trust in others, we do nothing but what is expressly commanded in the law by the Lord who made use of the ministry of Moses; but the Jews swerve from what the Lord hath commanded in the law, to observe what their fathers and doctors have invented.

Eleazar added to this, that they reckoned a hundred and twenty-two high-priests from Aaron to their time; they have a catalogue and succession of them. They believe themselves to be of the posterity of Joseph by Ephraim, and that all their high-priests descend from Phinehas; whereas the Jews have not one of that family. They boast that they have preserved the Hebrew characters which God made use of to promulgate his law; while the Jews have a way of writing from Ezra, which is cursed for ever. And indeed, instead of looking upon Ezra as

the restorer of the law, they curse him as an impostor, who has laid aside their old characters to use new ones in their room, and authorised several books that were written to support the posterity of David.

Several attempts have been made to convert these Samaritans; but they have been oppressed instead of being made Christians, and they are reduced to a small number rather by misery, than by the multitude of those who have been converted. Nay, they seem more stubbornly wedded to their sect than the Jews, though these adhere rigorously to the law of Moses. At least Nicon, who lived after the twelfth century, when setting down the formalities used at the reception of heretics, observes, that if a Jew had a mind to be converted, in order to avoid punishment or the payment of what he owed, he was to purify himself, and satisfy his creditors before he was admitted. But the Samaritans were not received before they had been instructed two years, and were required to fast ten or fifteen days before they professed the Christian religion, to attend at morning and evening prayers, and to learn some psalms: others were not used with so much rigour. The term of two years which was enjoined to the Samaritan proselytes, is an argument that they were suspected, and the reason why they were so, was, that they had often deceived the Christians by their pretended conversion.[1]

VI. The Herodians were rather a political faction than a religious sect of the Jews; they derived their name from Herod the Great, king of Judæa, to whose family they were strongly attached. They were distinguished from the other Jewish sects, first, by their concurring in Herod's plan of subjecting himself and his people to the dominion of the Romans; and secondly, in complying with the latter in many of their heathen practices, such as erecting temples with images for idolatrous worship, raising statues, and instituting games in honour of Augustus; which symbolising with idolatry upon views of interest and worldly policy is supposed to have been a part at least of the leaven of Herod, against which Jesus Christ cautioned his disciples (Mark viii. 15.); consequently they were directly opposed to the Pharisees, who, from a misinterpretation of Deut. xvii. 15, maintained that it was not lawful to submit to the Roman emperor, or to pay taxes to him. But Herod and his followers, understanding the text to exclude only a voluntary choice,

[1] Lewis's Origines Hebrææ, vol. iii. p. 57—59. In pp. 59—65. he has printed a letter, purporting to have been written by the Samaritans at Shechem in the seventeenth century, and sent by them to their brethren in England, by Dr. Huntington, some time chaplain to the Turkey Company at Aleppo, and afterwards Bishop of Raphoe in Ireland.

and not a necessary submission where force had overpowered choice, held an opinion directly contrary, and insisted that in this case it was lawful both to submit to the Roman emperor, and also to pay taxes to him. How keen then must have been the malice of the Pharisees against Christ, when they united with their mortal enemies the Herodians, in proposing to him the ensnaring question, whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not? (Matt. xxii. 16.) If our Redeemer had answered in the negative, the Herodians would have accused him to the Roman power as a seditious person; and, if in the affirmative, the Pharisees were equally ready to accuse him to the people, and excite their indignation against him, as betraying the civil liberties and privileges of his country. It is further probable that the Herodians, in their doctrinal tenets, were chiefly of the sect of the Sadducees, who were the most indifferent to religion among the whole Jewish nation; since that which is by one evangelist called the "leaven of Herod," (Mark viii. 15.) is by another termed (Matt. xvi. 6.) the "leaven of the Sadducees."[1]

VII. The GALILEANS were a sect that originated from the Pharisees, A. D. 12, when Archelaus was banished, Judæa reduced into a Roman province, and a census taken by Quirinius or Cyrenius president of Syria, (to which province Judæa was attached). On this occasion, Judas the Galilean, or Gaulonite, as he is also called[2], exhorted the people to shake off this yoke, telling them, that tribute was due to God alone, and consequently ought not to be paid to the Romans; and that religious liberty and the authority of the divine laws were to be defended by force of arms. In other respects his doctrines appear to have been the same as those of the Pharisees. The tumults raised by these pernicious tenets were indeed suppressed (Acts v. 37.); but his followers, who were called Galileans, continued secretly to propagate them, and to make proselytes, whom they required to be circumcised. As the same restless disposition and seditious principles continued to exist at the time when the apostles Paul and Peter wrote their epistles, they took occasion thence to inculcate upon Christians, (who were at that time generally confounded with the Jews), the necessity of obedience to civil authority, with singular ability, truth,

[1] Prideaux's Connection, part ii. book v. (vol. ii. pp. 365—368.) Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book i. ch. xii. (pp. 244—246.), where the different opinions of former writers concerning the Herodians are enumerated; as also in Elsley's Annotations on he Gospels, vol. i. pp. 342—346. vol. ii. p. 15. Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, pp. 290, 291. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. ch. iv. § 4. (Works, vol. i. pp. 126, 127.)

[2] He was a native of Gamala in the province of Gaulonitis.

and persuasion. See Rom. xiii. 1. *et seq.* 1 Tim. ii. 1. *et seq.* 1 Pet. ii. 13. *et seq.*[1]

The ZEALOTS, so often mentioned in Jewish history, appear to have been the followers of this Judas. Lamy is of opinion that the JUST MEN whom the Pharisees and Herodians sent to entangle Jesus in his conversation, were members of this sect. (Matt. xxii. 15, 16. Mark xii. 13, 14. Luke xx. 20.)[2]

VIII. The SICARII, noticed in Acts xxi. 38. were assassins, who derived their name from their using poniards bent like the Roman *sicæ*, which they concealed under their garments, and privately stabbed the objects of their malice[3]. The Egyptian impostor, also mentioned by the sacred historian, is noticed by Josephus, who says that he was at the head of 30,000 men, though St. Luke notices only 4000: but both accounts are reconciled by supposing that the impostor (who in the second year of Nero pretended to be a prophet), led out 4000 from Jerusalem, who were afterwards joined by others to the amount of 30,000, as related by Josephus. They were attacked and dispersed by the Roman procurator Felix.[4]

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[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. i. § 1. 6. lib. xx. c. v. § 2. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xvii. § 7—9. lib. vii. c. viii. § 1. The Theudas mentioned in Acts v. 36. must not be confounded with the Theudas or Judas referred to by Josephus, (Ant. lib. xx. c. v. § 1.) Theudas was a very common name among the Jews; and the person mentioned by the sacred historian was probably one of the many leaders who took up arms in defence of the public liberties, at the time of Cyrenius's enrolment and taxation, at least seven if not ten years before the speech delivered by Gamaliel. (Acts v. 34—40.) He seems to have been supported by smaller numbers than the second of that name, and (as the second afterwards did) perished in the attempt; but as his followers were dispersed, and not slaughtered, like those of the second Judas, survivors might talk much of him, and Gamaliel might have been particularly informed of his history, though Josephus only mentions it in general terms. See Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book. ii. ch. vii. (Works, vol. i. pp. 405—413.) Dr. Doddridge on Acts, v. 36.

[2] Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. p. 239.

[3] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. viii. § 10.

[4] Ibid. lib. xx. c. viii. § 6. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xiii. § 5. Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book. ii. ch. viii. (Works, vol. i. p. 414—419.)

SECTION III.

ON THE EXTREME CORRUPTION OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, BOTH IN RELIGION AND MORALS, AT THE TIME OF CHRIST'S BIRTH.

General corruption of the leaders of the Jewish nation—of their chief priests, and other ministers of religion—its deplorable effects on the people—state of the Jews not resident in Palestine.

THE preceding chapters[1] will have shown that the political state of the Jews was truly deplorable. Although they were oppressed and fleeced by various governors, who exercised the most rigorous authority over them, in many instances with peculiar avarice, cruelty, and extortion, yet they were in some measure governed by their own laws, and were permitted to enjoy their religion. The administration of their sacred rites continued to be committed to the high priest and the sanhedrin; to the former the priests and levites were subordinate as before; and the form of their external worship, except in a very few points, had suffered no visible change. But, whatever comforts were left to them by the Roman magistrates, they were not allowed to enjoy them by their chief priests and popular leaders, whom Josephus characterises as profligate wretches, who had purchased their places by bribes or by acts of iniquity, and maintained their ill-acquired authority by the most flagitious and abominable crimes. Nor were the religious creeds of these men more pure: having espoused the principles of various sects, they suffered themselves to be led away by all the prejudice and animosity of party, (though, as in the case of our Saviour, they would sometimes abandon them to promote some favourite measure); and were commonly more intent on the gratification of private enmity, than studious of advancing the cause of religion, or promoting the public welfare. The subordinate and inferior members were infected with the corruption of the head; the priests, and the other ministers of religion, were become dissolute and abandoned in the highest degree; while the common people, instigated by examples so depraved, rushed headlong into every kind of iniquity, and

[1] See particularly pp. 95—105 of the present volume.

by their incessant seditions, robberies, and extortions, armed against themselves both the justice of God and the vengeance of men.

Owing to these various causes, the great mass of the Jewish people were sunk into the most deplorable ignorance of God and of divine things. Hence proceeded that dissoluteness of manners, and that profligate wickedness which prevailed among the Jews during Christ's ministry upon earth; in allusion to which the divine Saviour compares the people to a multitude of lost sheep, straying without a shepherd (Matt. x. 6. xv. 24.), and their teachers, or doctors, to blind guides, who professed to instruct others in a way with which they were totally unacquainted themselves[1]. (Matt. xv. 14. John ix. 39, 40.)

More particularly, in the New Testament[2], the Jews are described as a most superstitious and bigotted people, attached to the Mosaic ritual, and to the whimsical traditions of their elders, with a zeal and fanaticism approaching to madness. They are represented as a nation of hypocrites, assuming the most sanctimonious appearance before the world, at the corners of crowded streets uttering loud and fervent strains of rapturous devotion, merely to attract the eyes of a weak and credulous multitude, and to be noticed and venerated by them as mirrors of mortification and heavenly-mindedness; devoured with ostentation and spiritual pride; making a trumpeter walk before them in the streets, and make proclamation that such a rabbi was going to distribute his alms; publicly displaying all this showy parade of piety and charity, yet privately guilty of the most unfeeling cruelty and oppression; devouring widows houses, stripping the helpless widow and friendless orphan of their property, and exposing them to all the rigours of hunger and nakedness; clamouring, *The temple of the Lord! The temple of the Lord!* making conscience of paying tithe of mint, anise, and cummin to the support of its splendour and priesthood, but in practical life violating and trampling upon the first duties of morality,—justice, fidelity, and mercy,—as being vulgar and heathenish attainments, and infinitely below the regard of exalted saints and spiritual perfectionists. Their great men were to an incredible degree depraved in their morals,

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[1] Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. book i. part i. chap. ii., and also his Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before the time of Constantine the Great, vol. i. introd. chap. ii.

[2] For the following picture of the melancholy corruption of the Jewish church and people, the author is indebted to Dr. Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament (vol. ii. pp. 58. 61.), collated with Pritii Introductio, pp. 471, *et seq.* and verifying also the several authorities referred to by him.

many of them Sadducees in principle, and in practice the most profligate sensualists and debauchees; their atrocious and abandoned wickedness, as Josephus testifies [1], transcended all the enormities which the most corrupt age of the world had ever beheld; they compassed sea and land to make proselytes to Judaism from the Pagans, and, when they had gained these converts, soon rendered them, by their immoral lives and scandalous examples, more depraved and profligate than ever they were before their conversion. The apostle tells them, that by reason of their notorious vices their religion was become the object of calumny and satire among the heathen nations. *The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you* [2]! (Rom. ii. 24.) And in his epistle to Titus he informs us, that the Jews in speculation indeed acknowledged a God, but in practice they were atheists; for in their lives they were abominably immoral and abandoned, and the contemptuous despisers of every thing that was virtuous. *They profess that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate.* (Titus i. 16.) This testimony to the religious and moral character of the Jewish people, by Jesus Christ and his apostles, is amply corroborated by Josephus, who has given us a true estimate of their principles and manners, and is also confirmed by other contemporary historians.[3] The circumstance of their nation having been favoured with an explicit revelation from the Deity, instead of enlarging their minds, miserably contracted and soured them with all the bitterness and leaven of theological odium. They regarded uncircumcised heathens with sovereign contempt [4], and believed them to be hated by

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[1] Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. p. 1314. Hudson. Again, says this historian, "They were universally corrupt, both publicly and privately. They vied which should surpass each other in impiety against God and injustice towards men." Ibid.

[2] The superstitious credulity of a Jew was proverbial among the heathens. Credat Judæus Apella. Horat. Epictetus mentions and exposes their greater attachment to their ceremonies than to the duties of morality. Dissertationes, lib. i. p. 115. edit. Upton. See also Josephus contra Apion. p. 480. Havercamp.

[3] "I cannot forbear," says Josephus, "declaring my opinion, though the declaration fills me with great emotion and regret, that if the Romans had delayed to come against these wretches, the city would either have been ingulphed by an earthquake, overwhelmed by a deluge, or destroyed by fire from heaven, as Sodom was: for that generation was far more enormously wicked than those who suffered these calamities." Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 13. p. 1256. "These things they suffered," says Origen, "as being the most abandoned of men." Origen contra Celsum, p. 62. Cantab. 1677.

[4] "The Jews are the only people who refuse all friendly intercourse with every other nation, and esteem all mankind as enemies." Diod. Siculus, tom. ii. p. 524. edit. Wesseling, Amstel. 1746. "Let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican." (Matt. xviii. 17.) Of the extreme detestation and abhorrence which the Jews had for

God, merely because they were born aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and lived strangers to their covenant of promise. They would not eat with them (Acts xi. 3.), do the least friendly office for them, or maintain any social correspondence and mutual intercourse with them. The apostle comprises their national character in a few words, and it is a just one: *They were contrary to all men* [1]. (1 Thess. ii. 15.) The supercilious insolence with which the mean and selfish notion of their being the only favourites of heaven and enlightened by God, inflated them as a people, and the haughty and scornful disdain in which they held the heathens, are in a very striking manner characterised in the following spirited address of St. Paul to them.—" Behold! thou art called a Jew, and restest in the law, and makest thy boast of God: and knowest his will, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law, and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law." (Rom. ii. 17—20.) This passage exhibits to us a faithful picture of the national character of this people, and shows us how much they valued themselves upon their wisdom and superior knowledge of religion, arrogating to themselves the character of lights and guides, and instructors of the whole world, and contemptuously regarding all the heathen as blind, as babes, and as fools!

Another ever memorable instance of the national pride and arrogance of this vain and ostentatious people is, that when our Lord was discoursing to them concerning their pretensions to moral liberty, and representing the ignoble and despicable bondage in which sin detains its votaries, they imagined this to be an indirect allusion to the present condition of their country; their pride was instantly in flames; and they had the effrontery

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the Gentiles we have a very striking example in that speech which St. Paul addresses to them, telling them in the course of it, that God had commissioned him to go to the Gentiles. The moment he had pronounced the word, the whole assembly was in confusion, tore off their clothes, rent the air with their cries, threw clouds of dust into it, and were transported into the last excesses of rage and madness, " He said unto me, Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles: they gave him audience," says the sacred historian, " until this word, and then lifted up their voice and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live." (Acts xxii. 21.)

[1] This character of the Jewish nation is confirmed by Tacitus, and expressed almost in the very words of the Apostle, " Adversus omnes alios hostile odium." Tacit. Hist. lib. v. § 5. vol. iii. p. 261. edit. Bipont.

and impudence openly to assert, that they had always been free, and were never in bondage to any man (John viii. 33.); though every child must know the history of their captivities, must know that Judea was at that very time a conquered province, had been subdued by Pompey, and from that time had paid an annual tribute to Rome!

Another characteristic which distinguishes and marks this people, was that kind of evidence which they expected in order to their reception of truth. *Except they saw signs and wonders they would not believe!* (John iv. 48.) If a doctrine proposed to their acceptance was not confirmed by some visible displays of preternatural power, some striking phenomena, the clear and indubitable evidences of an immediate divine interposition, they would reject it. In antient times, for a series of many years, this people had been favoured with numerous signal manifestations from heaven: a cloud had conducted them by day, and a pillar of fire by night: their law was given them, accompanied by a peculiar display of solemn pomp and magnificence; and the glory of God had repeatedly filled their temple. Habituated as their understandings had been, for many ages, to receive as truth only what should be attested and ratified by signs from heaven, and by some grand and striking phenomena in the sky, it was natural for them, long accustomed as they had been to this kind of evidence, to ask our Saviour to give them some *sign from heaven*, (Matt. xvi. 1.) to exhibit before them some amazing and stupendous prodigy in the air to convince them of the dignity and divinity of his character. *The Jews*, says St. Paul, *require a sign* (1 Cor. i. 22.); it was that species of evidence to which their nation had been accustomed. Thus we read that the Scribes and Pharisees came to John, desiring him that he would show them a sign from heaven. Again, we read that the Jews came and said to him, *What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou dost these things? Jesus answered and said unto them, Detroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up!* (John ii. 18, 19.) What kind of signs these were which they expected, and what sort of preternatural prodigies they wanted him to display in order to authenticate his divine mission to them, appears from the following passages: *They said therefore*, unto him, *What sign shewest thou then, that we may see and believe thee? What dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven!* (John vi. 30, 31.) This method, therefore, of espousing religious doctrines, only as they should be confirmed by some signal and indubitable

interposition of the Deity, and their cherising the vanity and presumption that heaven would lavish its miraculous signs whenever they called for them, constitute a striking and very distinguishing feature in the national character of this people.

So exceedingly great was the fecundity of the Jewish people, that multitudes of them had occasionally been constrained to emigrate from their native country: hence, at the time of our Saviour's birth, there was scarcely a province in the Roman empire in which they were not to be found, either serving in the army, engaged in the pursuits of commerce, or exercising some lucrative arts. They were maintained, in foreign countries, against injurious treatment and violence, by various special edicts of the emperors and magistrates in their favour [1]; though, from the peculiarities of their religion and manners, they were held in very general contempt, and were not unfrequently exposed to much vexation and annoyance from the jealousy and indignation of an ignorant and superstitious populace. Many of them in consequence of their long residence and intercourse with foreign nations, fell into the error of endeavouring to make their religion accommodate itself to the principles and institutions of some of the different systems of heathen discipline: but, on the other hand, it is clear that the Jews brought many of those among whom they resided to perceive the superiority of the Mosaic religion over the Gentile superstitions, and were highly instrumental in causing them to forsake the worship of a plurality of gods. Although the knowledge which the Gentiles thus acquired from the Jews respecting the only true God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, was doubtless both partial and limited, yet it inclined many of them the more readily to listen to the subsequent arguments and exhortations of the apostles of our Saviour, for the purpose of exploding the worship of false deities, and recalling men to the knowledge of true religion. All which, Mosheim observes, with equal truth and piety, appears to have been most singularly and wisely directed by the adorable hand of an interposing providence; to the end that this people, who were the sole depository of the true religion and of the knowledge of the one supreme God, being spread abroad through the whole earth, might be every where, by

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[1] In proof of this observation, Mosheim refers to Jacobi Gronovii Decreta Romana et Asiatica pro Judæis ad cultum divinum per Asiæ Minoris urbes securè obeundum. Lug. Bat. 1712, 8vo. See also Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. ch. viii. (Works, vol. i. pp. 164—201), where numerous valuable testimonies are adduced.

their example, a reproach to superstition, contribute in some measure to check it, and thus prepare the way for that fuller display of divine truth which was to shine upon the world from the ministry and gospel of the Son of God.[1]

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[1] Mosheim's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 106. Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 52. edit. 1806. Besides the authorities cited in the preceding chapter, the Jewish sects, &c. are largely discussed by Pritius, Introd. ad Nov. Test. chap. xxxii.—xxxv. pp. 249—275. Prideaux, Connection, book v. vol ii. pp. 335—368. Relandi Antiq. Sacr. Hebræorum, pp. 276, *et seq.* Ikenius, Antiq. Hebr. pp. 33—42. Schachtii Dictata in Ikenium, pp. 241, *et seq.* Dr. Macknight's Harmony, vol. i. disc. 1. Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, vol. i. pp. 225—243. Dr. Lardner's Credibility, part i. book i. ch. 4. Leusden's Philologus Hebræo-Mixtus, pp. 138—170. Buddei Hist. Philosophiæ Hebræorum, pp. 86, *et seq.* Schulzii Archæologia Hebraica, pp. 170—183.

PART IV.

ON THE PRIVATE LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE DWELLINGS OF THE JEWS.

I. *Tents.*—II. *Houses—their arrangement—materials—and conveniences.*—III. *Furniture.*—IV. *Cities, and Markets.*

I. As our first parents were ignorant of all arts, they could not build themselves houses; they abode therefore necessarily under the shade of trees. It is probable that, when mankind began to multiply on the earth, they dwelt in caves, which in the Holy Land are both numerous and dry. Thus, Lot and his daughters abode in a cave, after the destruction of Sodom. (Gen. xix. 30.) Antient historians [1] contain many notices of troglodytes, and modern travellers have met with them in Barbary and Egypt, as well as in various other parts of the east. The Horites, who dwelt on Mount Seir, the Zamzummim, and the Emims or Anakim, are supposed to have resided in caves. In succeeding ages, they abode generally in tents, as the Arabs of the Desert do to this day. The invention of these is ascribed to Jabal, the son of Lamech, who is therefore termed the *father of such as dwell in tents.* (Gen. iv. 20.) The patriarchs pitched their tents where they pleased, and, it should seem, under the shade of trees whenever this was practicable. Thus, Abraham's tent was pitched under a tree in the plains of Mamre (Gen. xviii. 4.), and Deborah the prophetess dwelt under a palm tree between Ramah and Bethel, in Mount Ephraim (Judg. iv. 5.) In the East, to this day, it is the custom in many places to plant about and among their buildings trees, which grow both high and broad, and afford a cooling and refreshing shade. It appears from 1 Kings iv. 25. that this practice antiently obtained in Judæa, and that vines and fig-trees

[1] Herodotus, lib. iii. c. 74. Diod. Sic. lib. iii. c. 31. Quintus Curtius, lib. v. c. 6. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xv. c. 4. § 1.

were commonly used for this purpose. These trees furnished two great articles of food for their consumption, and the cuttings of their vines would be useful to them for fuel. The tents of the emirs and sovereigns of the East are both large and magnificent, and furnished with magnificent hangings. Those of the Turkomans are said to be white: and those of the Turks, green: but, according to D'Arvieux, the tents of the Arabs are universally *black*. To these the bride in the Canticles compares herself (i. 5.),—*I am black as the tents of Kedar*, but *comely*, or *beautiful* as the curtains of Solomon. In the East, those who lead a pastoral life, frequently sit (as Abraham did) in the tent-door in the heat of the day. (Gen. xviii. 1.) The more opulent Arabs always have two tents, one for themselves, and another for their wives, besides others for their servants: in like manner, a particular tent was allotted to Sarah. (Gen. xxiv. 67.) When travelling, they were careful to pitch their tents near some river, or fountain, well. (1 Sam. xxix. 1. xxx. 21.)

II. In progress of time men erected houses for their habitations: those of the rich were formed of stone or bricks, but the dwellings of the poor were formed of wood, or more frequently of mud, as they are to this day in the East Indies [1]. In Ceylon, the best houses—those of the chiefs,—are constructed with this material; which is but ill calculated to resist the effects of the impetuous torrents, that descended from the mountains of Palestine. Our Lord alludes to this circumstance at the close of his sermon on the mount. (Matt. vii. 26, 27.) In the Indies also, nothing is more common than for thieves to dig or break through these mud-walls, while the unsuspecting inhabitants are overcome by sleep, and to plunder them [2]. To similar depredations Jesus Christ appears to allude, when he exhorts his disciples not to lay up their treasure where thieves break through and steal. (Matt. vi. 19, 20.) In the holes and chinks of these walls, serpents sometimes concealed themselves. (Amos v. 19.)

Of all modern travellers, no one has so happily described the form and structure of the eastern buildings as Dr. Shaw, from whose account the following particulars are derived, which admirably elucidate several interesting passages of holy writ. The general method of building both in Barbary and the Levant (this distinguished scholar and traveller remarks,) seems

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[1] Dr. Davy's Account of the Interior of Ceylon, p. 256. See also Harmer's Observations, vol. i. pp. 265. 285.

[2] Ward's History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 325.

to have continued the same from the earliest ages down to this time without the least alteration or improvement. Large doors, spacious chambers, marble pavements, cloistered courts, with fountains sometimes playing in the midst, are certainly conveniences very well adapted to the circumstances of these climates, where the summer heats are generally so intense. The jealousy likewise of these people is less apt to be alarmed, whilst, if we except a small latticed window or balcony which sometimes looks into the street, all the other windows open into their respective courts or quadrangles. It is during the celebration of some Zeenah, as they call it, or public festival, that their houses, and their windows, and latticed balconies are left open. For this being a time of great liberty, revelling, and extravagance, each family is ambitious of adorning both the inside and outside of their houses with their richest furniture: whilst crowds of both sexes, dressed in their best apparel, and laying aside all modesty, ceremony, and restraint, go in and out where they please. The account we have (2 Kings ix. 30.) of Jezebel's painting her face, and tiring her hair, and looking out at a window on Jehu's public entrance, gives us a lively idea of an eastern lady at one of these Zeenahs or solemnities.

The streets of these cities, the better to shade them from the sun, are usually narrow, with sometimes a range of shops on each side. If from these we enter into any of the principal houses, we shall first pass through a porch or gateway with benches on each side, where the master of the family receives visits, and dispatches business; few persons, not even the nearest relations, having admission any farther, except upon extraordinary occasions. From hence we are received into the court, which lying open to the weather, is according to the ability of the owner, paved with marble, or such proper materials, as will carry off the water into the common sewers. There is something very analogous between this open space in these buildings, and the *impluvium*, or *cava ædium* of the Romans: both of them being alike exposed to the weather, and giving light to the house. When much people are to be admitted, as upon the celebration of a marriage, the circumcising of a child, or occasions of the like nature, the company is seldom or never admitted into one of the chambers. The court is the usual place of their reception, which is strewed accordingly with mats or carpets for their more commodious entertainment: and as this is called *el woost*, or the middle of the house, literally answering to the το μεσον of St. Luke, (v. 19.) it is probable that the place where our Saviour and his Apostles

were frequently accustomed to give their instructions, might have been in the like situation, i. e. in the area or quadrangle of one of these houses. In the summer season, and upon all occasions when a large company is to be received, the court is commonly sheltered from the heat and inclemencies of the weather by a vellum umbrella or veil, which being expanded upon ropes from one side of the parallel wall to the other, may be folded or unfolded at pleasure. The psalmist seems to allude either to the tents of the Bedoweens, or to some covering of this kind, in that beautiful expression, *of spreading out the heavens like a veil or curtain.* (Psal. civ. 2. See also Isaiah xl. 22.)

The court is for the most part surrounded with a cloister, as a *cava ædium* of the Romans was, with a peristylium or colonnade, over which, when the house has one or more stories (and I have seen them with two or three) there is a gallery erected of the same dimensions with the cloister, having a balustrade, or else a piece of carved or latticed work going round about it, to prevent people from falling from it into the court. From the cloisters and galleries, we are conducted into large spacious chambers of the same length of the court, but seldom or never communicating with one another. One of them frequently serves a whole family, particularly when a father indulges his married children to live with him; or when several persons join in the rent of the same house. Hence it is that the cities of these countries, which are generally much inferior in size to those of Europe, are so exceedingly populous, that great numbers of the inhabitants are swept away with the plague, or any other contagious distemper.

In houses of better fashion, these chambers, from the middle of the wall downwards, are covered and adorned with velvet or damask hangings, of white, blue, red, green, or other colours (Esth. i. 6.), suspended upon hooks, or taken down at pleasure. But the upper part is embellished with more permanent ornaments, being adorned with the most ingenious wreathings and devices in stucco and fret-work. The ceiling is generally of wainscot, either very artfully painted, or else thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of their Koran intermixed. The prophet Jeremiah (xxii. 14.) exclaims against the eastern houses that were ceiled with cedar, and painted with vermillion. The floors are laid with painted tiles, or plaster of terrace. But as these people make little or no use of chairs (either sitting cross-legged or lying at length) they always cover and spread them over with

carpets [1], which for the most part are of the richest materials. Along the sides of the wall or floor, a range of narrow beds or mattrasses is often placed upon these carpets: and for their farther ease and convenience, several velvet or damask bolsters are placed upon these carpets or mattrasses; indulgences which seem to be alluded to by *their stretching themselves upon couches*, and *by the sewing of pillows to the arm-holes*, as we have it expressed in Amos vi. 4. and Ezek. xiii. 8. At one end of the chamber there is a little gallery, raised three, four, five feet above the floor, with a balustrade in the front of it, with a few steps likewise leading up to it. Here they place their beds; a situation frequently alluded to in the holy Scriptures; which may likewise illustrate the circumstance of Hezekiah's *turning his face when he prayed towards the wall*, i. e. from his attendants, (2 Kings xx. 4.) that the fervency of his devotion might be the less taken notice of and observed. The like is related of Ahab (1 Kings xxi. 4.), though probably not upon a religious account, but in order to conceal from his attendants the anguish he felt for his late disappointments.

The stairs are sometimes placed in the porch, sometimes at the entrance into the court. When there is one or more stories, they are afterwards continued through one corner or other of the gallery to the top of the house, whither they conduct us through a door that is constantly kept shut to prevent their domestic animals from daubing the terrace, and thereby spoiling the water which falls from thence into the cisterns below the court. This door, like most others we meet with in these countries, is hung, not with hinges, but by having the jamb formed at each end into an axle-tree or pivot, whereof the uppermost, which is the longest, is to be received into a correspondent socket in the lintel, while the other falls into a cavity of the same fashion in the threshold.

Dr. Shaw does not remember ever to have observed the staircase conducted along the outside of the house; neither indeed will the contiguity and relation which these houses bear to the street, and to each other (exclusive of the supposed privacy of them) admit of any such contrivance. However, we may go up or down by the stair above described, without entering into any of the offices or apartments [2], and consequently without interfering with the business of the house.

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[1] Thus the apartment, in which our Lord and his apostles celebrated the passover is said to be ἐστρωμένον, *spread with a carpet*. Mark xiv. 15. Luke xxii. 12. See Macknight in loc.

[2] Thus our Lord saith, let him who is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house. (Matt. xxiv. 17.) The house of the Jews, says Bp. Newton, as

"The top of the house, which is always flat, is covered with a strong plaister of terrace, whence in the Frank language it has obtained the name of *the terrace*[1]. This is usually surrounded by two walls, the outermost whereof is partly built over the street; partly makes the partition with the contiguous houses, being frequently so low that one may easily climb over it. The other, which I shall call the parapet wall, hangs immediately over the court, being always breast high, and answers to the פעקה, or *lorica*, Deut. xxii. 8. which we render the *battlements*. Instead of this parapet wall, some terraces are guarded, like the galleries, with balustrades only, or latticed work; in which fashion probably, as the name seems to import, was the שבכה, or net, or lattice, as we render it, that Ahaziah (2 Kings i. 2.) might be carelessly leaning over, when he fell down from thence into the court. For upon those terraces, several offices of the family are performed, such as the drying of linen and flax, (Josh. ii. 6.) the preparing of figs or raisins, where likewise they enjoy the cool refreshing breezes of the evening, converse with one another, and offer up their devotions[2]. At the feast of tabernacles, booths were erected upon them. (Nehem. viii. 6.) As these terraces are thus frequently used and trampled upon, not to mention the solidity of the materials with which they are made, they will not easily permit any vegetable substances to take root or thrive upon them: which perhaps may illustrate the comparison (Isaiah xxxvii. 27.) of the Assyrians, and (Psalm cxxix. 6.) of the wicked, *to the grass upon the house-tops, which withereth before it is grown up.*

"When any of these cities are built upon level ground, one may pass along the tops of houses from one end of them to the other, without coming down into the street. Such in general is the manner and contrivance of these houses. If then it may be presumed that our Saviour at the healing of the paralytic was preaching in a house of this fashion, we may, by attending only to the structure of it, give no small light to one circumstance of that history, which has lately given great

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well as those of the antient Greeks and Romans, were flat on the top for them to walk upon, and had usually stairs on the outside, by which they might ascend and descend without coming into the house. Bp. Newton on the Prophecies, vol. ii. p. 266. 3d edit.

[1] On these terraces, the inhabitants of the East sleep, in the open air, during the hot season. See instances, illustrating various passages of the Scriptures, in the Travels of Ali Bey, vol ii. p. 293.; Mr. Kinneir's Travels in Armenia, &c. p. 134. Mr. Morier's Second Journey in Persia, p. 230., where a wood-cut is given explanatory of this practice; and Mr. Ward's History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 323.

[2] Thus we read that Peter went up upon the house top to pray, Acts x. 9.

offence to some unbelievers. For among other pretended difficulties and absurdities, relating to this fact, it has been urged, that as *the uncovering or breaking up of the roof*, (Mark ii. 4.) *or the letting a person down through it*, (Luke v. 19.) supposes the breaking up of tiles, spars, rafters, &c. so it was well if Jesus and his disciples escaped with only a broken pate, by the falling of tiles, and if the rest were not smothered with dust[1]. But that nothing of this nature happened will appear probable, from a different construction that may be put upon the words in the original. For it may be observed with relation to the words of St. Mark, απεςεγασαν την ςεγην όπου ην, και εξορυξαντες, &c. that as ςεγη, no less perhaps than *tatilo*, the correspondent word in the Syriac version, will denote with propriety enough any kind of covering, the veil which I have mentioned, as well as a roof or ceiling properly so called; so for the same reason αποςεγειν may signify the undoing, or removal only of such a covering. Εξορυξαντες, which we render *breaking up*, is omitted in the Cambridge MS. and not regarded in the Syriac and some other versions: the translators perhaps either not rightly comprehending the meaning of it, or finding the context clear without it. In St. *Jerome's* translation the correspondent word is *patefacientes*, as if εξορυξαντες was farther explanatory of απεςεγασαν. The same in the Persian version is expressed by *quatuor angulis lectuli totidem funibus annexis;* as if εξορυξαντες related either to the letting down of the bed, or, preparatory thereto, to the making holes in it for the cords to pass through. According to this explication therefore, the context may run thus: *When they could not come at Jesus for the press, they got upon the roof of the house, and drew back the veil where he was:* or they laid open and uncovered that part of it especially which was spread over the place, όπου ην, where he was sitting: and having removed and plucked away, according to St. Jerome, whatever might incommode them in their intended good office: or having tied, according to the Persian version, the four corners of the bed, or bedstead, with cords, where the sick of the palsy lay, *they let it down before Jesus.*

"For that there was not the least force or violence offered to the roof, and consequently that εξορυξαντες, no less than απεςεγασαν, will admit of some other interpretation than what has been given them in our version, appears from the parallel place in Luke, where δια των κεραμων καθηκαν αυτον, *per tegulas demiserunt illum*, which we translate, *they let him down through the tiling*, as if that had been actually broken up

[1] Woolston, p. 58.

already, should be rendered, *they let him down over, along the side, or by the way of the roof.* For as κεραμοι, or *tegulæ*, which originally denoted a roof of tiles, like those of the northern nations, were afterwards applied to the *tectum* or δωμα in general, of what nature or structure soever they were; so the meaning of letting down a person into the house *per tegulas*, or δια των κεραμων, can depend only on the use of the preposition δια. Now both in Acts ix. 25, καθηκαν δια του τειχους, and 2 Cor. xi. 33. εχαλασθην δια του τειχους, where the like phraseology is observed as in St. Luke, δια is rendered in both places *by*, that is, *along the side*, or *by the way of the wall.* By interpreting therefore δια in this sense, δια των κεραμων καθηκαν αυτον, will be rendered as above, *they let him down over*, or *by the way of the wall*, just as we may suppose Mark Antony to have been, agreeable to a noted passage in Tully. An action of the same nature seems to be implied in what is related of Jupiter [1], where it is said, *se in hominem convertisse, atque per alienas tegulas venisse clanculum per impluvium.* And of the snake, which we learn [2] *per impluvium decidisse de tegulis.* What Dr. Lightfoot also observes out of the Talmud upon Mark ii. 4. will, by an alteration only of the preposition which answers to δια, farther vouch for this interpretation. For as it is there cited, when *Rabbi Honna was dead, and his bier could not be carried out through the door, which was too strait and narrow, therefore they thought good to let it down* (not through the way of the roof, as the Doctor renders it, but as in δια καραμων, or δια τειχους) *by the way*, or *over the roof*, viz. by taking it upon the terrace, and letting it down by the wall, that way into the street. We have a passage in Aulus Gellius [3] exactly of the same purport; where it is said, that if *any person in chains should make his escape into the house of the Flamen Dialis, he should be forthwith loosed; and that his fetters should be drawn up through the impluvium upon the roof or terrace, and from thence be let down into the highway, or the street.*

"When the use then of these phrases, and the fashion of these houses, are rightly considered, there will be no reason to suppose that any breach was actually made in the *tegulæ*, or κεραμοι; since all that was to be done in the case of a paralytic was to carry him to the top of the house, either by forcing their way through the crowd up the staircase, or else by conveying him over some of the neighbouring terraces, and there,

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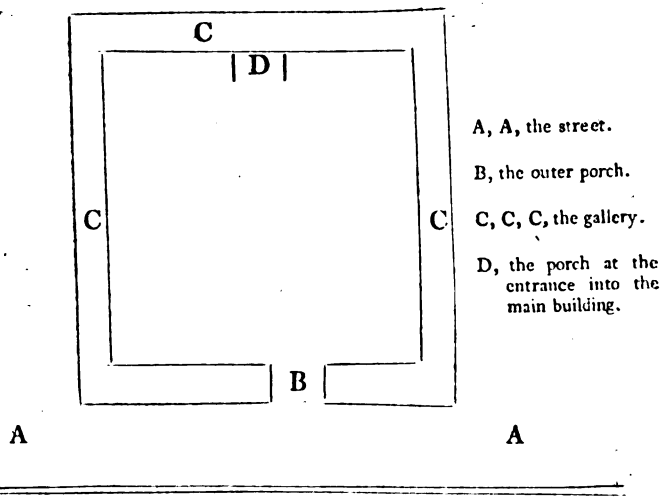
[1] Ter. Eunuch iii. 5. 37.
[2] Ter. Phorm. iv. 4. 47.
[3] Noctes Atticæ, lib. x. c. 15.

after they had drawn away the ςεγη, or veil, to let him down along the side of the roof through the opening or impluvium into the midst of the court before Jesus."[1]

The following diagram will perhaps give the reader a tolerably accurate idea of the arangement of an eastern house.



Now, let it be supposed, that Jesus was sitting at D in the porch, at the entrance into the main building, and speaking to the people, when the four men carrying the paralytic came to the front gate or porch, B. Finding the court so crowded that they could not carry him in and lay him before Jesus, they carried him up the stairs at the porch to the top of the gallery, C,C,C, and along the gallery round to the place where Jesus was sitting, and forcing a passage by removing the balustrade, they lowered down the paralytic, with the couch on which he lay, into the court before Jesus. Thus we are enabled to understand the manner in which the paralytic was brought in and laid before the compassionate Redeemer.

The tops of the houses in Judæa being flat, and covered with a plaister of terrace, afford a scanty soil to grass; but it is small and weak, and being exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, it soon withers. (Psal. cxxix. 6.) In erecting their

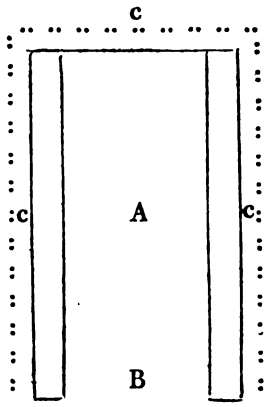
[1] Shaw's Travels, pp. 273, *et seq.* 4to edit.; or vol. i. pp. 227, *et seq.* 8vo edit.

houses, whatever may be the material employed, they furnished the interior of the more common and useful apartments with sets of large nails with square heads (like dice), and bent at the head so as to make them cramp-irons. To this custom there is an allusion in Ezra ix. 8. and Isa. xxii. 23. On these nails were hung their kitchen utensils or other articles. The floors of the houses of the opulent were frequently marble of various colours, or painted tiles or plaister, in all probability similar to those which are yet visible in that superb specimen of Moslem architecture, the Moorish palace of Alhamrā at Granada, and which have been so exquisitely drawn and engraved in Mr. Murphy's "Arabian Antiquities of Spain." Their ceilings were of wood and pannelled; and the sides of the walls were wainscotted, and sometimes covered with costly hangings. (Jer. xxii. 14. Hagg. i. 4.) In Barbary, the hills and vallies in the vicinity of Algiers are beautified with numerous country seats and gardens, whither the opulent resort during the intense heats of summer. In all probability, the summer-houses of the Jews, mentioned by the prophets Jeremiah (xxxvii. 22.) and Amos (iii. 15.), were of this description; though these have been supposed to mean different apartments of the same house, the one exposed to a northern and the other to a southern aspect.

It was common, when any person had finished a house, and entered into it, to celebrate the event with great rejoicing, and to perform some religious ceremonies, to obtain the divine blessing and protection. The dedication of a *newly built* house was a ground of exemption from military service. The xxxth Psalm, as appears from the title, was composed on occasion of the *dedication of the house of David*; and this devout practice obtained also among the antient Romans.

III. The furniture of the oriental dwellings, at least in the earliest ages, was very simple: that of the poorer classes consisted of but few articles, and those such as were absolutely necessary. Instead of chairs, they sat on mats or skins; and the same articles, on which they laid a mattress, served them instead of bedsteads, while their upper garment served them for a covering. (Exod. xxii. 25, 26. Deut. xxiv. 12.) This circumstance accounts for our Lord's commanding the paralytic to take up his bed and go unto his house. (Matt. ix. 6.) The more opulent had (as those in the East still have) fine carpets, couches, or divans, and sofas, on which they sat, lay, and slept. (2 Kings iv. 10. 2 Sam. xvii. 28.) In later times their couches were splendid, and the frames inlaid with ivory (Amos vi. 14.), and the coverlids rich and perfumed. (Prov. vii. 16, 17.)

On these sofas, in the latter ages of the Jewish state, (for before the time of Moses, it appears to have been the custom to sit at table, (Gen. xliii. 33.) they universally reclined, when taking their meals (Amos vi. 4. Luke vii. 36—38.); resting on their side with their heads towards the table, so that their feet were accessible to one who came behind the couch, as in the annexed diagram:



In which A. denotes the table, and c, c, c, the couches on which the guests reclined. B. is the lower end, open for servants to enter and supply the guests. The knowledge of this custom enables us to understand the manner in which John leaned on the bosom of his master, (John xiii. 23.) and Mary anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped them with her hair.

Antiently, splendid hangings were used in the palaces of the Eastern monarchs, and ample draperies were suspended over the openings in the sides of the apartments, for the twofold purpose of affording air, and of shielding them from the sun. Of this description were the costly hangings of the Persian sovereigns mentioned in Esther i. 6; which passage is confirmed by the account given by Quintus Curtius of their superb palace at Persepolis.

Other articles of necessary furniture were, at least in the more antient periods, both few and simple. The principal were a hand-mill, with which they ground their corn, and an oven. The former resembled the *querns*, which, in early times were in general use in this country, and which still continue to be used in some of the more remote northern islands of Scotland. So essential were these domestic utensils, that the Israel-

ites were forbidden to take them in pledge. (Deut. xxiv. 6.) The laborious task of grinding corn was performed by women, and chiefly by slaves, who beguiled their task by singing. (Jer. xxv. 10. Rev. xviii. 22.) The oven was sometimes only an earthen pot in which fire was put to heat it, and on the outside of which the batter or dough was spread, and almost instantly baked. Besides these two articles, they must have had different kinds of earthen-ware vessels, especially pots, to hold water for their various ablutions. While exploring the ruins of Cana in Galilee, Dr. Clarke saw several large massy stone-water pots, answering the description given of the antient vessels of the country (John ii. 6.); not preserved nor exhibited as reliques, but lying about, disregarded by the present inhabitants, as antiquities with whose original use they were unacquainted. From their appearance, and the number of them, it was quite evident that the practice of keeping water in large stone pots, each holding from eighteen to twenty-seven gallons, was once common in the country.

Cups and drinking vessels of gold and silver, it appears from 1 Kings x. 21. were used in the courts of princes; but the modern Arabs, as the Jewish people antiently did, keep their water, milk, wine, and other liquors, in bottles made of skins. These bottles, when old, are frequently rent, but are capable of being repaired, by being bound up or pieced in various ways. Of this description, were the *wine bottles of the Gibeonites, old and rent, and bound up.* (Josh. ix. 4.) As *new* wine was liable to ferment, and consequently would burst the old skins, all prudent persons would put it into new skins. To this usage our Lord alludes in Matt. ix. 17. Mark ii. 22. and Luke v. 37, 38. Bottles of skin, it is well known, are still in use in Spain, where they are called *Borrachas.*[1] As the Arabs make fires in their tents, which have no chimnies, they must be greatly incommoded by the smoke, which blackens all their utensils, and taints their skins. David, when driven from the court of Saul, compares himself to a *bottle in the smoke,* (Psal. cxix. 83.) He must have felt acutely, when he was driven from the vessels of gold and silver, in the palace of Saul, to live like an Arab, and drink out of a smoky leathern bottle. His language is, as if he had said,—"My present appearance is as different from what it was, when I dwelt at court, as the furniture of a palace differs from that of a poor Arab's tent."

[1] Harmer's Observations, vol. i. p. 217. See also vol. ii. pp. 135—138. for various remarks illustrative of the nature of the drinking vessels antiently in use among the Jews.

IV. In progress of time, as men increased upon the earth, and found themselves less safe in their detached tents, they began to live in society, and fortified their simple dwellings by surrounding them with a ditch, and a rude breast-work, or wall, whence they could hurl stones against their enemies. Hence arose villages, towns, and cities, of which Cain is said to have been the first builder. In the time of Moses, the cities of the Canaanites were both numerous and strongly fortified. (Numb. xiii. 28.) In the time of David, when the number of the Israelites was greatly increased, their cities must have proportionably increased; and the vast population, which (we have already seen) Palestine maintained in the time of the Romans, is a proof both of the size and number of their cities.

The streets, in the Asiatic cities, do not exceed from two to four cubits in breadth, in order that the rays of the sun may be kept off; but it is evident that they must have formerly been wider, from the fact that carriages were driven through them, which are now very rarely, if ever, to be seen in the East. The houses, however, rarely stand together, and most of them have spacious gardens annexed to them. It is not to be supposed that the almost incredible tract of land, which Nineveh and Babylon are said to have covered, could have been filled with houses closely standing together: antient writers, indeed, testify that almost a third part of Babylon was occupied by fields and gardens.

In the early ages of the world, the markets were held in the gates of the cities, generally within the walls, though sometimes without them; here commodities were exposed to sale, either in the open air or in tents. (2 Kings vii. 18. 2 Chron. xviii. 9. Job xxix. 7.) But in the time of Christ, as we learn from Josephus, the markets were inclosed in the same manner as the modern Eastern bazaars, which are closed at night, and where the traders' shops are disposed in rows or streets; and (in large towns) the dealers in particular commodities are confined to particular streets.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DRESS OF THE JEWS.

I. *Dress in the early Ages. Upper Garments.*—II. *Tunic.*—III. *Dress of the Women.*—IV. *Distinction between the* Ιματιον *or upper Garment and the* Χιτων *or Tunic.*—V. *Mode of dressing the Hair.*—VI. *Sandals.*—VII. *Some Articles of Female Apparel elucidated.*—VIII. *Numerous changes of Apparel, deemed a necessary part of their treasures.*

I. IN the early ages, the dress of mankind was very simple. Skins of animals furnished the first materials, which, as men increased in numbers and civilization, were exchanged for more costly articles, made of wool and flax, of which they manufactured woollen and linen garments (Levit. xiii. 47. Prov. xxxi. 13.): afterwards, fine linen, and silk, dyed with purple, scarlet, and crimson, became the usual apparel of the more opulent. (2 Sam. i. 24. Prov. xxxi. 22. Luke xvi. 19.) In the more early ages, garments of various colours were in great esteem: such was Joseph's robe, of which his envious brethren stripped him, when they resolved to sell him, (Gen. xxxvii. 23.) The daughters of kings wore richly embroidered vests. (Psal. xlv. 13, 14.) It appears that the Jewish garments were worn pretty long; for it is mentioned as an aggravation of the affront done to David's ambassadors by the king of Ammon, that he cut off their garments *in the middle even to their buttocks.* (2 Sam. x. 4.)

The dress of the Jews, in the ordinary ranks of life, was simple and nearly uniform. John the Baptist *had his raiment of camels' hair,*—not of the fine hair of that animal which is wrought into camlets, but of the long and shaggy hair of camels, which in the East is manufactured into a coarse stuff like that antiently worn by monks and anchorets.[1]

Dr. Shaw, whose critical observation and long residence in the east, eminently qualified him for illustrating the sacred records, has given an interesting account of the oriental dress, which elucidates many passages in a very pleasing manner. He observes that the Barbary women are employed in making of hykes or blankets, as Andromache and Penelope

[1] On this subject see Capt. Light's Travels in Egypt, &c. p. 135. and Mr. Morier's Second Journey in Persia, p. 44.

were of old, and that they do not use the shuttle, but conduct every thread of the woof with their fingers. He informs us that the usual size of the hyke is six yards long, and five or six feet broad, serving the Kabyle or Arab for a complete dress in the day: and, as they sleep in their raiment, as the Israelites did of old, (Deut. xxiv. 13.) it likewise serves for his bed and covering in the night. It is a loose, but troublesome kind of garment, being frequently disconcerted and falling to the ground, so that the person who wears it is every moment obliged to tuck it up, and fold it anew around his body. This shews the great use of a girdle whenever they are engaged in any active employment, and the force of the Scripture injunction alluding to it, of *having our loins girded*, in order to set about it. The method of wearing these garments, with the use to which they are at other times put, in serving for coverlids to their beds, leads us to infer that the finer sort of them (such as are worn by the ladies and by persons of distinction) are the *peplus* of the antients. Ruth's veil, which held six measures of barley, (Ruth iii. 15.) might be of the like fashion, and have served extraordinarily for the same use: as were also the clothes (τα ιματια, the upper garments) of the Israelites, (Exod. xii. 13.) in which they folded up their kneading-troughs: as the Moors, Arabs, and Kabyles do, to this day, things of the like burden and incumbrance in their hykes. Their burnooses also are often used upon these occasions. It is very probable, likewise, that the loose-folding garment, the *toga* of the Romans was of this kind. For if the drapery of their statues is to instruct us, this is actually no other than the dress of the Arabs, when they appear in their hykes. The plaid of the Highlanders in Scotland is the very same.

"Instead of the *fibula* that was used by the Romans, the Arabs join together with thread or a wooden bodkin the two upper corners of this garment: and after having placed them first over one of their shoulders, they then fold the rest of it about their bodies. The outer fold serves them frequently instead of an apron, wherein they carry herbs, leaves, corn, &c. and may illustrate several allusions made thereto in Scripture; as gathering the lap full of wild gourds, (1 Kings iv. 19.) rendering seven-fold, *giving good measure into the bosom*, (Psalm cxxix. 12. Luke vi. 28.) *shaking the lap*, (Matt. v. 13.) &c. &c.

"The burnoose, which answers to our cloak, is often for warmth worn over these hykes. It is wove in one piece, and shaped exactly like the garment of the little god Teles-

phorus, viz. strait about the neck, with a cape for a cover to the head, and wide below like a cloak. Some of them are fringed round the bottom, like Parthenaspa's and Trajan's garment upon the basso-relievos of Constantine's arch. The burnoose, without the cape, seems to answer to the Roman *pallium*; and with it, the *bardocucullus*.

"If we except the cape of the burnoose, which is only occasionally used during a shower of rain, or in very cold weather, several Arabs and Kabyles go bare-headed all the year long, as Massinissa did of old, binding their temples only with a narrow fillet, to prevent their locks from being troublesome. As the antient *diadema* might originally serve for this purpose, so it appears from busts and medals to have been of no other fashion. But the Moors and Turks, with some of the principal Arabs, wear upon the crown of the head a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth. The turbant, as they call a long narrow web of linen, silk, or muslin, is folded round the bottom of these caps, and very properly distinguishes, by the number and fashion of the folds, the several orders and degrees of soldiers, and sometimes of citizens, one from another. We find the same dress and ornament of the head, the tiara, as it was called, upon a number of medals, statues, and basso-relievos of the antients.

"II. Under the hyke some wear a close-bodied frock or tunic (jillibba they call it) either with or without sleeves, which differs little from the Roman *tunica*, or habit in which the constellation Boötes is usually painted. The χιτων, or coat[1] of our Saviour, *which was woven without seam from the top throughout* (John xix. 23.) might be of the like fashion. This too, no less than the hyke, is to be girded about their bodies, especially when they are engaged in any labour, exercise, or employment, at which time they usually throw off their burnooses and hykes, and remain only in their tunics: and of this kind, probably was the habit wherewith our Saviour might still be clothed, when he is said to *lay aside his garments* (ἱματια, *pallium scilicet et peplum;* or burnoose and hyke) and *to take a towel and gird himself* (John xiii. 4.); as was likewise the fisher's coat which St. Peter girded about him, when he is said to be naked. (John xxi. 7.) This also was what the same Peter, at the command of the angel, might have girded upon him, before he is enjoined to cast his garment (ἱματιον) about him. Now the hyke or burnoose, or both, being

[1] Χιτων signifies the tunic, or under-garment.

probably at that time (ἱματιον or ἱματια) the proper dress, clothing, or habit of the Eastern nations, as they still continue to be of the Kabyles and Arabs; when they laid them aside, or appeared without the one or the other, they might very properly be said to be undressed or naked, according to the Eastern manner of expression. This same convenient and uniform shape of these garments, which are made to fit all persons, may well illustrate a variety of expressions and occurrences in Scripture, which to ignorant persons, too much misled by our fashions, may seem difficult to account for. Thus, among many other instances, we read, *that the goodly raiment of Esau was put upon Jacob;* that *Jonathan stript himself of his garments;* that *the best robe was brought out and put upon the prodigal son;* and that *raiment and changes of raiment* were often given, and immediately put on, (as they still continue to be in these Eastern nations) without such previous and occasional alterations as would be required amongst us in the like distribution or exchange of garments.

"The girdles of these people are usually of worsted, very artfully woven into a variety of figures, such as the rich girdles of the virtuous virgins may be supposed to have been. (Prov. xxxi. 24.) They are made to fold several times about the body; one end of which being doubled back, and sewn along the edges, serves them for a purse, agreeable to the acceptation of the ζωνη in the Scriptures. The Turks make a farther use of these girdles, by fixing therein their knives and poniards: whilst the Hojias, *i. e.* the writers and secretaries, suspend in the same their inkhorns; a custom as old as the prophet Ezekiel, who mentions (ix. 2.) *a person clothed in white linen, with an inkhorn upon his loins.*

"It is customary for the Turks and Moors to wear shirts of linen, or cotton, or gauze, underneath the tunics. But the Arabs wear nothing but woollen. There is a ceremony, indeed, in some Dou-wars, which obliges the bridegroom and the bride to wear each of them a shirt at the celebration of their nuptials; but then, out of a strange kind of superstition, they are not afterwards to wash them or put them off, whilst one piece hangs to another. The sleeves of these shirts are wide and open, without folds at the neck or wrist, as ours have; those particularly of the women, are oftentimes of the richest gauze, adorned with different coloured ribbands, interchangeably sewed to each other.

"Neither are the Bedoweens accustomed to wear drawers; a habit, notwithstanding, which the citizens of both sexes con-

stantly appear in, especially when they go abroad, or receive visits.

"III. The virgins are distinguished from the matrons, in having their drawers made of needle-work, striped silk and linen; just as Tamar's garment is described, 2 Sam. xiii. 18. But when the women are at home and in private, then their hykes are laid aside, and sometimes their tunics; and instead of drawers, they bind only a towel about their loins. A Barbary matron, in her undress, appears exactly in the same manner that Silanus does in the Admiranda.

"When these ladies appear in public, they always fold themselves up so closely in their hykes, that even without their veils, we could discover very little of their faces. But in the summer months, when they retire to their country-seats, they walk abroad with less caution; though even then, upon the approach of a stranger, they always drop their veils, as Rebekah did upon the sight of Isaac. (Gen. xxiv. 65.) They all affect to have their hair, the instrument of their pride (Isaiah xxii. 12.) hang down to the ground, which, after they have collected it into one lock, they bind and plait with ribbands; a piece of finery disapproved of by the Apostle. (1 Peter iii. 3.) Where nature has been less liberal in this ornament, there the defect is supplied by art, and foreign hair is procured to be interwoven with the natural. Absalom's hair which was sold for 200 shekels (2 Sam. xiv. 26.) might have been applied to this use. After the hair is thus plaited, they proceed to dress their heads, by tying, above the lock I have described, a triangular piece of linen, adorned with various figures in needle-work. This, among persons of better fashion, is covered with a *sarmah*, as they call it (of the like sound with השהרנים, Isaiah iii. 18.), which is made in the same triangular shape, of this flexible state of gold or silver, artfully cut through and engraven in imitation of lace, and might therefore answer to the moon-like ornament mentioned above. A handkerchief of crape, gauze, silk, or painted linen, bound close over the *sarmah*, and falling afterwards carelessly upon the favourite lock, completes the head-dress of the Moorish ladies.

"But none of these ladies think themselves completely dressed till they have tinged their eye-lids with *al-ka-hol* [1], i. e. *the pow-*

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[1] This word is rendered by Golius and others, *Stibium*, *Antimonii species*, and sometimes *collirium*: the Hebrew כחל *cahol* has the same interpretation; and the verb כחלח joined with עינין (Ezek. xxiii. 40.) is rendered, *Thou paintest thine eyes*. סון is taken in the like signification, being rendered *antimonium*, *stibium* quo ad tingenda nigrore cilia, seu ad venustandos oculos, peculiariter utebantur; color subniger *ex pulveribus stibii* confectus. *Schindl. Lex.* St. Jerome likewise upon these words, בשור אנין

der of lead-ore. Now, as this is performed by first dipping into this powder a small wooden bodkin of the thickness of a quill, and then drawing it afterwards through the eyelids, over the ball of the eye, we have a lively image of what the prophet Jeremiah (iv. 30.) may be supposed to mean by *renting the eyes* (not as we render it, *with painting*, but) *with* פוּ *lead-ore.* The sooty colour which in this manner is communicated to the eyes, is thought to add a wonderful gracefulness to persons of all complexions. The practice of it, no doubt, is of great antiquity: for, besides the instances already taken notice of, we find that when Jezebel is said to have painted her face, (2 Kings xi. 30.) the original words are תשם בפוך עניה, i. e. *she adjusted*, or *set off, her eyes with the powder of lead-ore.* So likewise Ezek. xxiii. 40. is to be understood. *Karan-happuc, i. e.* the horn of pouk or lead-ore, the name of Job's youngest daughter, was relative to this custom or practice." [1]

IV. The preceding learned and curious observations happily illustrate several parts of sacred writ. A passage in the Acts of the Apostles clearly fixes the difference between the Ιματιον or *Upper Garment*, and the Χιτων or *Tunic.* During St. Peter's abode at Joppe, one Dorcas, a pious, amiable, and beneficent Christian woman fell sick and died. The believers at Joppe having received information that Peter was at Lydda, dispatched two messengers to him, intreating he would come to them without delay. On Peter's arrival they took him into an upper room where the corpse lay, round which a number of indigent widows stood bathed in tears, deploring the irreparable loss they had sustained, and shewing Peter a variety of (χιτωνας και ιματια) *under* and *upper* garments, which Dorcas had made to clothe poor necessitous objects. [2] It was these ιματια or *upper garments*, consisting of a loose square piece of cloth wrapped round the body, which that vast multitude, which escorted Jesus in that triumphant procession into the capital, spread in the public road by way of carpet. [3] Plutarch informs us, that the same affectionate respect and reverence was paid to Cato. "When Cato's expedition was ended, he was escorted not only with the customary praises

(Isa. liv. 11.) which we render (*I will lay*) *thy stones with fair colours*, takes notice, quod omnes præter LXX. similiter transtulerunt, viz. (*sternam*) *in stibio, lapides tuos*, in similitudinem comptæ mulieris, quæ *oculos pingit stibio*, ut pulchritudinem significet civitatis. פון therefore, and כחל and *al-kahol*, denoting the same mineral substance or collyrium, it may be presumed that what is called to this day *ka-hol*, which is a rich lead ore pounded to an impalpable powder, was the mineral which they always made use of for painting the eyes.

[1] Dr. Shaw's Travels in Barbary, vol. i. pp. 403—414. [2] Acts ix. 39.

[3] Ο' δε πλειστος οχλος ΕΣΤΡΩΣΑΝ εαυτων τα ιματια εν τη οδω. Matt. xxi. 8.

and acclamations, but with tears and the tenderest endearments, the populace SPREADING THEIR GARMENTS UNDER HIS FEET wherever he walked, and with affectionate fervour kissing his hands,—testimonies of public respect which the Romans at that time shewed to very few of their commanders." [1]—A person divested of his upper garment, in the Eastern language is styled *naked*, notwithstanding his being clothed in a tunic or under garment. Thus David is represented to dance naked before the ark in the sight of all Israel—not that we can suppose the monarch to be stripped naked and to be guilty of such public indecency and folly—the term only denotes that he had laid aside his upper garment. [2] In like manner it is said of Simon Peter, that when he heard it was the Lord, he immediately girt his fisher's coat about him, for he was naked. (John xxi. 7.) But this mode of speaking is not peculiar to the Easterns: it is of very frequent occurrence in the Greek and Roman classics. [3]—That garment of our Saviour, which is described to be woven without seam from the top to the bottom, is very improperly in our translation called a coat: it was his tunic or under garment (χιτων), and probably was the elaborate work and affectionate gift of one of those pious and beneficent women who attended his ministry; as it is well known the fair sex

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[1] Ετι δε τιλος ειχεν ἡ στρατεια τῳ Κατωνι, προεπεμφθη, ουκ ευχαις, ὁ κοινος εφιν, ουδε επαινοις, αλλα δακρυσι και περιβολαις, απληφοις, ὑποστιθεντων τα ἱματια τοις ποσιν ἡ ζαδιζοι, και καταφιλουντων τας χειρας. Plutarch in Catone Jun. p. 402. Edit. Gr. 8vo. So also Clytemnestra orders her servant to spread garments in the road, in order to grace and honour the return of Agamemnon.

Δ μωαι, τι μελλεθ' αἷς επεφαλται τιλος
Πεδον πιλευθου ϛ;ωννυναι πιτασμασιν;
Ευθυς γενεϛθω πορφυροϛρωτος πορος
Ες δωμ'. Æschyli Agamemnon, ver. 917. See also ver. 930. See also Stanley on ver. 918. in Editione Pauw. 1745.

[2] 2 Sam. vi. 20. For it is expressly said, a few verses before, that when he thus danced before the Lord he was girded with a linen ephod, *ibid.* ver. 14.

[3] The word γυμνος in Greek, and *nudus* in Latin, is frequently employed not to denote a person absolutely naked, but only stripped of his upper garment, or slightly clothed. *Nudus ara, sere nudus.* Virgil Georg. I. ver. 299.

——————Πολυς δ' ὀχλος
ΓΥΜΝΗ ὁμαρτει Θεσπιαν ειχων ΣΤΟΛΗΝ. Euripidis Rhesus, ver. 313.
Δειλφυνην τοξευσι πειλωρεον ἐξεναριζειν
Κουρος εων ετι γυμνος. Andron. Rhodius, lib. 2. ver. 709. Hoelzlin L. Bat. 1641.
——————Αμυδις δ' ἑλε παμφανοωσαν
Χαλκειην πηληκα Θεων εμπλειον ὀδοντων,
Και ξιφος αμφ' ωμοις γυμνος δεμας. lib. iii. ver. 1280. Ευμαρως αοπλους και γυμνους τους Αργειους απεκτεινεν. Polyæni. Stratag. p. 21. Οὑτως εγω, εφη, γυμνος ὑμιν εϛηκα, ὑμεις δ' ενοπλοι. p. 35. Τα σωματα αυτων δρᾶν μεν ουδεν πλειον, οτι τας αυτας ἡμιν χειρας εχοντα, πασχειν δε πολυ πλειω, ὁτι και μεγαλα και γυμνα οντα, δυνησεται. Dion. Cassius. lib. xxxviii. p. 185. Reimar. Cicero says that Anthony came naked into the Forum. Γυμνος, ω πατεις, γυμνος και μεμυρισμενος εις την αγορᾶν εισηλθε. Dion. Cassius. lib. xlv. p. 439. Hamburg. 1750.

made all the apparel of those times, and we find ladies of the first rank and distinction thus usefully employed.[1] When Jesus was seized, we read that a young man, excited by the tumult and disturbance that was made in the dead of night, hastily threw about him a linen garment, issued from the house to learn the occasion of this confusion, and followed the crowd for some time. But the officers, who apprehended Jesus, thinking him one of his companions, immediately seized him: upon which he left his garment in their hands, fled away naked, and thus narrowly made his escape from them.[2]

V. All the Grecian and Roman women, without distinction, wore their hair long.[3] On this they lavished all their art, disposing it in various forms, and embellishing it with divers ornaments. In the antient medals, statues, and basso-relievos, we behold those plaited tresses which the Apostles Peter and Paul[4] condemn, and see those expensive and fantastic decorations which the ladies of those times bestowed upon their head-dress. This pride of braided and plaited tresses, this ostentation of jewels, this vain display of finery, the Apostles interdict, as proofs of a light and little mind, and inconsistent with the modesty and decorum of Christian women. St. Paul in his first epistle to Timothy, in the passage where he condemns it, shews us in what the pride of female dress then consisted. *I will*, says he, *that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shame-facedness and sobriety, not with* BROIDERED HAIR, *or* GOLD, *or* PEARLS, *or* COSTLY ARRAY: *but* (*which becometh women professing godliness*) *with good works.* St. Peter in like manner ordains, that the adorning of the fair sex should not be so much that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel: but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price. On the contrary, the men in those times universally wore their hair short, as appears from all the

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1 Andromache, Helen, Electra, Livia, the wife of Augustus, &c.

2 Mark xiv. 51. Non de Apostolorum grege—sed ex villâ aliqua horto proximâ, strepitu militum excitatus, et subito accurrens, ut conspiceret quid ageretur. Grotius ad Marc xi. 51.

3 Κομην μεν επι σφ πρατι τανταν εκτινω. Euripidis Bacchæ, ver. 829. Βυθιαν πατατιχυμενοι την πομην γυναικων δικην. They wear their hair long and flowing like women. Strabo, lib. iii. p. 154. Paris 1620. Απλως δ' ἡ περι τας πομας φιλοτιχνια συνεστηκε περι τε Θρειψιν, και κουραν τριχος· αμφω δε, και πομαις και κομοις εφιν οικεια. Strabo, p. 467, Casaubon. Ο γαρ Θεος την μεν γυναικα λειαν ηθελησεν ειναι, ἀυτοφυη τη κομῃ μονῃ, ὡσπερ ἱππον τη χαιτῃ γαυρομενην. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. iii. p. 224. Paris 1629.

4 Pet. iii. 3. Εμπλοκης τριχων——Μελλε δε μακρους Πλεξασθαι πλοκαμους. She was going to plait her long tresses. Andron. Rhodius. lib. iii. v. 46. edit. 1641.

books, medals, and statues, that have been transmitted to us. This circumstance, which formed a principal distinction in dress between the sexes, happily illustrates the following passage in St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 14, 15.), *Doth not even nature itself teach you, that if a* MAN *have* LONG HAIR[1], *it is a* SHAME *to him. But if a* WOMAN *have* LONG HAIR, *it is a* GLORY *to her: for her hair is given her for a covering.*

The Jewish and Grecian ladies, moreover, never appeared in public without a veil[2]. Hence St. Paul severely censures the Corinthian women for appearing in the church without a veil, and praying to God uncovered, by which they threw off the decency and modesty of the sex, and exposed themselves and their religion to the satire and calumny of the Heathens. The whole passage beautifully and clearly exhibits to the reader's ideas the distinguishing customs which then prevailed in the different dress and appearance of the sexes. (Compare 1 Cor. xi. 3—16.)[3]

Long hair was in great esteem among the Jews. The hair of Absalom's head was of such prodigious length, that, in his flight when defeated in battle, as he was riding with great speed under the trees, it caught hold of one of the boughs; in consequence of which he was lifted off his saddle, and his mule running from beneath him, left him suspended in the air, unable to extricate himself. (2 Sam. xviii. 9.) The plucking off the hair was a great disgrace among the Jews; and, therefore, Nehemiah punished in this manner, those Jews who had been guilty of irregular marriages, in order to put them to the greater shame. (Neh. xiii. 25.)

The Jews wore their beards very long, as we may see from the example of the ambassadors, whom David sent to the king of the Ammonites, and whom that ill-advised king caused to be shaved by way of affront. (2 Sam. x. 4.) And as the shaving of them was accounted a great indignity, so the cutting off half their beards, which made them still more ridiculous, was a great addition to the affront, in a country where beards were held in such great veneration.

In the East, especially among the Arabs and Turks, the beard is even now reckoned the greatest ornament of a man, and is not trimmed or shaven, except in cases of extreme grief. With them a shaven beard is reputed to be more unsightly

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[1] Αρσην ουκ ισιεται κομη.—Phocylides, ver. 290.

[2] Κατακαλυφθω τα παντα πλην ει μη ειπει τυχοι. Cl. Alexand. Pædag. lib. iii. p. 256. Paris. Again, the same father giving directions concerning the fair sex, says, Ουδεν γαρ μερος ὑστιουν ἀπογυμνουσθαι γυναικες, ἐυπρωτις. p. 204. edit. 1629.

[3] Dr. Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 98—103.

than the loss of a nose; and a man, who possesses a reverend beard, is, in their opinion, incapable of acting dishonestly. If they wish to affirm any thing with peculiar solemnity, they swear by their beard: and when they express their good wishes for any one, they make use of the ensuing formula—*God preserve thy blessed beard!* From these instances, which serve to elucidate many other passages of the Bible besides that above quoted, we may readily understand the full extent of the disgrace wantonly inflicted by the Ammonitish king, in cutting off half the beards of David's ambassadors. Niebuhr relates, that if any one cut off his beard, after having recited a *fatha*, or prayer, which is considered in the nature of a vow never to cut it off, he is liable to be severely punished, and also to become the laughing-stock of those who profess his faith [1]. The same traveller has also recorded an instance of a modern Arab prince having treated a Persian envoy in the same manner as Hanun treated David's ambassadors, which brought a powerful army upon him in the year 1765 [2]. The not trimming of the beard was one of the indications by which the Jews expressed their mourning. (2 Sam. xix. 24.)

VI. Their legs were bare, and on the feet they wore sandals, or soles tied in various manners around the foot, which they pulled off on entering a sacred place (Josh. v. 15.), as the Mohammedans do to this day. It is also commonly observed in visits to great men; the sandals or slippers being pulled off at the door, and either left there or given to a servant to bear. It was customary among the Romans to lay aside their shoes when they went to a banquet. The servants took them off their master's feet when they entered the house, and returned them when they departed to their own habitations. Among the Jews, when a guest arrived, he was immediately conducted into a room, the servants untied his sandals, and were employed in washing his feet from the defilement of mire and dust. (Gen. xviii. 4. xix. 2. xxiv. 32. Luke vii. 44.) As this was usually the office of the lowest order of servants, this well known custom will particularly illustrate two passages of sacred Scripture. Referring to this usage, the Baptist told those who were deputed from the Sanhedrin to interrogate him, whether he were the Messiah, who was then the object of universal expectation,—that there came one after him whose shoe-latchet he was not worthy to stoop down to unloose (Luke iii. 16.); meaning, that the Messiah, who had now made his appearance among them, was a person of such dignity of nature and character, that he did

[1] Description de l'Arabie, p. 61. [2] Ibid. p. 275.

not deem himself worthy of performing for him the most humble and servile office. Another passage of Scripture, on which the knowledge of this custom sheds light and beauty, is that in which our Lord is represented as abruptly rising from the paschal supper—stripping off his upper garment—girding himself with a towel, as the servants of those times were—pouring water into a bason, washing his disciples' feet (John xiii. 4, 5.), and wiping them with the towel he had tied about him. Proceeding in a regular order, when he came to Simon Peter, he said to him: *Lord, thou shalt never wash my feet*—you shall never debase and degrade yourself to perform to me such an office—the office of the meanest, lowest slave. After he had washed their feet, put on his clothes, and resumed his place at table, he then addressed himself to them; Do you know the instruction I intended to convey to you by this action? You honour me with the titles of your instructor and master, and the appellations are just, and due to my character. If I then your exalted instructor have demeaned myself to wash your feet, you ought in like manner to condescend to perform the humblest offices one to another. The language of this public figurative action, which thus taught them humility in the most amiable and condescending manner, would seal stronger impressions upon their minds than all the verbal instructions and didactic precepts which could have been inculcated.

VII. Although the garments antiently worn by the Jews were few in number, yet their ornaments were many, especially those worn by the women. The prophet Isaiah, when reproaching the daughters of Sion with their luxury and vanity, gives us a particular account of their female ornaments. (Isa. iii. 16—24.) The most remarkable were these: The *frontal jewel* which, though it was fastened on their foreheads, yet hung down lower, whence it is called a *nose-jewel.* (ver. 21.) This is mentioned by Ezekiel. (xvi. 12.) The *ear-ring* was one of the love-tokens presented to Rebecca in the name of Isaac. (Gen. xxiv. 22.) It was an ornament worn by the men as well as the women, as appears from Exod. xxxii. 2.; and by other nations as well as the Jews, as is evident from Numb. xxxi. 50. and Judg. viii. 24. It should seem that this ornament had been heretofore used for idolatrous purposes, since Jacob, in the injunction which he gave to his household, commanded them *to put away the strange gods that were in their hands, and the ear-rings that were in their ears.* (Gen. xxxv. 2. 4.)

Another female ornament was a *chain* about the neck (Ezek. xvi. 11.) which appears to have been used also by the men, as

may be inferred from Prov. i. 9. This was a general ornament in all the Eastern countries: thus Pharaoh is said to have put a chain of gold about Joseph's neck (Gen. xli. 42.); and Belshazzar did the same to Daniel (Dan. v. 29.): and it is mentioned with several other things as part of the Midianitish spoil. (Numb. xxxi. 50.) Further, the arms or wrists were adorned with *bracelets:* these are in the catalogue of the female ornaments used by the Jews (Ezek. xvi. 11.), and were part of Rebecca's present. They were also worn by men of any considerable figure, for we read of Judah's bracelets (Gen. xxxviii. 18.), and of those worn by Saul. (2 Sam. i. 10.) Lastly, the *ring* is noticed as an ornament for the finger. (Isa. iii. 21.) This is mentioned in the parable of the prodigal, where the father orders a ring for his returning son (Luke xv. 22.), and also by the apostle James. (ii. 2.) The compliment of a royal ring was a token of that person's being invested with power and honour; thus Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it on Joseph's. (Gen. xli. 42.) And Ahasuerus plucked off his ring from his finger, and bestowed it on Haman (Esther iii. 10.), and afterwards on Mordecai. (chap. viii. 2.) We read in Exod. xxxviii. 8. of the women's *looking-glasses,* which were not made of what is now called glass, but of polished brass, otherwise these Jewish women could not have contributed them towards the making of the brazen-laver, as is there mentioned. In later times, mirrors were made of other polished metal, which at best could only reflect a very obscure and imperfect image. Hence Saint Paul, in a very apt and beautiful simile, describes the defective and limited knowledge of the present state by that opaque and dim representation of objects which those mirrors exhibited. *Now we see by means of a mirror, darkly;* not *through a glass,* as in our version of 1 Cor. xiii. 12.; for telescopes, as every one knows, are a very late invention.

To the articles of apparel above enumerated there were also added *tinkling ornaments* about the feet. Most of these articles of female apparel are still in use in the East. The East Indian women, who accompanied the Indo-Anglican army from India to Egypt, wore large rings in their noses, and silver cinctures about their ancles and wrists, their faces being painted above the eyebrows. In Persia and Arabia also it is well known that the women paint their faces and wear gold and silver rings about their ancles, which are full of little bells that tinkle as they walk or trip along. [1]

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[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 320, 8vo edit. Morier's Second Journey in Persia, p. 145. Ward's History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 329. 333.

It was a particular injunction of the Mosaic law that *the women shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment.* (Deut. xxii. 5.) This precaution was very necessary against the abuses which are the usual consequences of such disguises. For a woman drest in a man's clothes will not be restrained so readily by that modesty which is the peculiar ornament of her sex; and a man drest in a woman's habit may without fear and shame go into companies where, without this disguise, shame and fear would hinder his admittance, and prevent his appearing.

To change habits and wash one's clothes were ceremonies used by the Jews, in order to dispose them for some holy action which required particular purity. Jacob, after his return from Mesopotamia, required his household to *change their garments, and go with him to sacrifice at Bethel.* (Gen. xxxv. 2, 3.) Moses commanded the people to dispose themselves for the reception of the law by purifying and washing their clothes. (Exod. xix. 19.) On the other hand the rending of one's clothes is an expression frequently used in Scripture, as a token of the highest grief. Reuben was the first we read of, who, to denote his great sorrow for Joseph, *rent his clothes* (Gen. xxxvii. 29); Jacob did the like (ver. 34.); and Ezra, to express the concern and uneasiness of his mind, and the apprehensions he entertained of the divine displeasure, on account of the people's unlawful marriages, is said to rend his garments and his mantle (Ezra ix. 3.); that is, both his inner and upper garment: this was also an expression of indignation and holy zeal; the high-priest rent his clothes, pretending that our Saviour had spoken blasphemy. (Matt. xxvi. 65.) And so did the apostles, when the people intended to pay them divine honours. (Acts xiv. 14.)

The garments of mourning among the Jews were chiefly sackcloth and haircloth. The last sort was the usual clothing of the prophets, for they were continual penitents by profession; and therefore Zechariah speaks of the rough garments of the false prophets, which they also wore to deceive. (Zech. xiii. 4.) Jacob was the first we read of that put sackcloth on his loins, as a token of mourning for Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 34.), signifying thereby that since he had lost his beloved son, he considered himself as reduced to the meanest and lowest condition of life.

VIII. A prodigious number of sumptuous and magnificent habits was in antient times regarded as a necessary and indispensable part of their treasures. Horace, speaking of Lucullus

(who had pillaged Asia, and first introduced Asiatic refinements among the Romans), says, that, some persons having waited upon him to request the loan of a *hundred* suits out of his wardrobe for the Roman stage, he exclaimed—"A hundred suits! how is it possible for me to furnish such a number? However, I will look over them and send you what I have."—After some time, he writes a note, and tells them he had FIVE THOUSAND, to the whole or part of which they were welcome.[1]

This circumstance of amassing and ostentatiously displaying in wardrobes numerous and superb suits, as indispensable to the idea of wealth, and forming a principal part of the opulence of those times, will elucidate several passages of Scripture. The patriarch Job, speaking of riches in his time, says:—*Though they heap up silver as the dust, and prepare raiment as the clay.* (Job. xxvii. 16.) Joseph gave his brethren changes of *raiment*, but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and *five changes of raiment.* (Gen. xlv. 22.) In allusion to this custom, our Lord, when describing the short duration and perishing nature of earthly treasures, represents them as subject to the depredations of moth. *Lay not up for yourselves* TREASURES *on earth where moth and rust do corrupt.* (Matt. vi. 19.) The illustrious apostle of the Gentiles, when appealing to the integrity and fidelity with which he had discharged his sacred office, said—*I have coveted no man's gold, or silver, or* APPAREL. (Acts xx. 33.) The apostle James, likewise, (just in the same manner as the Greek and Roman writers, when they are particularising the opulence of those times,) specifies gold, silver, and *garments*, as the constituents of riches.—*Go to now, ye rich men; weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your gold and silver is cankered, and your* GARMENTS *are moth-eaten.* (James v. 2, 3.)

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[1] Horat. Epist. lib. i. ep. 6. ver. 40—44.

CHAPTER III.

JEWISH CUSTOMS RELATING TO MARRIAGE.

I. *Marriage accounted a Sacred Obligation by the Jews.*—II. *Polygamy tolerated.*—*Condition of Concubines.*—III. *Nuptial Contract, and Espousals.*—IV. *Nuptial Ceremonies.*—V. *Divorces.*—VI. *Adoption.*

I. MARRIAGE was considered by the Jews as a matter of the strictest obligation. They understood literally and as a precept, these words uttered to our first parents, *be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth.* (Gen. i. 28.) The prospect they had, and their continual expectation of the coming of the Messiah, added great weight to this obligation. Every one lived in the hopes that this great blessing should attend their posterity; and therefore they thought themselves bound to further the expectance of him, by adding to the race of mankind, of whose seed he was to be born, and whose happiness he was to promote, by that temporal kingdom for which they looked upon his appearance.

Hence celibacy was esteemed a great reproach in Israel: for, besides that they thought none could live a single life without great danger of sin, they esteemed it a counteracting of the divine counsels in the promise, that *the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent.* On this account it was that Jephthah's daughter deplored her virginity, because she thus deprived her father of the hopes which he might entertain from heirs procreated by her, by whom his name might survive in Israel, and, consequently, of his expectation of having the Messiah to come of his seed, which was the general desire of all the Israelitish women. For the same reason also sterility was regarded among the Jews, as one of the greatest misfortunes that could befall any woman, insomuch that to have a child, though the woman immediately died thereupon, was accounted a less affliction than to have none at all: and to this purpose we may observe, that the midwife comforts Rachel in her labour (even though she knew her to be at the point of death) in these terms, *fear not, for thou shalt bear this son also.* (Gen. xxxv. 17.)

From this expectation proceeded their exactness in causing the brother of a husband, who died without issue, to marry the widow he left behind, and the disgrace that attended his re-

fusing so to do: for as the eldest son of such a marriage became the adopted child of the deceased, that child and the posterity flowing from him, were, by a fiction of law, considered as the real offspring and heirs of the deceased brother. This explains the words of Isaiah, that *seven women should take hold of one man, saying, we will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by thy name to take away our reproach.* (Isa. iv. 1.) This was the reason also why the Jews commonly married very young. A virgin was ordinarily married at the age of puberty, that is, twelve years complete; and hence her husband is called the guide of her youth (Prov. ii. 17.) and the husband of her youth. (Joel. i. 8.)

II. From the first institution of marriage it is evident that God gave but one woman to one man: and if it be a true, as it is a common observation, that there are every where more males than females born in the world, it follows that those men certainly act contrary to the laws both of God and nature, who have more than one wife at the same time. But though God, as supreme lawgiver, had a power to dispense with his own laws, and actually did so with the Jews for the more speedy peopling of the world, yet it is certain there is no such toleration under the Christian dispensation, and therefore their example is no rule at this day.

The first who violated this primitive law of marriage was Lamech, who *took unto him two wives.* (Gen. iv. 19.) Afterwards we read that Abraham had concubines. (Gen. xxv. 6.) And his practice was followed by the other patriarchs, which at last grew to a most scandalous excess in Solomon's and Rehoboam's days. The word concubine in most Latin authors, and even with us at this day, signifies a woman, who, though she be not married to a man, yet lives with him as his wife: but in the sacred writings it is understood in another sense. There it means a lawful wife, but of a lower order and of an inferior rank to the mistress of the family; and therefore she had an equal right to the marriage-bed with the chief wife; and her issue was reputed legitimate in opposition to bastards; but in all other respects these concubines were inferior to the primary wife: for they had no authority in the family, nor any share in household government. If they had been servants in the family, before they came to be concubines, they continued to be so afterwards, and in the same subjection to their mistress as before.

The dignity of these primary wives gave their children the preference in the succession, so that the children of concubines did not inherit their father's fortune, except upon the failure of

the children by these more honourable wives; and therefore it was, that the father commonly provided for the children by these concubines in his own lifetime, by giving them a portion of his cattle and goods, which the Scripture calls gifts. Thus Sarah was Abraham's primary wife, by whom he had Isaac, who was the heir of his wealth. But besides her, he had two concubines, namely Hagar and Keturah; by these he had other children whom he distinguished from Isaac, for it is said "*he gave them gifts and sent them away while he yet lived.* (Gen. xxv. 5, 6.)"

In the first ages of the world, marriages between brothers and sisters were necessary, because of the small number of persons then in the world. After mankind was become numerous, they were unlawful, and were prohibited under great penalties. However, the patriarchs long espoused their near relations, even after the world was greatly peopled, intending by this to avoid alliances with families corrupted by the worship of false gods; or, to preserve in their own families the worship of the true God, and the maintenance of the true religion, of which they were the depositories. For this reason Abraham married his sister or niece Sarah; and also sent his steward Eliezer, to fetch a wife for his son from among the daughters of his nephews; and Jacob espoused the daughters of his uncle.

III. No formalities appear to have been used by the Jews—at least none were enjoined to them by Moses,—in joining man and wife together. Mutual consent, followed by consummation, was deemed sufficient. The manner in which a daughter was demanded in marriage is described in the case of Shechem, who asked Dinah the daughter of Jacob in marriage (Gen. xxxiv. 6—12.); and the nature of the contract, together with the mode of solemnising the marriage, is described in Gen. xxiv. 50, 51, 57. 67. There was indeed a previous espousal or betrothing, which was a solemn promise of marriage, made by the man and woman each to other, at such a distance of time as they agreed upon. This was sometimes done by writing, sometimes by the delivery of a piece of silver to the bride in presence of witnesses, as a pledge of their mutual engagements. After such espousals were made (which was generally when the parties were young) the woman continued with her parents several months, if not some years (at least till she was arrived at the age of twelve) before she was brought home, and her marriage consummated[1]. That it was the practice to betroth

[1] The same practice obtains in the East Indies to this day. Ward's History of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 334.

the bride some time before the consummation of the marriage, is evident from Deut. xx. 7. Thus we find that Samson's wife remained with her parents a considerable time after espousals (Judg. xiv. 8.); and we are told that the Virgin Mary was visibly with child, before she and her intended husband came together. (Matt. i. 18.)

If during the time between the espousals and the marriage, the bride was guilty of any criminal corespondence with another person, contrary to the fidelity she owed to her bridegroom, she was treated as an adulteress: and thus the holy virgin, after she was betrothed to Joseph, having conceived our blessed Saviour, might, according to the rigour of the law, have been punished as an adulteress, if the angel of the Lord had not acquainted Joseph with the mystery of the incarnation.

Among the Jews, and generally, throughout the East, marriage was considered as a sort of purchase, which the man made of the woman he desired to marry; and therefore in contracting marriages, as the wife brought a portion to the husband, so the husband was obliged to give her or her parents money or presents in lieu of this portion. This was the case between Hamor, the father of Shechem, and the sons of Jacob, with relation to Dinah (Gen. xxxiv. 12.) and Jacob, having no money, offered his uncle Laban seven years service [1], which must have been equivalent to a large sum. (Gen. xxix. 18.) Saul did not give his daughter Michal to David, till after he had received a hundred foreskins of the Philistines. (1 Sam. xviii. 25.) Hosea bought his wife at the price of fifteen pieces of silver, and a measure and a half of barley. (Hos. iii. 2.)

IV. It appears from both the Old and New Testaments that the Jews celebrated the nuptial solemnity with great festivity and splendour. Many of the rites and ceremonies observed by them on this occasion were common both to the Greeks and Romans. After the connubial union was solemnly ratified and attested, and the religious part of it concluded, it was customary for the bridegroom, as among the Greeks and Romans, in the evening to conduct his spouse from her friends to his own home with all the pomp, brilliancy, and joy that could be crowded into the procession. It was usual for the bridegroom to invite his young female friends and relations to grace this procession, and to add numbers and lustre to his retinue: these, adorned in robes suitable to the occasion, took lamps,

[1] The Crim Tatars, who are in poor circumstances, serve an apprenticeship for their wives, and are then admitted as part of the family. Mrs. Holderness's Notes, p. 8.

and waited in a company near the house, till the bride and bridegroom with their friends issued forth, whom they welcomed with the customary congratulations—then joined in the train—and, with songs and acclamations, and every demonstration of joy, advanced to the bridegroom's house, where an entertainment was provided, according to the circumstances of the united pair. This nuptial feast was adorned and celebrated only by a select company of the bride and bridegroom's friends—no strangers were admitted—by these the evening was spent in all the convivial enjoyment, which social happiness, their approbation of the late union, and the splendour of such a festivity could inspire. These several ceremonies and circumstances here recorded, concerning the manner in which the Jews solemnised their nuptials, are alluded to in that beautiful parable (Matt. xxv.), in which our Saviour represents ten virgins taking their lamps and going in a company to meet the bridegroom. Five of these were endued with prudence and discretion: the other five were thoughtless and inconsiderate. The thoughtless took indeed their lamps, but had not the precaution to replenish them with oil. But the prudent, mindful of futurity, carried oil with them in vessels. Having waited a long time for the bridegroom, and he not appearing, they all, fatigued with tedious expectation, sunk in profound repose. But lo! at midnight they were suddenly alarmed with a cry—the bridegroom, the bridegroom is coming! Hasten to meet and congratulate him. Roused with this unexpected proclamation they all got up and trimmed their lamps. The thoughtless then began to solicit the others to impart to them some of their oil—telling them that their lamps were entirely extinguished. To these intreaties the prudent answered—that they had only provided a sufficient quantity for their own use, and therefore advised them to go and purchase oil of those who sold it. They departed accordingly—but during their absence the bridegroom came, and the prudent virgins, being prepared for his reception, went along with him to the nuptial entertainment.—The doors were then immediately shut. After some time the others came to the door, and supplicated earnestly for admission. But the bridegroom repulsed them—telling them, he did not know them, and would not admit any strangers.

From another parable, in which a great king is represented as making a most magnificent entertainment at the marriage of his son, we learn that all the guests, who were honoured with an invitation, were expected to be dressed in a manner suitable

to the splendour of such an occasion, and as a token of just respect to the new married couple—and that after the procession in the evening from the bride's house was concluded, the guests, before they were admitted into the hall where the entertainment was served up, were taken into an apartment and viewed, that it might be known if any stranger had intruded, or if any of the company were apparelled in raiment unsuitable to the genial solemnity they were going to celebrate; and such, if found, were expelled the house with every mark of ignominy and disgrace. From the knowledge of this custom the following passage receives great light and lustre. When the king came in to see the guests, he discovered among them a person who had not on a wedding garment.—He called him and said: Friend, how came you to intrude into my palace in a dress so unsuitable to this occasion? The man was struck dumb—he had no apology to offer for this disrespectful neglect. The king then called to his servants, and bade them bind him hand and foot—to drag him out of the room—and thrust him out into midnight darkness. (Matt. xxii. 2.)[1]

The Scripture, moreover, informs us that the marriage festivals of the Jews lasted a whole week. And Laban said: It must not be so done in our country to give the younger before the first-born. Fulfil her week, and we will give thee this also. (Gen. xxix. 26, 27.) And Samson said unto them, I will now put forth a riddle unto you: if you can certainly declare it me within the SEVEN DAYS of the feast, and find it out, then I will give you thirty sheets, and thirty change of garments. (Judges xiv. 12.) This week was spent in feasting, and was devoted to universal joy. To the festivity of this occasion our Lord refers. Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast. (Mark ii. 19, 20.)

The Eastern people were very reserved, not permitting the young women at marriages to be in the same apartments with the men: and, therefore, as the men and women could not amuse themselves with one another's conversation, the men did not spend their time merely in dull eating and drinking;

[1] Dr. Macknight has well illustrated this parable. It seems, says this learned and judicious commentator, that before the guests were admitted into the hall of entertainment, they were taken into some apartment of the palace, where the king viewed them to see that they were all dressed in a manner suitable to the occasion. Here he found one that had not on a wedding garment—and being provoked at the affront, he ordered him to be immediately thrust out of the palace. Macknight's Harmony of the Gospel, p. 481. second edition.

for their custom was to propose questions and hard problems, by resolving of which they exercised the wit and sagacity of the company. This was done at Samson's marriage, where he proposed a riddle to divert his company. (Judg. xiv. 12.)

It was also usual, we find, to choose a master of the ceremonies to do the honours of the solemnity, and to superintend and conduct the festival with just propriety and decorum. Of this appointment we have express mention, in the account of the marriage at Cana in Galilee, which our Lord deigned to honour with his presence, and to dignify with a miracle. There were in the house six water vessels of stone, placed according to the Jewish rite of purification, which contained each about two or three firkins. Jesus said to the servants—Fill these vessels with water—They filled them up all to the brim. Jesus then said, draw out some of the liquor, and carry it to the governor of the feast. (John ii. 8.) When the master of the ceremonies tasted the water, now converted into excellent wine, he was astonished, he could not imagine how they obtained it. The servants only, who had brought him the liquor, knew this. He instantly calls the bridegroom to him, and says: It is always customary at an entertainment to bring out the best wine first, and when the taste of the company is blunted with drinking, it is usual to bring them wine of an inferior sort. You have, it seems, reversed this custom—for you have reserved your best wine to the *last*.

V. Marriage was dissolved among the Jews by divorce as well as by death. Our Saviour tells us, that Moses suffered this only because of the hardness of their heart, but from the beginning it was not so (Matt. xix. 8.); meaning that they were accustomed to this abuse; and to prevent greater evils, such as murders, adulteries, &c. he permitted it; whence some infer that it was in use before the law; and we see that Abraham dismissed Hagar, at the request of Sarah. It appears that Samson's father-in-law understood that his daughter had been divorced, since he gave her to another. (Judg. xv. 2.) The Levite's wife, who was dishonoured at Gibeah, had forsaken her husband, and never would have returned, if he had not gone in pursuit of her. (Judg. xix. 2, 3.) Solomon speaks of a libertine woman, who had forsaken her husband the director of her youth, and (by doing so contrary to her nuptial vows) had forgotten the covenant of her God. (Prov. ii. 17.) Ezra and Nehemiah obliged a great number of the Jews to dismiss the foreign women, whom they had married contrary to the law (Ezra x. 11, 12. 19.): but our Saviour has limited the permisssion of divorce to the single case of adultery. (Matt. v. 31, 32.) Nor was this limitation unnecessary: for, at that time it was common for the Jews to dissolve this sacred union upon

very slight and trivial pretences. The Pharisees, we read, came to our Lord, and said to him, *Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause,*—for any thing whatever that may be disagreeable in her? Upon our Lord's answer to this inquiry, that it was not lawful for a man to repudiate his wife, except for her violation of the conjugal honour: the disciples (who had been educated in Jewish prejudices and principles,) hearing this, said—*If the case of the man be so with his wife,* if he be not allowed to divorce her except only for adultery, *it is not good to marry!* (Matt. xix. 10.) This facility in procuring divorces, and this caprice and levity among the Jews, in dissolving the matrimonial connection, is confirmed by Josephus, and unhappily verified in his own example: for he tells us that he repudiated his wife, though she was the mother of three children, because he was not pleased with her manners.[1]

VI. From various passages of the New Testament it appears that adoption,—or the taking of a stranger into a family, in order to make him a part of it, acknowledging him as a son and heir to the estate,—was very generally practised in the East, in the time of our Saviour. Adoption, however, does not appear to have been used by the elder Hebrews. Moses is silent concerning it in his laws; and Jacob's adoption of his two grandsons, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. xlviii. 1.), is rather a kind of substitution, by which he intended, that the two sons of Joseph should have each his lot in Israel, as if they had been his own sons. *Thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, are mine; as Reuben and Simeon they shall be mine.* But as he gave no inheritance to their father Joseph, the effect of this adoption extended only to their increase of fortune and inheritance; that is, instead of one part, giving them (or Joseph, by means of them) two parts.

Another kind of adoption among the Israelites, consisted in the obligation of a surviving brother to marry the widow of his brother, who had died without children (Deut. xxv. 5. Ruth iv. 5. Matt. xxii. 24.); so that the children of this marriage were considered as belonging to the deceased brother, and went by his name; a practice more antient than the law, as appears in the history of Tamar; but this manner of adopting was not practised among the Greek and Romans: neither was that kind of adoption intended by Sarah, Leah, and Rachel; when they gave their hand-maiden to their husbands. (Gen. xvi. 2. xxx. 3.)

Pharaoh's daughter adopted the child Moses (Exod. ii. 10.), and Mordecai adopted Esther. (Esther ii. 7. 15.) We are not

[1] Josephus de Vita sua, tom. ii. p. 39. ed. Havercamp.

acquainted with the ceremonies which were observed on these occasions, nor how far the privileges of adoption extended; but it is presumed, that they were nearly similar to those of the Roman laws, viz. that adopted children shared in the parent's estate with the natural children; that they assumed the name of the person who adopted them, and became subject to his paternal power.

By the propitiation of our Saviour, and the communication of the merits of his death, *penitent* sinners become the adopted children of God. Thus St. Paul writes (Rom. viii. 15.), *Ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, father. We wait for the adoption of the children of God.* And (Gal. iv. 4, 5.) *God sent forth his son to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.*

Among the Mohammedans the ceremony of adoption is performed, by causing the adopted to pass through the shirt of the person who adopts him. For this reason, to adopt among the Turks is expressed by saying—to draw any one through one's shirt; and an adopted son is called by them, *Akietogli*, the son of another life—because he was not begotten in this [1]. Something like this is observable among the Hebrews: Elijah adopted the prophet Elisha, by throwing his mantle over him (1 Kings xix. 19.); and when Elijah was carried off in a fiery chariot, his mantle, which he let fall, was taken up by Elisha his disciple, his spiritual son, and adopted successor in the office of prophet (2 Kings ii. 15.),

This circumstance seems to be illustrated by the conduct of Moses, who dressed Eleazar in Aaron's sacred vestments, when that high-priest was about to be gathered to his fathers; indicating thereby, that Eleazar succeeded in the functions of the priesthood, and was, in some sort, adopted to exercise that dignity. The Lord told Shebna, the captain of the temple, that he would deprive him of his honourable station, and substitute Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, in his room. (Isaiah xxii. 21.) *I will clothe him with thy robe*, saith the Lord, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand. St. Paul, in several places, says, that *real* Christians *put on the Lord Jesus; and that they put on the new man*, in order to denote their adoption as sons of God. (Rom. xiii. 14. Gal. iii. 27. Ephes. iv. 24. Col. iii. 10.) [2]

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[1] D' Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p. 47.

[2] Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 455—478. vol. ii. pp. 29—122. Lewis's Origines Hebrææ, vol. ii. pp. 240—310. Calmet's Dictionary, articles *Marriage, Divorce, Adoption*. Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 119—124. Jahn, Archæologia Biblica, pp. 221—232.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CONDITION OF SLAVES, AND THE CUSTOMS RELATING TO THEM, MENTIONED OR ALLUDED TO IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Slaves how acquired.*—II. *Their Condition among the Hebrews.*—III. *And among other Nations.*—*Customs relating to them alluded to in the New Testament.*

I. SLAVERY is of very remote antiquity. It existed before the flood (Gen. ix. 25.): and when Moses gave his laws to the Jews, finding it already established, though he could not abolish it, yet he enacted various salutary laws and regulations. The Israelites indeed might have Hebrew servants or slaves, as well as alien-born persons, but these were to be circumcised, and were required to worship the only true God (Gen. xvii. 13—17.), with the exception of the Canaanites.

Slaves were acquired by various ways, viz. 1. By *Captivity*, which is supposed to have been the first origin of slavery (Gen. xiv. 14. Deut. xx. 14. xxi. 10, 11.); 2. By *Debt*, when persons being poor, were sold for payment of their debts (2 Kings iv. 1. Matt. xviii. 25.); 3. By committing a *Theft*, without the power of making restitution (Exod. xxii. 2, 3. Neh. v. 4, 5.); and 4. By *Birth*, when persons were born of married slaves. These are termed *born in the house* (Gen. xiv. 14. xv. 3. xvii. 23. xxi. 10.), *home-born* (Jer. ii. 14.), and the *sons* or children of *hand-maids*. (Psal. lxxxvi. 16. cxvi. 16.)

II. Slaves received both food and clothing, for the most part of the meanest quality, but whatever property they acquired belonged to their lords: hence they are said to be worth double the value of a hired servant. (Deut. xv. 18.) They formed marriages at the will of their master, but their children were slaves, who, though they could not call him a father (Gal. iv. 6. Rom. viii. 15.), yet they were attached and faithful to him as to a father, on which account the patriarchs trusted them with arms. (Gen. xiv. 14. xxxii. 6. xxxiii. 1.) Their duty was to execute their lord's commands, and they were for the most part employed in tending cattle or in rural affairs: and though the lot of some of them was sufficiently hard, yet under a mild and humane master, it was tolerable. (Job xiii. 13.)

When the Eastern people have no male issue, they frequently marry their daughters to their slaves, as in 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35. *Now Sheshan had no sons but daughters; and Sheshan had a servant* (slave), *an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha; and Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife.* In Barbary, the rich people when childless have been known to purchase young slaves, to educate them in their own faith, and sometimes to adopt them for their own children. The greatest men of the Ottoman empire are well known to have been originally slaves brought up in the seraglio; and the Mameluke sovereigns of Egypt were originally slaves. Thus the advancement of the Hebrew captive Joseph to be viceroy of Egypt, and of Daniel, another Hebrew slave, to be chief minister of state in Babylon, corresponds with the modern usages of the East.

In order to mitigate the conditions of slaves, various statutes were enacted by Moses. Thus, 1. They were to be treated with humanity: the law, in Levit. xxv. 39—53, it is true, speaks expressly of slaves who were of Hebrew descent; but, as alien-born slaves were ingrafted into the Hebrew church by circumcision, there is no doubt but that it applied to all slaves. 2. If a man struck his servant or maid with a rod or staff, he was to be punished by the magistrate: if, however, the slave survived for a day or two, the master was to go unpunished, as no intention of murder could be presumed, and the loss of the slave was deemed a sufficient punishment. (Exod. xxi. 20, 21.) 3. A slave, who lost an eye or a tooth by a blow from his or her master, acquired his or her liberty in consequence. (Exod. xx. 26, 27.) 4. All slaves were to rest from their labours on the Sabbath, and on the great festivals. (Exod. xx. 10. Deut. v. 14.) 5. They were to be invited to certain feasts. (Deut. xii. 17, 18. xvi. 11.) 6. A master who had betrothed a female slave to himself, if she did not please him, was to permit her to be redeemed, and was prohibited from selling her to a strange nation, *seeing he had dealt deceitfully with her.* If he had betrothed her to his son, he was to deal with her after the manner of daughters. If he took another wife, her food, raiment, and duty of marriage, he was not to diminish. *And if he did not these three unto her, then she was to go out free, without money.* (Exod. xxi. 7—11.) 7. Hebrew slaves were to continue in slavery only till the year of jubilee, when they might return to liberty, and their masters could not detain them against their wills. If they were desirous of continuing with their masters, they were to be brought to the judges, before whom they were to make a declaration that

for this time they disclaimed the privilege of this law; and had their ears bored through with an awl against the door-posts of their master's house, after which they had no longer any power of recovering their liberty until the next year of jubilee, after forty-nine years. (Exod. xxi. 5, 6.) 8. If a Hebrew by birth was sold to a stranger or alien dwelling in the vicinity of the land of Israel, his relations were to redeem him, and such slave was to make good the purchase money if he were able, paying in proportion to the number of years that remained, until the year of jubilee. (Levit. xxv. 47—55.) Lastly, if a slave of another nation fled to the Hebrews, he was to be received hospitably, and on no account to be given up to his master. (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.)

III. Although Moses inculcated the duty of humane treatment towards slaves, and enforced his statutes by various strong sanctions, yet it appears from Jer. xxxiv. 8—22. that their condition was sometimes very wretched. It cannot, however, be denied that their situation was much more tolerable among the Hebrews than among other nations, especially the Greeks and Romans. Nor is this a matter of astonishment: for the Israelites were bound to exercise the duties of humanity towards these unhappy persons by weighty sanctions and motives, which no other nation had, whose slaves had no rest, no legal protection, and who were subject to the cruel caprice of their masters, whose absolute property they were, and at whose mercy their lives every moment lay. For the slightest and most trivial offences they were cruelly scourged and condemned to hard labour: and the petty tyrant of his family, when exasperated by any real or apprehended injury, could nail them to a cross, and make them die in a lingering and most miserable manner. These slaves, generally were wretched captives, who had been taken prisoners in unfortunate battles, or had fallen into their enemies hands in the siege of cities. These miserable captives, antient history informs us, were either butchered in cold blood, or sold by auction for slaves to the highest bidder. The unhappy prisoners thus bought and enslaved, were sometimes thrust into deep mines, to be drudges through life in darkness and despair: sometimes were pent up in private workhouses, and condemned to the most laborious and ignoble occupations: frequently the toils of agriculture were imposed upon them, and the severest tasks unmercifully exacted from them: most commonly they were employed in the menial offices and drudgery of domestic life, and treated with the greatest inhumanity. As the last insult upon their wretchedness, they were branded in the forehead,

and a note of eternal disgrace and infamy publicly and indelibly impressed upon them! One cannot think of this most contumelious and reproachful treatment of a fellow creature without feeling the acutest pain and indignation. To the above-mentioned customs in the treatment of slaves, which obtained among the antients, there are several allusions in the New Testament. Thus St. Paul, in reference to the custom of purchasing slaves, on whose heads a price was then fixed, just as upon any other commodity, and who, when bought, were the entire and unalienable property of the purchaser, by a very beautiful and expressive similitude represents Christians as the servants of Christ; informs them that an immense price had been paid for them; that they were not at their own disposal; but in every respect, both as to body and mind, were the sole and absolute property of God. *Ye are not your own: for ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's.* (1 Cor. vi. 20.) So also again: *Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men.* (1 Cor. vii. 23.) St. Paul usually styles himself the servant of Christ; and in a passage in his epistle to the Galatians, alluding to the signatures with which slaves in those days were branded, he tells them, that he carried about with him plain and indelible characters impressed in his body, which evinced him to be the servant of his master Jesus. *From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.* (Gal. vi. 17.)

From the following (Matt. xx.) parable of our Saviour, we learn these three particulars concerning the servants in Judæa, or at least in Jerusalem.—That early in the morning they stood in the market-place to be hired—that the usual wages of a day-labourer were at that time a denarius, or about seven-pence halfpenny of our money—and that the customary hours of working were till six in the evening. Early in the morning the master of a family rose to hire day-labourers to work in his vineyard. Having found a number he agreed to pay them a DENARIUS for the WAGES of the DAY, and sent them into his vineyard. About nine o'clock he went again into the MARKET-PLACE, and found several others unemployed, whom he also ordered into his vineyard, and promised to pay them what was reasonable. At twelve, and three in the afternoon he went and made the same proposals, which were in the same manner accepted. He went likewise about five o'clock, and found a number of men sauntering about the market in idleness, and he said to them, why do you consume the whole day in this indolent manner? There is no one hath thought fit to give us

any employment, they replied; then go you into the vineyard among my other labourers, and you shall receive what is just. In the evening the proprietor of the vineyard ordered his steward to call the workmen together, beginning from the last to the first, to pay them their wages, without any partiality or distinction. When those, therefore, came, who had been employed about five in the afternoon, they received a denarius a piece. When those, who had been hired in the morning, saw them return with such great wages, they indulged the most extravagant joy, imagining that their pay would vastly exceed that of the others; but how great was their disappointment, when they received from the steward, each man a denarius! This supposed injurious treatment caused them to raise loud clamours against the master. And they complained to him of his usage of them, saying, the last labourers you hired only worked a SINGLE HOUR, and you have given them the same wages as you have given us who have been scorched with excessive heat, and sustained the long and rigorous toil of the whole day. He turned to one who appeared the most petulant of them, and directed this reply, Friend, I do thee no injustice; was not our agreement for a denarius? Take what justice entitles thee to, without repining, and calmly acquiesce in the faithful performance of our original agreement—a principle of benevolence disposes me freely to bestow upon the last persons I hired, what equity obliged me to give to you.

It has been observed that slaves were condemned to the mines, where their uncomfortable lives were consumed in the most rigorous and servile drudgery. It is natural to suppose that these wretches, born to better hopes, upon their first entrance into these dismal subterraneous abodes of darkness and despair, with such doleful prospects before them, would be transfixed with the acutest distress and anguish, shed bitter unavailing tears, gnash their teeth for extreme misery, and fill these gloomy caverns with piercing cries and loud lamentations. Our Lord seems to allude to this, and, considered in this view, the imagery is peculiarly beautiful and expressive, when he represents the wicked servant and unfaithful steward bound hand and foot, and cast unto utter darkness, where there would be weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth! (Matt. viii. 12. xxii. 13.) The reader will be pleased with the ingenious remarks of the learned and judicious Dr. Macknight on this passage. "In antient times the stewards of great families were slaves as well as the servants of a lower class, being raised to that trust on account of their fidelity, wisdom, sobriety, and other good

qualities. If any steward, therefore, in the absence of his lord, behaved as is represented in the parable, it was a plain proof, that the virtues on account of which he was raised were counterfeit, and by consequence that he was an hypocrite. Slaves of this character, among other chastisements, were sometimes condemned to work in the mines. And as this was one of the most grievous punishments, when they first entered, nothing was heard among them but weeping and gnashing of teeth, on account of the intolerable fatigue to which they were subjected in these hideous caverns without hope of release. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.[1]"

Crucifixion was a servile punishment, and usually inflicted on the most vile, worthless, and abandoned of slaves. In reference to this it is that St. Paul represents our Lord taking "upon him the form of a servant, and becoming subject to death, even the death of the cross;" (Phil. ii. 8.) crucifixion was not only the most painful and excruciating, but the most reproachful and ignominious death that could be suffered. Hence it is that the apostle so highly extols the unexampled love for man and magnanimity of Jesus, "who for the joy set before him endured the cross, despising the shame" (Heb. xii. 2.) and infamy even of such a death. It was this exit which Jesus made that insuperably disgusted so many among the heathens, who could never prevail with themselves to believe that religion to be divine whose founder had suffered such an opprobrious and infamous death from his countrymen. And for men to preach in the world a system of truths as a revelation from the Deity, which were first delivered to mankind by an illiterate and obscure Jew, pretending to a divine mission and character, and who was for such a pretension crucified, appeared to the heathens the height of infatuation and religious delusion. "The preaching of the cross was to them foolishness:" (1 Cor. i. 23.) and the religion of a crucified leader, who had suffered in the capital of his own country the indignities and death of a slave, carried with it, in their estimation, the last absurdity and folly, and induced them to look upon the Christians, and the wretched cause in which they were embarked, with pity and contempt. Hence St. Paul speaks of the offence of the cross,[2] the great and invincible disgust conceived by the men of those times against a religion whose founder was crucified! Hence he speaks of not being ashamed of the Gospel from the circumstance which made such numbers

[1] Dr. Macknight's Harmony, p. 522. 2d edit. 1763.
[2] Σκανδαλον του σταυρου. Galat. v. 11.

ashamed of it, nay of glorying in the cross [1] of Christ, though the consideration of the ignominious and servile death he suffered was the very obstacle that made the heathens stumble at the very threshold of Christianity, and filled them with insurmountable prejudices against it. [2]

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[1] God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Galat. vi. 14.

[2] Jahn, Archæologia Biblica, pp. 241—246. Michaelis's Commentaries, vol. ii. pp. 155—184. Brunings, Compendium Antiquitatum Græcarum e profanis Sacrarum, pp. 77—86. Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 144—152. Stosch, Compendium Archæologiæ Œconomicæ Novi Testamenti, pp. 38—48.

CHAPTER V.

DOMESTIC CUSTOMS AND USAGES OF THE JEWS.

I. *Forms of Salutation and Politeness.—Reverence to Superiors.*—II. *Mode of receiving Guests or Visitors.*—III. *Food and Entertainments.*—IV. *Mode of Travelling.*—V. *Hospitality a sacred Duty among the Jews.—Account of the Tesseræ Hospitales of the Greeks and Romans.*

I. VARIOUS are the modes of address and politeness, which custom has established in different nations. The Orientals were very exact in the observances of outward decorum: and we may collect from several passages in the Old and New Testament, that their salutations and expressions of regard on *meeting* each other were extremely tedious and tiresome, containing many minute inquiries concerning the person's welfare, and the welfare of his family and friends; and, when they *parted*, concluding with many reciprocal wishes of happiness and benediction on each other. The ordinary formulæ of salutation were —*The Lord be with thee!—The Lord bless thee!*—and *Blessed be thou of the Lord!* but the most common salutation was *Peace*, (that is, may all manner of prosperity) *be with thee!* (Ruth. ii. 4. Judg. xix. 20. 1 Sam. xxv. 6. 2 Sam. xx. 9. Psal. cxxix. 8.) In the latter ages of the Jewish polity, much time appears to have been spent in the rigid observance of these ceremonious forms. When our Lord, therefore, in his commission to the seventy, whom he dispatched into the towns and villages of Judea to publish the Gospel, strictly ordered them to *salute no man by the way*[1], (Luke x. 4.) he designed only by this prohibition that they should employ the utmost expedition; that they should suffer nothing to retard and impede them in their progress from one place to another; and should not lavish those precious moments, which ought to be devoted to the sacred and arduous duties of their office, in observing the irksome and unmeaning modes of life. Not that our Lord intended that his disciples should studiously violate all common civility and decency, and industriously offend against all the rules of courteousness and decorum, since he commanded them upon their entrance into any house to *salute it*[2], (Matt.

[1] *Salute no man by the way:* C'est à dire, ne perdez point le tems en long discours, et en vaines cérémonies avec les passans. Lenfant in loc.

[2] And when ye come into an house, *salute* it.

x. 12.) and observe the customary form of civility in wishing it *peace*[1] (Luke x. 5.) or universal happiness. This injunction, to *salute no one on the road*, means only that they should urge their course with speed, and advert to nothing so principally as the duties of their commission. There is a passage in the Old Testament parallel to this, and which beautifully illustrates it. Elisha, dispatching his servant Gehazi to recover the son of the Shunamite, strictly enjoins him to make all the expedition possible, which is thus expressed: Gird up thy loins and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way. *If thou meet any man, salute him not, and if any salute thee, answer him not again.* (2 Kings iv. 29.)

In all countries these modes of address and politeness, though the terms are expressive of the profoundest respect and homage, yet through constant use and frequency of repetition soon degenerate into mere verbal forms and words of course, in which the heart has no share. They are a frivolous unmeaning formulary, perpetually uttered without the mind's ever annexing any idea to them. To these empty insignificant forms, which men mechanically repeat at meeting or taking leave of each other, there is a beautiful allusion in the following expression of our Lord in that consolatory discourse which he delivered to his apostles when he saw them dejected and disconsolate on his plainly assuring them that he would soon leave them and go to the Father. My peace I leave with you: My peace I give unto you: *Not as the world giveth*[2], give I unto you. (John xiv. 27.) Since I must shortly be taken from you, I now bid you adieu, sincerely wishing you every happiness; not as the world giveth, give I unto you; not in the unmeaning ceremonial manner the world repeats this salutation: for my wishes of peace and happiness to you are sincere, and my blessing and benediction will derive upon you every substantial felicity.

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[1] And into whatsoever house you enter, say, Peace be to this house! Peace, in the Jewish idiom, denotes happiness.

[2] Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you: Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. The words of the philosopher are an excellent and striking paraphrase on this passage of Scripture. Ορατε γαρ ὁτι ειρηνην μεγαλην ὁ Καισαρ. κ. λ. You see what a great and extensive peace the Emperor can give the world; since there are now no wars, no battles, no association of robbers or of pirates, but one may in safety, at any time of the year, travel or sail from east to west. But can the Emperor give us peace from a fever, from shipwreck, from fire, from an earthquake, or from thunder? Can he from love? He cannot! from sorrow? No! from envy! No! from none of these things! The principles only of philosophy promise and are able to secure us peace from all these evils. Arriani Dissert. Epist. Lib. iii. p. 411. Edit. Upton. 1741.

This sheds light and lustre upon one of the finest and most beautiful pieces of imagery which the genius and judgment of a writer ever created. In that well-written and truly sublime epistle to the Hebrews, the author informs us with what warm anticipating hopes of the Messiah's future kingdom those great and good men, who adorn the annals of former ages, were animated. These all, says he, died in faith, they closed their eyes upon the world, but they closed them in the transporting assurance that God would accomplish his promises. They had the firmest persuasion that the Messiah would bless the world. By faith they antedated these happy times, and placed themselves, in idea, in the midst of all their fancied blessedness. They hailed this most auspicious period; saluted it, as one salutes a friend whose person we recognise, at a distance. These all died in faith, died in the firm persuasion that God would accomplish these magnificent promises, though they themselves had not enjoyed them, but only had seen them afar off: God had only blessed them with a remote prospect of them. They were therefore persuaded of them, they had the strongest conviction of their reality—they embraced them—with transport saluted [1] them at a distance, confessing that they were but strangers and pilgrims upon earth, but were all travelling towards a CITY which had foundations, whose builder and maker is God!

Respect was shewn to persons on meeting, by the salutation of *Peace be with you!* and laying the right hand upon the bosom: but if the person addressed was of the highest rank, they bowed to the earth. Thus *Jacob bowed to the ground seven times until he came near to his brother Esau.* (Gen. xxxiii. 3.) Sometimes they kissed the hem of the person's garment, and even the dust on which he had to tread. (Zech. viii. 23. Luke viii. 44. Acts x. 26. Psal. lxxii. 9.) Sometimes persons out of humility turned aside from the way, as if they were unworthy to salute those whom they met: and it has been supposed that our Saviour's words on sending out the seventy disciples may be referred to this custom. (Luke x. 4.) Near relations and intimate acquaintances kissed each other's hands, head, neck, beard, (which on such occasions only could be touched without affront), or shoulders. (Gen. xxxiii. 4. xlv. 14. 2. Sam. xx. 9. Luke xv. 20. Acts xx. 17.)

Whenever the common people approached their prince, or any person of superior rank, it was customary for them to prostrate themselves before them. In particular, this homage

[1] Ασπασαμενοι. The word always used in salutations. See Romans xvi. passim.

was universally paid to the monarchs of Persia by those who were admitted into their presence;—a homage, in which some of the Greek commanders, possessed of a truly liberal and manly spirit, peremptorily refused [1] to gratify them. In imitation of these proud sovereigns, Alexander the Great exacted a similar prostration. This mode of address obtained also among the Jews. When honoured with admittance to their sovereign, or introduced to illustrious personages, they fell down at their feet, and continued in this servile posture till they were raised. There occur many instances of this custom in the New Testament. The wise men who came from the East, when they saw the child Jesus with his mother Mary, *fell down and worshipped him*. Great numbers of those who approached our Saviour, *fell down at his feet*. We read of several of the common people who *prostrated* themselves before him and worshipped him. Cornelius, at his first interview with Peter, when he met him, *fell down* before him and worshipped him, and remained in this submissive attitude till Peter took him up; saying, *Stand up: I also am a man*. In the Old Testament we read that Esther *fell down* at the feet of Ahasuerus. These prostrations among the Eastern people appear to us to the last degree unmanly and slavish [2]; but it seems that the inhabitants of the Oriental countries have always used more illiberal and humiliating forms of address and homage than ever obtained in Europe.

It was also customary in those times, whenever a popular harangue was going to be delivered, and the people stood convened, for the orator, before he entered on his discourse, *to stretch forth his hand towards* the multitude as a token of respect to his audience, and to engage their candid attention. Frequent instances of this polite address of an orator to the assembled multitude occur in the classics. In like manner we read that St. Paul, before he commenced his public apology to the multitude, bespoke their respect and candour by *beckoning with his hand* to them. Paul said, "I am a man who am a Jew of Tarsus a city of Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city: and I beseech thee suffer me to speak unto the

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[1] Vereor ne civitati meæ sit opprobrio, si quum ex eâ sim profectus, quæ cæteris gentibus imperare consueverit, potius barbarorum quam illius more fungar! C. Nepos. Conon. p. 153. The Athenians punished a person with death for submitting to this slavish prostration. Athenienses autem Timagoram inter officium salutationis Darium regem more gentis illius adulatum, capitali supplicio affecerunt; unius civis humilibus blanditiis totius urbis sua decus Persicæ doiminationi summissum graviter ferentes. Valerius Maximus, lib. vi. cap. 3. p. 561. Torrenii Leidæ, 1726.

[2] Qui ubi in castra Romana et prætorium pervenerunt, more adulantium, accepto, credo, ritu ex eâ regione ex quâ oriundi erant, procubuerunt. Conveniens oratio tam humili adulationi. Livius. lib. xxx. cap. 16. tom. 3. p. 130. Edit. Ruddiman.

people. And when he had given him licence, Paul stood on the stairs and *beckoned with his hand* unto the people." Thus also in the account of the tumult which happened at Ephesus, when the whole city was filled with confusion, some clamouring one thing, some another, and the mob which Demetrius had raised were instigated to the last excesses of violence and fury, though, as is usual in mobs, the majority of them, as the sacred historian tells us, knew not what it was that had brought them together; in the midst of this confused scene we read that the Jews pushed forward and placed one Alexander on an eminence. He being exalted above the crowd, intended in a formal harangue to exculpate the Jews from any concern in the present disturbance. Accordingly he *beckoned to them with his hand*—making use of this respectful customary address to insure their favourable regard, before he delivered his designed apology. But this specious and popular artifice, it seems, did not avail the orator, for the moment the mob understood he was a Jew, they pierced the air with their confused cries, repeating, for two hours together, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"

From time immemorial it has also been the universal custom in the East to send presents one to another. No one waits upon an Eastern prince, or any person of distinction, without a present. This is a token of respect which is never dispensed with. How mean and inconsiderable soever the gift, the intention of the giver is accepted. Plutarch informs us that a peasant happening to fall in the way of Artaxerxes the Persian monarch, in one of his excursions, having nothing to present to his sovereign, according to the Oriental custom, the countryman immediately ran to an adjacent stream, filled both his hands, and offered it to his prince. The monarch, says the philosopher, smiled and graciously recived it, highly pleased with the good dispositions this action manifested [1]. All books of modern travels into the East, Sandys, Thevenot, Maundrell, Shaw, Pococke, Norden, Haselquist, Light, Clarke, Morier, and Ouseley, abound with numberless examples of this universally prevalent custom of waiting upon great men with presents—unaccompanied with which, should a stranger presume to enter their houses, it would be deemed the last outrage and violation of politeness and respect. It was, therefore, agreeably to this Oriental practice which obtains in all these countries to this day, that the wise men, when they entered the house to which the star had directed them, and

[1] Plutarch's Morals, vol. i. p. 299. Edit. Gr. Stephani.

saw the child and his mother, after they had prostrated themselves before him, and paid him the profoundest homage, as the evangelist informs us, opened their treasures, and testified their sense of the dignity of his person, by respectfully making him rich presents, consisting of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

II. When any person visited another, he stood at the gate and knocked, or called aloud, until the person on whom he called admitted him. (2 Kings v. 9—12. Acts x. 17. xii. 13. 16.) Visitors were always received and dismissed with great respect. On their arrival water was brought to wash their feet and hands (Gen. xviii. 4. xix. 2.), after which the guests were anointed with oil. David alludes to this in Psal. xxiii. 5. The same practice obtained in our Saviour's time. Thus we find Mary Magdalene approaching him at an entertainment, and, as a mark of the highest respect and honour she could confer, breaking (or rather shaking) an alabaster vase full of the richest perfume and pouring it on his head. Our Lord's vindication to Simon of the behaviour of this woman presents us with a lively idea of the civilities in those times ordinarily paid to guests on their arrival, but which marks of friendship and respect had (it seems) been neglected by this Pharisee, at whose house Jesus Christ then was. *He turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, and thou gavest me* NO WATER FOR MY FEET, *but she hath* WASHED MY FEET *with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no* KISS: *but this woman, since I came in, hath not ceased to* KISS MY FEET. *Mine* HEAD *with* OIL *thou didst not anoint;* but this *woman hath* ANOINTED MY FEET *with ointment.* To this practice of anointing, Solomon alludes (Prov. xxvii. 9.): and among the Babylonians, it was usual to present *sweet odours.* (Dan. ii. 46.) It is still the custom in Egypt, among the Arabs and other nations, thus to treat their guests, and, when they are about to depart, to burn the richest perfumes.[1]

III. The Jews rose early, about the dawn of day, when they breakfasted. They dined about eleven in the forenoon, and supped at five in the afternoon. From this circumstance of their breakfasting so early, Dr. Lightfoot endeavours to account for the language of the evangelists John (xix. 14.) and Mark (xv. 25.) concerning our Lord's crucifixion. The former notices the time from the preparation of the passover: and the latter, the time of the day. The preparation began at

[1] See several instances of this custom in Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. pp. 378—392.

the dawn or cock-crowing. From this custom too, the term to *rise early* denotes diligence, either in doing good or evil. (Eccles. x. 16, 17. Prov. xxxi. 4, 5.)

From the whole of the sacred history, it is evident that the food of the Jews was of the simplest nature, consisting principally of milk, rice, vegetables, honey, and sometimes of locusts, except at the appointed festivals, or when they offered their feast offerings; at these times they ate animal food, of which they appear to have been very fond. (Numb. xi. 4.) The pottage which Jacob had prepared, and which was so tempting to Esau as to make him sell his birthright, shews the simplicity of the *ordinary* diet of the patriarchs. Isaac in his old age longed for *savoury meat*, which was accordingly prepared for him (Gen. xxvii. 4. 17.); but this was an unusual thing. The feast with which Abraham entertained the three angels, was a calf, new cakes baked on the hearth, together with butter (*ghee*) and milk. (Gen. xviii. 6, 7.) We may form a correct idea of their ordinary articles of food by the articles which were presented to David on various occasions by Abigail (1 Sam. xxv. 18.), by Ziba (2 Sam. xvi. 1.), and by Barzillai. (2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29.)

The most useful and strengthening as well as the most common article of food, was doubtless *bread:* which, in the sacred writings is very frequently used for every kind of meat. Sometimes the ears were gathered and the grain eaten, before the corn was reaped; sometimes, after it had been threshed and dried, it was eaten without any further preparation. This was called *parched corn.* But, in general, it was ground into flour, fermented with leaven and made into bread; though on certain occasions, as at the departure of the Israelites, they baked *unleavened bread.* (Exod. xii. 34—39.) The lightest bread, which was made of the finest flour, they called *cakes* (Gen. xviii. 6.); the larger and coarser sort were called *loaves.* (1 Sam. xxi. 3.) The cakes were antiently baked upon the hearth (Gen. xviii. 6.): afterwards, this was done upon the coals, being probably laid upon some grate. (1 Kings xix. 6.) But the Holy Bread was baked in an oven. (Levit. ii. 4.) The *fuel,* used for this and other culinary purposes, consisted of thorns, wood of all kinds, and in general, as their sure supply, the dung of cows, asses, or camels, dried and collected into heaps (Lam. iv. 5.): grass also was employed for the same purpose. (Matt. vi. 28—30.) The knowledge of this circumstance illustrates Eccles. vii. 6. Psal. lviii. 9. Amos, iv. 11. Zech. iii. 2. Isa. vii. 4. and especially Ezek. iv. 12. In order to shew the extremity of distress, to which the Jews

would be reduced in the captivity, the prophet was to prepare the most common provisions and to bake the bread with *human dung*. Nothing could paint more strongly a case of extreme necessity than this; and the Jews would so understand this sign.[1]

Their ordinary beverage was water, which was drawn from the public wells and fountains, (John iv. 6, 7.) and which was to be refused to no one. (John vi. 9. Matt. xxv. 35.) Wine of different sorts, which was preserved in skins, was also drunk by the Jews, after their settlement in the land of Canaan. Red wine seems to have been the most esteemed. (Prov. xxiii. 31. Rev. xiv. 20. xix. 3, 18.)

The antient Hebrews did not eat indifferently with all persons; they would have been polluted and dishonoured in their own opinion, by eating with people of another religion, or of an odious profession. In Joseph's time, they neither ate with the Egyptians, nor the Egyptians with them (Gen. xliii. 32.); nor in our Saviour's time with the Samaritans (John iv. 9.); and the Jews were scandalised at Jesus Christ's eating with publicans and sinners. (Matt. ix. 11.) As there were several sorts of meats, whose use was prohibited, they could not conveniently eat with those who partook of them, fearing some pollution by touching them, or if by accident any part of them should fall upon them. The antient Hebrews at their meals had each his separate table. When Joseph entertained his brethren in Egypt, he seated each of them at his particular table, and he himself sat down separately from the Egyptians who ate with him: but he sent to his brethren, out of the provisions which were before him. (Gen. xliii. 31, *et seq.*) Elkanah, Samuel's father, who had two wives, distributed their portions to them separately. (1 Sam. i. 4, 5.) In Homer, each of the guests has his little table apart; and the master of the feast distributes meat to each. We are assured that this is still practised in China; and many in India never eat out of the same dish, nor on the same table, and they believe they cannot do so without sin; and this, not only in their own country, but when travelling, and in foreign lands.[2]

The antique manners which we see in Homer, we see likewise in Scripture, with regard to eating, drinking, and entertainments: we find great plenty, but little delicacy; great respect and honour paid to the guests by serving them plentifully. Joseph sent his brother Benjamin a portion five times larger than his other

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[1] Boothroyd's Translation of the Bible, vol. i. p. 60.

[2] Renaudot, Notes sur le Voyage des deux Arabes à la Chine, p. 123, 124.

brethren. Samuel set a whole quarter of a calf before Saul. The women did not appear at table in entertainments with the men. This would have been then, as it is at this day throughout the East, an indecency. Thus *Vashti the Queen made a feast for the women in the royal house, which belonged to Ahasuerus,* (Esther i. 9.) while the Persian monarch was feasting his nobles.

The Hebrews antiently sat at table as we do now; afterwards, they imitated the Persians and Chaldeans, who reclined on table-beds while eating; some traces of these are nevertheless observed in the Proverbs (xxiii. 1.), in Amos (vi. 4. 7.), Ezekiel (xxiii. 47.), and Tobit (ii. 4.); but this use was not general. We see expressions in the sacred authors of those times, which prove, that they also sat at table. At Ahasuerus's banquet, (Esth. i. 6.) the company lay on beds, and at that which Esther gave the king and Haman, (Esth. vii. 8.) Our Saviour in like manner reclined at table, (as already described in p. 422), when Mary Magdalen anointed his feet with perfume (Matt. xxvi. 7.), and when John, at the last supper, rested his head on his bosom. (John xiii. 25.)

The modern Jews, before they sit down to table, after the example of their ancestors, carefully wash their hands. They speak of this ceremony as being essential and obligatory. After meals they wash them again. When they sit down to table, the master of the house, or chief person in the company, taking bread, breaks it, but does not divide it; then putting his hand on it, he recites this blessing; *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the king of the world, who producest the bread of the earth.* Those present answer, *Amen.* Having distributed the bread among the guests, he takes the vessel of the wine in his right hand, saying, *Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king of the world, who hast produced the fruit of the wine.* They then repeat the 23d Psalm [1]. They take care, that after meals there shall be a piece of bread remaining on the table; the master of the house orders a glass to be washed, fills it with wine, and elevating it, says, Let us bless him of whose benefits we have been partaking; the rest answer, Blessed be he, who has heaped his favours on us, and by his goodness has now fed us. Then he recites a pretty long prayer, wherein he thanks God for his many benefits vouchsafed to Israel: beseeches him to pity Jerusalem and his temple, to restore the throne of David, to send Elias and the Messiah, to deliver them out of their long

[1] See Buxtorf's Synag. and Leo of Modena, part ii. c. 10.

captivity. All present answer, *Amen.* They recite Psal. xxxiv. 9, 10; and then passing, giving the glass with the little wine in it round to those present, he drinks what is left, and the table is cleared.

IV. When persons journied, they provided themselves with every necessary, as there were no inns for the reception of travellers. Women and rich men frequently travelled on asses or camels, which carried not only their merchandize, but also their household goods and chattels. And it appears that the Jews often travelled in *caravans* or companies (as the inhabitants of the East do to this day,) especially when they went up to Jerusalem at the three great annual festivals. The *Psalms of ascensions*, or of degrees as they are commonly entitled, (cxx.—cxxxiv.) are supposed to have received this appellation from the circumstance of their being sung by the more devout Jews, when they were ascending or travelling up to the Holy city on these occasions. The *company*, among which Joseph and Mary supposed Jesus to have been on their return from the passover, when he was twelve years old (Luke ii. 42—44.), was one of these caravans.[1]

V. In the East, antiently, as well as in modern times, there were no inns, in which the traveller could meet with refreshment. Hence hospitality was deemed a sacred duty incumbent upon every one. The sacred writings exhibit several instances of hospitality exercised by the patriarchs. Abraham received three angels, invited them, served them himself, and stood in their presence; Sarah his wife took care of the kitchen, and baked bread for his guests. (Gen. xviii. 2, 3, &c.) Lot waited at the city-gate to receive guests. (Gen. xix. 1.) When the inhabitants of Sodom meant to insult his guests, he went out, he spoke to them, he exposed himself to their fury, and offered rather to give up his own daughters to their brutality, than his guests. (Gen. xix. 1, 2, 3.) The same is observable in the old man of Gibeah, who had received the young Levite, and his wife. (Judg. xix. 16, 17.) St. Paul (Heb. xiii. 2.) uses Abraham's and Lot's example to encourage the faithful to the exercise of hospitality, saying, that they who have practised it, have merited the honour of receiving angels under the form of men. The primitive Christians made one principal part of their duty to consist in the exercise of this virtue. Our Saviour tells his apostles, that whoever received

[1] See the various passages of Harmer's Observations, referred to in his Index, article *Caravans*. Ward's History of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 338. Fragments supplementary to Calmet, No. I.

them, received him himself; and that whosoever should give them even a glass of water, should not lose his reward. (Matt. xxv. 41. 45.) At the day of judgment, he will say to the wicked, *Depart ye cursed, into everlasting fire: I was a stranger, and ye received me not; ....inasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these, ye have not done it unto me.* St. Peter (1 Ep. iv. 9.) requires the faithful to use hospitality to their brethren without murmuring and complaint. St. Paul in several of his epistles recommends hospitality. But he recommends it particularly to bishops. (1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 8.) The primitive Christians were so ready in the discharge of this duty, that the very heathens admired them for it. They were hospitable to all strangers, but especially to those of the same faith and communion. Believers scarcely ever travelled without letters of communion, which testified the purity of their faith: and this procured them a hospitable reception wherever the name of Jesus Christ was known. Calmet is of opinion, that the two last epistles of St. John may be such kind of letters of communion and recommendation, as were given to Christians who travelled.

Instances of hospitality among the early Greeks, abound in the writings of Homer, whose delineations of manners and customs reflect so much light on the Old Testament, especially on the Pentateuch; and that antient hospitality, which the Greeks considered as so sacred and inviolable, is still partially preserved. When the traveller makes a second tour through the country, he can hardly do any thing more offensive to the person by whom he was entertained in his first journey, than by not again having recourse to the kindness of his former host.

Travelling would indeed be impracticable in Greece, if it were not facilitated by this noble sentiment; for the Protogeroi are not found in all parts of the country, and the miserable Khans or Karavanserais, are generally constructed only in towns or on highways.

Travelling, in the greater part of Greece, seems to have been, antiently at least, as difficult as it is at the present day: and that circumstance gave rise to the laws of hospitality.

This reciprocal hospitality became hereditary in families; and the friendship which was thus contracted, was not less binding than the ties of affinity, or of blood. Those between whom a regard had been cemented by the intercourse of hospitality, were provided with some particular mark, which, being handed down from father to son, established a friendship and alliance between the families, for several generations. This mark was the συμβολον ξενικον of the Greeks, and the *tessera hospitalis* of the Latins. The συμβολον was sometimes

an astragal [1], probably of lead, which, being cut in halves [2], one half was kept by the host, and the other by the person whom he had entertained. On future occasions they or their descendants, by whom the symbol was recognised, gave or received hospitality on comparing the two tallies. Mr. Dodwell found some half astragals of lead in Greece, which had probably served for this purpose. [3]

The antient Romans divided a *tessera* lengthwise, into two equal parts, as signs of hospitality, upon each of which one of the parties wrote his name, and interchanged it with the other. The production of this, when they travelled, gave a mutual claim to the contracting parties and their descendants, for reception and kind treatment at each others' houses, as occasion offered. These *tesseræ* were sometimes of stone, shaped in the form of an oblong square: and to them it is supposed that an allusion is intended in Rev. ii. 17, where it is said, *To him that overcometh, will I give a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.* In this passage, the venerable translators of our authorised version, by rendering it a *white stone* seem to have confounded it with the *calculus* or small globular stone, which was commonly used for ballotting, and on some other occasions. The original words are ψηφον λευκον, which do not specify either the matter or the form, but only the use of it. By this allusion, therefore, the promise made to the church at Per-

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1. The astragal was a bone of the vertebra of the hinder feet of cloven-footed animals. Plin. Nat. Hist. b. xi. c. 45, 46.

2 Jacobi Nicolai Loensis Miscell. Epiphill. b. iv. c. 19. Samuelis Petiti Miscell. b. ii. c. 1. Note on v. 613. Euripid. Medea, Ξενοις τε πιμπτειν συμβολ', οι δρασουσι σ' ευ.

3 Mr. Dodwell's Classical Tour in Greece, vol. i. p. 519. Plautus, in his play called Pænulus, (act 5. sc. 2.) represents Hanno the Carthaginian, as retaining a symbol of hospitality reciprocally with Antidamas of Calydon; but Antidamas being dead, he addresses himself to his son Agorastocles, and says:—

——————"Si ita est, tesseram
Conferre, si vis, hospitalem—eccam attuli."

Agorastocles answers:—

"Agedum huc ostende, est par probe, nam habeo domum."

To which Hanno:—

"O mi hospes, salve multum, nam mihi tuus pater
Pater tuus ergo hospes Antidamas fuit;
Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit."

Agorastocles proceeds:—

"Ergo hic apud me hospitium tibi præbebitur."

"If this be the case, here is the tally of hospitality, which I have brought; compare it if you please.—Shew it me: it is indeed the tally to that which I have at home;—My dear host, you are heartily welcome; for your father Antidamas was my host; this was the token of hospitality between him and me; and you shall therefore be kindly received in my house." Ibid. p. 520.

gamos seems to be to this purpose :—That the faithful among them should hereafter be acknowledged by Christ, and received into a state of favour and perpetual friendship. And to this sense the following words very well agree, which describe this stone or *tessera*, as having in it *a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.* For, as the name in the Roman *tessera* was not that of the person who wrote it, but of his friend who possessed it, so it was only known to the possessor, who doubtless kept it both privately and with great care, that no other person might enjoy the benefit of it, which was designed only for himself and his family. [1]

[1] Ward's Dissertations upon several passages of the Sacred Scriptures, pp. 229—232. London, 1759. 8vo.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE OCCUPATIONS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES OF THE HEBREWS.

I. *Agriculture of the Jews.*—II. *Manures known and used by them.*—III. *Their mode of ploughing, sowing, and reaping.*—IV. *Different ways of threshing out Corn.*—V. *Vineyards, and the Culture of the Vine and Olive.*—VI. *Mechanical Arts.*—VII. *Art of Writing.*—VIII. *Poetry and Music.*—IX. *Art of Medicine.*

I. JUDÆA was eminently an agricultural country; and all the Mosaic statutes were admirably calculated to encourage agriculture as the chief foundation of national prosperity, and also to preserve the Jews detached from the surrounding idolatrous nations. After they had acquired possession of the promised land, the Jews applied themselves wholly to agriculture and the tending of cattle, following the example of their ancestors, the patriarchs, who were generally husbandmen and shepherds, and whose chief riches consisted in cattle, slaves, and the fruits of the earth. Adam brought up his two sons to husbandry, Cain to the *tilling of the ground*, and *Abel to the feeding of sheep*. (Gen. iv. 2.) Jabal was a grazier of cattle, of whom it is said, that *he was the father of such as dwell in tents*, (ver. 20.), that is, he travelled with his cattle from place to place, and for that end invented the use of tents, which he carried with him for shelter. Abraham and Lot must have had vast herds of cattle, when they were obliged to separate because the land could not contain them. (Gen. xiii. 6.) Jacob also must have had a great number, since he could afford a present to his brother Esau of *five hundred and eighty* head of cattle. (Gen. xxxii. 13—17.) It was their great flocks of cattle, which made them in those primitive times put such a price upon wells. These were possessions of inestimable value in a country where it seldom rained, and where there were but few rivers or brooks, and therefore it is no wonder that we read of so many contests about them.

In succeeding ages we find that the greatest and wealthiest men did not disdain to follow husbandry, however mean that occupation is now accounted. Moses, the great lawgiver of the Israelites, was a shepherd. Shamgar was taken from the herd to be a judge in Israel, and Gideon from his threshing-floor (Judg.

vi. 11.), as were Jair and Jephthah from the keeping of sheep. When Saul received the news of the danger to which the city of Jabesh-gilead was exposed, he was coming after the herd out of the field, notwithstanding he was a king. (1 Sam. xi. 5.) And king David, *from feeding the ewes great with young, was brought to feed Jacob his people and Israel his inheritance.* (Psal. lxxviii. 71.) King Uzziah is said to be a lover of husbandry (2 Chron. xxvi. 10.); and some of the prophets were called from that employment to the prophetic dignity, as Elisha was from the plough (1 Kings xix. 19.), and Amos from being a herdsman.

The fixing of every one's inheritance in the family to which it had been appropriated in the first division of Canaan, was doubtless one great reason, which made the Jews chiefly follow husbandry and improve their estates: for though an inheritance might have been alienated for a time, it returned always in the year of jubilee. Their being prohibited also to take any interest from their brethren for the use of money, and the strict injunctions laid upon them by Jehovah, with respect to their dealings and commerce with foreigners, deprived them so much of the ordinary advantages thence arising, that they were in a manner obliged to purchase their living from the fruits and produce of the earth, the improvement of which constituted their chief care.

II. Although the Scriptures do not furnish us with any *details* respecting the state of agriculture in Judæa, yet we may collect from various passages many interesting hints that will enable us to form a tolerably correct idea of the high state of its cultivation. With the use of manures, the Jews were unquestionably acquainted. Salt, either by itself, or mixed in the dunghill in order to promote putrefaction, is specially mentioned as one article of manure (Matt. v. 13. Luke xiv. 34, 35): and as the river Jordan annually overflowed its banks, the mud deposited when its waters subsided, must have served as a valuable irrigation and top-dressing, particularly to the pasture lands. It is probable that after the waters had thus subsided, seed was sown on the wet soft ground; in allusion to which, Solomon says, *cast thy bread* (corn or seed) *upon the waters: for thou shalt find it again,* with increase, *after many days.* (Eccles. xi. 1.) And Isaiah, promising a time of peace and plenty, says—Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, and send *forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass.* (Isa. xxxii. 20.)

III. In the first ages of the world, men were chiefly employed in digging and throwing up the earth with their own

hands, but Noah advanced the art of husbandry (Gen. ix. 20.), and contrived fitter instruments for ploughing than were known before. This patriarch is called a man of the ground, but in our translation a husbandman, on account of his improvements in agriculture, and his inventions for making the earth more tractable and fruitful. It was a curse upon the earth after the fall, that it should bring forth thorns and thistles: these obstructions were to be removed, which required much labour, and the ground was to be corrected by ploughing.

The earliest mention, made in the Old Testament of a plough, is in Deut. xxii. 10. where the Israelites are prohibited from ploughing *with an ox and an ass together* (Deut. xxii. 10.); a plain intimation, that it had been customary with the idolatrous nations of the East to do so. The plough appears to have been furnished with a share and coulter, probably not very unlike those which are now in use. (1 Sam. xiii. 20, 21. Isa. iv. 4. Joel iii. 10. Mic. iv. 3.) The intelligent traveller, Maundrell, in his journey from Jerusalem to Aleppo[1], relates, that when he was near Jerusalem, he came to a certain place, where (says he) "the country people were every where at plough in the fields, in order to sow cotton: it was observable, that in ploughing, they used goads of an extraordinary size; upon measuring of several, I found them to be about eight feet long, and, at the bigger end, six inches in circumference. They were armed at the lesser end with a sharp prickle, for driving of the oxen, and at the other end, with a small spade, or paddle of iron, strong and massy, for cleansing the plough from the clay that incumbers it in working. May we not from hence conjecture, that it was with such a goad as one of these, that Shamgar made that prodigious slaughter related of him? I am confident, that whoever should see one of these instruments, would judge it to be a weapon, not less fit, perhaps fitter, than a sword for such an execution: goads of this sort I saw always used hereabouts, and also in Syria; and the reason is, because the same single person both drives the oxen, and also holds and manages the plough; which makes it necessary to use such a goad as is above described, to avoid the incumbrance of two instruments."

The method of managing the ground, and preparing it for the seed, was much the same with the practice of the present times; for Jeremiah speaks of ploughing up the fallow ground (Jerem. iv. 3.), and Isaiah of harrowing, or breaking up the clods (Isa. xxviii. 24.); but Moses, for wise reasons doubtless, gave a positive injunction, that they should not sow their fields with mingled seed.

[1] Maundrell's Travels, p. 110.

The kinds of grain sowed by the Jews were fitches, cummin, wheat, barley, and rice (Isa. xxviii. 25.); there were three months between their sowing, and their first reaping, and four months to their full harvest; their barley harvest was at the passover, and their wheat harvest at the Pentecost. The reapers made use of sickles, and according to the present custom they filled their hands with the corn, and those that bound up the sheaves their bosom: there was a person *set over the reapers* (Ruth ii. 5.) to see that they did their work, that they had provision proper for them, and to pay them their wages: the Chaldees call him Rab, the master, the ruler, or governor of the reapers. Women were employed in reaping as well as the men, and such was the piety of antient times, that those who came into the field, saluted their labourers at work in this form, *the Lord be with you!* to which they answered, *the Lord bless thee!* (Ruth ii. 4.) The reapers were usually entertained above the rank of common servants, though in the time of Boaz we find nothing provided for them but bread and parched corn; and their sauce was vinegar, which doubtless was very cool in those hot countries. (Ruth ii. 14.) The poor were allowed the liberty of leasing, though the land-owners were not bound to admit them immediately into the field as soon as the reapers had cut down the corn and bound it up in sheaves, but when it was carried off: they might choose also among the poor, whom they thought most worthy, or most necessitous. The conclusion of the harvest, or carrying home the last load, was with the Jews a season of joyous festivity, and was celebrated with a harvest feast. (Psal. cxxvi. Isa. ix. 3. xvi. 9, 10.) The corn, being cut and carried in waggons or carts, (Numb. vii. 3—8. Isa. v. 8. xxviii. 27, 28. Amos ii. 13.) was either laid up in stacks (Exod. xxii. 6) or barns (Matt. vi. 26. xiii. 30. Luke xiii. 18. 24.); and, when threshed out, was stored in granaries or garners. (Psal. xliv. 13. Matt. iii. 12.) David had *storehouses in the fields, in the cities, and in the villages, and in the castles.* (1 Chron. xxvii. 25.)

IV. After the grain was carried into the barn, the next concern was to thresh or beat the corn out of the ear, which process was performed in various ways. Sometimes it was done by horses (Isa. xxviii. 28.), and by oxen, that trod out the corn with their hoofs shod with brass. (Mic. iv. 12, 13.) This mode of threshing is expressly referred to by Hosea (x. 11.), and in the prohibition of Moses against *muzzling the ox that treadeth out the corn* (Deut. xxv. 4.), and it obtains in India to this day, where oxen are employed; as buffaloes are in

Ceylon, asses in North Africa, and horses in Crim Tatary [1]. Another mode of threshing was, by drawing a loaded cart with wheels, over the corn, backwards and forwards; so that the wheels running over it, forcibly shook out the grain (Isa. xxviii. 28.): but the most common mode appears to have been that which is in use in this country, viz. by flails. Thus the fitches are said to be beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod. In this manner Gideon and Araunah or Ornan threshed out their wheat (Judg. vi. 11. 1 Chron. xxi. 20.); for it is represented as their own personal action.

The threshing floors were places of great note among the antient Hebrews, particularly that of Araunah the Jebusite, which was the spot of ground chosen by king David on which to build the altar of God (2 Sam. xxiv. 25.); and this was the very place where the temple of Solomon was afterwards erected. (2 Chron. iii. 1.) These floors were covered at the top, to keep off the rain, but lay open on all sides, that the wind might come in freely, for the winnowing of the corn; which being done, they were shut up at night, with doors fitted to them, that if any body lay there, he might be kept warm, and the corn be secured from the danger of robbers (Ruth iii. 6.): the time of winnowing, or separating the corn from the chaff, was in the evening, when the heat of the day was over, and cool breezes began to rise; for this purpose, they had the same implements which are in common use; for Isaiah speaks of winnowing *with the shovel, and with the fan* (Isa. xxx. 24.), and God pronounces by his prophet Amos, *that he will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve; yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth.* (Amos ix. 9.)

After the corn was thus threshed, it was dried either in the sun, or by a fire, or in a furnace. This is called parched corn (Levit. xxiii. 14. 1 Sam. xvii. 17. and xxv. 18.), and was sometimes used in this manner for food without any farther preparation, but generally the parching or drying it, was in order to make it more fit for grinding. This process was performed either in mortars or mills, both of which are mentioned in Numb. xi. 8. And Solomon speaks of the former, when he compares the braying a fool in a mortar to the like practice used with wheat. (Prov. xxvii. 22.) But mills were chiefly employed for this purpose; and they were deemed of such use and necessity, that the Israelites were strictly forbidden *to take*

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[1] Ward's History, &c. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 320.; Dr. Davy's Travels in the Interior of Ceylon, p. 275. (London 1821.), where a threshing floor is delineated; Capt. Lyon's Tour in Mourzouk and Fezzan, p. 169. Mrs. Holderness's Notes on the Crim Tatars, p. 97. (London, 1821). See also Mr. Dodwell's Classical Tour in Greece, vol. ii. p. 10.

the nether or upper mill-stone in pledge; the reason of which is added, because this was taking a man's life in pledge (Deut. xxiv. 6.), intimating that while the mill ceases to grind, people are in danger of being starved.

The grinding at mills was accounted an inferior sort of work, and therefore prisoners and captives were generally put to it. To this work Samson was set, while he was in the prison-house. (Judg. xvi. 21.) There hand-mills were usually kept, by which prisoners earned their living. The expression in Isa. xlvii. 2. —*Take the mill-stones and grind meal,*—is part of the description of a slave; but for the most part the women servants were employed in this drudgery, as is evident from Matt. xxiv. 1. This was in use not only among the Jews, but also among the Egyptians and Chaldeans, as appears from Exod. xi. 5. and Lam. v. 13.

The sacred poets derive many beautiful images from the rural and domestic economy of the Jews; and as the same pursuits were cherished and followed by the Jews during the manifestation of our Redeemer, it is natural to imagine that in the writings of Jews there must occur frequent allusions to the implements and arts of agriculture, and to those rustic occupations which in general formed the study and exercise of this nation. Hence the beautiful images and apt similitudes in the following passages. No one having *put his hand to the* PLOUGH and *looking back* is *fit for the kingdom of God.—Ye are God's* HUSBANDRY, or *cultivated field* [1].—A *workman, that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly* DIVIDING [2] the word of truth.—*Wherefore lay apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, and receive with meekness the ingrafted word. Whatsoever a man* SOWETH *that shall he* REAP: *he that* SOWETH *to the flesh*—lives a sensual life,—*shall from the flesh* REAP *destruction, but he that* SOWETH *to the spirit,—lives* a *rational* life,—*shall from the spirit* REAP *everlasting life.—Consider the ravens, they* SOW *not, neither do they* REAP, *or gather into barns, yet your heavenly father feedeth them.—I am the good* SHEPHERD, *and know my* SHEEP, *and am known of mine. The sheep hear his voice, and he calleth his own sheep by name* (John x. 3.) [3]; *and leadeth them out. And when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice. And a*

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[1] Cor. iii. 9. Θεου γεωργιον.

[2] 2 Tim. ii. 15. Εργατην ορθοτομουντα. A beautiful and expressive image taken from an husbandman (εργατης) drawing his furrow even, and cutting the ground in a direct line.

[3] He calleth his own sheep by name. By this allusion it appears that it was customary for the Jewish shepherds to give their sheep particular names, as we do our horses, cows, dogs, &c.

stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of strangers [1]. (John x. 45.)—*Fear not,* LITTLE FLOCK, *it is your father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.* How striking is the parable of the sower, which, by *seed,* scattered promiscuously, and in every direction by an *husbandman,* and meeting a various fate according to the respective nature of the soil into which it fell, represents the different reception which Gospel doctrine would experience in the world according to the different dispositions and principles of that mind into which it was admitted. *He that soweth the* GOOD SEED, *is the son of man; the* FIELD *is the world; the* GOOD SEED *are the children of the kingdom; the* TARES *are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that* SOWED *them is the devil; the* HARVEST *is the end of the world; and the* REAPERS *are the angels. As therefore the* TARES *are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of the world.—Whose* FAN *is in his hand, and he will thoroughly* PURGE *his* FLOOR, *and* GATHER *his* WHEAT *into the* GARNER, *but he will* BURN UP *the* CHAFF *with* UNQUENCHABLE FIRE. By what an apt and aweful similitude does St. Paul represent God's rejection of the Jews and admission of the heathens, by the boughs of an olive being lopped off, and the scion of a young olive ingrafted into the old tree (Romans xi. 17, &c.); and, continuing the same imagery, how strictly does he caution the Gentiles against insolently exulting over the mutilated branches, and cherishing the vain conceit that the boughs were lopped off merely that they might be ingrafted; for if God spared not the native branches, they had greater reason to fear lest he would not spare them: that they should remember that the Jews through their wilful disbelief of Christianity were cut off, and that they, the Gentiles, if they disgrace their religion, would in like manner forfeit the divine favour, and their present flourishing branches be also cut down. To inspire the Gentile Christians with humility, he concludes with assuring them that the Jewish nation, though they had experienced this severity of God as he calls it, were not totally forsaken of the Almighty; that the branches, though

[1] Polybius, speaking of the flocks in the island of Cyrmon, notices a practice which illustrates in a very striking manner the allusion of our Saviour. When any strangers land there, in order to lay hold of them, the sheep immediately run away: but when the shepherd blows his horn, they immediately run towards it. Nor, adds the historian, is it at all wonderful that they should thus obey the sound, since, in Italy, the keepers of swine do not observe the custom of Greece in following their herd: but, *going before them* to some distance, they sound their horn, and the herd immediately follow them, flocking to the sound; and so accustomed are they to their own horn, as to excite no little astonishment at the first hearing of it. Polybius, lib. xiv. p. 654, 655. Hanoviæ, 1619.

cut down and robbed of their antient honours, were not abandoned to perish: when the Jews returned from their infidelity they would be ingrafted:—an omnipotent hand was still able to re-insert them into their original stock. For if thou, O heathen, the scion of an unfruitful wild olive wert cut out of thy own native barren tree, and, by a process repugnant to the ordinary laws of nature, wert ingrafted into the fruitful generous olive—how much more will not those, who naturally belong to the antient stock, be, in future time, ingrafted into their own kindred olive! With what singular beauty and propriety is the gradual progress of religion in the soul, from the beginning to its maturity, represented by seed committed to a generous soil, which, after a few successions of day and night, imperceptibly vegetates—peeps above the surface—springs higher and higher—and spontaneously producing, first, the verdant blade—then the ear—afterwards the swelling grain, gradually filling the ear (Mark iv. 27, 28.) [1]; and when the time of harvest is come, and it is arrived at its maturity, it is then reaped and collected into the storehouse. Beautiful illustrations and images like these, taken from rural life, must seal the strongest impressions, particularly upon the minds of Jews, who were daily employed in these occupations, from which these pertinent similes and expressive comparisons were borrowed.

V. Palestine abounded with generous wine; and in some districts the grapes were of superior quality. The canton allotted to Judah was celebrated on this account. In this district were the vales of Sorek and of Eshcol; and the cluster, which the Hebrew spies carried from this last place, was so large as to be carried on a staff between two of them (Numb. xiii. 23.); Lebanon (Hos. xiv. 7.), and Helbon (Ezek. xxvii. 18.), were likewise celebrated for their exquisite wines.

The Jews planted their vineyards most commonly on the south side of a hill or mountain, the stones being gathered out and the space hedged round with thorns or walled. (Isa. v. 1.—6. compared with Psal. lxxx. and Matt. xxi. 33.) "A good vineyard consisted of a thousand vines, and produced a rent of "a thousand silverlings," or shekels of silver. (Isa. vii. 23.) It required two hundred more to pay the dressers. (Song of Solomon, viii. 11, 12.) In these the keepers and vine-dressers laboured, digging, planting, pruning and propping the vines; and gathering the grapes, and making wine.

[1] Seminis modo spargenda sunt, quod quamvis sit exiguum, cum occupavit idoneum locum, vires suas explicat, et ex minimo in maximos auctus diffunditur. Senecæ Opera, tom. ii. epist. 38. p. 134. edit. Gronovii. 1672.

This was at once a laborious task, and often reckoned a base one. (2 Kings xxv. 12. Song of Solomon i. 6. Isa. xli. 5.) Some of the best vineyards were at Engedi, or perhaps at Baal-hamon, which might not be far distant, and at Sibmah. (Eccles. ii. 4. Song of Solomon i. 14. viii. 11. Isa. xvi. 9.) Vines also were trained upon the walls of the houses [1]. (Psalm cxxviii. 3.) "The vines with the tender grapes *gave* a good smell" early in the spring (Song of Solomon ii. 13.), as we learn also, from Isa. xviii. 5. "afore the harvest," that is, the *barley* harvest, "when the bud is perfect, and the sour grape is ripening in the flower."

"*The vintage* followed the wheat harvest and the *threshing*, (Levit. xxvi. 5. Amos ix. 13.), about June or July, when the clusters of the grapes were gathered with a sickle, and put into baskets (Jerem. vi. 9.), carried and thrown into the wine-vat, or wine-press, where they were probably first *trodden* by men, and then *pressed*. (Rev. xiv. 18—20.) It is mentioned, as a mark of the great work and power of the Messiah, "I have trodden the" figurative "wine-press alone; and of the people there was none with me." (Isa. lxiii. 3.; see also Rev. xix. 15.) The vintage was a season of great mirth. Of the juice of the squeezed grapes were formed *wine* and *vinegar*. The wines of Helbon, near Damascus, and of Lebanon, where the vines had a fine sun, were reckoned most excellent. (Ezek. xxvii. 18. Hos. xiv. 7.) The wines of Canaan being very heady, were commonly mixed with water for common use, as the Italians do theirs; and sometimes they scented them with frankincense, myrrh, calamus, and other spices (Prov. ix. 2. 5. Song of Solomon viii. 2.); they also scented their wine with pomegranates, or made wine of their juice, as we do of the juice of currants, gooseberries, &c. fermented with sugar. Wine is best when old and on the lees, the dregs having sunk to the bottom. (Isa. xxv. 6.) Sweet wine is that which is made from grapes fully ripe. (Isa. xlix. 26.) The Israelites had two kinds of *vinegar*, the one was a weak wine, which was used for their common drink in the harvest field, &c. (Ruth ii. 14.), as the Spaniards and Italians still do: and it was probably of this that Solomon was to furnish "twenty thousand baths" to Hiram, for his servants, the hewers that cut timber in Lebanon. (2 Chron. ii. 10.) The other had a sharp acid taste, like ours; and hence Solomon

[1] The same mode of culture is practised in Persia to this day. Mr. Morier has given an engraving on wood illustrative of this custom, which beautifully elucidates the patriarch Jacob's comparison of Joseph to a *fruitful bough*, whose *branches run over the wall*. (Gen. xlix. 22.) Second Journey, p. 232.

hints, that a sluggard vexes and hurts such as employ him in business; "as vinegar" is disagreeable "to the teeth, and smoke to the eyes" (Prov. x. 26.); and, "as vinegar" poured "upon nitre" spoils its virtue; so "he that singeth songs to a heavy heart," does but add to its grief. (Prov. xxv. 20.) The poor were allowed to *glean* grapes, as well as corn and other articles (Levit. xix. 10. Deut. xxiv. 21. Isa. iii. 14. xvii. 6. xxiv. 13. Mic. vii. 1.); and we learn that "the gleaning of the grapes of Ephraim" was "better than the vintage of Abiezer." (Judges, viii. 2.) The vineyard was not to be pruned and dressed in the sabbatical year. (Levit. xxv. 3, 4.) The vessels in which the wine was kept were, probably, for the most part, *bottles*, which were usually made of *leather*, or goat skins, firmly sewed and pitched together. The Arabs pull the skin off goats in the same manner that we do from rabbits, and sew up the places where the legs and tail were cut off, leaving one for the neck of the bottle, to pour from; and in such bags, they put up and carry, not only their liquors, but dry things which are not apt to be broken; by which means they are well preserved from wet, dust, or insects. These would in time crack and wear out. Hence, when the Gibeonites came to Joshua, pretending that they came from a far country, amongst other things they brought "wine bottles old, and rent, and bound up where they had leaked." (Josh. ix. 4. 13.) Thus, too, it was not expedient to put new wine into old bottles, because the fermentation of it would break or crack the bottles. (Matt. ix. 17.) And thus David complains, that he is become like "a bottle in the smoke;" that is, a bottle dried, and cracked, and worn out, and unfit for service. (Psalm cxix. 83.) These bottles were probably of various sizes, and sometimes very large; for when Abigail went to meet David and his four hundred men, and took a present to pacify and supply him, "two hundred loaves," and "five sheep ready dressed," &c. she took only "*two* bottles of wine" (1 Sam. xxv. 18.); a very disproportionate quantity, unless the bottles were large. But the Israelites had *bottles* likewise made by the *potters*, (see Isa. xxx. 14. margin, and Jerem. xix. 1. 10. xlviii. 12.) We hear also of vessels called *barrels*. That of the widow, in which her meal was held, (1 Kings xvii. 12. 14.) was not probably very large; but those four in which the water was brought up from the sea, at the bottom of Mount Carmel, to pour upon Elijah's sacrifice and altar, must have been large. (1 Kings xviii. 33.) We read likewise of other *vessels*, which the widow of Shunem borrowed of her neighbours, to hold the miraculous supply of

oil (2 Kings iv. 2—6.); and of the "water-pots," or jars, or jugs, "of stone," of considerable size, in which our Lord caused the water to be converted into wine. (John ii. 6.) Grapes, among the Israelites, were likewise *dried* into *raisins.* A part of Abigail's present to David was "an hundred clusters of raisins" (1 Sam. xxv. 18.); and when Ziba met David, his present contained the same quantity. (2 Sam. xvi. 1.; see also 1 Sam. xxx. 12. and 1 Chron. xii. 40.)"[1]

It was a curse pronounced upon the Israelites, that upon their disobedience, they should plant vineyards and dress them, but they should neither drink of the wine, nor eat the grapes, for the worms should eat them. (Deut. xxviii. 39.) It seems that there is a peculiar sort of worms that infest the vines, called by the Latins Volvox and Convolvulus, because it wraps and rolls itself up in the buds, and eats the grapes up, when they grow towards a ripeness, as the Roman authors explain it.[2]

Besides other fruits that were common in Judæa, as dates, figs, pomegranates, they had regular plantations of olives; and among the judgments with which God threatened the Israelites for their sins, it was denounced, that though they had olive trees through all their coasts, yet they should not anoint themselves with the oil, for the olive should cast her fruit (Deut. xxviii. 40.; being blasted (as the Jerusalem Targum explains it) in the very blossom, the buds should drop off for want of rain, or the fruit should be eaten with worms. Maimonides observes[3], that the idolaters in those countries pretended by certain magical arts to preserve all manner of fruit, so that the worms should not gnaw the vines, nor either buds or fruits fall from the trees (as he relates their words out of one of their books): In order therefore, that he might deter the Israelites from all idolatrous practices, Moses pronounces that they should draw upon themselves those very punishments, which they endeavoured by such means to avoid.

VI. The Jews do not appear to have greatly excelled in any mechanical arts and manufactures. In the genealogy of the tribe of Judah, delivered in 1 Chron. iv. 14., we read of a place called the *Valley of Craftsmen*, and (ver. 21. 23.) of a family of workmen of fine linen, and another of potters: and when Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, the enemy *car-*

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[1] Investigator No. IV., pp. 307 — 309.—The pleasing and instructive essay on the agriculture of the Israelites, in the first, third and fourth numbers of this well conducted journal contains the fullest account of this interesting subject extant in the English language.

[2] Bochart. Hieroz. p. 3. l. 4. c. 27.

[3] More Nevoch. p. 3. c. 37.

ried away all the craftsmen and smiths. (2 Kings xxiv. 14.) But as a proof that their skill in manufactures, and trade therein could not be very extensive, we find that the prophet Ezekiel (chap. xxvii.) in describing the affluence of the goods which came to Tyre, makes mention of nothing brought thither from Judæa, except wheat, oil, grapes, and balm, which were all the natural product of their ground. It appears that the mistress of the family usually made the clothing for their husbands, their children and themselves. This is intimated to us by the example of the virtuous wife spoke of by Solomon; of whom he says, *she will do her husband good, and not evil, all the days of her life*, and then subjoins, *she seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands.* (Prov. xxxi. 13.)

Their knowledge in liberal arts does not seem to have greatly exceeded their skill in mechanics. They knew but little of astronomy and the motions of the heavenly bodies. Solomon indeed was a noble pattern of knowledge and wisdom. His skill in natural philosophy is sufficiently indicated, when we are told, *that he spake of trees from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall; he spake also of beasts, and of fowls, and of creeping things, and of fishes.* (1 Kings iv. 33.) His books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes abundantly inform us what skill he had in ethics, economics, and politics: but as the wonderful talents with which he was endued, were the immediate gift of God, and in compliance with his special request for divine wisdom (2 Chron. i. 7—13.), so singular an instance is no rule, by which we ought to judge of the genius of that whole nation.

Nor did building or architecture attain much perfection, prior to the reign of the accomplished Solomon. We read, indeed, before the Israelites came into the land of Canaan, that Bezaleel and Aholiab (who were employed in the construction of the tabernacle) excelled *in all manner of workmanship* (Exod. xxxv. 30—35.), but we are there told, that they had their skill by inspiration from God, and it does not appear that they had any successors; for in the days of Solomon, when they were at rest from all their enemies, and at full freedom to follow out improvements of every kind, yet they had no professed artists that could undertake the work of the temple, so that Solomon was obliged to send to Hiram king of Tyre for a skilful artist (2 Chron. vii. 13, 14.), by whose direction the model of the temple, and all the curious furniture of it, was both designed and finished. But, after the Jews were under the influence or power of the Romans, there is no doubt that a better taste prevailed among them. Herod, at least, must have employed

some architects of distinguished abilities to repair and beautify the temple, and render it the superb structure which the description of Josephus shows that it must have been.

VII. We read nothing of the art of writing in Scripture, before the copy of the law was given by God to Moses, which was *written* (that is, engraven) *on two tables of stone by the finger of God* (Exod. xxxi. 18.), and this is called the *writing of God.* (Exod. xxxii. 16.) It is therefore probable that God himself was the first who taught letters to Moses, who communicated the knowledge of them to the Israelites, and they to the other eastern nations. Engraving or sculpture seems therefore to be the most antient way of writing, of which we have another very early instance in Exod. xxxix. 30. where we are told, that holiness to the Lord was written on a golden plate, and worn on the high priest's head. And we find that the names of the twelve tribes were commanded to be written on twelve rods. (Numb. xvii. 2.) Afterwards they made use of broad rushes or flags for writing on, which grew in great abundance in Egypt, and are noticed by the prophet Isaiah, when foretelling the confusion of that country. (Isa. xix. 6, 7.)

The other eastern nations made use chiefly of parchment, being the thin skins of animals carefully dressed. The best was made at Pergamos, whence it was called *Charta Pergamena.* It is probable that the Jews learned the use of it from them, and that this is what is meant by a *roll* (Ezra vi. 2.), and a *roll of a book* (Jer. xxxvi. 2.), and a *scroll rolled together* (Isa. xxxiv. 4.): for it could not be thin and weak paper, but parchment, which is of some consistency, that was capable of being thus rolled up. St. Paul is the only person who makes express mention of parchment. (2 Tim. iv. 13.) In Job. xix. 24. and in Jer. xvii. 1. there is mention made of pens of iron, with which they probably made the letters, when they engraved on stone or other hard substances: but for softer materials they, in all probability, made use of quills or reeds; for we are told of some in the tribe of Zebulun who *handled the pen of the writer* (Judg. v. 14.) David alludes to the *pen of a ready writer* (Psal. xlv. i.), and Baruch, as we are told, wrote the words of Jeremiah with ink in a book. (Jer. xxxvi. 18.)

VIII. Of the poetry and music of the Hebrews we have more ample information. The genius of their *poetry* having been already discussed at some length in a former volume of this work, it is sufficient here to remark, that the effusions of the inspired Hebrew muse infinitely surpass in grandeur, sublimity, beauty, and pathos, all the most celebrated productions of Greece and Rome. Not to repeat unnecessarily the obser-

vations already offered on this topic, we may here briefly remark, that the eucharistic song of Moses, composed on the deliverance of the Israelites and their miraculous passage of the Red Sea (Exod. xv. 1—19.), is an admirable hymn, full of strong and lively images. The song of Deborah and Barak (Judg. 5.), and that of Hannah the mother of Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 1.), have many excellent flights, and some noble and sublime raptures. David's lamentation on the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19.) is an incomparable elegy. The gratulatory hymn (Isa. xii.) and Hezekiah's song of praise (Isa. xxviii.) are worthy of every one's attention. The prayer of Habakkuk (iii.) contains a sublime description of the divine majesty. Besides these single hymns we have the book of Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and Lamentations; all of which are composed by different poets, according to the usage of those times. The Psalms are a great storehouse of heavenly devotion, full of affecting and sublime thoughts, and with a variety of expressions, admirably calculated to excite a thankful remembrance of God's mercies, and for moving the passions of joy and grief, indignation and hatred. They consist mostly of pious and affectionate prayers, holy meditations, and exalted strains of praise and thanksgiving. The allusions are beautiful, the expressions tender and moving, and the piety of the authors is singularly remarkable. The Proverbs of Solomon are a divine collection of many admirable sentences of morality, wonderfully adapted to instruct us in our duty to God and man. The book of Ecclesiastes teaches us, in a very lively manner, the insufficiency of all earthly enjoyments to make a man happy. The Canticles or Song of Solomon, under the parable of a man's affection to his spouse, in very tender yet elegant expressions, shews us the ardent love of Christ to his church and people; and the Lamentations of Jeremiah contain a very mournful account of the state of Jerusalem, as destroyed by the Chaldeans.

Their sacred songs were accompanied with *music*, the nature of which it is now as impossible to ascertain, as it is to determine what musical instruments were in use among them. Besides their sacred music, the Hebrew monarchs had their private music. Asaph was chief master of music to king David. He was, as the Scripture says, *a prophet at the king's hand.* And Barzillai said to David, *Can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women?* Even in the temple, and in the ceremonies of religion, female musicians were admitted as well as male, who generally were the daughters of the Levites. Heman had fourteen sons and three daughters, who understood music. Ezra, in his

enumeration of those whom he brought back with him from the captivity, reckons up two hundred singing men and singing women. The Chaldee paraphrast on chap. ii. 8. of Ecclesiastes, where Solomon says that he gat singing men and singing women, understands it of singing women of the temple. In 1 Chron. xv. 20. it is said, in the Hebrew, that Zechariah, Aziel, and Shemiramoth, presided over the seventh band of music, which was that of the young women.

But though we know little of the *nature* of the Hebrew music, if we may draw any conclusions concerning it from its *effects*, its magnificence, its majesty, and the beautiful sentiments contained in the songs of Sion, it must be admitted, that the music of the Israelites was truly excellent. The sacred history has recorded several examples of the power and charms of music to sweeten the temper, to compose and allay the passions of the mind, to revive the drooping spirits, and to dissipate melancholy. It had this effect on Saul, when David played to him on his harp. (1 Sam. xvi. 16. 23.) And when Elisha was desired by Jehoshaphat to tell him what his success against the king of Moab would be, the prophet required a minstrel to be brought unto him; and when he played, it is said, that the *hand of the Lord came upon him* (2 Kings iii. 15.), not that the gift of prophecy was the natural effect of music, but the meaning is, that music disposed the organs, the humours, and in short the whole mind and spirit of the prophet to receive these supernatural impressions.

IX. The diseases to which the human frame is subject, would naturally lead man to try to alleviate or to remove them. Hence sprang the art of medicine. Antiently, it is said to have been the practice to expose the sick on the side of frequented ways, in order that those persons who passed along, inquiring into the nature of their complaint, might communicate the knowledge of such remedies as had been beneficial to themselves under similar circumstances [1]. The healing art was unquestionably cultivated; but there is reason to think that the knowledge of the Jews was very limited, and that it extended little beyond the curing of a green wound, or the binding up of fractures. In the case of *internal* disorders, it does not appear to have been customary to call in the aid of a physician. These maladies were regarded as the immediate effect of the divine anger, and inflicted by evil spirits, as the executioners of his vengeance; and this was the reason why religious people had generally recourse to God only, or to his prophets, and wicked people to

[1] Maximus Tyrius, diss. xl. p. 477.

magicians, enchanters, and false gods. King Asa being afflicted with the gout in his feet, and having applied to the physicians, was upbraided with it, as an action contrary to that confidence which he ought to have had in the Lord. (2 Chron. xvi. 12.) Jeroboam sent his wife to the prophet when his son was indisposed. (1 Kings xiv.) Hezekiah, labouring under a disease which brought him nearly to the grave, was cured by Isaiah, by the application only of a cataplasm of figs. (2 Kings xx. 7.) In leprosy (which was a disease very frequent among the Jews) the priests judged of the nature and quality of this evil, and accordingly declared the person healed or not healed. Naaman the Syrian came to the land of Israel to obtain from Elisha a cure for his leprosy. (2 Kings v.) Benhadad, king of Syria, sent to consult Elisha about his distemper. (2 Kings viii. 7, 8.) Ahaziah, king of Israel, sent to Baal-zebub at Ekron (2 Kings i. 2.); and Jeremiah speaks of enchantments that were used against the biting of serpents, and other venomous creatures. (Jer. viii. 17.)

It is true, in these first ages there might not be much occasion for a science, which is now so necessary to the health and happiness of mankind. The simplicity of their manners, the plainness of their diet, their temperance in meat and drink, and their active life (being generally occupied in the field, and in rural affairs), naturally tended to strengthen the body, and to afford a greater share of health than what we now enjoy. The powers of human nature were not then so much prejudiced by luxury and intemperance, which are the occasion now of so many diseases; and to this unhappy source is owing our advancement in the knowledge of physic.

Various diseases are mentioned in the sacred writings, as cancers, consumption, dropsy, epilepsy, fevers, gangrenes, hæmorroids, or piles, leprosy (concerning which see pp. 354—356 *supra*), lunacy, palsy, &c. Some eminent writers have supposed that the demoniacs, or persons who were possessed by evil spirits, were only lunatics. But it is evident that the persons, who in the New Testament are said to be *possessed with devils* (more correctly with demons) cannot mean only persons afflicted with some strange disease: for they are evidently here, as in other places,—particularly in Luke iv. 33—36. 41.—distinguished from the diseased. Further, Christ's speaking on various occasions to these evil spirits, as distinct from the persons possessed by them,—his commanding them and asking them questions, and receiving answers from them, or not suffering them to speak,—and several circumstances relating to the terrible preternatural effects which they had upon the possessed, and to the manner of Christ's evoking them,—par-

ticularly their requesting and obtaining permission to enter the herd of swine (Matt. viii. 31, 32.), and precipitating them into the sea;—all these circumstances can *never* be accounted for by any distemper whatever. Nor is it any reasonable objection that we do not read of such frequent possessions before or since the appearance of our Redeemer upon earth. It seems indeed to have been ordered by a special providence that they should have been permitted to have *then* been more common; in order that He, who came to destroy the works of the Devil, might the more remarkably and visibly triumph over him; and that the machinations and devices of Satan might be more openly defeated, at a time when their power was at its highest, both in the souls and bodies of men; and also, that plain facts might be a sensible confutation of the Sadducean error, which denied the existence of angels or spirits (Acts xxiii. 8.), and prevailed among the principal men both for rank and learning in those days. The cases of the demoniacs expelled by the apostles were cases of real possessions: and it is a well known fact, that, in the second century of the Christian era, the apologists for the persecuted believers in the faith of Christ, appealed to their ejection of evil spirits as a proof of the divine origin of their religion. Hence it is evident that the demoniacs were not merely insane or epileptic patients, but persons really and truly vexed and convulsed by unclean demons.

CHAPTER VII.

FESTIVITIES AND AMUSEMENTS OF THE JEWS, AND OF OTHER NATIONS MENTIONED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *Music.*—II. *Dancing.*—III. *Allusions to the Theatres and to theatrical performances in the New Testament.*—IV. *Allusions to the Grecian Games, particularly the Olympic Games.*—1. *Qualifications of the candidates.*—*Preparatory discipline to which they were subjected.*—2. *Foot-race.*—3. *Rewards of the Victors.*—4. *Beautiful allusions to these Games in the New Testament, explained.*

I. WE have seen in the preceding chapter that music was cultivated to a high degree among the Jews, for theirreligio us worship. But this pleasing art was not confined to sacred purposes. They made use of music also upon all solemn occasions of entertaining their friends, and at public festivals. Laban tells Jacob that if he had known of his leaving him, *he would have sent him away with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp.* (Gen. xxxi. 27.) Isaiah says, that *the harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe, are in their feasts* (Isa. v. 12.); and, to express the cessation of these feasts, he says, *the mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the joy of the harp ceaseth.* (Isa. xxiv. 8.) It was also the custom at the coronation of kings. (2 Chron. xxiii. 13.) And it was the usual manner of expressing their mirth upon their receiving good tidings of victory, and upon the triumphal returns of their generals, as may be seen in Judg. xi. 34. and 1 Sam. xviii. 6. That music and dancing was used among the Jews at their feasts in latter ages, may be inferred from the parable of the prodigal son. (Luke xv. 25.)

II. Dancing was also an ordinary concomitant of music among the Jews; sometimes it was used on a religious account. Thus Miriam with her women glorified God (after the deliverance from the Egyptians) in dances as well as songs (Exod. xv. 20.), and David danced after the ark. (2 Sam. ii. 16.) It was a thing common at the Jewish feasts (Judg. xxi. 19. 21.), and in public triumphs (Judg. xi. 34.), and at all seasons of mirth and rejoicing. (Psal. xxx. 11. Jer. xxxi. 4. 13. Luke xv. 25.) The idolatrous Jews made it a part of their worship which they paid to the golden calf. (Exod. xxxii. 19.) The Amalekites danced after their victory at Ziklag (1 Sam. xxx. 16.), and Job makes it part of the character of the prosperous wicked (that is, of those who, placing all their

happiness in the enjoyments of sense, forget God and religion), that their children dance. (Job xxi. 11.) The dancing of the profligate Herodias's daughter pleased Herod so highly, that he promised to give her whatever she asked, and accordingly, at her desire, and in compliment to her, he commanded John the Baptist to be beheaded in prison. (Matt. xiv. 6, 7, 8.)

III. Nothing seems more foreign to the manners of the Israelites than theatres, public shews, or those exercises in which gladiators fought naked, and hazarded their lives for the sake of diverting a multitude of spectators,—a barbarous amusement which has happily been abolished by the beneficent influence of the Gospel. There were in the cities of the heathens certain places appointed for public sports. The theatres held a great number of persons, and were so contrived that all could conveniently see[1]. In the performances there exhibited the Gentiles took great delight; and this circumstance accounts for so many theatres being erected in Judæa, soon after it became subject to a foreign dominion. The theatres also appear to have been places of public meeting on particular occasions. Thus, at Ephesus, *Gaius and Aristarchus, Paul's companions in travel*, were taken to the theatre; but the apostle was prevented from entering in among them for fear of increasing the tumult of the people. (Acts xix. 29, 30.)

"In all countries the stage has ever furnished different languages with the most beautiful metaphors that adorn them. In every tongue we read of the drama of human life[2]; its scenes are described as continually shifting and varying: mortal life is represented as an intricate plot, which will gradually unfold and finally wind up into harmony and happiness: and the world is styled a magnificent theatre in which God has placed us,—assigned to every man a character,—is a constant spectator how he supports this character,—and will finally applaud or condemn according to the good or bad execution of

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[1] See Lamy, De Tabernaculo, lib. iv. c. 7. § 3.

[2] Σκηνη πας ὁ βιος, και παιγνιον· η μαθε παιζειν,
Την σπουδην μεταθεις, η φυγε τας ωδυνας.—Epigram in Antholog.

Quomodo fabula, sic vita; non quàm diu, sed quàm bene acta sit, refert. Nihil ad rem pertinet, quo loco desinas: quocunque voles desine: tantùm bonam clausulam impone. Seneca, epist. lxxvii. tom. ii. p. 306. edit. Eliz. 1672. Οιον τι παραδοξον ἀπολυει της σκηνης ὁ παραλαβων τραγηγος αλλ' ουκ ἐιπον τα πινθη μεχρι, αλλα τα τρια. καλως ἐιπας. ἐν μικροις τῳ βιῳ τα τρια ὁλον το δραμα ἐστι. Mar. Antoninus, lib. xii. p. 236. edit. Oxon. The words of the Psalmist,—"we spend our days as a tale that is told,"—have been supposed to be an allusion to a dramatic fable. The imagery, considered in this view, would be striking, did we know that the Jews ever had any scenical representations.

the part, whatever it is, he has been appointed to act [1]. The drama was instituted to exhibit a striking picture of human life, and, in a faithful mirror, to hold up to the spectator's view that miscellany of characters which diversify it, and those interchanges and reverses of fortune which chequer it [2]. It is scarcely necessary to remark, though the observation is proper for the sake of illustrating a very beautiful passage in one of St. Paul's epistles, that a variety of scenes is painted, which, by means of the requisite machinery, are very frequently shifting, in order to shew the characters in a variety of places and fortunes. To the spectator lively and affecting views are by turns displayed, sometimes, for example, of Thebes, sometimes of Athens [3], one while of a palace, at another of a prison; now of a splendid triumph, and now of a funeral procession,—every thing, from the beginning to the catastrophe, perpetually varying and changing, according to the rules and conduct of the drama. Agreeable to this, with what elegance and propriety does St. Paul, whom we find quoting Menander, one of the most celebrated writers of the Greek comedy, represent the fashion of this world as continually passing away [4], and all the scenes of this vain and visionary life as perpetually shifting. "The imagery," says Grotius, "is taken from the theatre, where the scenery is suddenly changed, and exhibits an appearance totally different [5]." And as the transactions of the drama are not real, but fictitious and imaginary, such and such characters being assumed and personated, in whose joys or griefs, in whose domestic felicities or infelicities, in whose elevation or depression the actor is not really and personally interested, but only supports a character, perhaps entirely foreign from his own, and represents passions and affections in which his own heart has no share: how beautiful and ex-

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[1] Epicteti Enchirid. cap. xvii. p. 699. Upton. Epicteti Dissertationes ab Arriano. lib. iv. p. 580. Upton.

[2] M. Antoninus, lib. xi. § vi. p. 204. edit. Oxon.

[3] ——— Modò me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.
Horat. Epist. lib. ii. ver. 213.

[4] 1 Cor. vii. 31. Παραγει γαρ το σχημα του κοσμου τουτου.

[5] Dicitur, παραγειν το σχημα της σκηνης, ubi scena invertitur, aliamque planè ostendit faciem. Grotius ad loc. Mais comme Grotius remarque que cette reflexion de l'Apôtre est empruntée du Theatre, et que le mot Grec σχημα, que l'on traduit la figure, signifie proprement un personnage de theatre, ou une decoration dans Euripide et dans Aristophane, et que les Grecs disoient pour marquer le changement de scene, ou de decoration du theatre παραγει το σχημα της σκηνης, on croit qu'il faudroit traduire, La face de ce monde change, ce qui convient parfaitement au dissein de l'Apôtre dans cette conjoncture. Projet d'une Nouvelle Version par le Cene. p. 674. Rotter. 1696.

pressive, when considered in this light, is that passage of Scripture wherein the apostle is inculcating a Christian indifference for this world, and exhorting us not to suffer ourselves to be unduly affected either by the joys or sorrows of so fugitive and transitory a scene. (1 Cor. vii. 29—31.) But this I say, brethren, the time is short. It remaineth that both they that have wives be as though they had none: and they that weep as though they wept not: and they that rejoice as though they rejoiced not: and they that buy as though they possessed not: and they that use this world as not abusing it[1]. For the fashion of this world passeth away. If we keep in mind the supposed allusion in the text (the fashion of this world passeth away) we shall discern a peculiar beauty and force in his language and sentiment. For the actors in a play, whether it be comedy or tragedy, do not act their own proper and personal concerns, but only personate and mimic the characters and conditions of other men. And so when they weep, in acting some tragical part, it is as though they wept not; and there is more show and appearance, than truth and reality, of grief and sorrow in the case. On the other hand, if they rejoice in acting some brighter scene, it is as though they rejoiced not; it is but a feigned semblance of joy, and forced air of mirth and gaiety, which they exhibit to the spectators, no real inward gladness of heart. If they seem to contract marriages, or act the merchant, or personate a gentleman of fortune, still it is nothing but fiction. And so when the play is over, they have no wives, no possessions or goods, no enjoyments of the world, in consequence of such representations. In like manner, by this apt comparison, the apostle would teach us to moderate our desires and affections towards every thing in this world; and rather as it were to personate such things, as matters of a foreign nature, than to incorporate ourselves with them, as our own proper and personal concern."[2]

The theatre is also furnished with dresses suitable to every age, and adapted to every circumstance and change of fortune. The persons of the drama, in one and the same representation, frequently support a variety of characters: the prince and the beggar, the young and the old, change their dress accord-

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[1] Καταχρωμενοι is very unhappily rendered, abuse. It is here used in a good sense, as the whole passage requires. From the transiency of human life the Apostle observes, that those who are now using this world's happiness will soon be as those who had never enjoyed it. The Greek writers use Παραχρωμαι or Αποχρωμαι to abuse.

[2] Brekell's Discourses, p. 318.

ing to the characters in which they respectively appear, by turns laying aside one habit and assuming another, agreeably to every condition and age[1]. The apostle Paul seems to allude to this custom, and his expressions, regarded in this light, have a peculiar beauty and energy, when he exhorts Christians to PUT OFF the OLD MAN with his deeds, and to PUT ON THE NEW MAN. (Coloss. iii. 9, 10. and in Eph. iv. 22, 23, 24.) That ye PUT OFF, concerning the former conversation, the OLD MAN, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts: and be renewed in the spirit of your minds, and that ye PUT ON THE NEW MAN[2], which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.

"It is, moreover, well known, that in the Roman theatres and amphitheatres, malefactors and criminals were condemned to fight with lions, bears, elephants and tigers, for which[3] all parts of the Roman dominions were industriously ransacked, to afford this very polite and elegant amusement to this most refined and civilised people. The wretched miscreant was brought upon the stage, regarded with the last ignominy and contempt by the assembled multitudes, made a gazing-stock to the world, as the apostle expresses it; and a wild beast, instigated to madness by the shouts and light missive darts of the spectators, was let loose upon him, to tear and worry him in a miserable manner. To this sanguinary and brutal custom the following expressions of the author of the epistle to the Hebrews allude. (x. 32, 33.) Ye endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilst ye were made a gazing-stock both by reproaches and afflictions. The original is very emphatical; being openly exposed as on a public theatre to ignominious insults and to the last cruelties[4]. In another passage also, St. Paul, speaking

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[1] Ειναι γαρ ὁμοιον τῳ αγαθῳ ὑποκριτη τον σοφον· ὃς αν τε Θερειτου αν τε Αγαμεμνονος προσωπον αναλαβῃ, ικανον ὑποκρινεται προσηκοντως. Diogenes Laertius, lib. vii. p. 468. edit. Meibomii. 1692

[2] Mihi quidem dubium non est quin hæc loquendi ratio ducta sit ab *actoribus*, qui, *habitu mutato*, vestibusque depositis, *alius* partes agunt, *aliosque* se esse produnt, quam qui in *scenâ* esse videbantur. Krebsii Observationes in Nov. Test. p. 342. Lipsiæ, 1755.

[3] ——— Quodcunque tremendum est
Dentibus, aut insigne jubis, aut nobile cornu,
Aut rigidum setis capitur, decus omne timorque
Sylvarum, non caute latent, non mole resistunt.—Claudian.

[4] Ονειδισμοις τε και θλιψεσι θεατριζομενοι, exposed on a public stage. Dispensatorem ad bestias dedit. Hoc est, *seipsum traducere*. Id est, says one of the commentators, ludibrio exponere. Petronius Arbiter. p. 220. edit. Burman. 1709. Εξεθεατριζον εαυτους. They openly exposed themselves. Polybius, p. 364. Hanov. 1619. Eusebius relates that Attalus, a Christian, was led round the amphitheatre and exposed to the insults and violence of the multitude. Περιαχθεις κυκλῳ του αμφιθεατρου.

of the determined fierceness and bigotry with which the citizens of Ephesus opposed him, uses a strong metaphorical expression taken from the theatre:—*If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus.* Not that the apostle appears to have been actually condemned by his enemies to combat with wild beasts in the theatre: he seems only to have employed this strong phraseology, to denote the violence and ferocity of his adversaries, which resembled the rage and fury of brutes, and to compare his contention with these fierce pagan zealots and fanatics to the common theatrical conflict of men with wild beasts. [1]

"Let it be farther observed, for the elucidating a very striking passage in 1 Cor. iv. 9. that in the Roman amphitheatre the *bestiarii*, who in the morning combated with wild beasts, had armour with which to defend themselves, and to annoy and slay their antagonist. But the last who were brought upon the stage, which was about noon [2], were a miserable number, quite naked, without any weapons to assail their adversary—with

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Eusebius Hist. Eccles. lib. v. p. 206. Cantab. Solebant olim gladiatores et bestiarii, antequam certamen obirent, per ora populi circumduci. Valesii not. in loc. There is a striking passage in Philo, where, in the same strong metaphorical imagery the Apostle here employs, Flaccus is represented deploring the public ignominy to which he was now reduced. See Philonis Opera, tom. ii. p. 542. edit. Mangey.

[1] The same metaphors are of frequent occurrence in the New Testament. Herod is called a fox, Go and tell that fox. (Luke xiii. 32.) Hypocrites are called wolves in sheep's clothing. (Matt. vii. 15.) Rapacious and mercenary preachers are styled wolves, that will enter and ravage the fold: There will enter among you grievous wolves, not sparing the flock. (Acts xx. 29.) The Apostle uses a harsher metaphor to denote the malice and rage of his adversaries; Beware of dogs. (Philip. iii. 2.) Had St. Paul been thus engaged, says Dr. Ward, it is difficult to apprehend how he could have escaped without a miracle. For those who conquered the beasts, were afterwards obliged to fight with men, till they were killed themselves. It seems most reasonable therefore to understand the expression [θηριομαχησα] as metaphorical, and that he alludes to the tumult raised by Demetrius. He uses the like metaphor, and with respect to the same thing (1 Cor. iv. 9.), and again (13.), alluding to another custom. As to the expression, Κατ' ανθρωπον in 1 Cor. xv. 32. the sense seems to be *humanitus loquendo*. Dr. Ward's Dissertations on Scripture. dissert. xlix. pp. 200, 201. The very same word which the apostle here employs to denote the violence and fury of his adversaries is used by Ignatius in the like metaphorical sense, Απο Συριας μαχομαι Ρωμης ΘΗΡΙΟΜΑΧΩ δια γης και θαλασσης, νυκτος και ημερας. All the way from Syria to Rome, by sea and by land, by night and by day, do I fight with wild beasts. Ignatii Epist. ad Rom. p. 94. edit. Oxon. 1708. Προφυλασσω δε υμας απο των θηριων ανθρωπομορφων. I advise you to beware of beasts in the shape of men, p. 22. So also the Psalmist, My soul is among lions, even the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows. (Psal. lvii. 4.) Break their teeth, O God, in their mouths. Break out the great teeth of the young lions, O Lord. (Psal. lviii. 6.) See also Lakemacher's Observationes Sacræ, part ii. pp. 194—196.

[2] Matutinarum non ultima præda ferarum. Martial xiii. 95. Casu in meridianum spectaculum incidi—quiquid ante pugnatum est, misericordia fuit, nunc omissis nugis mera homicidia sunt: nihil habent quo tegantur, ad ictum totis corporibus expositi—non galeâ, non scuto repellitur ferrum. Seneca, tom. ii. epist. vii. pp. 17, 18. edit. Gronov. 1672. Απωλυντο μεν θηρια ελαχιστα, ανθρωποι δε πολλοι, οι μεν αλληλοις

immediate and inevitable death before them in all its horrors, and destined to be mangled and butchered in the direst manner. In allusion to this custom, with what sublimity and energy are the apostles represented to be brought out last upon the stage, as being devoted to certain death, and being made a public spectacle to the world, to angels and men! "For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle to the world, to angels and men." Dr. Whitby's illustration of this distinguished passage is accurate and judicious. "Here the Apostle seems to allude to the Roman spectacles, *της των θηριομαχων και μονομαχιας ανδροφονου*, that of the *bestiarii* and the gladiators, where in the morning men were brought upon the theatre to fight with wild beasts, and to them was allowed armour to defend themselves, and smite the beasts that did assail them: but in the meridian spectacle were brought forth the gladiators naked, and without any thing to defend them from the sword of the assailant, and he that then escaped was only reserved for slaughter to another day; so that these men might well be called *επιθανατιοι*, men appointed for death; and this being the last appearance on the theatre for that day, they are said here to be set forth *εσχατοι*, the last." [1]

IV. But the most splendid and renowned solemnities, which antient history has transmitted to us, were the Olympic Games. Historians, orators, and poets, abound with references to them, and their sublimest imagery is borrowed from these celebrated exercises. These games were solemnised every fifth year by an infinite concourse of people from almost all parts of the world [2]. They were celebrated with

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μαχαμενοι, ὁι δι και ὑπ' ιππων αναλομενοι. Dion Cassius. lib. lx. p. 951. Reimar. See also, pp. 971, 972. ejusdem editionis. See also Beausobre's note on 1 Cor. iv. 9. and Lipsii Saturnalia, tom. vi. p. 951.

[1] Dr. Whitby on 1 Cor. ch. iv. 9. Les versions ont exprimé trop generalement ce que St. Paul represente aux Corinthiens touchant son état, (1 Cor. iv. 9.) en disant simplement, Car je pense que Dieu nous a mis en montre, nous qui sommes les derniers Apôtres, comme des gens condamnez à la mort. Car comme Scaliger, Heinsius, Seldenus, Quistorp, et Grotius l'ont rémarque, le mot Grec *εσχατους* que l'Apôtre employe, ne se rapporte pas aux Apôtres, et il ne signifie par simplement les dernier, mais ceux qui etoient produits les dernier dans amphitheatre pour combatre tous nud contre les betes, afin qu'ils n'en peussent rechaper. Project d'une Nouvelle Version Françoise de la Bible, par le Cene. p. 606. Rotterd. 1696. Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 35—46. To this work (pp. 1—22.) the author is indebted for the following account of the Olympic Games. Dr. H. appears to have derived his materials principally from Bruning's Compendium Antiquitatum Græcarum e profanis Sacrarum, pp. 352—376. In the fifth volume of Bp. Horne's Works there is an animated discourse on the Christian race, the materials of which are partly derived from Dr. Harwood.

[2] Josephus De Bello Jud. lib. i. cap. 21. § 12. edit. Havercamp. Arriani Epictetus, lib. iii. p. 456. edit. Upton. 1741.

the greatest pomp and magnificence: hecatombs of victims were slain in honour of the immortal gods: and Elis was a scene of universal festivity and joy. There were other public games instituted, as the Pythian, Nemean, Isthmian; which could also boast of the valour and dexterity of their combatants, and show a splendid list of illustrious names, who had from time to time honoured them with their presence. But the lustre of these, though maintained for a series of years was obscured, and almost totally eclipsed, by the Olympic. We find that the most formidable and opulent sovereigns of those times were competitors for the Olympic crown. We see the kings of Macedon [1], the tyrants of Sicily [2], the princes of Asia Minor, and at last the lords of imperial Rome, and emperors of the world [3], incited by a love of glory, the last infirmity of noble minds, enter their names among the candidates, and contend for the envied palm;—judging their felicity completed, and the career of all human glory and greatness happily terminated, if they could but interweave the Olympic garland with the laurels they had purchased in fields of blood [4]. The various games, which the Romans celebrated in their capital and in the principal cities and towns of Italy, with such splendour, ostentation, and expence, seem to have been instituted in imitation of the Grecian; though these were greatly inferior in point of real merit and intrinsic glory; for though the Romans had the gymnastic exercises of the stadium and the chariot race, yet the mutual slaughter of such numbers of gladiators, the combats with lions, bears, and tigers, though congenial to the sanguinary ferocity and brutality of these people,—for no public entertainment could be made agreeable without these scenes,—must present spectacles to the last degree shocking to humanity; for every crown, here won, was dipt in blood.

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[1] Philip. Eadem quoque die nuntium pater ejus [Philippus] duarum victoriarum accepit; alterius, belli Illyrici alterius, certaminis Olympici, in quod quadrigarum currus miserat. Justin. lib. xii. cap. xvi. p. 359. edit. Gronov. 1719. Cui Alexandro tanta omnium virtutum naturâ ornamenta exstitere, ut etiam Olympio certamine vario ludicrorum genere contenderit. Justin, lib. vii. cap. ii. p. 217.

[2] Hiero king of Syracuse. See Pindar's first Olympic ode: his first Pythian ode. Theron king of Agrigentum. See the second and third Olympic odes.

[3] Nero. See Dion Cassius, tom. ii. pp. 1032, 1033. 1066. edit. Reimar. Aurigavit [Nero] plurifariam, Olympiis etiam decemjugem. Suetonius in Vita Neronis. p. 605. edit. Var. Lug. Bat. 1662.

[4] Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse, juvat: metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.—Horat. lib. i. ode i.

I. The Olympic exercises principally consisted in running, wrestling, and the chariot-race; for leaping, throwing the dart and discus, were parts of what they called the Pentathlon. The candidates were to be freemen, and persons of unexceptionable morals[1]. A defect in legitimacy or in personal character totally disqualified them. It was indispensably necessary for them previously to submit to a severe regimen[2]. At their own homes they prescribed themselves a particular course of diet: and the laws required them, when they had given in their names to be enrolled in the list of competitors, to resort to Elis, and reside there thirty[3] days before the games commenced; where their regimen and preparatory exercises were regulated and directed by a number of illustrious persons, who were appointed every day to superintend them. This form of diet they authoritatively prescribed, and religiously inspected, that the combatants might acquit themselves in the conflict in a manner worthy the Grecian name, worthy the sacred solemnity of the occasion, and worthy those crowds of illustrious spectators by whom they would be surrounded. There are many passages in the Greek and Roman classics which make mention of that extreme strictness, temperance, and continence which the candidates were obliged to observe.

> Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
> Multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit:
> Abstinuit venere et vino—
>
> Horat. Art. Poet. ver. 412.

> A youth, who hopes th' Olympic prize to gain,
> All arts must try, and every toil sustain;
> Th' extremes of heat and cold must often prove,
> And shun the weak'ning joys of wine and love.
>
> FRANCIS.

The following is a very distinguished passage in Arrian's discourses of Epictetus, which both represents to the reader the severity of this regimen and the arduous nature of the subsequent contention[4]. "Do you wish to conquer at the

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[1] The candidates were obliged to undergo an examination of another kind, consisting of the following interrogatories: 1. Were they freemen? 2. Were they Grecians? 3. Were their characters clear from all infamous and immoral stains? West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games, p. 152. edit. 12mo.

[2] Arriani Epictetus, lib. iii. p. 456. Upton.

[3] Philostratus, de Vitâ Apollonii. lib. v. cap. xliii. p. 227. edit. Olearii. Lipsiæ, 1709.

[4] Epictetus, lib. iii. c. 15. See also Epicteti Enchiridion. cap. xxix. p. 710. edit. Upton.

Olympic games—But consider what precedes and follows, and then, if it be for your advantage, engage in the affair. You must conform to rules; submit to a diet, refrain from dainties, exercise your body whether you choose it or not, in a stated hour, in heat and cold; you must drink no cold water, nor, sometimes, even wine. In a word, you must give yourself up to your master, as to a physician. Then, in the combat, you may be thrown into a ditch, dislocate your arm, turn your ankle, swallow abundance of dust, be whipped, and, after all, lose the victory. When you have reckoned up all this, if your inclination still holds, set about the combat."[1]

2. After this preparatory discipline, on the day appointed for the celebration, an herald called over their names, recited to them the laws of the games, encouraged them to exert all their powers, and expatiated upon the blessings and advantages of victory. He then introduced the competitors into the stadium, led them around it, and, with a loud voice, demanded if any one in that assembly could charge any of the candidates with being infamous in his life and morals, could prove him a slave, a robber, or illegitimate[2]. They were then conducted to the altar, and a solemn oath exacted from them, that they would observe the strictest honour in the contention.

Afterward, those who were to engage in the foot-race were brought to the barrier, along which they were arranged, and waited, in all the excesses of ardour and impatience, for the signal. The cord being dropped, they all at once sprung forward[3], fired with the love of glory, conscious that the eyes of all-assembled Greece were now upon them, and that the envied palm, if they won it, would secure them the highest honours and immortalise their memory. It is natural to imagine with what rapidity they would urge their course, and, emulous of glory, stretch every nerve to reach the goal. This is beautifully represented in the following elegant epigram (translated by Mr. West) on Arias of Tarsus, victor in the stadium.

The speed of Arias, victor in the race,
Brings to thy founder, Tarsus, no disgrace:
For able in the course with him to vie,
Like him, he seems on feather'd feet to fly.

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[1] Mrs. Carter's Translation of Arrian, pp. 268, 269. London, 1758, 4to.

[2] See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games, p. 154. 12mo.

[3] ——————signoque repente
Corripiunt spatia audito, limenque relinquunt
Effusi, nimbo similes: simul ultima signant.
Virgil. Æneid. v. ver. 315.

The barrier when he quits, the dazzled sight
In vain essays to catch him in his flight.
Lost is the racer through the whole career,
'Till victor at the goal he re-appear.

In all these athletic exercises the combatants contended naked[1]; for though, at first, they wore a scarf round the waist, yet an unfortunate casualty once happening, when this disengaging itself, and entangling round the feet, threw the person down, and proved the unhappy occasion of his losing the victory, it was, after this accident, adjudged to be laid aside.[2]

3. Chaplets composed of the sprigs of a wild olive[3], and branches of palm, were publicly placed on a tripod in the middle of the stadium[4], full in the view of the competitors, to inflame them with all the ardour of contention, and all the spirit of the most generous emulation. Near the goal was erected a tribunal, on which sat the presidents of the games, called Hellanodics, personages venerable for their years and characters, who were the sovereign arbiters and judges of these arduous contentions, the impartial witnesses of the respective merit and pretensions of each combatant, and with the strictest justice conferred the crown.

4. It is pleasing and instructive to observe, how the several particulars here specified concerning these celebrated solemnities, which were held in the highest renown and glory in the days of the apostles, explain and illustrate various passages in their writings, the beauty, energy, and sublimity of which consist in the metaphorical allusions to these games, from the various gymnastic exercises of which their elegant and expressive imagery is borrowed. Thus the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, (an epistle which, in point of composition, may vie with the most pure and elaborate of the Greek classics,) says: *Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the*

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1 Thucydides, lib. i. § vi. tom. i. p. 16, 17. edit. Glasg.

2 In the xivth Olympiad, one Orsippus, a racer, happened to be thrown down by his scarf tangling about his feet, and was killed; though others say, that he only lost the victory by that fall; but which ever way it was, occasion was taken from thence to make a law, that all the *athletes* for the future should contend naked. West's Dissertation, p. 66, 12mo.

3 Το γιρας εστιν ουκ αργυρος, ουδε χρυσος, ου μην ουδε κοσινου στεφανος η σελινου. Josephus contra Apion, lib. ii. § 30. p. 488. Havercamp. Strabo, in his geographical description of the Elian territories, mentions a grove of wild olive. Εστι δ' αλσος αγριελαιων πληρες. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 343. edit. Paris, 1620. Probably from this grove the Olympic crowns were composed.

4 To excite the emulation of the competitors, by placing in their view the object of their ambition, these crowns were laid upon a tripod or table, which during the games was brought out and placed in the middle of the stadium. West's Dissertation, p. 174. 12mo.

sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us. Looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the majesty on high. For consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest you be wearied and faint in your minds. Wherefore lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees: and make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way. (Heb. xii. 1—3. 12, 13). In allusion to that prodigious assembly, from all parts of the world [1], which was convened at Olympia to be spectators of those celebrated games, the apostle places the Christian combatant in the midst of a most august and magnificent theatre, composed of all those great and illustrious characters, whom in the preceding chapter he had enumerated, the fancied presence of whom should fire him with a virtuous ambition, and animate him with unconquered ardour to run the race that was set before him. *Wherefore seeing we are compassed about with such a cloud of witnesses* [2]: whose eyes are upon us, who expect every thing from the preparatory discipline we have received, and who long to applaud and congratulate us upon our victory; *let us lay aside every weight* [3] *and the sin that doth so easily beset us* [4]: let us throw off every impediment, as the competitors for the Olympic crown did, and that sin that would entangle and impede our steps, and prove the fatal cause of our losing the victory; *and let us run with patience the race set before us,* like those, who ran in the Grecian stadium, let us, inflamed with the idea of glory, honour and immortality, urge our course with unremitting ardour toward the destined happy goal for the prize of our high calling in God our Saviour, *looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith:* As the candidates for the Olympic honours, during the arduous contention had in view those illustrious and venerable personages from whose hands they were to receive the envied palm, and who were immediate

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1 Not merely the inhabitants of Athens, of Lacedæmon, and of Nicopolis, but the inhabitants of the whole world are convened to be spectators of the Olympic exercises. Arrianis Epictetus, lib. iii. p. 456. Upton.

2 Νεφος μαρτυρων. A cloud of witnesses. This form of expression occurs in the politest writers. See Iliad. x. 133. Æneid. vii. 793. Andron. Rhodii. Argonauticon, iv. 398. Appian, Pisc. i. 463. and Euripidis Hecula, ver. 907.

3 Ογκον αποθεμενοι παντα. A stadio sumpta similitudo: ibi qui cursuri sunt, omnia quæ oneri esse possunt, deponunt. Grot. in loc. monet ut ογκον abjiciamus, quo vocabulo crassa omnis et tarda molis significatur. Beza.

4 Ευπεριστατον. Entangle by wrapping round. An allusion to the garments of the Greeks which were long, and would entangle and impede their steps, if not thrown off in the race. See Hallet in loc.

witnesses of their respective conduct and merit; in imitation of them, let us Christians keep our eyes stedfastly fixed upon Jesus the original introducer and perfecter of our religion, who, if victorious, will rejoice to adorn our temples with a crown of glory that will never fade; *Who, for the joy set before him*[1], *endured the cross, despising the shame, and is now set down at the right hand of God:* Jesus himself, to seize the glorious palm which his God and Father placed full in his view in order to inspirit him with ardour and alacrity in the race he had set before him, cheerfully submitted to sorrows and sufferings, endured the cross, contemning the infamy of such a death, and, in consequence of perseverance and victory, is now exalted to the highest honours, and placed on the right hand of the Supreme Majesty. *For, consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds*[2]*:* consider him who conflicted with such opposition of wicked men all confederated against him, and let reflections on his fortitude prevent your being languid and dispirited; *therefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees*[3]. *And make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way:* exert in the Christian race those nerves that have been relaxed, and collect those spirits, which have been sunk in dejection: make a smooth and even path for your steps, and remove every thing that would obstruct and retard your velocity.

The following distinguished passage in St. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians (ix. 24—27.) abounds with agonistical terms. Its beautiful and striking imagery is totally borrowed from the Greek stadium. *Know ye not, that they who run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye*

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[1] Προκειμενης αυτῳ χαρας. The joy placed full in his view. In the Olympic exercises the prize was publicly placed in the view of the combatants to fire their emulation. The following note of Krebsius is very elegant. Elegantissima metaphora est vocis προκειμενης, e veterum certaminum ratione ducta. Proprie enim προκειισθαι dicuntur τα αθλα, sc. præmia certaminis, quæ publicè proponuntur in propatulo, ut eorum aspectus, certaque eorum adipiscendorum spes, certaturos alacriores redderet ad certamen ineundum, victoriamque reportandam. J. Tob. Krebsii Observat. in N. T. e Joseph. p. 377. Lips. 1755. 8vo.

[2] Ινα μη καμητε, ταις ψυχαις υμων εκλυομενοι. Hæc duo verba a palæstra et ab athletis desumpta sunt, qui proprie dicuntur καμειν et ψυχαις εκλυεσθαι, cum corporis viribus debilitati et fracti, omnique spe vincendi abjectâ, victas manus dant adversario —— Neque dubium est quin Apostolus eo respexerit. Krebsius, p. 390.

[3] Διο τας παρειμενας χειρας και τα παραλελυμενα γονατα ανορθωσατε. Quemadmodum Paulus sæpissime delectatur loquendi formulis ex re palæstricâ petitis; ita dubium non est, quin hic quoque respexisse eo videatur. Athletis enim et luctatoribus tribuuntur παρειμεναι χειρες et παραλελυμενα γονατα, cum luctando ita defatigati, viribusque fracti sunt, ut neque manus neque pedes officio suo fungi possint, ipsique adeo victos se esse fateri cogantur. *Ibid.* p. 392.

may obtain. And every man that striveth for the mastery, is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly, so fight I, not as one that beateth the air: But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached the Gospel to others, I myself should be a cast-away: Know you not that in the Grecian stadium great numbers run with the utmost contention to secure the prize, but that only one person wins and receives? With the same ardour and perseverance do you run, that you may seize the garland of celestial glory. Every one, also, who enters the lists as a combatant, submits to a very rigid and severe regimen [1]. They do this to gain a fading chaplet [2], that is only composed of the decaying leaves of a wild olive, but in our view is hung up the unfading wreath of immortality [3]. With this in full prospect, I run the Christian race, not distressed with wretched uncertainty concerning its final issue [4]. I engage as a combatant, but deal not my blows in empty air [5].

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[1] Πας δε ὁ αγωνιζομενος παντα εγκρατευεται. We have already noticed how rigid and severe this regimen was, and what temperance and continence [εγκρατεια] those who entered their names in the list of combatants were previously obliged to observe. Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit: Abstinuit venere et vino, says Horace. See Æliani Var. Hist. lib. xi. cap. iii. p. 684. Gronovii Lug. Bat. 1731. and Plato de Legibus, lib. viii. p. 139, 140. edit. Serrani. 1578. and Eustathius ad Hom. Iliad Ω. p. 1472.

[2] Φθαρτον στεφανον. The chaplet that was bestowed on the victor in the Olympic games, was made of wild olive, the crowns in the Isthmian games were composed of parsley. These chaplets were fading and transitory. Διδους και τοις θυμελικοις στεφανους μεν ου χρυσους, αλλ' ὥσπερ εν ολυμπιαδι, ποτινους. Plutarch. Cato, jun. p. 1433. edit. Gr. Steph. 8vo. See also Porphyrius de Antro nympharum, p. 240. edit. Cantab. 1655. Philonis Opera, tom ii. p. 463. edit. Mangey. Τους γαρ τα Ισθμια νικωντας οἱ Κορινθιοι των σελινων στεφανουσιν. Those who conquer in the Isthmian games the Corinthians crown with parsley. Polyæni Stratag. lib. v. p. 376. edit. Casaubon. 1589.

[3] Ημεις δε, αφθαρτον. With what ardour in the Christian race this glorious crown should inspire us is well represented by Irenæus. Bonus igitur agonista ad incorruptelæ agonem adhortatur nos, uti coronemur, et preciosam arbitremur coronam, videlicet quæ per agonem nobis acquiritur, sed non ultro coalitam. Et quantò per agonem nobis advenit, tantò est preciosior: quantò autem preciosior, tantò eam semper diligamus. Irenæus, lib. iv. p. 377. edit. Grab. The folly also of Christians in being negligent and remiss, when an incorruptible crown awaits their persevering and victorious constancy and virtue is also beautifully exposed by Justin Martyr. See his Apol. ii. p. 78. edit. Paris, 1636.

[4] So we understand ουκ αδηλως. Mr. West renders it, in the illustration he has given us of this passage; I so run, as not to pass undistinguished, and then adds the following note; Ως ουκ αδηλως, may also signify in this place, as if I was unseen, not unobserved, *i. e.* as if I was in the presence of the judge of the games, and a great number of spectators. West's Dissertation, p. 253. 12mo.

[5] Ουτω πυκτευω, ως ουκ αερα δερων. This circumstance is often mentioned in describing the engagements of combatants; Thus, Virgil has, Entellus vires in ventum effudit. Æneid. v. 443. Vacuas agit inconsulta per auras Brachia. Valerius Flaccus, iv. 302. τρις δ' αερα τυψε ξαθειαν. Iliad, Τ. 446. See also Oppian. Piscat. lib. ii. ver. 450. Ritterhus. Lug. Bat. 1597.

But I enure my body to the severest discipline, and bring all its appetites into subjection: lest, when I have proclaimed[1] the glorious prize to others, I should, at last, be rejected as unworthy[2] to obtain it. This representation of the Christian race must make a strong impression upon the minds of the Corinthians, as they were so often spectators of those games, which were celebrated on the Isthmus, upon which their city was situated. It is very probable introduced with, KNOW YOU NOT: for every citizen in Corinth was acquainted with every minute circumstance of this most splendid and pompous solemnity. St. Paul, in like manner, in his second epistle to Timothy (ii. 5.) observes, *that if a man strive for mastery, yet is he not crowned, unless he strive lawfully:* He who contends in the Grecian games, secures not the crown, unless he strictly conform to the rules prescribed.

What has been observed concerning the spirit and ardour with which the competitors engaged in the race, and concerning the prize they had in view to reward their arduous contention, will illustrate the following sublime passage of the same sacred writer in his epistle to the Philippians. (iii. 12—14.). *Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus:* Not that *already* I have acquired this *palm:* not that I have *already* attained perfection; but I *pursue my course,* that I may *seize* that *crown* of immortality, to the hope of which I was raised by the gracious appointment of Christ Jesus. My Christian brethren, I do not esteem myself to have obtained this glorious *prize:* but one thing occupies my whole attention; forgetting what I *left behind* I *stretch every nerve* towards the *prize* before me, pressing with *eager* and *rapid steps,* towards the *goal* to *seize* the immortal *palm*[3] which God, by Christ Jesus, *bestows.*

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[1] Αλλοις κηρυξας; proclaimed, as an herald, the prize to others. An herald, κηρυξ, made proclamation at the games what rewards would be bestowed on the conquerors.

[2] Αδοκιμος γινομαι. Be disapproved; be rejected as unworthy; come off without honour and approbation.

[3] Τα μεν οπισω επιλανθανομενος, τοις δε εμπροσθεν επεκτεινομενος επι σκοπον διωκω επι το βραβειον. Every term here employed by the apostle is agonistical. The whole passage beautifully represents that ardour which fired the combatants when engaged in the race. There spirit and contention are in a very striking manner described in the following truly poetical lines of Oppian, which happily illustrate this passage:

Ως δε ποδωκειης μεμιλημενοι ανδρες αεθλων,
Σταθμης ερμηθεντες, απωσσουσι ωκεια γουνα

This affecting passage, also, of the same apostle, in the *second* epistle of Timothy, written a little before his martyrdom, is beautifully allusive to the above mentioned race, to the crown that awaited the victory, and to the Hellanodics or judges who bestowed it. *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course*[1], *I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day: and not to me only, but to all them also that love his appearing.* (2 Tim. iv. 8.)

Προστρωτιστιτομινοι δολιπον τιλος ιγκονιουσιν
Εξανυσαι πασιν: δι πονος νυσση τι πιλασσαι,
Νικης τι γλυκυδωρον ιλειν πρατος, ις τι θυριθρα
Αἴξαι, και παρτος αιθλιον αμφιβαλισθαι.
Oppian Pisc. lib. iv. ver. 101. edit. Ritterhusii.

As when the thirst of praise and conscious force
Invite the labours of the panting COURSE,
Prone from the lists the blooming rivals strain,
And spring exulting to the distant plain,
Alternate feet with nimble-measured bound
Impetuous trip along the refluent ground,
In every breast ambitious passions rise,
To seize the goal, and snatch th' immortal prize.
Jones's Translation.

Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
Præteritum temnens, extremos inter euntem.
Horat. Satyr. lib. i. Sat. i. 115, 116.

[1] Τον δρομον τετιλεκα. I have finished my race. The whole passage is beautifully allusive to the celebrated games and exercises of those times. Δρομος properly signifies a race. Theocritus, idyl. iii. ver. 41. Sophoclis Electra. ver. 693. See also, ver. 686—688. Euripidis Andromache, ver. 599. Euripidis Iphigenia in Aulide, ver. 212. Strabo, lib. iii. p. 155. edit. Paris, 1620. Xenophontis Memorab. pp. 210, 211. Oxon. 1741. So this word ought to be rendered (Acts xx. 24.) But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy; τελειωσαι τον δρομον μου: finish the short race of human life with honour and applause. It is a beautiful and striking allusion to the race in these celebrated games.

CHAPTER VIII.

JEWISH MODE OF TREATING THE DEAD.—FUNERAL RITES.

I. *Mosaic Law relating to the Dead.*—II. *Treatment of the Deceased.*—III. *Lamentations for them.*—IV. *Rites of Sepulture.*—V. *Notice of the Tombs of the Jews.*—VI. *Funeral Feasts.*—*Duration of Mourning.*

I. BY the law of Moses a dead body conveyed a legal pollution to every thing that touched it,—even to the very house and furniture,—which continued seven days. (Numb. xix. 14, 15, 16.) And this was the reason why the priests, because of their daily ministrations in holy things, were forbidden to assist at any funerals, but those of their nearest relatives; nay the very dead bones, though they had lain ever so long in the grave, if digged up, conveyed a pollution to any who touched them; and this was the reason why Josiah caused the bones of the false priests to be burnt upon the altar at Bethel (2 Chron. xxxiv. 5.), to the intent that these altars being thus polluted, might be had in the greater detestation.

II. When the principle of life was extinguished, the first funeral office among the Jews was to close the eyes of the deceased. This was done by the nearest of kin. Thus, it was promised to Jacob, when he took his journey into Egypt, that Joseph should *put his hands upon his eyes.* (Gen. xlvi. 4.) The next office was the ablution of the corpse. Thus, when Tabitha died, it is said, that they *washed her body, and laid it in an upper chamber.* (Acts ix. 37.) This rite was common both to the Greeks and Romans [1], in whose writings it is frequently mentioned. In Egypt, it is still the custom to wash the dead body several times with rain water.

III. From the earliest antiquity it was also usual with this people to make very great and public lamentations for their departed friends. What a deep general mourning did Abraham and his family make for Sarah, and with what public solemnity was her funeral conducted! What lamentations did Joseph and his brethren the children of Israel, and the land of Egypt make, upon the decease of the good old patriarch Jacob! What a procession was formed, and with what august pomp were his remains carried out of the land of Egypt, to be depo-

[1] Sophoclis Electra, verse 1143. Virgil Æneid. lib. vi. 838.

sited in the sepulchre of his ancestors! *All the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, and all the house of Joseph, and his brethren and his father's house, went up: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of Goshen. And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen; and it was a very great company. And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan, and there they mourned with a* GREAT *and very* SORE LAMENTATION; *and he made a mourning for his father* SEVEN *days. And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians! wherefore the name of it was called Abel-mizraim, which is beyond Jordan. And his sons did unto him according as he commanded them. For his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field for a possession of a burying-place of Ephron the Hittite before Mamre. And Joseph returned into Egypt, he and his brethren, and all that went up with him to bury his father, after he had buried his father.* (Gen. l. 7—13.) On the loss of dear and near relatives, and of amiable and affectionate friends, the grief of this people was violent and frantic. Tearing their hair, rending their clothes (which was prohibited to the high priest), and uttering doleful shrieks and piercing cries, were some of the expressions of it. Suetonius remarks this distinguished vehemence of the Jews in the expressions of their grief. In that great and public mourning, at the funeral of Julius Cæsar, a multitude of foreign nations, says the historian, expressed their sorrow according to their respective customs: but the mourning and lamentation made by the Jewish people exceeded all the rest—they continued about the funeral pile whole nights together.[1]

It appears, also, from the Scriptures, that upon the demise of their friends the Jews hired persons, whose profession it was to superintend and conduct their public and private sorrows, who, in funeral odes, mournful songs, and doleful ejaculations, deplored the instability of human condition, celebrated the virtues of the deceased, and excited the grief and lamentation of the survivors. This we learn from the following passages of the prophets: *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, consider ye and call for the* MOURNING WOMEN, *that they may come, and send for* CUNNING WOMEN, *that they may come; and let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eye-lids gush out with waters.* (Jer. ix. 17, 18.)

[1] Seutonius in vit. J. Cæsaris. c. lxxxiv. p. 135. edit. variorum. Lug. Bat. 1662.

Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them. Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning to comfort them for the dead, neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother. (Jer. xvi. 6, 7.) *Therefore mine heart shall* SOUND *for* MOAB *like* PIPES, *and mine heart shall* SOUND *like* PIPES *for the men of* KIR-HERES: *because the riches he hath gotten are perished; for every* HEAD *shall be* BALD, *and every* BEARD CLIPPED: *upon all the* HANDS *shall be* CUTTINGS, *and upon the* LOINS *sack-cloth.* (Jer. xlviii. 36, 37.) So also the prophet Ezekiel: *Son of man, behold I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke: yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down. Forbear to cry, make no* MOURNING *for the dead, bind the tire of thine head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and cover not thy lips, and eat not the bread of men. So I spoke unto the people in the morning, and at even my wife died.* (Ezek. xxiv. 16, 17, 18.)

In the time of Christ and his apostles these mournful songs had musical accompaniments. The soft and plaintive melody of the flute was employed to heighten these doleful lamentations and dirges. Thus we read that on the death of the daughter of Jairus a company of mourners, with players on the flute, according to the Jewish custom, attended upon this sorrowful occasion. When Jesus entered the governor's house, he saw the minstrels and the people wailing greatly. (Matt. ix. 23.) So Josephus informs us, that when it was reported in the city that he was involved in the general destruction of Jotapata, the intelligence immediately filled Jerusalem with the deepest sorrow. The particular families and relations of the deceased bewailed the death of their respective friends, but the death of the general (meaning himself) caused universal mourning. Some deplored the loss of their acquaintance, some of their relations, some of their friends, some of their brethren, but all men lamented the loss of Josephus! so that for thirty days together there was a public mourning in the city, and considerable numbers of people hired musicians to regulate and conduct their lamentations [1]. This custom still obtains the Moors. At all their principal entertainments, says Dr. Shaw, and to shew mirth and gladness upon other occasions, the women welcome the arrival of each guest, by squalling out for several times together, Loo! Loo! Loo! a corruption,

[1] Josephus, De Bel. Jud. lib. iii. cap. x. p. 252. Havercamp.

as it seems to be, of Hallelujah. Αλαλη, a word of the like sound, was used by an army, either before they gave the onset, or when they had obtained the victory. The Turks to this day call out, Allah! Allah! Allah! upon the like occasion. At their funerals also, and upon other melancholy occasions, they repeat the same noise (Loo), only they make it more deep and hollow, and end each period with some ventriloquous sighs. The αλαλαζοντας πολλα, or wailing greatly, (as our version expresses it, Mark v. 38.) upon the death of Jairus's daughter, was probably performed in this manner. For there are several women, hired to act upon these lugubrious occasions, who, like the *præficæ*, or mourning women of old, are skilful in lamentation (Amos v. 16.), and great mistresses of these melancholy expressions: and indeed they perform their parts with such proper sounds, gestures, and commotions, that they rarely fail to work up the assembly into some extraordinary pitch of thoughtfulness and sorrow. The British factory has often been very sensibly touched with these lamentations, whenever they were made in the neighbouring houses." [1]

This custom, however, of employing music to heighten public and private grief was not in that age peculiar to the Jews. We find the flute also employed at the funeral solemnities of the Greeks and Romans, in their lamentations for the

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[1] Shaw's Travels, p. 305, 4to. 1738. The mourning of the Montenegrins bears a great resemblance to that of the oriental nations. On the death of any one, nothing is heard but tears, cries, and groans from the whole family: the women, in particular, beat themselves in a frightful manner, pluck off their hair, and tear their faces and bosoms. The deceased person is laid out for twenty-four hours, in the house where he expires, with the face uncovered; and is perfumed with essences, and strewed with flowers and aromatic leaves, after the custom of the antients. The lamentations are renewed every moment, particularly on the arrival of a fresh person, and especially of the priest. Just before the defunct is carried out of the house, his relations whisper in his ear, and give him commissions for the other world, to their departed relatives or friends. After these singular addresses, a pall or winding-sheet is thrown over the dead person, whose face continues uncovered, and he is carried to church: while on the road thither, women, hired for the purpose, chaunt his praises, amid their tears. Previously to depositing him in the ground, the next of kin tie a piece of cake to his neck, and put a piece of money in his hand, after the manner of the antient Greeks. During this ceremony, as also while they are carrying him to the burial ground, a variety of apostrophes is addressed to the defunct, which are interrupted only by mournful sobs, asking him why he quitted them? Why he abandoned his family? He, whose poor wife loved him so tenderly, and provided every thing for him to eat! Whose children obeyed him with such respect, while his friends succoured him whenever he wanted assistance; who possessed such beautiful flocks, and all whose undertakings were blessed by heaven! When the funeral rites are performed, the curate and mourners return home, and partake of a grand entertainment, which is frequently interrupted by jovial songs, intermixed with prayers in honour of the deceased. One of the guests is commissioned to chaunt a 'lament' impromptu, which usually draws tears from the whole company; the performer is accompanied by three or four monochords, whose harsh discord excites both laughter and tears at the same time. Voyage Historique et Politique à Montenegro, par M. le Colonel Vialla de Sommières, tome i. pp. 275—278. Paris, 1820.

deceased, as appears from numerous testimonies of classic authors.[1]

IV. The Jewish rites of sepulture were not very dissimilar to those of the Egyptians, from whom they seem originally to have been derived. The Egyptian manner differed from the Jewish principally in the circumstance of their embowelling their dead, the various methods of performing which are minutely described by Herodotus[2]. The funeral honours paid by the Jews to their deceased friends, particularly to persons of fortune and distinction, appear to be the following: After washing the corpse, they embalmed it, by laying all around it a large quantity of costly spices and aromatic drugs[3] in order to imbibe and absorb the humours, and by their inherent virtues to preserve it as long as possible from putrefaction and decay. Thus we read that Nicodemus brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight, to perform the customary office to the dear deceased. This embalming was usually repeated for several days together, that the drugs and spices thus applied might have all their efficacy in the exsiccation of the moisture and the future conservation of the body[4]. They then swathed the corpse in linen rollers or bandages, closely enfolding and unwrapping it in that bed of aromatic drugs with which they had surrounded it. Thus we find that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus took the body of Jesus and wrapt it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. (John xix. 40.) This custom we behold also in the Egyptian mummies, round which, Thevenot informs us, the Egyptians have sometimes used above a thousand ells of filleting, beside what was wrapped about the head.[5] Thus, when our Lord had cried with a loud voice,

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[1] See Euripidis Phœnissæ, ver. 1521. Æschyli Septem Contra Thebas, ver 1030. Dion Cassius, lib. lvi. p. 850. and lib. lxxiv. p. 1245. (edit. Reimar.) Eusebii Hist. Eccl. p. 449. edit. Cantab. 1720.

[2] Herodotus Euterpe, p. 141, 142. edit. Wesseling, Amst. 1763.

[3] Matt. xxvi. 12. For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my funeral. προς το ενταφιασαι με, to embalm me. The word does not properly signify to bury. The note of Beza is accurate. Ad funerandum me, προς το ενταφιασαι με. Vulg. et Erasmus, ad me sepeliendum, malè. Nam aliud est θαπτειν quam ενταφιαζειν: ut Latinis sepelire est sepulchro condere: funerare vero pollincire, cadaver sepulchro mandandum prius curare. Beza ad Matt. xxvi. 12. Ενταφιασαι est corpus ad funus componere, et ornamentis sepulchralibus ornare. Wetstein. in loc.

[4] Habebat consuetudo, ut carissima capita, et quæ plurimi fierent cadavera, non semel tantum ungerentur, sed sæpius, pluribusque continuis diebus, donec exsiccato, et absorpto vi aromatum omni reliquo humore, immo tabefactâ carne aridâ, et quasi aneâ redditâ, diu servari possent integra, et immunia a putrefactione. Lucas Brugensis in Marc. xvi.

[5] Observations on divers passages of Scripture, p. 310.

Lazarus come forth! it is said, the dead came forth, bound hand and foot in grave clothes. (John xi. 44.) [1]

We learn from Scripture also, that about the head and face of the corpse was folded a napkin, which was a separate thing, and did not communicate with the other bandages in which the body was swathed. Thus we read, that the face of Lazarus was bound about with a napkin (John xi. 44.), and when our Lord was risen, Peter, who went into the sepulchre, saw the linen clothes lie, and the napkin that had been folded round his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wreathed together in a place by itself, lying at some distance from the rollers in which his body had been swathed, and folded up, exactly in the state it was, when first wrapped round his head. (John xx. 7.) [2]

Besides the custom of embalming persons of distinction, the Jews commonly used great burnings for their kings, made up of heaps of all sorts of aromatics, of which they made a bonfire, as a triumphant farewell to the deceased. In these they were wont to burn their bowels, their clothes, armour, and other things belonging to the deceased. Thus, it is said of Asa, that *they made a very great burning for him* (2 Chron. xvi. 14.), which could not be meant of his corpse in the fire, for in the same verse it is said, *they buried him in his own sepulchre.* This was also done at the funeral of Zedekiah. (Jer. xxxiv. 5.) And it was very probably one reason why, at the death of Jehoram, the people made no burning for him like the burning of his fathers (2 Chron. xxi. 19.), because his bowels being ulcerated by his sickness,, they fell out, and, to prevent the stench, were immediately interred or otherwise disposed of; so that they could not well be burnt in this pompous manner after his death; though as he was a wicked king, this ceremony might possibly have been omitted on that account also.

The burning of dead bodies in funeral piles, it is well known, was a custom prevalent among the Greeks and Romans, upon which occasion they threw frankincense, myrrh,

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[1] Δεδεμενος—κειριαις. Phavorinus explains Κειρια by calling them ενωτιφιοι δεσμοι, sepulchral bandages. Κειρια σημαινει τα σχοινια τυ ενταφιυ. Etymol.

[2] He went into the sepulchre, and then he plainly saw the linen clothes, μονα, alone, or without the body, and κειμενα lying, that is, undisturbed, and at full length, as when the body was in them. The cap, or napkin, also, which had been upon our Lord's head, he found separate, or at a little distance from the open coffin; but εντετυλιγμενον folded up in wreaths, in the form of a cap, as it had been upon our Lord's head. Dr. Benson's Life of Christ, p. 524. Wrapped together in a place by itself: as if the body had miraculously slipt out of it, which indeed was the real fact. Dr. Ward's Dissertations, p. 149.

cassia, and other fragrant articles into the fire; and this in such abundance, that Pliny represents it as a piece of profaneness, to bestow such heaps of frankincense upon a dead body, when they offered it so sparingly to their gods. And though the Jews might possibly learn from them the custom of burning the bowels, armour, and other things belonging to their kings in piles of odoriferous spices, yet they very rarely, and only for particular reasons, burnt the dead bodies themselves. We are told indeed, that the people of Jabesh-Gilead *took the bodies of Saul and his sons* (from the place where the Philistines had hung them up), *and came to Jabesh and burnt them there* (1 Sam. xxxi. 12.), but by this time their bodies must have been in such a state, that they were not fit to be embalmed; or perhaps they were apprehensive that if they should embalm them, and so bury them, the people of Bethshan might at some future time dig them up, and fix them a second time against their walls; and therefore, the people of Jabesh might think it more advisable to recede from their common practice, and for the greater security to imitate the heathen in this particular. Amos also speaks of the burning of bodies (vi. 10.); but it is evident from the words themselves, and from the context, that this was in the time of a great pestilence, not only when there were few to bury the dead, but when it was unsafe to go abroad and perform the funeral rites by interment, in which case the burning was certainly the best expedient.

In some cases the rites of sepulture were not allowed: and to this it has been thought that there is an allusion in Job xxvii. 19. It was the opinion of the pagan Arabs that, upon the death of any person, a bird, by them called *Manah*, issued from the brain, which haunted the sepulchre of the deceased, uttering a lamentable scream. This notion also, the late professor Carlyle thinks is evidently alluded to in Job xxi. 32., where the venerable patriarch, speaking of the fate of the wicked, says:—

> He shall be brought to the grave,
> And shall watch upon the raised up heap.[1]

The Jews shewed a great regard for the burial of their dead; to be deprived of it was thought to be one of the greatest dishonours that could be done to any man: and therefore in Scripture it is reckoned one of the calamities that should befal the wicked. (Eccles. vi. 3.) In all nations there was generally so much humanity as not to prevent their enemies from burying

[1] Carlyle's Specimens of Arabian Poetry, p. 14. 2d edit.

their dead. The people of Gaza allowed Samson's relations to come and take away his body (Judg. xvi. 31.); though one would have thought that this last slaughter which he made among them, might have provoked them to some acts of outrage even upon his dead body. But as he stood alone in what he did, none of the Israelites joining with him in his enterprizes, they might possibly be apprehensive, that, if they denied him burial, the God of Israel, who had given him such extraordinary strength in his life-time, would not fail to take vengeance on them in that case, and therefore they were desirous, it may be, to get rid of his body (as afterwards they were of the ark), and glad perhaps that any one would remove such a formidable object out of their sight. Jeremiah prophesied of Jehoiakim, that he should be buried with the burial of an ass (Jer. xxii. 19.), meaning, that he should not be buried at all, but cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem, exposed to the air and putrefaction above ground, as beasts are, which is more plainly expressed afterwards, by telling us, that *his body should be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost.* (Jer. xxxvi. 30.)

The author of that affecting elegy, the seventy-ninth psalm, when enumerating the calamities which had befallen his unhappy countrymen, particularly specifies the denial of the rites of sepulture, as enhancing their afflictions. *The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of heaven; the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth.* (Psal. lxxix. 2.)

V. The antients had not that indecent and unwholesome custom, which now prevails, of crowding all their dead in the midst of their towns and cities, within the narrow precincts of a place reputed sacred, much less of amassing them in the bosom of their fanes and temples. The burying places of the Romans were at a distance from their towns: and the Jews had their sepuchres in gardens (John xix. 41.) [1], in fields, and in the sides of mountains. The graves in which they chose to be reposited, were commonly in solitary and unfrequented places. Thus we read that the demoniac of Gadara, wore no clothes, and abode not in any house, but had his dwelling among the tombs (Mark v. 2, 3. 5. Luke viii. 27.) [2]; delighting in these gloomy and melancholy recesses, as most friendly and congenial to the wretched state

[1] There was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre.

[2] See Capt. Light's Travels in Egypt, p. 206. Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 211, 212.

of his mind[1]. Josephus also informs us, that these sepulchres were the haunts and lurking places of those numerous and desperate bands of robbers with which Judæa was at that time infested.[2]

Sometimes they buried their dead in fields, over whom the opulent and families of distinction raised superb and ostentatious monuments, on which they lavished great splendour and magnificence, and which they so religiously maintained from time to time in their pristine beauty and glory. To this custom our Saviour alludes in the following apt comparison: Woe unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead mens' bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous to men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. (Matt. xxiii. 27.) The following extract from Dr. Shaw's travels beautifully illustrates this. "If we except a few persons, who are buried within the precincts of the sanctuaries of their marabutts, the rest are carried out at a small distance from their cities and villages, where a great extent of ground is allotted for the purpose. Each family has a particular part of it walled in, like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained for many generations. For in these inclosures the graves are all distinct and separated, each of them having a stone placed upright both at the head and feet, inscribed with the name and title (2 Kings xxiii. 17.) of the deceased; while the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stones, or paved with tiles. The graves of the principal citizens are further distinguished, by having cupolas or vaulted chambers of three, four, or more square yards built over them: and as these very frequently lie open, and occasionally shelter us from the inclemency of the weather, the demoniac (Mark v. 5.) might with propriety enough have had his dwelling among the tombs: and others are said (Isa. lx. 4.) to *remain among the graves and to lodge in the monuments* (*mountains.*) And as all these different sorts of tombs and sepulchres, with the very walls likewise of their respective cupolas and inclosures, are constantly kept clean, white washed, and beautified, they continue to illustrate those expressions of

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[1] Ον θυμον καϊδων, πατον ανθρωπων αλεεινων. Iliad. Z. 302.
Τοι γαρ νυν αυτας εκ δομων οιστρησ' εγω
Μανιαις. ορος δ' οικουσι παρακοιτοι φρενων. Euripidis Bacchæ. ver. 32, 38.

[2] See Macknight on Mark v. 3.

our Saviour, where he mentions the garnishing of sepulchres, and compares the scribes, pharisees, and hypocrites to whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within were full of dead mens' bones and all uncleanness"[1]. But though the sepulchres of the rich were thus beautified, the graves of the poor were oftentimes so neglected, that if the stones, by which they were marked, happened to fall, they were not set up again, by which means the graves themselves did not appear; they were αδηλα, as St. Luke expresses it, they appeared not, and the men that walked over them, were not aware of them. (Luke xi. 44.)[2]

It appears from the Scriptures, that the Jews also had family vaults in places contiguous to their own houses, generally in in their gardens. Such was the place in which Lazarus was interred; and such also was the grave in which the body of our Lord was deposited. Joseph of Arimathea, a person of distinction, by St. Mark called an honourable counsellor (Mark xv. 43.)[3], mindful of his mortality, had hewn out of the rock in his garden a sepulchre, in which be intended his own remains should be reposited. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was no man yet laid. When Joseph therefore had taken the body of Jesus, and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, he interred it in the tomb which he had lately hollowed out of the rock, and rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, effectually to block up the entrance, and secure the sacred corpse of the dear deceased, both from the indignities of his foes and the officiousness of his friends.

VI. A funeral feast commonly succeeded the Jewish burials. Thus after Abner's funeral was solemnized, the people came to David to eat meat with him, though they could not persuade him to do so. (2 Sam. iii. 35.) He was the chief mourner, and probably had invited them to this banquet. Of this Jeremiah speaks (xvi. 7.), where he calls it the *cup of consolation, which they drank for their father or their mother*; and accordingly the place where this funeral entertainment was made, is called in the next verse the house of feasting. Hosea calls it the *bread of mourners.* (Hos. ix. 4.)

The usual tokens of mourning, by which the Jews expressed their grief and concern for the death of their friends and

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[1] Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 385. first edition, Oxon, 1738.

[2] Dr. Macknight in loc.

[3] Ευσχημων βουλευτης. This denotes that he was a member of the Sanhedrin. βουλευτης is the word used for senator in almost every page of the Greek writers of the Roman history.

relations, were by rending their garments, and putting on sackcloth (Gen. xxxvii. 34.), sprinkling dust on their heads, wearing of mourning apparel (2 Sam. xiv. 2.), and covering the face and the head. (2 Sam. xix. 4.) They were accustomed also in times of public mourning to go up to the roofs or platforms of their houses, there to bewail their misfortunes, which practice is mentioned in Isaiah xv. 3. and xxii. 1.

Antiently, there was a peculiar space of time allotted for lamenting the deceased, which they called *the days of mourning.* (Gen. xxvii. 41. and l. 4.) Thus the Egyptians, who had a great regard for the patriarch Jacob, lamented his death *threescore and ten days.* (Gen. l. 3.) The Israelites wept for Moses in the plains of Moab *thirty days.* (Deut. xxxiv. 8.) Afterwards among the Jews the funeral mourning was generally confined to *seven days.* Thus, besides the mourning for Jacob in Egypt, Joseph and his company set apart *seven days* to mourn for his father, when they approached the Jordan with his corpse. (Gen. l. 10.) We read no where of any general mourning for Saul and his sons, who died in battle; but the national troubles, which followed upon his death, might have prevented it. David indeed and his men, on hearing the news of their death, mourned and wept for them until even. (2 Sam. i. 12.) And the men of Jabesh-gilead *fasted for them seven days* (1 Sam. xxxi. 13.), which must not be understood in a strict sense, as if they eat nothing all that time, but that they lived very abstemiously, eat little, and that seldom, using a low and spare diet, and drinking water only.

How long widows mourned for their husbands is no where told us in Scripture. We find it is said of Bathsheba, that *when she heard that Uriah her husband was dead, she mourned for him* (2 Sam. xi. 26.); but this could neither be long nor very sincere.

The Jews paid a greater or less degree of honour to their kings after their death, according to the merits of their actions when they were alive. Upon the death of their princes, who had distinguished themselves in arms, or who, by any religious actions, or by the promotion of civil arts, had merited well of their country, they used to make lamentations or mournful songs for them: from an expression in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. *Behold, they are written in the Lamentations,* we may infer that they had certain collections of this kind of composition. The author of the book of Samuel has preserved those which David composed on occasion of the death of Saul and Jonathan, of Abner and Absalom; but we have no remains of the mournful poem, which Jeremiah made upon the immature death of the

pious king Josiah, mentioned in the last-cited chapter: which loss is the more to be deplored, because in all probability it was a master-piece in its kind, since never was there an author more deeply affected with his subject, or more capable of carrying it through all the tender sentiments of sorrow and compassion, than Jeremiah.[1]

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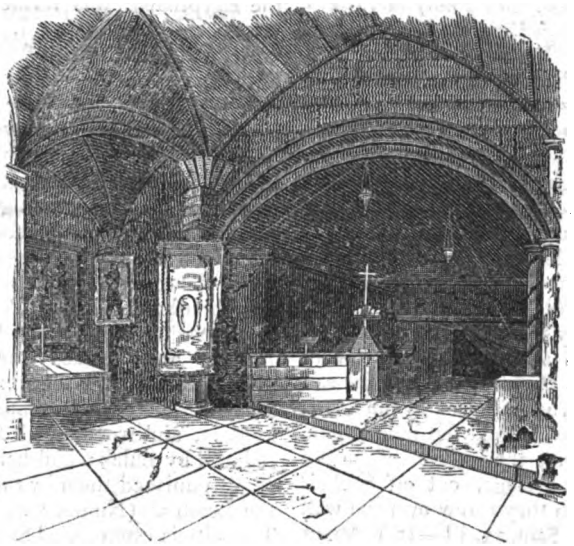
[1] Jahn, Archæologia Biblica, pp. 289—302. Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 129—152. Stosch, Compendium Archæologiæ Œconomicæ Novi Testamenti, pp. 121—132. Brüninge, Compendium Antiquitatum Græcarum, pp. 388—400. The subject of Hebrew sepulchres is very fully discussed by Nicolai, in his treatise De Sepulchris Hebræorum (Lug. Bat. 1706, 4to.), which is illustrated with several curious plates, some of which however, it must be confessed, are rather fanciful.

Appendix.

APPENDIX.



Grotto *at* Nazareth, *said to have been the House of* Joseph and Mary.

No. I.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

OF THE

PRINCIPAL PLACES

Mentioned in the Scriptures, especially in the New Testament.

[Referred to, in page 11 of this volume.]

*** On account of the very great uncertainty attending the ascertaining of the situation of the majority of places, incidentally mentioned in the Old Testament, this Index is chiefly restricted to the principal places and countries which occur in the New Testament. It is compiled from the labours of Calmet, Wells, Schleusner, Dr. Whitby, M. Anquetil, Dr. Hales, and other writers who have treated on sacred geography [1], particularly Dr. Clarke's Travels in Palestine.

[1] The notices of the seven cities of Ephesus, Laodicæa, Pergamos, Philadelphia, Sardis, Smyrna, and Thyatira, are derived from Smith's Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia,

ABANA, a river of Damascus, mentioned by Naaman. (2 Kings v. 12.) *Are not Abana and Pharphar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?* Probably this river is a branch of the part of the Barrady, or Chrysorroas; which derives its source from the foot of mount Libanus, towards the east, runs round Damascus, and through it, and continues its course till lost in the wilderness, four or five leagues south from that city.

ABARIM, Mountains of. See p. 46 of this volume.

ABEL, *Abel-beth-Maucha*, or *Abel-main*, a city in the northern part of the canton allotted to the tribe of Naphtali. Hither fled Sheba the son of Bichri, when pursued by the forces of king David; and the inhabitants, in order that they might escape the horrors of a siege, cut off Sheba's head, which they threw over the wall to Joab. (2 Sam. xx. 14—18.) About eighty years after, it was taken and ravaged by Benhadad king of Syria. (1 Kings xv. 20.) About two hundred years after this event, it was captured and sacked by Tiglath-pileser, who carried the inhabitants captive into Assyria. (2 Kings xv. 29.) This place was subsequently rebuilt; and according to Josephus, became, under the name of Abila, the capital of the district of

ABILENE, of which see a notice in p. 16, *supra*.

ABEL-MEHOLAH was the native country of Elisha. (1 Kings xix. 16.) It could not be far from Scythopolis. (iv. 12.) Eusebius places it in the great plain, sixteen miles from Scythopolis, south. Not far from hence, Gideon obtained a victory over the Midianites. (Judg. vii. 22.)

ABEL-MIZRAIM (the mourning of the Egyptians), was formerly called the floor of Atad. (Gen. l. 11.) Jerome, and some others after him, believe this to be the place afterwards called Bethagla, at some distance from Jericho and Jordan west.

ABEL-SHITTIM was a town in the plains of Moab, beyond Jordan, opposite Jericho. According to Josephus, Abel-Shittim, or Abela, as he calls it, was sixty furlongs from Jordan. Eusebius says, it was in the neighbourhood of Mount Peor. Moses encamped at Abel-Shittim before the Hebrew army passed the Jordan, under Joshua. (Numb. xxxiii. 49. xxv. 1.) Here the Israelites fell into idolatry, and worshipped Baal-Peor, seduced by Balak; and here God severely punished them by the hands of the Levites. (Numb. xxv. 1, 2, &c.) This city is often called Shittim only. (Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 7. and v. 1., and de Bello, lib. v. cap. 3.)

ABILENE. See page 16, *supra*.

ACCHO. See PTOLEMAIS.

ACELDAMA, a place without the south wall of Jerusalem, beyond the river of Siloam. It was called the Potter's Field (Matt. xxvii. 7. 10.), because they dug thence the earth of which they made their pots; and the Fuller's Field, because they dried their cloth there; but being afterwards bought by that money by which the high-priest and rulers of the Jews purchased the blood of the holy Jesus, it was, by the providence of God so ordering it, called Aceldama, that is, the field of blood. (Acts i. 19. Matt. xxvii. 7, 8.)

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pp. 205—276. Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. ii. pp. 166—174. The Rev. H. Lindsay's Visit to the Apocalyptic Churches (in 1815), in the Christian Observer, vol. xv. pp. 190, 191. See also Stosch's Syntagma Dissertationum Septem de Nominibus totidem Urbium Asiæ, ad quas D. Joannes in Apocalypsi Filii Dei Epistolas direxit. 8vo. Guelpherbyti, 1757.

ACHAIA, in the largest sense, comprehends Greece, properly so called. It is bounded on the west by Epirus, on the east by the Ægean sea, on the north by Macedonia, on the south by Peloponnesus. This seems to be the region intended, when Saint Paul, according to the Roman acceptation, mentions all the *regions of Achaia*, and directs his second epistle to all the saints in Achaia. (2 Cor. xi. 10.) Thus, what is Achaia, in Acts xix. 21. is Hellas, that is, Greece. (Acts xx. 2.) Achaia, strictly so called, is the northern region of Peloponnesus, bounded on the north by the gulph of Corinth, on the south by Arcadia, on the east by Sycionia, and, on the west, by the Ionian sea. Of this region CORINTH was the capital.

ACHMETHA. See ECBATANA.

ACHOR, a valley in the territory of Jericho, and in the canton of the tribe of Benjamin, where Achan was stoned. (Josh. vii. 24.)

ACKSHAPH, a city belonging to the tribe of Asher. The king of Ackshaph was conquered by Joshua. (xii. 20.) Some writers are of opinion, that Ackshaph, is the same as Ecdippa, on the Mediterranean, between Tyre and Ptolemais; others, that Ecdippa is described in Josh. xix. 29. under the name of Achzib, אכזיב. The Arabs call a place, three hours north from Ptolemais, Zib, which is the place where formerly stood Ecdippa. It is probable, that Ackshaph and Achzib are but different names for the same town.

ADAMA, one of the five wicked cities destroyed by fire from heaven, and afterwards overwhelmed by the waters of the Dead Sea. (Gen. xix. 24.) It was the most easterly of those which were swallowed up; and there is some probability, either that it was not entirely sunk under the waters, or that the inhabitants of the country built a city of the same name on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; for Isaiah, according to the LXX., says, *God will destroy the Moabites, the city of Ar, and the remnant of* Adama. (Isa. xv. ult.) Ἀρῶ τὸ σπέρμα Μωαὰ καὶ Ἀρίηλ, καὶ τὸ καταλειπον Ἀδαμα.

ADRAMYTTIUM, a maritime town of Mysia, in Asia Minor, for which Paul embarked in his first voyage to Italy. (Acts xxvii. 12.)

ADRIA is mentioned in Acts xxvii. 27., where, it is to be observed, that when Saint Paul says, that they were tossed in Adria, he does not say in the Adriatic Gulf, which ends with the Illyrian sea, but in the Adriatic sea, which, according to Hesychius, is the same with the Ionian sea: and therefore to the question, How Saint Paul's ship, which was near to Malta, and so, either in the Lybian or Sicilian sea, could be in the Adriatic? It is well answered, That not only the Ionian, but even the Sicilian sea, and part of that which washes Crete, was called the Adriatic. Thus, Ptolemy says, that Sicily was bounded on the east, ὑπὸ του Ἀδρίου, by the Adriatic; and that Crete was compassed on the west, ὑπὸ του Ἀδριατικου πελαγους, by the Adriatic sea: and Strabo says, that the Ionian gulf, μέρος ἐστὶ του νῦν Ἀδρίου λεγομενου, is a part of that which in his time was called the Adriatic sea. (*Whitby.*)

ÆNON, or ENON, signifies the place of springs, where John baptised. (John iii. 23.) It is uncertain where it was situated, whether in Galilee, or Judæa, or Samaria, where Lubin places it, viz. in the half-tribe of Manasseh, within Jordan.

AHAVA, a river of Babylonia, or of Assyria, where Ezra assembled those captives whom he afterwards brought into Judæa. (Ezra vii. 15.) It is supposed to be that which ran along the Adiabene, where a river Diava, or Adiava, is mentioned, on which Ptolemy places the city Abane or Aavane. This is probably the country called Ava (2 Kings xvii. 24. xviii. 34. xix.

13.), whence the kings of Assyria translated the people called Avites into Palestine; and where, likewise, in their room, they settled some of the captive Israelites. Ezra intending to collect as many Israelites as he could, to return with him to Judæa, halted in the country of Ava, or Ahava, whence he sent agents into the Caspian mountains, to invite such Jews as were willing to join him. (Ezra viii. 17.)

Alexandria, a celebrated city of Egypt, built by Alexander the Great, A. M. 3673, B. C. 331, and situated between the Mediterranean sea and the Lake Moeris. Its commerce was very great, especially in corn (Egypt being considered the granary of Rome), so that the centurion could easily meet with *a ship of Alexandria*, laden with corn, *sailing into Italy*. (Acts xxvii. 6.) Alexandria was the native place of Apollos. (Acts xviii. 24.)

Amalekites. — The Amalekites were the descendants of Eliphaz, the first-born of Esau, by his concubine Timna; whereas the Idumæans were the offspring of a legitimate wife. On this diversity of origin was founded the rivalry which constantly existed between these two nations. In other respects they appear to have resembled each other, in their religion, their taste for the arts, and their commerce, which their situation between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean encouraged them to cultivate and extend. It is even conjectured that they were warriors and conquerors, and made a part of the shepherds who subdued Egypt, and reigned there during two hundred years. It was probably this brilliant success which caused them to be styled, by the Jewish historian, *the first of nations*. Annexed to this illustrious title is found, however, the fatal prediction: *their name shall be put out from under heaven*. In fact, perpetual wars against their neighbours, and especially the Jews, insensibly ruined them. Saul made a terrible slaughter of them, and was not permitted to save Agag their king, who was hewn in pieces by the prophet Samuel: David exterminated those who had escaped the former massacre. After this terrible execution, we meet no more with the name of Amalek but in the history of Esther; in whose time Haman, an Amalekite, to revenge an afront he imagined himself to have received from the Jew Mordecai, conceived the design of causing to be cut off, in a single night, not only all the Jews dispersed in the states of Ahasuerus king of Babylon, but even those who had been left in Judæa to mourn over the ruins of their country. This dreadful design recoiled on Haman, who was exterminated with all his family; and the Jews received permission to pursue and put to death their enemies wherever they could find them. They made a great slaughter of them, and since this event, nothing more has been heard of the Amalekites.

Ammonites, a people descended from Ammon, son of Lot; called sometimes Ammanites. They destroyed the giants Zamzummim, and seized their country. (Deut. ii. 19, 20, 21.) God forbad Moses and Israel from attacking the Ammonites, because he did not intend to give their land to the Hebrews. Nevertheless, as, previously to the Israelites entering Canaan, the Amorites had conquered great part of the countries belonging to the Ammonites and Moabites, Moses retook this from the Amorites, and divided it between the tribes of Gad and Reuben. Long after this, in the time of Jephthah (Judg. xi. 13.), the Ammonites declared war against Israel, pretending that Israel detained the country which had been their's before the Amorites possessed it. Jephthah replied, that this territory being acquired by Israel

in a just war, from the Amorites, who had long enjoyed it by right of conquest, he was under no obligation to restore it. The Ammonites being dissatisfied with this reply, Jephthah gave them battle, and defeated them.

The Ammonites and Moabites generally united in attacking Israel. After the death of Othniel, the Ammonites and Amalekites joined with Eglon, king of Moab, to oppress them. Some years after, about A. M. 2799, the Ammonites greatly oppressed the Israelites beyond Jordan; but, in 2817, God raised up Jephthah to deliver them. In the beginning of Saul's reign, A. M. 2909, B. C. 1195, Nahash, king of the Ammonites, having attacked Jabesh-Gilead, reduced it to a capitulation. (1 Sam. xi. 1.) Nahash offered no other conditions, than their submitting to have every man his right eye plucked out, as a reproach upon Israel; but Saul coming seasonably to the succour of Jabesh, delivered the city and people from the intended barbarity of Nahash.

David, having been a friend of the king of Ammon, after his death sent compliments of condolence to Hanun, his son and successor; who, regarding these ambassadors as spies, treated them in a very affronting manner. David avenged the affront, subdued the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Syrians, their allies, Ammon and Moab continued under the government of David and Solomon, and, after the separation of the ten tribes, were subject to the kings of Israel till the death of Ahab. (2 Kings i. 1. A. M. 3107; B. C. 897.)

Jehoram, son of Ahab, and successor of Ahaziah, defeated the Moabites, A. M. 3109. (2 Kings iii. 4, 5, 6, &c.) But it does not appear, that this victory reduced them to his obedience. At the same time the Ammonites, Moabites, and other people, made an irruption into Judah, but were repulsed and routed by Jehoshaphat. (2 Chron. xx. 1, 2, *et seq.*)

The prophet Isaiah (xv. xvi.) threatens the Moabites with a misfortune which was to happen three years after his prediction; this probably had reference to the war of Shalmaneser against them, about A. M. 3277; B. C. 727.—After the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh were carried captive by Tiglath-Pilasser, A. M. 3264, B. C. 740, the Ammonites and Moabites took possession of the cities belonging to these tribes, for which Jeremiah reproaches them. (Jer. xlix. 1.) The ambassadors of the Ammonites were some of those to whom that prophet presented the cup of the Lord's fury, and whom he directed to make bonds and yokes for themselves, exhorting them to submit to Nebuchadnezzar; and threatening them, if they did not, with captivity and slavery. (Jer. xxvii. 2, 3, 4.)

The prophet Ezekiel (xxv. 4. 10.), denounces their entire destruction, and tells them, that God would give them up to the people of the East, who should set their palaces in their country, so that the Ammonites should be no more mentioned among nations; and this as a punishment for insulting the Israelites on their calamities, and the destruction of their temple by the Chaldæans. These calamities happened to them in the fifth year after the taking of Jerusalem, when Nebuchadnezzar made war against all the people around Judæa, A. M. 3420 or 3421; B. C. 583.

It is probable, that Cyrus gave to the Ammonites and Moabites, the liberty of returning into their own country, whence they had been removed by Nebuchadnezzar; for we see them, in the lands of their former settlement, exposed to those revolu-

tions which included the people of Syria and Palestine; and subject, sometimes to the kings of Egypt, and sometimes to the kings of Syria.

Antiochus the Great took Rabboth, or Philadelphia, their capital, demolished the walls, and put a garrison into it, A. M. 3806. During the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Ammonites manifested their hatred to the Jews, and exercised great cruelties against such of them as lived in their parts. (1 Macc. v. 6—45.) Justin Martyr says (Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 272), that in his time — the second century, — there were still many Ammonites remaining; but Origen, in Job. assures us, that in his days, they were only known under the general name of Arabians. Thus was the prediction of Ezekiel accomplished.

Amorites, a people descended from Amorrhæus, the fourth son of Canaan. They first peopled the mountains west of the Dead Sea. They likewise had establishments east of that sea, between the brooks Jabbok and Arnon, whence they forced the Ammonites and Moabites. (Josh. v. 1. Numb. xiii. 29. xxi. 29.) Moses wrested this country from their kings, Sihon and Og, A. M. 2553, B. C. 1451. The prophet Amos (ii. 9.) speaks of their gigantic stature and valour. He compares their height to the cedar; their strength to the oak. The name Amorite, is often taken in Scripture for Canaanites in general. The lands which the Amorites possessed on this side Jordan, were given to the tribe of Judah; and those which they had possessed beyond the Jordan, to the tribes of Reuben and Gad.

Amphipolis, a city between Macedon and Thrace, but dependant on Macedon, mentioned in Acts xvii. 1. Paul and Silas being delivered out of prison, left Philippi, went to Thessalonica, and passed through Amphipolis. This city had the name likewise of Chrysopolis.

Anathoth, a city in the tribe of Benjamin, memorable as being the birth place of the prophet Jeremiah. (Josh. xxi. 18. Jer. i. 1.) According to Eusebius and Jerome, it was situated about three miles to the north of Jerusalem, though Josephus states it to be twenty furlongs. This city, which was assigned as a residence to the Levites of the family of Kohath, and also as one of the cities of refuge, has long since been destroyed.

Anti-Libanus (Mount), see p. 45.

Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, was erected, according to some writers, by Antiochus Epiphanes, according to others, by Seleucus Nicanor, the first king of Syria after Alexander the Great, in memory of his father Antiochus, and was the royal seat of the kings of Syria, or the place where their palace was. For power and dignity it was little inferior to Seleucia, or Alexandria. Josephus says, that it was the third great city of all that belonged to the Roman provinces; it was called *Antiochia apud Daphnem*, or Antioch near Daphne, *i. e.* the village where her temple was, to distinguish it from fourteen other cities of the same name. It was celebrated among the Jews, for the *jus civitatis*, which Seleucus Nicanor had given to them in that city, with the Grecians and Macedonians; and for the wars of the Maccabæans with those kings. Among Christians it is memorable for being the place where they first received that name, and where both St. Luke and Theophilus were born and inhabited.

Antioch, of Pisidia, a city mentioned in Acts xiii. 14. Here Paul and Barnabas preached; but the Jews, who were angry at seeing that some of the Gentiles received the Gospel, raised a sedition against Paul and

Barnabas, and obliged them to leave the city.

ANTIPATRIS, a small town which was situated in the road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea. It was formerly called Capharsalma; but, being rebuilt and beautified by Herod the Great, it was by him named Antipatris in honour of his father Antipater. Hither Saint Paul was brought after his apprehension at Jerusalem. (Acts xxiii. 31.)

APHEK.—There are several cities of this name mentioned in Scripture: as,

1. APHEK, in the tribe of Judah. Here the Philistines encamped, when the ark was brought from Shiloh, which was taken in battle by the Philistines. (1 Sam. iv.) Probably this is the Aphekah, mentioned in Josh. xv. 53.

2. APHEK, in the valley of Jezreel. Here the Philistines encamped, while Saul and his army lay near Jezreel, on the mountains of Gilboa. (1 Sam. xxix. 1, &c.)

3. APHEK, a city belonging to the tribe of Asher, near the country of the Sidonians. (Josh. xix. 30. xiii. 4.) Perhaps this was the

4. APHEK, a city of Syria, one of the principal in Ben-Hadad's kingdom, in the vicinity of which the battle was fought between Ahab and Ben-hadad, when the Syrians were beaten (1 Kings xx. 26. &c.), and, as they retreated with precipitation into the city, the city wall fell upon them, and crushed 27,000. Probably, in this city Aphek, or Aphaca, situated in Libanus, on the river Adonis, stood the famous temple of Venus the Aphacite. This city lay between Heliopolis and Biblos.

APOLLONIA, a city of Macedonia Prima, through which Paul passed, in his way to Thessalonica. (Acts xvii. 1.)

ARABIA is a large country in western Asia, lying south-east of Judæa. It is distinguished into three parts, Arabia *Deserta*, *Petræa*, and *Felix*.

(1.) ARABIA DESERTA has the mountains of Gilead west, and the river Euphrates east: it comprehends the Ituræans, the Edomites, the Nabathæans, the people of Kedar, and others, who lead a wandering life, having no cities, houses, or fixed habitations; but wholly dwelling in tents; in modern Arabic such are called Bedoweens. This country seems commonly to be described in Scripture by the word Arab, which signifies, properly, in Hebrew, the west, or people gathered together. They may have taken the name of Arabim, or western, from their situation, being west of the river Euphrates; and if so, their name Arab is prior to the settlement of Israel in Canaan. In Eusebius, and authors of that and the following ages, the country, and greater part of the cities beyond Jordan, and of what they call the Third Palestine, are considered as parts of Arabia. (See a description of the horrors of traversing the great Arabian Desert, in pp. 53—57. *supra*.)

(2.) ARABIA PETRÆA lies to the south of the Holy Land. Petra was its capital. This country contained the southern Edomites, the Amalekites, the Cushites (who are very improperly called Ethiopians by most translators and interpreters of Scripture), the Hivites, the Meonians, or Maonim, &c. These people are at present known under the general name of Arabians: but it is of consequence to notice the antient inhabitants of these districts, as they are mentioned in the text of Scripture. In this country were Kadesh-Barnea, Gerar, Beer-sheba, Lachish, Libnah, Paran, Arad, Hasmona, Oboth, Phunon, Dedan, Segor, &c., also Mount Sinai, where the law was given to Moses.

(3.) Arabia Felix lay still farther south: being bounded on the east by the Persian Gulf; on the south by the ocean between Africa and India; and on the west by the Red Sea. As this Arabia did not immediately adjoin the Holy Land, it is not so frequently mentioned as the former Arabias. It is thought that the queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon (1 Kings, x. 1.) was queen of part of Arabia Felix. This country abounded with riches, and particularly with spices.

The Scriptures frequently mention the Arabians (meaning those adjoining Judæa) as a powerful people, who valued themselves on their wisdom. Their riches consisted principally in flocks and cattle: they paid king Jehoshaphat an annual tribute of 7700 sheep, and as many goats. (2 Chron. xvii. 11.) The kings of Arabia furnished Solomon with a great quantity of gold and silver. (2 Chron. ix. 14.) They loved war, but made it rather like thieves and plunderers, than like soldiers. They lived at liberty in the field, or the desert, concerned themselves little about cultivating the earth, and were not very obedient to established governments. This is the idea which the Scripture gives of them, (Isa. xiii. 20.) and the same is their character at this day.

The inhabitants of Arabia, who dwelt there before Abraham came into Canaan, were descended from Ham. We find there Midianites, of the race of Cush, among whom Moses retired. Abimelech, king of Gerar, is known in the time of Abraham, and the Amalekites in the time of Moses. The Hivites, the Amorites, Kenites, Meonians or Mahonians, extended a good way into Arabia Petræa; the Horim occupied the mountains which lie to the south of the land of Canaan, and east of the Dead Sea. The Rephaim, Emim, Zuzim, and Zamzummim, (Gen. xiv. 5. Deut. ii. 8, 9., &c.) inhabited the country called afterwards Arabia Deserta, and peopled by the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites.

Arabia is generally stony, rocky, and mountainous; principally in parts now remote from the sea, though formerly adjacent to it. In the course of ages, a vast plain has been interposed between the mountains, now in the midst of the country, and the sea, which has gradually retired from them. This is now the most fruitful and best cultivated part; but it is also the hottest: for in the mountains, the air is much cooler than below in the plains: they also contain plants and animals of different kinds.

Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Felix, were possessed by the descendants of Ishmael, who were more particularly known by the name of Arabians. According to the accounts of the Arabians themselves, the first inhabitants of their country were descended from Cahtan or Joktan, son of Eber, and brother of Peleg; who, after the division of languages, peopled this peninsula of Asia. The second Arabians who succeeded these are the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, who came and settled among the antient Arabians, and was father of the mixed Arabians, or Mota-Arabes, or Mosta-Arabes, or Ishmaelites.

The pure and antient Arabians were divided into tribes, as well as the sons of Ishmael. Some of these tribes still exist in Arabia, others are lost and extinct. The Ishmaelites formed twelve tribes, according to the number of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13, 14.), viz. Nebajoth, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah: but although these people very carefully preserve their genealogy, yet they cannot trace it up to Ishmael; they are obliged to stop

at Adnan, one of his descendants; the genealogy, even of Mohammed, rises no higher.

Besides the descéndants of Ishmael, who peopled the greater part of Arabia, the sons of Abraham and Keturah, of Lot, of Esau, of Nahor, and others, dwelt in the same country, and mixed with, or drove out the old inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Arabia are divided into (1) those who dwell in cities, and (2) those who live in the fields and deserts: the latter abide continually in tents, and are much more honest than the Arabians, who live in towns. Of these, some are Gentiles, others Mussulmans; the former preceded Mohammed, and are now called among them *Arabians of the days of ignorance*; the others, who have received the doctrines preached by Mohammed, are called *Moslemoun*, or *Mussulmans*, that is, believers. These are the people who conquered, and who still possess, great part of Asia and Africa; and who founded the four great monarchies of the Turks, the Persians, Morocco, and Mogul; not to mention lesser kingdoms.

Arabia Deserta is called Hegiaz, and is become the most celebrated on account of the cities of Mecca and Medina being situated in it. Arabia Petræa is now known by the name of Hagar, or Hagiar; which signifies stone or rock: but Arabia Deserta, as understood by the antients, extended much farther towards Syria and the Euphrates.

Joktan, the son of Eber, having settled in Yemen, erected a kingdom there, and was himself the first monarch. His son, Jarab, succeeded him: he introduced the Arabian language, which took its name from him, as did the whole country. The third king was Jaschab; the fourth was Abdalschams, surnamed Sobas; from him the old Sabæans derived their name. His descendants reigned in Yemen above 2000 years before the rise of Mahometanism.

The Arabians in general are cunning, witty, generous, and ingenious; lovers of eloquence and poetry; but superstitious, vindictive, sanguinary, and given to robbery (that is, of those not under the protection of some of their own people) which they think allowable, because Abraham, the father of Ishmael, say they, gave his son nothing. (Gen. xxv. 5, 6.)

The antient Arabians were idolaters: they worshipped a stone. The black stone, which has the repute of having been, *from time immemorial*, the object of their worship, is still to be seen in the Caaba of Mecca. They say, this stone was originally white, but has wept itself black on account of the sins of mankind. Herodotus says, that they had only two deities—Bacchus, and Venus, Alilat, or Alilatta. Strabo tells us, that they adored only Jupiter and Bacchus; which Alexander the Great being informed of resolved to subdue them, that he might oblige them to worship him as their third deity.

The modern Arabians, descended from Ishmael, mention other names of antient deities adored in Arabia; as Lakiah, whom they invoked for rain; Hafedah, for preservation from bad accidents in journies; Razora, for the necessaries of life; Lath, or Ablat, which is a diminutive of Abla, the true name of God; Aza, or Uza, from Aziz, which signifies the mighty God; Menat, from Menan, distributor of favours. It is very probable that they adored likewise the two golden antelopes, which are frequently mentioned in their histories, and which were consecrated at the temple of Mecca. The antient Midianites, among whom Moses retired, when he was received

by Jethro, worshipped Abda and Hinda. Urotalt, mentioned by Herodotus, denotes, probably, the sun; and Alitat, the moon. The first of these words may signify the god of light; the second, the god or goddess, eminently. Since the promulgation of the Gospel, many Arabians have embraced Christianity; though by far the greater part continue, to this day, to profess the faith of Mohammed.

Aram, fifth son of Shem, was father of the people of Syria, who, from him, are called Aramæans. There are many countries of this name, distinguished in Scripture; as—*Aram Naharaïm*, or Syria of the Two Rivers, that is *Mesopotamia*; *Aram of Damascus*; *Aram of Soba*; *Aram Bethrehob*; and *Aram of Maacha*; because the cities of Damascus, Soba, Bethrehob, and Maachah, were in Syria; or, at least, because Syria contained the provinces of Soba, Maachah, Rehob, &c. Homer and Hesiod call Aramæans, those whom the more modern Greeks call Syrians. The prophet Amos (ix. 7.) seems to say, that the first Aramæans dwelt in the country of Kir, in Iberia, where the river Cyrus runs; and that God brought them from thence, as he did the Hebrews out of Egypt; but at what time this happened is not known. Moses always calls the Syrians and inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Aramites. The Aramæans often warred against the Hebrews; David subdued them, and obliged them to pay him tribute. Solomon preserved the same authority; but, after the separation of the ten tribes, it does not appear that the Syrians were generally subject to the kings of Israel; unless, perhaps, under Jeroboam II. who restored the kingdom of Israel to its ancient boundaries. (2 Kings xiv. 25.)

Ararat, a celebrated mountain in the Greater Armenia; on which Noah's ark rested after the deluge. (Gen. vii. 4.) It is of stupendous height, and inaccessible to the summit, which is covered with perpetual snow. By the modern Armenians it is termed *Macis*, or the mother of the world.

Areopagus.—See pp. 127, 128. *supra*.

Arimathea, a small town to which Joseph belonged who begged the body of Jesus from Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 57.); it was about thirty-six, or thirty-seven miles distant from Jerusalem.

Arnon (River). See p. 37. *supra*.

Ashdod. See Azotus, p. 15. *infra*.

Asher, canton of the tribe of. See p. 12. *supra*.

Asia, one of the largest divisions of the old world, is not mentioned in the Old Testament. In the New Testament it is always taken for Asia Minor, as it includes the proconsular Asia, which comprised the four regions of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. In this proconsular Asia were the seven churches of Ephesus, Laodicæa, Pergamos, Philadelphia, Sardis, Smyrna, and Thyatira.

Assos, a maritime city of Mysia, according to some geographers, but of Troas, according to others. It is mentioned in Acts xx. 13, 14.

Assyria, a country of Asia, the boundaries of which it is difficult to assign. It appears to have been situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates, inclosed between those two rivers, from the part where they begin to approach each other on leaving Mesopotamia to that where they join, not far from their mouth in the gulf of Persia.

It must naturally excite surprise, that so small a country should have been able to send forth armies of a million or twelve hundred thousand men; a number which dismays the imagination, especially when we consider how

many attendants they must have had exclusive of fighting men. But this kind of enigma is explained by the manner in which these vast armies were formed.

From the centre of a not very extensive domain a warlike band frequently issued, which poured upon the neighbouring country, carrying away the inhabitants, who, having no other resource, incorporated themselves with the conquerors. United, and allured by the hope of plunder, they proceeded onwards, ravaging other lands, and increasing their army with the despoiled inhabitants, who in like manner joined them. Thus were formed those wandering hordes, which, under the name of Assyrians, subdued Mesopotamia, penetrated to Armenia, Media, and Persia, inundated Syria like a torrent, and carried devastation through Chaldæa, become the country of the Jews. As their conquests extended, the centre of their power became surrounded with deserts, and itself a desert. It is in vain that we seek the vestiges of the most famous cities, as Nineveh and Babylon, which, from the descriptions that have reached us, have been justly enumerated among the wonders of the world.

It is in vain, likewise, that we inquire, what were the manners, religion, commerce, and usages of the Asyrians. They must have been those of all the various nations who united to form them; that is to say, they were conquerors and barbarians who allowed the greatest liberty in their police and their ceremonies, provided none of their people adopted laws or practices which might obstruct the success of their warlike expeditions.

It may be supposed, that a people in this unsettled state had neither the time nor the means to write annals which may serve as a basis for chronology, or furnish any certain dates. The memory of the principal facts could only be preserved by tradition, and has been transmitted to us with not a few variations by the Greeks. At the same time that it is allowed, that we owe to the latter almost all the historical knowledge we possess relative to the antient nations of Asia, it must be admitted, that they have greatly disfigured it by accommodating to their own language and pronunciation the names of persons and divinities, and assimilating events to their own traditions in such a manner, that when we imagine we are in possession of authentic facts, we frequently discover them to be only Grecian fables. This observation may serve to point out the degree of confidence which ought to be reposed in the histories of these antient times.

Sketch of the History of Assyria, illustrative of the Prophetic Writings.

The empire of Assyria was founded by Ninus, the son of Belus; and, according to Herodotus, it continued five hundred and twenty years. (Herod. lib. i. c. 95.) Ninus reigned one hundred and twenty-two years, according to some historians (Jul. African. and Eusebius in Chron.), though others make his reign to have lasted only seventeen years. (Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. c. i.—iv.) He enlarged and embellished the antient city of Nineveh, which had been built by Nimrod, many ages before his time. (Gen. x. 9, 10.) The commencement of his reign is fixed by Archbishop Usher to the year of the world 2737, B. C. 1267, during the period when Deborah and Barak judged the Israelites.

Ninus was succeded by his queen Semiramis, who reigned forty-two years. She enlarged the Assyrian empire, which she left in a flourishing state to her son Ninyas, A. M. 2831, B. C. 1173. The Scriptures are totally silent concerning the sub-

sequent history of that celebrated monarchy, and the successors of Ninyas, until the time of the prophet Jonah, who flourished A. M. 3180, B. C. 824; and even then they do not state the name of the monarch who filled the Assyrian throne. It is evident, however, that Nineveh was at that time a city of immense extent, whose inhabitants, like those of other great cities abounding in wealth and luxury, were extremely corrupt in their morals. But, at the preaching of Jonah, both sovereign and subjects repented and abandoned their evil ways, and thus for a time delayed the execution of the divine judgments. About fifty years after the time of Jonah, the Scriptures mention a king of Assyria, named Pul, who invaded the kingdom of Israel in the days of Menahem (2 Kings xv. 19. 1 Chron. v. 26), who gave him a thousand talents of silver to engage him to lend him his assistance, and secure him on his throne. Pul is supposed to have been the father of Sardanapalus, the last king of the Assyrians, in whose reign the crimes of the Ninevites having risen to their utmost height, God raised up enemies to chastise them. Arbaces the Median, indignant at the effeminate and luxurious life which Sardanapalus led in his palace, conspired with Belesis, governor of Babylon, to shake off the yoke of so worthless a sovereign. After various engagements, they compelled him to retreat to Nineveh, where he expected that he should be able to defend himself a long time, because the city was strongly fortified, and the besiegers had not machines to batter the walls. But in the third year of the siege, the river Tigris, being swoln with continual rains, overflowed part of the city, agreeably to the predictions of Nahum (particularly i. 8—10.), and broke down the wall for twenty furlongs. Sardanapalus, that he might not fall into the hands of his enemies, burnt himself in his palace, with his women and all his immense treasures. (Usher's Annals, p. 48. A. M. 3254. Athenæus, lib. xii c. 12.) Arbaces and Belesis then divided the dominions of Sardanapalus: the former had Media, which he restored to its liberty; the latter had Babylon, where he reigned fourteen years: Nineveh they left to Ninus the younger, who was heir to the antient kings of Assyria, and maintained the *second* Assyrian monarchy with considerable splendour; so that out of the ruins of this vast empire there were formed three considerable kingdoms, viz. that of Nineveh, that of Babylon, and that of the Medes. We shall briefly consider each of them, separately, according to the share they had in the affairs of the Jews.

Belesis, called Baladan by Isaiah (xxxix. 1. 2 Kings xx. 12.), is the Nabonassar of profane historians. He founded the Babylonian empire, of which he made Babylon the metropolis. He was succeeded by his son Merodach-Baladan, who cultivated Hezekiah's friendship, as appears from the embassy which he sent to the latter to congratulate him on his recovery from sickness (2 Kings xx. 12.), A. M. 3291, B. C. 713. After this time the sacred historians are silent concerning the kings of Babylon until the time of Esar-haddon, who is noticed in a following page.

The younger Ninus, who was left king of Assyria and Nineveh, is the Tiglath-pileser of the Scriptures (2 Kings xv. 29. xvi. 7. 10. 2 Chron. xxviii. 20.), A. M. 3257, B. C. 747. His empire appears to have been the most celebrated in the east; as Ahaz king of Judah sent to request his assistance against Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah king of Israel. Accordingly, Tiglath-pileser advanced

with a numerous army, defeated Rezin, captured Damascus, and put an end to the kingdom erected there by the Syrians, agreeably to the predictions of Isaiah (viii. 4.) and Amos (i. 5.) He also entered the kingdom of Israel, conquered Pekah, and carried away part of the ten tribes beyond the river Euphrates. But Ahaz soon had cause to regret this unhallowed alliance: for Tiglath-pileser exacted from him such immense sums of money, that he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but also to take all the gold and silver out of the temple. (2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21. 24.) Ahaz became tributary to the Assyrian monarch, whose successors found abundance of pretexts for entering the kingdom of Judah, which they ultimately ruined and subverted.

Shalmaneser, the successor of Tiglath-pileser, came into Syria A. M. 3280, B. C. 724, and desolated the country of the Moabites, agreeably to the prophecy of Isaiah (xvi. 1.), delivered three years before. He then attacked Samaria, and completed the misfortunes of the Israelites who remained, by carrying them into captivity beyond the Euphrates. Thus terminated the kingdom of Israel A. M. 3283, B. C. 721. (2 Kings xvii. 3. xviii. 9—11.) Hezekiah, by the special protection of God, escaped the fury of Shalmaneser, to whom, however, he became tributary, and the Assyrian returned in triumph to Nineveh.

Shortly after these events, most of the maritime cities that were subject to the Tyrians revolted against them, and submitted to the Assyrians. Shalmaneser advanced to their assistance. These cities furnished him with a fleet of sixty or seventy vessels, manned by eight hundred Phœnician rowers. They were attacked by the Tyrians with twelve vessels only; who dispersed their fleet, and took five hundred prisoners. The Assyrian monarch did not venture to lay siege to Tyre; but he left bodies of troops in its vicinity to guard the river and aqueducts whence the Tyrians obtained their supplies of water. His precautions were frustrated by the besieged, who dug wells within their city. It was about this time that Isaiah denounced against them those judgments which are recorded in the twenty-third chapter of his prophecies. And Hezekiah seems to have availed himself of the troubled state of Phœnicia and the whole coast of the Mediterranean, in order to attack the Philistines. (2 Kings xviii. 7, 8).

Sennacherib ascended the throne of Assyria A. M. 3287, B. C. 717, and was immediately involved in war, both in Asia and in Egypt. While he was thus engaged, Hezekiah shook off the yoke of the Assyrians, and refused to pay the tribute exacted from him by Shalmaneser. It appears from some passages of Scripture that Hezekiah had concluded treaties of mutual alliance and defence with the kings of Egypt and Ethiopia against the Assyrian monarch. (Isa. xxx. 1. *et seq.* 2 Kings xviii. 24. xix. 9.) Upon Hezekiah's refusal of the tribute, Sennacherib invaded Judah with a mighty army, and captured the principal cities of that country. It is probable that he took Damascus in his progress. The pious monarch, grieved to see his kingdom pillaged, implored peace of Sennacherib on any terms he would prescribe; and gave him three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold to withdraw. But the Assyrian, regardless alike of the sanction of oaths and of treaties, continued the war, and prosecuted his conquests more vigorously than ever. Nothing was able to withstand his power: and of all the strong places of Judah, none re-

mained uncaptured but Jerusalem, which was reduced to the very last extremity. Isaiah, however encouraged Hezekiah by promises of divine interposition and deliverance, and announced that the enemy would soon be obliged to return into his own country. (2 Kings xix. 20—34.) Accordingly, after Sennacherib had defeated the allied forces of the king of Egypt and of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, who had advanced against him to assist Hezekiah, he returned into Judah with immense spoil, and renewed the siege of Jerusalem: but an angel of Jehovah slew one hundred and eighty-five thousand of his troops. (2 Kings xix. 35.) Sennacherib returned to Nineveh, where two of sons, weary of his tyranny and savage temper, slew him while he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch his god, and immediately fled into the mountains of Armenia. (2 Kings xix. 37. Tobit i. 21.)

It was during the first year of this war that Hezekiah fell sick, and was cured in a miraculous manner, and that the shadow of the sun went back ten degrees on the dial of the palace, to prove the truth of Isaiah's prediction of his recovery. The report of this cure having reached as far as Babylon, the king Merodach-Baladan sent ambassadors to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery, and to acquaint themselves with the miracle. (2 Kings xviii. xix. xx. Isa. xxxviii. xxxix.) Hezekiah, flattered with the honour thus conferred upon him, in the secret pride and vanity of his heart, shewed the ambassadors the vast treasure he possessed, and all the magnificence of his palace. For this he was reproved by the prophet Isaiah, who predicted that all his riches would one day be transported to Babylon.

A. M. 3294, B. C. 710. On the death of Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, another of his sons, reigned in his stead. He is called Sargon by Isaiah (xx. 1.) He reigned twenty-nine years, during which he waged war with the Philistines, from whom his general, Tarthan, took Ashdod. He also attacked Egypt and Ethiopia (Isa. xx.), and Idumæa or Edom (Isa. xxxiv.), in order to avenge the injuries they had committed against his father Sennacherib; and at length he took Jerusalem, and carried Manasseh king of Judah to Babylon. (2 Chron. xxxiii.) This last war, however, happened long after those above related. Esar-haddon restored the glory of Assyria; and, in addition to his other victories, to the sceptre of Nineveh he united that of Babylon, having availed himself of the intestine troubles and commotions occasioned by the extinction of the royal family, to make himself master of that city, and annex it to his former dominions. Manasseh, having been restored to the divine favour after a deep and sincere repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem, after a short captivity at Babylon. (Usher's Annals, A. M. 3327.)

Saosduchin or Nebuchadnezzar I. succeeded Esar-haddon, and reigned twenty years according to Ptolemy. Having conquered Arphaxad king of the Medes (the Deioces of Herodotus, Lib. i. cc. 101, 102.), he resolved to subjugate all the neighbouring territories. He therefore dispatched Holofernes into Syria and Palestine with an immense army; but that general was slain, and his army totally discomfited, before Bethulia, in the manner related in the apocryphal book of Judith.

A.M. 3356, B.C. 648, Saracus, otherwise called Chinaldon or Chyna-Ladanus, succeeded Saosduchin in the Assyrian throne. Having rendered himself obnoxious to his subjects by his effeminacy, and the little care he

took of his dominions, Nabopolassar satrap of Babylon, and Cyaxares the son of Astyages king of Media, leagued together against him. He was besieged in Nineveh, which was taken by his enemies, who partitioned his dominions between them; Nabopolassar becoming master of Nineveh and Babylon, and Cyaxares having Media and the adjacent provinces. (Usher's Annals, A. M. 3378, p. 62.)

ATHENS, a celebrated city of Greece, some time a very powerful commonwealth, distinguished by the military talents, but still more by the learning, eloquence, and politeness of its inhabitants. Saint Paul coming hither, A. D. 52, found them plunged in idolatry, occupied in inquiring and reporting news, curious to know every thing, and divided in opinion concerning religion and happiness. (Acts xvii.) The great apostle of the Gentiles, taking opportunities here to preach Jesus Christ, was carried before the judges of the tribunal, called the Areopagus; where he gave an illustrious testimony to truth, and a remarkable instance of powerful reasoning. (See an account of the AREOPAGUS in pp. 127, 128, *supra*.)

Some of the finest specimens of antient art at Athens now adorn the British Museum. The reader, who is desirous of a full account of the modern state of Athens, and of its various monuments of former times, is referred to the travels of Dr. Clarke, to the classical tour of Mr. Dodwell, and to Mr. Stuart's Antiquties of Athens.

ATTALIA, a maritime city of Pamphylia, and the chief residence of the prefect. It derived its name from king Attalus, its founder. Hither Saint Paul went from Perga in Pamphylia. (Acts xiv. 25.)

AZOTUS, or ASHDOD, a city of Judæa, is situated between Gaza and Jamnia or Jafnia, in a pleasant plain. Here the ark of Jehovah triumphed over the Philistine idol Dagon (1 Sam. v. 2.), and Philip the evangelist was found, after he had baptized the Ethiopian eunuch. (Acts viii. 40.) It is at present an inconsiderable place, and in its vicinity are numerous reliques of antiquity.

BABYLON, the metropolis of Chaldæa, began to be built at the same time as the Tower of Babel, and both were left unfinished at the confusion of tongues. (Gen. xi. 4—8.)

The earliest notice of Babylon in profane history is, that Belus II. who is frequently confounded with Belus I. or Nimrod, built the tower of Belus, at Babylon, where he was buried, and had a temple dedicated to him, which the Chaldæans, or Babylonian priests, used for an observatory. And the astronomical observations which Alexander found at Babylon, and sent to Aristotle, are said to have been continued for 1903 years back, which would bring their commencement to B. C. 2230, the most likely date of the accession of Belus II.

Herodotus, who visited Babylon, takes no notice of its founder, or of its antiquity: he only tells us, that it was principally improved by two queens, Semiramis and Nitocris, who strengthened its fortifications, guarded it against inundations, and improved and adorned it; and that one of the gates of Babylon was called the gate of Semiramis. Nitocris appears to have been the queen of Nebuchadnezzar, who was regent during his distraction, and completed those great works which he began; and Semiramis lived only five generations, or 166 years, before Nitocris, and was therefore most probably the wife of Nabonassar, king of Babylon, who began to reign B. C. 747. It is not indeed likely that Babylon should grow great, till the decline of her rival Nineveh.

The testimony of Herodotus, which is of considerable weight, refutes the fiction of Ctesias, followed by Diodorus and Justin, that Semiramis, the builder of the immense walls of Babylon, was the wife of Ninus II. the second founder of Nineveh. Moses Choronensis, in his Armenian History, with more probability, relates, that "Semiramis built a city and palace in the most fruitful and pleasant part of Armenia, whither she resorted to spend the summer season, and resided the rest of the year at Nineveh." She might perhaps have contributed to finish the walls of Nineveh after her husband's death; for Suidas relates, that "Semiramis, the first Assyrian queen, walled Nineveh about, and called it Babylon, changing its name." (Voce Σεμιραμις.) But from what authority does not appear. The change of name is improbable.

The city of Babylon was originally built by Nimrod, along with the Tower of Babel, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. (Gen. x. 10. xi. 4.) At first, it was probably but small; but was afterwards enlarged and improved by Belus, Semiramis, Nebuchadnezzar, and his queen, whom Herodotus calls Nitocris, until it became the wonder of the world.

According to Herodotus, Babylon was a perfect square, each side of which was 120 stadia, and of course its circuit 480 stadia, the same as that of Nineveh; but its area was considerably greater. The walls were 200 royal cubits high, and 50 wide. On the top were erected small watch-towers, of one story high, leaving a space between them through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different intervals, were a hundred massy gates of brass, whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. The whole was surrounded by a wide and deep trench, full of water. Of the earth dug out of the trench bricks were made, which were baked in a furnace, and when laid, were cemented with hot bitumen.

This circuit of 480 stadia is reckoned "enormous and improbable," by Major Rennel, (Mem. on the Geography of Herodotus, p. 353); and he prefers the lower reports of Clitarchus, who accompanied Alexander, 365 stadia; or of Diodorus, from Ctesias, 360 stadia, supposing that the present numbers of Herodotus are corrupt. pp. 340. 363. But of this there is no evidence; rather the contrary. For Pliny and Solinus both agree with Herodotus, reckoning the circuit 60 Roman miles, at 8 stadia to a mile. And surely Herodotus, who visited Babylon above a century before Clitarchus, and near three centuries before the time of Diodorus, and is a more credible witness than Ctesias, is more to be regarded; especially as he visited it earlier, and therefore in a more unimpaired state; and appears to have surveyed it with much attention.

Indeed a strong presumptive argument of the fidelity of the report of Herodotus, is the sameness of the dimensions of Nineveh and Babylon. The distinguishing trait in Nebuchadnezzar's character, was inordinate pride, which occasioned his humiliation. (Dan. iv. 29—31.) He wished to surpass Nineveh, the greatest city in the world; which contained $150 \times 90 = 13500$ square stadia, within its walls; but the walls of Babylon contained $120 \times 120 = 14400$ square stadia; or 900 more than the former. The walls too were twice as high; and if the towers thereon were not as numerous, (only two hundred and fifty, according to Diodorus) it was only because the city was defended on the western side by deep and extensive morasses, which rendered also fewer gates and communications with

the country necessary on that side. Thus, when Alexander, after his return from India, in order to avoid the evils foretold by the soothsayers, if he entered the city on the eastern side, wished to have entered by the west, he was compelled, by the marshes and morasses on that side, to relinquish the attempt: as we learn from Arrian (lib. 7.) And of the principal gates of the city, we may collect from Herodotus (lib. 2.), that the gate of Ninus, or Nineveh, fronted the north; the gate of Chaldea, the south; and the gates of Semiramis, Belus, and Cissia, or Susa, the east, proceeding from north to south.[1]

The magnificence and splendour of Babylon, after its enlargement and improvement by Nebuchadnezzar, when it became one of the wonders of the world, is well expressed by his arrogant boast: "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house [or capital] of my kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty." (Dan. iv. 30.) It contained many streets, adorned with houses, three or four stories high; and these furnished with spacious parks and gardens. Among its curiosities, the most celebrated were, 1. The tower and temple of Belus, on the eastern side of the Euphrates, which ran through the centre of the city, from north to south; 2. Opposite thereto, on the western side of the river, and with a tunnel of communication between them, running across under the bed of the river, stood the strong and spacious palace of Nebuchadnezzar, which formed the citadel; adjoining to this, 3. The hanging gardens.

1. The tower of Belus was of a pyramidal form, somewhat loftier, but less massy, than the pyramids of Egypt. It consisted of eight stories, of which the lowest was a stadium in breadth (or 500 feet) and it rose to the same altitude. On the summit, according to Diodorus, was erected a statue of Belus, 40 feet high: but Herodotus, when he visited Babylon, found no statue there. This intelligent traveller, however, was informed by the Chaldæans, that there formerly stood in the temple of Belus adjoining, a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, which was spared by Darius Hystaspes, but afterwards was taken away by Xerxes, who slew the priest that forbade him to remove it[2]. Might not this have been the identical "golden image," made by Nebuchadnezzar, in all the pride of conquest, which he set up as an object of idolatrous worship to his subjects, recorded by the prophet Daniel? (iii. 1.) It was evidently distinct from the statue or image of Jupiter Belus, noticed by Herodotus and Diodorus; and was designed to represent Nebuchadnezzar himself, or the genius of his empire, according to Jerome, supported by Daniel:—"*Thou art this head of gold.*" (Dan. ii. 38.) This arrogant monarch, having made not only the head, but the whole image of gold, prefiguring the stability and permanency of his empire, in opposition to the succession of the four monarchies, signified by the image, in his dream, compounded of various metals. And the height of the image, twelve cubits, mentioned by the Chaldæans, well accorded with the breadth, "six cubits," noticed in Scripture; (perhaps, with the arms extended.) For the height, "sixty cubits," being evidently disproportionate to its breadth, must have included the elevation of the pillar, or pedestal, on which it stood.

Both the tower and the temple of

[1] See Rennel's Map of Babylon, p. 335.

[2] Herodotus, 1. § 182.

Belus, (the former of which probably stood on the site of the tower of Babel, Gen. xi. 4.), were enclosed within a square court of two stadia in length, having gates of brass, which were still subsisting in the time of Herodotus. It fronted, probably, the middle eastern gate of Belus.

2. The royal palace and citadel opposite, on the west side of the river, were spacious, and strongly fortified. The former was a square of five stadia n circuit. It was contiguous to the citadel, called by Berosus, "Borsippon," and by Strabo, "Borsippa," which was a square of 15 stadia. These names are evidently derived from the Punic, "Byrsa, or Bursa;" or from the Hebrew, "Bosrah;" all signifying "a fortress:" and they are still retained, with some slight variation, by the natives: for Niebuhr observed a ruin on the west side of the river, which his guide called Birs; where, according to the tradition of the country, formerly stood Nimrod's palace [1]. And, according to Beauchamp, the Arabs call a great mass of ruins on the west, Broussa, or Boursa, which is separated by the river from another, which they call Macloubé, or "Topsy Turvy." The latter evidently denoting the immense ruins of the tower and temple of Belus. They are described as about sixty yards high, flat at top, of an irregular form, intersected by ravines, worn by the rains. The whole could never be suspected of having been the work of human hands, were it not for the layers of bricks, which are found therein. They are fire-baked, and cemented with zepht, or bitumen; between each layer are found oziers. Here are found those large and thick bricks imprinted with unknown characters: specimens of which were presented to the Abbé Barthelemi. How exactly does this correspond to the builders of Babel! *Let us make brick, and burn them throughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar.* (Gen. xi. 3.)

These ruins are very visible a league north from Hellah, which is an Arab town, built on the west side of the Euphrates, containing about ten or twelve thousand souls. This corresponds exactly with the description of the Turkish geographer, Ibrahim Effendi: "Babel is close to Hellah; and on the left hand (*i. e.* on the west) of the road, in going from Hellah to Bagdat." The latitude of Hellah is about 32, 28; which gives that of the tower of Babel or Belus, 32, 31. [2]

Around this vast pile of ruins, De la Valle observed the foundations of buildings, at the distance of 50 or 60 paces; but beyond that, to a great distance, the whole was a clear and even plain. These probably were the range of buildings that formed the exterior circuit of the square in which the tower and temple stood, according to Herodotus, confirming the accuracy of his account: while the clear and level ground outside, proves that a great part of the area within the walls of the city was originally unbuilt, consisting of large parks and fields; and it is highly probable, that not more than a third of the whole enclosure was ever built upon; according to the conjecture of Major Rennel; whose ingenious remarks respecting the population of Babylon, as probably not exceeding that of Nineveh, or Seleucia, from the local circumstances of its situation (bounded by deserts on the west, and at a considerable distance from the sea, cutting off, or limiting, its supplies of provisions;) with many other curious particulars, may be found in his 14th section on Babylon, p. 335—338.

[1] Tom. ii. p. 236.

[2] Rennel, Herodot. p. 350.

3. The celebrated hanging gardens, also contiguous to the royal palace, were built by Nebuchadnezzar to gratify his wife, who was a native of Media, a mountainous country, with the resemblance of her own, in the level country of Babylon. According to Diodorus, they formed a square of 400 feet (about 3½ acres) supported by 20 walls, eleven feet asunder, and 50 cubits high, commanding an extensive view over the walls. Trees of various kinds were planted therein, some of considerable size; not less than eight cubits in girth, according to Curtius. And Strabo mentions a contrivance to prevent the large roots from injuring the superstructure, by building vast hollow piers, which were filled with earth to receive them. These trees, modern travellers inform us, have been perpetuated in the same place, notwithstanding the sinking of the terraces, by the mouldering of the piers that supported them. And Niebuhr observed there trees of a particular kind, some very antient, which have been left untouched by the inhabitants; whereas, from the gulf of Persia to that neighbourhood, no other kinds are to be found than date and fruit trees. [1]

The Scriptures are totally silent concerning these celebrated gardens: but they mention the willows which were planted on the banks of the rivers of Babylon. Isaiah (xv. 7.) describing in prophetic language the captivity of the Moabites by Nebuchadnezzar, says, that *they shall be carried away to the valley of willows.* The territory round Hellah at the present day, is composed chiefly of plains, whose soil is rich, and the river banks are bordered with willows. This circumstance reminds us of the pathetic mourning of the captive Jews:—

> "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept,
> When we remembered thee, O Sion.
> We hanged our harps upon the willows,
> In the midst thereof. For there,
> They that carried us away captive required of us
> A song; and they that wasted us, required
> Mirth.—'Sing us one of the songs of Sion.'
> How shall we sing THE LORD'S song in a strange land?"
>
> Psalm cxxxvii.

The prophet Isaiah also, describing the calamities that were to be inflicted on Babylon by Cyrus, calls this city *the desert of the sea.* Jeremiah, to the same purport says, (li. 36. 42.) *I will dry up the sea of Babylon and make her springs dry.—The sea is come up upon her. She is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof.* Megasthenes [2] states, that Babylon was built in a place which had before so greatly abounded with water, that it was called *the sea.*

Babylon rapidly declined during the Persian dynasty: Darius Hystaspes broke down the walls, and took away the gates, which Cyrus had spared. Alexander the Great designed to rebuild the temple of Belus, which had gone to decay; and actually employed ten thousand labourers for two months in removing the rubbish; but the attempt was rendered abortive, by his premature death, in the flower of his age, and pride of conquest. Seleucus Nicator, his successor in the kingdom of Syria, dismantled and spoiled Babylon, to build Seleucia in its neighbourhood, to which he transplanted the inhabitants; and in Strabo's time, about the Christian era, "the greater part of

[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 453—456.
[2] In Eusebius De Præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. 41.

Babylon was become a desert;" which the Parthian kings converted into a park, where they took the recreation of hunting, in Jerome's time, A. D. 340.

Thus were gradually fulfilled the predictions of Scripture.

"Babylon, the beauty of kingdoms, the glory of the pride of the Chaldeans, shall become as Sodom and Gomorrah, which God overthrew. It shall never be re-established, neither shall it be inhabited from generation to generation. The Arab shall not pitch his tent there, nor shall the shepherd make his fold there: the wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and howling monsters shall fill their houses:—for her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." (Isaiah xiii. 17—23.)[1]

The name of Babylon was mystically given to Rome by the Apostle Peter, as we have shewn at length in the critical preface to his first Epistle.

Sketch of the history of the Babylonian or Chaldæan empire, to illustrate the predictions of the prophets.

A. M. 3398, B. C. 606. Nabopolassar having associated his son Nebuchadnezzar with him in the empire, sent him to reduce the provinces of Syria and Palestine, which had revolted from him. In his way thither, the young prince defeated the army of Pharaoh Necho king of Egypt and recaptured Carchemish. (Jer. xlvi. 2.) Having penetrated into Judæa, he besieged Jerusalem, and took it; and caused Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah king of Judah, to be put in chains, intending to have him carried to Babylon; but, being moved with his repentance and affliction, he restored him to his throne. (2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.) Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the rest, some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, whither all the royal treasures, and part of the sacred vessels of the temple, were likewise transported. (2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Dan. i. 1—7.) Thus was accomplished the judgment which God had denounced to Hezekiah by the prophet Isaiah (xxxix. 5—7.) From this celebrated period, which was the fourth year of Jehoiakim king of Judah, we are to date the seventy years captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so often foretold by Jeremiah. Among the members of the royal family thus taken captive was the prophet Daniel; Ezekiel followed some time afterwards.

A. M. 3399, B. C. 605. Nabopolassar died, and Nebuchadnezzar began to reign alone; and in the fourth year of his empire he had the memorable vision related and interpreted by the prophet Daniel. (ii.) At this time Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon, whose generals marched against him, and ravaged his country. (2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2.). Jehoiakim "slept with his fathers," neither regretted nor lamented by his subjects, agreeably to the prediction of Jeremiah (xxii. 18, 19.); though the precise manner of its fulfilment is not recorded by the sacred historian. Jehoiachin or Jeconiah, also called Coniah (Jer. xxii. 24), succeeded to the throne and iniquity of his father; and in the eighth year of his reign Jerusalem was besieged and taken by the generals of Nebuchadnezzar; and Jehoiachin, together with part of the nobility, and the princes of the people, were carried into captivity to Babylon. (2 Kings xxiv. 6—16.)—Mattaniah also called Zedekiah, who was the uncle of Jehoiachin, was elevated to the throne, and left at Jerusalem, A. M. 3405. B. C. 599. (2 Kings xxiv. 17.)

Nebuchadnezzar did not continue long at Babylon. Having received

[1] Hales's Analysis, vol. i. p. 457. See also Mr. Rich's Two Memoirs on the Ruins of Babylon.

intelligence that Zedekiah had made an alliance with Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, and had violated his oath of fidelity, Nebuchadnezzar marched against him, defeated his forces, and laid siege to Jerusalem, agreeably to the prediction of Jeremiah. (xliv. 30.) The arrival of the Egyptian monarch, at the head of a powerful army, gave the besieged a gleam of hope, but their joy was of short duration. The Egyptians were defeated, and the conqueror returned to Jerusalem, which he took by storm, after a siege of two years, A. M. 3416, B. C. 588. Zedekiah was arrested in his flight, and conducted to Riblath, where Nebuchadnezzar was. After seeing his two children put to death before his face, the Jewish king was deprived of both his eyes, loaded with chains, and carried to Babylon, where he died. Jerusalem was destroyed, the temple pillaged and burnt, and the chief of the people that yet survived were carried into captivity beyond the Euphrates. Only a wretched remnant of the common people was left in Judæa, under the government of Gedaliah the son of Ahikam (Jer. xl. 5.); who being afterwards put to death by Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, part of the people withdrew into Egypt with Jeremiah (xli. xlii.), and the rest were, a few years afterwards, transported to Babylon by Nebuzaradan. (Jer. lii. 30.)

A. M. 3419, B. C. 585. Three years after the capture of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar commenced the siege of Tyre; he closely invested it for twelve years, and in the thirteenth year of the siege he took that city. During this interval he waged war with the Sidonians, Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites or Idumeans, in conformity with the prophecies of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Obadiah. (Jer. xliii. xliv. xlvi. Ezek. xxvi.—xxviii. Obad. throughout.) Having captured Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar entered Egypt, and laid waste the whole country. (Ezek. xxix.—xxxi.) Pharaoh Hophra (the Apries of profane historians) was put to death by his enemies (Jer. xliv. 30. Ezek. xxxii.); and Amasis, his rival for the throne, was left to govern that country in his stead. Nebuchadnezzar carried a great number of captives from Egypt to Babylon.

After his return from these successful expeditions, Nebuchadnezzar employed himself in embellishing Babylon; but, to humble his pride, God sent him the memorable admonitory dream, recorded by the prophet Daniel (iv. 1—27.); and twelve months afterwards he was bereft of his senses, precisely in the manner that had been foretold (28—33.) At length he recovered his understanding (34—37.), and shortly after died, in the forty-third year of his reign, A. M 3442, B. C. 563. He was succeeded by Evil-Merodach, who reigned only two years. He liberated Jehoiachin king of Judah, who had been detained in captivity nearly thirty-seven years (Jer. lii. 31). Evil-Merodach becoming odious to his subjects in consequence of his debaucheries and iniquities, his own relations conspired against him, and put him to death. Neriglissar, one of the conspirators, reigned in his stead; and, after a short reign of four years, being slain in battle, he was succeeded by Laborosoarchod, a wicked and inglorious prince, whom his subjects put to death for his crimes. To him succeeded Belshazzar, called by Berosus, Nabonidus, and by Herodotus, Labynitus. He is supposed to have been the son of Evil-Merodach, and consequently the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, all the nations of the East were to be subject, as also to his son and grandson.

Bashan or Batanæa. See p. 17. *supra.*

Beersheba, (the well of an oath, or the well of seven) because here Abraham made an alliance with Abimelech, king of Gerar, and gave him seven ewe-lambs, in token of that covenant to which they had sworn. (Gen. xx. 31.) Beersheba was given by Joshua to the tribe of Judah; afterwards it was transferred to Simeon. (Josh. xv. 28.) It was twenty miles from Hebron, south; here was a Roman garrison, in Eusebius's and Jerome's time. The limits of the Holy Land (as we have already remarked) are often expressed in Scripture, by the terms—"From Dan to Beersheba," (2 Sam.xvii. 11,&c.) Dan being the northern, Beersheba the southern extremity of the land.

Benjamin (canton of the tribe of) See p. 12. *supra.*

Berea, a city of Macedonia, where Paul preached the Gospel with great success. The historian Luke gives an honourable character to the Bereans, in Acts xviii. 10.

Besor (brook). See p. 38. *supra.*

Bethabara signifies a place of passage. It was a water distinct from Jordan, and removed somewhat from it (John i. 28. x. 40.), to which men passed over Jordan. The town was out of the precincts of Judæa, in the Scythopolitan country, where the Jews dwelt among the Syro-Grecians, and was over against Galilee. According to Dr. Lightfoot, it was over against Jericho. (Josh.iii.16.)

Bethany, a town of Judæa, where Lazarus dwelt, and where he was raised from the dead, was fifteen furlongs east from Jerusalem, on the way to Jericho. (John xi. 8.) But the tract of ground which bore that name reached within eight furlongs of Jerusalem, it being only a sabbath-day's journey from it (Luke xxiv. 50. Acts i. 12.): and then began the tract called

Bethphage, from the Phagoi, that is, the green figs, which grew upon it, which ran along so near to Jerusalem, that the utmost street within the walls was called by that name.

Bethlehem was a celebrated city, about six miles south-west from Jerusalem: it was formerly called Ephrath or Ephrata. (Gen. xxxv. 19. xlviii. 7. Mic. v. 2.) It was a city in the time of Boaz (Ruth iii. 11. iv. 1.), and was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 6.) In Matt. ii. 1. 5. it is called Bethlehem of Judæa, to distinguish it from another town of the same name situated in Lower Galilee, and mentioned in Josh. xix. 15. In Luke ii. 4. it called the *city of David*, because David was born and educated there. (Compare John vii. 42. and 1 Sam. xvi. 1. 18.) This city, though not considerable for its extent or riches, is of great dignity as the appointed birth-place of the Messiah (Matt. ii. 6. Luke ii. 6—15.); it is pleasantly situated on an eminence, in a very fertile soil, which only wants cultivation to render it what the name Bethlehem imports—*a house of bread.* On the north-eastern side of it is a deep valley, where tradition says that the angels appeared to the shepherds of Judæa, with the glad tidings of our Saviour's nativity (Luke ii.8—14.): and in this valley Dr.Clarke halted at the identical fountain for whose delicious water David longed. (2 Sam. xxiii. 15—18.) Of the various pretended holy places which are here shewn to Christians, the cave of the nativity is the only spot verified by tradition from the earliest ages of Christianity[1]. About two miles from this place, on the road to Jerusalem, stood the site of Rachel's tomb. (Gen. xxxv. 19, 20. 1 Sam. x. 2.)

[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 408—420. See also Hasselquist's Travels, p. 144.

Bethsaida, a city beyond Jordan, on the coast of the sea of Tiberias, near the place where the river enters that sea. It was originally a village, and was enlarged into a city and beautified by Philip the Tetrarch, who called it Julia, in honour of the emperor's daughter. It was one of the cities against which Christ denounced a woe (Matt. xi. 21.) for her impenitence and infidelity, after the mighty works he had done in her. It also was the residence of the apostles, Philip, Andrew, and Peter. (John i. 45.)

Bithynia, a region of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine Sea, on the south by Phrygia, on the west by the Propontis, and on the East by Galatia. Saint Peter addressed his first epistle (among others) to the Hebrew Christians who were scattered throughout Bithynia. (1 Pet. i. 1.)

Blessing, Valley of. See p. 48. *supra.*

Bochim, Valley of. See p. 49. *supra.*

Cæsarea of Palestine, so called as being the metropolis of Palestine and the residence of the Roman proconsul, was formerly named the tower of Strato: but its harbour being extremely incommodious, Herod the Great erected a spacious mole, and greatly enlarged and beautified the city, which he denominated Cæsarea in honour of the emperor Augustus his great patron, to whom he dedicated it in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, with games and other ceremonies, in a most solemn manner, and with a profusion of expense. It is very frequently mentioned in the New Testament; and is sometimes called, by way of eminence, Cæsarea. This place was about thirty-five miles from Jerusalem. Here Peter converted Cornelius and his kinsmen, the first fruits of the Gentiles (Acts x.); here lived Philip the Evangelist (Acts xxi. 8.); and here Saint Paul so admirably defended himself against the Jews and their orator Tertullus. (Acts xxiv.) Cæsarea now retains nothing of its former splendour: at present it is inhabited only by jackals and beasts of prey; and its ruins, which are considerable, have long been resorted to as a quarry whenever building materials were required at Acre.[1]

Cæsarea Philippi (formerly called Paneas) was situated at the foot of mount Paneas, near the springs of Jordan. It was at first called Laïs or Lechem (Judg. xviii. 7.), and after it was subdued by the Danites (v. 29.), it received the appellation of Dan. Cæsarea was a day's journey from Sidon; a day and a half from Damascus. Philip the tetrarch built it, or, at least, embellished and enlarged it, and named it Cæsarea, in honour of Tiberius; afterwards, in compliment to Nero, it was called Neronias. The woman who was troubled with an issue of blood, and healed by our Saviour (Matt. ix. 20. Luke viii. 43.), is said to have been of Cæsarea Philippi.

Cana, a small town of Galilee, situated on a gentle eminence to the west of Capernaum. This circumstance distinctly proves how accurately the writings of the evangelists correspond with the geography and present appearance of the country. The ruler of Capernaum, whose child was dangerously ill, besought Jesus to *come down* and heal his son. (John iv. 47—51.) About a quarter of a mile from the village (for such it now is), on the road from Nazareth, there is a spring of delicious water close to the road, whence all the water is taken for the supply of the inhabitants. At this spring it is usual for pilgrims to halt, as being the source of the water, which our Saviour, by his first public miracle, converted into wine. (John ii. 11.) This place is called Cana of

[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 446—448.

Galilee, to distinguish it from Cana or Kanah (Josh. xix. 28.), which belonged to the tribe of Asher, and was situated in the vicinity of Sidon. Here are shown the ruins of a church, which is said to have been erected by the empress Helena, over the spot where the marriage feast was held.[1]

CANAAN, Land of, see pp. 2. 5. *supra.*

CAPERNAUM, a town of Galilee, situated on the coast of the lake of Gennesareth, on the borders of the tract occupied by the tribes of Zebulon and Nepthalim. This place is celebrated for the *many mighty works* and discourses performed by our Saviour, which brought a heavy woe upon the inhabitants for their infidelity. (Matt. xi. 23.) In the vicinity of this town or city our Lord delivered his admirable sermon; and near it also was the custom-house, at which Matthew the publican was sitting when Jesus called him to the apostleship. (Matt. ix. 1. 9.) Here the Jews had a synagogue (Mark i. 23. Luke iv. 33.), as the Christians afterwards had a church.

CAPPADOCIA, a kingdom of Asia, bounded on the east by Armenia, on the west by Paphlagonia and Galatia, on the north by the Euxine sea, and on the south with that of part of mount Taurus which looks towards Cicilia. It was famed for mules and horses, of which it gave yearly to the Persians, horses 1500, mules 2000. The Cappadocians are said to have been a nation so servile, that when the Romans offered them their freedom to live by their own laws, they said they could not endure liberty. This country is mentioned in Acts ii. 9. and also by the apostle Peter, who addresses his first Epistle to the Hebrew Christians who were dispersed through Pontus, Galatia, *Cappadocia*, Bithynia, and Asia Minor.

CARCHEMISH, a town on the Euphrates, belonging to the Assyrians. Necho king of Egypt took it, and left a garrison in it; which was taken and cut in pieces, in the fourth year of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. (2Chron. xxxv. 20. 2 Kings xxiii. 29.) Isaiah speaks of Carchemish, and seems to say, that Tiglath-pileser conquered it; perhaps from the Egyptians. Profane authors say nothing of this town, or of these wars: it is probable that Carchemish is the same as Cercusium, or Circesium, or Circeium, situated in the angle formed by the conjunction of the Chaboras, or Chebar, and the Euphrates.

CARMEL, Mount. See p. 46, *supra.*

CEDRON, or Kedron, Brook. See p. 38, *supra.*

CHALDÆA, a country of Asia, lying near the junction of the Tygris and Euphrates, the capital of which was BABYLON. In antient times it was known by the names Shinar, Shinaar, &c.—For a sketch of the profane history of the Chaldæan or Babylonian empire, illustrative of the prophetic writings, see pp. 15—22. of this geographical index.

CHIOS (Acts x. 15.) is an island of the Ægean sea, between Lesbos and Samos, celebrated in antient and in modern times, for its wine, figs, marble, and white earth.

CHITTIM.—*The land of Chittim*, and *the isles of Chittim*, denote, in general, the maritime countries and islands of the Mediterranean, Greece, Italy, Crete, Cyprus, Corsica, &c. Thus, Balaam foretold, that "ships should come from the coast of Chittim, and should afflict Asher, (the Assyrians), and afflict Eber, (the Hebrews, or Jews); representing the Grecian and Roman invasions. And Daniel foretold that "*the ships of Chittim should come against the king*

[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 185—188.

of the north, (Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria); *and that he should therefore be grieved, and return*" from the south, or Egypt, which he had invaded, when commanded to desist, by the Roman ambassadors. (Dan. xi. 29. Livy, xlv. 10—12.) Perseus, king of Macedon, is called "king of Chittim." (1 Macc. viii. 5.)

Chorazin, a small town situated on the western coast of the Sea of Galilee, at no great distance from Capernaum. It was one of those places where very many of our Saviour's miracles were performed, whose inhabitants he upbraided for their infidelity. (Matt. xi. 21. Luke x. 23.)

Cilicia, a country of Asia Minor, between Pamphilia on the west, and Pieria on the east, the Mount Taurus on the north, and the Silician sea on the south, celebrated on the account of Cicero, proconsul there, but more on the account of St. Paul's birth at Tarsus, a city of Cilicia. (Acts xxi. 15.)

Clauda, an island near Crete, situated near the southern and western sea. It is mentioned in Acts xxvii. 16.; as also is

Cnidus (xxvii. 7.), which was a city and promontory of Paria, memorable for the worship of Venus.

Colossæ (or Colassæ) was a city of Phrygia Pacatiana in Asia Minor, situated near the conflux of the Lycus and the Meander. It was formerly a large and populous place, but in the time of Saint Paul had lost much of its antient greatness, and stood nearly equidistant from Laodicea and Hierapolis. According to Eusebius, all these cities were destroyed by an earthquake in the tenth year of the emperor Nero, about a year after the writing of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Colossians.

Coos, an island in the Ægean or Icarian sea, near Myndos and Cnidus, which had a city of the same name, from which Hippocrates the celebrated physician, and Apellus the famous painter, were called Coi. Here was a large temple of Æsculapius, and another of Juno. It abounded in rich wines, and here were made those Coas vestes, which were transparent, and are so often mentioned by the classic poets. It is mentioned in Acts xxi. 1.

Corinth, the metropolis of Achaia Proper, and the ornament of Greece, was situated on an isthmus between the Ægean and Ionian seas. From the convenience of its situation for commerce, it abounded in riches, and was furnished with all the accommodations, elegancies, and superfluities of life. In the Achæan war, it was destroyed by the Romans under the consul Memmius, about 146 years before the Christian æra, and was rebuilt about one hundred years afterwards by Julius Cæsar, who planted a Roman colony here, and made this city the residence of the proconsul of Achaia. Favoured by its situation between two seas, the new city soon regained its antient splendour: commerce produced an influx of riches, and the luxury and voluptuousness which followed in consequence, corrupted the manners of its inhabitants, who became infamous to a proverb. In the vicinity of this city were celebrated the Isthmian games, to which Saint Paul alludes in different parts of his epistles. Corinth also posssesed numerous schools, in which philosophy and rhetoric were taught by able masters, and strangers resorted thither from all quarters to be instructed in the sciences. The number of sophists in particular was very great. The knowledge of these circumstances affords a key to Saint Paul's exhortations against fornication, lasciviousness, and covetousness (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.), and also his defence of the Christian doctrine against the sophists, to whom the fathers attribute all the strifes and contentions that sprang up in this church.

Cush, or Ethiopia, usually rendered Ethiopia in our English Bible, has a very extensive signification. It com-

prehends all the southern and eastern borders of Egypt. In some parts of the prophecies of Ezekiel, it plainly denotes African Ethiopia, or Nubia and Abyssinia; and in many other passages (Isa. xviii. 1. xx. 3. Ezek. xxx. 5, &c.) But in others it must signify Asiatic Ethiopia, or Arabia, as in the description of the garden of Eden. (Gen. ii. 13.) The wife of Moses was contemptuously stiled a "Cushite," or Ethiopian of Arabia. (Numb. xii. 1.) And where "Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya," are recited in order, the second must denote Arabia. (Ezek. xxxviii. 5.)

Herodotus, in his curious catalogue of the various nations composing the army of Xerxes, distinguishes the long-haired Eastern or Asiatic Ethiopians from the woolly-headed Western or African. Both being descendants of Cush, a roving and enterprising race, who gradually extended their settlements from Chusistan, "the land of Cush," or Susiana, on the coasts of the Persian gulf, through Arabia, to the Red Sea; and thence crossed over to Africa, and occupied its eastern coast, and gradually penetrated into the interior of Abyssinia.[1]

Cyprus, an island in the Mediterranean sea, situated between Cilicia and Syria, and antiently celebrated for the profligacy of its inhabitants, whose principal deity was the impure goddess Venus. Here Paul and Barnabas landed A. D. 44, and successfully preached the Gospel. (Acts xiii. 4, *et seq.* xx. 39.)

Dalmanutha.—See Magdala.

Damascus, a most antient city, where Eliezer the servant of Abraham dwelt; built, according to Josephus, (Antiq. l. i. c. 7. p. 15.), by Uz, the son of Aram, mentioned in Gen. x. 23., and situated in the valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, watered by the rivers Abana and Pharphar. (1 Kings v. 12.) It was made tributary to David, (2 Sam. viii. 6.); afterwards it was the capital city of the kings of Syria. (Isa. vii. 8.) It is celebrated for its antiquity, and for being still one of the richest and most magnificent cities of the Levant, but most of all for being the place of the miraculous conversion of St. Paul.

Dan, canton of the tribe of. See p. 11. *supra.*

Decapolis. See p. 17. *supra.*

Derbe, a city of Lycaonia, near Isauria. It was the country of Timothy, and is mentioned in Acts xiv. 6.

Ecbatana, the Achmetha of Ezra (vi. 2.) was the principal city of Media, and remarkable for the coolness of its temperature; on which account it was chosen to be the summer residence of Cyrus and the succeeding kings of Persia. It was built and fortified by Deioces, king of the Medes.

Edomites, country of. See p. 7. *supra*, and Idumæa, p. 17. *supra.*

Egypt, a country of Africa, the length of which was very disproportionate to its breadth: its extent from the mouths of the Nile to the Syene, the border of Nubia, under the tropic of Cancer, was about 500 miles; but it was little wider than the valley through which the Nile ran in Upper Egypt, until it reached the Lower Egypt, at some distance above the head or vertex of the Delta, where the valley expanded itself. The Upper Egypt, or Thebaid, seems to be called Pathros in Scripture, as distinguished from the Lower, properly called Caphtor, or Egypt. (Compare Isa. xi. 11. with Ezek. xxix. 14.: and Jer. xliv. 1. with Ezek. xxx. 14—16. Deut. ii. 23.; Jer. xlvii. 4.) This country seems to have attained an earlier and a higher degree of civilization, and refinement than any

[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 379.

other in the world. Even in Abraham's days, we find it the seat of a royal government, and a princely court, abounding with provisions, while the neighbouring countries, and even the fertile regions of Palestine, were exposed to frequent famines. (Gen. xii. 10.) In his grandson Jacob's time, there was a settled caravan trade carried on through Palestine from Arabia and the East, for spicery, balm, and myrrh, and probably also for slaves. (Gen. xxxvii. 25.) Its superior fertility, indeed, was occasioned by the annual inundation of the Nile, and the irrigation of their lands (Deut. xi. 10.); and in every age of the world, since the commencement of its antiquity, Egypt has been celebrated for those stupendous monuments of antient art,—the pyramids, several of which have been successfully explored by the enterprising traveller, M. Belzoni.

The Egyptians boasted of being the most antient people in the world; the inventors of arts and sciences: they communicated to the Greeks the names of the gods, and their theology; they exceeded in superstition and idolatry, worshipping stars, men, animals, and even plants. Moses informs us, that the Hebrews sacrificed beasts, whose slaughter was considered by the Egyptians as an abomination (Exod. viii. 26.): likewise, that they would not eat with the Hebrews, because they abhorred all shepherds.

Concerning the motives of this aversion, opinions are divided. Some believe it to be founded on the invasion of Egypt by the shepherd kings from Arabia, who reigned here a long time, according to Manetho. Others think that the Egyptians, after their king Sesostris, being accustomed to a soft and idle life, detested shepherds, whose profession was more active and laborious. Others, that the Egyptians were so averse to shepherds, because of their killing and eating sheep, kids, and goats, which were objects of their worship.

The antiquity of the Egyptian empire is indisputable, though its origin is involved in impenetrable obscurity. The common name of the Egyptian kings was Pharaoh, which signified sovereign power, though each had another name peculiar to himself. History has preserved the names of several kings of Egypt, and a succession of their dynasties: but the inclination of these historians to magnify the great antiquity of their nation has injured their credibility. It is certain that the Egyptian dynasties were not all successive, but many of them were collateral: and the greatest part of the kings, who are placed one after another, were contemporary, one reigning in one part of Egypt, another in another.

Sketch of the History of the Egyptian Empire, as connected with that of the Israelites.

No intercourse subsisted between the Israelites and Egyptians, from the departure of the former out of Egypt, until the reign of Solomon, who having married a daughter of Pharaoh (1 Kings iii. 1. vii. 8.), and established a considerable trade between Egypt and Palestine, the two kingdoms became intimately connected. By way of dowry to his daughter, the king of Egypt gave Solomon several cities which he had taken from the Philistines. (1 Kings ix. 16.) Afterwards, however, this intimacy declined, as Pharaoh afforded shelter, even during the life of Solomon, to Jeroboam the son of Nebat (1 Kings xi. 26. 40.) and to Hadad the son of the king of Edom or Idumea. (Ib. 18, 19.) The connexion was totally broken off in the reign of Rehoboam, the son and successor of Solomon: Shishak king of Egypt invaded the kingdom of Judah, and despoiled the temple of its treasures (xiv. 25, 26.)

Towards the end of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the sovereigns of those countries, finding themselves too weak to resist the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs who pressed them closely, had frequent recourse to the kings of Egypt for succour. But these applications were always fatal to them. The vain confidence of the people of God in these heathen princes is a frequent subject of reproof in the writings of the prophets. (Isa. xxx. 2. xxxvi. 6. Ezek. xxix. 6. 7. Hosea, *passim*, particularly chapters vii. viii. and ix.) Hezekiah derived no advantage from his alliance with the king of Egypt (Jer. xliv. 30. 2 Kings xviii. 21.); neither was Hoshea king of Israel benefited by his alliance with So, king of the same country. (Hosea, vii. 11. viii. 13. ix. 3. xii. 9. Jer. ii. 18. 2 Kings xvii. 4.) Josiah, king of Judah, was slain in the vain attempt to oppose the passage of Pharaoh-Necho through his territories, when marching against the Assyrians (2 Kings xxiii. 29). Pharaoh pushed on beyond the Euphrates, and took Carchemish, which place he garrisoned; and on his return through Judæa he deposed Jehoahaz, whom the people had raised to the throne, and placed Eliakim or Jehoiakim in his stead, on whom he imposed a tribute.

The governor of Syria and Phœnicia, who held those provinces in behalf of the king of Babylon, having put them under the dominion of the king of Egypt, Nabopolassar king of Assyria sent his son Nebuchadnezzar against him; who first retook Carchemish, and afterwards reduced the whole of the country between the Euphrates and the Nile to his father's sceptre. (Jer. xlvi. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. c. 6.)

A. M. 3334, B. C. 670. Psammetichus succeeded his father Pharoah-Necho king of Egypt, and reigned six years. (Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 159—161.) After his death Apries (the Pharaoh-Hophra of the Scriptures) ascended the throne. He made an alliance with Zedekiah king of Judah, and with the king of Ethiopia, against Nebuchadnezzar. The latter marched against them, and besieged Jerusalem. The king of Egypt came to the assistance of Zedekiah, but was repulsed and obliged to retire into his own country, whither he was pursued by Nebuchadnezzar, who, after taking the cities of Jerusalem and Tyre, conquered and ravaged Egypt, whence he carried away great numbers of captives, agreeably to the predictions of Jeremiah (xliii. xliv. xlvi.), and Ezekiel (xxix.—xxxi). Apries was put to death, and Amasis, his enemy and rival for the Egyptian sceptre, was elevated to the throne, A. M. 3435. B. C. 569.

Egypt continued subject to Nebuchadnezzar and his successors until the time of Cyrus the Great. This power rebelled towards the close of his reign. Cambyses, his son and successor, conducted an immense army into Egypt. That country was again subdued, and suffered every excess which the cruel victor could possibly inflict upon it, A. M. 3479, B. C. 525. In the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes, the Egyptians once more shook off the Persian yoke, but were reduced to a more oppressive bondage than before by his son and successor Xerxes. In these two invasions the predictions of Isaiah (xxix.), Jeremiah (xliii. 11—13), and Ezek. (xiii. 13), were most signally fulfilled.

A. M. 3544, B. C. 460. During the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Egyptians once more took up arms, and, with the assistance of the Greeks their allies, protracted the war for six years. Again reduced to the Persian yoke, they continued dependent on the Persian monarchs, though governed by their kings, until the reign of Artaxerxes surnamed Ochus, who, in order to punish them for a fourth

revolt, totally destroyed the kingdom of Egypt, and made it a province of the Persian empire, A. M. 3654. B. C. 350.

EKRON, a city and government of the Philistines, allotted to Judah by Joshua (xv. 45.); but afterwards given to Dan (Josh. xix. 43.) It was near the Mediterranean, between Ashdod and Jamnia. Ekron was a powerful city; and it does not appear, that the Jews ever peaceably possessed it: the Ekronites were the first, who proposed to send back the ark, to be delivered from those calamities which it brought on their country. (1 Sam. v. 10.) Beelzebub was adored at Ekron. (2 Kings i. 2.)

ELAH, valley of.—See p. 49.

EMMAUS, a small village of Judæa, distant sixty furlongs from Jerusalem. It is memorable for the very interesting conversation between Jesus Christ and two of his disciples in the evening of the day of his resurrection. (Luke xxiv.)

EPHESUS was the metropolis of Proconsular Asia. It was situated at the mouth of the river Caÿster, on the shore of the Ægean Sea, in that part antiently called Ionia (but now Natolia), and was particularly celebrated for the temple of Diana, a most magnificent and stately edifice, which had been erected at the common expense of the inhabitants of Asia Proper, and was reputed one of the seven wonders of the world. In the time of Saint Paul, this city abounded with orators and philosophers; and its inhabitants, in their Gentile state, were celebrated for their idolatry and skill in magic, as well as for their luxury and lasciviousness. Ephesus is now under the dominion of the Turks, and is in a state of almost total ruin, being reduced to fifteen poor cottages (erected not exactly on its original site), and its once-flourishing church, of which an account is given in our preface to the epistle to the Ephesians, is now diminished to *three* illiterate Greeks. (Rev. ii. 6.) It is not known from whom the Nicolaitans mentioned in the Epistle to the Ephesian church derived their name. They are supposed to have held the opinion, subsequently adopted by the Gnostics, who denied the humanity of Jesus Christ, and the reality of his sufferings in the flesh; and in their practices, which are noticed in Rev. ii. 6. with detestation, they are said to have been singularly profligate and impure. They are supposed to have been alluded to in 2 Pet. ii. and Jude 7—19. In the time of the Romans, Ephesus was the metropolis of Asia.

EPHRAIM, a considerable city of Judæa, eight miles north of Jerusalem, and near a desert of the same name; to which Jesus Christ retired after he had raised Lazarus from the dead. (John xi. 54.)

ESDRAELON, plain of.—See p. 49. *supra.*

GAD, canton of the tribe of.—See p. 11. *supra.*

GADARA was, according to Josephus (lib. 4. c. 24.), the metropolis of Peræa, or the region beyond Jordan; it was one of the cities of the district of Decapolis, and consequently under heathen jurisdiction, on which account perhaps it was destroyed by the Jews, but was rebuilt by Pompey, in favour of Demetrius Gadarensis, his manumitted servant, according to Josephus. The inhabitants of this city being rich, sent legates to Vespasian when he advanced against Judæa, and gave up this strong city to him; both the city and villages belonging to it lay within the region of the Gergesenes, whence Christ going into the

country of the Gadarenes (Mark v. 1.) is said to go into the region of the Gergesenes, (Matt. viii. 28.).

GALATIA, a province of Asia Minor, bounded on the west by Phrygia, on the east by the river Halys, on the north by Paphlagonia, and on the south by Lycaonia. Its chief cities were Ancyra, Tavium, and Pessinuntum; whence Grotius, saith St. Paul, writing to the churches of Galatia, writ to these. They worshipped the mother of the gods, and especially they of Pessinuntum, and so, as St. Paul says (Gal. iv. 8.) "they knew not God." Callimachus, in his hymns, and Hilary who was himself a Gaul, represent them[1] as "a very foolish people;" whence St. Paul says (iii. 1.) O FOOLISH Galatians, who hath bewitched you? This church was so dangerously perverted, and almost overturned by the Judaisers there, that the apostle, in his epistle to them, doth not call them saints.

The Galatians were the descendants of those Gauls who, finding their own country too small to support its redundant population, emigrated from it after the death of Alexander the Great, B. C. 278. On leaving Gaul, they proceeded eastward along the Danube to its junction with the Saave; when, dividing themselves into three bodies, under the conduct of different leaders, one entered Pannonia, another penetrated into Thrace, and a third into Illyricum and Macedonia. The party which marched into Thrace passed over the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, and, hiring themselves to Nicomedes king of Bithynia, assisted him to subdue his brother Zipetes, with whom he was then at war; and, in reward for that service, they received from him a large province, situate between Bithynia and Cappadocia, where they established themselves, B. C. 277. Their descendants becoming blended with the Greek inhabitants of the country, this region was afterwards called Gallo-Græcia, and its inhabitants Gallo-Greeks. During the reign of Augustus (A. U. C. 529. B. C. 26), Galatia was reduced into a Roman province, and was thenceforth governed by the Roman laws, under the administration of a pro-prætor.

GALILEE, Upper and Lower. See p. 14. *supra.*

GALILEE, sea of. See p. 38. *supra.*

GATH, a city of the Philistines, one of their five principalities (1 Sam. vi. 17.), famous for having given birth to Goliath. David conquered it in the beginning of his reign over all Israel (1 Sam. xvii. 4.); it continued subject to his successors till the declension of the kingdom of Judah. (2 Sam. viii. 1.) Rehoboam rebuilt, or fortified it. (2 Chron. xi. 8.) Uzziah re-conquered it; as did Hezekiah. Josephus makes it part of the tribe of Dan; but Joshua takes no notice of it. Calmet thinks, that Mithcah, mentioned by Moses (Numb. xxxiii. 29.) is the Metheg. (2 Sam. viii. 1.) In our authorised version it is rendered David took Metheg-Ammah, that is, *Metheg the Mother*, which, in Chronicles (xviii. 1.), is explained by—He took Gath and her daughters: Gath being the mother, and Metheg the daughter. But it may be, that the district of Gath and its dependencies was called, in David's time Metheg-Ammah; but this being unusual, or becoming obsolete, the author of the Chronicles explains it to be Gath and its villages. According to this idea, Gath of the Philistines, the birth-place of giants (2 Sam. xx. 20. 22.) must lie far in

[1] Αφρονι δήμῳ, in Delum, v. 184. Gallos indociles. Hymn. Hieron. præfat. 2. in ep. ad Galat.

Arabia Petræa, towards Egypt, which is confirmed by the author of the book of Chronicles, who says, that the sons of Ephraim being in Egypt, attacked the city of Gath, and were there slain. (1 Chron. vii. 21.)

Jerome says, there was a large town called Gath, in the way from Eleutheropolis to Gaza; and Eusebius speaks of another Gath, five miles from Eleutheropolis, toward Lydda (consequently different from that which Jerome speaks of); also another Gath, or Gattha, between Jamniah and Antipatris. Jerome likewise, speaking of Gath-Opher, the place of the prophet Jonah's birth, says it was called Gath-Opher, or Gath, in the district of Opher, to distinguish it from others of the same name.

Gath was the most southern city of the Philistines, as Ekron was the most northern; so that Ekron and Gath are placed as the boundaries of their land. (1 Sam. vii. 1. 4. xvii. 52.) Gath lay near Mareshah. (2 Chron. xi. 8. Micah i. 14. Heb.), which nearly agrees with Jerome, who places Gath on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza. Gath was a place of strength, in the time of the prophets Amos and Micah, independent of the kings of Judah (Amos vi. 2. Micah i. 10. 14.); but was taken by Uzziah, king of Judah, while Amos was living; and afterwards by Hezekiah, in Micah's time. Gethaïm (2 Sam. iv. 3. Neh. xi. 33.) is Gath. David had a company of Gittite guards.

Gaulonitis, district of. See p. 16. *supra.*

Gaza, a very celebrated city of the Jews, distant about 60 miles southwest from Jerusalem: it was one of the five cities of the Philistines, which fell by lot to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 47.), and which offered their golden emerods to the God of Israel for a trespass offering. (1 Sam. vi. 17.) Its gates were carried away by Sampson (Judg. xvi. 2.), and hither he was conducted when taken by the Philistines (v. 21.), great numbers of whom perished when he pulled down the house of their god Dagon (v. 30.) This antient town was laid waste by Alexander, and so *made desolate* agreeably to the prediction of Zephaniah (ii. 14.), confirmed by the statement of Strabo. After this event, a new and smaller town of the same name being built nearer to the sea, the former, or old Gaza, fell to decay; this last is the place mentioned by St. Luke (Acts viii. 26.) as Gaza *which is called desert.*

Gennesareth, a region 50 furlongs in length, and 20 in breadth; a very pleasant and fruitful place, abounding in the gardens of great men, whence it had its name from Gen and Sar, as being the garden of princes; it lay at the bottom of the lake of Gennesareth, and gave that name to it. (Luke v. 1.)

Gergesa, a town near Gadara, so called, either from the Gergesites, the posterity of Canaan (for neither did Zebulun nor Naphtali drive out all the Canaanites, Judg. i. 30. 33.) or from Gergishta, signifying clay, the soil being clay: it gave name to a region so called, which comprehended in it Gadara, Hippo, and Magdala. See Gadara, p. 29.

Gethsemane, a garden beyond Kedron, at the foot of Mount Olivet, so called from the wine-presses in it: it is memorable in the evangelical history, as being the scene of our Saviour's agony.

Gibeon, the capital city of the Gibeonites, who took advantage of the oaths of Joshua, and of the elders of Israel, on an artful representation which they made of their belonging to a very remote country. (Josh. ix.) Joshua and the elders had not the precaution to consult God on this affair, and inconsiderately made a league with these people: they soon discovered their mistake, and,

without revoking their promise of giving them their lives, they condemned them to carry wood and water to the tabernacle, and other servile work, as a mark of their pusillanimity and duplicity, as slaves and captives; in which state of servitude they remained, till the entire dispersion of the Jewish nation, A. M. 2553; A. D. 1451. Three days after the Gibeonites had surrendered to the Hebrews, the kings of the Canaanites being informed of it, came and besieged the city of Gibeon. (Josh. x. 3, &c.) The Gibeonites came to Joshua, and desired speedy help. Joshua attacked the five kings early in the morning, put them to flight, and pursued them to Bethoron.

The Gibeonites were descended from the Hivites, the old inhabitants of that country, and possessed four cities: Cephirah, Beeroth, Kirjath-jearim, and Gibeon, the capital, afterwards given to Benjamin, excepting Kirjath-jearim, which fell to Judah. The Gibeonites continued subject to those burthens which Joshua had imposed on them, and were very faithful to the Israelites. Nevertheless Saul, through what mistaken zeal we cannot tell, destroyed a very great number of them (2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2, 3, &c.); but God, as a punishment of his cruelty, in the reign of David sent a great famine, which lasted three years (A.M. 2983; ante A.D. 1017); and the prophets told David that this calamity would continue so long as that cruelty remained unrevenged, which Saul had exercised against the Gibeonites. David asked the Gibeonites, what satisfaction they desired? They answered, "*seven of Saul's sons we will put to death, to avenge the blood of our brethren.*" The Gibeonites crucified them before the Lord. This happened in the beginning of spring, when, in Palestine, they begin barley-harvest. From this time there is no mention of the Gibeonites, as composing a sort of separate people. But we are of opinion, that they were included among the Nethinim, or given, who were public slaves, appointed for the service of the temple. (1 Chron. ix. 2.) Afterwards, those of the Canaanites, who were subdued, and had their lives spared, were added to the Gibeonites. We see (Ezra viii. 20. ii. 58. 1 Kings ix. 20, 21.) that David, Solomon, and the princes of Judah gave many of them to the Lord; these Nethinim being carried into captivity with Judah and the Levites, many of them returned with Ezra, Zerobabel, and Nehemiah, and continued as before, in the service of the temple, under the priests and Levites. Gibeon was seated on an eminence, as is evidenced by its name. It was forty furlongs from Jerusalem (according to Josephus) north. It is called Gabaa (2 Sam. v. 25. compared with 1 Chron. xiv. 16.) There is mention of the fountain and pool of Gibeon. (2 Sam. ii. 13.)

We neither know when, nor by whom, nor upon what occasion, the tabernacle and altar of burnt sacrifices, made by Moses, in the wilderness, were removed to Gibeon; but this we certainly know, that, toward the end of David's reign, and in the beginning of Solomon's, they were there. (1 Chron. xxi. 29, 30.) David, seeing the angel of the Lord at Araunah's threshing-floor, was so terrified, that he had not time or strength to go so far as Gibeon, there to offer sacrifice, but Solomon being seated on the throne, went to sacrifice at Gibeon, because this was the most considerable of all the high places, where sacrifices were then tolerated, the temple being not yet built. (1 Kings iii. 4.)

GILEAD, mountains of. See p. 47. *supra*.

GOG and MAGOG:—The accurate chronologer, Dr. Hales, thinks, are the general name of the northern na-

tions of Europe and Asia, or the districts north of Caucasus, or mount Taurus, colonised by Gog, or Magog, another of the sons of Japheth (Gen. x. 2.), called, by the Arabian geographers, Jajuie and Majuje. (Rennel. Herod. p. 112.) Gog rather denotes the people, Magog the land. Thus, Balaam foretold that Christ would be "a king higher than Agag," or rather "Gog;" according to the correcter reading of the Samaritan Hebrew text, and of the Septuagint version of Num. xxiv. 7.: and Ezekiel, foretelling a future invasion of the land of Israel by these northern nations, Meshech, Tubal, and Togarmah, stiles "Gog their chief prince," and describes their host precisely as Scythian or Tartarian; "coming out of the north, all of them riding on horses;" "bows and arrows" their weapons; "covering the land like a cloud, and coming like a storm," in the "latter days." (Ezek. xxxviii. 1—17.) He also describes their immense slaughter, in the valley of the passengers on the east of the sea, thence called the valley of Hamon Gog, "the multitude of Gog;" (Ezek. xxxix. 1—22.) This prophecy seems also to be revived in the Apocalypse, where the hosts of Gog and Magog are represented as coming to invade "the beloved city," and perishing with immense slaughter likewise in Armageddon, "the mount of Mageddo," or Megiddo. (Rev. xvi. 14—16. xx. 7—10.)[1]

Goshen, (Land of) was the most fertile pasture ground in the whole of Lower Egypt: thence called Goshen, from Gush, in Arabic, signifying "a heart," or whatsoever is choice or precious. There was also a Goshen in the territory of the tribe of Judah, so called for the same reason. (Josh. x. 41.) Hence Joseph recommended it to his family as "the best of the land," (Gen. xlvii. 11.) and "the fat of the land." (Gen. xlv. 18.)

The land of Goshen lay along the most easterly branch of the Nile, and on the east side of it; for it is evident, that at the time of the exode, the Israelites did not cross the Nile. In antient times, it was considerably more extensive, both in length and breadth, in consequence of the general failure of the eastern branches of the Nile; the main body of the river verging more and more to the west continually, and deepening the channels on that side.[2]

Greece, in the Scriptures, often comprehends all the countries inhabited by the descendants of Javan, as well in Greece as in Ionia, and Asia Minor. Since the time of Alexander the Great, the name of Greeks is taken in a more uncertain and enlarged sense, because the Greeks being masters of Egypt and Syria, of the countries beyond the Euphrates, &c. the Jews called all those Gentiles Greeks. In the Maccabees, the Gospel, and Paul's writings, a Greek commonly signifies—a Gentile. In the Old Testament, Greece and Greeks are named Javan. Isaiah says (lxvi. 19.) *that the Lord shall send his ambassadors to Javan, who dwells in the isles afar off.* Ezekiel tells us (xxvii. 13. 19.) that Javan, Tubal, and Meshech came to the fairs at Tyre. Daniel (xi. 2.) speaking of Darius, says, "that he shall stir up all against the realm of Javan." Alexander the Great is described by the name of king of Javan. (Dan. viii. 21. x. 20.)

Hebron, a city of Judæa, was situated on an eminence, twenty miles southward of Jerusalem, and twenty

[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 463.

[2] Ibid. p. 374.

miles north from Beersheba. Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac were buried near Hebron, in the cave of Machpelah. (Gen. xxiii. 7, 8, 9.) Near this place was the oak or turpentine-tree, under which Abraham received three angels. (Gen. xviii. 1.) Hebron was allotted to Judah. The Lord assigned it to Caleb for inheritance. (Josh. xiv. 13.) Joshua first took Hebron, and killed its king, named Hoham (Josh. x. 3. 23. 37.), but afterwards Caleb again conquered it, assisted by the troops of his tribe, and the valour of Othniel. It was appointed for a dwelling of the priests, and a city of refuge. David, after the death of Saul, settled the seat of his kingdom here. At Hebron, Absalom began his rebellion. During the captivity of Babylon, the Edomites having invaded the south of Judah, took Hebron; wherefore in Josephus it is sometimes made a part of Edom. Here Zachariah and Elizabeth resided, and John the Baptist was born.

Hermon, (Mount). See p. 45, *supra*.

Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, in the vicinity of Colosse and Laodicea. (Col. iv. 13.)

Hinnom, (Valley of). See p. 50, *supra*.

Holy Land. See p. 3, *supra*.

Horeb, a mountain in Arabia Petræa, so near mount Sinai that Horeb and Sinai seem to be two hills of the same mountain. Sinai lies east, Horeb west: so that when the sun rises, the latter is covered with the shadow of Sinai. There are springs and fruit-trees on Horeb, but only rain-water on Sinai. At Horeb God appeared to Moses in the burning bush, (Exod. iii. 1, 2, 3.) At the foot of this mountain Moses struck the rock, and drew water from it. (Exod. xvii. 6.) Elijah retired here to avoid the persecution of Jezebel. (1 Kings xix. 8.) It is said frequently, that God gave the law at Horeb, though other places expressly name Sinai; because Horeb and Sinai in some sort form but one mountain.

Iconium, a city of Lycaonia, the chief of the fourteen belonging to that tetrarchy. Here was a synagogue of Jews and proselytes, to whom Paul and Barnabas preaching, and confirming their doctrine by miracles, made many proselytes, (Acts xiv. 1, 2, 3.); and where the unbelieving Jews and Gentiles made an assault upon them, *to use them despitefully, and to stone them.* (ver. 5.)

Idumæa. See p. 17.

Israel, Land of. See p. 2.

——, Kingdom of. See p. 13.

——, Mountains of. See p. 47.

Issachar, Canton of the tribe of. See p. 47.

Jabesh, a city in the half-tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan, generally called Jabesh-Gilead, because it lay in Gilead, at the foot of the mountains so named. According to Eusebius it was six miles from Pella towards Gerasa; consequently it must have been east of the sea of Tiberias. Jabesh-Gilead was sacked by the Israelites, because its inhabitants refused to join in the war against the tribe of Benjamin. (Judg. xxi. 8.) Nahash, king of the Ammonites, laying siege to Jabesh, proposed hard conditions to the inhabitants, from which Saul delivered them, A. M. 2909, B. C. 1094. They ever after shewed great gratitude to Saul and his family; they carried off his and his son's bodies, which the Philistines had hung upon the walls of Bethshan, and buried them honourably in a wood near their city. (1 Sam. xxxi. 11—13.)

Jericho, a celebrated city in the tribe of Benjamin, of which frequent

mention is made in the New Testament. It was the first city taken from the Canaanites by Joshua, who rased it to the ground, and denounced a severe curse on the person who should rebuild it. (Josh. vi. 20. 26. Heb. xi. 30.) This curse was literally fulfilled, in the days of Ahab, upon Hiel the Bethelite, by whom the city was rebuilt. (1 Kings xvi. 34.) After this event it was ennobled by the schools of the prophets, which were established there (2 Kings ii. v.): and near it was a large but unwholesome spring, the waters of which rendered the soil unfruitful, until they were cured by the prophet Elisha (2 Kings ii. 21.); and from that time they have become exceedingly wholesome and fertilising. In the time of our Saviour, Jericho yielded only to Jerusalem for its size and the magnificence of its buildings: it is situated in a *bottom*, in that vast plain which was named the *great plain*, (which marks the propriety of the expression *going down from Jerusalem* (Luke x. 30.); and is 150 furlongs, about nineteen miles distant from the capital of Judæa. Jericho was one of the cities appropriated for the residence of the priests and Levites, 12,000 of whom dwelt there; and as the way thither from Jerusalem was rocky and desert, it was greatly infested with thieves; this circumstance marks the admirable propriety with which our Lord made it the scene of his beautiful parable of the *good Samaritan*. (Luke x. 30—37.)

Jerusalem, City of. See pp. 17—26, *supra*.

Joppa, a sea-port of Palestine, on the Mediterranean, called also Japha, and now universally Jaffa, owes all the circumstances of its celebrity, as the principal port of Judæa, to its situation with regard to Jerusalem. "As a station for vessels, its harbour is one of the worst in the Mediterranean: ships generally anchor about a mile from the town, to avoid the shoals and rocks of the place. In antient times it was the only place resorted to as a sea-port in all Judæa. Hither Solomon ordered the materials for the temple to be brought from mount Libanus, previous to their conveyance by land to Jerusalem.[1]" It is a place of very great antiquity; and it appears from the Acts of the Apostles (ix. x. xi.) that the Gospel was received here soon after Christ's ascension. Here also St. Peter restored Dorcas to life (Acts ix. 40.), and from this place it was that the prophet Jonah, many centuries before, had embarked for Nineveh. (Jonah i. 3.)

Jordan, River. See p. 36, *supra*.

Jordan, Region round about. See p. 52, *supra*.

Judah, Land of. See p. 2, *supra*.

Judah, Canton of the tribe of. See p. 11, *supra*.

Judah, Desert of. See p. 53, *supra*.

Judah, Kingdom of. See p. 13, *supra*.

Judæa, Country of. See p. 16, *supra*.

Kana, Brook of. See p. 38. *supra*.

Kedron or Cedron, Brook of. See p. 38, *supra*.

Kishon, Book of. See p. 38, *supra*.

Laodicea, a city of Asia Minor, which lay about 42 miles to the south of Ephesus; in the primitive times of Christianity, as appears from Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians, in which the Laodiceans are frequently mentioned, this place possessed a flourishing church. But the doom of Laodicea seems to have been

[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 442. See also Mr. Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, p. 198.

more severe and terrible than that of the other six apocalyptic churches. At Eski-hisar, close to the ruins of Laodicea, there reside about fifty poor inhabitants, *two* only of whom are Christians, who live together in a small mill, and neither of whom can read! The stately edifices of antient Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and jackals. The prayers of the mosque are the only prayers heard near the ruins of this city, on which the prophetic denunciation seems to have been fully executed, in its utter rejection as a church.

LEBANON, Mount. See pp. 44, 45, *supra*.

LIBYA, among the Greeks, was used as another name for Africa, as it imports a part of it. It was divided into Lybia Interior and Exterior; but the Libya mentioned by St. Luke (Acts ii. 10.) is that by Ptolemy called Libya Cirenaica: and by Pliny, Pentapolitana Regio, from its five chief cities, viz. Berenice, Arsinöe, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Cyrene. It is noted, in the Old Testament, for its chariots and horses used in fight. (2 Chron. xvi. 8.) But it is mentioned by St. Luke, on account of the Jews, who living in such vast numbers in Alexandria, that 50,000 of them were slain at one time, may well be thought to have had some colonies and proselytes in this neighbouring country.

LYCAONIA, (Acts xiv. 6.) a province in the Asia Minor, accounted the southern part of Cappadocia, having Isauria on the west, Armenia Minor on the east, and Cilicia on the south. Its chief cities are all mentioned in this chapter, viz. Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe. *They spake* (ver. 10.) *in the Lycaonian tongue*, which is generally understood to have been a corrupt Greek, intermingled with many Syriac words.

LYDDA, which in later times was called Diospolis, and is now known by the name of Lyddo, was a large village, and, according to Josephus, little inferior to a city for its size. This place is celebrated in the Acts of the Apostles for the miraculous cure of Eneas by the apostle Peter, (Acts ix. 32, 34.): it was situated at no great distance from Joppa (ix. 38.), on the way from the latter place to Jerusalem.

LYSTRA, a city of Lycaonia, chiefly celebrated for the miraculous cure there wrought upon the lame man, which made the Lycaonians think the gods were come down to them in the likeness of men (Acts xiv. 10, 11.), and for the circumcision of Timothy, (chap. xvi. 1.)

MACEDONIA, a vast province of Greece, formerly called Æmathia; and from the kings of Macedon, Macedonia. It was bounded on the north by the mountains of Hæmus, on the south by Epirus and Achaia, on the east by the Ægean, on the west by the Ionian and Adriatic seas; celebrated in all histories for being the third kingdom that, under Alexander the Great, obtained the empire of the world, and had under it 150 nations. To this country, whose metropolis was then Thessalonica, St. Paul was called by a vision (Acts xvi. 9.); and the churches planted by him in it, are celebrated for their great charity, and ready contribution to the distressed Jews in Judæa (2 Cor. viii. ix.), when they themselves lay under the extremest poverty.

MAGDALA was a city and territory beyond Jordan, on the bank of Gadara. It reached to the bridge above Jordan, which joined it to the other side of Galilee, and contained within its precincts Dalmanutha; hence, while Matthew says (xv. 39.) *Christ came into the coasts of Magdala*, St. Mark says more particularly,

(viii. 10.) that *he came into the parts of Dalmanutha.*

MAGOG. See GOG, p. 32, *supra.*

MAMRE, Vale of. See p. 49. *supra.*

MANASSEH, Canton of the tribe of. See pp. 11, 12.

MEDIA, (Acts ii. 9.) was a vast region of Asia, having on the north the Hyrcanian sea, on the west Armenia and Assyria, on the south Persia, on the east Hyrcania and Parthia. It had its name from Madai the son of Japhet, mentioned Gen. x. 2. In the Babylonian captivity, the Jews were carried captive into Assyria, and placed in the cities of the Medes. (2 Kings xvii. 6. and xviii. 11.) Hence we find many of them and their proselytes at Jerusalem, when the Holy Ghost fell on the apostles. The Medes or Medians were subject to the Assyrian monarchs until the reign of Sardanapalus. Arbaces conspired against him, compelled him to burn himself in Nineveh, and restored the Medes to liberty, A. M. 3257, B. C. 747. He is considered as the founder of the Median monarchy, to which Justin assigns a duration of three hundred and fifty years, but Herodotus only one hundred and twenty years. (Justin. Hist. lib. i. c. 6. ed. Bipont. Herod. lib. i. c. 95—107. ed. Oxon. 1809.) The last-mentioned historian has recorded the names of only four Median sovereigns, viz. Dejoces, Phraortes, Cyaxares, and Astyages. Diodorus Siculus (lib. ii. c. 32. edit Bipont.) enumerates ten kings; Eusebius and Syncellus, eight. Herodotus, however, acknowledges that the Medes had enjoyed their liberty for some time before they elected Dejoces to be their king, A. M. 3294, B. C. 710. He caused the city of Ecbatana to be built, and is said to have reigned fifty-three years. Phraortes his successor subjugated the Persians to the Median empire, and reigned twenty-two years, A. M. 3347—3369, B. C. 657—635. Phraortes was succeeded by Cyaxares, who took Nineveh, and considerably enlarged the Median empire, A. M. 3369—3409, B. C. 626—595. His son and successor Astyages, the Ahasuerus of the Scriptures, reigned thirty-five years, A. M. 3409—3444, B. C. 595—560. No particulars of his reign, however, are recorded by profane historians, excepting his repulsing an invasion of his territories made by the Babylonians under Evil-Merodach the son of Nebuchadnezzar. On the death of Astyages, the crown devolved on his son Cyaxares II., whom the Scriptures call Darius the Mede, A. M. 3444, B. C. 560.

MELITE, or Malta, an island in the Mediterranean sea, on which Saint Paul was wrecked. (Acts xxviii. 1.) The learned Mr. Bryant, Dr. Hales, and some others have attempted to shew that this island was in the Adriatic Gulf, (see ADRIA, p. 3. of this Appendix): but the general opinion of modern critics and geographers is in favour of the island of Malta.

MESOPOTAMIA, a famous province, situated between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. The Hebrews call it *Aram Naharaim*, or Aram of the rivers, because it was first peopled by Aram, father of the Syrians, and is situated between two rivers. This country is celebrated in Scripture as the first dwelling of men after the deluge; and because it gave birth to Phaleg, Heber, Terah, Abraham, Nahor, Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Leah, and to the sons of Jacob. Babylon was in the antient Mesopotamia, till by vast labour and industry the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates were re-united in one channel. The plains of Shinar were in this country. It was often called Mesopotamia Syriæ, because it was inhabited by the Arameans, or Syrians; and sometimes *Padan-aram* (Gen. xxviii. 2.),

or the plains of Aram; or *Sede-aram*, the fields of Aram; to distinguish them from the barren and uncultivated mountains of the same country. Balaam, son of Beor, was of Mesopotamia. (Deut. xxiii. 4.) Chushanrishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, subdued the Hebrews. (Judg. iii. 8.)

Midian, the land into which Moses fled from the Egyptians. (Acts vii. 29.) Here Jethro lived (Exod. xii. 11.), and the people were descended from Madian the son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2.), whence we have reason to believe they still retained the worship of the true God, It was in Arabia Petræa.

Migdol, a frontier town of Lower Egypt, towards the Red Sea, between which and that sea the Israelites encamped. (Exod. xiv. 1.) It is there rendered by the Septuagint Magdolus; and there also Herodotus represents Nekus, or Pharaoh Necho, as gaining a great victory over the Jews, when Josiah was killed; mistaking Magdolus for Megeddo. Jeremiah represents it as belonging to Egypt Proper (xlvi. 14.), and in the neighbourhood of Tahpanes, or Daphnæ.

Miletus, a sea-port of Asia Minor, and a city of Ionia, where Saint Paul delivered to the elders of the church of Ephesus that affecting discourse which is recorded in Acts xx. 17—35. In this city were born Thales, one of the seven men, Anaximander his disciple, Timotheus the celebrated musician, and Anaximenes the philosopher. There was another Miletus in Crete, where St. Paul left Trophimus sick. (2 Tim. iv. 20.)

Mitylene, was a large and beautiful city of the island of Lesbos, where Pittacus, one of the wise men, Alcæus the poet, Diophanes the orator, and Theophanes the historian, were born. The whole island was also called by that name; as also Pentapolis, from the five cities in it, viz. Issa, or Antissa, Pyrrha, Eressos, Arisba, Mitylene. If it had that name in St. Luke's time, we may understand either the island or the city, when he says, (Acts xx. 14.) *We came to Mitylene.*

Moabites, a people descended from Moab, the incestuous offspring of Lot. Their habitation was beyond Jordan and the Dead Sea, on both sides of the river Arnon. Their capital city was situated on that river, and was called Ar, or Rabbah-Moab, that is, the capital of Moab, or Kir-haresh, that is, a city with brick walls. This country was originally possessed by a race of giants called Emim. (Deut. ii. 11, 12.) The Moabites conquered them, and afterwards the Amorites took a part from the Moabites. (Judg. xi. 13.) Moses conquered that part which belonged to the Amorites and gave it to the tribe of Reuben. The Moabites were spared by Moses, for God had restricted him (Deut. ii. 9.): but there always was a great antipathy between the Moabites and Israelites, which occasioned many wars between them. Balaam seduced the Hebrews to idolatry and uncleanness, by means of the daughters of Moab (Numb. xxv. 1, 2.); and Balak, king of this people, endeavoured to prevail on Balaam to curse Israel. God ordained that the Moabites should not enter into the congregation of his people, even to the tenth generation (Deut. xxiii. 3.), because they had the inhumanity to refuse the Israelites a passage through their country, nor would supply them with bread and water in their necessity.

Eglon, king of the Moabites, was one of the first that oppressed Israel after the death of Joshua. Ehud killed Eglon, and Israel expelled the Moabites. (Judg. iii. 12. &c.) A.M. 2679, B.C. 1325. Hanun, king of the

Ammonites, having insulted David's ambassadors, David made war against him, and subdued Moab and Ammon: under which subjection they continued till the separation of the ten tribes. The Ammonites and Moabites continued in subjection to the kings of Israel to the death of Ahab. Very shortly after the death of Ahab, the Moabites began to revolt. (2 Kings iii. 4, 5.) Mesha, king of Moab, refused the tribute of an hundred thousand lambs, and as many rams, which till then had been customarily paid, either yearly, or at the beginning of every reign, which of these two is not clearly expressed in Scripture. The reign of Ahaziah was too short to make war with them; but Jehoram, son of Ahab, and brother to Ahaziah, having ascended the throne, thought of reducing them to obedience. He invited Jehoshaphat, king of Judah; who with the king of Edom, then his vassal, entered Moab, where they were in danger of perishing with thirst, but were miraculously relieved. (2 Kings iii. 16, &c.) It is not easy to perceive what were the circumstances of the Moabites from this time; but Isaiah, at the beginning of the reign of king Hezekiah, threatens them with a calamity, which was to happen three years after his prediction, and which probably referred to the war that Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, made with the ten tribes, and the other people beyond Jordan. Amos (i. 13. &c.) also foretold great miseries to them, which, probably, they suffered under Uzziah and Jotham, kings of Judah; or under Shalmaneser (2 Chron. xxvi. 7, 8. xxvii. 5.): or, lastly, the war of Nebuchadnezzar, five years after the destruction of Jerusalem: we believe this prince carried them captive beyond the Euphrates, as the prophets had threatened (Jer. ix. 26. xii. 14, 15. xxv. 11, 12. xlviii. Jer. xlviii. 47. xlix. 3. 6. 39. l. 16.), and that Cyrus sent them home again, as he did the rest of the captives. After their return from captivity, they multiplied, and fortified themselves, as the Jews did, and other neighbouring people; still in subjection to the kings of Persia, afterwards conquered by Alexander the Great, and in obedience to the kings of Syria and Egypt successively, and finally to the Romans. There is a probability also, that in the later times of the Jewish republic, they obeyed the Asmonean kings, and afterwards Herod the Great. See an account of the principal deities of the Moabites, in pp. 373—375, *supra*.

Moriah, Mount. See p. 18, *supra*.

Myra was one of the six great cities of Lycia, situated near the sea; whence St. Luke says (Acts xxvii. 5.) that *sailing over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia*, they *came to Myra in Lycia*.

Mysia (Acts xvi. 7, 8.), a country of Asia, was bounded on the north by Bithynia, on the east by Phrygia Minor, on the west by Troäs, on the south by the river Hermus; there, perhaps, St. Paul attempted not to stay; because, as Cicero notes, in his oration for Flaccus (c. 51, 52.) they were a people despicable and base to a proverb.

Nain, a small city or town of Galilee, not far from Capernaum, at the gates of which Jesus Christ raised to life a widow's only son. (Luke vii. 11—15.) It derived its name from its pleasant situation.

Naphtali, Canton of the tribe of. See p. 13, *supra*.

Nazareth, a small city of Lower Galilee, celebrated as having been the place where our Saviour was educated, where he preached, and whence he was called a Nazarene. In the time of Christ it did not possess the best of characters. (John i. 46.) Nazareth stands on the side of a barren

rocky elevation, or hill, facing the east, and commanding a long valley. It was from this hill the inhabitants would have precipitated him headlong. (Luke iv. 29.) When visited by Dr. Clarke, he found it much reduced. The town was in the most wretched state of indigence and misery; the soil around might bid defiance to agriculture; and to the prospect of starvation were added the horrors of the plague! Here are numerous reputed holy places to which pilgrims are conducted. The vignette, in p. 1. of this Appendix (which is inserted by permission), represents the grotto at Nazareth, which is *said* to have been the house of Joseph and Mary.

Nebo, mount. See p. 48.

Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, could boast of the remotest antiquity. Tacitus styles it "Vetustissima sedes Assyriæ." (Annal. 12, 13.) And Scripture informs us, that Nimrod, after he had built Babel, in the land of Shinaar, invaded Assyria, where he built Nineveh, and several other cities. (Gen. x. 11.) Its name denotes "the habitation of Nin," which seems to have been the proper name of "that rebel," as Nimrod signifies. And it is uniformly styled by Herodotus, Xenophon, Diodorus, Lucian, &c. Ἡ Νινος, "the city of Ninus." And the village of Nunia, opposite Mosul, in its name, and the tradition of the natives [1], ascertains the site of the antient city, which was near "the castle of Arbela," according to Tacitus, so celebrated for the decisive victory of Alexander the Great over the Persians there; the site of which is ascertained by the village of Arbil, about ten German miles to the east of Nunia, according to Niebuhr's map. tab. xlv. At first, Nineveh seems only to have been a small city, and less than Resen, in its neighbourhood; which is conjectured by Bochart, and not without reason, to have been the same as Larissa, which Xenophon describes as "the ruins of a great city, formerly inhabited by the Medes," (Anabas. 3.) and which the natives might have described as belonging "La Resen," "to Resen."

Nineveh did not rise to greatness for many ages after, until its second founder, Ninus II. about B. C. 1230, enlarged and made it the greatest city in the world. According to Diodorus, it was of an oblong form, 150 stadia long, and 90 broad, and consequently 480 in circuit, or 48 miles, reckoning 10 stadia to an English mile, with Major Rennel. And its walls were 100 feet high, and 10 broad, so that three chariots could drive on them abreast; and on the walls were 1500 towers, each 200 feet high. We are not, however, to imagine that all this vast enclosure was built upon: it contained great parks and extensive fields, and detached houses and buildings, like Babylon, and other great cities of the East, even at the present day, as Bussorah, &c.

And this entirely corresponds with the representations of Scripture: In the days of the prophet Jonah, about B. C. 800, it is said to have been "a great city," "an exceeding great city, of three days' journey (Jonah i. 2. iii. 3.), perhaps in circuit; for 16 miles is about an ordinary day's journey for a caravan. (Rennel's Herodot. p. 350.) The Jews at present, however, understand it in length, according to Neibuhr, (vol. i. p. 286.) which seems to agree with the prophet's "entering into the city a day's journey," (Jonah iii. 4.), if it does not rather denote his going throughout the city, which was a day's journey in length; and this corresponds with the tradition of the natives, that the

[1] In the mosque of this village Nunia is shown the tomb of the prophet Jonah, which is held in great veneration by the Jews at this day. Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 286.

city extended from Kadikend to Jeriudsjd, two villages on the east of the Tigris, about two or three German miles asunder, of which Niebuhr reckons fifteen to a degree.

The population of Nineveh also at that time was very great. It contained "more than six score thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left, besides much cattle. (iv. 11.) Reckoning the persons to have been infants of two years old, and under, and that these were a fifth part of the whole, according to Bochart, the whole population would amount to 600,000 souls. The same number Pliny asssigns for the population of Seleucia, on the decline of Babylon. (vi. 26.) London at present, which perhaps is the most populous city in the world, not excepting Pekin in China, is not reckoned to exceed 800,000, by Major Rennel. (Herodot. pp. 341. 348.)

The threatened "overthrow of Nineveh within three days," by the general repentance and humiliation of the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, was suspended for near 200 years, until "their iniquity came to the full;" and then the prophecy was literally accomplished, in the third year of the siege of the city, by the combined Medes and Babylonians; the king Sardanapalus, being encouraged to hold out, in consequence of an antient prophecy[1], that Nineveh should never be taken by assault, till the river became its enemy; when a mighty inundation of the river, swollen by continual rains, came up against a part of the city, and threw down twenty stadia of the wall in length; upon which the king, conceiving that the oracle was accomplished, burnt himself, his concubines, eunuchs, and treasures, and the enemy entering by the breach, sacked and rased the city, about B. C. 606.

Diodorus also relates, that Belesis, the governor of Babylon, obtained from Arbaces, the king of Media, the ashes of the palace, to erect a mount with them near the temple of Belus, at Babylon; and that he forthwith prepared shipping, and, together with the ashes, carried away most of the gold and silver, of which he had private information given him by one of the eunuchs who escaped the fire.

The complete demolition of such immense piles as the walls and towers of Nineveh, may seem matter of surprise to those who do not consider the nature of the materials of which they were constructed; of brick, dried or baked in the sun, and cemented with bitumen, which were apt to be "dissolved" by water[2], or to moulder away by the injuries of the weather. Besides, in the East, the materials of antient cities have been often employed in the building of new ones in the neighbourhood. Thus Mosul was built with the spoils of Nineveh. Tauk Kesra, or "the palace of Chosroes," appears to have been built of bricks brought from the ruins of Babylon; and so was Hellah, as the dimensions are nearly the same, and the proportions so singular. And when such materials could conveniently be transported by inland navigations, they are to be found at very great distances from their antient place, much farther, indeed, than are Bagdat and Seleucia, or Ctesiphon, from Babylon.[3]

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[1] This is the more explicit prophecy of Nahum, 115 years before the destuction of Nineveh, "With an overrunning flood, He (THE LORD) will make an utter end of the place thereof." i. 8.—"The gates of the river shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved." ii. 6.

[2] Captain Cunningham remarked, that at Bussorah, which is built of sun-dried bricks, after heavy rain, the falling of houses into the streets is no unusual sight. Rennel's Herodot. p. 749.

[3] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 448—450.

No or No-ammon (the Diospolis or Thebes of antient geographers), was the metropolis of Upper Egypt. It is mentioned in Jer. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 14—16. Nahum iii. 8. Its Egyptian name was No; to which was added Amon or Amoun, a title of Jove among the Egyptians.

Olivet, Mount.—See p. 19. *supra*.

On, Aun, or Heliopolis, a city of Egypt. The father-in-law of Joseph was high-priest of On (Gen. xli. 45.); there rendered Heliopolis, by the Septuagint version, and noticed also by Herodotus; who says, that "the Heliopolitans were reckoned the wisest of the Egyptians." This was the city of Moses, according to Berosus; and well accounts for his scriptural character, that "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." (Acts vii. 22.) Heliopolis was the Greek translation of Beth-shemesh, "the house or city of the Sun," as it was called by Jeremiah, "Bethshemesh in the land of Egypt," (xliii. 13.) to distinguish it from another Beth-shemesh, in the land of Canaan. It was nicknamed Beth Aven, "the house of vanity," or idolatry, by the Jews. (Ezek. xxx. 17.)

Ophir, a country whither Solomon sent a fleet, aided by the subjects of Hiram king of Tyre, and from which they brought back gold (1 Kings ix. 27, 28. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18.), and also *almug trees and precious stones*. (1 Kings x. 11.) Not fewer than fifteen or sixteen countries have been assigned by various commentators and critics, as the site of Ophir, but the most probable is that of M. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, who is of opinion that it was on the eastern coast of Africa, by the Arabians termed Zanguebar; that the name of Ophir was more particularly given to the small country of Sofala on the same coast; that Solomon's fleet went out from the Red Sea, and from the port of Ezion-geber entered the Mediterranean by a canal of communication; and doubling cape Guardafui, coasted along Africa to Sofala, where was found in abundance whatever was brought to the Hebrew monarch by this voyage. The opinion of Huet is adopted by Mr. Bruce, who has confirmed it by various additional considerations.

Palestine.—See p. 4. *supra*.

Pamphylia, a province of Asia Minor, having to the south the Pamphylian sea, mentioned Acts xxvii. 5., Cilicia to the east, Pisidia to the north (whence we find Saint Paul passing through Pisidia to Pamphylia (Acts xiv. 24.), and from Pamphylia to Pisidia (Acts xiii. 14.), and Lycia to the west. The cities mentioned in the Scripture as belonging to it, are Perga and Attalia. (Acts xiii. 13.) Here numerous Jews dwelt, and hence those of Pamphylia are mentioned among those who appeared at Jerusalem at the day of Pentecost. (Acts ii. 10.)

Paphos, the metropolis of the island of Cyprus (Acts xiii. 4. 6.), and the residence of the proconsul. It was memorable for the impure worship paid to Venus, the tutelary deity of the island. Here Saint Paul struck blind Elymas the sorcerer, and converted Sergius the proconsul. The Jews dwelt here in great numbers. (ver. 6.) See Cyprus.

Paran, Desert of. See p. 55, *supra*.

Parthians are mentioned in Acts ii. 9. in conjunction with the Medes. The empire of Parthia subsisted four hundred years, and disputed for the dominion of the east with the Romans. The Parthians were celebrated for their veneration of their kings, and for their way of fighting by flight, and shooting their arrows backwards. They dwelt between

Media and Mesopotamia; in all which Transeuphratensian places, except some little parts of Babylon, and of some other small prefectures, the Jews abounded, and some of them were at Jerusalem when the Holy Ghost fell on the apostles.

Patmos, an island in the Ægean sea, whither the apostle and evangelist John was banished, A. D. 94, and where he had the revelations which he has recorded in the Apocalypse.

Pathros, a city and district of Egypt, mentioned by the prophets Jeremiah (xliv. 1. 15.), and Ezekiel (xxix. 14. and xxx. 14.)

Peræa. See pp. 16, 17, *supra*.

Perga, a city of Pamphylia (Acts xiii. 13.), memorable among the heathens for a temple of Diana built there; and among the Christians for the departure thence of John Mark from Barnabas and Paul, to Jerusalem which occasioned the rupture between them for a season. (Acts xv. 37. 40.)

Pergamos or Pergamus, was the antient metropolis of Mysia, and the residence of the Attalian kings. Its present population is computed at about thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom three thousand are Christians, except about two hundred, who are Armenians. They have each *one* church, but its other churches have been converted into mosques, and are profaned with the blasphemies of the pseudo-prophet Mohammed. Pergamos, or Bergamo as it is now called, lies about sixty-four miles north of Smyrna.

Perizzites, the antient inhabitants of Palestine, mingled with the Canaanites. It is very probable that they were Canaanites, who had no fixed habitations, and lived sometimes in one country, sometimes in another, and were thence called Perizzites, which term signifies scattered or dispersed. The Perizzites did not inhabit any certain portion of the land of Canaan. In several places of Scripture the Canaanites and Perizzites are mentioned as the chief people of the country. Thus, we read that, in the time of Abraham and Lot, *the Canaanite and Perizzite were in the land.* (Gen. xiii. 7.) Solomon subdued the remains of the Canaanites and Perizzites, which the children of Israel had not rooted out, and made them tributary. (1 Kings ix. 20, 21. 2 Chron. viii. 7.) There is mention of the Perizzites by Ezra, after the return from Babylon; and several Israelites had married wives of that nation. (Ezra ix. 1.)

Persia, a country of Asia, bounded on the west by Media and Susiana; on the south, by the Persian gulf; on the north, by the great desert that lay between it and Parthia Proper; and on the east, by another still greater, that lay between it and the river Indus. Until the time of Cyrus, and his succession to the Median empire, it was an inconsiderable country, always subject to the Assyrians, Babylonians, or Medes. Its capital city was Persepolis, now Chelminar; lat. 30 degrees. In the neighbourhood of which, to the south-east, was Passagardæ, where was the tomb of Cyrus.

The ruins of Persepolis are remarkable, among other things, for the figures, or symbols, to be seen on the walls and pillars of the temple. Sir John Chardin observed there ram's heads with horns, one higher, and the other lower, exactly corresponding to Daniel's vision of the Medo-Persian empire: the lower horn denoting the Medes, the higher, which came up last, the Persians. (Dan. viii. 3.) A winged lion, with a crown on his head; alluding, perhaps, to the symbolical representation of the Assyrian empire, by "a lion with eagle's wings;" denoting their ferocious strength and cruelty, and the rapidity of their conquest. (Dan. vii. 4.)

Sketch of the History of the Persian Empire, illustrative of the Prophetic Writings.

Cyrus, who is deservedly called the *Great*, both on account of his extensive conquests, and also for his liberation of the captive Hebrews, was the son of Cambyses a Persian grandee, and Mandane the daughter of Astyages king of the Medians. He was born A. M. 3405, B. C. 599, one year after his uncle Cyaxares the brother of Mandane. Weary of obeying the Medians, Cyrus engaged the Persians to revolt from them. He attacked and defeated Astyages his maternal grandfather, whose life he spared, and gave him the government of Hyrcania, satisfied with having liberated the Persians, and compelled the Medes to pay him tribute. Not long after the latter rebelled against him, and involved Cyrus in a protracted war. Having again reduced the Medes, Cyrus directed his arms against the Babylonians, whose ally, Crœsus king of Lydia, having come to their assistance, was defeated and obliged to retire into his own country. Cyrus continued to prosecute the war against the Babylonians, and having settled every thing in that country, he followed Crœsus into Lydia, whom he totally discomfited, and overran his territories. Thus far we have followed the narrative of Justin (lib. i. c. 7.): Herodotus relates events nearly in the same order (lib. i. c. 178.), but places the Babylonian war after the war with Crœsus, and the entire reduction of Lydia. He says that Labynitus (the Belshazzar of Scripture) was at that time the king of Babylon, and that Cyrus, having subdued his other enemies, at length attacked and defeated the Babylonians, who withdrew into their city, which was both strongly fortified and amply stored with provisions.

Cyrus, finding that the siege would be protracted, diverted the course of the Euphrates, by causing great ditches to be dug on both sides of the city, above and below, that its waters might flow into them: the river being thus rendered passable, his soldiers entered the city through its channel. Babylon was taken, and the impious Belshazzar was put to death. (Dan. v. 30.) So vast was that city, that the inhabitants of each extremity were ignorant of its capture, though the enemy was in its very centre; and as a great festival had been celebrated on that day, the whole city was absorbed in pleasure and amusements. Cyrus constituted his uncle Cyaxares (or Darius the Mede) king of the Chaldeans. (Dan. v. 31.) Cyrus immediately restored the captive Jews to liberty (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Ezra i. 1.), and commanded pecuniary assistance to be given to those who stood in need of it. Cyrus died A. M. 3475, B. C. 529, in the seventieth year of his age, though historians are by no means agreed concerning the manner of his death.

Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, was one of the most cruel princes recorded in history. As soon as he was seated on the throne, he invaded and conquered Egypt, and reigned there three years. At the same time he detached part of his army against the Ethiopians, and commanded his generals to pillage the temple of Jupiter Ammon. Both these expeditions were unfortunate. The army which had been sent against the latter perished in the sands of the deserts; and that which he led against the former, for want of provisions, was compelled to return with great loss. Mortified at his disappointments, Cambyses now gave full vent to the cruelty of his disposition. He killed his sister Meröe, who was also his wife; he commanded his brother Smerdis to be put to death, and killed many of his principal officers; he treated the gods of the Egyptians

with the utmost contempt, and committed every possible outrage against them. Hearing at length that his throne was filled by an usurper, who pretended to be his brother Smerdis, and reigned at Babylon, he set out on his return to his dominions, but died at Ecbatana, a town in Syria, situated at the foot of Mount Carmel.

A. M. 3482, B. C. 522. After the death of Cambyses, the Persian throne was usurped by seven Magi, who governed for some time, making the people believe that their sovereign was Smerdis the brother of Cambyses. The Samaritans, who were always jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, obtained an edict from the pseudo-Smerdis (called Artaxerxes in the Scriptures), prohibiting them from rebuilding the temple and fortifications of Jerusalem. (Ezra iv. 7. 16.) This interruption continued until the second year of Darius the son of Hystaspes.

A. M. 3483, B. C. 521. The imposition of the Magi being at length discovered, Darius the son of Hystaspes was acknowledged king. Having been informed of the permission which Cyrus had granted to the Jews to rebuild their temple, he allowed them to resume the work (Ezra iv. 24. vi. 1.), which they had commenced by the exhortations and encouragement of the prophets Haggai (i. 1.) and Zechariah (i. 1. Ezra v. 1.) This Darius is the Ahasuerus who married Esther, and granted various privileges to the Jews.[1]

A. M. 3519, B. C. 485. Xerxes succeeded Darius in the Persian throne; but as no particulars are recorded of him as connected with the Jews, we pass on to the reign of his successor Artaxerxes, who greatly favoured them, first sending Ezra into Judæa (Ezra vii. viii.), and afterwards Nehemiah, to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. (Neh. i. ii.) The Persian monarchy subsisted for many centuries after this event; but, as its history is not connected with that of the Jews, it would be foreign to the plan of this abstract to give the succession of its sovereigns.

PHILADELPHIA, a city of Asia Minor, derived its name from its founder, Attalus Philadelphus, and is situated about twenty-seven miles to the south-east of Sardis. Not long before the date of the Apocalyptic Epistle, this city had suffered so much from earthquakes, that it had been in a great measure deserted by its inhabitants; which may in some degree account for the poverty of this church as described in this Epistle. And its poverty may also in some degree account for its virtue, which is so highly commended. "Philadelphia appears to have resisted the attacks of the Turks in 1312 with more success than the other cities. At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the emperor, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above fourscore years, and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans (Bajazet) in 1390. Among the Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect—a column in a scene of ruins! (Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. xi. p. 438. 8vo edit.) Whatever may be lost of the spirit of Christianity, there is still the form of a Christian church in this city, which is now called *Alah-shehr*. It contains about 1000 Christians, chiefly Greeks, most of whom speak only the Turkish language. They have twenty-five places of public worship, five of which are large and regular churches, with a resident bishop and twenty inferior clergy.

PHILIPPI was a city of Macedonia *Prima*, or the first of the four parts into which that province was divided.

[1] See the book of Esther, throughout.

It was of moderate extent, and situated on the confines of Thrace. It was formerly called Crenides from its numerous springs, and afterwards Datus from the gold mines in its vicinity. The name of Philippi it received from Philip the father of Alexander, who fortified it, and made it a frontier town against the Thracians. Julius Cæsar planted a colony here, which was afterwards enlarged by Augustus, and hence its inhabitants were considered as freemen of Rome. Christianity was first planted at Philippi, by Saint Paul, A. D. 50, the particulars of which are related in Acts xvi. 9—40.

PHILISTINES, Land of. See p. 6, *supra*.

PHILISTINES, Mountains of. See p. 48, *supra*.

PHŒNICE or PHŒNICIA, a province of Syria, which extended from the gulf of Issus, where it bounded Cilicia on the north, along the coast southwards, to the termination of the ridges of Libanus and Antilibanus, near Tyre, where it met the border of Palestine. In breadth it only comprehended the narrow tract between the continuation of Mount Libanus and the sea. Its principal cities were Sidon and Tyre, of which a notice is given is given in the subsequent part of this Index.

PHRYGIA is a province of Asia Minor, divided into the Greater and Lesser. The former had Bithynia on the north, Galatia on the east, Pamphylia and Lycia on the south, Lydia and Mysia on the west. Its chief cities mentioned in Scripture (Col. ii. 1.), are Laodicea and Hierapolis; and of this St. Luke seems to speak in Acts ii. 10. because he joins it with Pamphylia below it. In Acts xvi. 6. 18. he means Phrygia Minor, and also in verse 22, where he says that they passed through Phrygia and Galatia. The inhabitants are said to have been a servile people, kept in their duty best by stripes, and made wise only by sufferings. In all these parts of Asia Minor, even to Bithynia and the Euxine sea, the Jews antiently were very numerous.

PISGAH, Mount. See p. 48, *supra*.

PISIDIA (Acts xiv. 24.), a country in Asia Minor, having Pamphylia on the south, Galatia on the north, Isauria on the east, and Phrygia on the west. Its chief city was Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 14.), so called, to distinguish it from Antioch in Syria.

PONTUS, a province of Asia Minor, having the Euxine sea on the north, Cappadocia on the south, Paphlagonia and Galatia on the east, and the lesser Armenia on the west. It is supposed that Saint Peter preached in Pontus, because he addresses his first epistle to the believing Hebrews who were scattered throughout this and the neighbouring provinces.

PROMISE, Land of. See p. 2, *supra*.

PTOLEMAIS, antiently called Accho (Judg. i. 31.), and now known by the name of Acre, is situated on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, on the confines of Lower and Upper Galilee. Here Saint Paul rested for one day on his journey from Ephesus to Jerusalem. (Acts xxi. 7.) During the croisades this city suffered exceedingly both from infidels and Christians, between whom it was the scene of many sanguinary conflicts: at length it fell under the dominion of the late Djezzar Pacha, under whose government and that of his successor, it has revived, and is now one of the most considerable towns on the coast. Acre is celebrated for the repulse there given to Napoleon Buonaparte, by the Turks under the command of Sir Sydney Smith; who, after a long and memorable siege, compelled the French to retire with great loss, and ultimately to abandon Syria.

PUTEOLI (at present called Pozzuolo), a city and haven in the king-

dom of Naples, eight miles from that city. Here Saint Paul abode seven days, by the favour of the centurion, on his first journey to Rome. (Acts xxviii. 13.)

RABBATH, Rabbath Ammon, or Rabbath of the children of Ammon, afterwards called Philadelphia, the capital of the Ammonites, was situated beyond Jordan. It was a place of considerable note in the time of Moses. When David declared war against the Ammonites, his general Joab laid siege to Rabbath-Ammon, where the brave Uriah lost his life, by a secret order given by this prince, that Uriah should be forsaken in a place of danger. And when the city was reduced to the last extremity, David himself went thither, that he might have the honour of taking it. From this time it became subject to the kings of Judah. Afterwards the kings of Israel became masters of it, with all the rest of the tribes beyond Jordan. But towards the conclusion of the kingdom of Israel, Tiglath-pileser having taken away a great part of the Israelites from that country, the Ammonites were guilty of many cruelties against those who remained, in consequence of which the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel pronounced very severe prophecies against Rabbath, the capital city of the Ammonites, and against the rest of the country, which probably had their completion five years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Antiochus the Great took the city of Rabbath-Ammon about A. M. 3786. Some time before this, Ptolemy Philadelphus had given it the name of Philadelphia. Which see in this Index.

RABBATH-MOAB, or Rabbath of the children of Moab, the capital of the Moabites, otherwise Ar, and Kir-heres, or the city with brick walls. (Jer. xlviii. 31. 36.) This city was situated on the river Ar: it underwent many revolutions, and the prophets denounced heavy judgments against it.

RAMA, Ramah, or Ramathaim, is a small town in the tribe of Benjamin, about thirty miles north of Jerusalem; it is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. As it stood in a pass between the kingdoms of Judah, Baasha king of Israel seized it, and began to fortify it, to prevent his subjects from passing that way into the kingdom of Judah. (1 Kings xv. 17, 21.) Here Nebuzaradan, the Chaldean general, disposed of his Jewish prisoners after their capital was taken, which occasioned a great lamentation among the daughters of Rachel. (Jer. xl. 1—3. xxxi. 15.) The last-cited passage is applied by St. Matthew (ii. 18.), by accommodation, to the mourning occasioned by the massacre of the children at Bethlehem and its immediate vicinity, in consequence of Herod's command.

RAMOTH, a famous city in the mountains of Gilead, often called Ramoth-gilead, sometimes Ramoth, and sometimes Ramath-mizpeh, or the Watch-tower. (Josh. xiii. 26.) This city belonged to the tribe of Gad. It was assigned to the Levites, and was one of the cities of refuge beyond Jordan. (Deut. iv. 43. Josh. xx. 8. and xxi. 38.) It became celebrated during the reigns of the later kings of Israel, and was the occasion of several wars between these princes and the kings of Damascus, who had conquered it, and from whom the kings of Israel endeavoured to regain it. (1 Kings xxii. 3—36. 2 Kings viii. 28, 29. 2 Chron. xxii. 5.) Jehoram, king of Judah, was dangerously wounded at the siege of this place: and Jehu, the son of Nimshi, was here anointed king of Israel, by a prophet sent by Elisha. (2 Kings ix. 1—10.) Ahab, king of Israel, was

killed in battle with the Syrians before this place. (2 Chron. xviii. 3, 4, 5, *et seq.*)

Red Sea, that branch of the southern sea which interposes itself between Egypt on the west, Arabia Felix and some part of Arabia Petræa on the east, while its northern extremities touch on the coast of Edom. Edom, it is well known, in the Hebrew tongue signifies *Red*, and was the name given to Esau for selling his birth-right for a mess of pottage. Both the country which was possessed by his posterity (Gen. xxv. 30. xxxvi. 31—40.), and the sea which was contiguous to it, were called after his name; but the Greeks not understanding the reason of the appellation, translated it into their tongue, and called it Θαλασσα Ερυθρα, whence the Latins termed it *Mare Rubrum*, and we the Dead Sea. It was also called *Yam Suph*, "the weedy sea," in several passages (Numb. xxxiii. 10. Psal. cvi. 9, &c.), which are improperly rendered "the Red Sea." Some learned authors have supposed, that it was so named from the quantity of weeds in it. "But in contradiction to this," says Bruce, "I must confess, that I never in my life, (and I have seen the whole extent of it) saw a weed of any sort in it. And indeed upon the slightest consideration, it will appear to any one, that a narrow gulf, under the immediate influence of monsoons blowing from contrary points six months each year, would have too much agitation to produce such vegetables, seldom found but in stagnant water, and seldomer, if ever, found in salt ones. My opinion then is, that it is from the large trees, or plants, of white coral, perfectly in imitation of plants on land, that the sea has taken its name. I saw one of these, which, from a root nearly central, threw out ramifications in a nearly central form, measuring twenty six feet in diameter every way." p. 247.

This seems to be the most probable solution that has been hitherto proposed of the name.

The tides in this sea are but moderate. At Suez the difference between high and low water did not exceed from three to four feet; according to Niebuhr's observations on the tides in that gulf, during the years 1762 and 1763. Voyage en Arabie, p. 363.

Every one knows the famous miracle of the passage over the Red Sea, when God opened this sea, dried it up, and made the Israelites pass through it, dryshod, to the number of 600,000, without reckoning old men, women, or children. The Rabbins, and many of the antient fathers, relying on Psalm cxxxvi. 13. (to him which divided the Red Sea into parts) have maintained, that the Red Sea was so divided as to make twelve passages; that each of the twelve tribes passed through a different passage. But other authors have advanced, that Moses having lived long near the Red Sea, in the country of Midian, had observed that it kept its regular ebbing and flowing like the ocean; so that taking the advantage of the time of the ebb, he led the Hebrews over; but the Egyptians, not knowing the nature of the sea, and rashly entering it just before the return of the tide, were all swallowed up and drowned, as Moses relates. Thus the priests of Memphis explained it, and their opinion has been adopted by a great number of moderns, particularly by the learned critic and philologer, John David Michaelis, who in the queries which he sent to the Danish traveller M. Niebuhr, while in Egypt, proposed to him to enquire upon the spot, "Whether there were not some ridges of rocks where the water was shallow so that an army at particular times may pass over? Secondly, Whether

the Etesian winds, which blow strongly all summer from the north-west, could not blow so violently against the sea as to keep it back on a heap; so that the Israelites might have passed without a miracle." And a copy of these queries was left also for Mr. Bruce, to join his enquiries likewise. His observations on which are excellent. "I must confess," says he, "however learned the gentlemen were who proposed these doubts, I did not think they merited any attention to solve them. This passage is told us by Scripture to be a miraculous one; and if so, we have nothing to do with natural causes. If we do not believe Moses, we need not believe the transaction at all, seeing that it is from his authority alone we derive it. If we believe in God, that He made the sea, we must believe he could divide it when he sees proper reason; and of that He must be the only judge. It is no greater miracle to divide the Red Sea, than to divide the river Jordan.

"If the Etesian wind, blowing from the north-west in summer, could keep up the sea as a wall on the right, or to the south, of fifty feet high; still the difficulty would remain of building the wall on the left hand, or to the north. Besides, water standing in that position for a day, must have lost the nature of fluid. Whence came that cohesion of particles which hindered that wall to escape at the sides? This is as great a miracle as that of Moses. If the Etesian winds had done this once, they must have repeated it many a time before and since, from the same causes. Yet Diodorus Siculus, (lib. 3. p. 122.) says, the Troglodytes, the indigenous inhabitants of that very spot, had a tradition from father to son, from their very earliest ages, that once this division of the sea did happen there; and that, after leaving its bottom some time dry, the sea again come back, and covered it with great fury [1]. The words of this author are of the most remarkable kind: we cannot think this heathen is writing in favour of revelation: he knew not Moses, nor says a word about Pharaoh and his host; but records the miracle of the division of the sea in words nearly as strong as those of Moses, from the mouths of unbiassed undesigning pagans.

"Were all these difficulties surmounted, what could we do with the pillar of fire? The answer is, We should not believe it. Why then believe the passage at all? We have no authority for the one; but what is for the other: it is all together contrary to the ordinary nature of things; and if not a miracle, it must be a fable." (pp. 244—246.)

Still, such sceptical queries have their use; they lead to a stricter investigation of facts, and thereby tend strongly to confirm the veracity of the history they meant to impeach. Thus it appears, from the accurate observations of Niebuhr and Bruce, that there is no ledge of rocks running across the gulph any where, to afford a shallow passage. And the second query, about the Etesian or northerly wind, is refuted by the express mention of a strong easterly wind blowing across, and scooping out a dry passage; not that it was necessary for Omnipotence to employ it there as an instrument, any more than at Jordan; but it seems to be introduced in the Sacred History by way of anticipation, to exclude the natural agency that might in after times be

[1] Diodorus attributes this to an "extraordinary high tide." The fact, however, that "the ground was bare to the very bottom of the gulf," is admitted by this curious tradition.

employed for solving the miracle; and it is remarkable that the monsoon in the Red Sea blows the summer half of the year from the north, the winter half from the south, neither of which could produce the miracle in question.

Wishing to diminish, though not to deny, the miracle, Niebuhr adopts the opinion of those who contend for a higher passage near Suez. "For," says he, "the miracle would be less if they crossed the sea there, than near Bedea. But whosoever should suppose that the multitude of the Israelites could be able to cross it here without a prodigy would deceive himself: for even in our days, no caravan passes that way to go from Cairo to Mount Sinai, although it would shorten the journey considerably. The passage would have been naturally more difficult for the Israelites some thousands of years back, when the gulf was probably larger, deeper, and more extended towards the north: for in all appearance the water has retired, and the ground near this end has been raised by the sands of the neighbouring desert." (p. 354.)

But it sufficiently appears, even from Niebuhr's own statement, that the passage of the Israelites could not have taken place near Suez: for, 1. He evidently confounded the town of Kolsum, the ruins of which he places near Suez, and where he supposed the passage to be made, with the bay of Kolsum, which began about 45 miles lower down; as Bryant has satisfactorily proved, from the astronomical observations of Ptolemy and Ulug Beigh, made at Heroum, the antient head of the gulf. (See his Plagues of Egypt, pp. 371, 372.)

2. Instead of crossing the sea at or near Ethan, their second station, the Israelites "turned" southwards along the western shore; and their third station at Pihahiroth, or Bedea, was at least a full day's journey below Ethan; as Bryant has satisfactorily proved from Scripture. (Exod. xiv. 2.) And it was this unexpected change in the direction of their march, which intimated an intention in the Israelites to quit Egypt; and the apparently disadvantageous situation in which they were then placed, "entangled in the land, and shut in by the wilderness," with a deep sea in front, the mountains of Attaka on the sides, and the enemy in their rear, that tempted the Egyptians to pursue them through the valley of Bedea, by the direct route from Cairo; who "overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pihahiroth, opposite to Baalzephon." (Exod. xiv. 2—9.)

Niebuhr wonders how the Israelites could suffer themselves to be brought into such a disadvantageous situation, or be led blindfold by Moses to their apparent destruction. "one need only travel with a caravan," says he, "which meets with the least obstacle, viz. a small torrent, to be convinced that the Orientals do not let themselves be led, like fools, by their Caravan Baschi," or leader of the caravan. (p. 350.)

But the Israelites went out of Egypt with "a high hand," though led by Moses, yet under the visible guidance and protection of "THE LORD GOD of the Hebrews," "who went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire." And who, for their encouragement to enter the passage of the Sea miraculously prepared for them, removed the cloud which went before the camp of Israel hitherto, and placed it behind them. "And it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel; and it was a cloud and darkness to the one, but gave light by night to the other: so

that the one came not near the other all the night." (Exod. xiv. 8—20.) [1]

Various antient traditions among the heathen historians attest the reality of the miraculous passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites; to which we may add that it is *manifest* from the text of Moses and other sacred authors, who have mentioned this miraculous passage, that no other account is supportable, but that which supposes the Hebrews to cross over the sea from shore to shore, in a vast space of dry ground, which was left void by the waters at their retiring. (Exod. xiv. 16, 17, &c.) To omit the numerous allusions in the book of Psalms, Isaiah says (lxiii. 11, &c.), that the Lord divided the waves before his people, that he conducted them through the bottom of the abyss, as a horse is led through the midst of a field. Habakkuk says (iii. 15.), that the Lord made himself a road to drive his chariot and horses cross the sea, across the mud of great waters. Lastly, in the apocryphal book of Wisdom we read, (xix. 7, 8. x. 17, 18.) that the dry land appeared all on a sudden in a place where water was before; that a free passage was opened in a moment through the midst of the Red Sea; and that a green field was seen in the midst of the abyss.

Rephaim, Valley of.—See p. 49, *supra*.

Reuben, Canton of the tribe of. See p. 10, *supra*.

Rhegium, a port-town in Italy, opposite to Sicily. Here St. Paul staid but one day (Acts xxviii. 13.), and did nothing which St. Luke thought fit to mention: but in that day, say the fabulous writers of the church of Rome, he converted some of the inhabitants and strangers that were there, by burning a large stone pillar with a little candle; preached to the fishes of the sea; and commanded the grasshoppers, which with their noise disturbed his preaching, to be silent, from which time they left the land!!!

Rhodes, an island and city in the Levant, which is said to have derived its name from the abundance of roses which grew there. When Saint Paul went to Jerusalem, A. D. 58, he went from Miletus to Coos, from Coos to Rhodes, and thence to Patara in Lycia. (Acts xxi. 1.)

Rome, the metropolis of the world during the period comprised in the New Testament history. According to the chronology of Archbishop Usher, this city was founded by Remus and Romulus, A. M. 3966 of the Julian period, in A. M. 3256, B. C. 748, towards the close of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah. This city is so well known, that it is needless to give any account of it here. The sacred authors of the Old Testament have never mentioned it; but it is well known in the books of the Maccabees and in the New Testament. Saint Peter (1 Eph. v. 13.) has denoted it by the figurative name of Babylon. *The church that is at Babylon elected together with you, saluteth you.* Saint John in his Revelation (xiv. 8. xvi. 19. xvii. 5. xviii. 2, 10, 21.) points it out by the same name, and describes it in such a manner, as can only agree to Rome; 1. By its command over all nations, 2. By its cruelty towards the saints, and 3. By its situation upon seven hills. (Rev. xvii. 9.)

St. Paul came twice to Rome. First, A. D. 61, when he appealed to Cæsar. And, secondly, A. D. 65, a year before his martyrdom, which

[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. pp. 388—391. The preceding elaborate view of this subject furnishes a most clear and satisfactory answer to the cavils of modern infidels.

happened in A. D. 66. Saint Peter is supposed to have been at Rome more than once. It has been thought he went thither A. D. 42; he might return thither again about A. D. 45, 58, and 65. He suffered martyrdom there A. D. 66.

SALT, Valley of. See p. 49, *supra*.

SAMARIA, the antient capital of the kingdom of Israel, is very frequently mentioned in the Old Testament: it was situated on a hill which derived its name from Semer or Shemer, of whom it was purchased by Omri king of Israel, B. C. 921, who made it the seat of his government, and called it Samaria (Heb. *Shomeron*) from its former owner. By his successors it was greatly improved and fortified, and, after resisting the repeated attacks of the kings of Assyria, it was destroyed by Shalmaneser, B. C. 717, who reduced it to a heap of stones. (Micah i. 6. 2 Kings xvii. 6.) Samaria seems to have arisen again from its ruins during the reign of Alexander, B. C. 449, after whose death it was subject to the Egyptian and Syrian kings, until it was besieged, taken, and rased to the ground by the high-priest Hyrcanus, B. C. 129 or 130. It was afterwards wholly rebuilt, and considerably enlarged by Herod surnamed the Great, who gave it the name of Sebaste, and erected a temple there in honour of the emperor Augustus.

SAMOS, an island of the Archipelago, on the coast of Asia Minor. The Romans wrote to the governor of Samos in favour of the Jews, in the time of Simon Maccabæus, A. M. 3685, B. C. 139. (1 Mac. xv. 23.) St. Paul went ashore on the same island, as he was going to Jerusalem, A. D. 58. (Acts xx. 15.)

SAMOTHRACIA, an island of the Ægean sea. Saint Paul, departing from Troas for Macedonia, arrived first at Samothracia, and then landed in Macedonia. (Acts xvi. 11.) It received its name from the circumstance of its being peopled by Samians and Thracians.

SARDIS, a city of Asia Minor; once the celebrated capital of Crœsus and the Lydian kings, is now reduced to a wretched village called Sart. 'A few names' (for the Christians are stated not to exceed seven in number), however, are still remaining; and they received a copy of the New Testament, in Romaic or modern Greek, with the utmost gratitude, from an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

SAREPTA, or Zarephath (Luke iv. 26.), was a city in the territory of Sidon, between that city and Tyre. It was the place where Elijah dwelling, was preserved by the widow's cruise of oil and barrel of meal that wasted not. (1 Kings xvii. 9.)

SARON, a spacious and fertile vale between Lydda and the sea, which contained several villages. Peter's miraculous healing of the paralytic Eneas at Lydda, was the means of bringing the inhabitants of Saron to the saving knowledge of the Gospel. (Acts ix. 35.)

SEA of Chinnereth, Galilee, or Tiberias. See pp. 38, 39.

SEA, Red. See RED SEA, pp. 48—51.

SEA of Sodom, Salt Sea, or Dead Sea. See pp. 39—41.

SHAVEH, Valley of. See p. 49, *supra*.

SHUR, Wilderness of. See p. 53, *supra*.

SHUSHAN, the capital of Susiana, a province of Elam or Persia, which Daniel terms the palace (viii. 2.), because the Chaldæan monarchs had here a royal palace. After Cyrus, the kings of Persia were accustomed to pass the winter there, and the summer at Ecbatana. The winter was very mo-

derate at Shushan, but the heat of the summer was so great, that the very lizards and serpents, if surprised by it in the streets, are said to have been burned up by the solar rays. This city stands on the river Ulai, or Choaspes. In this city, and on this river, Daniel had the vision of the ram with two horns, and the goat with one horn, &c. in the third year of the reign of Belshazzar (Dan. viii. 1—3, &c.), A. M. 3447, B. C. 557. In this city of Shushan, the transactions took place, which are related in the book of Esther. Here Ahasuerus, or Darius the son of Hystaspes, generally resided and reigned. (Esth. i. 1, 2. 5, &c.) He rebuilt, enlarged, and adorned it. Nehemiah was also at Shushan, when he obtained from king Artaxerxes permission to return into Judæa, and to repair the walls of Jerusalem. (Neh. i. 1.) Benjamin of Tudela, and Abulfaragius, place the tomb of Daniel at Chuzestan, which is the antient city of Shushan. Lightfoot says[1] that the outward gate of the eastern wall of the temple, was called the gate of Shushan; and that upon this gate was carved the figure (more probably the arms or insignia) of Shushan, in acknowledgement of the decree there granted by Darius son of Hystaspes, which permitted the rebuilding of the temple.

SICHEM, Sychar, or Shechem, a city of Samaria, about forty miles distant from Jerusalem, which became the metropolis of the Samaritans after the destruction of Samaria by Hyrcanus. In the vicinity of this place is Jacob's well (John iv. 6.), memorable for our Saviour's conversation with the Samaritan woman. It stands in a delightful situation, and is at present called Napolose. The remains of the sect of the Samaritans chiefly reside here. Contiguous to this place lies a valley, which opens into a plain watered by a fruitful stream, that rises near the town. This is universally allowed to be the *parcel of a field* mentioned by Saint John (iv. 5.), which *Jacob bought at the hand of the children of Hamor.* (Gen. xxxiii. 19.)

SIDDIM, Vale of. See p. 48. *supra.*

SIDON, or Zidon, a very antient and celebrated city, founded by Sidon the eldest son of Canaan. The name Sidon is commonly derived from the Hebrew or Tyrian word צדה (TSADEH), which signifies to fish. Joshua (xi. 8.) calls it Sidon the Great, by way of eminence; whence some have taken occasion to say, that in his time there were two Sidons, a greater and a lesser: but no geographer has mentioned any another Sidon than Sidon the Great. Joshua assigned Sidon to the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 28.), but this tribe could never get possession of it. (Judg. i. 31.) It is situated on the Mediterranean, in a fine country, one day's journey from Paneas, or from the fountains of Jordan, and has a fine harbour. Abulfeda places it sixty-six miles from Damascus. This city has been always famous for its great trade and navigation. At present it is called Zaide. The men of Sidon being great shipwrights, were particularly eminent, above all other nations, for hewing and polishing timber, there being *none who were skilled how to hew timber like the Sidonians.* (1 Kings v. 6.)

SIHOR, River. See p. 37, *supra.*

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[1] De templo, cap. 3.

[2] Dr. Clarke (Travels, vol. iv. pp. 260—286. 8vo.) has given a minute and very interesting account of the antiquities of Shechem. See also Mr. Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, pp. 44—48.

SILOAM, Fountain or Pool of. See p. 41, *supra.*

SIMEON, Canton of the tribe of. See p. 11, *supra.*

SINAI, Desert of. See p. 53, *supra.*

SINAI, a mountain in Arabia Petræa, where the law was given. It had two tops; the one lower, called Horeb, or the mount of God (Exod. iii. 1.), where he appeared to Moses in a flame of fire in a bush; this Horeb is therefore called Sinai by Saint Stephen. (Acts vii. 30.) See HOREB, p. 34 of this Appendix.

SMYRNA, a city of Asia Minor. was situated between forty and forty-five miles to the north of Ephesus, of which city it was originally a colony. It is now celebrated chiefly for the number, wealth, and commerce of the inhabitants. Of its population, which is estimated at one hundred and forty thousand persons, about twenty-six thousand are Christians in communion with the Greek church; five thousand are Roman Catholics, and one hundred and forty are Protestants. The Christians here are in better condition than in any other of the seven churches. The angel of the church of Smyrna, addressed in the second apocalyptic epistle, is supposed to have been Polycarp, the disciple of Saint John, by whom he was appointed bishop of Smyrna. As he afterwards suffered much, being burnt alive at Smyrna, A. D. 166, the exhortation in Rev. ii. 10. would be peculiarly calculated to support and encourage him.

SODOM, the chief of the Pentapolitan cities, or five cities of the plain, gave the name to the whole land. It was burnt with three other cities, by fire from heaven, for the unnatural lusts of their inhabitants, the truth of which is attested by numerous heathen writers.

SYRIA, properly so called, was a country of Asia, comprehended between the Euphrates on the east, the Mediterranean on the west, Cilicia on the north, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Arabia Deserta, on the south. It was divided into various provinces or cantons, which derived their names from their situation with respect to particular rivers or cities. Thus, Syria of the two rivers, or Mesopotamia of Syria, or Aram Naharaim, (Hebrew) was comprehended between the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates.

Syria of Damascus, that of which Damascus was the capital, extended eastward along mount Libanus. Its limits varied according as the princes that reigned at Damascus were more or less powerful.

Syria of Zobah, or Soba, or Sobal, as it is called by the Septuagint, was probably Cœle-Syria, or Syria the hollow. Its capital was Zobah, a city unknown, unless it be Hoba or Hobal, north of Damascus. (Gen. xiv. 15.)

Syria of Maachah, or of Bethmaacah, was also towards Libanus. (2 Sam. x. 6, 8. 1 Kings xiii. 20. 2 Kings xv. 29.) It extended beyond Jordan, and was given to Manasseh. (Deut. iii. 14. Josh. xiii. 4.)

Syria of Rohob, or Rehob, was that part of Syria of which Rehob was the capital. But Rohob was near the northern frontier of the land of promise (Numb. xiii. 21.), on the way, or pass, that leads to Emath, or Hamath. It was given to the tribe of Asher, and is contiguous to Aphek, which was in Libanus. (Josh. xix. 28. 30. and xxi. 31.) Laish, otherwise called Dan, situate at the fountains of Jordan, was in the country of Rohob. (Judg. i. 31.) Hadadezer, king of Syria of Zobah, was son of Rehob or Rohob, or perhaps a native of the city of this name. (2 Sam. viii. 3. 12.) The Ammonites called to their assistance against David, the Syrians of Rehob, of Zoba, of

Maachah, and of Ish-tob. (2 Sam. x. 6. 8.

Syria of Tob, or of Ishtob, or of the land of Tob, or of the Tubieni, as they are called in the Maccabees, was in the neighbourhood of Libanus, the northern extemity of Palestine. (Jud. xi. 3. 5. 1 Mac. v. 13. 2 Mac. xii. 17.) When Jephthah was banished by his brethren from Gilead, he withdrew into the land of Tob.

Syria of Emath, or Hamath, that of which the city Hamath, on the Orontes, was the capital.

Syria, without any other appellation, stands for the kingdom of Syria, of which Antioch became the capital after the reign of the Seleucidæ.

Cœlo-Syria, or Cœle-Syria, or the Lower Syria, occurs in several places of the Maccabees. (1 Macc. x. 69. 2 Macc. iii. 5. 8. iv. 4. viii. 8.) The word Cœle-Syria, in the Greek, signifies *Syria cava*, or Syria the hollow, or deep. It may be considered, says Strabo, either in a proper and restrained sense, as comprehending only the tract of land between Libanus and Antilibanus; or in a larger signification, and then it will comprehend all the country in obedience to the kings of Syria, from Seleucia to Arabia and Egypt.

Syria at first was governed by its own kings, each of whom reigned in his own city, and territories. David subdued them about A. M. 2960, B. C. 1044 (2 Sam. viii. 16.), on occasion of his war against the Ammonites, to whom the Syrians gave assistance. (2 Sam. x. 6. 8. 13. 18, 19.) They continued in subjection till after the reign of Solomon, when they shook off the yoke, and could not be reduced again, till the time of Jeroboam II. king of Israel, A. M. 3179. Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, having declared war against Ahab, king of Judah, this prince found himself under a necessity of calling to his assistance Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, who put Rezin to death, took Damascus, and transported the Syrians out of their country beyond the Euphrates. From that time Syria continued in subjection to the kings of Assyria. Afterwards it came under the dominion of the Chaldæans; then under that of the Persians; lastly, it was reduced by Alexander the Great, and was subject to all the revolutions that happened to the great empires of the east.

Syro-Phœnicia, is Phœnicia properly so called, of which Sidon, or Zidon was the capital; which having by right of conquest been united to the kingdom of Syria, added its old name Phœnicia to that of Syria. The Canaanitish woman is called a Syrophœnician (Mark vii. 26.), because she was of Phœnicia, which was then considered as making part of Syria. St. Matthew, who wrote in Hebrew or Syriac, calls her a Canaanitish woman (Matt. xv. 22. 24.), because this country was really peopled by the Canaanites, Sidon being the eldest son of Canaan. (Gen. x. 15.)

Tabor, or Thabor, Mount. See p. 46, *supra*.

Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia (Acts xxi. 39.), was celebrated for being the place whither Jonah designed to fly, and where St. Paul was born. It was a very rich and popuous city, and had an academy, furnished with men so eminent, that they are said to have excelled in all arts of polite learning and philosophy; even those of Alexandria, and Athens, and Rome itself, were indebted to it for its best professors.

Tekoah, wilderness of. See p. 52, *supra*.

Thessalonica, a large and populous city and sea-port of Mace-

donia, the capital of one of the four districts into which the Romans divided that country after its conquest by Paulus Æmilius. It was situated on the Thermian Bay, and was antiently called Thermæ; but, being rebuilt by Philip the father of Alexander, after his victory over the Thessalians, it then received the name of Thessalonica.

At the time of writing this Epistle, Thessalonica was the residence of the proconsul who governed the province of Macedonia, and of the quæstor who had the charge of the imperial revenues. Besides being the seat of government, this port carried on an extensive commerce, which caused a great influx of strangers from all quarters; so that Thessalonica was remarkable for the number, wealth, and learning of its inhabitants. The Jews were extremely numerous here. The modern name of this place is Salonika: it is the chief port of modern Greece, and has a population of sixty thousand persons, twelve thousand of whom are Jews. According to Dr. Clarke, who has given a very interesting account of the antiquities, present state, and commerce of Thessalonica, this place is the same now it was then; a set of turbulent Jews constituted a very principal part of its population: and, when Saint Paul came hither from Philippi, where the Gospel was first preached, to communicate the "glad tidings" to the Thessalonians, the Jews were sufficient in number to "set all the city an uproar."

Thyatira, a city of Asia Minor, was a considerable city in the road from Pergamos to Sardis, and about 48 miles eastward of the former. It is called by the Turks Ak-hisar: and the number of Christians here is about as great as at Bergamo.

Tiberias (John vi. 1—23. xxi. 1.) a city of Galilee, which was built by Herod the Great, and so called in honour of the emperor Tiberius. The privileges, conferred upon its inhabitants by Herod, caused it in a short time to become a place of considerable note: it was situated in a plain near the lake of Gennesareth, which is thence termed the *Lake* or *Sea of Tiberias*. After the destruction of Jerusalem, this city became eminent for its academy, over which a succession of Jewish doctors presided until the fourth century. The modern population of Tiberias is considerable: it is principally inhabited by Jews, who are said to be the descendants of families resident there in the time of our Saviour. Dr. Clarke conjectures that they are a remnant of refugees who fled hither after the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans [1]. Tiberias is about ninety miles distant from Jerusalem.

Trachonites. See p. 16, *supra*.

Tyre, a celebrated city and seaport of Phœnicia, that boasted of a very early antiquity, which is recognised by the prophet Isaiah (xxiii. 7.), but is variously estimated by profane writers, whose discordant accounts this is not the place to adjust and determine. Tyre was twofold, insular and continental. Insular Tyre was certainly the most antient; for this it was which was noticed by Joshua: the continental city, however, as being more commodiously situated, first grew into consideration, and assumed the name of Palætyrus, or Old Tyre. Want of sufficient attention to this distinction, has embarrassed both the Tyrian chronology and geography. Insular Tyre was confined to a small

[1] Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. pp. 219—233. 8vo. Capt. Light's Travels in Egypt, &c. &c. p. 203. Mr. Jolliffe's Letters from Palestine, pp. 32—34.

rocky island, eight hundred paces long and four hundred broad, and could never exceed two miles in circumference. But Tyre, on the opposite coast, about half a mile from the sea, was a city of vast extent, since many centuries after its demolition by Nebuchadnezzar, the scattered ruins measured nineteen miles round, as we learn from Pliny and Strabo. Of these, the most curious and surprising are, the cisterns of Roselayne, designed to supply the city with water; of which there are three still entire; about one or two furlongs from the sea, so well described by Maundrel, for their curious construction and solid masonry. "The fountains of these waters," says he, after the description, "are as unknown as the contriver of them. According to common tradition, they are filled from a subterraneous river which king Solomon discovered by his great sagacity; and that he caused these cisterns to be made as part of his recompence to king Hiram, for the materials furnished by that prince towards building the temple at Jerusalem. It is certain, however, from their rising so high above the level of the ground, that they must be brought from some part of the mountains, which are about a league distant; and it is as certain that the work was well done at first; seeing it performs its office so well, at so great a distance of time; the Turks having broken an outlet on the west side of the cistern, through which there issues a stream like a brook, driving four corn mills between it and the sea." From these cisterns there was an aqueduct which led to the city, supported by arches, about six yards from the ground, running in a northerly direction about an hour, when it turns to the west, at a small mount, where antiently stood a fort, but now a mosque, which seems to ascertain the site of the old city; and thence proceeds over the isthmus that connects insular Tyre with the main, built by Alexander, when he besieged and took it.

Old Tyre withstood the mighty Assyrian power, having been besieged, in vain, by Shalmanaser, for five years; although he cut off their supplies of water from the cisterns; which they remedied, by digging wells, within the city. It afterwards held out for thirteen years against Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and was at length taken: but not until the Tyrians had removed their effects to the insular town, and left nothing but the bare walls to the victor, which he demolished.

What completed the destruction of the city was, that Alexander afterwards made use of these materials to build a prodigious causeway, or isthmus, above half a mile long, to the insular city, which revived as the Phœnix, from the ashes of the old, and grew to great power and opulence, as a maritime state; and which he stormed after a most obstinate siege of five months. Pococke observes, that "there are no signs of the antient city; and as it is a sandy shore, the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct is in many parts almost buried in the sand." (Vol. ii. p. 81.) Thus has been fulfilled the prophecy of Ezekiel: *Thou shalt be built no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again!* (xxvi. 21.)

The fate of Insular Tyre has been no less remarkable: When Alexander stormed the city, he set fire to it. This circumstance was foretold: "Tyre did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets. Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured

with fire." (Zech. ix. 3, 4.) After this terrible calamity, Tyre again retrieved her losses. Only eighteen years after, she had recovered such a share of her antient commerce and opulence, as enabled her to stand a siege of fourteen months against Antigonus, before he could reduce the city. After this, Tyre fell alternately under the dominion of the kings of Syria and Egypt, and then of the Romans, until it was taken by the Saracens, about A. D. 639, retaken by the Crusaders, A. D. 1124; and at length sacked and rased by the Mamalukes of Egypt, with Sidon, and other strong towns, that they might no longer harbour the Christians, A. D. 1289.[1]

All modern travellers attest the fulfilment of the divine predictions concerning Tyre. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly by fishing: who seem to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre; viz. that it should be as "the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets upon." (Ezek. xxvi. 14.)

ZAREPHATH.—See SAREPTA, p. 52.

ZIDON.—See SIDON, p. 53.

ZIPH, wilderness of. See p. 53, *supra*.

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[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. i. pp. 442—444.

No. II.

TABLES OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY, MENTIONED IN THE BIBLE.

Chiefly extracted from Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables of Antient Coins, Weights, and Measures.

1. *Jewish weights reduced to English troy weight.*

	lbs.	oz.	pen.	gr.
The gerah, one-twentieth of a shekel	0	0	0	12
Bekah, half a shekel	0	0	5	0
The shekel	0	0	10	0
The maneh, 60 shekels	2	6	0	0
The talent, 50 maneh or 3000 shekels	125	0	0	0

2. *Scripture measures of length reduced to English measure.*

								Eng. feet.	inch.
A digit								0	0.912
4	A palm							0	3.648
12	3	A span						0	10.944
24	6	3	A cubit					1	9.888
96	24	6	2	A fathom				7	3.552
144	36	12	6	1.5	Ezekiel's reed			10	11.328
192	48	16	8	2	1.3	An Arabian pole		14	7.104
1920	480	160	80	20	13.3	10	A schœnus or measuring line	145	11.04

3. *The long Scripture measures.*

						Eng. miles.	paces.	feet.
A cubit						0	0	1.824
400	A stadium or furlong					0	145	4.6
2000	5	A sabbath day's journey				0	729	3.0
4000	10	2	An eastern mile			1	403	1.0
12000	30	6	3	A parasang		4	153	3.0
96000	240	48	24	8	A day's journey	33	172	4.0

4. *Scripture measures of capacity for liquids, reduced to English wine measure.*

							Gal.	pints.
A caph							0	0.625
1.3	A log						0	0.833
5.3	4	A cab					0	3.333
16	12	3	A hin				1	2
32	24	6	2	A seah			2	4
96	72	18	6	3	A bath or ephah		7	4
960	720	180	60	20	10	A kor or coros, chomer or homer	75	5

5. *Scripture measures of capacity for things dry, reduced to English corn measure.*

							Pecks.	gal.	pints.
A gachal							0	0	0.1416
20	A cab						0	0	2.8333
36	1.8	An omer or gomer					0	0	5.1
120	6	3.3	A seah				1	0	1
360	18	10	3	An ephah			3	0	2
1800	90	50	15	5	A letech		16	0	0
3600	180	100	30	10	2	A chomer, homer, kor, or choros	32	0	1

6. *Jewish money reduced to the English standard.*

							£	s.	d.
A gerah							0	0	1.2687
10	A bekah						0	1	1.6875
20	2	A shekel					0	2	3.375
1200	120	50	A maneh, or mina Hebraica				5	14	0.75
60000	6000	3000	60	A talent			342	3	9
A solidus aureas, or sextula, was worth							0	12	0.5
A siclus aureus, or gold shekel, was worth							1	16	6
A talent of gold was worth							5475	0	0

In the preceding table, silver is valued at 5s. and gold at £4 per ounce.

7. *Roman money, mentioned in the New Testament, reduced to the English standard.*

	£	s.	d.	far.
A mite, (Λεπτον or Ασσαριον)	0	0	0	0¾
A farthing (Κοδραντης) about	0	0	0	1½
A penny or denarius (Δηναριον)	0	0	7	2
A pound or mina	3	2	6	0

No. III.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS RECORDED IN THE BIBLE.

Abridged from Archbishop Usher and Calmet.

The true date of the Birth of Christ is FOUR YEARS *before the common æra or A. D.*

PERIOD I.

From the Creation to the Deluge, 1656 *years.*

Anno Mundi, or Year of the World.		Year before Christ, 4000, before A. D.
1	THE creation.	4004
	Eve, tempted by the serpent, disobeys God, and persuades her husband Adam to disobedience also. God drives them out of paradise.	
2	Cain born, Adam's eldest son.	3999
3	Abel born, Adam's second son.	3998
129	Cain kills his brother Abel.	3871
130	Seth born, son of Adam and Eve.	3870
235	Enos born, son of Seth.	3765
325	Cainan born, son of Enos.	3675
395	Mahalaleel born, son of Cainan.	3605
460	Jared born, son of Mahalaleel.	3540
622	Enoch born, son of Jared.	3378
687	Methuselah born, son of Enoch.	3313
874	Lamech born, son of Methuselah.	3126
930	Adam dies, aged 930 years.	3070
987	Enoch translated: he had lived 365 years.	3013
1042	Seth dies, aged 912 years.	2958
1056	Noah born, son of Lamech.	2944
1140	Enos dies, aged 905 years.	2860

A. M.		B. C.
1235	Cainan dies, aged 910 years.	2765
1290	Mahalaleel dies, aged 895 years.	2710
1422	Jared dies, aged 962 years.	2578
1536	God informs Noah of the future deluge, and commissions him to preach repentance to mankind, 120 years before the deluge.	2464
1556	Japhet born, the eldest son of Noah.	2444
1558	Shem born, the second son of Noah.	2442
1551	Lamech dies, the father of Noah, aged 777 years.	2353
1656	Methuselah dies, the oldest of men, aged 969 years, in the year of the deluge.	2349
	The same year, Noah, being 600 years old, by divine command enters the ark.	

Period II.

From the Deluge to the First Call of Abraham, 420 years and six months.

1657	Noah, being now 601 years old, takes off the roof of the ark on the first day of the first month; and on the twenty-seventh day of the second month Noah quits the ark. He offers sacrifices of thanksgiving. God appoints the rainbow as a pledge that he would send no more an universal deluge.	2347
1658	Arphaxad born, the son of Shem.	2346
1693	Salah born, son of Arphaxad.	2311
1723	Heber born, son of Salah.	2281
1757	Phaleg born, son of Heber.	2247
1770	The building of the tower of Babel; the confusion of languages, and dispersion of the nations.	2230
1771	The beginning of the Babylonian or Assyrian monarchy by Nimrod; and of the Egyptian empire by Ham the father of Mizraim.	2234
1787	Reu born, the son of Phaleg.	2217
1819	Serug born, son of Reu.	2185
1824	The trial of Job.	2130
1849	Nahor born, son of Serug.	2155
1878	Terah born, the son of Nahor.	2126
1948	Haran born, the son of Terah.	2056
2006	Noah dies, aged 950 years.	1998
2008	Abram born, the son of Terah.	1996
2018	Sarai born, wife of Abram.	1986
2083	The call of Abram from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran in Mesopotamia, where his father Terah died, aged 205 years.	1921

A. M.	PERIOD III. *From the Second Call of Abraham to the Departure of the Israelites out of Egypt,* 430 *years.*	B. C.
2083	The second call of Abram from Haran.	1921
	He comes into Canaan with Sarai his wife, and Lot his nephew; and dwells at Sichem.	
2084	Abram goes into Egypt: Pharaoh takes his wife, but soon restores her again. Abram returns from Egypt: he and Lot separate.	1920
2092	Abram's victory over the five kings, and rescue of Lot.	1912
2093	Sarai gives her maid Hagar, for a wife, to her husband Abram.	1911
2094	Ishmael born, the son of Abram and Hagar. Abram was 86 years old. Gen. xvi. 16.	1910
2107	The new covenant of the Lord with Abram: God promises him a numerous posterity: his name changed to Abraham, and that of Sarai to Sarah. Gen. xvii. Circumcision instituted. Abraham entertains three angels, under the appearance of travellers; they promise him Isaac.	1897
	Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, burnt by fire from heaven. Lot is preserved; retires to Zoar; commits incest with his daughters.	
2108	Abraham departs from the plain of Mamre to Beer-sheba. Isaac born.	1896
2133	Abraham offers his son Isaac to God for a burnt-offering.	1871
2145	Sarah dies, aged 127 years.	1859
2148	Isaac marries Rebekah.	1856
2168	Jacob and Esau born, Isaac being 60 years old.	1836
2184	Abraham dies, aged 175 years.	1821
2200	Isaac covenants with Abimelech king of Gerar.	1804
2208	Esau marries Canaanitish women.	1796
2245	Isaac blesses Jacob, who withdraws into Mesopotamia, to his uncle Laban; and marries first Leah, and then Rachel.	1759
2246	Reuben born, son of Jacob and Leah.	1758
2247	Simeon born, son of Leah.	1757
2248	Levi born, son of Leah.	1756
2249	Judah born, son of Leah.	1755
2259	Joseph born, son of Jacob and Rachel, Jacob being 90 years old.	1745
2265	Jacob returns to Canaan. Esau comes to meet him, and receives him with much affection. Jacob arrives at Shechem.	1739
2270	The rape of Dinah.—Benjamin born, son of Rachel.	1734
2276	Joseph, being 17 years old, tells his father Jacob his brothers' faults; they hate him, and sell him to strangers, who take him into Egypt. Joseph sold again as a slave to Potiphar.	1728

A. M.		B. C.
2286	Joseph, tempted by the wife of Potiphar, refuses her, and is put in prison.	1718
2287	Joseph explains the dreams of the two officers of Pharaoh.	1717
2289	Pharaoh's dreams explained by Joseph, who is made governor of Egypt.—The beginning of the seven years of plenty foretold by Joseph.	1715
2296	The beginning of the seven years of scarcity foretold by Joseph.	1708
2297	Joseph's ten brethren come into Egypt to buy corn. Joseph imprisons Simeon.	1707
2298	Joseph's brethren return into Egypt, with their brother Benjamin. Joseph discovers himself, and engages them to come into Egypt with their father Jacob, then 130 years old.	1706
2300	Joseph gets all the money of Egypt into the royal treasury.	1704
2301	Joseph gets all the cattle of Egypt for the king.	1703
2302	The Egyptians sell their lands and liberties to Pharaoh.	1702
2302	The end of the seven years of scarcity. Joseph returns the Egyptians their cattle and their lands.	1702
2315	Jacob's last sickness: he adopts and blesses Ephraim and Manasseh; foretels the characters of all his sons; and dies, aged 147 years.	1689
2369	Joseph dies, aged 110 years. He foretels the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and desires that his bones may be taken with them into Canaan.	1635
2385	Levi dies, aged 137 years.	1619
2427	A revolution in Egypt. Rameses Miamun, the king, who knew neither Joseph nor his services, persecutes the Israelites.	1577
	About this time, according to Calmet, lived Job, famous for his wisdom, virtue, and patience.	
2430	Aaron born, son of Amram and Jochebed.	1574
2433	Moses born; exposed on the banks of the Nile; and found by Pharaoh's daughter, who adopts him.	1571
2473	Moses kills an Egyptian; flees into Midian; marries Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro: has two sons by her, Gershon and Eliezer.	1531
2513	Moses, commissioned by God, returns into Egypt. Pharaoh refuses to set the Israelites at liberty. Moses inflicts ten plagues on Egypt; after which the Israelites are liberated.	1491

Period IV.

From the Departure of the Israelites out of Egypt to their Entrance into the Land of Canaan, 40 *years.*

A.M.		B.C.
2513	Pharaoh pursues the Israelites with his army, and overtakes them at Pi-hahiroth. The waters divided. Israel goes through on dry ground. The Egyptians drowned; 21st of the first month.	1491
2514	After the delivery of the law, with various circumstances of terror, the covenant of the Israelites with God, their gross idolatry, and many other events, the tabernacle is erected on the first day of the first month of the second year after the Exodus. The priesthood is established on the arrival of the Israelites at Kadesh-barnea; whence they send twelve chosen men, one out of each tribe, to examine the land of Canaan. After forty days these men return to Kadesh-barnea, and exasperate the people, saying that this country devoured its inhabitants, and that they were not able to conquer it. Caleb and Joshua withstand them; the people mutiny: God swears that none of the murmurers should enter the land, but be consumed in the desert. The people resolve on entering Canaan, but are repulsed by the Amalekites and the Canaanites.	1490
2515	The people continue a considerable time at Kadesh-barnea, whence they go toward the Red Sea.	1489
	The sedition of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, is supposed to have happened at the encampment of Kadesh-barnea.	
2552	After wandering in the deserts of Arabia Petræa and Idumæa thirty-seven years, they return to Mozeroth, near Kadesh-barnea, in the thirty-ninth year after the Exodus.	1452
	Moses sends ambassadors to the king of Edom, who refuses a passage through his territories.	
	The Israelites arrive at Kadesh. Miriam dies, aged 130 years.	
	The Israelites murmur for want of water. Moses brings it from the rock; but he, as well as Aaron, having shown some distrust, God forbids their entrance into the land of promise.	
	From Kadesh they go to mount Hor, where Aaron dies, aged 123 years.	
	The king of Arad attacks Israel, and takes several captives.	
	From mount Hor they come to Zalmonah, where Moses raises the brazen serpent. Others think this happened at Punon.	

A. M.		B.C.
2553	Sihon king of the Amorites refuses the Israelites a passage through his dominions. Moses attacks him and takes his country.	1451
	Og king of Bashan attacks Israel, but is defeated.	
	Distribution of the countries of Sihon and Og to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and to the half tribe of Manasseh.	
	Moses renews the covenant of Israel with the Lord.	
	The death of Moses, who is succeeded by Joshua.	
	Joshua sends spies to Jericho.	

Period V.

From the Entrance of the Israelites into the Land of Canaan to the building of Solomon's Temple, 447 years.

2553	The people pass Jordan.	1451
	Joshua restores circumcision.	
	Manna ceases. The first passover after the passing over Jordan.	
	Jericho taken. The Gibeonites make a league with Joshua.	
	War of the five kings against Gibeon, whom Joshua defeats; the sun and moon stand still.	
2554	War of Joshua against the kings of Canaan.	1450
2559	Joshua divides the conquered country among Judah, Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh.	1445
2560	The ark and the tabernacle fixed at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim.	1444
	Joshua finishes the division of the country.	
2561	Joshua renews the covenant between the Lord and the Israelites.	1443
	Joshua dies, aged 110 years.	
	After his death the elders govern about eighteen or twenty years, during which time happen the wars of Judah with Adoni-bezek.	
	During the succeeding anarchy happened the idolatry of Micah, and the war of the twelve tribes against Benjamin, to revenge the outrage committed on the wife of a Levite.	
	God sends his prophets in vain to reclaim the Hebrews. He permits, therefore, that they should fall into slavery under their enemies.	
2591	I. Servitude of the eastern Israelites under Cushanrishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, 8 years.	1413
2599	Othniel delivers them: conquers Cushanrishathaim: judges the people forty years.	1405
2661	II. Servitude of the eastern Israelites under Eglon, king of Moab, about sixty-two years after the peace of Othniel.	1343

A.M.		B.C.
2679	Ehud delivers them, after about twenty years.	1323
2699	III. Servitude of the Israelites under the Philistines. Shamgar delivers them.	1305
2719	IV. Servitude of the northern Israelites under Jabin king of Hazor. Deborah and Barak deliver them after twenty years. From 2699 to 2719.	1285
2752	V. Servitude of the eastern and northern Israelites under the Midianites.	1252
2759	Gideon delivers Israel. He governs them nine years.	1245
2768	Abimelech son of Gideon procures himself to be made king of Shechem.	1236
2771	Abimelech killed after three years.	1233
2772	Tola judge of Israel after Abimelech: governs twenty-three years.	1232
2795	Jair judges Israel, chiefly beyond Jordan: governs twenty-two years.	1210
2799	VI. Servitude under the Philistines and the Ammonites.	1206
2817	Jephthah delivers the Israelites beyond Jordan.	1187
2823	Jephthah dies, and is succeeded by Ibzan.	1182
2830	Ibzan dies, and Elon succeeds him.	1175
2840	Elon dies: Abdon succeeds him.	1165
2848	Abdon dies. The high-priest Eli succeeds as judge of Israel.	1157
	VII. Servitude under the Philistines forty years. Judges xiii. 1.	
2849	Samuel born.	1155
	Under his judicature God raises Samson, born 2849.	
2867	Samson marries at Timnath.	1137
2868	Samson burns the ripe corn of the Philistines.	1136
2887	Samson delivered to the Philistines by Dalilah; kills himself under the ruins of the temple of Dagon, with a great multitude of Philistines. He defended Israel twenty years, from 2867 to 2887.	1117
2888	War between the Philistines and the Israelites. The ark taken by the Philistines. Death of the high priest Eli: he governed Israel forty years.	1116
	The Philistines send back the ark with presents. It is deposited at Kirjath-jearim.	
	Samuel is acknowledged chief and judge of Israel thirty-nine or forty years. Victory of the Israelites over the Philistines.	
2908	The Israelites ask a king of Samuel.	1096
2909	Saul is appointed, and consecrated king.	1095
2911	War of the Philistines against Saul, who, having disobeyed Samuel's orders, is rejected by God.	1093
	Jonathan's victory over the Philistines.	
2919	The birth of David son of Jesse.	1085
2941	Samuel sent by God to Bethlehem to anoint David.	1063
2942	War of the Philistines against the Israelites. David kills Goliath.	1062

A.M.		B.C.
2943	Saul, urged by jealousy, endeavours to slay David.	1061
2944 to 2948	David flees to various places to avoid the jealousy of Saul.	1060 to 1056
2949	War of the Philistines against Saul. Saul causes the ghost of Samuel to be raised. He loses the battle, and kills himself.	1055
	Ishbosheth son of Saul acknowledged king; reigns at Mahanaim beyond Jordan.	
	David acknowledged king by Judah, and consecrated a second time. Reigns at Hebron.	
2956	Abner quits Ishbosheth; resorts to David. Is treacherously slain by Joab.	1048
	Ishbosheth being assassinated, David is acknowledged king over all Israel, and consecrated the third time at Hebron.	
2957	Jerusalem taken from the Jebusites by David, who makes it the royal city.	1047
2959	David brings the ark from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem.	1045
2960	David designs to build a temple to the Lord; is diverted from it by the prophet Nathan.	1044
	David's war against the Philistines, against Hadadezer, against Damascus, and against Idumæa, continued about six years.	
2967	David's war against the king of the Ammonites, who had insulted his ambassadors.	1038
2968	David's war against the Syrians, who had assisted the Ammonites.	1036
2969	Joab besiegeth Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites. David commits adultery with Bathsheba, and causes Uriah to be killed. Rabbah taken.	1035
2970	After the birth of the son conceived by the adultery of David with Bathsheba, Nathan reproves David for his crime. David's repentance.	1034
2971	Solomon born.	1033
2981	Absalom's rebellion against his father David.	1023
	Absalom killed by Joab.	
	Sedition of Sheba, the son of Bichri, appeased by Joab.	
2983	The beginning of the famine sent by God, to avenge the death of the Gibeonites, unjustly slain by Saul; ended in 2986.	1021
2987	David numbers the people. God gives him the choice of three plagues by which to be punished.	1017
2988	David prepares for the building of the temple on mount Zion, in the threshing-floor of Araunah.	1016
	Rehoboam son of Solomon born.	
2989	Abishag the Shunamite given to David.	1015
	Adonijah aspires to the kingdom. David causes his son Solomon to be crowned, who is proclaimed king by all Israel.	

A.M.		B.C.
2990	The death of David, aged 70 years.	1014
	Solomon reigns alone, having reigned about six months in the lifetime of his father David. He reigned in all 40 years.	
	Adonijah slain, and Abiathar deprived of the office of high-priest; Zadok in future enjoys it alone. Joab slain in the temple.	
2991	Solomon marries a daughter of the king of Egypt.	1013
2992	Hiram king of Tyre, congratulates Solomon on his accession to the crown; Solomon requires of him timber and workmen to assist him in building the temple.	1012
	Solomon lays the foundation of the temple.	
3000	The temple of Solomon finished, being seven years and a half in building.	1005

Period VI.

From the Building of the Temple to the Babylonish Captivity, 400 *years.*

3001	Dedication of the temple.	1004
3012	Solomon finishes the building of his palace, and of that of his queen, the daughter of Pharaoh.	992
3026	Jeroboam rebels against Solomon. He flies into Egypt to Shishak.	978
3029	The death of Solomon. Succession of Rehoboam, and the revolt of the ten tribes. Jeroboam the son of Nebat acknowledged king of the ten tribes.	975

A. M.	B. C.	*Kings of Judah, for 388 years.*	*Kings of Israel, for 264 years.*	A. M.	B. C.
3029	975	Rehoboam, intending to subdue the ten tribes, is commanded to forbear. Reigned 17 years.	Jeroboam, son of Nebat, the first king of Israel, or of the revolted ten tribes.	3029	975
3030	974	The priests and Israelites that fear the Lord, withdraw in great numbers from the kingdom of Israel into that of Judah.	Jeroboam, son of Nebat king of Israel, abolishes the worship of the Lord, and sets up the golden calves. Reigned 19 years.	3030	974
3032	972	Rehoboam gives himself up to impiety.			
3033	971	Shishak king of Egypt comes to Jerusalem; plunders the temple and the king.			
3046	958	Rehoboam dies. Abijam succeeds him; reigns three years.			

A. M.	B. C.	*Kings of Judah.*	*Kings of Israel.*	A. M.	B. C.
3047	957	Abijam's victory over Jeroboam; who loses many thousands of his troops.	Jeroboam overcome by Abijam, who kills 500,000 men.	3047	957
3049	955	Abijam dies. Asa succeeds him.	Jeroboam dies; Nadab his son succeeds; reigns two years.	3050	954
3053	949	Asa suppresses idolatry in Judah.	Nadab dies; Baasha succeeds him. Reigns 20 years.	3054	950
3055	951	Jehoshaphat son of Asa born.			
3063	941	Asa's victory over Zerah king of Ethiopia, or Cush.			
3064	940	Asa engages Ben-hadad king of Syria to make an eruption into the territories of the kingdom of Israel, to force Baasha to quit his undertaking at Ramah.	Baasha builds Ramah, to hinder Israel from going to Jerusalem.—His territories invaded by Ben-hadad king of Damascus.	3064	940
			Baasha dies; Elah his son succeeds him; reigns two years.	3074	930
			Elah killed by Zimri, who usurps the kingdom seven days.	3075	929
			Omri besieges Zimri in Tirzah; he burns himself in the palace.		
			Omri prevails over Tibni. Reigns alone in the 31st year of Asa.	3079	925
3080	924	Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat born.	Omri builds Samaria; makes it the seat of his kingdom.	3080	924
3087	917	Asa troubled with a lameness (probably the gout), places his confidence in physicians, rather than in God.	Omri dies.	3086	918
			Ahab his son succeeds: reigns 22 years.		
3090	914	Asa dies, having reigned 41 years.	The prophet Elijah in the kingdom of Israel.		
		Jehoshaphat succeeds Asa.	He presents himself before Ahab, and slays the false prophets of Baal.	3096	908
3092	912	Expels superstitious worship.	Gives the prophetic unction to Elisha.		
3097	907	Ahaziah born, son of Jehoram and Athaliah, and grandson of Jehoshaphat.	Ben-hadad king of Syria besieges Samaria; is forced to quit it.	3103	901
			Returns the year following; is defeated at Aphek.	3104	900
3106	898	Jehoshaphat nominates his son Jehoram king; makes him his viceroy.	Ahab invests his son Ahaziah with the royal power and dignity.	3106	898
3107	897	Jehoshaphat accompanies Ahab in his expedition against Ramoth-gilead; where he narrowly escapes a great danger.	Ahab wars against Ramoth-gilead; is killed in disguise.	3107	897
			Ahaziah succeeds: reigns 2 years.		

A. M.	B. C.	*Kings of Judah.*	*Kings of Israel.*	A. M.	B. C.
3108	896	Jehoshaphat equips a fleet for Ophir: Ahaziah king of Israel partaking of the design, the fleet is destroyed by tempest. About this time Jehoshaphat is invaded by the Ammonites and Moabites, over whom he obtains a miraculous victory. Elijah removed from this world in a fiery chariot.	Ahaziah, falling from the lattice of his house, is dangerously wounded, and dies; Jehoram his brother succeeds him, and makes war against Moab.	3108	896
			Elisha foretells victory to the army of Israel, and procures water in abundance.	3109	895
3112	892	Jehoshaphat invests his son Jehoram with the royal dignity.			
3115	889	Jehoshaphat dies; reigned 25 years. Jehoram succeeds him.			
3116	888	Jehoram, at the importunity of his wife Athaliah, introduces into Judah the worship of Baal.			
3117	887	Jehoram smitten by God with an incurable distemper in his bowels.			
3118	886	Jehoram makes his son Ahaziah viceroy, or associate in his kingdom. Jehoram dies; having reigned four years.			
3119	885	Ahaziah reigns but one year. Joash or Jehoash born. Homer the Greek poet flourishes.	Samaria besieged by Ben-hadad king of Syria.—Ben-hadad and his army, seized with a panic, flee during the night.	3119	885
3120	884	Ahaziah accompanies Jehoram king of Israel to the siege of Ramoth-gilead. Ahaziah slain by Jehu. Athaliah kills all the royal family; usurps the kingdom. Jehoash is preserved and kept secretly in the temple six years.	Elisha, going to Damascus, foretells the death of Ben-hadad, and the reign of Hazael. Jehoram marches with Ahaziah against Ramoth-gilead; is dangerously wounded, and carried to Jezreel. Jehu rebels against Jehoram; kills him. Jehu reigns 28 years (2Kings x. 36)	3120	884
3126	878	Jehoiada the high-priest sets Jehoash on the throne of Judah, and slays Athaliah. Jehoash reigns 40 years.			
3140	864	Amaziah son of Joash born.			
3147	857	Jehoash repairs the temple.	Jehu dies, Jehoahaz his son succeeds him. Reigns 17 years.	3148	856
3164	840	Zechariah the high priest, son of Jehoiada, killed in the temple by order of Jehoash.			

A. M.	B. C.	*Kings of Judah.*	*Kings of Israel.*	A. M.	B. C.
3164	840	Hazael king of Syria wars against Jehoash.			
3165	839	Hazael returns against Jehoash; and forces large sums from him. (2 Chron. xxiv. 23.) Jehoash dies, and is succeeded by Amaziah, who reigns 29 years.	Jehoahaz dies. Joash or Jehoash, whom he had associated with himself on the throne A. M. 3162, succeeds him.	3165	841
			The death of Elisha.		
3177	827	Amaziah wars against Idumea.	Hazael king of Syria dies; and Ben-hadad succeeds him.	3168	836
3178	826	Amaziah wars against Jehoash king of Israel; is defeated by him. Uzziah or Azariah, son of Amaziah, born.	Jehoash wars against Ben-hadad. Jehoash obtains a great victory over Amaziah king of Judah.	3178	826
3194	810	Amaziah dies; Uzziah or Azariah succeeds him; reigns 52 years. Isaiah and Amos prophesy in Judah under this reign.	Jehoash king of Israel dies; Jeroboam II. succeeds him; reigns 41 years. Jonah, Hosea, and Amos, in Israel, prophesy during this reign.	3179	825
3221	783	Jotham son of Uzziah born.	Jeroboam II. dies; Zachariah his son succeeds him; reigns 6 months; perhaps 10 years. The chronology of this reign is very perplexed. 2 Kings xv. 8. 12. places the death of Zachariah in the 38th year of Uzziah, allowing him a reign of but six months; yet, reckoning what time remains to the end of the kingdom of Israel, we must either admit an interregnum of 9 or 11 years between Jeroboam II. and Zachariah, as Archbishop Usher does; or we must suppose that Jeroboam II. reigned 51 years; or that his reign did not begin till 3191, and ended in 3232, which is the year of the death of Zachariah.	3222	784
			Zachariah killed by Shallum, after reigning six months.	3232	773
			Shallum reigns 1 month; is killed by Menahem, who reigns 10 years.	3233	772
			Pul (or Sardanapalus) king of Assyria invades Israel; Menahem becomes tributary to him.		
			Menahem dies; Pekahiah his son succeeds.	3243	761

A. M.	B. C.	*Kings of Judah.*	*Kings of Israel.*	A. M	B. C.
3246	758	Uzziah dies; Jotham his son succeeds; reigns 16 years.	Pekahiah assassinated by Pekah son of Remaliah, who reigns 28 years.	3245	759
		Isaiah sees the glory of the Lord (Isa. vi.) Isaiah and Hosea continue to prophesy.	Arbaces, governor of Media, and Belesis, governor of Babylonia, besiege Sardanapalus king of Assyria in Nineveh.	3254	750
			After a siege of 3 years, Sardanapalus burns himself in his palace, with all his riches. Arbaces is acknowledged king of Media, and Belesis of Babylon.	3257	748
3261	743	Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel, invade Judah.	Belesis, otherwise Baladan or Nabonassar, founds the Babylonian empire. This famous epoch of Nabonassar falls 743 years before Christ, 747 before A.D. Ninus junior, called in Scripture Tiglath-pileser, successor of Sardanapalus, continues the Assyrian empire, but reduced into very narrow limits. Reigned 19 years; according to others, 30 years.		
3262	742	Jotham dies; Ahaz succeeds him; reigns 16 years.			
		Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, continue their hostilities against Judah.			
		Isaiah foretells to Ahaz the birth of the Messiah, and a speedy deliverance from the two kings his enemies. Nevertheless, the year following they return again and spoil his country.			
3263	741				
3264	740	The Idumeans and Philistines also invade Judæa.	Tiglath-pileser defeats and slays Rezin king of Damascus; enters the land of Israel, and takes many cities and captives; chiefly from Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. The first captivity of Israel.	3264	740
		Ahaz invites to his assistance Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and submits to pay him tribute.			
			Hoshea son of Elah slays Pekah, and usurps the kingdom.	3265	739
			Reigns peaceably the 12th year of Ahaz. (2 Kings xviii. 1.) Reigns nine years.	3274	730
			Shalmaneser succeeds Tiglath-pileser king of Nineveh.	3276	728
3277	727	Ahaz remits the royal authority to his son Hezekiah.			
3278	726	Ahaz king of Judah dies. Hezekiah restores the worship of the Lord in Judæa, which Ahaz had subverted.			

A. M.	B. C.	*Kings of Judah.*	*Kings of Israel.*	A. M.	B. C.
3279	725	They begin again to gather into the temple first-fruits and tithes, for the maintenance of the priests and ministers.	Hoshea makes an alliance with So king of Egypt, and endeavours to shake off the yoke of Shalmaneser.	3279	725
			Shalmaneser besieges Samaria; takes it after three years siege, and carries beyond the Euphrates the tribes that Tiglath-pileser had not already carried into captivity in the ninth year of Hoshea; of Hezekiah the sixth.	3280 3283	724 721
3290	714	Hezekiah revolts from the Assyrians; makes a league with Egypt and Cush, against Sennacherib.	Among the captives carried away by Shalmaneser was Tobit, of the tribe of Naphtali, at Nineveh.		
3291	713	Sennacherib invades Hezekiah, and takes several cities of Judah. Hezekiah's sickness and miraculous cure. Sennacherib besieges Lachish. Hezekiah gives money to Sennacherib, who still continues his war against him. He sends Rabshakeh to Jerusalem, and marches himself against Tirhakah king of Cush or Arabia. Returning into Judæa, the angel of the Lord destroys many thousands of his army; he retires to Nineveh, where he is slain by his sons.	*End of the kingdom of Israel, after it had subsisted two hundred and fifty-four years.*		

A.M.	*Judah alone.*	B.C.
3292	Esar-haddon succeeds Sennacherib. Probably about this time Baladan, or Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, sends to congratulate Hezekiah on the recovery of his health, and to inquire about the prodigy on that occasion. Micah the Morasthite, and Nahum, prophesy.	712
3293	Tartan sent by Esar-haddon against the Philistines, the Idumeans, and the Egyptians.	711
3294	Esar-haddon sends an Israelitish priest to the Cuthites settled at Shechem.	710

A.M.	*Judah alone.*	B.C.
3306	Hezekiah dies: Manasseh succeeds him; reigns 55 years.	698
3323	Esar-haddon becomes master of Babylon; reunites the empires of Assyria and Chaldea.	681
3328	Manasseh taken by the Chaldeans, and carried to Babylon.	676
3347	The war of Holofernes, who is slain in Judæa by Judith.	657
3361	Manasseh dies. He returned into Judæa a considerable time before, but the period is not exactly known.	643
	Amon succeeds him; reigns two years.	
3363	Amon dies; Josiah succeeds him.	641
	Zephaniah prophesies at the beginning of his reign.	
3370	Josiah endeavours to reform abuses. He restores the worship of the Lord.	634
3376	Jeremiah begins to prophesy, in the thirteenth year of Josiah.	628
3380	The high-priest Hilkiah finds the book of the law in the treasury of the temple; in the 18th year of Josiah. 2 Kings xxii. 3. xxiii. 23. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 8. xxxv. 19.	624
	Money collected for repairing the temple.	
	The prophetess Huldah foretells the calamities that threaten Judah.	
3381	A solemn passover by Josiah and all the people.	623
	Joel prophesies under Josiah.	
3394	Josiah opposes the expedition of Necho king of Egypt against Carchemish; is mortally wounded, and dies at Jerusalem. Jeremiah composes lamentations on his death.	610
	Jehoahaz is placed on the throne by the people; but Necho, returning from Carchemish, deposes him, and installs Eliakim, or Jehoiakim, his brother, son of Josiah; who reigns 11 years.	
3395	Habakkuk prophesies under his reign.	609
3398	Nebuchadnezzar besieges and takes Carchemish; comes into Palestine: besieges and takes Jerusalem; leaves Jehoiakim there, on condition of paying him a large tribute. Daniel and his companions led captive to Babylon, 2 Kings xxiii. 36. 2 Chron. xxxv. 5, 6. Jerem. xxvi. 1. xlvi. 2.	606
3399	Jeremiah begins to commit his prophecies to writing.	605
3402	Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a great statue explained by Daniel.	602
3404	The history of Susanna at Babylon.	600
	Jehoiakim revolts against Nebuchadnezzar, who sends an army from Chaldea, Syria, and Moab, which ravages Judæa, and brings away 3023 Jews to Babylon, in the seventh year of Jehoiakim. (2 Kings xxiv. 2. Jerem. lii. 28.)	
3405	Cyrus born, son of Cambyses and Mandane.	599
	Jehoiakim revolts a second time against Nebuchadnezzar; is taken, put to death, and cast to the fowls of the air. Reigned 11 years.	

A.M.	*Judah alone.*	B.C.
3406	Jehoiachin or Coniah, or Jeconiah, succeeds him.	598
	Nebuchadnezzar besieges him in Jerusalem, and takes him, after he had reigned three months and ten days. He is carried to Babylon, with part of the people. Mordecai is among the captives.	
	Zedekiah, his uncle, is left at Jerusalem in his place, and reigns 11 years.	
	Zedekiah sends ambassadors to Babylon.	
	Jeremiah writes to the captive Jews there. (Baruch vi.)	
3409	Seraiah and Baruch sent by Zedekiah to Babylon.	595
3410	Ezekiel begins to prophesy in Chaldea.	594
3411	He foretells the taking of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews. (Ezek. iv. v. viii. ix. x. xi. xii.)	593
	Zedekiah takes secret measures with the king of Egypt to revolt against the Chaldeans.	
3414	Zedekiah revolts.	590
	Nebuchadnezzar marches against Jerusalem; besieges it; quits the siege to repel the king of Egypt, who comes to assist Zedekiah; returns to the siege.	
	Jeremiah continues prophesying during the whole of the siege, which continued almost three years.	
	Ezekiel also describes the same siege in Chaldea.	
3416	Jerusalem taken on the ninth day of the fourth month, (July) the 11th year of Zedekiah.	588
	Zedekiah endeavouring to fly by night, is taken, and brought to Riblah, to Nebuchadnezzar; his eyes are put out, and he is carried to Babylon.	
3416	Jerusalem and the temple burnt; seventh day of the fourth month.	
	The Jews of Jerusalem and Judæa carried captive beyond the Euphrates: the poorer classes only left in the land.	
	Thus ends the kingdom of Judæa, after it had subsisted four hundred and sixty-eight years, from the beginning of the reign of David: and three hundred and eighty-eight years from the separation of Judah and the ten tribes.	

Period VII.

From the Babylonish Captivity to the Birth of Christ, 588 *years.*

3416	The beginning of the seventy years captivity foretold by Jeremiah.	588
	Gedaliah made governor of the remains of the people. He is slain.	
3417	Jeremiah carried into Egypt by the Jews, after the death of Gedaliah; prophesies in Egypt. (Jerem. xliv.)	587
	Ezekiel in Chaldea prophesies against the captives of Judah. (Ezek. xxxiii.)	

A.M.		B.C.
3419	The siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar lasted thirteen years. During this interval Nebuchadnezzar wars against the Idumeans, the Ammonites, and Moabites.	585
	Obadiah prophesies against Idumea.	
3432	Tyre taken by Nebuchadnezzar.	572
	Nebuchadnezzar wars against Egypt.	
3433	He returns to Babylon.	571
3434	Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a great tree.	570
3435	His metamorphosis into an ox.	569
3442	His return to his former condition.	567
3444	He sets up a golden statue for worship.	560
	Daniel's three companions cast into the fiery furnace.	
	Nebuchadnezzar's death, after reigning forty-three years from the death of Nabonassar his father, who died in 3399.	
	Evil-Merodach his son succeeds him; reigns but one year.	
3445	Belshazzar his son succeeds him.	559
	Daniel's visions of the four animals. (Dan. vii.)	
3446	Cyrus liberates the Persians, and takes the title of king.	558
3448	Belshazzar's impious feast; his death.	556
	Darius the Mede succeeds Belshazzar.	
3449	Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks. (Dan. ix. x.)	555
3450	Darius decrees that supplication should be made to no other God but himself.	552
	Daniel cast into the lions' den.	
	Cyrus meditates the destruction of the empire of the Medes and Chaldeans; begins with the Medes; having overcome Astyages king of the Medes, his uncle by the mother's side, he gives him the government of Hyrcania.	
3455	Cyrus marches against Darius the Mede, his uncle; but first wars against the allies of his uncle Darius; particularly against Crœsus king of Lydia.	549
3456	He attempts Babylon, and takes it.	548
3457	He sets the Jews at liberty, and permits their return into Judæa. The first year of his reign over all the East.	547
3458	The Jews returning from captivity, renew the sacrifices in the temple.	546
3475	Cyrus dies, aged 70 years.	529
	Cambyses succeeds him. The Cuthites, or Samaritans, obtain a prohibition forbidding the Jews to continue the building of their temple.	
3478	Cambyses wars in Egypt five years.	526
3480	He kills his brother Smerdis.	524
3483	Cambyses dies.	521
	The seven Magi usurp the empire. Artaxata, (or Artaxerxes) one of them, forbids the building of the temple.	
	Seven chiefs of the Persians slay the Magi.	

A.M.		B.C.
3483	Darius, son of Hystaspes, otherwise Ahasuerus, acknowledged king of the Persians; marries Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus.	521
3484	Haggai begins to prophesy; reproaches the Jews for not building the house of the Lord.	520
3485	The Jews re-commence building the temple.	519
	About this time Zechariah begins to prophesy.	518
3486	Darius allows the Jews to rebuild their temple.	
	Here, properly, end the seventy years of captivity foretold by Jeremiah, which began A. M. 3416.	
3487	The feast of Darius, or Ahasuerus; he divorces Vashti.	517
3488	He espouses Esther.	516
3489	The dedication of the temple of Jerusalem, rebuilt by Zerubbabel.	515
3495	The beginning of the fortune of Haman.	509
	He vows the destruction of the Jews, and procures from Ahasuerus an order for their extermination.	
3496	Esther obtains a revocation of this decree.	508
	Haman hung on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai.	
	The Jews punish their enemies at Shushan, and throughout the Persian empire.	
3519	Darius, or Ahasuerus, dies; Xerxes succeeds him.	485
3531	Xerxes dies; Artaxerxes succeeds him.	473
3537	He sends Ezra to Jerusalem, with several priests and Levites, the seventh year of Artaxerxes. (Ezra vii. 1, 7, 8.)	467
3538	Ezra reforms abuses among the Jews, especially concerning their strange wives.	466
3550	Nehemiah obtains leave of Artaxerxes to visit Jerusalem, and to rebuild its gates and walls.	454
	Dedication of the walls of Jerusalem.	
	Nehemiah prevails with several families in the country to dwell in Jerusalem.	
3551	The Israelites put away their strange wives.	453
	Nehemiah renews the covenant of Israel with the Lord.	
3563	Nehemiah returns to king Artaxerxes.	441
3565	Nehemiah comes a second time into Judæa, and reforms abuses.	439
	Zechariah prophesies under his government; also Malachi, whom several have confounded with Ezra.	
3580	Nehemiah dies.	424
	Eliashib, the high-priest, who lived under Nehemiah, is succeeded by Joiada, who is succeeded by Jonathan, who is killed in the temple by Jesus his brother: the successor of Jonathan is Jaddus, or Jaddua. The exact years of the deaths of these high-priests are not known.	
3654	Artaxerxes Ochus sends into Hyrcania several Jews whom he had taken captive in Egypt.	350

A.M.		B.C.
3671	Alexander the Great enters Asia.	333
3672	Besieges Tyre; demands of the high-priest Jaddus the succours usually sent to the king of Persia; Jaddus refuses.	332
	Alexander approaches Jerusalem; shews respect to the high-priest; is favourable to the Jews; and grants them an exemption from tribute every Sabbatical year.	
	The Samaritans obtain Alexander's permission to build a temple on mount Gerizim.	
3673	Alexander conquers Egypt: returns into Phœnicia; chastises the Samaritans, who had killed Andromachus their governor: gives the Jews part of their country.	331
3674	Darius Codomannus, the last king of the Persians, dies.	330
3681	Alexander the Great dies, first monarch of the Grecians in the East.	323
	Judæa in the division of the kings of Syria.	
3684	Ptolemy son of Lagus conquers it: carries many Jews into Egypt.	320
3690	Antigonus retakes Judæa from Ptolemy.	314
3692	Ptolemy son of Lagus conquers Demetrius son of Antigonus near Gaza; becomes again master of Judæa.	312
	Judæa returns to the jurisdiction of the kings of Syria; the Jews pay them tribute some time. According to the Pseudo-Aristeas's narrative concerning the Septuagint, Judæa is in subjection to the kings of Egypt under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.	
3727	The Septuagint version supposed to be really made about this time.	277
3743	Antiochus Theos king of Syria begins to reign, and grants to the Jews the privileges of free denizens throughout his dominions.	261
3758	Ptolemy Euergetes makes himself master of Syria and Judæa.	246
	The high-priest Jaddus dying in 3682, Onias I. succeeds him, whose successor is Simon the Just, in 3702. He dying in 3711, leaves his son Onias II. a child; his father's brother Eleazar discharges the office of high-priest about thirty years. Under the priesthood of Eleazar, the version of the Septuagint *is said* to be made. After the death of Eleazar in 3744, Manasseh, great uncle of Onias, and brother of Jaddus, is invested with the priesthood.	
3771	Manasseh dying this year, Onias II. possesses the high priesthood. Incurs the indignation of the king of Egypt, for not paying his tribute of twenty talents: his nephew Joseph gains the king's favour, and farms the tributes of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa.	233
3783	Ptolemy Euergetes king of Egypt dies; Ptolemy Philopator succeeds him.	221

A.M.		B.C.
3785	Onias II., high-priest, dies; Simon II. succeeds him.	219
3786	Antiochus the Great wars against Ptolemy Philopator.	218
3787	Ptolemy Philopator defeats Antiochus at Raphia in Syria.	217
	Ptolemy attempts to enter the temple of Jerusalem, but is prevented by the priests. He returns into Egypt; condemns the Jews in his dominions to be trodden to death by elephants. God delivers his people.	
3788	The Egyptians rebel against Ptolemy Philopator; the Jews take his part.	216
3800	Ptolemy Philopator dies; Ptolemy Epiphanes, an infant, succeeds him.	204
3802	Antiochus the Great conquers Phœnicia and Judea.	202
3805	Simon II., high-priest, dies; Onias III. succeeds him.	199
3806	Scopas, the general of Ptolemy Epiphanes, retakes Judæa from Antiochus.	198
3807	Antiochus defeats Scopas; is received by the Jews into Jerusalem. (Polyb. lib. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. 3.)	197
	Arius king of Lacedemon writes to Onias III., and acknowledges the kindred of the Jews and Lacedemonians. The year uncertain. Perhaps it was rather Onias I.	
3812	Antiochus the Great gives his daughter Cleopatra in mariage to Ptolemy Epiphanes king of Egypt; and as a dowry, Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria.	192
3815	Antiochus, declaring war against the Romans, is overcome, and loses great part of his dominions. He preserves Syria and Judæa.	189
3817	Antiochus dies; leaving Seleucus Philopator his successor.	187
	Antiochus, his other son, surnamed afterwards Epiphanes, at Rome as an hostage.	
3828	Heliodorus, by order of Seleucus, attempts to rifle the treasure of the temple at Jerusalem. Is prevented by an angel.	176
	Onias III. goes to Antioch to vindicate himself against calumnies.	
	Seleucus sends his son Demetrius to Rome to replace his brother Antiochus, who had been an hostage there fourteen years.	
	Antiochus journeying to return into Syria, Seleucus is put to death by the machinations of Heliodorus, who intends to usurp the kingdom.	
	Antiochus, at his arrival, is received by the Syrians as a tutelar deity; and he receives the name of Epiphanes.	
3829	Jason, son of Simon II., high-priest, and brother of Onias III., now high-priest, buys the high-priesthood of Antiochus Epiphanes.	175
	Several Jews renounce Judaism, for the religion and ceremonies of the Greeks.	

A.M.		B.C.
3831	Antiochus Epiphanes meditates war against Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt. Is received with great honour in Jerusalem.	173
3834	Menelaus offers three hundred talents of silver for the high-priesthood more than Jason had given for it; he obtains a grant of it from Antiochus.	170
	Menelaus, not paying his purchase-money, is deprived of the high-priesthood; Lysimachus, his brother, is ordered to perform the functions of it.	
	Menelaus, gaining Andronicus governor of Antioch in the absence of Antiochus Epiphanes, causes Onias III., the high-priest, to be killed.	
	Lysimachus, thinking to plunder the treasury of the temple of Jerusalem, is put to death in the temple.	
	Antiochus prepares to make war in Egypt. Prodigies are seen in the air over Jerusalem.	
	A report that Antiochus Epiphanes was dead in Egypt; Jason attempts Jerusalem, but is repulsed.	
	Antiochus, being informed that some Jews had rejoiced at the false news of his death, plunders Jerusalem, and slays 80,000 men.	
3836	Apollonius sent into Judæa by Antiochus Epiphanes. He demolishes the walls of Jerusalem, and oppresses the people. He builds a citadel on the mountain near the temple, where the city of David formerly stood.	168
	Judas Maccabeus, with nine others, retires into the wilderness.	
3837	Antiochus Epiphanes publishes an edict, to constrain all the people of his dominions to uniformity with the religion of the Grecians.	167
	The sacrifices of the temple interrupted; the statue of Jupiter Olympius set up on the altar of burnt-sacrifices.	
	The martyrdom of Eleazar at Antioch; of the seven brethren Maccabees, and their mother.	
	Mattathias and his seven sons retire into the mountains: the Assideans join them.	
	About this time flourishes Jesus, the son of Sirach, author of the book of Ecclesiasticus.	
3838	Mattathias dies; is succeeded by Judas Maccabeus. Judas defeats Apollonius, and afterwards Seron.	166
3839	Antiochus Epiphanes, wanting money to pay the Romans, goes to Persia. Nicanor and Gorgias, and Ptolemy son of Dorymenes, enter Judæa, at the head of their armies.	165
	Judas Maccabeus defeats Nicanor. Gorgias declines a battle against Judas.	
3840	Lysias, coming into Judæa with an army, is beaten, and forced to return to Antioch.	164

A.M.		B.C.
3840	Judas purifies the temple, after three years defilement by the Gentiles. The anniversary of this purification is called Encœnia in John x. 22.	164
	Timotheus and Bacchides, generals of the Syrian army, are beaten by Judas.	
	Antiochus Epiphanes dies in Persia; his son Antiochus Eupator, aged nine years, succeeds him; under the regency of Lysias.	
	Judas wars against the enemies of his nation in Idumea, and beyond Jordan.	
	Timotheus a second time overcome by Judas.	
3841	The people beyond Jordan and in Galilee conspire against the Jews; are suppressed by Judas and his brethren.	163
	Lysias, coming into Judæa, is forced to make peace with Judas; and returns to Antioch.	
	A letter of king Antiochus Eupator in favour of the Jews.	
	The Roman legates write to the Jews, and promise to support their interests with the king of Syria.	
	The treachery of Joppa and Samaria chastised by Judas.	
	Judas wars beyond Jordan; defeats a general of the Syrian troops, called Timotheus, different from the former Timotheus.	
	Judas attacks Gorgias in Idumæa; having defeated him, finds Jews killed in the fight who had concealed gold under their clothes, which they had taken from an idol's temple at Jamnia.	
	Antiochus Eupator invades Judæa in person; besieges Bethshur, and takes it; besieges Jerusalem.	
	Philip, who had been appointed regent by Antiochus Epiphanes, coming to Antioch, Lysias prevails with the king to make peace with the Jews, and to return to Antioch; but before he returns, he enters Jerusalem, and causes the wall to be demolished that Judas had built, to secure the temple from the insults of the citadel.	
3842	Menelaus the high-priest dies; is succeeded by Alcimus, an intruder.	162
	Onias IV. son of Onias III., lawful heir to the dignity of high-priest, retires into Egypt, where some time after he built the temple Onion. Vide *infra*, 3854.	
	Demetrius son of Seleucus sent to Rome as an hostage; escapes from thence and comes into Syria, where he slays his nephew Eupator; also Lysias, regent of the kingdom; and is acknowledged king of Syria.	
	Alcimus intercedes with Demetrius for the confirmation of the dignity of high-priest, which he had received from Eupator.	
3843	Alcimus returns into Judæa with Bacchides, and enters Jerusalem.	161

A.M.		B.C.
3843	Alcimus is driven thence, and returns to Demetrius, who appoints Nicanor, with troops, to take him back to Judæa. Nicanor makes an accommodation with Judas, and lives for some time in good intelligence with him.	161
	Alcimus accuses Nicanor of betraying the king's interest. Demetrius orders Nicanor to bring Judas to him.	
	Judas attacks Nicanor, and kills about 5,000 men.	
	Death of Rhazis, a famous old man, who chooses rather to die by his own hand than to fall alive into the hands of Nicanor.	
	Judas obtains a complete victory, in which Nicanor is killed.	
	Bacchides and Alcimus again sent to Judæa.	
	Judas gives them battle, dies, like an hero, on an heap of enemies slain by him.	
	Jonathan Maccabeus chosen chief of his nation, and high-priest, in the place of Judas.	
	The envoys return, whom Judas had sent to Rome, to make an alliance with the Romans.	
	Bacchides pursues Jonathan; he, after a slight combat, swims over the Jordan in sight of the enemy.	
3844	Alcimus dies.	160
3846	Jonathan and Simon Maccabeus are besieged in Beth-besson, or Beth-agla. Jonathan goes out of the place, raises soldiers, and defeats several bodies of the enemy.	158
	Simon, his brother, makes several sallies, and opposes Bacchides.	
	Jonathan makes proposals of peace to Bacchides, which are accepted.	
	Jonathan fixes his abode at Mikmash, where he judges the people.	
3851	Alexander Balas, natural son of Antiochus Epiphanes, comes into Syria to be acknowledged king.	153
3852	Demetrius Soter king of Syria writes to Jonathan, to ask soldiers against Alexander Balas. Balas also writes to Jonathan, with offers of friendship and the dignity of high-priest.	152
	Jonathan assists Balas, puts on the purple, and performs the functions of high-priest for the first time at Jerusalem, which he makes his ordinary residence, in the year of the Greeks 160.	
	Demetrius's second letter to Jonathan.	
3854	Demetrius Soter dies. Alexander Balas is acknowledged king of Syria.	150
	Onias IV. son of Onias III. builds the temple Onion in Egypt.	
	A dispute between the Jews and Samaritans of Alexandria concerning their temples. The Samaritans are condemned by the king of Egypt, and the temple of Jerusalem is preferred to that of Gerizim.	

A.M.		B.C.
3854	Aristobulus, a Peripatetic Jew, flourishes in Egypt under Ptolemy Philopater.	150
	Demetrius Nicanor, eldest son of Demetrius Soter, comes into Cilicia to recover the kingdom of his father.	
	Apollonius, to whom Alexander Balas had trusted his affairs, revolts to Demetrius Nicanor.	
	He marches against Jonathan Maccabeus, who continues in the interest of Alexander Balas. Apollonius is put to flight.	
3858	Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt comes into Syria, pretending to assist Alexander Balas, but he really designs to dethrone him.	146
3859	Alexander Balas gives battle to Philometor and Demetrius Nicanor: he loses it, and flies to Zabdiel king of Arabia, who cuts off his head.	145
	Ptolemy Philometor dies in Syria. Cleopatra, his queen, gives the command of her army to Onias, a Jew, son of Onias III.	
	Onias restrains Ptolemy Physcon, son of Philometor.	
	Jonathan besieges the fortress of the Syrians at Jerusalem.	
	Demetrius comes into Palestine; Jonathan finds means to gain him by presents.	
3860	Demetrius Nicanor attacked by the inhabitants of Antioch, who had revolted. Jonathan sends him soldiers, who deliver him.	144
	Tryphon brings young Antiochus, son of Alexander Balas, out of Arabia, and has him acknowledged king of Syria. Jonathan espouses his interests against Demetrius Nicanor.	
	Jonathan renews the alliance with the Romans and Lacedemonians.	
	He is treacherously taken by Tryphon in Ptolemais, who some time afterwards puts him to death.	
3861	Simon Maccabeus succeeds Jonathan.	143
	Tryphon slays the young king Antiochus Theos, and usurps the kingdom of Syria.	
	Simon acknowledges Demetrius Nicanor, who had been dispossessed of the kingdom of Syria, and obtains from him the entire freedom of the Jews.	
3862	The Syrian troops that held the citadel of Jerusalem capitulate.	142
	Demetrius Nicator, or Nicanor, goes into Persia with an army; is taken by the king of Persia.	
	Simon acknowledged high-priest, and chief of the Jews, in a great assembly at Jerusalem.	
3864	Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius Nicanor, becomes king of Syria; allows Simon to coin money, and confirms all the privileges the Syrian kings had granted to the Jews.	140

A.M.		B.C.
3865	The return of the ambassadors Simon had sent to Rome to renew his alliance with the Romans.	139
3866	Antiochus Sidetes quarrels with Simon, and sends Cendebeus into Palestine to ravage the country.	138
	Cendebeus is beaten by John and Judas, Simon's sons.	
3869	Simon killed by treachery, with two of his sons, by Ptolemy his son-in-law, in the castle of Docus.	135
3870	Hyrcanus, or John Hyrcanus, succeeds his father Simon.	134
	Antiochus Sidetes besieges Hyrcanus in Jerusalem.	
	Hyrcanus obtains a truce of eight days to celebrate the feast of tabernacles; makes peace with Antiochus.	
	Hyrcanus finds money in David's tomb, or rather the hidden treasures of the kings of Judah.	
3873	Antiochus Sidetes goes to war against the Persians; Hyrcanus accompanies him.	131
	Antiochus is conquered and slain.	
3874	Hyrcanus shakes off the yoke of the kings of Syria, sets himself at perfect liberty, and takes several cities from Syria.	130
3875	He attacks the Idumeans, and obliges them to receive circumcision.	129
3877	He sends ambassadors to Rome, to renew his alliance with the Roman power.	127
	While the two kings of Syria, both of them called Antiochus, war against each other, Hyrcanus strengthens himself in his new monarchy,	
3894	He besieges Samaria; takes it after a year's siege. (Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18.)	110
3895	Hyrcanus dies, after a reign of twenty-nine years.	109
3898	Under his government the three principal Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, aud the Essenes, are supposed to have first appeared, but their exact epochas are not known.	107
	Judas, otherwise called Aristobulus, or Philellen, succeeds John Hyrcanus; associates his brother Antigonus with him in the government; leaves his other brethren and his mother in bonds; suffers his mother to starve in prison; takes the diadem and title of king; and reigns one year.	
	He declares war against the Ituræans. Antigonus his brother defeats them, and obliges them to be circumcised. (Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii. c. 19.)	
	Antigonus slain at his return from this expedition, by order of his brother Aristobulus.	
3899	Aristobulus dies, after reigning one year. Alexander Jannæus, his brother, succeeds him; reigns 26 years. He attempts Ptolemais; but hearing that Ptolemy Lathurus is coming to relieve this city, he raises the siege, and ravages the country.	105

A.M.		B.C.
3900	Ptolemy Lathurus obtains a great victory over Alexander king of the Jews.	104
3901	Cleopatra queen of Egypt, fearing that Lathurus would give her disturbance in Egypt, sends the Jews, Helcias and Ananias, against him with a powerful army. She takes Ptolemais.	103
3902	Alexander Jannæus king of the Jews makes an alliance with Cleopatra, and takes some places in Palestine.	102
3906	Attacks Gaza, takes it, and demolishes it.	98
3907	The Jews revolt against him, but he subdues them.	97
	He wages several wars abroad with success.	
	His subjects war against him during six years, and invite to their assistance Demetrius Eucerus king of Syria.	
	Alexander loses the battle; but the consideration of his misfortune reconciles his subjects to him.	
	Demetrius Eucerus obliged to retire into Syria. The years of these events are not accurately known.	
3919	Antiochus Dionysius king of Syria invades Judæa; attacks the Arabians, and beats them; but is defeated and slain. Aretas king of the Arabians attacks Alexander; having overcome him, treats with him, and retires.	85
3920	Alexander Jannæus takes the cities of Dion, Gerasa, Gaulon, Selucia, &c.	84
3926	Alexander Jannæus dies, aged 49 years. (Joseph Antiq. lib. xiii. c. 23).	78
	Alexandra, otherwise Salome or Salina, his queen, succeeds him: gains the Pharisees to her party by giving them great power. Reigns nine years.	
3933	Aristobulus II., son of Alexander Jannæus, heads the old soldiers of his father; is discontented with the government of his mother and the Pharisees.	71
3934	Takes possession of the chief places of Judæa during his mother's sickness.	70
3935	Alexandra dies. Hyrcanus her eldest son, and brother of Aristobulus, is acknowledged king. Reigns peaceably two years.	69
	Battle between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; Hyrcanus is overcome at Jericho. Hyrcanus had been high-priest under the reign of his mother nine years; then is king and pontiff two years; is afterwards only priest four years; after which he is ethnarch 19 years. At last he is Herod's captive and sport eight years. So that he survived his father Alexander Jannæus 48 years.	
3938	Peace concluded between the brothers, on condition that Hyrcanus should live private in the enjoyment of his estate, and Aristobulus be acknowledged high-priest and king. Thus Hyrcanus, having reigned three years and three months, resigns the kingdom to Aristobulus II. who reigns three years and three months.	66

A.M.		B.C.
3939	Hyrcanus, at the instigation of Antipater, seeks protection from the king of the Arabians.	65
	Aretas king of the Arabians undertakes to replace Hyrcanus on the throne.	
	Aristobulus is worsted, and forced to shut himself up in the temple of Jerusalem.	
	He sends deputations, first to Gabinius, and then to Scaurus, who were sent by Pompey into Syria; offers them great sums of money to engage on his side, and to oblige Aretas to raise the siege of the temple.	
	Scaurus writes to Aretas, and threatens to declare him an enemy to the Roman people, if he does not retire.	
	Aretas withdraws his forces; Aristobulus pursues him, gives him battle, and obtains a victory over him.	
3940	Pompey comes to Damascus, and orders Aristobulus and Hyrcanus to appear before him. Hears the cause of the two brothers, and advises them to live in good understanding with each other.	64
3941	Aristobulus withdraws into Jerusalem, and maintains the city against Pompey, who besieges it. The city and temple taken. Aristobulus taken prisoner; Hyrcanus made high-priest and prince of the Jews, but not allowed to wear the diadem. Judæa reduced to its antient limits, and obliged to pay tribute to the Romans.	63
	Alexander the son of Aristobulus, having escaped from the custody of those who were carrying him to Rome, comes into Judæa, and raises soldiers.	
	End of the Kingdom of Syria.	
	Augustus, afterwards emperor, is born.	
3947	Gabinius, a Roman commander, defeats Alexander, and besieges him in the castle of Alexandrion. Alexander surrenders with all his strong places.	57
3948	Aristobulus, escaping from Rome, returns into Judæa and endeavours to repair the castle of Alexandrion. Is hindered by the Romans, who put his little army to flight. He flies to Machæron, with a design to fortify it; but he is presently besieged in it. After some resistance he is taken, and sent a second time prisoner to Rome.	56
3949	Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt by money induces Gabinius to come into Egypt to restore him to the throne, John Hyrcanus furnishes Gabinius with provisions for his army; and writes to the Jews in Pelusium to favour the passage of the Romans.	55
	While Gabinius is in Egypt, Alexander son of Aristobulus wastes Judæa. Gabinius defeats him at the foot of mount Tabor.	
3950	Crassus succeeds Gabinius in the government of Syria.	54

A.M.		B.C.
3950	Crassus, passing into Syria, and finding the province quiet, makes war against the Parthians.	54
3951	He comes to Jerusalem, and takes great riches out of the temple.	53
	He marches against the Parthians; is defeated and killed by Orodes.	
3952	Cassius brings the remains of the Roman army over the Euphrates; takes Tirhakah, and brings from thence above 30,000 Jewish captives.	52
	He restrains Alexander, son of king Aristobulus.	
	Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey.	
3955	Julius Cæsar, making himself master of Rome, sets Aristobulus at liberty, and sends him with two legions into Syria.	49
	Those of Pompey's party poison Aristobulus.	
	Scipio slays young Alexander, son of Aristobulus.	
	The battle of Pharsalia. Antipater governor of Judæa.	
	The library of Alexandria burnt.	
3957	Antipater, by order of Hyrcanus, joins Mithridates, who was going into Egypt with succours for Cæsar, and assists him in reducing the Egyptians.	47
	Cæsar, having finished the war in Egypt, comes into Syria; confirms Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.	
	Antigonus son of Aristobulus remonstrates to Cæsar; but Cæsar is prejudiced against him by Antipater.	
	Antipater takes advantage of the indolence of Hyrcanus; makes his eldest son Phazael governor of Jerusalem, and Herod, another of his sons, governor of Galilee.	
	Herod is summoned to Jerusalem to give an account of his conduct; but, finding himself in danger of being condemned, retires to his government.	
	Hillel and Shammai, two famous Rabbins, live about this time. Shammai was master to Hillel. Jonathan son of Uzziel, author of the Chaldee paraphrase, was a disciple of Hillel. Josephus says that Pollio was master of Shammai. Jerome says, that Akiba succeeded Shammai and Hillel in the school of the Hebrews.	
	Cæsar passes into Africa. Cato kills himself at Utica.	
3959	Hyrcanus sends ambassadors to Julius Cæsar to renew alliance. The alliance renewed in a manner very advantageous to the Jews.	45
3960	After the death of Julius Cæsar, the ambassadors of the Jews are introduced into the senate, and obtain their whole request.	44
	The Jews of Asia confirmed in their privilege of not being compelled to serve in the wars.	
3961	Cassius demands 700 talents from Judæa. Malichus causes Antipater to be poisoned.	41

A.M.		B.C.
3961	Herod causes Malichus to be killed, to revenge the death of his father Antipater.	43
3962	Felix, having attacked Phazael, is shut up by him in a tower, from whence Phazael would not release him but on composition.	42 41
	Herod and Phazael tetrarchs of Judea.	
3963	Antigonus II., son of Aristobulus, gathers an army, and enters Judæa.	
	Herod gives him battle, and routs him.	
	Mark Antony coming into Bithynia, some Jews resort to him, and accuse Herod and Phazael before him; but Herod coming thither, wins the affections of Antony.	
	Mark Antony, being at Ephesus, grants the liberty of their nation to such Jews as had been taken captive by Cassius; and causes the lands to be restored that had been unjustly taken away from the Jews.	
	Mark Antony coming to Antioch, some principal Jews accuse Herod and Phazael; but, instead of hearing them, he establishes the two brothers tetrarchs of the Jews.	
	The Jews afterwards send a deputation of a thousand of their most considerable men to Antony, then at Tyre, but in vain.	
3964	Antigonus son of Aristobulus, prevails with the Parthians to place him on the throne of Judæa. The Parthians seize Hyrcanus and Phazael, and deliver them up to Antigonus.	40
	Phazael commits suicide; the Parthians carry Hyrcanus beyond the Euphrates, after Antigonus had cut off his ears.	
	Herod forced to flee to Jerusalem, and thence to Rome, to implore assistance from Antony. He obtains the kingdom of Judæa from the senate, and returns with letters from Antony, who orders the governors of Syria to assist him in obtaining the kingdom. He reigned 37 years.	39
3965	He first takes Joppa, then goes to Massada, where his brother Joseph was besieged by Antigonus.	
	He raises that siege, and marches against Jerusalem; but the season being too far advanced, he could not then besiege it.	
	He takes the robbers that hid themselves in the caves of Galilee, and slays them.	
	Macherus, a Roman captain, with Joseph, Herod's brother, carry on the war against Antigonus, while Herod goes with troops to Antony, then besieging Samosata.	
3966	After the taking of Samosata, Antony sends Sosius with Herod into Judæa to reduce it.	38
3967	After several battles Herod marches against Jerusalem; the city is taken: Antigonus surrenders himself to Sosius, who insults him.	37

A.M.		B.C.
3967	Antigonus carried prisoner to Antony at Antioch, who orders him to be beheaded. End of the reign of the Asmoneans, after 126 years.	37
	Ananel high-priest the first time.	
3968	Hyrcanus is treated kindly by the king of the Parthians. Obtains leave to return into Judæa.	36
	Because Hyrcanus could no longer exercise the functions of the high-priesthood, Herod bestows that dignity on Ananel.	
3969	Alexandra, mother of Mariamne and Aristobulus, obtains of Herod that Aristobulus might be made high-priest.	35
3970	Herod causes Aristobulus to be drowned after he had been high-priest one year.	34
	Ananel high-priest the second time.	
	Herod is sent for by Antony to justify himself concerning the murder of Aristobulus.	
	War between Augustus and Mark Antony. Herod sides with Antony.	
3973	Herod's wars with the Arabians.	31
	A great earthquake in Judæa.	
	The battle of Actium; Augustus obtains the victory over Antony.	
	Herod seizes Hyrcanus, who attempted to take shelter with the king of the Arabians; and puts him to death.	
3974	He goes to Rome to make his court to Augustus: obtains the confirmation of the kingdom of Judæa.	30
	Antony and Cleopatra kill themselves.	
	The end of the kings of Alexandria, 294 years from the death of Alexander the Great.	
3975	Augustus comes into Syria; passes through Palestine; is magnificently entertained by Herod.	29
3976	Herod puts to death his wife Mariamne, the daughter of Alexandra.	28
3978	Salome, Herod's sister, divorces herself from Costobarus.	26
3979	Plague and famine rage in Judæa.	25
3982	Herod undertakes several buildings contrary to the religion of the Jews. Builds Cæsarea of Palestine.	22
3983	Agrippa, Augustus's favourite, comes into Asia; Herod visits him.	21
3984	Augustus gives Trachonitis to Herod.	20
3985	Herod undertakes to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem.	19
3988	Herod makes a journey to Rome to recommend himself to Augustus.	16
3989	He marries his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus.	15
3990	Herod comes to meet Agrippa, and engages him to visit Jerusalem.	14
3991	Domestic divisions in Herod's family. Salome, Pheroras, and Antipater at variance with Alexander and Aristobulus.	13

A.M.		B.C.
3993	Herod goes to Rome, and accuses his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Augustus.	11
3994	The solemn dedication of the city of Cæsarea that Herod had built in honour of Augustus.	10
3995	Augustus continues the Jews of Alexandria in their antient rights and privileges.	9
	Herod causes David's tomb to be opened, to take out treasure.	
	New disturbances in Herod's family.	
3996	Archelaus king of Cappadocia, reconciles his son-in-law Alexander to his father Herod.	8
	Archelaus goes to Rome with Herod.	
3997	Herod makes war in Arabia.	7
3998	Herod is accused to Augustus of killing several Arabs.	6
	An angel appears to Zacharias. The conception of John the Baptist, September 24.	
3999	Annunciation of the incarnation of the Son of God to the Virgin Mary, March 25.	5
	Herod condemns and slays his two sons Alexander and Aristobulus.	
	Antipater son of Herod aims at the kingdom.	
	Herod sends Antipater to Rome.	
	The artifices of Antipater are discovered.	
	Birth of John the Baptist, six months before the birth of Jesus.	

		Year of Jesus Christ.	Before the Vulgar Æra.
4000	The birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the 4th year before A. D.	1	4

Period VIII.

From the Birth of Jesus Christ to the Completion of the Canon of the New Testament.

4001	The circumcision of Jesus Christ.		
	Antipater returns from Rome; is accused and convicted of a design to poison Herod.		3
	Wise men come to worship Jesus Christ.		
	Purification of the holy virgin. Jesus presented in the temple forty days after his birth.		
	Flight into Egypt.		
	Massacre of the innocents at Bethlehem.		
	Antipater put to death by order of Herod.		
	Herod dies five days after Antipater.		
	Archelaus appointed king of Judæa by the will of Herod.		

A.M.		Y. of J.C.	B. V.Æ.
4001	Return of Jesus Christ out of Egypt; he goes to dwell at Nazareth.	1	3
	Archelaus goes to Rome to procure of Augustus the confirmation of Herod's will in his favour.		
	The Jews revolt; Varus keeps them in their duty.		
	Archelaus obtains a part of his father's dominions, with the title of tetrarch, and returns to Judæa.		
	An impostor assumes the character of Alexander son of Herod and Mariamne.		
4002	Archelaus takes the high-priesthood from Joazar, and gives it to Eleazar.	2	1
4004	The Vulgar Æra, or Anno Domini; the 4th year of Jesus Christ, the first of which has but eight days.		V.Æ. or A.D.
4009	Archelaus banished to Vienne in Gaul.	9	6
4010	The enrolment or taxation made by Cyrenius in Syria. This was his second enrolment.	10	7
	Revolt of Judas the Gaulonite chief of the Herodians.		
4012	Jesus Christ, at twelve years of age, goes into the temple of Jerusalem; continues there three days unknown to his parents.	12	9
4013	Marcus Ambivius governor of Judæa.	13	10
4017	Death of the emperor Augustus; reigned 57 years, 5 months, and 4 days.	17	14
	Tiberius succeeds him; reigns 22 years, 6 months, and 28 days.		
4023	Tiberius expels from Italy all who profess the Jewish religion, or Egyptian superstitions.	23	20
4031	Pilate sent governor into Judæa.	31	28
	He attempts to bring the Roman colours and ensigns into Jerusalem, but is opposed by the Jews.		
4032	John the Baptist begins to preach.	32	29
4033	Jesus Christ baptised by John the Baptist.	33	30
	Jesus goes into the desert.		
	After forty days Jesus returns to John: he calls Andrew, Simon, Philip, and Nathaniel.		
	The marriage of Cana, where Jesus changes water into wine.		
	Jesus comes to Capernaum; thence to Jerusalem, where he celebrates the first passover after his baptism, this year.		
	Nicodemus comes to Jesus by night.		
	Jesus goes to the banks of Jordan, where he baptises.		
	Herod Antipas marries Herodias his brother Philip's wife, he being yet alive.		
	John the Baptist declares vehemently against this marriage; he is put in prison.		

A.M.		Y. of J.C.	B. V.Æ.
4033	Jesus withdraws into Galilee; converts the Samaritan woman, and several Samaritans. Preaches at Nazareth, and leaves this city to dwell in Capernaum. Calling of Simon, Andrew, James, and John. Jesus works several miracles. Matthew called.	33	30
4034	The second passover of our Saviour's public ministry. Jesus heals one sick of the palsy on the sabbath-day. The Jews resolve to put Jesus to death. Our Saviour's sermon on the mount. John the Baptist, in prison, sends a deputation to Jesus Christ, to inquire if he was the Messiah.	34	31
4035	Mission of the apostles into several parts of Judæa. John the Baptist slain by order of Herod, at the instigation of Herodias, in the 17th year of Tiberius. Jesus Christ feeds 5,000 men with five loaves and two fishes. Jesus Christ's third passover after his baptism. He passes through Judæa and Galilee, teaching and doing miracles. Transfiguration of Jesus Christ. Mission of the seventy-two disciples. Jesus goes to Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost. His relations would have him go to the feast of tabernacles: He tells them his hour is not yet come; however he goes thither about the middle of the feast.	35	32
4036	At the beginning of the 36th year of Jesus Christ, Lazarus falls sick and dies; Jesus comes from beyond Jordan, and raises him to life again. Jesus retires to Ephraim on the Jordan, to avoid the snares and malice of the Jews of Jerusalem. He comes to Jerusalem to be present at his FOURTH and LAST passover. Institutes the Lord's supper; is betrayed and crucified. His resurrection and appearance to many. Ascension into Heaven, and the miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit.	36	33
4037	Seven deacons chosen. Stephen martyred. Saul persecutes the church. James the Less made Bishop of Jerusalem. Philip the deacon baptises the eunuch of queen Candace. The dispersion of the apostles from Jerusalem.	37	34

A. M.		Y. of J. C.	A. D.
4038	The conversion of Saul.	38	35
4040	Pilate ordered into Italy.	40	37
	Tiberius dies; Caius Caligula succeeds.		
	Matthew writes his Gospel in this or the following year.		
4041	Paul escapes from Damascus by being let down in a basket.	41	38
	He comes to Jerusalem; is introduced to the apostles and disciples; and goes to Tarsus in Cilicia, his own country.		
	Caligula gives Agrippa the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip.		
	Pilate kills himself.		
4042	Herod the tetrarch goes to Rome, in hopes of obtaining some favour from the emperor; but Caligula, being prepossessed by Agrippa, banishes him to Lyons.	42	39
4043	Caligula orders Petronius to place his statue in the temple of Jerusalem. The Jews obtain some delay from Petronius.	43	40
	Agrippa endeavours to divert the emperor from this design, and at length obtains as a great favour, that this statue should not be set up.		
	Philo the Jew goes with a deputation from the Jews at Alexandria to Caligula.		
4044	Philo obtains an audience of the emperor, at the hazard of his life.	44	41
	The Jews quit Babylon, and retire to Seleucia.		
4044	Caius Caligula dies; Claudius succeeds him. Agrippa persuades him to accept the empire offered by the army. Claudius adds Judæa and Samaria to Agrippa's dominions.	44	41
	Agrippa returns into Judæa; takes the high-priesthood from Theophilus son of Ananus, and gives it to Simon Cantharus; soon after he takes this dignity from Cantharus, and gives it to Matthias.		
4045	Saul preaches at Antioch.	45	42
4046	Agrippa deprives the high-priest Matthias of the priesthood, and bestows it on Elioneus son of Citheus.	46	43
4047	Causes James the Great to be seized, and beheads him.	47	44
	Imprisons Peter, who is liberated by an angel.		
	Some time afterwards Agrippa at Cæsarea receives a sudden stroke from heaven, and dies in great misery.		
	Paul and Barnabas go to Jerusalem with the contributions of the believers of Antioch.		

A.M.		Y. of J.C.	A.D.
4047	At their return to Antioch, the church sends them forth to preach to the Gentiles.	47	44
4048	Cuspius Fadus sent into Judæa as governor.	48	45
	A great famine in Judæa.		
	Paul and Barnabas go to Cyprus: thence to Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia.		
	At Lystra the people prepare sacrifices to them as gods.		
4049	They return to Antioch.	49	46
	Cuspius Fadus recalled; the government of Judæa given to Tiberius Alexander.		
4051	Herod king of Chalcis takes the pontificate from Joseph son of Camides; gives it to Ananias son of Nebedeus.	51	48
	Herod king of Chalcis dies.		
	Ventidius Cumanus made governor of Judæa in place of Tiberius Alexander.		
4052	Troubles in Judæa under the government of Cumanus.	52	49
	Judaising Christians enforce the law on the converted Gentiles.		
	The council of Jerusalem determines that the converted Gentiles should not be obliged to observation of the legal ceremonies.		
	Peter comes to Antioch, and is reproved by Paul.		
4053	Paul and Barnabas part on account of John Mark.	53	50
	Timothy adheres to Paul, and receives circumcision.		
	Luke at this time with Paul.		
	Paul passes out of Asia into Macedonia.		
	Paul comes to Athens.		
4054	From Athens goes to Corinth.	54	51
	The Jews expelled Rome under the reign of Claudius.		
	Felix sent governor into Judæa instead of Cumanus.		
4055	First epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians.	55	52
	His second epistle to the Thessalonians, some months after the first.		
	His epistle to the Galatians, written at the end of this, or early in the following year.		
4056	Paul leaves Corinth, after a stay of eighteen months: takes ship to go to Jerusalem; visits Ephesus in his way.	56	53
	Apollos arrives at Ephesus: preaches Jesus Christ.		
4057	St. Paul, having finished his devotions at Jerusalem, goes to Antioch.	57	54
	Passes into Galatia and Phrygia, and returns to Ephesus, where he continues three years.		
	Claudius the emperor dies, being poisoned by Agrippina. Nero succeeds him.		

A.M.		Y. of J.C.	A.D.
4059	The first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians.	59	56
	Paul forced to leave Ephesus on account of the uproar raised against him by Demetrius the silversmith.		
	He goes into Macedonia.		
	Second epistle to the Corinthians.		
4060	Epistle to the Romans.	60	57
4061	Paul goes into Judæa, to carry contributions.	61	58
	Is seized in the temple of Jerusalem.		
	Is sent prisoner to Cæsarea.		
	Ishmael son of Tabei made high-priest instead of Ananias.		
	Disturbances between the Jews of Cæsarea and the other inhabitants.		
4063	Porcius Festus made governor of Judæa in the room of Felix.	63	60
	Paul appeals to the emperor. He is put on shipboard, and sent to Rome.		
	Paul shipwrecked at Malta.		
4064	He arrives at Rome, and continues there a prisoner two years.	64	61
	The general epistle of James written about this time.		
	The Jews build a wall, which hinders Agrippa from looking within the temple.		
	Ishmael the high-priest deposed. Joseph, surnamed Cabei, is put in his place.		
4065	Epistle of Paul to the Philippians.	65	62
	Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon.		
	Martyrdom of James the Less, bishop of Jerusalem.		
4066	Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, written from Italy soon after he was set at liberty.	66	63
	Luke writes his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles in this or the following year.		
	Peter arrives at Rome.		
	Albinus, successor of Felix, arrives in Judæa.		
	Epistle of Paul to Titus, and his first epistle to Timothy.		
	Mark writes his Gospel about this time.		
4067	Paul comes out of Italy into Judæa; visits the churches in Crete, Ephesus, Macedonia, and Greece.	67	64
	Agrippa takes the high-priesthood from Jesus son of Gamaliel; gives it to Matthias son of Theophilus.		
	Gessius Florus made governor of Judæa in place of Albinus.		

A.M.		Y. of J.C.	A.D.
4067	Nero sets fire to the city of Rome; throws the blame on the Christians, several of whom are put to death.	67	64
	Peter writes his first epistle, probably, from Rome.		
4068	Peter writes his second epistle, probably, from Rome, about the beginning of this year.	68	65
	Several prodigies at Jerusalem, this year, during the passover.		
	Paul goes to Rome the last time; is there put into prison; also Peter.		
	Second epistle of Paul to Timothy.		
	The epistle of Jude written in this or the following year.		
4069	The martyrdom of Paul and Peter at Rome.	69	66
	Cestius Gallus governor of Syria comes to Jerusalem; enumerates the Jews at the passover.		
	Disturbances at Cæsarea, and at Jerusalem.		
	Florus puts several Jews to death.		
	The Jews rise, and kill the Roman garrison at Jerusalem.		
	A massacre of the Jews of Cæsarea and Palestine.		
	All the Jews of Scythopolis slain in one night.		
	Cestius governor of Syria comes into Judæa.		
	He besieges the temple of Jerusalem; retires; is defeated by the Jews.		
	The Christians of Jerusalem, seeing a war about to break out, retire to Pella, in the kingdom of Agrippa, beyond Jordan.		
	Vespasian appointed by Nero for the Jewish war.		
	Josephus made governor of Galilee.		
	Vespasian sends his son Titus to Alexandria; comes himself to Antioch, and forms a numerous army.		
4070	Vespasian enters Judæa; subdues Galilee.	70	67
	Josephus besieged in Jotapata.		
	Jotapata taken; Josephus surrenders to Vespasian.		
	Tiberias and Tarichea, which had revolted against Agrippa, reduced to obedience by Vespasian.		
	Divisions in Jerusalem.		
	The zealots seize the temple, and commit violences in Jerusalem.		
	They depose Theophilus from being high-priest, and put Phannais in his place.		
	The zealots send for the Idumæans to succour Jerusalem.		
	They slay Ananus, Jesus son of Gamala, and Zacharias son of Baruch.		
	The Idumeans retire from Jerusalem.		

A.M.		Y. of J.C.	A.D.
4071	Nero the emperor dies; Galba succeeds him.	71	68
	Vespasian takes all the places of strength in Judæa about Jerusalem.		
	Simon son of Gioras ravages Judæa and the south of Idumæa.		
	In this or the following year John writes his three epistles.		
4072	Galba dies; Otho declared emperor.	72	69
	Otho dies; Vitellius proclaimed emperor.		
	Vespasian declared emperor by his army; is acknowledged all over the East.		
	Josephus set at liberty.		
	John of Giscala heads the zealots.		
	Eleazar, son of Simon, forms a third party; makes himself master of the inner temple, or the court of the priests.		
4073	Titus marches against Jerusalem to besiege it.	73	70
	Comes down before Jerusalem some days before the passover.		
	The factions unite at first against the Romans, but afterwards divide again.		
	The Romans take the first inclosure of Jerusalem; then the second; they make a wall all round the city, which is reduced to distress by famine.		
	July 17, the perpetual sacrifice ceases in the temple.		
	The Romans become masters of the court of the people, and set fire to the galleries.		
	A Roman soldier sets the temple on fire, notwithstanding Titus commands the contrary.		
	The Romans, being now masters of the city and temple, offer sacrifices to their gods.		
	The last inclosure of the city taken.		
	John of Giscala and Simon son of Gioras conceal themselves in the common sewers.		
4074	Titus demolishes the temple to its very foundations.	74	71
	He also demolishes the city, reserving the towers of Hippicos, Phazael, and Mariamne.		
	Titus returns to Rome with his father Vespasian; they triumph over Judæa.		
4083	On the death of Vespasian, Domitian is declared emperor.	83	81
4095	John banished to Patmos.	98	95
4099	Domitian dies; Nerva declared emperor.	99	96
4100	John liberated from exile.		
	John writes his Gospel and Revelation about this time.	100	97

THE END OF VOLUME III.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO

THE FIRST EDITION

OF THE

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CRITICAL STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES.

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SUPPLEMENT

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CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BIBLE.

(Referred to, in Vol. I. p. 235, and supplementary to Vol. II. Part II. pp. 84—96.)

SECTION I.

ACCOUNT OF MANUSCRIPTS (ENTIRE OR IN PART) CONTAINING THE SEPTUAGINT OR GREEK VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *The Codex Cottonianus.*—II. *The Codex Sarravianus.*—III. *The Codex Colbertinus.*—IV. *The Codex Cæsareus, Argenteus, or Argenteo-Purpureus.*—V. *The Codex Ambrosianus.*—VI. *The Codex Coislinianus.*—VII. *The Codex Basilio-Vaticanus.*

IT is not precisely known what number of manuscripts of the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament are extant. The highest number of those collated by the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, for his splendid edition of this version, is one hundred and thirty-five. *Nine* of them are described, as being written in uncial characters, and as having furnished him with the most important of the various readings with which his first volume is enriched: besides these he has noticed *sixty-three* others, written in cursive or small characters, and which have likewise furnished him with various lections. Of these manuscripts the fol-

lowing are more particularly worthy of notice, on account of their rarity and value.[1]

1. The CODEX COTTONIANUS is not only the most antient but the most correct manuscript that is extant. It was originally brought from Philippi by two Greek bishops, who presented it to King Henry VIII. whom they informed that tradition reported it to have been the identical copy which had belonged to the celebrated Origen, who lived in the former half of the third century. Queen Elizabeth gave it to Sir John Fortescue, her preceptor in Greek, who, desirous of preserving it for posterity, placed it in the Cottonian Library. This precious manuscript was almost destroyed by the calamitous fire which consumed Cotton House at Westminster, in the year 1731. Eighteen fragments are all that now remain, and of these, both the leaves, and consequently the writing in a just proportion, are contracted into a less compass; so that what were large are now small capitals. These fragments are at present deposited in the British Museum.[2]

In its original state, the Codex Cottonianus contained one hundred and sixty-five leaves, in the quarto size; it is written on vellum, in uncial characters, the lines running along the whole width of the page, and each line consisting, in general, of twenty-seven, rarely of thirty letters. These letters are almost everywhere of the same length, excepting that at the end of a line they are occasionally somewhat less, and in some instances are interlined or written over the line. Like all other very antient manuscripts, it has no accents or spirits, nor any distinction of words, verses, or chapters. The words are, for the most part, written at full length, with the exception of the well known and frequent abbreviations of $\overline{\text{KC}}$, $\overline{\text{KN}}$, $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$, $\overline{\Theta\text{N}}$, for Κυριος and Κυριον, *Lord*, and Θεος, Θεον, *God*. Certain consonants, vowels, and dipthongs are also interchanged.[3]

The coherence of the Greek text is very close, except where it is divided by the interposition of the very curious paintings or illuminations with which this manuscript is decorated. These pictures were two hundred and fifty in number, and consist of compositions within square frames, of one or of several figures, in general not exceeding two inches in height; and these frames, which are four inches square, are occasionally divided into two compartments. The heads are perhaps too large, but the attitudes and draperies have considerable merit: and they are by competent judges preferred to the miniatures that adorn the Vienna manuscript, which is noticed in page 5, *infra*. Twenty-one fragments of these illuminations were engraved, in 1744, on two large folio plates, at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries of London. It is observed by Mr. Planta, the present principal librarian of the British Museum, that more fragments must have been preserved than the

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[1] Our descriptions are chiefly abridged from Dr. Holmes's Præfatio ad Pentateuchum, cap. ii. prefixed to the first volume of his critical edition of the Septuagint version, published at Oxford, in 1798, folio.

[2] Catalogus Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, p. 365. (folio, 1802.) Casley's Catalogue of MSS. in the King's Library, pp. viii. ix.

[3] These permutations were a fruitful source of errors in manuscripts. Some instances of them are given *infra*, Chap. IV. of this Supplement.

FAC SIMILE

of the Codex Cottonianus of the Book of Genesis.

H. Mulcow sc.

eighteen which at present remain; because none of those engraved are now to be met with.[1] On an examination of the Codex Cottonianus, with a view to take a fac-simile of some one of its fragments for this work, they were found in a nearly pulverised and carbonised state, so that no accurate copy could be taken. The annexed engraving therefore is copied from that of the Antiquarian Society[2]. The subject on the right-hand of plate 1. is Jacob delivering his son Benjamin to his brethren, that they may go a second time into Egypt and buy corn for himself and his family. The passage of Genesis, which it is intended to illustrate, is ch. xliii. 13, 14., of which the following is a representation in ordinary Greek characters: the words preserved being in capital letters.

ΚΑΙΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΪΜΩν λαβετε και ανα
ΣΤΑΝΤΕΣΚΑΤΑΒΗΤΕΠΡΟΣ τον ανθρω
ΠΟΝ.ΟΔΕΘΣΜΟΥΔΩΗ υμιν χαριν εναν
ΤΙΟΝΤΟΥΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ·ΚΑΙ ἀποςειλαι τον
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΪΜΩΝΤΟΝ ἕνα και τον Βεν
ΑΜΕΙΝ·ΕΓΩΜΕΝΓΑΡΚΑΘωσπερὴτεκνω
ΜΑΙΗΤΕΚΝΩΜΑΙ

In English, thus:

ALSOYOURBROTHER take, and a
RISEGOAGAINUNTO the ma
N.ANDMYGDGIVE you favour be
FORETHEMAN·THAT he may send back
YOURBROTHERAND Benj
AMIN·ASFORMEAS I have been be
REAVEDOFCHILDREN·IAM bereaved.

The subject on the left-hand of the same plate is Joseph's interview with his brethren in his own house, on their return into Egypt. It illustrates Genesis xliii. 30, 31., and is as follows:

Ἐταραχθη δε Ιωσηφ· συνεσ
ΤΡΕΦΕΤΟΓΑΡΤΑΕΝΤΕΡΑ αυτου
ΤΩΑΔΕΛΦΩΑΥΤΟΥ·ΚΑΙΕΖΗτει κλαυσαι·
ΕΙΣΕΛΘΩΝΔΕΕΙΣΤΟΤΑΜΕΙον, εκλαυσ
ΕΝΕΚΕΙ·ΚΑΙΝΙΨΑΜΕΝΟΣΤΟ προσωπον
ΕΞΕΛΘΩΝΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΤΟ·και ὑπε
Πιραθετε ἄρτους.

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[1] Catalogus Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, p. 365.

[2] Vetusta Monumenta, quæ ad Rerum Britannicarum memoriam conservandam Societas Antiquariorum sumptu suo edenda curavit. Londini, 1747, folio, tom. i. pl. *LXVII.* Nos. VI. et VII.

In English, thus:

And Joseph was discomposed·
FORHISBOWELSYEARNED
TOWARDSHISBROTHER·ANDheSOUGHT *where* to weep·
ANDENTERINGINTOHISCHAMBER, he we
PTTHERE·ANDWHENHEHADWASHED his face,
*and*COMEFORTHHERESTRAINEDHIMSELF· and said
set on bread.

The larger Greek characters at the foot of plate 1. are copied from the third plate of Mr. Astle's work on the Origin of Writing: they exhibit the four first words of Gen. xiv. 17, of the same size as in the Codex Cottonianus Geneseως, before the calamitous fire above noticed.

The loss of the consumed parts of this precious manuscript would have been irreparable, had not extracts of its various readings been made by different learned men, which have been preserved to the present time. Thus, the collations of it by Archbishop Usher and Patrick Young, in the middle of the seventeenth century, are printed in the sixth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglott Edition of the Bible. Archbishop Usher's autograph collation is deposited in the Bodleian Library, among the other MSS. of that distinguished prelate. The principal various readings, noted by Dr. Gale, towards the close of the same century, are entered in the margin of an Aldine edition of the Greek Version, which subsequently belonged to the late Dr. Kennicott. But the most valuable collation is that made in the year 1703, by Dr. Grabe, who was deeply skilled in palæography, and bequeathed by him to the Bodleian Library, whence the late Rev. Dr. Owen published it at London, in 1778, in an 8vo volume, entitled *Collatio Codicis Cottoniani Geneseos cum Editione Romanâ, a viro clarissimo Joanne Ernesti Grabe jam olim facta; nunc demum summâ curâ edita, ab Henrico Owen, M.D. S.R.S.*

Dr. Holmes has chiefly followed Grabe's extract of various readings, in his critical edition of the Septuagint, but he has occasionally availed himself of Archbishop Usher's collation.[1]

The Codex Cottonianus is the most antient manuscript of any part of the Old Testament that is extant. It is acknowledged to have been written towards the end of the *fourth*, or in the *beginning of the fifth* century; and it seldom agrees with any manuscript or printed edition, except the Codex Alexandrinus, which has been described in the Appendix to the second volume, pp. 103—109. There are, according to Dr. Holmes, at least twenty instances in which this manuscript expresses the meaning of the *original* Hebrew more accurately than any other exemplars.

II. III. The Codices Sarravianus (now in the Public Library of the Academy at Leyden), and Colbertinus (formerly numbered

[1] Another collation was made by the eminent critic, Crusius, who highly commended the Codex Cottonianus, in two dissertations published by him at Göttingen, in 1744 and 1745. Crusius's collation subsequently fell into the hands of Breitinger, the editor of the beautiful edition of the Septuagint published at Zurich in 1730—1733. It is not at present known what has become of this collation.

3084 among the Colbert MSS., but at present deposited in the Royal Library at Paris), are distinct parts of the same manuscript. The Codex Sarravianus is defective in those very leaves, viz. seven in Exodus, thirteen in Leviticus, and two in Numbers, which are found in the Colbertine manuscript; the writing of which, as well as the texture of the vellum, and other peculiarities, agree so closely with those of the Codex Sarravianus, as to demonstrate their perfect identity. These manuscripts are neatly written on thin vellum, in uncial letters, with which some round characters are intermixed, the ink of which is beginning to turn yellow. The contractions or abbreviations, permutations of letters, &c. are the same which are found in the Codex Cottonianus. These two Codices, as they are termed, may be referred to the fifth or sixth century. To some paragraphs of the book of Leviticus, titles or heads have been prefixed, evidently by a later hand.

IV. The CODEX CÆSAREUS (which is also frequently called the CODEX ARGENTEUS, and CODEX ARGENTEO-PURPUREUS, because it is written in *silver letters* on *purple vellum*), is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The letters are beautiful but thick, partly round, and partly square, and are now much faded. In size, it approximates to the quarto form: it consists of twenty-six leaves only, the first twenty-four of which contain a fragment of the book of Genesis, viz. from chapter iii. 4. to chapter viii. 24.: the two last contain a fragment of Saint Luke's Gospel, viz. chapter xxiv. verses 21—49. In Wetstein's critical edition of the Greek New Testament, these two leaves are denoted by the letter N. The first twenty-four leaves are ornamented with forty-eight curious miniature paintings, which Lambecius refers to the age of Constantine; but, from the shape of the letters, it is rather to be assigned to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. In these pictures, the divine prescience and providence are represented by a hand proceeding out of a cloud: and they exhibit interesting specimens of the habits, customs, and amusements of those early times.[1]

From the occurrence of the words κιτωνας (*kitonas*) instead of χιτωνας (*chitonas*), and Αβιμελεκ (*Abimelek*) instead of Αβιμελεχ (*Abimelech*), Dr. Holmes is of opinion that this manuscript was written by dictation. Vowels, consonants, &c. are interchanged in the same manner as in the Codex Cottonianus, and similar abbreviations are

[1] The whole forty-eight embellishments are engraven in the third volume of Lambecius's Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca Cæsarea-Vindobonensi, libri viii. (Vindobonæ 1665—1679, folio, 8 vols.) They are also republished in Nesselius's Breviarium et Supplementum Commentariorum bibliothecæ Cæsareæ-Vindobonensis (Vindobonæ, 6 parts in 2 vols. folio), vol. i. pp. 55—102: and again in the third book or volume of Kollarius's second edition of Lambecius's Commentarii (Vindobonæ, 1766—1782, 8 vols, folio.) Montfaucon's fac-simile of the type (Palæographia Græca, p. 194.) has been made familiar to English readers by a portion of it which has been copied by Mr. Astle (on the Origin of Writing, plate iii. p. 70.) but his engraver is said by Mr. Dibdin (Bibliographical Decameron, vol. i. p. xliv.) to have deviated from the original, and to have executed the fac-simile in too heavy a manner. Mr. D. has himself given two most beautiful fac-similes of the decorations of this MS. in the third volume of his Bibliographical and Antiquarian Tour in France and Germany.

likewise found in it. In some of its readings the Codex Argenteus resembles the Alexandrian manuscript.

V. The Codex Ambrosianus derives its name from the Ambrosian Library at Milan, where it is preserved; it is probably as old as the seventh century. This manuscript is a large square quarto (by Montfaucon erroneously termed a folio), written in three columns in a round uncial character. The accents and spirits however have evidently been added by a later hand.

VI. The Codex Coislinianus originally belonged to M. Seguier, Chancellor of France in the middle of the seventeenth century, a munificent collector of biblical manuscripts, from whom it passed, by hereditary succession, to the Duc de Coislin. From his library it was transferred into that of the monastery of Saint Germain-Des-Prez, and thence into the Royal Library at Paris, where it now is. According to Montfaucon, by whom it is particularly described [1], it is in quarto, and was written in a beautiful round uncial character, in the *sixth*, or at the latest in the *seventh* century. But the accents and spirits have been added by a comparatively recent hand. It consists of two hundred and twenty-six leaves of vellum, and formerly contained the *octateuch* (that is the five books of Moses, and those of Joshua, Judges and Ruth), the two books of Samuel and the two books of Kings: but it is now considerably mutilated by the injuries of time. The copyist was totally ignorant of Hebrew, as is evident from the following inscription, which he has placed at the beginning of the book of Genesis:—Βαρηστιθ παρα Εβραιοις, οπερ εστιν ερμηνευομενον, λογοι ημερων,—that is, Βαρηστιθ *in Hebrew, which being interpreted is* (or means) the *Words of Days*, or the *history of the days*, i. e. the history of the six days' work of creation. This word Βαρηστιθ (*Bareseth*) is no other than the Hebrew word בראשית (BERESHITH) *in the beginning*, which is the first word in the book of Genesis. Montfaucon further observed that this manuscript contained readings very similar to those of the Codex Alexandrinus; and his remark is confirmed by Dr. Holmes, so far as respects the Pentateuch.

VII. The Codex Basilio-Vaticanus is the last of the MSS. in uncial characters collated by Dr. H. It formerly belonged to a monastery in Calabria, whence it was transferred by Pietro Memniti, superior of the monks of the Order of Saint Basil at Rome, into the Library of his monastery; and thence it passed into the papal library of the Vatican, where it is now numbered 2,106. It is written on vellum, in oblong leaning uncial characters; and according to Montfaucon was executed in the ninth century. Dr. Holmes considers it to be a manuscript of considerable value and importance, which, though in many respects it corresponds with other MSS. collated by him, yet contains some valuable lections that are no where else to be found. On this account it is to be regretted that the Codex Basilio-Vaticanus is imperfect, both at the beginning and end.

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[1] Bibliotheca Coslinianа, olim Seguieriana, folio, Paris, 1732.

SECTION II.

ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Different Families or Recensions of Manuscripts of the New Testament.*—1. *The System of Dr. Griesbach and Michaelis.*—2. *Of Dr. Scholz.*—3. *Of M. Matthæi.*—4. *Of Mr. Nolan.*—II. *On the Fœdus cum Græcis, or Coincidence between many Greek Manuscripts and the Vulgate Latin Version.*—III. *Continuation of Account of the principal Manuscripts of the New Testament.*—12. *The Codex Cottonianus (Titus C. XV.)*—13. *The Codex Cyprius.*—14. *The Codex Basileensis E.*—15. *The Codex San-Germanensis.*—16. *The Codex Augiensis.*—17. *The Codex Harleianus*, 5598.—18. *The Codex Regius or Stephani η.*—19. *The Codex Uffenbachianus.*—20. *The Codices Manners-Suttoniani.*—21. *The Codices Mosquenses.*—22. *The Codex Brixiensis.*—23. *The Codex Basileensis*, 1.—24. *The Codex Corsendoncensis.*—25. *The Codex Regius*, 50.—26. *The Codex Leicestrensis.*—27. *The Codex Vindobonensis.*

I. THE *total* number of manuscripts of the New Testament (whether they have been transmitted to us entire or in fragments), which are known to have been wholly or partially collated, amounts nearly to five hundred; but this number forms only a small part of the manuscripts found in public and private libraries. The result of these collations has shown that certain manuscripts have an affinity to each other, and that their text is distinguished from that of others by characteristic marks; and eminent critics, (particularly Griesbach, who devoted the whole of his life to sacred criticism), after diligently comparing the quotations from the New Testament in the writings of Clement of Alexandria and of Origen with those made by Tertullian and Cyprian, have ascertained that, so early as the third century, there were in existence two *families*, *recensions*, or *editions* [1] of manuscripts, or, in other words, two entirely different texts of the New Testament [2]. Michaelis has observed that, as different countries had different versions according to their respective languages, their manuscripts naturally resembled their respective versions, as these versions, generally speaking, were made from such manuscripts as were in common use. *Four* different systems of recensions or editions have been proposed, viz. by Griesbach and Michaelis, by Scholz, by Matthæi, and by Mr. Nolan. [3]

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[1] Bengel expresses this relationship or affinity between manuscripts by the term *family* (Introd. ad Crisin N. T. § 27—30.) Semler, (Apparatus ad Liberalem Novi Testamenti Interpretationem, p. 45.) and Griesbach, (Symbolæ Criticæ, tom. i. p. cxviii.) use the term *recensio*, *recension*, that is, *edition*, which last term is adopted by Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 173.

[2] In the second volume of Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ (pp. 229—620), there is a laborious collation of the quotations from the New Testament, made by Origen and Clement of Alexandria, with the Vulgate or common Greek Text.

[3] In Vol. II. Part II. (Appendix) pp. 100—102, the author gave a very concise notice of the recensions of Griesbach and Matthæi. Having subsequently obtained

1. The basis of Griesbach's system is, the division of the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament into three classes, each of which is considered as an independent witness for the various readings which it contains. The value of a reading, so far as manuscript authority is regarded, is decided by Griesbach, not according to the individual manuscript in which it is found, but according to the number of classes by which it is supported. The classes, under which he arranges all the Greek manuscripts are the following, viz. 1. The Alexandrine; 2. The Occidental or Western; and 3. The Byzantine or Oriental, to which Michaelis has added 4. The Edessene. To each of these are given the appellation of *recension* or *edition*, as we commonly say of printed books.

1. The first class or ALEXANDRINE RECENSION, which is also called the EGYPTIAN Recension, comprises those manuscripts, which, in remarkable and characteristic readings, agree with the quotations of the early Alexandrine writers, particularly Origen and Clement of Alexandria. After them, this recension was adopted by the Egyptian Greeks. To this class Griesbach refers the Codex Alexandrinus [1], noted by the letter A., but in the epistles of Saint Paul only; and also B. the Vatican manuscript [2]. To this class also Dr. Scholz refers C., the Codex Ephremi [3]; L. the Codex Regius 62, an imperfect manuscript of the four Gospels of the eighth century, collated by Wetstein and Griesbach; P. the Guelpherbytanus A., a Codex Rescriptus of the sixth century, comprising fragments of the four Gospels; Q. the Guelpherbytanus B., also a Codex Rescriptus of the same date, and containing some fragments of Luke and John; T. the Codex Borgiæ I.; containing a Greek Sahidic version of John vi. 28—67. vii. 6.—viii. 31., executed in the fourth century: Griesb, 22.; the Codex Regius 72, a fragment of Matt. i. 1.—ii. 2., written in the eleventh century; Griesb. 33.; the Codex Regius 14., a mutilated MS. of the Old and New Testament, of the eleventh century; Griesb. 102.; the Codex Medicæus, which comprises from Matt. xxiv. to Mark viii. 1.; and the Codex Regius 305, a MS. of the thirteenth century. [4]

The Alexandrine Recension is followed by the Coptico-Memphitic, Coptico-Basmuric, Coptico-Sahidic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and the Syro-Philoxenian versions: and it is the text cited by the Fathers, Eusebius, Anastasius, Ammonius, Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, Marcus, Macarius, Cosmas Indicopleustes, Nonnus, Isidore of Pelusium, Theodore of Pelusium, and frequently also by Chrysostom.

2. The OCCIDENTAL or WESTERN EDITION is that which was adopted by the Christians of Africa (especially by Tertullian and Cy-

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more full information on the subject, he has reprinted a small part of that notice in the following pages, in order that the reader might have the subject brought fully before him.

[1] See an account of this MS. in pp. 103—109. of the Appendix to Vol II.

[2] Described in pp. 109, 110. of the Appendix to Vol. II.

[3] See pp. 118, 119. of the Appendix to Vol. II. The letters and figures, above used, are those employed by Griesbach to denote the several manuscripts collated or consulted by him for his edition of the New Testament. They are explained in the Prolegomena to his first volume.

[4] The manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris are generally known by the appellation of Codices Regii.

prian), Italy, Gaul, and the west of Europe generally. According to Griesbach it is followed in A. the Codex Alexandrinus, in the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic Epistles; and according to Dr. Scholz, in D. the Codex Bezæ or Cantabrigiensis [1]; in the Codex Regius 314 a MS. of the eighth century, containing Luke ix. 36—47. and x. 12—22; Griesb. 1. (Basil. B. VI. 21.) [2]; Griesb. 13. the Codex Regius 50, a mutilated MS. of the twelfth century, collated for Birch's edition of the four Gospels; Griesb. 28. the Codex Regius 379, a MS. of the eleventh century; Griesb. 69. the Codex Leicestrensis, and 124, the Codex Vindobonensis (Lambecii 31.) [3]; Griesb. 131. the Codex Vaticanus 360, a MS. of the eleventh century, collated by Birch; Griesb. 157. the Codex Vaticanus 2, a MS. of the twelfth century, also collated by Birch; the Codex Regius 177, containing the four Gospels, with very copious scholia, written (Dr. Scholz thinks) in the eleventh century; and in the Codex Regius, 375, containing lessons from the New Testament, excepting the Revelation, and written early in the eleventh century: in the Gospels, it very seldom differs from the Codex Bezæ, but in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles, it chiefly agrees with the Alexandrine Recension.

With these manuscripts sometimes harmonise the Sahidic Version, made in the fourth century, the Syriac Version of Jerusalem, and the readings in the margin of the Syro-Philoxenian Version; as also the Ante-Hieronymian or Old Latin Versions, which were in use before the Vulgate Version.

The Western Edition was cited by the African fathers, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Victorinus, Augustine, and by the unknown author of the book against Fulgentius the Donatist; by the Italic fathers, Zeno of Verona, Gaudentius of Brescia, Chromatius of Aquileia, Ambrose, the author of certain pieces which are attributed to that writer, Rufinus, the author of the Opus Imperfectum on St. Matthew, Gregory surnamed the Great, and Lucifer Bishop of Cagliari; and by the Gallic fathers, Irenæus, Hilary, Julius, Firmicus Maternus, Phœbadius (a Spaniard) Bishop of Agen, Juvencus, and by the Mozarabic Ritual. With this edition also coincides the Vulgate Latin Version which is followed by Isidore Bishop of Seville, Remigius, Bede, Rabanus Maurus, Haymo, Anselm, Pietro Damiani, Bernard, and all subsequent writers in communion with the Latin church for the last thousand years, as well as by the Lectionaries, Breviaries, Antient Missals, Acts of the Martyrs, and other ecclesiastical books of that church. [4]

3. Towards the end of the fourth century, and during the fifth and sixth centuries, critics have observed a text differing from the two first, and which they call the Byzantine or Oriental Recension or Edition, because it was in general use at Constantinople, after that city became the capital and metropolitan see of the eastern empire. With this edition are closely allied those of the neighbouring provinces, whose inhabitants were subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of

[1] See an account of this manuscript in pp. 110—114. of the Appendix to Vol. II.
[2] See p. 24. *infra*.
[3] See a notice of these two manuscripts in pp. 29, 30. *infra*.
[4] Scholz, Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textûs Evangeliorum, pp. 27—30.

the patriarch of Constantinople [1]. The readings of the Byzantine Recension are those which are most commonly found in the Κοινη Εκδοσις, or printed Vulgate Greek Text, and are also most numerous in the existing manuscripts which correspond to it. Griesbach reckons upwards of one hundred manuscripts of this class, which minutely harmonise with each other. On account of the many alterations, that were unavoidably made in the long interval between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries, Michaelis proposes to divide the Byzantine edition into antient and modern; but he does not specify any criteria by which we can determine the boundaries between these two classes. The Byzantine text is found in the four Gospels of the Alexandrian manuscript; it was the original of the Sclavonic or old Russian version, and was cited by Chrysostom and Theophylact bishop of Bulgaria.

As the Peschito, or old Syriac version of the New Testament, differs from the three preceding recensions, Michaelis has instituted another, which he terms,

4. The Edessene Edition, comprehending those manuscripts from which that version was made. Of this edition no manuscripts are extant; which circumstance Michaelis accounts for, by the early prejudice of the Syriac literati in favour of whatever was Grecian, and also by the wars that devastated the East for many ages subsequent to the fifth century. But by some accident which is difficult to be explained, manuscripts are found in the west of Europe, accompanied even with a Latin translation, such as the Codex Bezæ, which so eminently coincide with the Old Syriac Version, that their affinity is indisputable.

Although the readings of the Western, Alexandrine, and Edessene editions sometimes differ, yet they very frequently harmonise with each other. This coincidence Michaelis ascribes to their high antiquity, as the oldest manuscripts extant belong to one of these editions, and the translations themselves are antient. A reading confirmed by three of them is supposed to be of the very highest authority; yet the true reading may sometimes be found only in the fourth.

2. The second system of recensions is that proposed by Dr. Scholz in his *Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum*, founded on a long and minute examination of the treasure of biblical manuscripts contained in the Royal Library at Paris: this system is in effect a modification of that proposed by Griesbach. According to this critic, there are *five* recensions, viz. 1. The Alexandrine; 2. The Occidental or Western; 3. The Asiatic; 4. The Byzantine; and 5. The Cyprian.

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1 Michaelis remarks that the greatest number of manuscripts written on Mount Athos are evidently of the Byzantine edition: and he thinks it probable that almost all the Moscow manuscripts, of which M. Matthæi has given extracts, belong to this edition. As the valuable manuscripts collected by the late learned Professor Carlyle were obtained in Syria, Constantinople, and the islands of the Levant, it is probable, whenever they shall be collated, that they will be found to coincide with the Byzantine recension. These manuscripts are preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, and are described *infra*, pp. 27, 28.

1, 2. The Alexandrine and Occidental are the same as the two first classes of Griesbach: the Byzantine of the latter critic, Dr. S. divides into two distinct families, viz. the Asiatic and the Byzantine.

3. The Asiatic Recension, as its name implies, is that text which has prevailed in Asia from the apostolic times, and which has undergone fewer changes than the Alexandrine or Egyptian and Occidental or Western Editions have experienced. To this recension belongs the Codex Regius 53, a manuscript of the tenth century, written on Mount Athos, and transcribed with great correctness from the Jerusalem manuscripts. To this class also are referred the Codices Regii 186, 188, 277, 293, 298, and 300. No. 186 is a manuscript of the eleventh century, containing the four Gospels together with the commentaries of Chrysostom and others, and disquisitions on select passages. No. 188, (Griesb. 20,) is a manuscript of the four Gospels, of the eleventh century, with the commentaries of various authors. No. 177 is an evangelistarium, or collection of lessons from the Gospels of the ninth, and Nos. 293, 298, and 300, are evangelistaria of the eleventh century; but all, in the judgment of Dr. Scholz, are copied from very antient Palestine manuscripts.

With the Asiatic recension coincide the Peschitq or Old Syriac Version, and the fathers who have used it, the Syro-Philoxenian version, Cyril of Jerusalem, Theodoret, and Hesychius of Jerusalem.

4. The Byzantine or Constantinopolitan Recension contains that text, which is found in the manuscripts in use at Constantinople, and in the Greek churches. This text is found in A. the Codex Alexandrinus (but in the four Gospels only); in E. the Codex Basileensis B. VI. 21; in F. the Codex Boreeli; in G. the Codex Harleianus 5684; in H. the Codex Wolfii B.; in M. the Codex Regius 48, (a manuscript of the tenth century, containing the four Gospels); S. the Codex Vaticanus 354 (a manuscript of the tenth century, collated by Birch); and the manuscripts noted by Griesbach, 42, 106, (both of the tenth century), 116 (of the twelfth century), 114 of the thirteenth century, and one of the Moscow manuscripts, (No. 10 of Matthæi's notation) written in the thirteenth century. To this class also are referred fifty-three other manuscripts contained in the royal library, either collated for the first time by Dr. Scholz, or (if previously collated by Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Alter, Birch, Matthæi, and others) subjected by him to a second examination and collation.

With the Byzantine Recension agree the Gothic and Sclavonic versions, and most of the Greek fathers (fifty-five are enumerated by Dr. Scholz), particularly by Amphilochius bishop of Iconium, Appollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, Cæsarius, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzum, Theodoret, and Theophylact.

From the preceding manuscripts there is a slight variation, and kind of transition to the received or Vulgate Greek text, in the Codices Regii, as well as in many others preserved in different libraries. Dr. S. has enumerated eighty-seven manuscripts of this description, that are in the royal library at Paris, *fifteen* only of which have been collated for Griesbach's edition of the New Testament.

5. The CYPRIAN RECENSION contains that text which is exhibited in the Codex Cyprius, a manuscript of the eighth century, brought from the Isle of Cyprus, of which a description is given in a subsequent page [1]. By a comparison of the readings of the Codex Cyprius, with the received text, and with the Alexandrine and Constantinopolitan Recensions, in nearly one hundred instances, Dr. Scholz has shewn, that it very frequently coincides with the two last, sometimes agreeing with both, sometimes following one or the other of them, and sometimes holding a mean between them. In many instances it harmonises with but few manuscripts, and in some cases its readings are peculiar to itself. On these accounts he is of opinion, that the Codex Cyprius exhibits a family which has sprung from a collation of various manuscripts, some of which owe their origin to Egypt, others to Asia, and others to Cyprus.

Most of the manuscripts now extant exhibit one of the texts above described; some are composed of two or three recensions. No individual manuscript preserves any recension in a pure state; but manuscripts are said to be of the Alexandrine or Western recension, as the appropriate readings of each preponderate. The margins of these manuscripts, as well as those of the Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, and Syro-Philoxenian versions, and the Syriac version of Jerusalem, contain the Alexandrian variations for the Western readings, or vice versâ; and some Byzantine manuscripts have the Alexandrian or Western various lections in their margins. [2]

Each of these recensions has characteristics peculiar to itself. The Occidental or Western preserves harsh readings, Hebraisms, and solecisms, which the Alexandrine has exchanged for readings more conformable to classic usage. The Western is characterised by readings calculated to relieve the text from difficulties, and to clear the sense: it frequently adds supplements to the passages adduced from the Old Testament; and omits words that appear to be either repugnant to the context or to other passages, or to render the meaning obscure. The Alexandrine is free from the interpretations and transpositions of the Western recension. An explanatory reading is therefore suspicious in the Western recension, and a classical one in the Alexandrine. The Byzantine or Constantinopolitan recension (according to Griesbach's system) preserves the Greek idiom still purer than the Alexandrine, and resembles the Western in its use of copious and explanatory readings. It is likewise mixed, throughout, with the readings of the other recensions.

The Asiatic recension of Scholz coincides with the Western in its supplementary and explanatory readings; and his Byzantine or Constantinopolitan family with the Alexandrine in the affinity of certain manuscripts, which in some instances is so great as to prove that they had one common origin. [3]

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[1] See pp. 22, 23. *infra.*

[2] Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 163—177. Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, tom. i. pp. cxvii.—cxxii. cxxxvii. clvii.—clxiv. tom. ii. pp. 132—148. Griesbach's edit. of the New Test. vol. i. Proleg. pp. lxxiii.—lxxxi. edit. Halæ, 1796.

[3] Dr. Scholz has given numerous examples of the characteristics of the several recensions above noticed. Cur. Crit. in Hist. Text. Evang. pp. 31—42. 46—51.

The system of recensions, above proposed by Bengel and Semler, and completed by the late celebrated critic Dr. Griesbach, has been subjected to a very severe critical ordeal; and has been formidably attacked, on the continent by the late M. Matthæi, and in this country by the Rev. Dr. Laurence[1], and the Rev. Frederic Nolan.

3. Totally disregarding Griesbach's system of recensions, M. Matthæi recognises only one class or family of manuscripts, which he terms *Codices textus perpetui*, and pronounces every thing that is derived from commentaries and scholia to be corrupt. As the manuscripts of the New Testament, which he found in the library of the Synod, came originally from Mount Athos, and other parts of the Greek empire, and as the Russian church is a daughter of the Greek church, those manuscripts consequently contain what Griesbach has called the *Byzantine text;* which Matthæi admits to be the only authentic text, excluding the Alexandrine and Western recensions, and also rejecting all quotations from the fathers of the Greek church. To the class of manuscripts to which the Codex Bezæ, the Codex Claromontanus, and others of high antiquity belong, he gave, in the preface to his edition of Saint John's Gospel, the appellation of *editio scurrilis*, nor did he apply softer epithets to those critics who ventured to defend such manuscripts.[2]

4. The last system of recensions which remains to be noticed is that of the Rev. F. Nolan. It is developed in his "*Inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate or received text of the New Testament, in which the Greek manuscripts are newly classed, the integrity of the authorised text vindicated, and the various readings traced to their origin.*" (8vo. London, 1815.)[3] That integrity he has confessedly established by a series of proofs and connected arguments, the most decisive that can be reasonably desired or expected: but as these occupy nearly six hundred closely printed pages, the limits of this section necessarily restrict us to the following concise notice of his elaborate system.

It has been an opinion as early as the times of Bishop Walton, that the purest text of the scripture canon had been preserved at Alexandria; the libraries of that city having been celebrated from an early period for their correct and splendid copies. From the identity of any manuscript in its peculiar readings, with the scripture quotations of Origen, who presided in the catechetical school of Alexandria, a strong presumption arises that it contains the Alexandrine edition: the supposition being natural, that Origen drew his quotations from the copies generally prevalent in his native country. This, as we have

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[1] In his "*Remarks on the classification of manuscripts adopted by Griesbach in his edition of the New Testament.*" (8vo. Oxford, 1814.) For learned and elaborate analyses of Dr. Laurence's work, see the Eclectic Review for 1815, vol. iv. N. S. pp. 1—22. 173—189., and particularly the British Critic for 1814, vol. i. N. S. pp. 173—192. 296—315. 401—428.

[2] Schoell, Hist. de la Littérature Grècque, tom. ii. p. 136. Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part ii. p. 30.

[3] There is a copious analysis of this work in the British Critic, (N. S.) vol. v. pp. 1—24, from which, and from the work itself, the present notice of Mr. Nolan's system of recensions is derived.

seen, was the basis of Dr. Griesbach's system of recensions: accordingly he ascribes the highest rank to the manuscripts of the Alexandrine class, the authority of a *few* of which in his estimation outweighs that of a multitude of the Byzantine. The peculiar readings, which he selects from the manuscripts of this class, he confirms by a variety of collateral testimony, principally drawn from the quotations of the antient fathers and the versions made in the primitive ages. To the authority of Origen, however, he ascribes a paramount weight, taking it as the standard by which his collateral testimony is to be estimated; and using their evidence merely to support his testimony, or to supply it when it is deficient. The readings, which he supports by this weight of testimony, he considers genuine; and, introducing a number of them into the sacred page, he has thus formed his corrected text of the New Testament. The necessary result of this process, as obviously proving the existence of a great number of spurious readings, has been that of shaking the authority of the authorised English Version, with the foundation on which it rests.

In combating the conclusions of Griesbach, Mr. Nolan argues from the inconstancy of Origen's quotations, that no certain conclusion can be deduced from his testimony; he infers from the history of Origen, who principally wrote and published in Palestine, that the text quoted by that antient father, was rather the Palestine than the Alexandrine: and he proves, from the express testimony of Saint Jerome, that the text of Origen was really adopted in Palestine, while that of Hesychius was adopted at Alexandria.

Having thus opened the question, and set it upon the broader ground assumed by those critics, who confirm the readings of the Alexandrine text, by the coincidence of the antient versions of the Oriental and Western churches; Mr. N. combats this method, proposed for investigating the genuine text, in two modes. He first shows that a coincidence between the Western and Oriental churches, does not necessarily prove the antiquity of the text which they mutually support; as the versions of the former church were corrected, after the texts of the latter, by Jerome and Cassiodorus, who may have thus created the coincidence, which is taken as a proof of the genuine reading. In the next place, he infers, from the prevalence of a text published by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and from the comparatively late period at which the Oriental Versions were formed, that their general coincidence may be traced to the influence of Eusebius's edition. This position he establishes, by a proof deduced from the general prevalence of Eusebius's sections and canons in the Greek MSS. and antient versions, and by a presumption derived from the agreements of those texts and versions with each other, in omitting several passages contained in the Vulgar Greek, which were at variance with Eusebius's peculiar opinions [1]. And having thus established the general influence of Eusebius's text, he generally concludes against the stability of the critical principles on which the German critics have undertaken the correction of the Greek Vulgate.

[1] In the course of this discussion, Mr. Nolan assigns adequate reasons for the omission of the following remarkable passages, Mark xvi. 9—20. John viii. 1—11, and for the peculiar readings of the following celebrated texts, Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1 John v. 7. See his Inquiry, pp. 35—41.

The material obstacles being thus removed to the establishment of his plan, Mr. Nolan next proceeds to investigate the different classes of text which exist in the Greek manuscripts. Having briefly considered the scripture quotations of the fathers, and shown that they afford no adequate criterion for reducing the text into classes, he proceeds to the consideration of the antient translations, and after an examination of the oriental versions, more particularly of the Sahidic, he comes to the conclusion, that no version but the Latin can be taken as a safe guide in ascertaining the genuine text of Scripture. This point being premised, Mr. N. lays the foundation of his scheme of classification, in the following observations.

"In proceeding to estimate the testimony which the Latin translation bears to the state of the Greek text, it is necessary to premise, that this translation exhibits three varieties:—as corrected by Saint Jerome at the desire of Pope Damasus, and preserved in the Vulgate; as corrected by Eusebius of Verceli, at the desire of Pope Julius, and preserved in the Codex Vercellensis; and as existing previously to the corrections of both, and preserved, as I conceive, in the Codex Brixianus. The first of these three editions of the Italic translation is too well known to need any description; both the last are contained in beautiful manuscripts, preserved at Verceli, and at Brescia, in Italy. The curious and expensive manner in which at least the latter of these manuscripts is executed, as written on purple vellum in silver characters, would of itself contain no inconclusive proof of its great antiquity; such having been the form in which the most esteemed works were executed in the times of Eusebius, Chrysostom, and Jerome. The former is ascribed, by immemorial tradition, to Eusebius Vercellensis, the friend of Pope Julius and Saint Athanasius, and, as supposed to have been written with his own hand, is deposited among the relics, which are preserved with a degree of superstitious reverence, in the author's church at Verceli in Piedmont. By these three editions of the translation, we might naturally expect to acquire some insight into the varieties of the original; and this expectation is fully justified on experiment. The latter, not less than the former, is capable of being distributed into three kinds; each of which possesses an extraordinary coincidence with one of a correspondent kind in the translation. In a word, the Greek manuscripts are capable of being divided into three principal classes, one of which agrees with the Italic translation contained in the Brescia manuscript; another with that contained in the Verceli manuscript; and a third with that contained in the Vulgate." [1]

Specimens of the nature and closeness of the coincidence of these three classes are annexed by Mr. Nolan, in separate columns, from which the four following examples are selected. He has prefixed the readings of the received text and authorised English version, (from Matt. v. 38. 41. and 44.), in order to evince their coincidence with that text, to which the preference appears to be due, on account of its conformity to the Italic translation contained in the Codex Brixianus.

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[1] Nolan's Inquiry, pp. 58—61.

38. καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. *Rec.*
— *and* a tooth for a tooth. *Auth.*

ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος, *Cant.*	dentem pro dentem. *Verc.*
καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. *Vat.*	*et* dentem pro dente. *Vulg.*
καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος. *Mosc.*	*et* dentem pro dente. *Brix.*

41. ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. *Rec.*
— go with him twain. *Auth.*

ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἄλλα δύο. *Cant.*	vade cum illo *adhuc alia* duo. *Verc.*
ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. *Vat.*	vade cum illo *et alia* duo. *Vulg.*
ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. *Mosc.*	vade cum illo duo. *Brix.*

44. εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς. *Rec.*
— bless them that curse you. *Auth.*

εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς. *Cant.*	. . . . . desunt. *Verc.*
. . . . . desunt. *Vat.*	. . . . . desunt. *Vulg.*
εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς *Mosc.*	benedicite maledicentibus vos. *Brix.*

44. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. *Rec.*
—pray for them who despitefully use you and persecute you. *Auth.*

προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. *Cant.*	orate pro calumniantibus et persequentibus vos. *Verc.*
προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. *Vat.*	orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos. *Vulg.*
προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. *Mosc.*	orate pro calumniantibus *vobis* et persequentibus vos. *Brix.*

The preceding short specimen will sufficiently evince the affinity subsisting between the Latin and Greek manuscripts, throughout the different classes into which they may be divided: at the same time it will illustrate the dissimilarity which those classes exhibit among themselves, in either language, regarded separately. Still further to evince the affinity which in other respects they possess among themselves, Mr. Nolan exhibits a connected portion, comprising the first twelve verses of the fifth chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, in the original and the translation; from which we select the six following examples:

CLASS I.

Codex Cantabrigiensis.	*Codex Vercellensis.*
1. Ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ καθισαν[ιθ]· αὐτοῦ, προσῆλθον [αὐτῷ] οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·	1. Videns autem Jesus turbam, ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus;
2. Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς λέγων·	2. Et aperuit os suum, et docebat eos dicens:

3. Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

5. Μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς· ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

4. Μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.

6. Μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην· ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.

3. Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

5. Beati mites: quoniam ipsi hereditate possidebunt terram.

4. Beati qui lugent: quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.

6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

CLASS II.

Codex Vaticanus.

1. Ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους, ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ, προσῆλθον [αὐτῷ] οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·

2. Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων.

3. Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

4. Μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.

5. Μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς· ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

6. Μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην· ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.

Versio Vulgata.

1. Videns autem turbas ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus:

2. Et aperiens os suum, docebat eos dicens:

3. Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

5. Beati mites: quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram.

4. Beati qui lugent: quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.

6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

CLASS III.

Codex Moscuensis.

1. Ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους, ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.

2. Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων.

3. Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

4. Μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες· ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.

5. Μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς· ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.

6. Μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην· ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.

Codex Brixiensis.

1. Videns autem turbas ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset accesserunt ad eum discipuli ejus;

2. Et aperiens os suum, docebat eos dicens:

3. Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum.

4. Beati qui lugent: quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.

5. Beati mansueti: quoniam ipsi hereditabunt terram.

6. Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt justitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.

On these different classes of manuscripts in the Greek and Latin, Mr. Nolan remarks, that it must be evident, on the most casual inspection, that the manuscripts in both languages possess the same text, though manifestly of different classes. "They respectively possess that identity in the choice of terms and arrangement of the

language, which is irreconcilable with the notion of their having descended from different archetypes. And though these classes, in either language, vary among themselves, yet, as the translation follows the varieties of the original, the Greek and Latin consequently afford each other mutual confirmation. The different classes of text in the Greek and Latin translation, as thus coinciding, may be regarded as the conspiring testimony of those churches, which were appointed the witnesses and keepers of Holy Writ, to the existence of three species of text in the original and in the translation."[1]

Having thus produced the testimony of the eastern and western churches to the existence of these classes, the learned inquirer proceeds to ascertain the *antiquity* of the classes; which he effects by the Latin translation.

"As the existence of a translation necessarily implies the priority of the original from which it was formed; this testimony may be directly referred to the close of the fourth century. The Vulgate must be clearly referred to that period, as it was then formed by St. Jerome; in its bare existence of course the correspondent antiquity of the Greek text, with which it agrees, is directly established. This version is, however, obviously less antient than that of the Verceli or Brescia manuscript; as they are of the old Italic translation, while it properly contitutes the new. In the existence of the antient version, the antiquity of the original text with which it corresponds is consequently established. The three classes of text, which correspond with the Vulgate and Old Italic Version, must be consequently referred to a period not less remote than the close of the fourth century."[2]

The system of classification being thus carried up as high as the fourth century, Mr. Nolan justifies it by the testimony of Jerome; for this learned father, who lived at that period, asserts the existence of three classes of text in the same age, which respectively prevailed in Egypt, Palestine, and Constantinople. The identity of these classes with the different classes of text which still exist in the Greek original and Latin translation[3], our author then proceeds to establish. And this he effects by means of the manuscripts which have been written, the versions which have been published, and the collations which have been made, in the different countries to which St. Jerome refers his classes; founding every part of his proofs on the testimony of Adler, Birch, Woide, Münter, and other critics who have analysed the text and versions of the New Testament.

The result of this investigation is, that the three classes of text, which are discoverable in the Greek manuscripts, are nearly identical with the three editions, which existed in the age of Jerome; with which they are identified by their coincidence with the Latin translation which existed in the age of that Christian father. Of the *first class*, the *Codex Bezæ* or Cambridge manuscript, is an exemplar: it contains the text, which Jerome refers to Egypt, and ascribes to Hesychius. Of the *second class*, the *Codex Vaticanus*, or Vatican

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[1] Nolan's Inquiry, p. 70.

[2] Ibid. pp. 70, 71.

[3] To which is now to be added the Peschito or Old Syriac Version. The identity above noticed will be fully illustrated in the new edition of his 'Inquiry,' which Mr. Nolan is preparing for publication.

manuscript, forms the exemplar, and contains the text, which Jerome refers to Palestine, and ascribes to Eusebius; and of the *third class*, the Moscow manuscript collated by Matthæi, and by him noted with the letter V. and the Harleian manuscript in the British Museum, No. 5684, noted G. by Griesbach, are the exemplars, and contain the text, which Jerome attributes to Lucian, and refers to Constantinople. The result of Mr. Nolan's long and elaborate discussion is that, as the Occidental or Western, Alexandrine, and Byzantine texts (according to Griesbach's system of recensions) respectively coincide with the Egyptian, Palestine, and Byzantine texts of Mr. N., we have only to substitute the term Egyptian for Western, and Palestine for Alexandrine, in order to ascertain the particular text of any manuscript which is to be referred to a peculiar class or edition. "The artifice of this substitution admits of this simple solution: the Egyptian text was imported by Eusebius of Verceli into the West, and the Palestine text republished by Euthalius at Alexandria, the Byzantine text having retained the place in which it was originally published by Lucianus. In a word, a manuscript which harmonises with the Codex Cantabrigiensis, must be referred to the first class, and will contain the text of Egypt. One, which harmonises with the Vatican manuscript, must be referred to the second class, and will contain the text of Palestine. And one, which harmonises with the Moscow manuscript, must be referred to the third class, and will contain the text of Constantinople."[1]

The advantages resulting from the system of recensions just developed are two-fold:—In the first place, it leads not only to a more adequate method of classification, but also to the discovery of a more antient text, by means of the priority of the Old Italic Version to the New or Vulgate Latin of Jerome. And, secondly, it coincides with the respective schemes of Dr. Griesbach and of M. Matthæi, and derives support from their different systems. It adopts the three classes of the former, with a slight variation merely in the name of the classes; and, in ascertaining the genuine text, it attaches the same authority to the old Italic translation, which the same distinguished critic has ascribed to that version. It likewise agrees with the scheme of Matthæi, in giving the preference to the Κοινη Εκδοσις, the Greek Vulgate or Byzantine text, over the Palestine and Egyptian, but it supports the authority of this text on firmer grounds than the concurrence of the Greek manuscripts. "Hence, while it differs from the scheme of M. Matthæi, in building on the Old Italic Version, it differs from that of Dr. Griesbach, in distinguishing the copies of this translation, which are free from the influence of the Vulgate, from those which have been corrected since the times of Eusebius of Verceli, of Jerome, and Cassiodorus. And it affords a more satisfactory mode of disposing of the multitude of various readings, than that suggested by the latter, who refers them to the intentional or accidental corruptions of transcribers; or by that of the former, who ascribes them to the correction of the original Greek by the Latin translation: as it traces them to the influence of the text which was published by Eusebius, at the command of Constantine." We may therefore safely adopt the sys-

[1] Nolan's Inquiry, pp. 105, 106.

tem of recensions proposed by Mr. Nolan in preference to any other: not only on account of its comprehensiveness, but also because (independently of its internal consistency, and the historical grounds on which it is *exclusively* built,) it embraces the different systems to which it is opposed, and reconciles their respective inconsistencies. But, notwithstanding the strong—we may add, indisputable—claims to precedence which his system of recensions possesses, it is greatly to be feared that the classification of recensions proposed by Griesbach has obtained such a general reception as will prevent the adoption of Mr. Nolan's system much beyond the limits of this country. In giving a decided preference to the latter, the author of this work trusts that he shall be acquitted of any intention to undervalue the critical labours of Dr. Griesbach, which, from the comprehensive brevity of his plan of classifying manuscripts, and the scrupulous accuracy of his execution of it, have unquestionably rendered the highest service to sacred literature. As a general and correct index to the great body of Greek manuscripts, they are an invaluable treasure to the scholar, and a necessary acquisition to the divine: at the same time, his collection of various readings is admirably calculated to satisfy our minds on a point of the highest moment,—the integrity of the Christian Records. Through the long interval of seventeen hundred years,—amidst the collision of parties,—the opposition of enemies—and the desolations of time, they remain the same as holy men read them in the primitive ages of Christianity. A very minute examination of manuscripts, versions, and fathers, proves the *inviolability* of the Christian Scriptures. "They all coincide in exhibiting the same Gospels, Acts, and Epistles; and among all the copies of them which have been preserved, there is not one which dissents from the rest either in the doctrines or precepts, which constitute Christianity. They ALL contain the same doctrines and precepts. For the knowledge of this fact we are indebted to such men as Griesbach, whose zealous and persevering labours to put us in possession of it entitle them to our grateful remembrance. To the superficial, and to the novice, in theology, the long periods of life, and the patient investigation, which have been applied to critical investigation, may appear as mere waste, or, at the best, as only amusing employment: but to the serious inquirer, who, from his own conviction, can declare that he is not following cunningly devised fables, the time, the talents, and the learning, which have been devoted to critical collation, will be accounted as well expended, for the result which they have accomplished. The *real* theologian is satisfied from his own examination, that the accumulation of many thousands of various readings, obtained at the expense of immense critical labour, does not affect a single sentiment in the whole New Testament. And thus is criticism,—which some despise, and others neglect,—found to be one of those undecaying columns, by which the imperishable structure of Christian Truth is supported." [1]

II. From the coincidence observed between many Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate, or some other Latin version, a suspicion arose in the minds of several eminent critics, that the Greek text had been altered

[1] Eclectic Review, vol. v. part i. p. 139.

throughout to the Latin; and it has been asserted that at the council of Florence, (held in 1439 with the view of establishing an union between the Greek and Latin churches), a resolution was formed, that the Greeks should alter their manuscripts from the Latin. This has been termed by the learned, *Fœdus cum Græcis*. The suspicion, concerning the altering of the Greek text, seems to have been first suggested by Erasmus, but it does not appear that he supposed the alterations were made before the fifteenth century: so that the charge of *Latinising* the manuscripts did not (at least in his notion of it) extend to the original writers of the manuscript, or, as they are called, the writers *a primâ manu*; since it affected only the writers *a secundâ manu*, or subsequent interpolators. The accusation was adopted and extended by Father Simon and Dr. Mill, and especially by Wetstein. Bengel expressed some doubts concerning it; and it was formally questioned by Semler, Griesbach, and Woide. The reasonings of the two last-mentioned critics convinced Michaelis (who had formerly agreed with Erasmus) that the charge of Latinising was unfounded; and in the fourth edition of his Introduction to the New Testament (the edition translated by Bishop Marsh), with a candour of which there are too few examples, Michaelis totally abandoned his first opinion, and expressed his opinion that the pretended agreement in the *Fœdus cum Græcis* is a mere conjecture of Erasmus, to which he had recourse as a refuge in a matter of controversy. Carrying the proof to its utmost length, it only shows that the Latin translations and the Greek copies were made from the same exemplars; which rather proves the antiquity of the Latin translations than the corruption of the Greek copies. It is further worthy of remark, that Jerome corrected the Latin from the Greek, a circumstance which is known in every part of the Western Church. Now, as Michaelis justly observes, when it was known that the learned father had made the Greek text the basis of his alterations in the Latin translation, it is scarcely to be imagined that the transcribers of the Western Church would alter the Greek by the Latin; and it is still less probable, that those of the Eastern Church would act in this manner.[1]

III. *Further Account of the Principal Manuscripts of the New Testament*, in continuation of No. 11. p. 121. of Appendix.

12. The Codex Cottonianus (Titus C. XV.), preserved in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, is a most precious fragment of the four Gospels, written in silver letters on a faded purple ground. It is one of the oldest (if not the most antient) manuscript of any part of the New Testament that is extant; and contains,

(1.) Part of Saint Matthew's Gospel, beginning at Chapter XXVI. v. 57. and ending with v. 65. of the same Chapter.

(2.) Part of the same Gospel, beginning at Chapter XXVII. v. 26. and ending with v. 34. of the same Chapter.

(3.) Part of Saint John's Gospel, beginning at Chapter XIV. v. 2. and ending with v. 10. of the same chapter.

(4.) Part of the same Gospel, beginning at Chapter XV. v. 15. and ending with v. 22. of the same Chapter.

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[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. part i. pp. 163—173. Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, vol. i. p. 125.

In the accompanying Plate 2. No. 1. we have given a fac-simile of John xiv. 6. from this manuscript, of which the following is a representation in ordinary Greek characters, with the corresponding literal English version.

ΛΕΓΕΙ ΑΥΤΩ ΟΙΣ	SAITH UNTO HIM Js
ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η Ο	I AM THE W
ΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΑΛΗ	AY AND THE TRU
ΘΙΑ ΚΑΙ Η ΖΩΗ	TH AND THE LIFE
ΟΥΔΙΣ ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ	NO MAN COMETH
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΤΡΑ	UNTO THE FTHR
ΕΙ ΜΗ ΔΙ ΕΜΟΥ	BUT BY MR

The words ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (*Jesus*), ΘΕΟΣ (*God*), ΚΥΡΙΟΣ (*Lord*), ΥΙΟΣ (*Son*), and ΣΩΤΗΡ, (*Saviour*), are written in letters of gold; the three first with contractions similar to those in the Codex Alexandrinus, and Codex Bezæ. This precious fragment is acknowledged to have been executed at the end of the fourth, or at the latest in the beginning of the fifth century.

13. The Codex Cyprius, or Colbertinus 5149, noted K in the first volume of Wetstein's and Griesbach's editions of the Greek Testament, is a copy of the four Gospels, originally brought from the Island of Cyprus; and now deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, where it is at present numbered 33. This manuscript was first collated by father Simon[1], whose extracts of various readings were inserted by Dr. Mill in his critical edition of the New Testament[2]. Wetstein charged this manuscript with latinising, but without sufficient evidence. Michaelis deemed it to be of great value, and expressed a wish for a more accurate collation of it. That wish was not realised until the year 1819, when Dr. J. M. A. Scholz, of Heidelberg, being at Paris, subjected this manuscript to a very rigorous critical examination, the results of which he communicated to the public in his *Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum* (4to. Heidelbergæ, 1820): from this work the following particulars are abridged.

This manuscript is written on vellum, in an oblong quarto size, and in excellent preservation. The uncial characters are not round, as in the most antient manuscripts, but leaning; they exhibit evident marks of haste, and sometimes of carelessness in the transcriber, and they present the same abbreviations as occur in the Alexandrian, Vatican, and other manuscripts. In a few instances, accents are absent, but frequently they are incorrectly placed; the spirits (asper and lenis) are often interchanged; and the permutations of vowels and consonants are very numerous. Thus we meet with καικεχυμμενω for κεκχυμμενω (Matthew xiii. 44.); ελθει for ελθη (Mark iv. 22.); ραββει for ραββι (Matt. xxiii. 7. xxvi. 25. 49, &c.); οικοδομητο for ωκοδομητο (Luke iv. 29.); τουτω for τουτο (Luke viii. 9.); Δαδδαιον for Θαδδαιον; εκαθιυδον for εκαθιυδον (Matt. xxv. 5.); Ναζαρειθ for Ναζαρετ (Mark i. 9.) &c. From the confused and irregular manner in which the accents and spirits are placed, Dr. Scholz conjectures that the Codex Cyprius was transcribed from a more antient copy that was nearly destitute of those

[1] Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament, ch. x. p. 104.
[2] Nov. Test. Milli et Kusteri Prolegom. p. 162.

distinctions. Some of the permutations are unquestionably errors of the transcriber, but the greater part of them, he is of opinion, must be referred to the orthography and pronunciation which (it is well known) were peculiar to the Alexandrians. To this manuscript are prefixed a *synaxarium* or epitome of the lives of the Saints, who are venerated by the Greek church, and a *menologium* or martyrology, together with the canons of Eusebius: to each of the three last Gospels is also prefixed an index of the κεφαλαια or larger chapters. The numbers of the Ammonian sectious and larger chapters, are marked in the inner margin; and the numbers of the other chapters, together with their titles, are placed either at the top or at the bottom of the page. The Gospel of St. Matthew comprises 359 Ammonian sections, and 68 chapters; that of St. Mark, 241 sections and 48 chapters; that of St. Luke, 342 sections and 83 chapters; and the Gospel of St. John, 232 sections and 19 chapters. The celebrated passage in John viii. 1—11, concerning the woman who had been taken in adultery, constitutes a distinct chapter. From the occasional notation of certain days, on which particular portions were to be read, as well as from the prefixing of the synaxarium and menologium, Dr. Scholz considers this manuscript as having originally been written, and constantly used, for ecclesiastical purposes.

A considerable difference of opinion prevails, respecting the age of the Codex Cyprius. Simon referred it to the tenth century; Dr. Mill thought it still later; Montfaucon assigned it to the eighth century, and with his opinion Dr. Scholz coincides, from the general resemblance of the writing to that of other manuscripts of the same date. Specimens of its characters have been given by Montfaucon [1], Blanchini [2], and Dr. Scholz [3]. Our fac-simile in plate 2. No. 3. is copied from the last-mentioned writer: it contains part of the first verse of the twenty-eighth chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, in English thus:

INTHEENDOFTHESABBATH·ASITBEGANTODAWNTOWARDSTHEFIRST
DAYOFTHEWEEK·CAMEMARYMAGDALENE

This manuscript is of considerable importance in a critical point of view, particularly as it affords great weight to the readings of the best and most antient MSS., antient versions and the fathers [4]. From the

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[1] Palæographia Græca, p. 232.

[2] Evangeliarium Quadruplex, Part I. p. 492. plate 3, from that page.

[3] At the end of his Curæ Criticæ in Historiam textus Evangeliorum. In pp. 80—90, Dr. Scholz has given the *first entire* collation ever published, of the Various Readings contained in the Codex Cyprius.

[4] Dr. Scholz (Cur. Crit. pp. 63—65) has given several instances of such readings, one only of which we have room to notice. In John vii. 8. the Codex Cyprius reads ουκ αναβαινω, which in later manuscripts is altered to ουπω αναβαινω, because the celebrated antagonist of Christianity, Porphyry, had used it as a ground of objection. With the Codex Cyprius agree the Cambridge Manuscript, the Codices Regii, 14, (33 of Griesbach's notation), and 55 (17 of Griesbach), several of the Moscow manuscripts cited by Matthæi, the Memphitic and Ethiopic versions, together with several of the Antehieronymian versions, and, among the fathers, Jerome, Augustine, Cyril, Chrysostom, and Epiphanius. This reading alone proves that the Codex Cyprius has *not* been altered from the Latin, as Wetstein asserted without any authority.

peculiarity of lections in this manuscript, which (Dr. Scholz shows) was never removed from Cyprus where it was written, until the eighteenth century, he is of opinion that it constitutes a distinct recension or text of the New Testament.[1]

14. The Codex Basileensis B. VI. 21, noted by Dr. Mill, B. 1., by Bengel, Bas. α, and by Wetstein and Griesbach, E., is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in uncial letters, in the eighth or (more probably) ninth century. It is mutilated in Luke i. 69.—ii. 4., iii. 4.—15., xii. 58.—xiii. 12., xv. 8—20; and xxiv. 47. to the end of the Gospels: but the chasms in Luke i. 69.—ii. 4., xii. 58.—xiii. 12., and xv. 8—20. have been filled up by a later hand. This manuscript was not used by Erasmus; but was collated by Samuel Battier for Dr. Mill, who highly valued it; by Iselin, for Bengel's edition of the New Testament; and by Wetstein, who has given its readings in his edition.[2]

15. The Codex San-Germanensis is a Greek-Latin manuscript of Saint Paul's Epistles, written in the seventh century, in uncial letters, and with accents and marks of aspiration, *à primâ manu*. It has been generally supposed to be a mere copy of the Codex Claromontanus (described in Vol. II. Part II., Appendix, pages 114, 115); but this opinion is questioned by Dr. Semler, in his critical examination of this manuscript, who has produced many examples, from which it appears that if the transcriber of it actually had the Clermont MS. before him, he must at least have selected various readings from other manuscripts. Bishop Marsh, therefore, considers the San-Germanensis as a kind of *Codex Eclecticus*, in writing which the Clermont MS. was principally but not at all times consulted. The manuscript now under consideration takes its name from the monastery of St. Germain-des-Prez, in Paris, in whose library it is preserved. Dr. Mill first procured extracts from it, for his edition of the New Testament, where it is noted by the abbreviation Ger. for Germanensis. By Wetstein, it is noted E 2., and by Griesbach E.

According to Montfaucon, there is also extant another more antient Codex San-Germanensis of Saint Paul's Epistles, which has never been collated. It is a fragment, containing only thirteen leaves; and is supposed to be as antient as the fifth century.[3]

16. The Codex Augiensis is a Greek-Latin manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles; it derives its name from the monastery of Augia major, at Rheinau, to which it belonged in the fifteenth century. After passing through various hands, it was purchased by the celebrated critic, Dr. Richard Bentley, in 1718; and in 1787, on the death of the younger Bentley, it was deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. This manuscript is defective from the

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[1] See an account of the Cyprian Recension in p. 12 of this supplement.

[2] Marsh's Michaelis, Vol. ii. Part i. pp. 217, 218.

[3] Michaelis, Vol. ii. Part i. p. 314. Part ii. pp. 784, 785.; Montfaucon's Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, tom. ii. p. 1041. In his Palæographia Græca, he has given a fac-simile of the Greek and Latin characters of the Codex San-Germanensis. Another fac-simile of them is given by Blanchini, in his Evangeliarium Quadruplex, Vol. i. in the last of the plates annexed to p. 533.

Codex Harleianus.

N.º 5598 *John 1.18.*

ΙΟΥΔΕΙΟΕΩ
ΑΚΕΠΩΠΟΤΕ
ΛΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΟΥΟ
ΥΝΕΙΟΤΟΝΚΟΛ
ΝΤΟΥΠΡΟΕΚΕΙ
ΟΕΞΗΓΗΟΑΤΟ

ΟΟΗΕΙΟΜΙΑΝ

ΑΛΗΝΗ

H. Mutlow sc.

beginning to Rom. iii. 8., and the Epistle to the Hebrews is found only in the Latin version. Michaelis assigns it to the ninth century, which (Bishop Marsh remarks) is the utmost that can be allowed to its antiquity. The Greek text is written in uncial letters without accents, and the Latin in Anglo-Saxon characters; it has been collated by Wetstein, who has noted the Codex Augiensis with the letter F in the second part of his edition of the New Testament. In many respects it coincides with the Codex Boernerianus, and belongs to the Western Recension. The words Χριστος (*Christ*), and Ιησους (*Jesus*), are not abbreviated by $\overline{\text{XC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IC}}$, as in the common manuscripts, but by $\overline{\text{XPC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IHC}}$, as in the Codex Bezæ.[1]

17. The Codex Harleianus No. 5598. is a most splendid Evangelistarium, or collection of lessons from the four Gospels, unknown to Dr. Griesbach; it is written on vellum, in uncial Greek letters, which are gilt on the first leaf, and coloured and ornamented throughout the rest of the book. It consists of seven hundred and forty-eight pages; and according to an inscription on the last page, was written by one Constantine, a presbyter, A.D. 995. To several of the longer sections, titles are prefixed in larger characters. The passages of the Gospels are noted in the margin, as they occur, by a later hand, and between pages 726 and 729, there are inserted ten leaves of paper, containing the series of Lessons or Extracts from the Gospels; which are supposed to have been written by Dr. Covell, who was chaplain to the British Embassy at Constantinople A.D. 1670—1677, and was a diligent collector of MSS. In plate 2. No. 2. is given a fac-simile[2] of the third page of this precious manuscript. It represents the eighteenth verse of the first chapter of Saint John's Gospel. We have annexed the same passage in ordinary Greek types, together with a literal English version, in parallel columns.

ΘΝΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΩ	GDNOMANHATHSE
ΡΑΚΕΠΩΠΟΤΕ·	ENATANYTIME·
ΟΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣΥΣ	THEONLYBEGOTTENSN
ΟΩΝΕΙΣΤΟΝΚΟΛ	WHOISINTHEBO
ΠΟΝΤΟΥΠΡΣΕΚΕΙ	SOMOFTHEFHRH
ΝΟΣΕΞΗΓΗΣΑΤΟ·	EHATHMADEHIMKNOWN·

The lines of this venerable MS. are not all of equal length, some containing ten, others ten or more letters in each line. The same contractions of $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$ for Θεος (*God*), $\overline{\Pi P}$ for Πατης (*Father*), $\overline{\Upsilon\Sigma}$ for Υιος (*a son*), &c. which occur in all the most antient Greek manuscripts, are also to be seen in this evangelistarium. As it has *never* yet been collated, it is highly worthy of the attention of future editors of the New Testament.

18. The Codex Regius, 2861 (at present 62 η, or the eighth of the manuscripts collated by Robert Stephens), is a quarto manuscript, on vellum, of the ninth century, and written in uncial letters of an

[1] Michaelis, Vol. ii. Part i. pp. 210, 211. Part ii. pp. 664, 665.
[2] This plate faces page 22, *supra*.

oblong form. The accents are frequently wanting, and are often wrongly placed, even when they are inserted, from which circumstance Griesbach thinks that this manuscript was transcribed from another very antient one, which had no accents. Each page is divided into two columns, and the words follow, for the most part, without any intervals between them. The iota subscriptum and postscriptum are uniformly wanting: the usual abbreviations occur, and the letters AY and OY are sometimes written with contractions as in the Codex Coislinianus 1 (a manuscript of the eighth century); and not seldom a letter is dropped in the middle of a word:—Thus we read in it παραβλη for παραβολη, κλησεται for κληθησεται, κατρωμενος for καταρωμενος, &c. &c. Errors in orthography appear in every page, and also permutations of vowels and consonants. This manuscript contains the four Gospels, with the following chasms, viz. Matt. iv. 21.—v. 14. and xxviii. 17. to the end of the Gospel; Mark x. 17—30. and xv. 10—20.; and John xxi. 15. to the end. The τιτλοι and the Ammonian sections with reference to the canons of Eusebius are written in the Codex Regius *à primâ manu.* It is noted L. by Wetstein, and also by Griesbach[1], who has given a very complete and accurate collection of its various readings in his Symbolæ Criticæ. This manuscript harmonises with the Alexandrine or Western Recension.

19. The Codex Uffenbachianus 2 (1 of Bengel's notation, and No. 53 of Wetstein's and Griesbach's catalogues of manuscripts), is a fragment of the epistle to the Hebrews, consisting of two leaves: it is at present preserved in the public library at Hamburgh. Having been very imperfectly described by Maius, Wetstein, and Bengel, Dr. H. P. C. Henke rendered an important service to biblical literature by subjecting it to a minute critical examination, the result of which he published at Helmstadt, in 1800, in a quarto tract, with a fac-simile of the writing, intitled *Codicis Uffenbachiani, qui Epistolæ ad Hebræos fragmenta continet, Recensus Criticus*[2]. According to this writer, the Codex Uffenbachianus originally consisted of one ternion, or six leaves, of which the four middle ones are lost. It is wholly written in *red* uncial characters, slightly differing from the square form observable in the most antient manuscripts. The accents and notes of aspiration are carefully marked, but the iota subscriptum nowhere occurs: nor are any stops or minor marks of distinction to be seen, except the full stop, which is promiscuously placed at the bottom, in the middle, or at the top of a page, to serve as a comma, colon, or full point. The note of interrogation occurs only once, viz. in Heb. iii. 17., after the word ερημω; but there are scarcely any abbreviations, besides those which we have already noticed as existing in the Alexandrian and other antient manuscripts. It is remarkable, that the first verse of the second chapter is wanting in this manuscript, which is characterised by some pecu-

[1] Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, tom. i. pp. lxvi.—cxli. Michaelis, Vol. ii. Part. i. pp. 304—306. Part ii. pp. 778, 779.

[2] Dr. Henke's publication and fac-simile are reprinted by Pott and Ruperti, in their Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum, vol. ii. pp. 1—32. Helmstadt, 1801; from which our account of the Codex Uffenbachianus is abridged.

liar readings. M. von Uffenbach, who was its first *known* possessor, referred it to the seventh or eighth century. Wetstein asserted it to have been written in the eleventh century; but, on comparing it with the specimens of manuscripts engraved by Montfaucon and Blanchini, we are of opinion with Dr. Henke, that it was executed in the ninth century. In its readings, the Codex Uffenbachianus sometimes approximates to the Alexandrian, and sometimes to the Western Recension.

20. The CODICES MANNERS-SUTTONIANI are a choice collection of manuscripts, in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, which have been purchased, and presented to that library by his Grace the present Archbishop. They are principally the collection made by the late Rev. J. D. Carlyle, Professor of Arabic in the university of Cambridge, during his travels in the east, with a view to a critical edition of the New Testament, with various readings; which however was never undertaken, in consequence of his lamented decease. Of these manuscripts (which are chiefly of the New Testament, and are numbered from 1175 to 1209), the following are particularly worthy of notice, on account of the harvest of various lections which they may be expected to afford.

(1.) No. 1175 is a manuscript of the four Gospels written on vellum, in quarto, towards the end of the eleventh or at the beginning of the twelfth century. The two first verses of the first chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel are wanting. At the end of this manuscript, on a single leaf, there are part of the last verse of the seventh chapter of Saint John's Gospel, and the first eleven verses of the eighth chapter.

(2.) No. 1176 is another manuscript of the four Gospels, on vellum, in quarto, written in the twelfth century. On the first leaf there are some figures painted and gilt, which have nearly disappeared from age. This is followed by the chapters of the four Gospels.

(3.) No. 1177 is a manuscript of the four Gospels on vellum, of the twelfth century, which is very much mutilated in the beginning.

(4.) No. 1178 contains the four Gospels, most beautifully written on vellum, in quarto, in the tenth century. The first seven verses and part of the eighth verse of the first chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel are wanting.

(5.) No. 1179 contains the four Gospels, mutilated at the beginning and end. It is on vellum, in quarto, of the twelfth century.

(6.) No. 1180 is a quarto manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the fourteenth century.

(7—11.) Nos. 1181 to 1185 are manuscripts, containing the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, and the whole of Saint Paul's Epistles. They are all written in quarto and on paper. Nos. 1181 and 1183 are of the fourteenth century: No. 1182 is of the twelfth century. The conclusion of Saint John's First Epistle, and the subsequent part of this manuscript, to the end, have been added by a later hand. Nos. 1184 and 1185 are of the fifteenth century. The former is mutilated in the commencement, and begins with Acts vi. 10. Τῃ σοφιᾳ καὶ τῳ πνευματι ᾳ ἐλαλει,—*the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake.* The two last leaves of this manuscript are written by a later hand. No. 1185 is mutilated at the end.

(12.) No. 1186 is a quarto manuscript on vellum, written in the eleventh century, and contains the Epistles of Saint Paul and the Apocalypse. It is unfortunately mutilated at the beginning and end. It commences with Rom. xvi. 15. . . . . ταν (that is, Ολυμπαν) και τους συν αυτοις παντας αγιους,— . . . . *pas* (that is, *Olympas*) *and all the saints which are with them:* and it ends with the words, επι του θρονου, λεγοντες Αμην,—*on the throne, saying, Amen.* Rev. xix. 4. The Rev. H. J. Todd has given a fac-simile of this precious manuscript in his catalogue of the manuscripts in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

(13—15.) Nos. 1187—1189 are lectionaries, from the four Gospels, written on vellum, in the thirteenth century.

(16.) No. 1190 is a manuscript on vellum, written with singular neatness, in the thirteenth century. Formerly it contained the Acts of the Apostles and the Catholic

Epistles, together with the whole of Saint Paul's Epistles. It is sadly mutilated and torn, both in the middle and at the end.

(17.) No. 1191 is a lectionary, from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. It is on vellum, in quarto, of the thirteenth century. It is mutilated both at the beginning and end. All the preceding manuscripts were brought by Professor Carlyle from the Greek Islands.

(18—21.) Nos. 1191, 1194, 1195, and 1196, are lectionaries from the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles. They are on vellum, in quarto, and were written in the thirteenth century. No. 1191 is mutilated at the beginning and end; and No. 1194 at the end. The writing of this last manuscript is singularly neat, and many of the letters are gilt. No. 1195 is also mutilated at the beginning, and No. 1196 at the end.

(22.) No. 1192 is a very beautiful manuscript of the four Gospels, in quarto, written on vellum, in the thirteenth century.

(23.) No. 1193 is a lectionary from the four Gospels, also written on vellum, in the thirteenth century. It is mutilated at the end. The six last manuscripts, Nos. 1191—1196, were brought from Syria. [1]

21. The Codices Mosquenses, or Moscow manuscripts, are fifty-five in number. They were discovered by M. Matthæi, while he was a professor in that city, principally in the library belonging to the Holy Synod; and were collated by him with great accuracy. The principal various readings, derived from them, are printed in his edition of the Greek Testament. Though these MSS. are not of the highest antiquity, yet they are far from being modern, since some of them were written in the eighth, several in the tenth or eleventh, and many in the twelfth, century. As the Russian is a daughter of the Greek church, Michaelis remarks that the Moscow Manuscripts very frequently contain the readings of the Byzantine recension, though he has observed many readings that were usual not only in the west of Europe, but also in Egypt. Of the Codices Mosquenses, there are three, which Matthæi designates by the letters V, H, and B, and to which he gives a high character for antiquity, correctness, and agreement: they are all written in uncial characters. The Manuscript V. contains the four Gospels; from John vii. 39. to the end is the writing of the twelfth or thirteenth century: the preceding part is of the eighth century. B. is an Evangeliarum or collection of the four Gospels, of the same date: H. is also an Evangeliarum, and in the judgment of Matthæi, the most antient manuscript known to be extant in Europe. V. and H. were principally followed by him, in forming the text of his edition of the New Testament. [2]

22. The Codex Brixiensis or Brixianus is a precious manuscript of the Old Italic (Latin Version) executed in the eighth century, preserved at Brescia, in Lombardy. It is an oblong quarto, written in uncial characters, on purple vellum, which in the lapse of time has faded to a blueish tinge. The letters were written with ink, and subsequently silvered over. The initial words of each Gospel have been

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[1] Catalogue of the MSS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, by the Rev. H. J. Todd. pp. 261, 262, folio, London, 1812. From the circumstance of the Codices Manners-Suttoniani being brought partly from Greece, and partly from Syria, it is probable that, whenever they may be collated, it will be found that those from the former country will be found to harmonise with the Byzantine Recension; and those from the latter, with the Palestine Recension.

[2] Michaelis, Vol. ii. Part i. pp. 288, 289. Part ii. pp. 763—767. In Beck's Monogrammata Hermeneutices Librorum Novi Testamenti (pp. 67—71, 98.) and Griesbach's second edition of the Greek Testament (pp. cxxiii.—cxxvi.), there are lists of the Moscow Manuscripts. Prof. Matthæi has also given notices of them, with occasional fac-similes, in the different volumes of his edition of the Greek Testament.

traced with gold, vestiges of which are still visible. The letters O. and V., T. and D., are frequently interchanged, and especially the letters B. and V. To the Gospels are prefixed the Eusebian Canons [1]. The Codex Brixiensis is very frequently referred to by Mr. Nolan in his inquiry into the integrity of the Greek Vulgate or received text of the New Testament, on account of its antiquity and importance, in vindicating the integrity of that text. It is printed by Blanchini in his Evangeliarium Quadruplex.

23. The Codex Basileensis (noted by Bengel Bas. γ, and by Wetstein and Griesbach 1, throughout their editions) contains the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation, and is written on vellum, with accents. On account of the subscriptions and pictures which are found in it (one of which appears to be a portrait of the emperor Leo, surnamed the Wise, and his son Constantine Porphyrogennetus,) Wetstein conjectures that it was written in their time, that is in the tenth century. Michaelis and Griesbach have acceded to this opinion. Erasmus, who made use of it for his edition of the Greek Testament, supposed it to be a latinising manuscript, and his supposition was subsequently adopted by Wetstein; but Michaelis has vindicated it from this charge, and asserts that it is entitled to very great esteem. [2]

24. The Codex Corsendoncensis, which is in the imperial library at Vienna, is noted 3 by Wetstein and Griesbach. It was used by Erasmus for his second edition, and contains the whole of the New Testament, except the book of Revelation. It appears to have been written in the twelfth century, and by an ignorant transcriber, who has inserted marginal notes into the text. Wetstein charges it with being altered from the Latin. [3]

25. The Codex Regius, formerly 2244^2, at present 50, (noted Paris. 6 by Kuster, 13 by Wetstein, and *13 by Griesbach), is a manuscript of the four Gospels in the royal library at Paris. Though not more antient, probably, than the thirteenth century, it is pronounced by Michaelis to be of very great importance: it has the following chasms, which were first discovered by Griesbach, viz. Matt. i. 1. —ii. 21.; xxvi. 33—53., xxvii. 26.—xxviii. 10.; Mark i. 2. to the end of the chapter; and John xxi. 2. to the end of the Gospel. The various readings from this manuscript given by Kuster and Wetstein are very inaccurate. Matt. xiii. xiv. and xv. were the only three chapters actually collated by Griesbach, who expresses a wish that the whole manuscript might be completely and exactly collated, especially the latter chapters of the Gospels of Luke and John. In consequence of this manuscript harmonising in a very eminent manner with the quotations of Origen, he refers it to the Alexandrine edition, though he says it has a certain mixture of the Western. [4]

26. The Codex Leicestrensis is a manuscript of the whole New Testament, written by a modern hand, partly on paper and partly on

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[1] Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex, tom. i. Prolegomena, pp. 1—40.
[2] Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 218—220. [3] Ibid. p. 255.
[4] Michaelis, vol. i. part i. pp. 302, 303.—Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. i. pp. cliv.—clxiv. Nov. Test. vol. i. p. cv.

vellum, and referred by Wetstein and Griesbach to the fourteenth century. It is noted by Dr. Mill by the letter L., in the first part of Wetstein's New Testament Codex 69, in the second, 37, in the third, 31, and in the fourth, 14, and by Griesbach, 69. It is defective from the beginning as far as Matt. xviii. 5., and has also the following chasms, viz. Acts x. 45.—xiv. 7. Jude 7. to the end of that Epistle, and Rev. xxi. to the end. It has many peculiar readings; and in those which are not confined to it, this manuscript chiefly agrees with D. or the Codex Cantabrigiensis: it also harmonises in a very eminent manner with the Old Syriac version; and, what further proves its value, several readings, which Dr. Mill found in it alone, have been confirmed by other manuscripts that belong to totally different countries. The Codex Leicestrensis was first collated by him, and afterwards more accurately by Mr. Jackson, the learned editor of Novatian's works, whose extracts were used by Wetstein. There is another and still more accurate transcript of Mr. J.'s collation in his copy of Mill's edition of the Greek Testament, which is now preserved in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge, where it is marked O, Θ, I.[1]

6. The Codex Vindobonensis, Lambecii 31 (124 of Griesbach) is a manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the eleventh or twelfth century: it has been collated by Treschow, Birch, and Alter. It is of very great importance, and agrees with the Codex Cantabrigiensis in not less than eighty unusual readings; with the Codex Ephremi in upwards of thirty-five; with the Codex Regius 2861, or Stephani π, in fifty; with the Codex Basileensis in more than fifty, and has several which are found in that manuscript alone; with the Codex Regius 2244[2], in sixty unusual readings; and with the Codex Colbertinus 2844, in twenty two.[2]

CHAPTER II.

EDITIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

(Referred to Vol. I. p. 235, and supplementary to Vol. II. Part II. pp. 132—143.)

26. Simonis Colinæi.—Ἡ Καινη Διαθηκη. Ἐν λευκετια των παρισιων, παρα τω Σιμωνι Κολιναιω, δεκεμβριου μηνος δευτερου φθινοντος, ἔτει απο της θεογονιας α. φ. λ. δ. (Paris, 1534, 8vo.)

An edition of singular rarity, beauty, and correctness. Colinæus was a very careful printer. He has been unjustly charged with partiality, in following some unknown manuscripts; but from this accusation he has been fully exonerated by Dr. Mill and Wetstein.

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[1] Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 355—357. part ii. pp. 749, 750. Bp. Marsh adds, "This copy of Mill's Greek Testament, with Jackson's marginal readings, is a treasure of sacred criticism, which deserves to be communicated to the public. It contains the result of all his labours in that branch of literature; it supplies many of the defects of Mill, and corrects many of his errors: and, beside quotations from manuscripts and antient versions, it contains a copious collection of readings from many of the fathers, which have hitherto been very imperfectly collated, or wholly neglected. Ibid. p. 750.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. part ii. p. 870.

27. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Lectiones Variantes Griesbachii præcipuas, necnon quamplurimas voces ellipticas, adjecit Adamus Dickinson. Edinburgi, typis academicis, 12mo. 1811, edit. secunda, 1817.

This edition is avowedly designed for *young* students of the Greek Testament. The principal elliptical words are printed at the foot of the page; they are selected from Bos, Schoettgenius, and Leisner. The chief various readings of Griesbach are prefixed in four pages. The text is that of Dr. Mill, and is very neatly stereotyped.

28. Testamentum Novum Græcè, ad fidem Recensionis Schoettgenianæ; addita ex Griesbachii apparatu Lectionis varietate præcipuæ. Upsaläe, 1820. 8vo.

Schoettgenius published his very useful editions of the Greek Testament at Leipsic in 1744 and 1749, 8vo. intitled Η Κ·ινη Διαθηκη. *Novum Testamentum Græcum. In sectiones divisit, interpunctiones accurate posuit, et dispositionem logicam adjecit Christianus Schoettgenius.* His divisions into sections and his punctuation are very judiciously executed; the common divisions of chapters and verses are retained in the margin. He has followed the *Textus Receptus.* Schoettgen's edition is the basis of the Upsal one above noticed.

29. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Ad fidem optimorum librorum recensuit A. H. Titmannus, Prof. Lips. Lipsiæ, 1820. 18mo.

Of all the critical editions of the New Testament, that have fallen under the author's observation, this of Professor Titmann is one of the most useful, as it unquestionably is the *cheapest.* The text is a corrected one; that is, Prof. T. has inserted in it such various readings, as are in his judgment preferable to those commonly received, and which have been approved by the most eminent critics; and he has printed an index of the altered passages at the end of the volume. Its portability, in addition to its intrinsic excellence, is no mean recommendation of it to students of the New Testament; the Greek characters, though small, being very distinctly and neatly stereotyped. There are copies on fine paper.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MODERN VERSIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

(Supplementary to Vol. I. pp. 254—306.)

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CIRCULATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

I. *Scarcity and high prices of the Scriptures.*—II. *Rude attempts to convey an idea of their contents to the poor and illiterate.—Account of the* BIBLIA PAUPERUM.—III. *Number and classification of the translations of the Bible into Modern Languages.*

I. THE versions noticed in Vol. I. pp. 254—306, are all that are of importance for the purposes of biblical criticism: but copies of them do not appear to have been very numerous in any country. In the early ages of Christianity, however anxious its professors must

have been to become possessed of the sacred volume,—and however widely it was read in their assemblies for divine worship,—still the publication of a version was not what it now is,—the emission of thousands of copies into the world. It consisted, in a great measure, in translators permitting their manuscripts to be transcribed by others: and so long as the tedious process of copying was the only one which could be resorted to, exemplars of the sacred writings must have been multiplied very slowly. Before the inventions of paper and printing, manuscripts were the only books in use, and bore such excessively high prices, especially those which were voluminous, that few besides the most opulent could afford to purchase them[1]: even monasteries of some consideration had frequently only a missal. So long as the Roman empire subsisted in Europe, the reading of the Scriptures in Latin universally prevailed: but, in consequence of the eruptions of the barbarous nations, and the erection of new monarchies upon the ruins of the Roman power, the Latin language became so altered and corrupted, as no longer to be intelligible by the multitude, and at length it fell into disuse, except among the ecclesiastics.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, when the Vulgate Latin version had ceased to be generally understood, there is no reason to suspect any intention in the church of Rome to deprive the laity of the Scriptures. "Translations were freely made, although the acts of the Saints were generally deemed more instructive. Louis the Debonair is said to have caused a German version of the New Testament to be made. Otfrid, in the same" (that is the ninth) "century, rendered the Gospels, or rather abridged them, into German verse: this work is still extant, and is, in several respects, an object of curiosity. In the eleventh or twelfth century, we find translations of the Psalms, Job, Kings, and the Maccabees, into French. But after the diffusion of heretical principles, it became expedient to secure the orthodox faith from lawless interpretation. Accordingly the council of Thoulouse, in 1229, prohibited the laity from possessing the Scriptures; and this prohibition was frequently repeated upon subsequent occasions."[2]

II. Although the invention of paper, in the close of the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century, rendered the transcription of books less expensive, yet their cost necessarily placed them out of the reach of the middling and lower classes, who (it is well known) were immersed in the deepest ignorance. Means, however, were subsequently devised, in order to convey a rude idea of the leading facts of Scripture, by means of the *Block Books* or *Books of Images*, as they are termed by bibliographers, of which the following notice may be not unacceptable to the reader.

The manufacturers of playing cards, which were first invented[3]

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[1] Concerning the rarity and high prices of books, during the dark ages, the reader will find several authentic anecdotes in the first volume of an 'Introduction to the Study of Bibliography,' (pp. 345—349.) by the author of this work.

[2] Hallam's View of Europe during the Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 536. 4to edition.

[3] They appear to have been first invented in 1390 by Jacquemin Gringonneur, a painter at Paris, for the amusement of Charles VI. king of France, who had fallen into a confirmed melancholy, bordering on insanity. Rees's Cyclopædia, vol. vi. article *Cards*.

and painted in the fourteenth century, had in the following century begun to engrave on wood the images of the Saints, to which they afterwards added some verses or sentences analogous to the subject. As the art of engraving on wood proceeded, its professors at length composed historical subjects, chiefly (if not entirely) taken from the Scriptures, with a text or explanation engraved on the same blocks. These form the *Books of Images* or *Block Books* just mentioned: they were printed from wooden blocks; one side of the leaf only is impressed, and the corresponding text is placed *below*, *beside*, or *proceeding out of*, the mouth of the figures introduced.

Of all the *Xylographic* works, that is, such as are printed from wooden blocks, the BIBLIA PAUPERUM is perhaps the rarest, as well as the most antient; it is a manual, or kind of catechism of the Bible, for the use of young persons and of the common people, whence it derives its name,—*Biblia Pauperum—the Bible of the Poor;* who were thus enabled to acquire, at a comparatively low price, an imperfect knowledge of some of the events recorded in the Scriptures. Being much in use, the few copies of it which are at present to be found in the libraries of the curious, are for the most part either mutilated or in bad condition. The extreme rarity of this book, and the circumstances under which it was produced, concur to impart a high degree of interest to it.

The Biblia Pauperum consists of forty plates, with extracts and sentences analogous to the figures and images represented therein; the whole are engraven on wood, on one side of the leaves of paper; so that, when folded, they are placed opposite to each other. Thus, as the white sides of the leaves may be cemented together, the total number is reduced to twenty, because the first and last page remain blank. Copies, however, are sometimes found, the leaves of which not having been cemented on their blank side, are forty in number, like the plates. Each plate or page contains four busts, two at the top, and two at the bottom, together with three historical subjects: the two upper busts represent the prophets or other persons whose names are always written beneath them; the two lower busts are anonymous. The middle of the plates, which are all marked by letters of the alphabet in the centre of the upper compartment[1], is occupied by three historical pictures, one of which is taken from the New Testament; this is the *type* or principal subject, and occupies the centre of the page between the two anti-types or other subjects, which allude to it. The inscriptions which occur at the top and bottom of the page, consist of texts of Scripture and Leonine verses.

Thus in the fortieth plate, of which our engraving is a copy[2], the two busts of David and Isaiah are placed in the middle of the upper part of the page, between two passages of the Bible. The *first* of these, on the left of those prophets, is partly taken from the Song of Solomon (chap. v. 7, 8.) and runs thus: *Legitur in Cantico Canti-*

[1] These letters Mr. Dibdin thinks are the origin of the signatures which are used to denote the order of the sheets in printed books. Bib. Spenc. vol. i. p. xxvi.

[2] Made from the last plate or page of the exemplar, which was the late Mr. Willett's. See the engraving facing the first page of this Supplement.

corum quarto capite, quod (or *quo*) *sponsus alloquitur sponsam, et eam sumendo dixit;* "*Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te. Veni, amica mea; veni, coronabere.*" *Sponsus verus iste est Christus; qui, in assumendo eam sponsam, quæ est anime sine macula omnis peccati, et introducit eam in requiem eternam, et coronat cum corona immortalitatis.*

The *second* passage, which is on the right of David and Isaiah, is taken from the Book of Revelations, and runs thus: *Legitur in Apocalypsi xxi°. capite, quod angelus Dei apprehendit Johannem Evangelistam, cum esset in spiritu, et volens sibi ostendere archana Dei dixit ad eum;* "*Veni, et ostendam tibi sponsam, uxorem agni.*" *Angelus loquitur ad omnes* * * * *[1], *ut veniant ad auscultandum in sponsum, agnum innocentem Christum, animas innocentes coronantem.*[2]

Beneath the bust of David which is indicated by his name, is a scroll proceeding from his hand, inscribed: * * *[1] *sponsus dominus procedens de thalamo suo.*

Beneath Isaiah is *ysaye vi*, with a label proceeding from his hand, inscribed * * * *[1] *sponsus decoravit me corona.*

The letter , b , between these two labels denotes the order of the plate or page, as the cuts in this work follow each other according to two sets of alphabets, each of which extends from a to b only: when the first series is completed, a second is begun, the letters of which are distinguished by two points , a , , b , , c , &c.

In the central compartment, between the busts above described, is the type or principal subject; it represents the rewards of the righteous in the eternal world, and the Redeemer is introduced as bestowing the crown of life on one of the elect spirits. The anti-type on the left is the daughter of Sion, crowned by her spouse with the following Leonine verse,

Laus aīe vere: spōsū bn̄ sēst here;

that is,

Laus anime vere sponsum bene sensit habere.

The anti-type on the right is an angel, speaking to St. John, with this verse beneath:

Spōs[q] *amat spōsam* X° *nimis et speciosam;*

that is,

Sponsus amat sponsam Christus nimis et speciosam.

From the left hand figure of the bust at the bottom of the plate, proceeds this label: *corona tua c'culigata* [circumligata] *siet* [sit] *et calciamē* [calciamenta] *ī peb*[q] [in pedibus], with a reference to Ezekiel, ch. xxiv., which however throws no light whatever on the subject.

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[1] Two words are here omitted: they are *so* abbreviated in the original, as to defy interpretation.

[2] The above sentences are printed *without* the contractions, which are so numerous and so complex, as to be with difficulty understood by any who are not conversant in antient records and early printed books.

From the figure on the right proceeds the label, *sponsabo te in sempiternum*, &c. with a reference to the prophecy of Hosea, ch. v.[1]

Bibliographers are by no means agreed concerning the age, which they assign to the curious volume above described. Mr. Dibdin[2], it is apprehended, dates it too low, in fixing it to the year 1450: and though the cuts are not designed in so heavy and Gothic a style as Baron Heinecken ascribes to them, yet the execution of them on the wood-blocks is confessedly very coarse, as our specimen (which is an exact fac-simile) will abundantly prove. The form of the letters also is too Gothic, and too void of proportion to bear so late a date: indeed, if they be compared with the letters exhibited in some of the fac-similes in the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (which are supposed to have been executed between 1420 and 1430), the similarity of coarseness in the shape of the letters, will render it probable that the Biblia Pauperum is nearly of equal antiquity. In fact, it is this very coarseness of the letters (as Heinecken has remarked) which has caused the edition above described to be preferred to every other of the Biblia Pauperum.[3]

III. The discovery of the art of printing in the fifteenth century, and the establishment of the glorious Reformation throughout Europe, in the following century, facilitated the circulation of the Scriptures. Wherever its pure doctrines penetrated, the nations that embraced it,

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[1] Baron Heinecken, who has examined several copies of this work with minute attention, has discovered five different editions of the Biblia Pauperum; the fifth is easily known, as it has fifty plates. In executing the other four editions, the engravers, he observes, have worked with such exactness, that there is very little difference between any of them, so that it is impossible to determine which is the first. The attentive bibliographer however will discover several variations. These are pointed out by Heinecken, who has described the subjects of the different plates or leaves with much minuteness; as his interesting work is in the hands of every bibliographer and amateur, it will be sufficient to refer to his Idée d'une Collection d'Estampes, pp. 293—333; from which Santander has abridged his neat account, Dict. du xv. Siecle, vol. ii. pp. 207—210. Lambinet (Recherches sur l'Imprimerie, pp. 61—72;) and Daunou (Analyse des Opinions sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, pp. 7—15.) have short but interesting notices, relative to this and the other Books of Images, which will repay the trouble of perusal to those who have not the dear volume of Heinecken, or the elaborate work of Santander.

[2] Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. i. p. xxvi.

[3] The rarity of the Biblia Pauperum has caused the few copies of it, which are known to be extant, to be sold for the most exorbitant prices. These indeed have varied according to the condition and difference of the several editions. The copy which Heinecken describes as the first (and which is noticed above), cost at the sale of M. de Boze, in 1753, 1000 livres, (43l. 15s.); at the sale of M. Gaignat in 1769, 830 livres (36l. 6s.); at the sale of M. Paris in 1791, 51l.; and at that of Mr. Willett, in 1813, two hundred and forty-five guineas! The edition, described by Heinecken as the second, produced at M. Verdussen's sale, in 1776, 250 florins of exchange, (about 24l.); at that of M. la Valliere, in 1783, 780 livres, (34l. 2s. 6d.); and at that of M. Crevenna, in 1789, 946 livres, (41l. 7s. 9d.) Copies of the Biblia Pauperum are in his Majesty's library (formerly Gaignat's copy); in that of Earl Spencer; the Bodleian and Corpus Christi Libraries, at Oxford; in Bennet College Library, Cambridge; in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, (it is very imperfect); in the Royal Library at Paris (formerly Valliere's copy, it is imperfect); and in the Public Library at Basle. For an account of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, and other curious Books of Images, see an Introduction to Bibliography, by the author of this work, vol. ii. Appendix, pp. v.—xiv.; and Baron Heinecken's Idée Générale d'une Collection complete des Etampes. 8vo. Leipsic, 1771.

adopting its grand principle—that the Bible contains the Religion of Protestants, were naturally desirous of obtaining the sacred volume in their respective languages. And even in those countries, into which the Reformed Doctrines were but partially introduced, it was found necessary to yield so far to the spirit of the times, as to admit in a limited degree, vernacular translations among the people[1]. Since the Reformation, wherever learned and pious missionaries have carried the Christian Faith, the Scriptures have been translated into the languages of its professors.

The total number of dialects, spoken throughout the world, is computed to be about five hundred; and of these somewhat more than one hundred appear to constitute languages generically distinct, or exhibiting more diversity than resemblance to each other. Into upwards of one hundred and fifty of these various dialects, the sacred Scriptures have been translated, either wholly or in part; and not less than sixty of them are versions in the languages and dialects of Asia. It is obvious that very few modern versions can be of service in the criticism or interpretation of the Bible; but as the author has been censured for omitting them in the former edition of this work, he has endeavoured to supply that deficiency, and to procure the best information possible, on a topic so interesting to every sincere professor of Christianity.

The modern versions of the Scriptures are twofold, viz. in the Latin language, and in the vernacular languages of all the countries in which Christianity has been propagated: and both are made either by persons in communion with the church of Rome or by Protestants.

SECTION II.

ON THE MODERN LATIN VERSIONS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

I. *Modern Latin Versions of the entire Bible executed by persons in communion with the church of Rome.*—1. *Of Pagninus.*—2. *Of Montanus.*—3. *Of Malvenda and Cardinal Cajetan.*—4. *Of Houbigant.*—II. *Modern Latin Versions of the whole Bible executed by Protestants.*—1. *Of Munster.*—2. *Of Leo Juda.*—3. *Of Castalio.*—4. *Of Junius and Tremellius.*—5. *Of Schmidt.*—6. *Of Dathe.*—7. *Of Schott and Winzer.*—III. *Modern Revisions and Corrections of the Vulgate Latin Version, by Catholics and Protestants.*—IV. *Modern Latin Versions of the New Testament.*—1. *Of Erasmus.*—2. *Of Beza.*—3. *Of Sebastiani.*—*Other modern Latin Versions of less note.*

I. OF the modern Latin versions of the Old Testament, made by individuals in communion with the church of Rome, those of Pagninus, Montanus, Malvenda, Cajetan, and Houbigant, are particularly worthy of notice.[2]

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[1] Historical Sketch of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures, by the Rev. Messrs. Thomson and Orme, (8vo. Perth, 1815.) p. 44.

[2] The materials of this section are derived from Masch's and Boerner's Edition of

1. Sanctes Pagninus, a Dominican monk, was the first modern oriental scholar who attempted to make a new translation of the Scriptures from the original languages. Having, in the course of his studies, been led to conceive that the Vulgate Latin Version of Jerome (of which an account has been given in Vol. I. p. 293.), was greatly corrupted, he undertook to form a new translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, following Jerome only where he thought that his version corresponded to the original. Under the patronage of the Popes Leo X. Hadrian VI. and Clement VI., he devoted twenty-five years to this great work; which was first printed at Lyons, in 1528. The Jews, who read it, attested its fidelity. The great fault of Pagninus is, that he has adhered too closely and servilely to the original text; and this scrupulous attachment has made his translation obscure, barbarous, and full of solecisms. He has also altered the commonly received names of men and cities, and has substituted others in their place, which are pronounced according to the pronunciation of the Masorites. Though this translator's labours were very severely criticised by Father Simon, yet he acknowledges his great abilities and learning: and all the later commentators and critics concur in justly commending his work, as being remarkably exact and faithful, and admirably adapted to explain the literal sense of the Hebrew text. Pagninus afterwards translated the New Testament from the Greek, which he dedicated to his patron, Pope Clement VII. It was printed with the former at Lyons, in 1528.

2. The translation of Pagninus was revised by Benedict Arias Montanus, who has erroneously been considered as a new translator of the Bible in the Latin language. His chief aim was, to translate the Hebrew words by the same number of Latin ones; so that he has accommodated his whole translation to the most scrupulous rules of grammar, without any regard to the elegance of his Latinity. Montanus's edition, therefore, may be considered rather as a grammatical commentary, than a true version, and as being adapted to instruct young beginners in the Hebrew than to be read separately: being printed interlinearily, with the Latin word placed exactly over the Hebrew, it saves the student the trouble of frequently referring to his Lexicon. In the New Testament, Montanus changed only a few words in the Vulgate version, where he found it to differ from the Greek. This translation has been very frequently printed in various sizes; but the best edition is the first, which is in folio, and printed at Antwerp in 1571.

3. The translation of Thomas Malvenda, a Spanish Dominican, being more grammatical and barbarous than that of Montanus, is but little esteemed, and has fallen into oblivion. The version, which bears the name of Cardinal Cajetan, strictly speaking, is not his production; having been made by two persons (one a Jew, the other a Christian), both of whom were well skilled in the original language of the sacred volume. The whole of the New Testament was likewise translated, except the Revelation. Cajetan carefully avoided those

Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. ii. Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta, vol. iv. pp. 64—76. Carpzovii Critica Sacra Veteris Testamenti, pp. 707—757. Simon's Hist. Critique du Vieux Testament, livre ii. ch. xxii.

barbarous expressions which he must have used, if his version had been grammatically literal.

4. The Latin version of the Old Testament, printed by Father HOUBIGANT in his critical edition of the Hebrew Bible is not framed according to the present Hebrew text, but according to the text, as he thought it should be corrected by manuscripts, antient versions, and critical conjectures. His Latin version and Prolegomena have been printed separately in two volumes, 4to.

II. Since the Reformation, several Latin versions of the Old Testament have been made from the original Hebrew by learned Protestants. The most esteemed are those of Munster, Leo Juda, Castalio, Junius and Tremellius, Schmidt, Dathe, Schott and Winzer.

1. In the year 1534, SEBASTIAN MUNSTER printed at Basle a new translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew: and in 1546 he published a second edition, with the Hebrew text, and with the addition of some notes, which Father Simon thinks useful for understanding the style of the sacred writings. Without rigidly adhering to the grammatical signification of the words, like Pagninus and Montanus, he has given a more free and intelligible version: but by not deviating from the sense of the Hebrew text, he has retained some of its peculiar idioms. He has also availed himself of the commentaries of the best of the rabbinical writers. Though Simon freely censures particular parts of Munster's version, he decidedly prefers it to those of Pagninus and Montanus: and Huet gives him the character of a translator well versed in the Hebrew language, whose style is very exact and conformable to the original.

2. The translation which bears the name of LEO JUDA was commenced by him, but being prevented by death from finishing the work, he left it to be completed by Theodore Bibliander, professor of divinity at Zurich. With the assistance of Conrad Pellican, who was professor of Hebrew in the same place, Bibliander translated the rest of the Old Testament from the Hebrew: the New Testament was undertaken by Peter Cholin and Rodolph Gualter, two learned Protestants, at that time resident at Zurich. This version was first printed in 1543, and was reprinted by Robert Stephens at Paris, in 1545, with the addition of the Vulgate version, in two columns, and with short notes or scholia, but without specifying the translator's name. Though it was condemned by the divines at Paris, it was favourably received by those of Salamanca, who reprinted it with some trifling alterations. Its style is more elegant than that of Munster; but the translator sometimes recedes too far from the literal sense.

3. The Latin version of SEBASTIAN CHATILLON or CASTALIO (as he is generally called) was begun at Geneva, in 1542, and finished at Basle in 1550, where it was printed in the following year, with a dedication to Edward VI. king of England. His design was, to render the Old and New Testaments in elegant Latin; but his style has been severely censured by some critics, as being too much affected, and destitute of that noble simplicity, grandeur, and energy, which characterise the sacred originals. Professor Dathe, however, has vindicated this learned Protestant from these charges. Castalio's version has

been frequently reprinted: the best edition of it, is that printed at Leipsic, in 1738, 8vo.

4. The version of FRANCIS JUNIUS and IMMANUEL TREMELLIUS was first published in 1575; it was subsequently corrected by Junius, and has been repeatedly printed. By the Protestant churches it was received with great approbation, and to this day it is held in great esteem for its simplicity, perspicuity, and fidelity. Father Simon criticised it with great severity; but our learned countryman, Matthew Poole, in the preface to his *Synopsis Criticorum Sacrorum*, reckons it among the best versions: and the ecclesiastical historian, Dupin, commends it for its close adherence to the Hebrew. Junius and Tremellius have been very particular in expressing the article by demonstrative pronouns.

5. In 1696, was published (after the author's decease) a new Latin translation of the Bible, by SEBASTIAN SCHMIDT, who was professor of oriental languages at Strasburgh. Of this version there have been several editions. It is strictly literal; and is chiefly useful to young students in the Hebrew language.

6. The version of JOHN AUGUSTUS DATHE, who was professor of oriental literature at Leipsic, is deservedly in high repute for its general fidelity and elegance, both in this country and on the continent. It was originally published in detached octavo volumes: the Pentateuch in 1781; the Historical Books, in 1784; the Greater Prophets, in 1779, and again in 1785; the Minor Prophets in 1773 (the third edition in 1790); the Psalms, in 1787; and the Books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, in 1789. Professor Dathe "never published any part, until he had repeatedly explained it in his public lectures, and convinced himself that no difficulties remained, but such as could not be removed. In this manner was his translation produced, which may be considered as a perpetual commentary."[1]

7. In the year 1816, another new translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, was commenced by M. M. HENRY AUGUSTUS SCHOTT and JULIUS FREDERICK WINZER. One volume only has appeared, comprising the Pentateuch. This version professes to be very close.

III. Besides the preceding new modern Latin versions, there have been several editions of the Latin Vulgate, so much corrected from the original Hebrew and Greek as in some degree to be considered new translations. Of this number are the Latin Bibles published by Clarius, Eber, and the Osianders.

Isidore Clarius's edition of the Vulgate first appeared at Venice, in 1542, and is of extreme rarity: it was reprinted at the same place in 1557 and 1564. He has not only restored the antient Latin text, but has also corrected it in a great number of places which he conceived to be erroneously translated, so as to make them conformable to the Hebrew original. Although he corrected more than *eight thousand* places, as he states in his preface, yet he omitted some, lest he should offend the Roman Catholics by making too many alterations in the Vulgate version.

[1] Aikin's Biographical Dictionary, vol. x. Supplement, p. 306.

The method of Clarius was followed by Paul Eber, who corrected the Vulgate from Luther's German version. His edition was published at Wittemberg, in 1565, with the addition of Luther's translation, under the authority of Augustus, Elector of Saxony; and was reprinted in 1574, in ten volumes quarto.

The edition of Luke Osiander appeared in 1578, and has since been very often reprinted; as also has a German translation of it, which was first published at Stutgard, in 1600. Andrew Osiander's edition was also printed in 1600, and frequently since. They have both corrected the Vulgate, according to the Hebrew originals; and have occasioned some confusion to their readers, by inserting their emendations in a character different from that in which the Vulgate text is printed.

IV. There are likewise several Latin versions of the New Testament, made both by Catholics and Protestants, of which those of Erasmus, Beza, and Sebastiani are particularly worthy of notice.

1. The celebrated Erasmus has the honour of being the first translator of the New Testament into the Latin language from the original Greek. In this version he followed not only the printed copies, but also four Greek manuscripts; according to the example of Jerome, he varied but little from the Vulgate. The first edition of his translation appeared in 1516, and was dedicated to Pope Leo X., by whom it was highly commended in a letter of thanks which he wrote to Erasmus. The pontiff's praises, however, did not prevent his labours from being censured with great severity by certain Roman Catholic writers, against whom Erasmus defended himself with great spirit. His version has been frequently printed, and corrected, both by himself and by his editors.

2. The Latin version of Theodore Beza was first published in 1556, and has since been repeatedly printed. On account of its fidelity it has always been highly esteemed by Protestants of every denomination. Bishop Walton, indeed, was of opinion that he was justly charged with departing unnecessarily from the common readings, without the authority of manuscripts; but a careful examination of Beza's translation will show that that distinguished prelate was in this instance mistaken.

3. In the year 1817, a new Latin version of the New Testament was published by Leopoldo Sebastiani, the very learned editor of Lycophron (Romæ, 1803, royal 4to), justly celebrated throughout the East, and not altogether unknown in England, for the losses he sustained, and misfortunes he suffered, in consequence of important services which he gratuitously rendered to the British government, while resident in Persia as president of the missionaries sent out by the church of Rome, at the time that Buonaparte attempted to establish relations with the court of Ispahan. The version is made from the text of the Alexandrian manuscript, with which the translator states that he collated several manuscripts and collections of various readings, availing himself also of every critical aid he could procure, and particularly of the writings of the Greek fathers, and the assistance of the most learned of the modern Greek clergy. To obtain the latter, M. Sebastiani expressly travelled

through the whole of Greece. In all *doctrinal* points, this version is made conformable to the tenets inculcated *by the church of Rome.*[1]

The Latin version of M. Schott, which is printed with his critical edition of the Greek Testament, has already been noticed in page 142 of the Appendix: to this professor Keil[2] has added the two following, neither of which has fallen under the writer's observation.

(1.) Chr. Guil. Thalemanni Versio Latina Evangeliorum Matthæi, Lucæ, et Johannis, itemque Actuum Apostolorum, edita a C. C. Tittmanno. Berolini, 1781, 8vo. The remaining books of the New Testament were translated by M. Iaspis, and intitled, Versio Latina Epistolarum Novi Testamenti, perpetua annotatione illustrata a Godofredo Sigismundo Iaspis. Lipsiæ, Vol. I. 1793, Vol. II. 1797, 8vo.

(2.) Sacri Novi Testamenti Libri omnes, veteri Latinitate donati ab Henrico Godofredo Reichardo. Lipsiæ, 1799, 8vo.

SECTION III.

VERSIONS IN THE MODERN LANGUAGES OF EUROPE.

I. GERMAN VERSION *of Luther.—Notice of Ten Versions derived from it.—Notice of other German Versions by Protestants, and by Roman Catholics.—Jewish-German Versions.*—II. VERSIONS IN THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE BRITISH ISLES.—1. *English Versions, particularly Wickliffe's Bible.—Tindal's Bible.—Coverdale's Bible.—Matthewe's.—Cranmer s or the Great Bible.—Geneva Bible.—English Versions by Roman Catholics at Rheims and Douay.—King James's Bible, or the authorised Version now in use.—History of it.—Notice of its best editions.—Its excellency vindicated against recent Objectors.—Testimonies of eminent critics to its fidelity and excellency.*—2. *Welsh Version.*—3. *Irish Version.*—4. *Gaelic Version.*—5. *Manks Version.*—III. FRENCH VERSIONS.—IV. DUTCH VERSION.—V. ITALIAN VERSION.—VI. SPANISH VERSIONS.—VII. RUSSIAN VERSION.—VIII. CROAT VERSION.—IX. BASQUE VERSION.—X. HUNGARIAN VERSION.—XI. POLISH VERSIONS.—XII. BOHEMIAN VERSION.—XIII. ROMAIC *or Modern* GREEK VERSIONS.—XIV. XV. BULGARIAN *and* WALLACHIAN VERSIONS.—XVI. ROMANESE VERSIONS.—XVII. TURKISH VERSIONS.—XVIII. PORTUGUESE VERSION.—XIX. ALBANIAN VERSION.—XX. MALTESE VERSION.

THE translations of the Scriptures into the different modern languages of Europe are so numerous, that it is difficult to obtain correct accounts of all of them. The following table exhibits at one view the *chief* translations which have been made, together with the years of their

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[1] M. Sebastiani's translation is entitled "Novum Testamentum, ob frequentes omnium Interpretationum Hallucinationes, nunc demum ex Codice Alexandrino, adhibitis etiam compluribus manuscriptis variantibusque Lectionibus editis, summa fide ac curâ Latine redditum. Omnibus Sacris Auctoribus Græcis, Sacris Criticis, Glossariis, et Instructioribus per totam Græciam Ecclesiasticis Viris diligentissime consultis. Interprete Leopoldo Sebastiani Romano. Londini, 1817." Royal 8vo.

[2] Keilii Elementa Hermeneutices Novi Testamenti, p. 158. Lipsiæ, 1811, 12mo.

appearance, the names of their authors where these could be ascertained, and the places where they were severally printed.[1]

Translation.	N. T.	Bible.	Author.	Place of Printing.
German - -	1522	1534	Martin Luther -	Wittemberg
English - -	1526	1535	Tindal and Coverdale -	Uncertain
French - -	- -	1535	Robert Olivetan -	Geneva
Swedish - -	1534	1541	Olaus Petri - -	Upsal, Sweden
Danish - -	1524	1550	Palladius and others -	Copenhagen
Dutch - -	- -	1560		
Italian - -	- -	1562	Antonio Brucioli's revised ?	Geneva
Spanish - -	1556	1569	Cassiodorus de Reyna -	Frankfort or Basil
Russian - -	1519	1581	Cyril and Methodius -	Ostrog
Helvetian dialect -	1525	1529	- - -	Zurich
Lower Saxon dialect	- -	1533	- - -	Lubeck
Finnish - -	1548	1642	- - -	Stockholm
Croatian - -	1553	- -	- - -	Tubingen
Basque - -	1571	- -	- - -	Rochelle
Welsh - -	1567	1588	- - -	London
Hungarian -	1574	1589	- - -	Vienna
Wendish - -	- -	1584	- - -	Wittemberg
Icelandic - -	- -	1584	Thorlack - -	Holum, Iceland
Pomeranian dialect -	- -	1588	- - -	Barth
Polish - -	1585	1596	Several - -	
Bohemian - -	- -	1593	Several - -	Cralitz, Moravia
Hebrew - -	1599	- -	Elias Hutter - -	Nuremberg
Modern Greek -	1638	- -	Maximus Calliergi -	Geneva
Wallachian -	1648	- -	- - -	Belgrade
Romanese -	- -	1657	- - -	Schuol
Lithuanian -	- -	1660	Chylinsky - -	London
Turkish - -	1666	- -	Lazarus Seaman -	Oxford
Irish - -	1602	1685	Dr. Daniel, Bp. Bedell	London
Livonian - -	1685	1689	- - -	Riga
Esthonian - -	1685	1689	- - -	Riga
Esthonian, dialect of	1686	- -	- - -	Riga
Dorpatian dialect -	1727			
Grisons - -	- -	1719	- - -	Coire
Upper Lusatian -	1706	1728	Several - -	Bautzen
Lapponic -	1755			
Manks - -	- -	1763	Bishops Wilson and Hildesley	
Gaelic - -	1767	1802	James Stewart and others	Edinburgh
Portuguese	1712	1748–53	Ferreira d'Almeida, Cath.	Amsterdam and Batavia
	1781	1783	Antonio Pereira, Cath.	Lisbon
Spanish - -	- -	1793, 4	Padre Scio - -	Madrid
Maltese - -	1820[2]	- -	Rev. W. Jowett, M.A. and Signor Cannolo	Malta

Of the various translations above enumerated, the following are more particularly worthy of notice.

I. German Versions.—As Germany has the honour of being the country where the art of printing was first discovered, so it was dis-

[1] This table is copied from Messrs. Thomson and Orme's Historical Sketch of the Translation and Circulation of the Scriptures, p. 45, with some corrections.

[2] The Maltese Version was made in 1820, but is not yet printed.

tinguished in the annals of sacred literature, by being the first in which the Holy Scriptures were issued from the press in the vernacular language of its inhabitants. So early indeed as the year 1466, a German translation from the Latin Vulgate was printed, the author of which is unknown[1]. Scarcely, however, had the Reformation commenced, when Luther meditated a new version of the Scriptures for the general use of his countrymen. His first publication comprised the seven penitential Psalms, from the Latin of John Reuchlin. These appeared in 1517, and were followed by the New Testament, in 1522; by the Pentateuch, in 1523; by the Book of Joshua, and the remaining historical Books, in 1524; in which year also appeared the books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. In 1526 was published the prophecies of Jonah and Habakkuk; in 1528, those of Zechariah and Isaiah; in 1529, the apocryphal book of Wisdom; in 1530, the book of Daniel together with the remaining apocryphal books; in 1531, the entire book of Psalms; and in 1531 and 1532, the rest of the prophetical books. All these portions of Luther's translation are of extreme rarity. The first complete and revised edition of the whole Bible was printed at Wittemberg in 1533-35, in folio: and in the revision of it, he is said to have had the assistance of Philip Melancthon. Luther made his version directly from the original Hebrew and Greek, and not one of his numerous enemies ever durst charge him with ignorance of those languages. His translation is represented as being uncommonly clear and accurate, and its style in a high degree pure and elegant. Having originally been published in detached portions, as these were gradually and successively circulated among the people, Luther's version produced sudden and almost incredible effects, and contributed more than any other cause, to extirpate the erroneous principles and superstitious practices of the church of Rome, from the minds of a prodigious number of persons[2]. Since that time it has been printed times without number; and as the Reformation spread, it served as the basis of several other translations, viz.

1. The *Lower Saxon* Translation was printed at Lubeck, in 1533-4. Its authors are not known[3]. This version was undertaken at the suggestion of Luther himself, and under the direction of John Bugenhagius, who wrote a preface, and supplied short notes, and also arguments to the different books.

2. The *Pomeranian* Version was printed in 1588, in quarto, by the command of Bogislaus XIII., duke of Pomerania: it was made from the Wittemberg edition of Luther's Bible, printed in 1545.

3. The *Danish* Version was undertaken by command of Christian III. king of Denmark, and at the suggestion of Bugenhagius: it was printed at Copenhagen in 1550, and is of extreme rarity. Previously to the publication of this version, the New Testament had been translated from the Vulgate, as well as the Psalms, and the five books of Moses. The Danish version was subsequently revised and corrected, in the reigns of Frederick II. and Christian IV. kings of Denmark; the revision, made by command of the last-mentioned monarch, is, we believe, the standard of the succeeding

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[1] A copy of this very rare work is in the splendid collection of Earl Spencer. See a description of it, in Mr. Dibdin's Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. i. pp. 42—47.

[2] Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 60.

[3] Another Lower Saxon Version from the Vulgate was printed at Lubeck in 1494, in two folio volumes. The reader will find a bibliographical notice of it in the Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. i. pp. 56—58.

editions of the Danish Scriptures, which, however, are said to vary considerably from Luther's German version.

4. The *Icelandic* Translation of the entire Bible was printed at Holum, in Iceland, in 1584, under the patronage of Frederick II. The New Testament had been translated by Oddur Gottshalkson (whose father filled the episcopal see of Holum), and printed in Denmark, in 1539, at the expense of Christian III. This was followed by an Icelandic Version of the Epistles and Gospels, for all the Sundays in the year, published in 1562, by Olaf Hialteson, the first Lutheran Bishop of Holum; which may be considered as a second edition of certain portions of Oddur's New Testament, the compiler having availed himself chiefly of that version, in writing out the lessons of which the work consists. In 1580, the Proverbs of Solomon were translated by Gissur Einerson, the first Lutheran Bishop of Skalholt, who also translated the book of Sirach, printed in the same year at Holum. At length, in 1584, as above noticed, the whole of the Old and New Testaments was printed in Icelandic, through the unremitting zeal and pious liberality of Gudbrand Thorlakson, Bishop of Holum, who not only contributed largely to the undertaking himself, but also obtained a munificent donation from Frederick II., with authority to raise a rix-dollar in aid of the work from every church in Iceland. It is not known what share this eminent prelate had in the translation, which is considered as the production of different hands. Gottshalkson's version of the New Testament, as well as of some parts of the Old Testament, was adopted, after having been revised by Gudbrand. This edition has always been very highly esteemed, on account of the purity of its diction; and, even at this day, it is preferred before more modern translations. A second edition of the Icelandic Bible appeared at Holum in 1644, under the editorial care of Thorlak Skuleson, bishop of that see; by whom it was carefully revised and corrected. This is the standard text from which the two most recent impressions of the Icelandic version have been printed.[1]

5. The *Swedish* Version was made from the first edition of Luther's German translation it was begun by Laurence Andreas, and finished by Laurence Petri, and was printed at Upsal in 1541, by the command of Gustavus I. king of Sweden.

6. The *Dutch* Translation appeared in 1560, and after being repeatedly printed, was superseded by a new Protestant translation, of which an account is given in page 73. *infra.*

7.—10. The *Finnish* Version was printed at Stockholm, in 1642[2], and again in 1644[3]. the *Lettish* (or Livonian) at Riga 1689[4]; the *Sorabic* or *Wendish* (a dialect spoken in Upper Lusatia), at Bautzen (Budissæ), in 1728, and again in 1742; and the *Lithuanian* at Königsberg (Regiomonti), in 1735.

Valuable as Luther's German translation of the Scriptures confessedly is, it was severely attacked, on its publication, by the enemies of the reformation, whose productions are enumerated by Walchius[5]. Luther's translation, reformed by the Zuinglians and Calvinists, was printed in various editions at Neustadt, between the years 1679 and 1695; at Herborn in 1695, 1698, 1701-5-8, and 21; at Heidelberg

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[1] The above particulars are abridged from the Rev. Dr. Henderson's 'Historical View of the Translation and different Editions of the Icelandic Scriptures,' in the second volume (pp. 249—306.) of his very interesting Journal of a Residence in Iceland, during the years 1814 and 1815, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1818.

[2] This edition was accompanied with a translation in the *Esthonian* language, spoken in the province of Esthland or Esthonia. It is a totally distinct language, being closely allied to the Finnish. Bp. Marsh's History of Translations, p. 4. *note.* There is also a dialect of the Esthonian, called the *Dorpatian Esthonian*, into which the New Testament was translated and published in the year 1727.

[3] A translation of the Scriptures into the Karelian language (spoken in Karelia, a province of East Finland) is at this time printing under the direction of the St. Petersburg Bible Society; but it is not known whether this version is made from the Finnish, or not.

[4] An edition of the New Testament, both in Livonian and Esthonian, had been already printed at Riga, in 1685 and 1686. The Lettish or Livonian is a Sclavonian dialect.

[5] Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta, vol. iv. pp. 79—81.

in 1617 and 1618, and many times since; at Cassel in 1602; and at Basle in 1651, 1659, and in the last century very frequently.

Between the years 1525 and 1529, Leo Juda published at Zurich a German-Swiss translation of the Scriptures. As far as he could, he availed himself of such parts of Luther's version as were then printed. In 1667 a new and revised edition of Leo Juda's translation was published at Zurich: the alterations and corrections in it are so numerous, that it is considered as a new translation, and is commonly called the *New* Zurich Bible, in order to distinguish it from the *Old* Zurich version of Leo Juda. "It was undertaken by Hottinger, Müller, Zeller, Hoffmeister, and others, and conducted with great care and precision. As their plan seems to have had some resemblance to that pursued by our own admirable translators, and may, perhaps, have been copied from it, this version is more particularly deserving of notice. When these learned men met together, Hottinger and Müller had each of them the Hebrew text put into their hands; Zeller had the old Zurich version, Wasser took the Italian of Giovanni Diodati and Pareus' edition of Luther's Bible, Hoffmeister had the Septuagint and the Junio-Tremellian version before him, and Freitz the Belgian Bible. When any difference arose, the point was argued by them all; each was called upon to give his opinion of the translation which was in his hands; and that reading was adopted, which, after mature consideration, seemed most agreeable to the Hebrew."[1]

As the Zurich version differs very materially from that of Luther, John Piscator undertook another, from the Latin version of Junius and Tremellius, which he has followed very closely. It appeared in detached portions between the year 1602 and 1604, and was repeatedly printed during the seventeenth century. Piscator's version, having become very scarce, has lately been revised by the Biblical and Divinity Professors, and three Pastors of the Helvetic church, who have corrected its orthography, and such words as have become obsolete, previously to an edition of 8000 copies of the entire Bible, and 4000 copies of the New Testament, which has been executed by the Bern Bible Society, aided by a pecuniary grant from the British and Foreign Bible Society of London.

Besides the preceding German Versions made by Protestants, there are also translations made by Roman Catholic divines; some of them appeared almost as early as that of Luther, to which, however, they are greatly inferior in point of perspicuity. Three of these are particularly mentioned by Walchius, viz.

1. That of John Detemberger, whose translation clearly evinces that he was utterly unfit for the task he undertook, and who hesitated not to acknowledge that he was totally ignorant of Hebrew. He took much from Luther, against whom he vehemently inveighs. His translation was first published at Mayence in 1534, and has been several times printed since that time.

2. The Version, which bears the name of John Eckius. He translated only the Old Testament, the New being executed by Jerome

[1] Whittaker's Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures in Europe, p. 33.—Cambridge, 1819, 8vo.

Emser. It was first published in 1537, and has also been repeatedly printed.

3. The Version of Caspar Ulemberg, which was undertken under the patronage of Ferdinand, archbishop and elector of Cologne, is preferred by those of his own communion to all the other German Versions. He follows the Sixtine edition of the Latin Vulgate. This translation first appeared in 1630, and has undergone very numerous impressions.

The three translations just noticed, include the Old and New Testaments. In addition to them, three new versions of the New Testament have, within a few years, been circulated very largely among the Roman Catholics of Germany, who have evinced an ardent desire for the Scriptures, notwithstanding the fulminations of the papal see against them. Of two of these versions, the Ratisbon edition, and that executed by M. Gossner, a learned Catholic priest, formerly of Munich, the author has not been able to obtain any authentic particulars; the third was executed about the year 1812, by the Rev. Leander Van Ess, professor of divinity in the university of Marburg, in conjunction with his brother. It is made directly from the Greek, and has been recommended by the first Protestant clergymen at Dresden and Zurich[1], as well as by several authorities among the Roman Catholic literati, as exhibiting a pure and correct version of the sacred original.[2]

There are also two translations of the Old Testament in the dialect spoken by the Jews in Germany, called the Jewish-German. One was made by Joseph Josel Ben Alexander, and was printed by Joseph Athias at Amsterdam, in 1679: previously to publication it was revised by Rabbi Meir Stern, chief rabbi of the synagogue at Amsterdam. The other Jewish-German translation was executed by Rabbi Jekuthiel Ben Isaac Blitz, and was printed by Uri Veibsch Ben Aaron, also at Amsterdam, in 1679. Kortholt terms this translator a blasphemous impostor, and charges him with having disguised certain prophecies relative to the Messiah, in consequence of his Jewish predilections. Of these two semi-barbarous, unfaithful, and now almost universally neglected translations, which can be of no use whatever in scripture criticism, Carpzov has given an account, with specimens[3]. And as the German Jews are at this time animated by a spirit of candid inquiry, a Jewish-German translation of the *New Testament* has lately been printed for their benefit, at the expense of the London Society for the conversion of the Jews.

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[1] The late Rev. Dr. Reinhart, first chaplain to the court of Saxony, and the present venerable superior of the Zurich clergy, Antistes Hess.

[2] Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. ii. p. 229. From the Seventeenth Report of that Society, it appears, from the month of September 1812 to December 31st 1820, that the learned and pious Professor Van Ess has distributed not fewer than *three hundred and ninety-four thousand and sixty seven* copies to persons of his own communion, who have received them with the liveliest gratitude; besides which, he has distributed 5,394 New Testaments of other Roman Catholic and Protestant Versions, in various languages, and 8,749 Roman-Catholic and Protestant Bibles. In all, 408,210 copies of the Holy Scriptures have been put into circulation through the professor and his friends.

[3] Carpzovii Critica Sacra Veteris Testamenti, pp. 757—786.

II. OF THE VERSIONS IN THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

1. ENGLISH VERSIONS [1].—Although it is impossible, at this distance of time, to ascertain when or by whom Christianity was first planted in this island, as well as the earliest time when the Scriptures were translated into the language of its inhabitants, yet we know that, for many hundred years, they were favoured with the possession of part, at least, of the sacred volume in their vernacular tongue. The earliest version of which we have any account, is a translation of the Psalms into the Saxon tongue by Adhelm or Adelme, the first bishop of Sherborne, about the year 706. A Saxon version of the four Gospels was made by Egbert, bishop of Lindisfern, who died A. D. 721; and, a few years after, the venerable Bede translated the entire Bible into that language. Nearly two hundred years after Bede, King Alfred executed another translation of the Psalms, either to supply the loss of Adhelm's (which is supposed to have perished in the Danish wars), or to improve the plainness of Bede's version. A Saxon translation of the Pentateuch, Joshua, part of the Books of Kings, Esther, and the apocryphal books of Judith, and the Maccabees, is also attributed to Elfric or Elfred, who was archbishop of Canterbury, A D. 995.

A chasm of several centuries ensued, during which the Scriptures appear to have been buried in oblivion, the general reading of them being prohibited by the papal see. The *first* English translation of the Bible, known to be extant, was executed by an unknown individual, and is placed by Archbishop Usher to the year 1290: of this there are three manuscript copies preserved, in the Bodleian library, and in the libraries of Christ Church and Queen's Colleges at Oxford. Towards the close of the following century, John de Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley in Cornwall, at the desire of his patron, Lord Berkeley, is said to have translated the Old and New Testaments into the English tongue. But as no part of this work appears ever to have been printed, the translation ascribed to him is supposed to have been confined to a few texts which were painted on the walls of his patron's chapel at Berkeley Castle, or which are scattered in some parts of his works, several copies of which are known to exist in manuscript. Nearly contemporary with him was the celebrated John Wickliffe, who, about the year 1380, translated the entire Bible from the Latin Vulgate into the English language as then spoken, not being sufficiently acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek languages to translate from the originals [2]. Before the invention of printing, transcripts

[1] Our account of English Translations is drawn from Lewis's History of the Translations of the Bible, prefixed to his edition of Wickliffe's New Testament, folio 1731; Johnson's Historical Account of the several English Translations of the Bible, originally published in 1730, in 8vo. reprinted in the third volume of Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts; and Archbishop Newcome's View of the English Biblical Translations, Dublin, 1792, 8vo.; and Mr. Whittaker's learned and elaborate Inquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, pp. 38—114.

[2] The New Testament of Wickliffe was published in folio by Mr. Lewis in 1731; and was handsomely re-edited in quarto, in 1810, by the Rev. Henry Hervey Baber, one of the librarians of the British Museum, who prefixed a valuable memoir of this "Apostle of England," as Wickliffe has sometimes been called.

were obtained with difficulty, and copies were so rare, that, according to the registry of William Alnewick, bishop of Norwich, in 1429, the price of one of Wickliffe's Testaments was not less than four marks and forty pence, or two pounds sixteen shillings and eight-pence. This translation of the Bible, we are informed, was so offensive to those who were for taking away the key of knowledge and means of better information, that a bill was brought into the House of Lords, 13 Rich. II. A. D. 1390, for the purpose of suppressing it. On which the Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, is reported to have spoken to this effect: "We will not be the dregs of all: seeing other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language." At the same time he declared in a very solemn manner, "That he would maintain our having this law in our own tongue against those, whoever they should be, who first brought in the bill." The duke was seconded by others, who said, "That if the Gospel, by its being translated into English, was the occasion of running into error, they might know that there were more heretics to be found among the Latins than among the people of any other language. For that the Decretals reckoned no fewer than sixty-six Latin heretics; and so the Gospel must not be read in Latin, which yet the opposers of its English translation allowed." Through the Duke of Lancaster's influence the bill was rejected; and this success gave encouragement to some of Wickliffe's followers to publish another and more correct translation of the Bible. But in the year 1408, in a convocation held at Oxford by Archbishop Arundel, it was decreed by a constitution, 'That no one should thereafter translate any text of Holy Scripture into English, by way of a book, or little book, or tract; and that no book of this kind should be read, that was composed lately in the time of John Wickliffe, or since his death.' This constitution led the way to great persecution, and many persons were punished severely, and some even with death, for reading the Scriptures in English.[1]

In England, as in other parts of Europe, the spread of the pure doctrines of the Reformation was accompanied with new translations into the vernacular language. For the first printed English translation of the scriptures we are indebted to William Tindal, who, having formed a design of translating the New Testament from the original Greek into English, removed to Antwerp in Flanders, for this purpose. Here, with the assistance of the learned John Fry, or Fryth, who was burnt on a charge of heresy in Smithfield, in 1552, and a friar, called William Roye, who suffered death on the same account in Portugal, he finished it, and in the year 1526 it was printed either at Antwerp or Hamburgh, without a name, in a middle-sized 8vo volume, and without either calendar, references in the margin, or table at the end. Tindal annexed a pistil at the close of it, in which he "desyred them that were learned to amende if ought were found amysse." Le Long calls this "the New Testament translated into English, from the German version of Luther;" but for this degrading appellation he seems to have no other authority besides a story related by one Cochlæus[2], an enemy of the Reformation, with a view of depreciating Tindal's

[1] Lewis's History, pp. 7—13.
[2] In Actis Martini Lutheri ad an. 1526, p. 932.

translation. Many copies of this translation found their way into England; and to prevent their dispersion among the people, and the more effectually to enforce the prohibition published in all the dioceses against reading them, Tonstal, bishop of London, purchased all the remaining copies of this edition, and all which he could collect from private hands, and committed them to the flames at St. Paul's Cross. The first impression of Tindal's translation being thus disposed of, several other numerous editions were published in Holland, before the year 1530, in which Tindal seems to have had no interest, but which found a ready sale, and those which were imported into England were ordered to be burned. On one of these occasions, Sir Thomas More, who was then chancellor, and who concurred with the bishop in the execution of this measure, inquired of a person, who stood accused of heresy, and to whom he promised indemnity, on consideration of an explicit and satisfactory answer, how Tindal subsisted abroad, and who were the persons in London that abetted and supported him; to which inquiry the heretical convert replied, "It was the Bishop of London who maintained him, by sending a sum of money to buy up the impression of his Testament." The chancellor smiled, admitted the truth of the declaration, and suffered the accused person to escape. The people formed a very unfavourable opinion of those who ordered the word of God to be burned, and concluded, that there must be an obvious repugnance between the New Testament and the doctrines of those who treated it with this indignity. Those who were suspected of importing and concealing any of these books were adjudged by Sir Thomas More to ride with their faces to the tails of their horses, with papers on their heads, and the New Testaments, and other books which they had dispersed, hung about their cloaks, and at the standard in Cheapside to throw them into a fire prepared for that purpose, and to be fined at the king's pleasure.

When Tonstal's purchase served only to benefit Tindal, and those who were employed in printing and selling successive editions of his Testament, and other measures for restraining their dispersion seemed to have little or no effect, the pen of the witty, eloquent, and learned Sir Thomas More was employed against the translator; and the bishop granted him a licence, or faculty, dated March 7, 1527, to have and to read the several books which Tindal and others published; and at his desire Sir Thomas composed a dialogue, written with much humour, and designed to expose Tindal's translation, which was published in 1529. In this dialogue he alleges, among other charges, that Tindal had mistranslated three words of great importance, viz. the words priests, church, and charity; calling the first seniors, the second congregation, and the third love. He also charges him with changing commonly the term grace into favour, confession into knowledging, penance into repentance, and a contrite heart into a troubled heart. The Bishop of London had, indeed, in a sermon, declared, that he had found in it no less than 2000 errors, or mistranslations; and Sir Thomas More discovered above 1000 texts by tale, falsely translated. In 1530, a royal proclamation was issued, by the advice of the prelates and clerks, and of the universities, for totally suppressing the translation of the scripture, *corrupted* by Wil-

liam Tindal. The proclamation set forth, that it was not necessary to have the Scriptures in the English tongue, and in the hands of the common people; that the distribution of them, as to allowing or denying it, depended on the discretion of their superiors; and that, considering the malignity of the time, an English translation of the Bible would rather occasion the continuance, or increase of errors, than any benefit to their souls. However, the proclamation announced the king's intention, if the present translation were abandoned, at a proper season, to provide that the Holy Scriptures should be by great, learned, and catholic persons, translated into the English tongue, if it should then seem convenient. In the meantime, Tindal was busily employed in translating from the Hebrew into the English the five books of Moses, in which he was assisted by Miles Coverdale. But his papers being lost by shipwreck in his voyage to Hamburgh, where he designed to print it, a delay occurred, and it was not put to press till the year 1530. It is a small 8vo, printed at different presses, and with different types. In the preface he complained, that there was not so much as one *i* in his New Testament, if it lacked a tittle over its head, but it had been noted, and numbered to the ignorant people for an heresy, who were made to believe, that there were many thousand heresies in it, and that it was so faulty as to be incapable of amendment or correction. In this year he published an answer to Sir Thomas More's dialogue, containing his reasons for the changes which he had introduced into his translation. The three former editions of Tindal's English New Testament being all sold off, the Dutch booksellers printed a fourth in this year, in a smaller volume and letter. In 1531, Tindal published an English version of the prophet Jonah, with a prologue, full of invective against the church of Rome. Strype supposes that before his death he finished all the Bible but the Apocrypha, which was translated by Rogers; but it seems more probable that he translated only the historical parts. In 1534, was published a fourth Dutch edition, or the fifth in all, of Tindal's New Testament, in 12mo. In this same year, Tindal printed his own edition of the New Testament in English, which he had diligently revised and corrected; to which is prefixed a prologue; and at the end are the pistils of the Old Testament, closing with the following advertisement, "Imprinted at Antwerp, by Marten Emperour, anno M. D. XXXIV." Another edition was published this year, in 16mo, and printed in a German letter. Hall says, in his Chronicle, printed during the reign of Henry VIII. by Richard Grafton, the benefactor and friend of Tindal; "William Tindal translated the New Testament, and first put it into print; and he likewise translated the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judicum, Ruth, the books of Kings, and books of Paralipomenon, Nehemiah, and the first of Esdras, and the prophet Jonas; and no more of the Holy Scriptures." Upon his return to Antwerp, in 1531, King Henry VIII. and his council, contrived means to have him seized and imprisoned. After long confinement he was condemned to death by the emperor's decree in an assembly at Augsburgh; and in 1536, he was strangled at Villefort, near Brussels, the place of his imprisonment, after which his body was reduced to ashes. He expired, praying repeatedly and

earnestly, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes." Several editions of his Testament were printed in the year of his death. Tindal had little or no skill in the Hebrew, and therefore he probably translated the Old Testament from the Latin. The knowledge of languages was in its infancy; nor was our English tongue arrived at that degree of improvement, which it has since attained; it is not, therefore, surprising that there should be many faults in this translation which need amendment. This, indeed, was a task, not for a single person, but requiring the concurrence of many, in circumstances much more favourable for the execution of it than those of an exile. Nevertheless, although this translation is far from being perfect, few first translations, says Dr. Geddes [1], will be found preferable to it. It is astonishing, says this writer, how little obsolete the language of it is, even at this day; and in point of perspicuity, and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style, no English version has yet surpassed it.

In 1535, the whole Bible, translated into English, was printed in folio, and dedicated to the king by Miles Coverdale, a man greatly esteemed for piety, knowledge of the scriptures, and diligent preaching; on account of which qualities King Edward VI. afterwards advanced him to the see of Exeter. In his dedication and preface, he observes to this purpose, that as to the present translation, it was neither his labour nor his desire to have this work put into his hands; but "when others were moved by the Holy Ghost to undertake the cost of it," he was the more bold to engage in the execution of it. Agreeably, therefore, to desire, he set forth this "special" translation, not in contempt of other men's translations, or by way of reproving them, but humbly and faithfully following his interpreters, and that under correction. Of these, he said, he used five different ones, who had translated the Scriptures not only into Latin, but also into Dutch. He further declared, that he had neither wrested nor altered so much as one word for the maintenance of any manner of sect, but had with a clear conscience purely and faithfully translated out of the foregoing interpreters, having only before his eyes the manifest truth of the Scripture. But because such different translations, he saw, were apt to offend weak minds, he added, that there came more understanding and knowledge of the Scripture by these sundry translations, than by all the glosses of sophistical doctors; and he therefore desires, that offence might not be taken, because one translated "scribe," and another "lawyer," one "repentance," and another "penance," or "amendment." This is the first English Bible allowed by royal authority; and also the first translation of the whole Bible printed in our language. It was called a "special" translation, because it was different from the former English translations; as Lewis has shown [2] by comparing it with Tindal's. It is divided into six tomes or parts, adorned with wooden cuts, and furnished with scripture references in the margin. The last page has these words: "Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde M. D. XXXV. and fynished the fourth day of October." Of this Bible there was another edition in large 4to, 1550, which was

[1] Prospectus for a New Translation of the Bible, p. 88.
[2] Hist. Engl. Transl. p. 98.

re-published, with a new title, 1553; and these, according to Lewis, were all the editions of it. Coverdale, in this edition of the English Bible, prefixed to every book the contents of the several chapters, and not to the particular chapters, which was afterwards the case; and he likewise omitted all Tindal's prologues and notes. Soon after this Bible was finished, in 1536, Lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal, and the king's vicar-general and vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, published injunctions to the clergy by the king's authority, the seventh of which was, that every parson or proprietary of any parish church within this realm, should, before the 1st of August, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and in English, and lay it in the choir, for every man that would, to look and read therein; and should discourage no man from reading any part of the Bible either in Latin or English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read it, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of a man's soul, &c.

In 1537, another edition of the English Bible was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, at Hamburgh, as some think, or, as others suppose, at Malborow, or Marpurg in Hesse, or Marbeck in the duchy of Wittemberg, where Rogers was superintendant. It bore the name of Thomas Matthewe, and it was set forth with the king's most gracious licence. Mr. Wanley is of opinion, that, to the end of the book of Chronicles, this edition is Tindal's translation; and from thence to the end of the Apocrypha, Coverdale's: but Lewis [1] thinks it probable that the prophecy of Jonah should be excepted, which Tindal finished in his life-time, and which is the same in this edition, and in Coverdale's Bible of 1535. Mr. Wanley also observed, that the whole New Testament was Tindal's. Bale says, Rogers translated the Bible into English, from Genesis to the end of Revelation, making use of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English (i. e. Tindal's) copies. This book contained Tindal's prologue and notes; and, as Heylin says [2], it was no other than the translation of Tindal and Coverdale somewhat altered. The name of Matthewe is allowed to have been fictitious, for reasons of prudence; one of which was, that the memory of Tindal had become odious to many. It may well be admitted, that John Rogers, a learned academic, and the first who was condemned to the flames in the reign of Queen Mary, was employed by Cranmer to superintend this edition, and to furnish the few emendations and additions that were thought necessary. This must have been the general persuasion in 1555, as the condemning sentence preserved by Fox [3], is "against Rogers, priest, alias called Matthew." Cranmer presented a copy of this book to Lord Cromwell, desiring his intercession with the king for the royal licence, that it might be purchased and used by all. There are extant two letters [4] from the archbishop, on the subject of Lord Cromwell's intercession, expressing warm approbation and acknowledgment. "I doubt not," says he, "but that hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it shall well appear hereafter what high and excellent service you have done unto God and the king;

[1] p. 107.
[2] Hist. Ref. fol. 20.
[3] Acts, &c. vol. iii. p. 125.
[4] Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 58.

which shall so much redound to your honour, that, besides God's reward, you shall obtain perpetual memory for the same within this realm."—"This deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest." In the year 1538, an injunction was published by the vicar-general of the kingdom, ordaining the clergy to provide, before a certain festival, one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume in English, and to set it up in some convenient place within their churches, where their parishioners might most commodiously resort to read it. A royal declaration was also published, which the curates were to read in their several churches, informing the people that it had pleased the king's majesty to permit and command the Bible, being translated into their mother tongue, to be sincerely taught by them, and to be openly laid forth in every parish church. But the curates were very cold in this affair [1], and read the king's injunctions and declarations in such a manner, that scarcely any body could know or understand what they read. Johnson [2] adds, that they also read the word of God confusedly; and that they bade their parishioners, notwithstanding what they read, which they were compelled to read, "to do as they did in times past, and to live as their fathers, the old fashion being the best." Fox observes [3], that the setting forth of this book much offended Gardiner and his fellow bishops, both for the prologues, and especially because there was a table in the book chiefly about the Lord's supper, the marriage of priests, and the mass, which was there said not to be found in Scripture. Strype, however, says [4], it was wonderful to see with what joy this book was received, not only among the more learned, and those who were noted lovers of the reformation, but generally all over England, among all the common people; and with what avidity God's word was read, and what resort there was to the places appointed for reading it. Every one that could, bought the book, and busily read it, or heard it read; and many elderly persons learned to read on purpose. During a vacancy in the see of Hereford, it was visited by Cranmer, who enjoined the clergy to procure, by the 1st of August, a whole Bible in Latin and English, or at least, a New Testament in these languages; to study every day one chapter of these books, conferring the Latin and English together, from the beginning to the end; and not to discourage any layman from reading them, but encourage them to it, and to read them for the reformation of their lives and knowledge of their duty. In the course of the year 1538, a quarto edition of the New Testament, in the Vulgate Latin, and Coverdale's English, bearing the name of Hollybushe, was printed, with the king's licence, by James Nicholson. Of this another more correct edition was published in 1539, in 8vo, and dedicated to Lord Cromwell. In 1538, an edition in 4to. of the New Testament, in English, with Erasmus's Latin translation, was printed, with the king's licence, by Redman. In this year it was resolved to revise Matthewe's Bible, and to print a correct edition of it. With this view Grafton went to France, where the workmen were more skilful, and the paper was both better and cheaper than in England, and obtained

[1] Lewis, p. 108. [2] Hist. Account, &c. in Bishop Watson's Collection, vol. iii. p. 94.
[3] Acts, &c. vol. ii. p. 516. [4] Life of Cranmer, p. 64.

permission from Francis I. at the request of King Henry VIII. to print his Bible at Paris. But notwithstanding the royal licence, the inquisition interposed, and issued an order, dated December 17, 1538, summoning the French printers, their English employers, and Coverdale the corrector of the work, and prohibiting them to proceed; and the impression, consisting of 2500 copies, was seised, confiscated, and condemned to the flames. Some chests, however, of these books, escaped the fire, by the avarice of the person who was appointed to superintend the burning of them; and the English proprietors, who had fled on the first alarm, returned to Paris as soon as it subsided, and not only recovered some of these copies, but brought with them to London the presses, types, and printers, and resuming the work, finished it in the following year.

As soon as the papal power was abolished in England, and the king's supremacy settled by parliament in 1534, Cranmer was very assiduous in promoting the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongue; well knowing how much the progress of the reformation depended upon this measure. Accordingly, he moved in convocation, that a petition should be presented to the king for leave to procure a new translation of the Bible. This motion was vigorously opposed by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and his party: but Cranmer prevailed. The arguments for a new translation, urged by Cranmer, and enforced by Queen Anne Bullen, who had then great interest in the king's affections, were so much considered by him, that, notwithstanding the opposition, public and private, on the part of Gardiner and his adherents, Henry gave orders for setting about it immediately. To prevent any revocation of the order, Cranmer, whose mind was intent on introducing a free use of the English Scriptures by faithful and able translators, proceeded without delay to divide an old English translation of the New Testament into nine or ten parts, which he caused to be transcribed into paper-books, and to be distributed among the most learned bishops and others; requiring that they would perfectly correct their respective portions, and return them to him at a limited time. When the assigned day came, every man sent his appropriate portion to Lambeth, except Stokesly, bishop of London. This laudable design of the archbishop failed; but the business was executed by other persons, whom he countenanced and encouraged. In April 1539, Grafton and Whitchurch printed the Bible (called the "Great Bible") in large folio, "cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." A beautiful frontispiece, designed by Holbein, and particularly described and exhibited in an engraving by Lewis, was prefixed to it: and in the text those parts of the Latin version, which are not found in the Hebrew or Greek, are inserted in a smaller letter; such for instance, as the three verses of the 14th Psalm, which are the 5th, 6th, and 7th, in the translation of the English liturgy, and the controverted clause in 1 John v. 7, 8; and a mark is used to denote a difference of reading between the Hebrew and Chaldee, afterwards explained in a separate treatise. In this edition Matthewe's Bible was revised, and several alterations and corrections were made in the translation, especially in the book of Psalms. Tindal's prologues and notes, and the notes added by others, in the edition of 1537, were wholly omitted. Pointing

hands, placed in the margin and in the text, show the passages on which these notes were to have been written. Johnson[1] calls this third edition of the Scriptures the Bible in the large or great volume, ascribes it to the year 1539, and supposes it to have been the same which Grafton obtained leave to print at Paris. He says, that Miles Coverdale compared the translation with the Hebrew, mended it in many places, and was the chief director of the work. Agreeably to this, Coverdale, in a sermon at Paul's cross, defended his translation from some slanderous reports which were then raised against it, confessing "that he himself now saw some faults, which, if he might review the book once again, as he had twice before, he doubted not he should amend; but for any heresy, he was sure that there was none maintained in his translation." This is related by Dr. Fulke, who was one of Coverdale's auditors. A second edition of this Bible seems to have been printed either in this or the next year, by Edward Whitchurch; but the copy is imperfect, and has no date.

In the course of the year 1539, another Bible was printed by John Byddell, called "Taverner's Bible," from the name of its conductor, Richard Taverner; who was educated at Christ-church, Oxford, patronised by Lord Cromwell, and probably encouraged by him to undertake the work, on account of his skill in the Greek tongue. This is neither a bare revisal of the English Bible just described, nor a new version; but a kind of intermediate work, being a correction of what is called "Matthewe's Bible," many of whose marginal notes are adopted, and many omitted, and others inserted by the editors. It is dedicated to the king. After his patron's death, Taverner was imprisoned in the Tower for this work; but he had the address to reinstate himself in the king's favour. Wood[2] gives a particular account of Taverner; attributes his imprisonment to the influence of those bishops who were addicted to the Romish religion; and informs us, that his version was read in churches by royal authority. In November 1539, the king, at the intercession of Cranmer, appointed Lord Cromwell to take special care that no person, within the realm, should attempt to print any English Bible for five years, but such as should be admitted by Lord Cromwell; and assigns this reason for the prohibition, that the Bible should be considered and perused in one translation, in order to avoid the manifold inconveniences to which human frailty might be subject from a diversity of translations, and the ill use that might be made of it. In the year 1540, two privileged editions of the Bible, which had been printed in the preceding year, issued from the press of Edward Whitchurch. Lewis mentions three other impressions of the "Great Bible," which appeared in the course of this year; two printed by Whitchurch, and one by Petyt and Redman. Cranmer wrote a preface for the editions of the year 1540, from which we learn the opinions and practice of those times. In May of this year, the curates and parishioners of every parish were required, by royal proclamation, to provide themselves with the Bible of the largest volume before the feast of All Saints, under the penalty of 40s. for every month during

[1] In Bp. Watson's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 76.
[2] Hist. et Ant. Univ. Oxon. fol. 1674, l. ii. p. 264.

which they should be without it. The king charged all ordinaries to enforce the observance of this proclamation; and he apprised the people, that his allowing them the Scriptures in their mother-tongue was not his duty, but an evidence of his goodness and liberality to them, of which he exhorted them not to make any ill use. In May 1541, one edition of Cranmer's Bible was finished by Richard Grafton; who, in the November following, completed also another Bible of the largest volume, which was superintended, at the king's command, by Tonstal, bishop of Durham, and Heath, bishop of Rochester.

In consequence of the king's settled judgment "that his subjects should be nursed in Christ by reading the Scriptures," he again, on the 7th of May, published a brief or decree, for setting up the Bible of the great volume in every parish church throughout England. However, this decree appears to have been very partially and reluctantly observed; and the bishops were charged, by a writer in 1546, with attempting to suppress the Bible, under pretence of preparing a version of it for publication within seven years. After the death of Cromwell in 1540, the bishops inclined to popery gained strength; and the English translation was represented to the king as very erroneous and heretical, and destructive of the harmony and peace of the kingdom. In the convocation assembled in Feb. 1542, the archbishop, in the king's name, required the bishops and clergy to revise the translation of the New Testament, which, for that purpose, was divided into fourteen parts, and portioned out to fifteen bishops; the Apocalypse, on account of its difficulty, being assigned to two. Gardiner clogged this business with embarrassing instructions; and Cranmer clearly perceiving the resolution of the bishops to defeat the proposed translation, procured the king's consent to refer the matter to the two universities, against which the bishops protested; but the archbishop declared his purpose to adhere to the will of the king his master. With this contest the business terminated; and the convocation was soon after dissolved. The Romish party prevailed also in parliament, which enacted a law that condemned and abolished Tindal's translation, and allowed other translations to remain in force, under certain restrictions. After the passing of this act, Grafton, the king's printer, was imprisoned; nor was he released without giving a bond of 300l. neither to print nor sell any more English Bibles, till the king and the clergy should agree on a translation. In 1544, the Pentateuch was printed by John Day and William Seres; and in 1546, the king prohibited by proclamation the having and reading of Wickliffe's, Tindal's, and Coverdale's translations, and forbad the use of any other than what was allowed by parliament. From the history of English translations during the reign of Henry VIII. we learn, that the friends to the reformation conducted themselves with zeal and prudence in the great work of introducing and improving English translations of the Bible; that they encountered many difficulties from the dangerous inconstancy of a despotic prince, and from the inveterate prejudices of a strong Romish party; and that the English scriptures were sought after and read with avidity by the bulk of the people.

Upon the accession of Edward VI. the severe stat. 34 and 35 Henry VIII. c. 1. was repealed, and a royal injunction was published, that

not only the whole English Bible should be placed in churches, but also the paraphrase of Erasmus in English to the end of the four Evangelists. It was likewise ordered by this injunction, that every parson, vicar, curate, &c. under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, should possess the New Testament, both in Latin and English, with the paraphrase of Erasmus upon it; and that the bishops, &c. in their visitations and synods should examine them, how they had profited in the study of the Holy Scriptures. It was also appointed, that the epistle and gospel of the mass should be read in English; and that on every Sunday and holiday, one chapter of the New Testament in English should be plainly and distinctly read at matins, and one chapter of the Old Testament at even-song. But in the year 1549, when the book of common prayer, &c. was finished, what nearly resembles our present custom was enjoined, viz. that after reading the Psalms in order at morning and evening prayer, two lessons, the first from the Old Testament, and the second from the New Testament, should be read distinctly with a loud voice. During the course of this reign, that is, in less than seven years and six months, eleven impressions of the whole English Bible were published, and six of the English New Testament; besides an English translation of the whole New Testament, paraphrased by Erasmus. The Bibles were reprinted, according to the preceding editions, whether Tindal's, Coverdale's, Matthewe's, Cranmer's, or Taverner's; that is, with a different text, and different notes. But it is doubted by the writer of the preface to King James's translation, whether there were any translation, or correction of a translation in the course of this reign.

In 1562, the "Great Bible," viz. that of Coverdale's translation, which had been printed in the time of Henry VIII. and also in the time of King Edward, was revised by Archbishop Parker, and reprinted for the use of the church; and this was to serve till that projected by his grace was ready for publication.

Many of the principal reformers having been driven to Geneva during the persecutions of Queen Mary's reign, they published, in 1557, an English New Testament, printed by Conrad Badius; the first in our language which contained the distinctions of verses by numerical figures, after the manner of the Greek Testament, which had been published by Robert Stephens in 1551. R. Stephens, indeed, published his figures in the margin; whereas the Geneva editors prefixed theirs to the beginning of minute subdivisions with breaks, after our present manner. When Queen Elizabeth passed through London from the Tower to her coronation, a pageant was erected in Cheapside, representing Time coming out of a cave, and leading a person clothed in white silk, who represented Truth, his daughter. Truth had the English Bible in her hand, on which was written "Verbum veritatis." Truth addressed the queen, and presented her with the book. She kissed it, held it in her hand, laid it on her breast, greatly thanked the city for their present, and added, that she would often and diligently read it. Upon a royal visitation in 1559, the Bible, and Erasmus's paraphrase, were restored to the churches; and articles of enquiry were exhibited whether the clergy discouraged any from reading any part of the Scriptures. "Ministers were also enjoined to read every day

one chapter of the Bible at least; and all who were admitted readers in the church were daily to read one chapter at least of the Old Testament, and another of the New, with good advisement, to the encrease of their knowledge."

During the year, the exiles at Geneva published the book of Psalms in English, with marginal notes, and with a dedication to the queen, dated February 10. In 1560, the whole Bible in 4to. was printed at Geneva by Rowland Harle; some of the refugees from England continuing in that city for this purpose. The translators were Bishop Coverdale, Anthony Gilby, William Whittingham, Christopher Woodman, Thomas Sampson, and Thomas Cole; to whom some add John Knox, John Bodleigh, and John Pullain; all zealous Calvinists, both in doctrine and discipline: but the chief and the most learned of them were the three first. Professing to observe the sense, and to adhere as much as possible to the words of the original, and in many places to preserve the Hebrew phraseology, after the unremitting labour and study of more than two years, they finished their translation, and published it; with an epistle dedicatory to the queen, and another, by way of preface, to their brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Besides the translation, the editors of the Geneva Bible noted in the margin the diversities of speech and reading, especially according to the Hebrew; they inserted in the text, with another kind of letter, every word that seemed to be necessary for explaining any particular sentence; in the division of the verses, they followed the Hebrew examples, and added the number to each verse; they also noted the principal matters, and the arguments, both for each book and each chapter; they set over the head of every page some remarkable word or sentence, for helping the memory; they introduced brief annotations for ascertaining the text, and explaining obscure words; they set forth with figures certain places in the books of Moses, of the Kings, and Ezekiel, which could not be made intelligible by any other description; they added maps of divers places and countries, mentioned in the Old and New Testament; and they annexed two tables, one for the interpretation of Hebrew names, and the other containing all the chief matters of the whole Bible. Of this translation, there were above 30 editions in folio, 4to, or 8vo, mostly printed by the queen's and king's printer, between the years 1560 and 1616. Editions of it were likewise printed at Geneva, Edinburgh, and Amsterdam. To some editions of the Geneva Bible, (as to those of 1599 and of 1611), is subjoined Beza's translation of the New Testament, englished by L. Tompson.

In the year 1568, the Bible, proposed by Archbishop Parker three years before, was completed. This edition, according to Le Long, was undertaken by royal command; and it is mentioned by Strype, to the honour of the archbishop, that he had resolution to perform what Cranmer, as opposed by the bishops of his days, had in vain endeavoured to accomplish. In this performance, distinct portions of the Bible, at least 15 in number, were allotted to select men of learning and abilities, appointed, as Fuller says, by the queen's commission; and, accordingly, at the conclusion of each part, the edition of 1568 has the initial letters of each man's name to the end of the first epistle to the Corinthians; e. g. at the end of the Pentateuch, W. E. for

William, bishop of Exeter, whose allotment ended there; at the end of Ruth, R. M. for Richard Menevensis, or bishop of St. David's, to whom pertained the second allotment; and so of the rest. But it still remains uncertain, who, and whether one or more, revised the rest of the New Testament. Eight of the persons employed were bishops; whence the book was called the "Bishops' Bible," and the "Great English Bible." The archbishop employed other critics to compare this Bible with the original languages, and with the former translations; one of whom was Laurence, a man famous in those times for his knowledge of Greek, whose castigations the Bishops' Bible followed exactly. His grace also sent instructions concerning the method which his translators were to observe; and recommended the addition of some short marginal notes, for the illustration or correction of the text. But the particulars of these instructions are not known. The archbishop, however, directed, reviewed, and finished the whole; which was printed and published in 1568, in a large folio size, and with a beautiful English letter, on royal paper; and embellished with several cuts of the most remarkable things in the Old and New Testaments, and in the Apocrypha, with maps cut in wood, and other engravings on copper. It has numerous marginal references and notes, and many useful tables. It also has numerous insertions between brackets, and in a smaller character; which are equivalent to the italics afterwards used by James's translators. Dr. Geddes is of opinion [1], that italic supplements were first used by Arias Montanus, who died in 1598. The several additions from the vulgar Latin, inserted in the "Great Bible," are omitted; and verse 7 of 1 John v. which was before distinguished by its being printed in a different letter, is here printed without any distinction; and the chapters are divided into verses. In the following year, 1569, it was again published in large 8vo, for the use of private families. This Bible was reprinted in 1572, in large folio, with several corrections and amendments, and several prolegomena; this is called "Matthew Parker's Bible." With regard to this Bible, Lewis [2] observes, that the editions of it are mostly in folio and 4to, and that he never heard but of one in 8vo; for which he supposes this to be the reason, that it was principally designed for the use of churches. In the convocation of the province of Canterbury, which met in April, 1571, a canon was made, enjoining the churchwardens to see that the Holy Bible be in every church in the largest volumes, if convenient; and it was likewise ordered, that every archbishop and bishop, every dean and chief residentiary, and every archdeacon, should have one of these Bibles in their cathedrals and families. This translation was used in the churches for forty years; though the Geneva Bible was more read in private houses.

In the year 1582, the Romanists finding it impossible to withhold the Scriptures any longer from the common people, printed an English New Testament at Rheims: it was translated, not from the original Greek, but from the Latin Vulgate. The editors (whose names are not known) retained the words *azymes*, *tunike*, *holocaust*, *pasche*, and a

[1] Letter to the Bishop of London, p. 33.
[2] Hist. Eng. Transl. p. 61.

multitude of other Greek words untranslated, under the pretext of wanting proper and adequate English terms, by which to render them; and thus contrived to render it unintelligible to common readers. Hence the historian Fuller took occasion to remark that it was 'a translation which needed to be translated;' and that its editors, 'by all means laboured to suppress the light of truth under one pretence or other.' Our learned countryman, Thomas Cartwright, was solicited by Sir Francis Walsingham to refute this translation: but, after he had made considerable progress in the work, he was prohibited from proceeding further by Archbishop Whitgift; who, judging it improper that the defence of the doctrine of the church of England should be committed to a puritan, appointed Dr. William Fulke in his place. By him the divines of Rheims were refuted with great spirit and ability. Fulke's work appeared in 1617, and in the following year, Cartwright's confutation was published under the auspices of Archbishop Abbot; both of them were accompanied with the Rhemish translation of the New Testament. The Old Testament was translated from the Vulgate at Douay (whence it is called the Douay Bible) in two volumes 4to, the first of which appeared in 1609, and the second in 1610. Annotations are subjoined, which are ascribed to one Thomas Worthington: the translators were William (afterwards Cardinal) Allen, Gregory Martin, and Richard Bristow. This translation, with the Rhemish version of the New Testament above noticed, forms the English Bible, which alone is used by the Romanists of this country. [1]

The last English version that remains to be noticed, is the authorised translation now in use, which is commonly called King James's Bible. He succeeded to the throne of England in 1602; and, several objections having been made to the Bishops' Bible at the conference held at Hampton Court in 1603, the king in the following year gave orders for the undertaking of a new version, and fifty-four learned men were appointed to this important labour: but, before it was commenced, seven of the persons nominated were either dead or had declined the task; for the list, as given us by Fuller [2], comprises only forty-seven names. All of them, however, were pre-eminently distinguished for their piety and for their profound learning in the original languages of the sacred writings: and such of them as survived till the commencement of the work were divided into six classes. Ten were to meet at Westminster, and to translate from the Pentateuch to the end of the second book of Kings. Eight, assembled at Cambridge, were to finish the rest of the Historical Books, and the Hagiographa. At Oxford, seven were to undertake the four greater Prophets, with the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and the twelve minor Prophets. The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse, were assigned to another company of eight, also at Oxford: and the Epistles of Saint

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[1] In 1805 a new edition of the Douay English Bible, with notes by Bishop Challoner, was printed at Edinburgh in five volumes, 8vo. Editions have also been lately published at Manchester, Liverpool, Dublin, and Cork. For a review of the dangerous tenets of the Rhemish Testament, "corrected, and revised, and approved of by the most reverend Dr. Troy, R. C. Archbishop of Dublin," (Dublin 1816), see the British Critic (N. S.) vol. viii. pp. 296—308.

[2] Church History, book x. pp. 44—46.

Paul, together with the remaining canonical epistles, were allotted to another company of seven, at Westminster. Lastly, another company, at Cambridge, were to translate the apocryphal books, including the prayer of Manasseh. To these six companies of venerable translators, the King gave the following instructions:

"1. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit.

"2. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained, as near as may be, accordingly as they are vulgarly used.

"3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, as the word church not to be translated congregation.

"4. When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept, which hath been most commonly used by the most eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith.

"5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

"6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

"7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit references of one scripture to another.

"8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters; and having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinks good, all to meet together, to confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand.

"9. As any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously: for his majesty is very careful in this point.

"10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, to note the places, and therewithal to send their reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work.

"11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned in the land for his judgment in such a place.

"12. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send their particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford, according as it was directed before in the king's letter to the archbishop.

"13. The directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for Westminster, and the King's Professors in Hebrew and Greek in the two Universities.

"14. These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz. Tyndal's, Coverdale's, Mathewe's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.

["15. Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most antient and grave divines in either of the Universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translation, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the 4th rule above specified."] [1]

According to these regulations, each book passed the scrutiny of all the translators successively. In the first instance, each individual translated every book, which was allotted to his division. Secondly, the readings to be adopted were agreed upon by the whole of that company assembled together, at which meeting each translator must have been solely occupied by his own version. The book, thus finished,

[1] The preceding rules are given from a corrected copy in the Rev. H. J. Todd's Vindication of our authorised translation and translators of the Bible, pp. 9—12. London, 1819, 8vo.

was sent to each of the other companies to be again examined; and at these meetings it probably was, as Selden informs us, that "one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault, they spoke; if not, he read on [1]." Further, the translators were empowered to call to their assistance any learned men, whose studies enabled them to be serviceable, when an urgent occasion of difficulty presented itself. The translation was commenced in the spring of 1607, and the completion of it occupied almost three years. At the expiration of that time, three copies of the whole Bible, thus translated and revised, were sent to London,—one from Oxford, one from Cambridge, and a third from Westminster. Here a committee of six, two being deputed by the companies at Oxford, two by those at Cambridge, and two by those at Westminster, reviewed and polished the whole work: which was finally revised by Dr. Smith (afterwards bishop of Gloucester), who wrote the preface, and by Dr. Bilson, bishop of Winchester. This translation of the Bible was first published in folio in 1611, with the following title:

"THE HOLY BIBLE, conteyning the Old Testament and the New, newly translated out of the Originall Tongues, and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised by his Majesties speciall Cõmandement. Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most excellent Majestie. 1611."

There are copies of it which have the dates of 1612 and 1613. In some of the very numerous editions printed between the years 1638 and 1685, an alteration is introduced in Acts vi. 3.; where, instead of WE *may appoint*, we read YE *may appoint*. This alteration has been charged upon the Independents during the time of Cromwell's usurpation; but, as the first Bible, in which it was observed, is that printed at Cambridge by Buck and Daniel, in 1638, it is in all probability an error of the press, without any design to favour any particular party [2]. In 1653, an edition was printed by John Field, at Cambridge, in 24mo, which is of extreme rarity and beauty: an imitation of it was made in Holland, in 1658; but the genuine edition is known by having the four first psalms on a page, without turning over. In 1660, the same printer executed a splendid folio edition of the Bible, which was illustrated with chorographical plates, engraved by Ogilby, an eminent artist of that time: he also printed several other editions in 8vo and 12mo, but they are not considered as typographical curiosities. From the time of Field to the end of the seventeenth century, several curious flat Bibles were printed, which are denominated *preaching Bibles*, from the use made of them in the pulpit during that period. The typographical execution of them is very clear, the type being a broad-faced letter, upon thin paper, with a few marginal notes, which gives them a superiority over many of the thick and heavy volumes that have since been printed.

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[1] Selden's Table Talk, article *Bible*.—Works, vol. iii. col. 2009.

[2] Another material error has crept into many modern editions of the English Bible, in 1 Tim. iv. 16., where we read *Take heed unto thyself and* THY *doctrine*, instead of THE *doctrine*. The origin of this mistake (which the author of this work has found in various editions printed between the year 1690 and the commencement of the present century) it is now impossible to ascertain. It was first pointed out by the eminently learned Bishop Horsley.

In 1683, this translation was corrected, and many references to parallel texts were added by Dr. Scattergood; and in 1701, a very fine edition was published in large folio under the direction of Dr. Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, with chronological dates, and an index by Bishop Lloyd, and accurate tables of Scripture weights and measures by Bishop Cumberland: but this edition is said to abound with typographical errors. The latest and most complete revision is that made by the late Rev. Dr. Blayney, under the direction of the Vice-chancellor and delegates of the Clarendon Press, at Oxford. In this edition, which was printed both in quarto and folio, in 1769, the *punctuation* was thoroughly revised; the words printed in *Italics* were examined and corrected by the Hebrew and Greek originals; the *proper names*, to the etymology of which allusions are made in the text, were translated and entered in the margin, the *summaries of chapters* and *running titles* at the top of each page corrected; some material errors in the *chronology* rectified; and the marginal references were re-examined and corrected, and *thirty thousand four hundred and ninety-five new references* were inserted in the margin [1]. From the singular pains bestowed, in order to render this edition as accurate as possible, it has hitherto been considered *the standard edition*, from which all subsequent impressions have been executed. Notwithstanding, however, the great labour and attention bestowed by Dr. Blayney, his edition must now yield the palm of accuracy to the very beautiful and correct edition published by Messrs. Eyre and Strahan, his Majesty's Printers, but printed by Mr. Woodfall in 1806, and again in 1812, in quarto; as not fewer than one hundred and sixteen errors were discovered in collating the edition of 1806 with Dr. B.'s, and one of these errors was an omission of considerable importance [2]. Messrs. Eyre and Strahan's editions may therefore be regarded as approaching as near as possible to what bibliographers term an *immaculate text.* [3]

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[1] A full account of Dr. Blayney's Collation and Revision was communicated by him to the Gentleman's Magazine for November 1769, vol. xxxix. pp. 517—519.

[2] In Dr. Blayney's edition of 1769, the following words are omitted in Rev. xviii. 22. after the words "no more," viz. "at all in thee, and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft *he be*, shall be found any more."

[3] Only *one* erratum, we believe, has been discovered in the edition of 1806. The following particulars relative to the above-mentioned London editions of the Bible may not be unacceptable to the bibliographical reader, at the same time they will show that their claims to be considered as standard editions are not altogether unfounded.—The booksellers of the metropolis, having applied to his Majesty's Printers to undertake a handsome edition of the Bible, confided the execution of it to Mr. George Woodfall in 1804. The copy printed from was the current Cambridge edition, with which Mr. W.'s edition agrees page for page. It was afterwards read twice by the Oxford impression then in use, and the proofs were transmitted to the Rev. Lancelot Sharpe, by whom they were read with Dr. Blayney's 4to. edition of 1769. After the proofs returned by Mr. S. for press had been corrected, the forms were placed upon the press at which they were to be worked, and another proof was taken. This was read by Mr. Woodfall's superintendant, and afterwards by Mr. W. himself, with Dr. Blayney's edition, and any errors that had previously escaped were corrected; the forms not having been removed from the press after the last proofs had been taken off. By this precaution, they avoided the danger of errors (a danger of very frequent occurrence, and of no small magnitude), arising from the removal of the forms from the proof press to the presses on which the sheets were finally worked off. Of this edition, which was ready

After the publication of the present authorised translation, all the other versions gradually fell into disuse, with the exception of the Psalms, and the Epistles and Gospels in the Book of Common Prayer, which were still continued, the former according to the translation of Cranmer's Bible, and the latter according to that of the Bishops' Bible, until the final revision of the Liturgy, in 1661; at which time the Epistles and Gospels were taken from the present version, but the Psalms are still retained according to the translation of Cranmer's Bible.[1]

Upwards of two centuries have elapsed, since the authorised English Version of the Holy Scriptures, now in use, was given to the British nation. During that long interval, though many passages in particular books have been elucidated by learned men, with equal felicity and ability; yet its *general* fidelity, perspicuity, and excellence, have deservedly given our present translation a high and distinguished place in the judgment of the Christian world, wherever the English language is known or read. Of late years, however, this admirable version—the guide and solace of the sincere Christian—has been attacked with no common virulence, and arraigned as being deficient in fidelity, perspicuity, and elegance; ambiguous and incorrect, even in matters of the highest importance; and, in short, totally insufficient for teaching, "all things necessary to salvation." The principal antagonists of this version, in the present day, (to omit the bold and unmeasured assertions of the late Dr. Geddes and others), are Mr. John Bellamy, in the prospectus, preface, and notes of his new translation of the Bible, and Sir James Bland Burges, in his 'Reasons in favour of a New Translation of the Scriptures,' (8vo. London, 1819); both of whom, among other things, have affirmed, that our authorised translation is insufficient for teaching all things necessary to salvation: and they declare that it is *not* made from the original Hebrew, but from the Septuagint or Greek translation, and from the Vulgate or Latin Version. The assertions of these writers have been answered in detail, particularly by the Reverend Messrs. Whittaker and Todd, in their works cited below[2], to which the reader is referred. In refutation of the assertion that our version was not made from the original Hebrew and Greek, it is sufficient to refer to the account given of it

for publication in 1806, five hundred copies were printed on imperial 4to., two thousand on royal, and three thousand on medium quarto size. In the course of printing this edition from the Cambridge copy, a great number of very gross errors was discovered in the latter, and the errors in the common Oxford editions above noticed were not so few as 1200! The London edition of 1806 being exhausted, a new impression was put to press in 1810, and was completed, with equal beauty and accuracy, in 1812.

[1] About the time when King James resolved on a new translation of the Scriptures, another translation was finished by Mr. Ambrose Usher, elder brother of the eminently learned primate of Armagh, of the same name. It is still in manuscript, and is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. There are likewise extant in print several English translations of the Old and New Testament, and of detached parts thereof: but as these are more or less accompanied with commentaries, the reader is referred, for an account of them, to Vol. II. Part II. Appendix pp. 26—71.

[2] A Vindication of our authorised Translation and Translators of the Bible, and of preceding English Versions authoritatively commended to the notice of those Translators, &c. &c. By the Rev. H. J. Todd, M. A. London, 1819, 8vo.—An Historical and Critical Enquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, with Remarks on Mr. Bellamy's New Translation. By J. W. Whittaker, M.A. London, 1819, 8vo.

in the preceding pages [1]: we shall therefore conclude our notice of this admirable translation, with a few of the very numerous testimonies to its value, which have been collected by Archbishop Newcome and Mr. Todd, and shall subjoin two or three others that appear to have eluded their researches.

1. John Selden [2]. "The English translation of the Bible is the best translation in the world, and *renders the sense of the original best, taking in for the English translation the Bishops' Bible as well as King James's.* The translators in King James's time took an excellent way. That part of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue: as the apocrypha to Andrew Downs: and then they met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c. If they found any fault, they spoke; if not, he read on. There is no book so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French Book into English, I turn it into English phrase, not into French-English. *Il fait froid;* I say, *'tis cold*, not, *makes cold.* But the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrase. *The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept.*"

2. Bishop Walton [3]. "The last English translation, made by divers learned men at the command of King James, though it may justly contend with any now extant in any other language in Europe, was yet carped and cavilled at by diverse among ourselves; especially by [4] one, who being passed by, and not employed in the work, as one,

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[1] See pp. 60—62. *supra.* The seventh section of Mr. Todd's Vindication of the authorised translation of the Bible contains an account of the forty-seven translators who were employed on it, and of the state of learning in their time. This does not admit of abridgment: but the result is highly satisfactory, and proves that those venerable men were eminently skilled in the oriental and Greek languages, and consequently were, in every respect, fitted for the high and honourable task assigned to them by their sovereign.

[2] Selden, Works, iii. 2009. This is cited by Abp. Newcome, without addition. Selden was the contemporary of the translators. He died in 1654, at the age of 70.

[3] Dr. Bryan Walton's Considerator Considered, or a Defence of his Polyglott Bible, &c. 1659, p. 5. This is not noticed by Abp. Newcome. But a most important testimony it is. He was one of those most learned divines, who, in 1656, were publicly requested to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinion therein to the committee for religion; Bulstrode Whitlock having the care of this affair, at whose house they met. They pretended to discover some mistakes in the last English translation: but the business came to nothing. See Lewis, &c. p. 355. Johnson, &c. p. 99. In the above citation we have the opinion of Walton, (than whom a more competent judge neither friends nor foes of our translation can produce,) three years subsequent to this meeting, upon the excellence of this version, together with his notice of an impotent attack made upon it. He has also, in the Prolegomena to his Biblia Polyglotta, 1657, placed our own in the highest rank of European translations.

[4] This person was undoubtedly Hugh Broughton, fellow of Christ College, Cambridge; who had certainly attained great knowledge in the Hebrew and Greek tongues. But a more conceited or arrogant man hardly existed. With the Bishops' Bible he had found great fault; insisted upon the necessity of a new translation; pronounced his own sufficiency to make one exactly agreeable to the original text of the Hebrew: boasted of encouragement to this purpose from men of all ranks; and at length excited a very warrantable suspicion, that in so important a task, he was unfit to be trusted. Thus discountenanced, he went abroad; leaving behind him this quaint character, expressive at once of his vanity and learning, "that he was gone to teach the Jews Hebrew!" See Sir J. Harrington's Brief View of the state of the Church, 1653, p. 75. He returned to England, however, in 1611, and commenced the defamation against the new translation to which Walton adverts. By the contents of a little tract, which he published in 1608, intitled, "A Petition to the Lords to examine the religion and carriage of Archbishop Bancroft," he gives us no cause to lament that he had no share in the new translation. I question if his countrymen would have understood his language; as the case has been with another partial translator, who was not of the authorised selection. Broughton thus rails at Bancroft: "Bancroft, seeing himself in Judaisme, and as I heard in

though skilled in the Hebrew, yet of little or no judgment in that or any other kinde of learning, was so highly offended that he would needs undertake to show *how many thousand places they had falsely rendered, when as he could hardly make good his undertaking in any one!*"

3. Bishop Lowth [1]. "The vulgar translation of the Bible—is the best standard of our language."

4. Bishop Horsley [2]. "When the translators in James the First's time began their work, they prescribed to themselves some rules, which it may not be amiss for all translators to follow. Their reverence for the sacred scriptures induced them to be as literal as they could, to avoid obscurity; and it must be acknowledged, that they were extremely happy in the simplicity and dignity of their expressions. *Their adherence to the Hebrew idiom is supposed at once to have enriched and adorned our language;* and as they laboured for the general benefit of the learned and the unlearned, they avoided all words of Latin original, when they could find words in their own language, even with the aid of adverbs and prepositions, which would express their meaning."

5. Bishop Middleton [3]. "The style of our present version is incomparably superior to any thing which might be expected from the finical and perverted taste of our own age. It is simple, it is harmonious, it is energetic; and, which is of no small importance, use has made it familiar, and time has rendered it sacred."

6. Dr. Geddes [4]. "The highest eulogiums have been made on the translation of James the First, both by our own writers and by foreigners. And indeed, if accuracy, fidelity, and the strictest attention to the letter of the text, be supposed to constitute the qualities of an excellent version, *this of all versions must, in general, be accounted the most excellent.* Every sentence, every word, every syllable, every letter and point, seem to have been weighed with the nicest exactitude, and expressed either in the text, or margin, with the greatest precision. Pagninus himself is hardly more literal; and it was well remarked by Robertson, above a hundred years ago, *that it may serve for a Lexicon of the Hebrew language, as well as for a translation.*"

7. Rev. J. W. Whittaker [5]. "The highest value has always been attached to our translation of the Bible. Sciolists, it is true, have often attempted to raise their own reputation on the ruin of that of others; and the authors of the English Bible have frequently been calumniated by charlatans of every description: but it may safely be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the nation at large has always paid our translators the tribute of veneration and gratitude which they so justly merit. Like the mighty of former times, they have departed and shared the common fate of mortality; but they have not, like those heroes of antiquity, gone without their fame, though but little is known of their individual worth. Their reputation for learning and piety has not descended with them to the grave, though they are there alike heedless of the voice of calumny, and deaf to the praise which admiring posterity awards to the great and good. Let us not therefore too hastily conclude that they have fallen on evil days and evil tongues, because it has occasionally happened that *an individual, as inferior to them in erudition as in talents and integrity, is found questioning their motives, or denying their qualifications for the task which they so well performed.* Their version has been used, ever since its first appearance, not only by the church, but by all the sects which have forsaken her; and has justly been esteemed by all for its general faithfulness, and the severe beauty of its language. It has survived the convulsion both of church and state, being universally respected by the enemies of both, when the established religion was persecuted with the most rancorous

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his allowed libel equal scoffer, as of a mist soon scattered, raved against me for pearles to such, and holy things to such!" p. 2. "Bancroft is a deadly enemy to both Testaments, and unallowable in this course to be a teacher, or to rule in learning!" p. 8. After this foolery and slander, the reader will not be surprised to hear that he abuses Lively and Barlow also, two of our authorised translators.

[1] Lowth, Introd. to Eng. Grammar, 2d ed. p. 93, cited by Archbishop Newcome.

[2] Review of Dr. Geddes's Translation of the Holy Bible, Brit. Crit. July 1794, p. 7. The reviewer is now known to have been the late Bishop Horsley.

[3] Dr. Middleton (now Bishop of Calcutta) on the Greek Article, p. 328.

[4] Dr. Geddes's Prospectus of a New Translation of the Holy Bible, p. 92. Cited by Abp. Newcome, with a longer extract from the author.—Todd's Vindication, pp. 68, 70, 75, 80.

[5] Whittaker, Hist. and Crit. Enq. p. 92.

malignity; as if its merits were independent of circumstances, and left at a distance all the petty rivalships of sectarianism, and the effervescence of national frenzy. *It may be compared with any translation in the world, without fear of inferiority; it has not shrunk from the most rigorous examination; it challenges investigation; and, in spite of numerous attempts to supersede it, has hitherto remained unrivalled in the affections of the country.*"

8. Dr. DODDRIDGE.—" On a diligent comparison of our translation with the original, we find that of the New Testament, and I might also add that of the Old, in the main, faithful and judicious. You know, indeed, that we do not scruple, on some occasions, to animadvert upon it; but you also know, that these remarks affect not the fundamentals of religion, and seldom reach any further than the beauty of a figure, or at most the connection of an argument." [1]

9. The testimony of Dr. JOHN TAYLOR, of Norwich, author of the excellent Hebrew and English Concordance (whose theological creed we regret to say was *Arian*), is yet more striking.

" In above the space of one (now two) hundred years," says he, " learning may have received considerable improvements; and by that means some inaccuracies may be found in a translation more than a (two) hundred years old. But you may rest fully satisfied, that as *our English translation is, in itself, by far the most excellent book in our language, so it is a pure and plentiful fountain of divine knowledge, giving a* TRUE, CLEAR, *and* FULL *account of the divine dispensations, and of the gospel of our salvation: insomuch that whoever studies the Bible,* THE ENGLISH BIBLE, *is sure of gaining that knowledge and faith, which, if duly applied to the heart and conversation,* WILL INFALLIBLY GUIDE HIM TO ETERNAL LIFE." [2]

10. The last testimony we shall adduce, is that of the eminent orientalist and commentator, Dr. ADAM CLARKE.—" Those," (says he), " who have compared most of the European translations with the original, have not scrupled to say that the English translation of the Bible, made under the direction of King James the First, is the most accurate and faithful of the whole. Nor," adds Dr. C., " is this its only praise: the *translators have seized the very spirit and soul of the original*, and *expressed this almost every where with pathos and energy.* Besides, our translators have not only made a *standard translation*; but they have made their translation the *standard of our language*: the English tongue in their day was not equal to such a work—but God enabled them to stand as upon Mount Sinai, and *crane up* their country's language to the dignity of the originals, so that, after the lapse of two hundred years, the English Bible is, with very few exceptions, the standard of the purity and excellence of the English tongue. *The original*, from which it was taken, is, alone, superior to the Bible translated by the authority of king James." [3]

Notwithstanding these decisive testimonies to the superior excellency of our authorised version, it is readily admitted that it is not immaculate, and that a complete correction of it is an object of desire to the friends of religion, were it only to silence the perpetually repeated cavils of the opposers of divine revelation; who, studiously disregarding the various satisfactory answers which have been given to their unfounded objections, persevere in repeating them, so long as they find a very few mis-translated passages in the authorised version. But that such a correction is a work of *immediate* or *pressing* necessity—or that the existing translation is faulty in innumerable instances, and ambiguous and incorrect even in matters of the highest importance,—or that sacred criticism is yet so far advanced as to furnish *all* the means that may be expected, we hesitate not to deny. So pernicious must it be (especially in these times) frequently to agitate and unsettle the minds of men on these subjects, that we should hope this task, when-

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[1] Dr. Doddridge's Works, vol. ii. p. 329, Leeds edit.

[2] Scheme of Scripture Divinity, ch. xl. in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. i. p. 188.

[3] Dr. A. Clarke's General Preface to his Commentary on the Bible, vol. i. p. xxi.

ever it shall be again performed, may be completed *for ever*. In the mean time, when we consider the *very few* REAL faults, which the most minute and scrupulous inquirer has been able to find in our present translation; when we perceive such distinguished critics as Archbishop Newcome and Bishop Horsley (to mention no more), producing *very discordant* interpretations of the *same* text or word, we cannot but call to mind, with gratitude and admiration, the integrity, wisdom, fidelity, and learning of the venerable translators, of whose pious labours we are now reaping the benefit; who, while their reverence for the Sacred Scriptures induced them to be as literal as they could, to avoid obscurity, have been extremely happy in the simplicity and dignity of their expressions, and who, by their adherence to the Hebrew idiom, have at once enriched and adorned our language. And instead of being *impatient* for a revision of the present text, we shall (to adopt the energetic expression of Mr. Todd) 'take up THE BOOK, which from our infancy we have known and loved, with increased delight; and resolve not hastily to violate, in regard to itself, the rule which it records,—"FORSAKE NOT AN OLD FRIEND, FOR THE NEW IS NOT COMPARABLE TO HIM."'

"Happy, thrice happy, hath our English nation been, since God hath given it learned translators, to express in our mother tongue the heavenly mysteries of his holy word, delivered to his church in the Hebrew and Greek languages; who, although they may have in some matters of no importance unto salvation, as men, been deceived and mistaken, yet have they faithfully delivered the whole substance of the heavenly doctrine contained in the Holy Scriptures, without any heretical translations or wilful corruptions. With what reverence, joy, and gladness, then ought we to receive this blessing! Let us read the Scriptures with an humble, modest, and teachable disposition: with a willingness to embrace all truths which are plainly delivered there, how contrary soever to our own opinions and prejudices; and in matters of difficulty, readily hearken to the judgment of our teachers, and those that are set over us in the Lord; check every presumptuous thought or reasoning which exalts itself against any of those mysterious truths therein revealed; and if we thus search after the truth in the love of it, we shall not miss of that knowledge, which will make us wise unto salvation."[1]

2. WELSH VERSIONS.—From an epistle of Dr. Richard Davis, Bishop of Saint David's, prefixed to the Welsh New Testament, printed in 1567, we learn that there was a British or Welsh version of the Pentateuch extant about (if not before) the year 1527, though the translator's name is not known. Some other small and detached passages of scripture appear also to have been translated into this language in the reign of King Edward VI., which were printed, in all probability, for the use of his Liturgy. But it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that efficient steps were taken to supply the inhabitants of the principality of Wales with the Holy Scriptures in their vernacular dialect. In 1563 an act of parliament was passed (5 Eliz. c. 28.)

[1] Johnson's Historical Account of the several English Translations of the Bible, in the concluding paragraph. Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts, vol. iii. p. 100.

enacting, that the Old and New Testaments, together with the Book of Common Prayer, should be translated into the British or Welsh tongue; and committing the direction of the work to the Bishops of Saint Asaph, Bangor, Saint David's, Llandaff, and Hereford. They were to view, peruse, and allow the translation, and to take care (under a penalty of £40 on each of them), that such a number should be printed and distributed by March 1, 1566, as would furnish copies to every cathedral, collegiate and parish church and chapel of ease, within their respective dioceses, where Welsh was commonly spoken. In 1567, was printed at London, the first translation of the New Testament. The translators were Thomas Huet, Chantor of Saint David's, Dr. Richard Davis, Bishop of Saint David's, and William Salesbury, a man of great industry, learning, and piety. But there was no edition or version of the Old Testament in the British tongue, till more than twenty years after the publication of the New Testament. The person chiefly concerned in rendering this important service to the antient Britons, was William Morgan, D.D., who was bishop of Llandaff in 1595, from which see he was, in 1604, translated to that of Saint Asaph. He *first* translated the *entire* Old Testament, together with the Apocrypha, into Welsh, and also revised and corrected the *former* version of the New Testament, both of which were printed, in one volume folio, in 1588. During the reign of James I. the Welsh Version underwent a further examination and correction from Dr. Parry, Morgan's successor in the see of Saint Asaph. This corrected version, which is usually called Parry's Bible, is the basis of all subsequent editions. It was printed at London in 1620. Seventy years afterwards, another folio edition was printed at Oxford, under the inspection of Bishop Lloyd, in 1690. These folio impressions were intended principally, if not wholly, for the use of churches: so that, for upwards of seventy years, from the settlement of the Reformation by Queen Elizabeth, there was no provision made for furnishing the country or people in general with copies of the Scriptures. The honour of the first supply of this kind is due to one or more citizens of London, at whose private expense an octavo edition was printed, in 1630. In 1654 and 1678 two other octavo editions appeared; the latter of these consisted of 8,000 copies, to the publication of which the Rev. Thomas Gouge, a learned non-conformist minister [1], not only contributed very largely out of his private fortune, but procured ample subscriptions from numerous opulent and benevolent individuals. The next octavo edition of the Welsh Bible was published in 1690, under the patronage of Thomas Lord Wharton, by Mr. David Jones; who was assisted in the undertaking by some ministers and citizens of London. This was the last edition that appeared in the seventeenth century, and also the most numerous; the editor, it is said, having distributed not fewer than ten thousand copies [2]. During the

[1] The reader will find a pleasing account of Mr. Gouge's various benevolent and pious undertakings in Archbishop Tillotson's Sermon on his Death. Works, vol. ii. pp. 340—349, 8vo. London, 1820.

[2] The preceding account of Welsh Bibles is abridged from an Historical Account of the British or Welsh Versions and Editions of the Bible. By Thomas Llewellyn,

eighteenth century, *six* editions of the Welsh Bible were printed chiefly, if not wholly, at the expense of the venerable SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, viz. in 1718, 1727, 1746, 1752, 1769 or 1770, and 1799. This last edition consisted of *ten thousand* copies of the Welsh Bible, Common Prayer, and singing Psalms, besides *two thousand* extra copies of the New Testament. Ample as this edition was, in a few years, copies of the Scriptures became extremely scarce and dear in the Principality: and in 1802, some pious and benevolent individuals projected a new impression, the circumstances connected with which ultimately led to the formation of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY[1]. Their attention was immediately directed to the wants of the Principality: in 1806, a large and very correct stereotype impression of the New Testament was issued, which obtained a rapid sale, and subsequent editions have been printed. In 1821, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge defrayed the expense of a large edition, in crown octavo, of the Welsh Bible, with the Liturgy and Psalms. It was executed at the press of the University of Oxford, and is one of the most beautiful specimens of typography ever printed; so that the inhabitants of Wales are now abundantly supplied with the Scriptures in their native tongue.

3. IRISH BIBLES.—The New Testament having been translated into Irish by Dr. William Daniel, archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Bedell (who was advanced to the see of Kilmore and Ardagh in 1629), procured the Old Testament to be translated by a Mr. King; who, being ignorant of the original languages, executed it from the English Version. Bedell, therefore, revised and compared it with the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Italian version of Diodati. He supported Mr. King, during his undertaking, to the utmost of his ability; and when the translation was finished, he would have printed it in his own house, and at his own charge, if he had not been prevented by the troubles in Ireland. The translation, however, escaped the hands of the rebels, and was subsequently printed in 1685, at the expense of the Hon. Robert Boyle[2]. What editions were printed during the eighteenth century, the author of the present work has not been able to ascertain. The British and Foreign Bible Society early exerted itself to supply the want of the British and Foreign Bible in the Irish language. In 1811, an edition of the New Testament was completed; and in 1813, the Bible was stereotyped. Another edition is at this time in progress at the expense of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

4. MANKS BIBLE.—Towards the close of his life, the truly venerable bishop of Sodor and Mann, Dr. Thomas Wilson, formed a plan for translating the New Testament into the Manks language: but he did not live to make a further progress than to translate the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, and to print at his own expense the

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L.L.D. (8vo, London 1768.) pp. 1—50. In an appendix (pp. 91—112) this author has printed the dedications, which were prefixed by the translators to the first impressions.

[1] See the Rev. John Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. i. pp. 1—12, 138—150, 262, 391.

[2] Biographia Britannica, article Bedell, vol. ii. p. 136, 2d edition.

Gospel of Saint Matthew. His exemplary successor, Bishop Hildesley, revised the manuscript, and completed the version of the New Testament, which, by the munificent aid of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and of other benevolent individuals, he was enabled to print between the years 1756 and 1760. In 1766, he was encouraged, by the influx of benefactions, to undertake a Manks Version of the Old Testament, which was completed only two days before his decease, on the 30th November, 1772.[1]

5. Gaelic Bibles.—The Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, has the honour of giving to the inhabitants of the Highlands the Holy Scriptures, in their vernacular dialect. The New Testament was translated by the late Rev. James Stewart, minister of Killin, and printed at their expense in 1765: it bears a high character for fidelity and accuracy. The several books of the Old Testament were translated and published, in four detached portions or volumes, at different times, as the Society's funds would permit. In 1796, the first edition of the New Testament being exhausted, the Society published another, consisting of *twenty thousand* copies. And as some of the first printed volumes of the Old Testament were so much reduced in number, in 1802, as to be insufficient to supply the urgent demands of the Highlands in general, and of the Society's own schools in particular, a new edition of twenty thousand copies was printed. Three parts out of four, into which this portion of the Bible had been divided, were rendered from the Hebrew with great simplicity, and with as literal an adherence to the original text as the idiom of the respective languages would admit. As the style of the fourth part, which was executed by another person, had receded from this simplicity, it was revised and corrected with the utmost care. From this corrected text (a copy of which was furnished by the Society in Scotland as soon as it was finished), the British and Foreign Bible Society executed their stereotype editions in 1807, which (as the Scottish Society was unable to supply the urgent and very numerous demands for the sacred writings) were purchased at reduced prices by the poor Highlanders, with the liveliest expressions of gratitude.[2]

III. French Versions.—The earliest French translation of the Scriptures is that of Guiars de Moulins, a canon of St. Pierre d'Aire, in the diocese of Touraine, who was employed in this work from the Vulgate, from 1291 to 1294. Several copies of this translation are in the Royal Library at Paris; and an edition of it was printed by order of Charles VIII. to whom it was dedicated, at Paris, in 1487. In 1512, James Le Fevre, of Estaples (better known by the name of Jacobus Faber, Stapulensis), published a translation of Saint Paul's Epistles, with critical notes and a commentary, in which he freely censures the Vulgate; and in 1523 he published at Paris, in a similar

[1] Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. xvii. pp. 480—482, from Mr. Butler's Memoirs of Bp. Hildesley.

[2] Address of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, 1803. Owen's History of the Bible Society, vol. i. pp. 205, 206, 314—316. In 1820, a Gaelic translation of the Book of Common Prayer was completed and printed, at the expense of the incorporated London Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

manner, the whole of the New Testament. This was followed by detached books of the Old Testament, and by an edition of the entire French Bible translated by himself. It was printed at Antwerp by Martin L'Empereur, in 1530 (again in 1534 and 1541), and was revised by the divines of Louvain, whose edition appeared in 1550, and has since been repeatedly printed. The translation of Le Fevre is said to be the basis of all the subsequent French Bibles, whether executed by Roman Catholics or Protestants. The first Protestant French Bible was published by Robert Peter Olivetan, with the assistance of his relative, the illustrious reformer, John Calvin, who corrected the Antwerp edition, wherever it differed from the Hebrew. It was printed at Neufchatel, in 1535, in folio; and at Geneva in 1540, in large quarto, with additional corrections by Calvin. Both these editions are of extreme rarity. Another edition appeared at the same place in 1588, revised by the College of pastors and professors of the Reformed Church at Geneva (Beza, Genlart, Jaquemot, Bertram, and others), who so greatly improved Olivetan's Bible, both in correctness and diction, that it thenceforth obtained the name of the Geneva Bible, by which it is now generally known. It has gone through very numerous editions, the latest of which is that of Geneva, 1805, in folio, and also in three volumes 8vo. Another French Protestant version (made from the Italian translation of Diodati) was published in 1562, which for a short time was held in estimation by the Calvinists. The French translation of Sebastian Castalio, who was but indifferently skilled in that language, appeared at Basil in 1555; being accommodated to his Latin version above noticed, it was liable to the same objections, and was never held in any esteem.

A reformation of the Geneva Bible was undertaken by Renat Benoist (Renatus Benedictus), professor of divinity in the College of Navarre. It was published, with notes, in 1566; but being condemned by a brief of Pope Gregory XIII. in 1575, a new edition was undertaken by the divines of Louvain, who freed it from the corrections of the reformed, and made it altogether conformable to the Latin. This edition was printed at Antwerp in 1575, and at various places since. In 1820, a version of Saint John's Gospel, in the dialect spoken at Thoulouse, and in its vicinity, was printed at Thoulouse.[1] There are several other French translations, by private individuals, which are made from the Vulgate; as that of Isaac Louis Le Maitre de Sacy, both with and without notes, and the version of the New Testament by Quesnel, whose moral reflections are justly admired for their piety. Father Amelotte's translation of the New Testament was published in 1666; Godeau's paraphrase, in 1668; and Father Bouhours's translation, in 1697-1703. All these are now nearly forgotten. The French version of the ingenious critic, Father Simon, published with notes in 1702, was translated into English by Mr. Webster, in two volumes 4to, 1730. The Protestant French Version of the New Testament, executed by M. M. Beausobre and L'Enfant (4to, Amsterdam, 1718), is much esteemed for its closeness. Various portions of the

[1] Le Sênt Ebangely dé Nostré Seignour Jesus Christ seloun Sênt Jan. traduit én Léngo Toulouzenzo. a Toulouso, 1820, 12mo.

Bible have been translated into French by other writers, who are not of sufficient note to require a distinct mention.

IV. Belgian Versions.—A Flemish translation of the Scriptures was made from the Vulgate in the sixteenth century, and printed at Cologne in 1475, at Delft in 1477, and at other places. For a long time the Protestants in the Low Countries had only the Dutch translation, made from Luther's German version in 1560, which has already been noticed in page 43 of this Supplement. But in 1618, in consequence of an order issued by the Synod of Dort, a new translation was undertaken from the Hebrew and Greek. The translators of the Old Testament were John Bogermann, William Baudart, and Gerson Bucer; the New Testament and apocryphal books were assigned to James Roland, Antony Walæus, and Festus Hommius. Their portions, when finished, were submitted to the careful revision of others. This Dutch version was first printed in 1637, and is highly valued for its fidelity; the Remonstrants, however, being dissatisfied with the New Testament, translated it anew from the Greek; and their version was printed at Amsterdam in 1680.

V. Italian Versions.—Four versions of the Bible are extant in the Italian language. The earliest is that of Nicolao Malermi, who translated it from the Latin Vulgate: it was first published at Venice, in 1471, in folio. The second is that of Antonio Bruccioli, also printed at Venice in 1532: he professes to have made his version from the Hebrew and Greek, but Walchius says, that he chiefly followed the Latin translation of Sanctes Pagninus. A revised edition of Bruccioli's Italian Bible, rendered conformable to the Vulgate by Sanctes Marmochinus, was printed at Venice in 1538. An Italian version has moreover been said to have been published under the auspices of Pope Sixtus V.; but its existence is very doubtful. A Protestant Italian version of the New Testament was published at Geneva in 1561, and of the entire Bible in 1562, which is usually considered as a revision of Bruccioli's: but Walchius asserts that it is altogether a new translation. It has, however, long been superseded by the elegant and faithful version of Giovanni Diodati, published in 1607. The latest Italian version is that executed, in conformity with the Vulgate, by Martini, archbishop of Florence, towards the close of the eighteenth century: it received the sanction of the late pope Pius VI.

VI. Spanish Versions.—The earliest edition of the Scriptures in the Spanish language, was executed from the Vulgate, and printed at Valencia, in 1478 [1]; it is now of very rare occurrence. In 1553, a Spanish version of the Old Testament was made for the Jews by Edward Pinel; it was printed at Ferrara. In 1630, a revised edition of it was published at Amsterdam, by Manasseh Ben Israel. A much earlier translation than this is said to have been made by some learned Jews, which has been too hastily attributed to rabbi David Kimchi. An edition of the Old Testament in Hebrew, and in Jewish-Spanish, was printed at Vienna, in the years 1813, 14, 15, and 16, in four

[1] Thomson's and Orme's Historical Sketch of the Translation of the Scriptures, p. 40, *note*.

volumes, quarto, for the use of the Jews of Constantinople and of most of the cities of Turkey, who are Spanish Jews. The Hebrew text is printed with vowel points, on one half of the page, and the Jewish-Spanish, with rabbinical characters on the other [1]. Among the Christians, Cassiodore de Reyna translated the Scriptures into Spanish, from the original languages, but availed himself of the assistance afforded by the Latin versions of Pagninus and Leo Juda: it was published at Basil, in 1569. A revised edition of it by Cyprian de Valera, a Protestant, who consulted later versions and notes, especially the Geneva French Bible, was published at Amsterdam, in 1702. A new Spanish version of the entire Bible, from the Latin Vulgate, was published at Madrid in 1793-4, by Don Philipe Scio de San Miguel, (subsequently appointed Bishop of Segovia,) in ten folio volumes; it is adorned with three hundred engravings copied from those of Marillier and Monsiau, which were executed for the edition of Sacy's French version of the Bible, printed at Paris in 1789 and the following years. This edition is very rare and dear even in Spain. Padre Scio's Spanish version was reprinted at Madrid between the years 1794 and 1797, in *nineteen* large 8vo volumes, with plates. There are copies of this edition both with and without the Latin text. The third edition of this version was published at Madrid in 1808, in Latin and Spanish, in sixteen volumes which have the appearance of small quartos: they are very neatly executed. The Vulgate text and Spanish translation are printed in parallel columns. To each book is prefixed a critical preface, and at the foot of the page is a copious commentary, drawn principally from the writings of the fathers. [2]

VII. Russian Version.—The Sclavonic or Old Russian version has been already noticed in Vol. I. pp. 291, 304: but as this, though the established version of the Greek church, is no longer intelligible to the common people, a translation of the Bible into the modern Russ was made by M. Glück, a Livonian clergyman, and printed at Amsterdam in 1698 [3]. As the Russian language has undergone considerable changes since that time, the Emperor Alexander, by an edict in February 1816, directed the Holy Synod of Moscow to prepare a new translation: and in March 1819, the four Gospels were published in that language. [4]

VIII. Croat Bible.—The New Testament in the language of Croatia, was first published at Tubingen, in 1551. It was translated by the pastor Truber, and was reprinted with some corrections by the translator, at the same place, in two octavo volumes, in 1581-2.

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[1] Sixteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Appendix, p. 24.

[2] A modern Polyglott Bible, designed as a companion to that in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, and English languages (noticed in Vol. II. Part II. Appendix, pp. 127, 128), is now in course of publication by Mr. Bagster. It comprises Luther's *German* version, carefully printed; the *French* version, from a reprint of Ostervald's edition, printed at Basle, in 1819-20; Diodati's *Italian* version; and the *Spanish* version, from the edition of Padre Scio, above noticed.

[3] Bishop Marsh's History of Translations, p. 6.

[4] Sixteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for 1820, Appendix, pp. 29, 30. The modern Russian version was received with the liveliest gratitude, both by clergy and laity, of which some pleasing testimonies are given in p. 31.

These editions are of extreme rarity. The first edition of the entire Croat Bible appeared at Wittemberg, in 1584. The New Testament is the version of Truber. The Pentateuch, Proverbs, and Book of Ecclesiasticus were translated by the editor, George Dalmatinus, who also wrote the Preface. [1]

IX. The New Testament, in the Basque dialect, was first printed at Rochelle, in 1571, with a dedication in French to Joan d'Albert, Queen of Navarre, by John de Licarrague de Briscous. It is furnished with parallel passages in the margin, and at the end are summaries of contents, indexes, &c. [2]

X. Hungarian Bible.—The Hungarian Protestant version was executed by Caspar Caroli, who availed himself of the previous labours of Vatablus, Pagninus, Munster, Tremellius, and of the Vulgate. It was first published in 1589, at Wysolyin; and subsequently at Hanau, in 1608; at Oppenheim, in 1612; at Amsterdam, in 1645, 1684, and 1685, and at other places. Of the edition printed in Holland, in 1717, three thousand copies are said to have been intercepted by the Jesuits, into whose custody they were committed, to prevent any use from being made of them. There is also a popish version, made from the Latin Vulgate, by George Kaldi, and printed at Cologne and Vienna.

XI. Polish Bibles.—Three versions of the Scriptures have been published in the Polish language. The first was undertaken for the use of the Roman Catholics, and was published at Cracow in 1561; reprinted at the same place in 1577, 1599 and 1619, and at other places. The second was made by the Socinians under the patronage and at the expense of Prince Nicholas Radzivil; it was published at Pinczow, in Lithuania, in 1563, and is one of the rarest books ever printed [3]. This translation was reprinted at Zaslau, in Lithuania, in 1572. The third Polish version was made by the Reformed, or Calvinists, in 1596. A translation of the New Testament into the Judæo-Polish dialect (which is spoken by the Jews, who are very numerous in Poland) has been made by the Rev. N. Solomon, at the expense and under the patronage of the London society for promoting Christianity among the Jews; it was printed in 1821 [4]. A translation of the New Testament into the language of *Samogitia*, a province of Poland, was printed in 1820, at the expense of the Russian Bible society.

XII. Bohemian Bibles.—The first Bohemian translation was made from the Latin Vulgate, and was published at Prague in 1488. The other, for the use of the Protestants in Bohemia, was made from the sacred originals by Albert Nicolai, John Capito, Isaiah Cœpolla, and other learned reformers, at the expense of the baron, John Zerotimus. It was published between the years 1579 and 1593, in six quarto volumes, without any indication of the place where they were printed, which is supposed to have been Kralitz.

XIII. Modern-Greek, or Romaïc Versions.—The Romaïc is a corruption of the antient Greek, so great indeed, that, compared with

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[1] Adler's Bibliotheca Biblica, Part IV. pp. 131, 132.

[2] Adler's Bibliotheca Biblica, Part IV. p. 151.

[3] A copy of this translation is in the library of Earl Spencer, and is described by Mr. Dibdin, Bib. Spenc. vol. i. pp. 85—89.

[4] Thirteenth Report of the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews, p. 8.

the latter, it may be pronounced a new language: It is at present in general use, both for writing and conversation, the antient Greek being used solely for ecclesiastical affairs. Into this language the New Testament was translated by Maximus Calliergi, and was printed at Geneva in 1638, in one large quarto volume, in two columns, one containing the antient, the other the modern Greek. It was published at the expense of the then United Provinces, upon the solicitation of Cornelius Haga, their ambassador at Constantinople. The Greeks, however, did not receive it with much favour. This translation was reprinted at London in 1703, in one volume 12mo, by Seraphin, a monk of Mitylene, who prefixed to it a preface, which gave offence to the Greek bishops, particularly to the patriarch of Constantinople. By his order it was committed to the flames. The edition of 1703 (which, in consequence of this suppression, has become extremely rare) was reprinted in 1705; and in that edition the objectionable passages in Seraphin's preface were omitted. A more correct edition of it was printed at Halle, in Saxony, in 1710, in one volume, 12mo, under the patronage and at the expense of Sophia Louisa, Queen of Prussia [1]. From this last edition was printed the impression executed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in one thick volume, 12mo, (Chelsea 1810), the antient and modern Greek being in parallel columns. To this edition the patriarch of Constantinople gave his unqualified approbation [2]. With regard to the Old Testament, though the book of Psalms was translated into Romaïc, and printed at Venice, in 1543, and the Pentateuch (by the Jews at Constantinople) in 1547, yet no *entire* version of the Scriptures was extant in modern Greek, until the archimandrite Hilarion (whom the general suffrage of the learned Greeks concurs in representing as best qualified for the task) undertook first a new translation of the New Testament, which is undergoing a scrupulous revision, previously to being printed. The same person, with the assistance of two learned ecclesiastics, is at this time occupied in translating the Old Testament from the antient into the modern Greek. [3]

XIV. XV. Wallachian and Bulgarian Versions.—A translation of the New Testament in the Wallachian language was published at Belgrade, in 1648; and a version of the same has been undertaken in the Bulgarian language, under the direction of the Petersburg Bible Society.

XVI. Romanese Versions.—The Romanese language is divided into two dialects, the *Churwelsche* and the *Ladiniche*. The former is spoken by the inhabitants of the Engadine (one of the loftiest vallies in Switzerland, bordering on the Tyrol); the latter, by the Ladins, who reside on the confines of Italy. The Scriptures were translated into the Churwelsche dialect, and published in 1657, at Schuol, a town of the Lower Engadine, and into the Ladiniche at Coire, in 1719. Editions of both these versions have lately been printed by the Bible Society at Bâsle, aided by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London.

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[1] Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, vol. i. pp. 177—179.

[2] Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. ii. p. 358, *note*.

[3] Sixteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Appendix, pp. 19, 20. Seventeenth Report, p. liv.

XVII. Turkish Versions.—In 1666, the New Testament was printed in Turkish, at Oxford: it was translated by Dr. Lazarus Seaman, and was published at the joint expense of the Hon. Robert Boyle and of the Levant or Turkey Company of London, for the benefit of the Christians in Turkey, by whom it was very gratefully received. In the same year a translation of the whole Bible into the Turkish language was completed by Albertus Boboosky [1], first dragoman or interpreter to the Porte. He undertook this arduous work at the request of the celebrated Levin Warner, at that time ambassador from Holland; and his translation was sent to Leyden, corrected and ready for the press. Here it lay until 1814, when the Rev. Dr. Pinkerton having ascertained its value, recommended it to the British and Foreign Bible Society. The curators of the university of Leyden having confided the manuscript to his excellency Baron Von Diez, at that time counsellor of legation to the court of Berlin, this distinguished scholar devoted the last two years of his life to its revision, and to superintending the printing of it. On his decease, in 1817, the editing of this version was cheerfully undertaken by M. Kieffer, professor of the oriental languages at Paris; and in 1819, the New Testament was completed. The Old Testament is passing through the press, with as much rapidity as the nature of the work will permit. The style of Boboosky's translation is said to be pure and elegant, such as will be read with pleasure by the man of letters, and at the same time be understood by the lowest in society.

XVIII. Portuguese Version.—In 1681, the New Testament was printed in the Portuguese language at Amsterdam; and some portions were printed in the former part of the last century by the Missionaries at Tranquebar. A Portuguese version of the Old Testament, executed by João Ferreira d'Almeida and Jacob op den Akker, was published at Batavia, in 1748-53, in two volumes 8vo. These were Protestant versions. In 1781, Antonio Pereira published a Portuguese version of the New Testament, at Lisbon; and in 1783, the entire Bible. This translation is made from the Vulgate Latin version, and in all doctrinal points is in union with the church of Rome.

XIX. Albanian Version.—The Albanians are a hardy people, inhabiting the countries antiently known by the names of Illyricum and Epirus: numerous tribes of them are also spread over Macedonia and the Morea or Peloponesus. A translation of the New Testament into

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[1] Owen's History of the Bible Society, vol. iii. pp. 13, 14. 257. 500. Sixteenth Report of the Society, Appendix, p. 17. Albertus Boboosky was born in Poland, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. While a youth, he was stolen by the Tartars, and sold to the Turks in Constantinople. By them he was educated in the Mohammedan faith, and when he grew up became first dragoman or translator to Mahomet or Mohammed IV. His Turkish name was Hali Bey. He understood seventeen languages, and is said to have spoken French, German, and English with the fluency of a native. To the English language he was greatly attached; and at the request of Mr. Boyle translated the catechism of the Church of England into Turkish. He also composed many works himself, several of which have been published: but his great work was the Translation of the Scriptures above noticed. Boboosky also wrote a grammar and dictionary of the Turkish language. But it is not known what has become of them, and of the church catechism. This wonderful man intended to have returned into the bosom of the Christian church; but died, before he accomplished his design. Owen's Hist. vol. iii. p. 14. *note.*

their language was finished in the year 1820 by Dr. Evangelos Mexicos, under the patronage and at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society; which it is intended to print in parallel columns, one containing the Greek text, the other the Albanian version.

XX. Maltese Version.—The Maltese may almost be considered as a dialect of the Arabic language. Into this dialect the New Testament has been translated by Signor Cannolo, a native of the island of Malta, under the direction and with the assistance of the Rev. William Jowett, M. A., one of the Representatives of the Church Missionary Society in the Mediterranean. The Old Testament is in progress. As very few books have appeared in Maltese, it is proposed to print and circulate one of the Gospels, for the judgment of the learned, before the New Testament shall be put to press.

SECTION IV.

MODERN VERSIONS IN THE LANGUAGES OF ASIA.

I. *Hebrew.*—II. *Chaldee.*—III. *Versions in the oriental languages, either translated by the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, or printed at the Mission Press.*—1. Arabic, *and the languages derived from or bearing affinity to it.*—2. Sanscrit, *and the languages derived from or bearing affinity to it.*—3. Chinese, *and the languages derived from or bearing affinity to it.*—IV. *Other Asiatic Versions.*—1. *Formosan.*—2. *Tartar.*—3. *Georgian.*—4. *Taheitan.*

I. Hebrew. The New Testament was first translated into Hebrew by the learned Elias Hutter, who published it in his polyglott edition of the New Testament in twelve languages, viz. Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, Latin, German, Bohemian, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Danish and Polish, at Nuremberg, in 1599, 1600, in two volumes, 4to. In his preface he states, that when meditating that work, he sought in vain for a Hebrew version of the New Testament. No alternative therefore was left to him, but to attempt it himself. Accordingly, laying aside every other undertaking, he translated, corrected, and finished it in the space of one year. For a first translation, especially when we consider the shortness of the time in which it was accomplished, it is truly a wonderful performance. From Hutter's Polyglott the Hebrew text was detached, and printed separately, with some corrections, under the superintendance of William Robertson, 8vo. London, 1661. It is a volume of extremely rare occurrence, as the greater part of the impression was consumed in the great fire of London, in 1666. Robertson's edition was beautifully reprinted in 12mo, at London, in 1798, by the Rev. Richard Caddick, with the pious and benevolent design of enlightening the minds of the Jews. This translation not being executed in pure biblical Hebrew, and consequently not adapted to the Jews, the London Society for promoting

Christianity among them, in 1817, completed and published a new translation in biblical Hebrew, the purity of which has been acknowledged by learned Jews. The Gospel of Saint Matthew had been published in 1814, and the succeeding books at different times, as they could be completed [1]. The late Rev. Dr. Buchanan, during his researches in the interior of India, obtained a Hebrew manuscript of the New Testament in the country of Travancore, which is now deposited in the University Library at Cambridge. It is written in the small Rabbinical or Jerusalem character. The translator was a learned Rabbi, and the translation is in general faithful: his design was, to make an accurate version of the New Testament, for the express purpose of confuting it, and of repelling the arguments of his neighbours, the Syrian or Saint Thomé Christians. His own work was the providential instrument of subduing his unbelief; and he lived and died in the faith of Christ. A transcript of this Travancore Hebrew New Testament is in the Library of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. [2]

II. Chaldee.—The New Testament has not hitherto been published in this language: but a copy in manuscript exists in the Vatican Library. The manuscript contains both the Old and New Testaments, written in Syriac characters, but the language is Chaldee. [3]

III. Versions in the Oriental Languages, either translated by the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, or printed at the Mission Press.—The Baptist Missionaries entered India in 1793, and ultimately fixed themselves at the Danish settlement of Serampore, near Calcutta. To this mission chiefly belongs the honour of reviving the spirit for promoting Christian knowledge, by translations of the Bible. Soon after their establishment at Serampore, they were convinced that, if ever Christianity took deep root in India, it must be through the Holy Scriptures being translated and put into the hands of the various tribes who inhabit that vast country. Aided by a noble fund for translations raised by subscriptions among the societies of the Baptist denomination in Great Britain, almost from the commencement of their pious labours, and also by various annual grants of money from the British and Foreign Bible Society, from the year 1806 to the present time, the missionaries applied themselves to the great work of translating the Scriptures. In this undertaking, which has been honoured with the sanction of the Marquess Wellesley, and subsequent governors general of India, the Rev. Doctors Carey and Marshman, and the Rev. William Ward, have pre-eminently distinguished themselves; and, with their coadjutors, have continued with unwearied assiduity to prosecute their arduous work. Having formed a typographical establishment at Serampore, they have also been enabled to print translations of the Scriptures, entire or in part, which had been made by other learned and pious individuals. And when the

[1] There are extant various other Hebrew translations of detached books of the New Testament, by different individuals, which we have not room to enumerate. The reader will find an account of them in Dr. Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. vi. pp. 218—222.

[2] Fourth Report of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, Appendix, p. 45.

[3] Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. vi. p. 213.

Mission College, recently founded at Calcutta by the Right Rev. Dr. F. MIDDLETON, Bishop of Calcutta, (one of whose special objects, for the spiritual welfare of India, is the translation of the Bible into the hitherto untranslated dialects of India) shall commence its active operations, we may with just confidence anticipate the ultimate triumphs of our holy religion among the numerous tribes who inhabit that immense continent. [1]

The languages spoken in India form three classes, viz.

1. The *Arabic*, and the languages derived from or bearing an affinity to it; 2. The *Sanscrit* or *Sungscrit*; and 3. The *Chinese*, with the languages respectively derived from or bearing an affinity to them. [2]

1. *Modern Versions in the* ARABIC *language, and its cognate dialects.*

(1) ARABIC.—A version of the entire Bible in Arabic has come down to us, of which an account has been given in Vol. I. pp. 289, 300. Though highly valued by some oriental scholars for its general accuracy and fidelity, it has become antiquated in its dialect, and consequently unacceptable to the *learned* Arabians. On this account a new translation, in elegant modern Arabic, was commenced by Sabat, an eminent Arabian scholar, under the superintendance of the late Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. one of the Hon. East India Company's Chaplains. The New Testament was completed and published at Calcutta, in 1812, at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society [3]. The Old Testament was continued by the Rev. T. Thomason and Sabat. An edition of the Arabic New Testament, in Syriac characters, is now printing at Paris, at the expense of the Bible Society: it is expected to be finished in the course of the present year, 1821. See a specimen of the Arabic version in p. 95, *infra*.

(2) *Persian.*—The Persian Version, already noticed in Vol. I. pp. 290, 301, having also become antiquated and obsolete, a new one was undertaken by Lieut. Colonel Colebrooke, who completed the Four Gospels. They were published at Calcutta in 1804. An entire version of the New Testament, in pure and elegant Persian, was executed by the late Rev. H. Martyn, who travelled from India to Shiraz, the

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[1] As soon as it was known in England that Bp. Middleton was forming the Mission College at Calcutta, the sum of £5000 sterling was voted to him by each of the venerable Societies, for promoting Christian Knowledge, and for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, in aid of that Institution. The same sum was voted to his Lordship by the Church Missionary Society, without condition or restriction, in furtherance of his plan. And the like sum of £5000 was voted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in aid of the translations of the Holy Scriptures.

[2] Where no other authority is cited, our notices of oriental translations are abridged from the "Brief View of Baptist Missions and Translations," 8vo. London, 1815; from the "Periodical Accounts of the Baptist Missionary Society," No. XXX.; from the Supplement to No. XXXI., containing a further memoir of the translations of the Sacred Scriptures, dated March 21, 1816, 8vo, London, 1817; from Specimens of Editions of the Sacred Scriptures in the Eastern languages, translated by the Brethren of the Serampore Mission, and of several others, printed at the Mission press, Serampore, 1818, 4to; and from the "Seventh Memoir respecting the Translations of the Sacred Scriptures into the languages of India, conducted by the Brethren at Serampore," 8vo, Serampore, 1820. The plate representing the Lord's Prayer in Javanese, and the specimens of Versions in pp. 294—299, have been kindly communicated for the use of this work, by the Rev. J. Dyer, one of the Secretaries of that Society.

[3] Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia, pp. 285--290. (London, 1811.)

Athens of Persia, for that purpose. He arrived there in June 1811, and by the middle of the following year he had completed his work, with the assistance of Meer Seyd Ali, a learned native. He next proceeded to translate the book of Psalms into the same language; and thus rendered those important parts of the Sacred Scriptures into the vernacular language of two hundred thousand who bear the Christian name, and which is known over one-fourth of the habitable globe. A beautifully written copy of Martyn's translation was presented by Sir Gore Ouseley, bart., his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary, to the Sovereign of Persia, who publicly expressed his approbation of the work[1]. He subsequently carried another copy of the manuscript to Petersburg, where it was printed at the expense of the Petersburg Bible Society, under the superintendance of Sir G. Ouseley. A specimen of this version is given in page 94.

(3) *Pushtoo* or *Affghan.*—This language is spoken beyond the river Indus, by a people, who, there is every reason to conclude, are descended from the ten tribes of Israel. The eminent linguist, the late John Leyden, M.D., commenced a translation of the New Testament; and on his death in 1812, the Baptist missionaries at Serampore procured men skilled in the language to complete his undertaking. The whole of the New Testament has been printed at the mission-press; and the Pentateuch is advanced at the press as far as the Book of Leviticus. A specimen of this version is given in page 91.

(4) *Bulocha* or *Buloshee.*—This language is spoken on the western banks of the Indus, the country of Bulochistan extending westward to Persia. Considerable progress has been made by the missionaries in translating the New Testament into this dialect, in which they have printed the Four Gospels. See a specimen of it in page 92.

2. *Versions in the* SANSCRIT *or* SUNGSKRIT *language, and its cognate dialects:*

(1) *Sanscrit.*—This, though the parent of all the languages spoken in western and southern India, is, at present, the current language of no country, though it is spoken by the learned nearly throughout India. The New Testament was published in Sanscrit at Serampore, in 1811; the Pentateuch in 1812; the remaining historical books in 1815; the Hagiographa in 1816; and the translation of the prophetic books was finished in 1818, when the last information was received. The Baptist missionaries are preparing a new edition of this version, which is read with great interest by the Bramins. A specimen of it is given in page 90.

(2) In *Western India,* not fewer than *twenty-nine* languages are derived from the Sanscrit, and into SEVENTEEN of these the sacred volume has been wholly or in part translated, viz.

i. The *Sikh, Sheek,* or *Punjabee,* which is spoken in the province of Punjab, or the country of the five rivers (from *punj* five, and *ab* water): into this language the *entire Bible* has been translated and printed at the Serampore press. See a specimen of it in page 92.

[1] Owen's Hist. of the Bible Society, vol. iii. p. 41, vol. ii. p. 261. In pp. 265—267 an English translation of the letter of the King of Persia is printed at length. See also the very interesting Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. 8vo, London, 1819, particularly pp. 341—433.

ii. The *Assamese*, or language of the kingdom of Assam, in which the *New Testament* is completed and printed. See a specimen in p. 92.

The New Testament has also been translated and printed in

iii. The *Kashmiree* or *Kashmeer*, which is spoken in the extensive province of Kashmire, in the North of Hindostan:—See a specimen of it in page 91;

iv. The *Wucha* or *Multanee*, or dialect of Wuch, a country on the eastern bank of the Indus, which reaches from the Punjab to Auch;

v. The *Gujurat* or *Guzurattee*, which is spoken in the peninsula of Guzurat;

vi. The *Bikaneer*, which is spoken to the south of the Punjab, and extends westward to the country where the Wuchs begins; and in

vii. The *Kunkuna*, which language begins where the Guzurattee ceases to be vernacular, and is spoken at Bombay, and thence up the coast as far as Goa. In this language also the Pentateuch is considerably advanced: when that portion is finished, the Serampore brethren intend to transfer the completion of the Old Testament to the Bombay Auxiliary Bible Society.

The New Testament is more than half printed, *and is expected to be finished in the course of the present year, in*

viii. The *Maruwar*, or *Marwar*, which is spoken to the south-west of the Bikaneer country;

ix. The *Oojuvinee*, or language of the province of Oujein;

x. The *Bundelkhundee*, spoken in the province of Bundelkhund; and

xi. The *Nepālese*, or language of the kingdom of Nepāl.

The Four Gospels have been printed in

xii. xiii. The *Kanouj* or *Kanhukoobja*, and *Jumboo* languages.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark have been printed in

xiv. xv. xvi. The *Palpa*, *Kausulee* or *Koshul*, and *Bhutaneer* languages, and also in

xvii. The *Magudha* or *Pali* language, which is spoken in South Bahar. It begins where the Mahratta language ends, and extends nearly to the banks of the Ganges, and is the learned language of Ceylon, and of the Burman Empire. This version was commenced by the late Mr. W. Tolfrey at Colombo, in 1813: and on his death in 1817, the task of finishing and editing it was confided by the Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society to the Rev. Messrs. Chater and Clough.

(3) In *Southern India*, TWELVE dialects are spoken, that are either derived from the Sanscrit, or bearing an affinity to it, and into which the Scriptures have been wholly or in part translated, viz.

i. In the *Mahratta*, of which language Dr. Carey is professor at Calcutta, the Pentateuch and New Testament, translated by the Baptist missionaries, have long been in circulation, and the Historical Books were printed in 1820. See a specimen of it in page 90.

ii. The *Hindee* or *Hindoostanhee*, being spoken over an immense tract of country in India, varies much in its dialects; and not fewer than three different translations of the sacred volume have been printed. The *earliest* was that of the four Gospels, by William Hunter, Esq.; which was executed at the press of the college of Fort William. Ano-

ther translation was completed by the late Rev. Henry Martyn[1], in 1808, and printed at the expense of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. A revised edition of this version, by the Rev. Mr. Bowley, (one the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who is stationed at Chunar) was finished at Calcutta in 1820, at the expense of the same Society: and measures are taking to add to it the Old Testament in the same language[2]. In 1820 the Calcutta Society printed a large edition of Mr. Martyn's version of St. Matthew's Gospel, in Hindoostanhee, with the English on the opposite page: and of Mr. Bowley's revision, which, by the disuse of Arabic and Persian words, is peculiarly adapted to the inhabitants of Benares and the Upper Provinces, the three first Gospels were printed in the same year. A specimen of the Hindoostanhee version in the Persian character is given in page 94.

The third Hindee version of the New Testament was completed many years since by the missionaries at Serampore, who published the Old Testament in 1818. A new edition of the New Testament was printed in 1820, at their press, from a *new* version, executed by the Rev. John Chamberlain, whose long residence in the western provinces of India, together with his intimate knowledge of the popular dialects of the Hindoos, has eminently qualified him for the undertaking. A specimen of this version is given in page 92.

iii. In the *Bengalee*, or language of the province of Bengal, the whole of the Scriptures is published. Five editions of the New Testament (which was completed twenty-five years since) and two of the Psalms, and some other parts of the Old Testament, have been printed; and a new edition of the entire Bible is preparing, in one large royal 8vo volume, together with two thousand extra copies of the New Testament in 12mo. For this edition the missionaries are preparing paper, made of the *sun* plant (*Crotolaria juncea*), which, though inferior to English paper in point of colour, is equally impervious to the worm, and far more durable. A large edition of the Gospels of Saint Matthew and Saint John, in English and Bengalee, on opposite pages, was printed at Calcutta in 1820, chiefly for the benefit of the natives who are attached to public offices and houses of agency. See a specimen of the Bengalee version in page 90.

A new Bengalee version of the New Testament, completed by the late Mr. Ellerton, was printed at Calcutta, in 1820.[3]

iv. The *Ooriya* or *Orissa* language is spoken in the province of that name: it has a very close affinity to the Bengalee, but with different terminations, and a different character. In this language, the entire Bible was translated by the Baptist missionaries several years since: a second edition of the New Testament is nearly completed at Serampore. A specimen of this version is given in page 91.

[1] To this eminently learned and exemplary divine, the native Christians and others who speak the Hindostanhee language, are indebted for a Compendium of the Liturgy of the Anglican Church, which was translated by him, and printed in 1818, at the expense of the Prayer Book and Homily Society of London. Mr. Martyn was the *first* clergyman of that church in India who introduced her service to our native subjects in Bengal. His work, having received repeated revision and amendment, is esteemed by competent judges to be a perspicuous and faithful version of the sublime original.

[2] Memoirs of Martyn, p. 292. Sixteenth Report of the Bible Society, pp. lxxi. 182, 183. Nearly the whole of the Old Testament had been translated.

[3] Seventeenth Report of the Bible Society, p. lvii.

v. The *Brij-Bhassa* language, which is spoken in the upper provinces of Hindoostan, contains a greater mixture of the Sanscrit than most of the other dialects of the Hindee. The four Gospels have been translated; and the Gospel of Saint Matthew was printed in 1816. See a specimen of it in page 91. The Brij-Bhassa version is likely to be more acceptable to the inhabitants of the province of Dooab than the Hindoostanhee.

vi. The *Kurnata* or *Canarese* language is spoken in the country extending northward from Tellicherry to Goa, and eastward from the coast of Malabar to the country where the Tamul is spoken, including the whole of the Mysore. In this language the New Testament was printed in 1820, from the translation of the Rev. Mr. Hands. A specimen of it is given in page 93.

vii. The *Tamul* language is spoken in the south-eastern part of India, from Madras to Cape Comorin. Two different translations have been made in this language. The first was executed by the learned German Missionaries, who were educated at Halle, and were employed in the last century by the Danish government. The New Testament was commenced by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg in 1708, and finished in 1711. A printing-press and paper having been provided at Tranquebar by the assistance of the venerable SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE; this translation after having been revised by Gründler, another missionary who arrived after Ziegenbalg, was put to press in 1714, and finished in the following year. This Tamul New Testament was reprinted at Tranquebar in 1722, and again in 1758, and also at Colombo in 1743. In the year 1717, Ziegenbalg commenced a Tamul version of the Old Testament; but he died in 1719, having finished only the Pentateuch with the books of Joshua and Judges. The translation was continued and completed by the distinguished missionary Benjamin Schultze, who arrived at Tranquebar in 1719: it was printed at Tranquebar, in four volumes, in the years 1723-26-27, and 28. The *second* translation of the New Testament into Tamul was made by Fabricius, another German missionary, at Madras, where it was printed in 1777.[1] In 1814, an edition of the Tamul New Testament was completed at the Serampore press, at the expense of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society; and as the lapse of years rendered further correction of it necessary, the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius and the Rev. Dr. Rottler[2], at Madras, are actively occupied in revising Fabricius's version. This revision having been highly approved by competent judges, the Madras Bible Society have ordered the book of Genesis to be printed for general circulation, with the ultimate intention of printing a revised edition of the entire Tamul Bible.[3] See a specimen of the Tamul version in p. 95.[4]

viii. The *Telinga* language, sometimes called the *Teloogoo*, is spoken in the Northern Circars. In this language, which appears to be a dialect of the Tamul, the missionary Schultze, above noticed, translated

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[1] Bishop Marsh's History of the Translations of the Scriptures, p. 37.

[2] The Rev. Dr. Rottler has also translated the book of Common Prayer into the Tamul language: it was printed at Madras in 1819, in quarto.

[3] Sixteenth Report of the Bible Society, p. 183.

[4] Bishop Marsh's History of Translations, p. 37, note.

the Bible: but it was never printed[1]. A Telinga version of the New Testament was executed by the Missionaries at Serampore, in 1818; and the Pentateuch is printed as far as the book of Leviticus. On the completion of the Pentateuch, the honour of finishing this version was resigned to the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society: and some progress had been made by the Rev. Mr. Pritchett, whose labours were terminated by death in 1820. A specimen of the Telinga version is given in page 91.

ix. While the Dutch had settlements in the island of Ceylon, they were not inattentive to imparting the Scriptures to such of the natives as embraced the Christian faith. The four Gospels were translated into *Cingalese*, or the language of that island, and were printed at Colombo in 1739, and again in 1780; the Acts of the Apostles in 1771; the Psalms in 1755, and again in 1768; and the entire New Testament, together with the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, were printed at the same place in 1783. After Ceylon had become part of the British empire, a new Cingalese version of the New Testament was undertaken by Mr. W. Tolfrey, aided by native assistants, under the patronage and at the expense of the Colombo Auxiliary Society. That nothing might be omitted, which could insure the excellence of this translation, two hundred copies of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark were printed off, and circulated among the Modeliars (native magistrates) proponents, and catechists at Colombo, who were the best skilled in Cingalese; several were also sent to the settlements of Point de Galle and Matura, where that language is spoken in the greatest purity. Pains were taken to obtain a fair and candid opinion of the new work, and it is satisfactory to know, from the decision of numerous and competent judges, that the language and style of this extensive specimen of the New Version, were not only pure and suitable to the dignity of the subject, but also plain and intelligible. Mr. Tolfrey had gone through repeated revisions of the whole New Testament, and had finally corrected to the end of the second chapter of the second epistle to Timothy, when his labours were interrupted by a sudden death, in 1817. The Cingalese New Testament was finished and printed under the united exertions of the Rev. Messrs. Chater and Clough (the former a Baptist and the latter a Wesleian-Methodist Missionary), and of Mr. Armour, an intelligent schoolmaster of the latter connexion; and measures were taken for adding to it the Old Testament, of which only the three first books of Moses had been hitherto translated. A second edition of the Cingalese translation of the New Testament was completed in 1820; and of the Old Testament, the book of Genesis has been printed. See a specimen of the Cingalese Testament, in p. 95.

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[1] In 1820, the Prayer Book and Homily Society of London made a grant of books, to be sold at Madras, the proceeds of which are to be applied in aid of printing the book of Common Prayer in the Tamul and Malayalim languages.

[2] Owen's History of the Bible Society, vol. iii. pp. 120, 323, 469. Sixteenth Report of that Society, p. 189. In 1820, the book of Common Prayer was translated into Cingalese, under the direction of the Hon. and Rev. T. J. Twisleton, D.D. Archdeacon of Colombo.

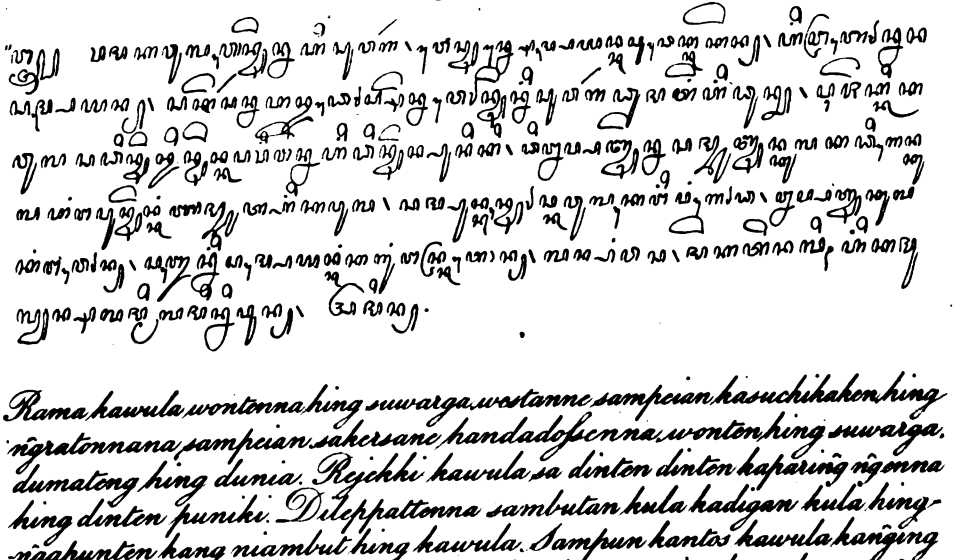
x. A translation of the New Testament into the *Maldivian* language (which is spoken in the small but very numerous Maldivian islands, that lie to the south-west of Ceylon) has been commenced by the missionaries at Serampore. The Gospel of Matthew has been completed.

xi. In 1612 (a few years after the establishment of the Dutch East India company), Albert Cornelius Ruyl began a translation of the New Testament into the *Malay* language, which is spoken not only in Malacca, but in Java and many other islands of the Indian archipelago. He lived only to finish the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, which were sent to Holland, where they were printed at Enkhuysen in 1629, and again, at Amsterdam, in 1638. In 1646 the Gospels of Luke and John, translated by M. Van Hassel, one of the East India directors, was printed at Amsterdam, where the four Gospels were again printed in 1651, accompanied with the Acts of the Apostles; and in 1668, the whole New Testament in the Malay language, was printed at Amsterdam. From this edition the Gospels and Acts were printed at Oxford in 1677, and again in 1704. Of the Old Testament in the Malay language, some portions were printed in the seventeenth century: but the first edition of the entire Malay Bible was printed in 1731 and 1733, in Roman characters. Another edition of the whole Malay Bible was printed in the Arabic character at Batavia, in 1758 [1]. This version having become extremely scarce, an edition of the Malay Bible in Roman characters, was printed at Calcutta, in 1815-17, under the direction of the Auxiliary Bible Society there, aided by a munificent grant of 10,000 sicca rupees from the governor-general in council, on the part of the honourable East India company. Another edition in Arabic characters, revised by the Rev. R. S. Hutchings, was completed at Calcutta in 1821, under the direction of the same society. Specimens of the Malay version, both in Roman and in Arabic characters, are given in page 95. —As a dialect of the Malay is spoken at Batavia, the Java Bible Society, in 1814, engaged the Rev. Mr. Robinson (a Baptist missionary), and Mr. Kool, a native translator to the government of that island, to undertake a version of the New Testament in that dialect. The Gospel of Matthew has been completed by the latter; but what further progress has been made, we have not been able to ascertain. The annexed plate exhibits the Lord's Prayer in Javanese, translated by the Rev. Mr. Trowt, another missionary from the Baptist society.

xii. The *Malayalim* or Malabar language is spoken on the coast of Malabar, in the country of Travancore. In this language the Catanars, or clergy of the Syrian church at Cotym, are translating the Scriptures under the direction of the Rev. Benjamin Bailey, one of the missionaries sent to India by the Church Missionary Society. The Malayalim spoken by the Syrian Christians of Travancore, differs greatly both in words and idioms from that spoken in the northern part of Malabar. [2] In order to render the Malayalim version of the Bible as correct as possible (which is now in progress), the Calcutta Bible Society in 1820 sent a printing-press, types, and paper, to Cotym, where a new col-

[1] Bishop Marsh's History of Translations, p. 35.
[2] Missionary Register, for 1820, p. 48.

The Lord's Prayer in Javanese, by Mr. Trout.



Rama kawula wontenna hing suwarga, wostanne sampeian kasuchikaken hing ngratonnana sampeian, sakersane handadosenna wonten hing suwarga, dumateng hing dunia. Rejekki kawula sa dinten dinten kaparing ngenna hing dinten puniki. Dileppattenna sambutan kula kadigan kula hing-ngapunten kang niambut hing kawula. Sampun kantos kawula kanging panggoda, leppatta kula kang ngawon sabdanning sampeian kang kagungngan kraton, lan pangwasa, mekkaten malih kamulian salammilaminipun. Amin.

lege has been founded for the Syrian Christians, by the Rajah of Travancore and Colonel Munro, the British resident at his court.

3. *Versions in the Chinese, and the languages derived from or bearing affinity to it.*

Chinese Versions.—The Chinese language, in the characters peculiar to it, is read not only throughout China, but also in China, Cochinchina, and Japan, by a population of more than three hundred millions of persons. Two versions of the entire Bible are extant in this language, the translators of which have been aided in their arduous and expensive undertakings by the British and Foreign Bible society. The earliest of these was commenced by the Rev. Dr. Marshman, at Serampore, by whom the New Testament was printed in 1814. The translation of the Old Testament, which was executed many years since, has been printed in detached portions, and at different times. The historical books, which will finish the Bible, are now in the press, and will be completed in the course of the present year, 1821. The missionaries at Serampore are possessed of several sets of Chinese characters, both in wooden blocks and also in metal types; a specimen of the latter is given in page 93. The other version was commenced in 1812 by the Rev. Dr. Morrison of Canton [1], aided by the Rev. Mr. Milne at Malacca, (both in the employ of the London Missionary Society), and was finished in 1820 [2]. The New Testament of this version has been circulated to a considerable extent among the Chinese inhabitants of Java, and of the islands in the Indian seas, and with the happiest effects. [3]

From the Chinese language are derived seven others, which are spoken in Eastern India. Into three of these the New Testament is now in course of translation, viz. the Khasee or Kassai, the Munipoora and the Burman.

i. The *Khasee* or Kassai language is spoken by an independent nation of mountaineers, lying between the eastern border of Bengal, and the northern border of the Burman empire. In this language, the Baptist missionaries have translated and printed the four first Gospels.

ii. The *Munipoora* is spoken in the small kingdom of that name, which lies between Assam and the Burman empire. The Gospel of Matthew has been printed in this language.

iii. The *Burman* language, which is spoken in the empire of that name, has borrowed the Sanscrit alphabet. Into this language, the New Testament has been translated by Mr. Felix Carey, son of the Rev. Dr. Carey, of Serampore. The Gospel of Matthew was printed

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[1] To Dr. Morrison the Christians in China are indebted for a version of the Liturgy and Psalter of the Anglican church. Having presented the Chinese with the Scriptures in their native language, this distinguished oriental scholar, (who, to his honour be it recorded, is a conscientious dissenter from that church), was desirous of giving them a formulary in which they might offer acceptable devotions to the throne of grace; and as he could find no form, which so completely met his views, as the Liturgy of the church of England, he translated it into the Chinese language. This version was printed in 1820, at the expense of the Prayer Book and Homily Society.

[2] Owen's Hist. vol. ii. p. 467. Sixteenth Report, p. lxxvi.

[3] Many authentic particulars were communicated to the Java Bible Society by their late Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Supper: some of these are recorded by Mr. Owen, vol. iii. pp. 224, 225.

by him at Rangoon, in the Burman empire, in royal octavo, in 1817. A specimen of it is given in page 92.

In concluding the preceding notice of the versions, executed principally by the learned Baptist missionaries, and at their press, it is impossible not to recognise the hand of God, who has raised up and qualified them for the arduous task to which they have devoted their time, money, and labour: for though they have been nobly assisted by subscriptions and grants from Europe, yet it ought not to be forgotten that they have largely contributed to defray the expenses of translating and printing out of those profits, which their extraordinary acquirements have enabled them to realise. They have translated and printed the whole of the Sacred Scriptures in *five* of the languages of India; the whole of the New Testament in *fifteen* others; in *six* other languages it is more than half printed, and in *ten* others considerable progress has been made in the work of translation. And these vast undertakings have been accomplished within the short space of twenty-six years, since the commencement of their first version (the New Testament in Bengalee). When we consider the experience which they have gained,—the number of learned natives whom they have trained up and accustomed to the work of translation,—the assistance which is to be derived from our countrymen in various parts of India, who are acquainted with any of its dialects,—and the advantages now enjoyed for printing at a moderate expense,—we may reasonably indulge the hope that, in the course of a few years more, the word of life will be extant in all the different languages and dialects of India.

IV. Other Asiatic Versions of the Holy Scriptures.

1. Formosan Version.—The island of Formosa fell into the hands of the Dutch, who expelled the Portuguese thence, in 1651. During their eleven years' possession of it, Robert Junius, a native of Delft, preached the Gospel to the inhabitants, and, it is said, with great success. For their use, the Gospels of Matthew and John were translated into the Formosan language, and printed at Amsterdam, with the Dutch translation, in 1661, in quarto. But the Dutch being expelled from that island by the Chinese in 1662, the Formosan version was discontinued: and in all probability the Formosans never received any benefit from the work just noticed.[1]

2. Tartar Versions.—The Tartars compose a distinct nation, of Turkish origin, though now totally distinct from the Turks, and are subdivided into various tribes, each of which has its peculiar language. Into fifteen of these languages, translations of the sacred volume are either printed or preparing, under the direction and at the expense of the Russian Bible Society, viz. the Nogai-Tartar, Mongolian, Calmuck, Orenberg Tartar, Tschuwaschian, Tscheremissian, Tartar-Hebrew (spoken in the interior of Asia), Mordvinian or Mordwaschian, Ostiakian, Wogulian, Samoiedian, Tschapoginian, Zirianian, and a dialect of the Tartar spoken in Siberia. Of these various translations, the *Calmuck* was commenced by the Moravian missionaries, at Sarepta, on the banks of the Wolga, in Asiatic Russia. The remainder of the New Testament is translating by Mr. Schmidt, who is also superintend-

[1] Dr. Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 288.

ing the *Mongolian* version, which is preparing by two converted Mongolian chieftains. The Edinburgh Missionary Society's missionaries at Karass have made considerable progress in a Tartar-Turkish version of the New Testament. In 1816, the Rev. Dr. Pinkerton, while travelling in the Crimea, discovered a pure Tartar translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, at Dschoufait Kalé. This has been revised, and is now printing at St. Petersburg[1].

3. The Georgian Version.—At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the whole of the New Testament, together with the Psalms and the Prophets, was printed in the Georgian language, at Teflis, in Georgia, by order of the prince Vaktangh. The entire Bible was printed at Moscow in 1743, in folio, at the expense of Elizabeth empress of Russia, under the inspection of the princes Arcil and Bacchar[2]. From this edition the Moscow Bible Society printed an impression of the New Testament in 1816, and another in 1818. According to the tradition of the Greek church, the Georgian version was originally made in the eighth century, by Euphemius the Georgian, the founder of the Ibirian or Georgian monastery at Mount Athos, where his actual autograph was discovered in the year 1817, and is preserved to this day. As the greater part of the books of the Old Testament of this antient version was lost in the wars in which the Georgians were so frequently involved with the Persians and Turks, the editors of the Moscow edition were obliged to translate most of the books of the Old Testament from the Sclavonian version. The Moscow Bible Society are taking measures to obtain a correct transcript of Euphemius's manuscript, from which to print a faithful edition of the Georgian Bible[3]. Two MSS. of the Georgian version of the Gospels, are said to be preserved in the Vatican Library at Rome.

4. Taheitan Version.—The blessed effects, with which the labours of the Missionaries (sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1796) have been crowned, have been communicated to the public in various journals. In consequence of the extraordinary success which has thus attended the preaching of the Gospel in Otaheite (or Taheite, as the natives term that island), and the neighbouring islands of Huaheine and Eimeo, openings have been made of the most promising nature for the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures. Aided by grants of paper from the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Missionaries in 1818 printed 3000 copies of the Gospel of Luke in the Taheitan language; and in 1819, having received further supplies, they completed 2000 copies of the Gospel of Matthew, which were sought with avidity, and received with gratitude by all. The Gospels of Mark and John, and the Acts of the Apostles, have also been translated; and a Taheitan Version of the Book of Psalms is in progress.

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[1] Owen's History, vol. iii. pp. 211—215. Sixteenth Report of the Bible Society, pp. 43, 44, 55, 67.

[2] Bishop Marsh's History of Translations, p. 32.

[3] Sixteenth Report of the Bible Society, pp. 33—35.

FAC-SIMILES OF SPECIMENS

OF THE

VERSIONS OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES,

IN THE

Eastern Languages,

CHIEFLY

Translated by the Brethren of the Serampore Mission.

TEXT. "The people that sat in darkness saw great light: and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up." MATT. iv. 16.

SANSCRIT, or SUNGSKRIT,

In the Deva Nagree character, which is used throughout India.

अन्धकारेषूपविष्टा लोका महालोकमद्राक्षुर्मृत्योर्देशे छायायाञ्चोपविष्टाः प्रति आलोक उदेति ।—

BENGALEE.

যে লোক অন্ধকারে বসিয়াছিল তাহারা মহা আলো দেখিতে পাইয়াছে যাহারা মৃত্যুর দেশ ও ছায়ায় বসিল তাহারদের নিকট আলো প্রজ্বলিত হইয়াছে ।

MAHRATTA.

ने लोक अंधकारीं बसले होते त्यांनीं मोठा उजेड पाहिला जे मरणाचे देशांत आणि सावलीं बसले होते त्यांस उजेड सन्मुख उगवला ।—

KASHMIREE, or KASHMEER.

[illegible]

OORIYA, or ORISSA.

[illegible]

TELINGA, or TELOOGOO.

[illegible]

BRIJ-BHASSA.

[illegible]

PUSHTOO, or AFFGHAN.

[illegible]

SIKH, SHEEK, or PUNJABEE.

ਅਰਥਤੇ ਅਂਧੇਰਿਅਂਦਿਚ ਬੈਠਦੇ ਹੋਇਆਂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਵਡੇ ਚਾਂਨਲਨੂ ਦਿਠਾ ਅਉਤਦੇ ਦੇਸ ਅਤੇ ਛਾਯਾਵਿਚ ਬੈਠੇ ਹੋਇ ਆਤਾਂਹੀ ਚਾਂਨਲ ਉਦੇ ਹੋਇਆ।

HINDOOSTANHEE.

जो लोग् अंधियारेमें बैठे थे उन्होंने बडी रोशनी देखी और मौतके देश वा छायामें बैठनेवालोंके तरफ् उजियाला जाहिर हुया।—

UHUMIYA, or ASSAMESE.

যিবিলাক্ লোক্ অন্ধকাৰৎ বহিছিল্ সেই বিলাকে মহা পহৰ্ দেখিবলৈ পাইছে। যিবিলাক্ মৃত্যুৰ্ দেশৎ আৰু ছাঁৎ বহিল্ সেই বিলাকৰ্ ওপৰৎ পহৰ প্ৰজ্বলিৎ হইছে

BURMAN.

ဗြာမုလန်ပြည်။ နှင်ဘာလိမ်ပြည်ရှိအစွန်တိုတွင်ပင်လ ယ်အခိုးရှိသောကာဖရိုနှစ်ခမ်းမြှင့်ခြေရာပြုရပြီသည့် လောမှ လေရှိ။

BULOCHA, or BULOSHEE.

جیجی آندھرات من ہاری یا نشتک بینتت ہایانا ے
مزفی شروک چاریت وکر مریت نا ھلکہن دمن سایکا نشتکا
نان نیاشہم ظاہر شتک *

CHINESE VERSION.

MOVEABLE METAL TYPES.

TEXT. " In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.
GEN. i. 1—3.

原始創造天地神未成形陰氣蘊于空虛幽冥內神運之上風行水光日光而遂

KURNATA OR CANARESE.

ಗಾಲಿಲೆಯ ಯಿಷ್ಟಮಂದ ಕಶ್ತಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೂತಿದ್ದರೂ ಅವರು ದೊಡ್ಡಬೆಳಕನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರು ಯಾರು ಮೃತ್ಯುವಿನದೆಶದಲ್ಲಿ ನೆರಳಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕೂತಿದ್ದರೂ ।

FAC-SIMILES OF SPECIMENS

OF

VERSIONS OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES,

IN THE

Eastern Languages,

PRINTED AT THE EXPENSE

OF

The British and Foreign Bible Society,

AND OF

THE CALCUTTA AUXILIARY SOCIETY.

TEXT.—"The people that sat in darkness saw great light: and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up."
MATT. iv. 16.

HINDOOSTANHEE VERSION,

IN THE PERSIAN CHARACTER.

آدمیں لوگوں نے جو اندھیرے میں بیٹھے تھے بڑی روشنی
دیکھی اور اُن پر جو موت کے ملک اور سایہ میں بیٹھے تھے نور
جلوہ گر ہوا

PERSIAN.

ان خلق که در ظلمت نشسته بودند نور عظیمی را
مشاهده نمودند و برانکسان که در مقرو ظلال مرگ
ساکن بودند روشنی تابید

TAMUL.

இருளி லிருக்குஞ் சனம் பெரிய வெளிச்சத்தைக் கண்டது மரணத்தின் திசையிலும் நிழலிலு மிருக்கிறவர்களுக்கு வெளிச்சமுதித்து தென்றான்.

CINGALESE.

අඳුරෙහි උන් දනන් මහත්වූ එළියක් දුටුහ තවද මරණ රටේද වියාවේද උන්ඇයට එළියක් උදාවූයේය.

ARABIC.

الناس الجلوس في الظلام قد راو ضياء عظيما والجا
لسون في ضلع الموت وظلة اضاء عليهم ضياء *

MALAY IN ROMAN CHARACTERS.

KHawm' îtu jang dûdokh pada kalàm, ſudah melihat ſawâtu taràng jang besàr: dàn bagi ſegala 'awrang jang dûdokh pada tânah dàn bâjang mawt 'îtu, taràng pawn sudah terbit bagìnja.

MALAY IN ARABIC CHARACTERS.

TEXT.—And Cain went out from the presence of the LORD, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden. GEN. iv. 16.

ماك كلور اه قاين در هاداقن حضرة ه و لا دودقله
ي دبلو نود دسبله تيمر در عيدن*

SECTION V.

MODERN VERSIONS IN THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA AND AMERICA.

I. AFRICAN VERSIONS.—1. *Amharic and Tigré.*—2. *Bullom.*—3. *Susoo.* —II. AMERICAN VERSIONS. —1. *Virginian.* — 2. *Delaware.*— 3. *Mohawk.* — 4. *Esquimeaux.*—5. *Greenlandish.*—6. *Creolese.*

I. AFRICAN VERSIONS. — 1. *Amharic and Tigré, or vernacular tongues of Abyssinia.* — The version in the ecclesiastical or antient language of Ethiopia, noticed in Vol. I. pp. 291, 301, being confined to the churches, and understood by few comparatively besides the clergy, M. Asselin de Cherville, French consul at Cairo, was induced to undertake a version of the entire Bible in the *Amharic*[1], the dialect spoken at the Court of Gondar, which is the dialect prevalent in the eastern parts of Africa bordering on the equator, and through which a considerable intercourse is maintained between the natives of Abyssinia and the Arabians and Negroes of the interior. For *ten* years M. Asselin employed an intelligent Ethiopian, named Abraham, on this important work, to which he devoted two entire days in every week. In order to ensure correctness, he read with this person slowly and with the utmost attention, every verse of the sacred volume in the Arabic version, which they were about to translate. M. Asselin then explained to him all those words, which were either abstruse, difficult, or foreign to the Arabic, by the help of the Hebrew original, the Syriac version, or the Septuagint, and also of some commentaries. After they finished the translation of one book, they collated it once more before they proceeded further. This version has been bought for the British and Foreign Bible Society by the Rev. Mr. Jowett; who undertook a voyage into Egypt from Malta, for the express purpose of completing the purchase. The manuscript is arrived in this country, and will be printed as soon as circumstances will permit, under the editorial care of the Rev. Samuel Lee, professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. During Mr. Jowett's residence in Egypt, in 1819, in conjunction with the late Mr. Nathaniel Pearce, who had lived many years in Ethiopia, he commenced a translation of the Gospels into the *Tigré*, the vernacular dialect of the extensive province of Tigré. The Gospel of Mark has been completed.[2]

In Vol. I. pp. 291, 301, we have given a short notice of such portions of the Scriptures as have been printed in the Ethiopic language. To the particulars there recorded we have now the pleasure to add, that there is reason to expect that, in no long time, the gift of the entire Ethiopic Scriptures will be imparted to Abyssinia. A manuscript copy of this version, in fine preservation, has been purchased by the com-

[1] In Ludolph's Grammatica Linguæ Amharicæ (pp. 54, 55.) there is an Amharic translation, by Abba Gregorius, of thirteen verses of the eleventh chapter of Saint Luke's Gospel.

[2] Sixteenth Report of the Bible Society, p. 169.

mittee of the Church Missionary Society. From a memoir on this manuscript by Professor Lee, we learn, that it contains the first eight books of the Old Testament, written on vellum, in a bold and masterly hand, in two columns on each page. The length of the page is that of a large quarto: the width is not quite so great. The volume contains 285 folios, of which the text covers 282, very accurately written, and in high preservation. On the first page is written, in Ethiopic, the invocation usually found in the books of the eastern Christians: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Then follows an account of the contents of the book, written in Latin by some former possessor, and a date, A. D. 1696, 20th September. On the reverse of the first folio is found a table, not unlike the tables of genealogy in some of our old English Bibles, which seems to be intended to show the hours appointed for certain prayers. Then follows the book of Genesis, as translated from the Greek of the Septuagint. On the reverse of the third folio is the following inscription in Arabic: "The poor Ribea, the Son of Elias, wrote it: O wine! to which nothing can be assimilated, either in reality or appearance: O excellent drink! of which our Lord said, having the cup in his hand, and giving thanks, 'This is my blood for the salvation of men.'" Folios 7 and 8 have been supplied, in paper, by a more modern hand. On the reverse of folio 8 is a very humble attempt at drawing, in the figure of a person apparently in prayer, accompanied by an inscription in Ethiopic, at the side of the figure: "In the prayers of Moses and Aaron, to[1] Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, am I, thy servant, O Lord, presented in the power of the Trinity, a weak, infirm, and defiled sinner. Let them implore Christ." Under the drawing, in Ethiopic: "In the same manner, every slayer that slays Cain, will I repay in this; and, as he slew, so shall he be slain." On the reverse of folio 98, at the end of the book of Exodus, are two figures, somewhat similar, but rather better drawn, and seemingly by the writer of the manuscript; and, in another place or two, there are marginal ornaments. At the end of Deuteronomy is this inscription, in Ethiopic: "The repetition of the law, which God spake to Moses. Numbered 5070[2] (words.) Intercede for your slave Isaac."—At the end of the volume: "Pray for those who laboured in this book; and for your slave Isaac, who gave this to Jerusalem, the Holy." Then follows an inscription, in Arabic: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God. O Lord, save thy people from every evil! O our God, Jesus Christ, the speaker to men! O holy people, remember your slave Isaac, the poor: God shall remember you in the mercies of this book. Pray, if God be willing, that I may be permitted to see your face. And pray for me, the sinner. Pardon my sins, O Lord! and let my body be buried in Mount Sion."

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[1] As this inscription, which occurs on the supplied leaves, savours of the errors of the Romish Church, it was probably written by some Abyssinian Catholic. The inscriptions of Isaac, the writer of the MS., though mutilated, and sometimes obscure, seem free from these errors. The figure of St. Peter, mentioned below, was probably traced by the same hand.

[2] It is customary among the Jews, Syrians, and Ethiopians, to number the words in the Books of Scripture.

Then follows, in Ethiopic: "That our enemies may not say of us, 'We have conquered them:' be ye prudent. We have given you a lamp. Be ye the culture.—Sow ye the flock: reap and rejoice." . . . . . A few lines have been erased. Then follows . . . . "me, Isaac, the poor, in your prayers. It was completed in Beth Gabbaza, of Axuma. In thy name, O Lord, have I planted, that thou place me not in any other place except Mount Sion; the mount of Christ; the house of Christians. Let them not be forgotten in your prayers, who have read and testified to you. Preserve, O Lord, this my offering for me thy servant, the poor; and preserve all these books which I offer, that the brethren, dwelling at Jerusalem, may be comforted. And pray for me [1], forget me not in the holy offices, and in prayer, that we may all stand before God in the terrible day and hours. That it might not be written that we were wanting, I have previously sent and given you this for the warfare of the testimony. Intercede, and bless. And also for the refreshing of the record of the Fathers: and also for Cueskam [2], the queen of the sons of Abyssinia; that they may be comforted, and thence convert our region—may, moreover, migrate into other regions, and restore Jerusalem:—and for the Calvary of Mary. Let them pray for me. Let it be preserved as the widow's mite, for ever and ever. Let them not sell or exchange; nor let them carry it away; nor let them cause it to be placed elsewhere. And . . . ." the rest is wanting. Hence it appears, that the book was written at Axuma, the antient capital of Ethiopia; and that it was sent by Isaac to the Abyssinians residing in Jerusalem. No date appears in the manuscript itself. It is, probably, about 300 years old. On the reverse of fol. 285, is a drawing, intended to represent Andrew the Apostle, with the book of the Gospels in one hand, and the keys in the other. Some less ingenious draftsman, however, has, by means of the transparency of the vellum, traced out this figure on the first page of this folio, and given the name of Peter to his humble representation. He has thus succeeded in assigning to St. Peter the first place, and also in bestowing on him the keys. Against this picture of Peter is placed his age, 120 years.

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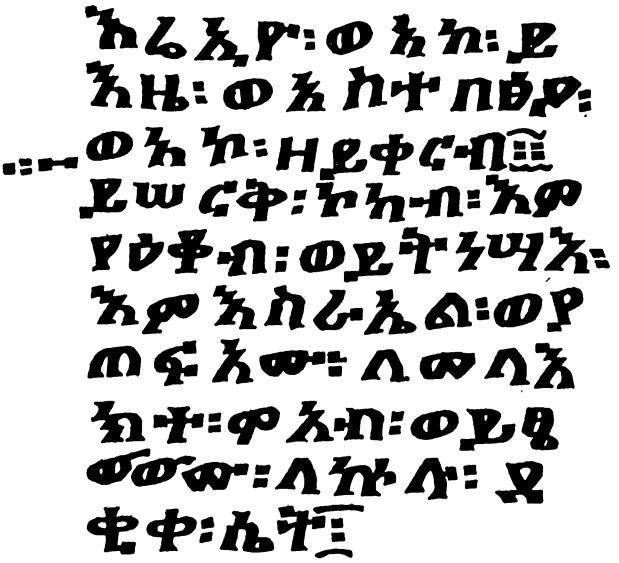
[1] In most of the Eastern churches, it is the practice to enumerate their saints in a certain part of the Liturgy.

[2] The name of a region, a sea, and a mountain, in Ethiopia: so celebrated, as to be esteemed by the Ethiopians as preferable to even Sinai or Mount Olivet; and, as tradition says, whither Joseph and Mary, with the child Jesus, betook themselves, making it their residence for some time, after the flight into Egypt, *Castell*, sub voce.—*Ludolf*, sub voce, says it is the name of a monastery in Upper Egypt, which was always had in great veneration by the Copts and Ethiopians; and where Christ is said to have resided with his mother, when he fled from Herod.

The following fac-simile represents part of the remarkable prophecy of Balaam.[1]

Num. XXIV. 17.



I shall see him, but not now : I shall call him blessed, but he is not near : there shall arise a star out of Jacob, and from Israel shall it arise : and he shall destroy the ambassadors of Moab, and shall take captive all the children of Seth.

This precious manuscript has been carefully transcribed, and is now printing with a fount of types, cast at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, from the matrices (preserved at Frankfort) of the celebrated Ethiopic scholar John Ludolph ; whose types, as used in his printed works, have been highly approved by the Abyssinians.

2. *Bullom* version.—The Bulloms are a numerous people on the western coast of Africa, among whom the missionaries sent out by the Church Missionary Society, laboured for several years. Into the language of this people, the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles have been translated by the Rev. G. R. Nÿlander[2], a distinguished labourer in the service of that society. The Gospel of Saint Matthew

[1] Eighteenth Report of the Church Missionary Society, pp. 188, 189. In p. 190 there is an interesting notice of the Ethiopic MSS. of the Scriptures, in the Royal Library at Paris.

[2] The Rev. Mr. Nÿlander has also rendered an additional service to such of the Bulloms as have embraced the Christian faith, by translating select portions of the Liturgy of the Anglican church into their vernacular language. These were printed in Bullom, and in Roman characters (that people having no characters of their own), in 1816, at the expense of the Prayer Book and Homily Society.

was printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1816.[1]

3. *Susoo Version.*—The Susoos are also a numerous tribe on the western coast of Africa, in the vicinity of Sierra Leone; among whom the same Society's missionaries laboured for several years. By these missionaries the four Gospels and other parts of the New Testament, together with several books of the Old Testament, have been translated into the Susoo language. But their further benevolent and pious labours are at present suspended among the Susoos and the Bulloms, by the revival of the nefarious slave-trade on those coasts.

II. American Versions.—Although the multiplicity of dialects spoken by the Indian tribes of North America seemed to interpose an insuperable bar to the labours of those benevolent individuals who were desirous of communicating the Scriptures to them; yet this obstacle has been diminished by the discovery, that so close an affinity subsists among them, that a young unlettered Indian of good capacity can (it is said) make himself master of them all. The following are the dialects into which the whole or part of the Bible has been translated.

1. The *Virginian* Bible was translated by the Rev. John Eliot, who has justly been denominated the apostle to the Indians, from his unwearied labours to diffuse the blessings of Christianity among them. The New Testament was published at Cambridge in New England, in 1661, and the Old Testament in 1663. The entire Bible was reprinted at the same place in 1685.

2. The *Delaware* language is spoken through a very considerable portion of North America. Into this language, part of the Scriptures was translated by the Rev. Mr. Fabricius, one of the Moravian missionaries to the Delaware Indians, but it does not appear to have been printed[2]. In 1818, the three epistles of John were translated into the Delaware language by the Rev. C. F. Dencke, a missionary from the United Brethren or Moravians. It was printed at the expense of the American Bible Society, and is intitled, *Nek Nechenenawachgissitschik Bambilak naga Geschiechauchsit panna Johannessa Elekhangup. Gischitak Elleniechsink untschi C. F. Denke.* That is, *The Three Epistles of the Apostle John, translated into Delaware Indian, by C. F. Dencke;* New York, 1818, 18mo.

The translation is printed on the left-hand page, and the English authorised version on the right. As copies of this Delaware Indian translation are not common, the following specimen of it, from 1 John iii. 1—4. may not be unacceptable to the reader.

Necheleneyachgichink aptonagan.

Pennamook! elgiqui penundelukquonk Wetochwink wdaoaltowoagan, wentschi luwilchgussiank Gettanittowit wdamemensemall. Guntschi matta woachgussiwuneen untschi pemhakamixitink, eli pemhakamixit taku wohaq' Patamawossall.

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[1] Owen's Hist. vol. iii. p. 126.

[2] Bp. Marsh's History of Translations, p. 99, where it is stated that another missionary, Schmick, translated a portion of the Gospels into the *Mahican* language.

2. Ehoalachgik! juque metschi ktelli wundamemensineen Gettanittowitink, schuk nesquo majawii elsijanktsch. Schuk ktelli majawelendamenneen nguttentsch woachquake, ktellitsch linaxineen, elinaxit, ktellitsch newoaneen elinaxit.

3. Woak wemi auwen nechpauchsit jun nhakeuchsowoagan, kschiechichgussitetsch, necama Patamawos elgiqui kschiechsid.

4. Auwen metauchsit, necama ne endchi mikindank matta weltoq', woak eli machtauchsit wuntschi mikindamen matta weltoq'.

3. The *Mohawk* language, besides the tribe from whom it takes its name, is intelligible to the Five Nations, to the Tuscaroras, and to the Wyandots or Hurons. In the early part of the eighteenth century, a translation was made of the Gospel of Matthew, and also of several chapters both of the Old and New Testament, into this language, by the Rev. Mr. Freeman. Some portions of the latter were printed at New York, and reprinted at London with the English Liturgy, and the Gospel of Mark (translated by Captain Brant) in 1787, for the use of the Mohawks, who have a chapel at Kingston in Upper Canada, where divine service is performed in their native tongue by a missionary supported by the venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. This edition was printed at the expense of the English government. To these portions of the Scriptures was added the Gospel of John, translated in 1804 by Captain John Norton [1], a chief of the Six Nation Indians in Upper Canada. This version was printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its accuracy was, shortly after, attested in the most favourable manner by the interpreters in the Indian villages. [2]

4. In the *Esquimeaux* language, a harmony of the Four Gospels was made by the missionaries of the Moravian Brethren, many years since. From this version the Gospel of John was selected by the Rev. Mr. Kohlmeister, and printed by the Bible Society in 1809. To this was added, in 1813, a translation of the other three Gospels, which had been made by the venerable superintendent of the Labrador mission, the Rev. C. F. Burghardt, who possessed an intimate knowledge of the Esquimeaux dialect, and finished his revision only a short time before his death, in 1812: and in the year 1819 the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles were printed in the same dialect, by the Bible Society, and received (as the other portions of the New Testament had been) with the deepest sentiments of gratitude. [3]

5. In 1759, the *Greenlanders* received from the Moravian Brethren, a translation of their harmony of the four Gospels [4], and in 1799, the whole of the New Testament was printed in their vernacular tongue; but, whether it was executed by the missionaries, or by the direction of the Danish government, we have not been able to ascertain.

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[1] Capt. Norton was adopted by the Confederacy of the Six Nations, in 1791, and in 1800 appointed a chief, under the title of Teyoninhokarawen. His father was a Cherokee, and served in the British army.

[2] Owen's History, vol. i. pp. 126—135.

[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 460. vol. ii. pp. 289, 359. vol. iii. p. 483. Sixteenth Report of the Bible Society, pp. lxxxiii. lxxxiv. Seventeenth Report, p. lxxix.

[4] Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. ii. p. 299.

6. Lastly, the New Testament was translated into *Creolese*, for the use of the Christian negroes in the Danish West India islands, and was published at Copenhagen, in 1781, at the expense of the King of Denmark. In 1819, the Danish Bible Society printed an edition of 1500 copies, which have been transmitted to the Danish West Indies.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE VARIOUS READINGS OCCURRING IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

[Supplementary to the Article on this subject in the Appendix to Vol. II. pp. 143—156.][2]

I. *The Christian Faith not affected by Various Readings.*—II. *Nature of Various Readings.—Difference between them and mere errata.*—III. *Causes of Various Readings;*—1. *The negligence or mistakes of transcribers;*—2. *Errors or imperfections in the manuscript copied;*—3. *Critical conjecture;*—4. *Wilful corruptions of a manuscript from party motives.*—IV. *Sources whence a true reading is to be determined;*—1. *Manuscripts;*—2. *Antient Editions;*—3. *Antient Versions;*—4. *Parallel Passages;*—5. *Quotations in the Writings of the Fathers;*—6. *Critical Conjecture.*—V. *General Rules for judging of Various Readings.*—VI. *Notice of Writers who have treated on Various Readings.*

1. THE Old and New Testaments, in common with all other antient writings, being preserved and diffused by transcription, the admission of mistakes was unavoidable; which, increasing with the multitude of copies, necessarily produced a great variety of different readings. Hence the labours of learned men have been directed to the collation of manuscripts, with a view to ascertain the genuine reading: and the result of their researches has shown, that these variations are not such as to affect our faith or practice in any thing material: they are mostly of a minute, and sometimes of a trifling nature. "The real text of the sacred writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any single manuscript or edition, but is dispersed in them all. It is competently exact indeed, even in the worst manuscript now

[1] Adler's Bibliotheca Biblica, Part IV. p. 116. Sixteenth Report of the Bible Society, p. 127. Beside the particulars recorded in the preceding sections, there are many interesting circumstances relative to the history of translations and translators, which the limits of this work do not allow to be detailed. For these, and indeed for every thing relative to the literary history of the Holy Scriptures, we refer the reader to the Rev. James Townley's "Illustrations of Biblical Literature, exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings from the earliest period to the present century; including Biographical Notices of Translators and other eminent Biblical Scholars." London, 1821, in 3 volumes, 8vo.

[2] The entire article in the Appendix to the first edition is here reprinted for the convenience of the readers. The additional examples and canons are so numerous, that it would have been of little utility to the readers to have printed *them only*.

extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them [1]." It is therefore a very ungrounded fear that the number of various readings, particularly of the New Testament, may diminish the certainty of the Christian religion. The probability, Michaelis remarks, of restoring the genuine text of *any* author, increases with the increase of the copies; and the most inaccurate and mutilated editions of antient writers are precisely those, of whose works the fewest manuscripts remain [2]. Above all, in the New Testament, the various readings show that there could have been no collusion; but that the manuscripts were written independently of each other, by persons separated by distance of time, remoteness of place, and diversity of opinions. This extensive independency of manuscripts on each other, is the effectual check of wilful alteration; which must have ever been immediately corrected by the agreement of copies from various and distant regions out of the reach of the interpolator. By far the greatest number of various readings relate to trifles, and make *no alteration whatever in the sense*, such as Δαβιδ for Δαυιδ; Σολομῶντα for Σολομῶνα; και for δε; καγω for και εγω (&I for *and I*); ελαττων for ελασσων; Κυριος for Θεος; λαλωσιν for λαλησωσιν; Μωσης for Μωυσης; and γινεσθω for γενεσθω; all which in most cases may be used indifferently.

In order to illustrate the preceding remarks, and to convey an idea of their full force to the reader, the various readings of the first *ten* verses of Saint John's Gospel are annexed, in Greek and English;—and they are particularly chosen because they contain one of the most decisive proofs of the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Common Reading.	*Various Reading.*	*Authorities.*
Ver. 1. Ὁ λογος ἦν ΠΡΟΣ τον Θεον The Word was WITH God.	ΕΝ τω Θεω—IN God.	Clemens Alexandrinus.
2. Ουτος ἦν εν αρχη προς τον Θεον The same was in the beginning with God.	*omitted.*	The MSS. 47 and 64 of Griesbach's notation; Matthæi's 19.

[1] Dr. Bentley's Remarks on Free-thinking, rem. xxxii. (Bp. Randolph's Enchiridion Theologicum, vol. v. p. 163.) The various readings that affect doctrines, and require caution, are extremely few, and easily distinguished by critical rules; and where they do affect a doctrine, other passages confirm and establish it. See examples of this observation in Michaelis, vol. i. p. 266, and Dr. Nares's Strictures on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, pp. 219—221.

[2] Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 263—268. "In profane authors," says Dr. Bentley, "(as they are called) whereof one manuscript only had the luck to be preserved,—as Velleius Paterculus among the Latins, and Hesychius among the Greeks—the faults of the scribes are found so numerous, and the defects so beyond all redress, that, notwithstanding the pains of the learnedest and acutest critics for two whole centuries, those books still are, and are likely to continue, a mere heap of errors. On the contrary, where the copies of any author are numerous, though the various readings always increase in proportion, there the text, by an accurate

Common Reading.	*Various Reading.*	*Authorities.*
4. Εν αυτω ζωη HN In him WAS life.	ΕΣΤΙΝ—IS life.	The Codex Bezæ, Origen, Augustin, Hilary, and other Fathers.
4. Και ἡ ζωη ἦν το φῶς των ανθρωπων And the life was the light of men.	*omitted.*	The fragment of St. John's Gospel edited by Aldus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen.
— the light OF MEN.	The light was the life.	B. The Codex Vaticanus.
5. Η σκοτια ΑΥΤΟ ου κατελαβεν The darkness comprehended IT not.	ΑΥΤΟΝ—HIM not.	B. The Codex Vaticanus, the MSS. 13 and 114* of Griesbach, three other MSS. of less note, and Theodotus.
7. Ινα παντες πιστευσωσι δι' αυτου That all men might believe through him.	*omitted.*	The MS. 235 of Griesbach, the Aldine Fragment of St. John's Gospel, Irenæus, and Hilary.
9. Ερχομενον εις ΤΟΝ κοσμον That cometh into THE world.	*In* HUNC *mundum*—into THIS world.	The Vulgate and Italic (or old Ante-Hieronymian) Versions, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and other fathers.
10. Εν ΤΩ κοσμω ην He was in THE world.	HOC *mundo*—in THIS world.	The MSS. of the old Latin Version, denominated the Codices Veronensis, Vercellensis, Brixiensis, and Corbeiensis, edited by Blanchini and Sabatier, Irenæus, Cyprian, Ambrose *once*, Augustine *repeatedly*.

On the whole, these various readings,—though not selected from any single manuscript, but from all that have been collated, together with the antient versions and the quotations from the fathers,—no where contradict the sense of the evangelist; nor do they produce any material alteration in the text. [1]

The principal collators and collectors of various readings for the Old Testament, are Dr. Kennicott and M. De Rossi, of whose labours an account has already been given [2]. As the price of their publications necessarily places them out of the reach of very many biblical students, the reader, who is desirous of availing himself of the results of their laborious and learned researches, will find a compendious abstract of them in Mr. Hamilton's *Codex Criticus* [3]. For the New Testament, the

collation of them made by skilful and judicious hands, is ever the more correct, and comes nearer to the true words of the author." Remarks on Free-thinking, in Enchirid. Theol. vol. v. p. 158.

[1] Christian Observer for 1807, vol. vi. p. 221.

[2] See Vol. II. Part II. (Appendix), pp. 129, 130.

[3] Codex Criticus of the Hebrew Bible, wherein Vander Hooght's text is corrected from the Hebrew manuscripts collated by Kennicott and De Rossi, and from the antient

principal collations are those of Erasmus, the editors of the Complutensian and London Polyglotts, Bishop Fell, Dr. Mill, Kuster, Bengel, Wetstein, Dr. Griesbach, and Matthæi, described in the Appendix to the second volume [1]; and for the Septuagint, the collations of the late Rev. Dr. Holmes, and his continuator, the Rev. J. Parsons.

II. However plain the meaning of the term '*Various Reading*' may be, considerable difference has existed among learned men concerning its nature. Some have allowed the name only to such readings as may *possibly* have proceeded from the author; but this restriction is improper. Michaelis's distinction between mere errata and various readings appears to be the true one. "Among two or more different readings, one only can be the true reading; and the rest must be either wilful corruptions or mistakes of the copyist." It is often difficult to distinguish the genuine from the spurious: and whenever the smallest doubt can be entertained, they all receive the name of VARIOUS READINGS; but, in cases where the transcriber has evidently written falsely, they receive the name of *errata*.

III. As all manuscripts were either dictated to copyists or transcribed by them, and as these persons were not supernaturally guarded against the possibility of error, different readings would naturally be produced: —1. By the negligence or mistakes of the transcribers; to which we may add, 2. The existence of errors or imperfections in the manuscripts copied; 3. Critical emendations of the text; and 4. Wilful corruptions made to serve the purposes of a party. Mistakes thus produced in one copy would of course be propagated through all succeeding copies made from it, each of which might likewise have peculiar faults of its own; so that various readings would thus be increased, in proportion to the number of transcripts that were made.

1. *Various readings have been occasioned by the negligence or mistakes of the transcribers.*

(1.) When a manuscript was dictated, whether to one or to several copyists, the party dictating might not speak with sufficient clearness; he might read carelessly, and even utter words that were not in his manuscript; he might pronounce different words in the same manner. The copyist therefore, who should follow such dictation, would necessarily produce different readings. One or two examples will illustrate this remark.

In Eph. iv. 19. Saint Paul, speaking of the Gentiles, while without the Gospel, says, that *being past feeling, they gave themselves over to lasciviousness.* For ἀπηλγηκότες, *past feeling* (which the context shews to be the genuine reading), several manuscripts, versions, and fathers read ἀπηλπικότες, *being without hope.* Dr. Mill is of opinion, that this lection proceeded from some ignorant copyist who had in his mind Saint Paul's account of the Gentiles in Eph. ii. 12. where he says that they had no hope, ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες. But for this opinion there is no foundation whatever. The antient copyists were not in general men of such subtile genius. It is therefore most probable that the

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versions; being an attempt to form a standard text of the Old Testament. To which is prefixed an Essay on the nature and necessity of such an undertaking. By the Rev. George Hamilton, A.M. London, 1821, 8vo.

[1] See pp. 136—141. Michaelis has given a list of authors who have collected various readings, with remarks on their labours. Introd. vol. ii. part i. pp. 419—429. See also Pfaff's Dissertatio de Genuinis Novi Testamenti Lectionibus, pp. 101—122.

word ἀπηλπικοτες crept in, from a mis-pronunciation on the part of the person dictating. The same remark will account for the reading of νηπιοι, *young children*, instead of ηπιοι, *gentle*, in 1 Thes. ii. 7., which occurs in many manuscripts, and also in several versions and fathers. But the scope and context of this passage prove that νηπιοι cannot be the original reading. It is the Thessalonians, whom the apostle considers as *young children*, and himself and fellow labourers as the *nurse*. He could not therefore with any propriety say that he was among them as a *little child*, while he himself professed to be *their nurse*.

(2.) Further, as many Hebrew and Greek letters are similar both in sound and in form, a negligent or illiterate copyist might, and the collation of manuscripts has shown that such transcribers did, occasion various readings by substituting one word or letter for another. Of these permutations or interchanging of words and letters, the Codex Cottonianus of the Book of Genesis affords the most striking examples.

Thus, Β and Μ are interchanged in Gen. xliii. 11. τερεμινθον is written for τερεβινθον. —Γ and Κ, as γυνηγος for κυνηγος, x. 9.; and *é contra* φαλιε for φαλιγ, xi. 16.—Γ and Ν, as συγκοψουσιν for συνκοψουσιν, xxxiv. 30.—Γ and Χ, as δραχματα for δραγματα, xxxvii. 6.—Δ and Λ, as Κιλμοναιους for Κιδμωναιους, xv. 19.; and *é contra* Αιδωμ for Αιλωμ, xxxvi. 2.—Δ and Ν, as Νιζρων for Νιδρωδ, x. 9.—Δ and Τ, as Ατατ for Ατωδ, x. 10., &c.—Ζ and C, as Χασαδ for Χαζαδ, xxii. 22; and μαπαριζουσιν for μαπαριδουσιν, xxx. 13.—Θ and Χ, Οχοζαχ for Οχοζαθ, xxvi. 26.—Θ and Τ, αποτραφητε for αποτραφηθε, xvi. 9.—Κ and Χ, as Καλαχ for Χαλαχ, x. 11.; and ουχ for ουκ, xiii. 9.—Π and Φ, as υφιξηρηται for υπιξηρηται, xxxix. 9. Sometimes *consonants* are *added* to the end of words apparently for the sake of euphony; as Χωζαλ for Χωζα, xiv. 15.—γυναικαν for γυναικα, xi. 13.—Ευϊλατ for Ευϊλα, x. 7.—Μ is generally retained in the different flexions of the verb λαμβανω, in the future λημψομαι, λημψονται, xiv. 23, 24, &c. and in the aorist, λημφθητε, xviii. 4. And also in the word συμπαρελημφθης, xix. 17. This also is common in the *Codex Vaticanus*. Sometimes a *double consonant* is expressed by a *single* one, and *vice versa*; for instance, ενενηκοντα for εννενηκοντα, v. 9., and Σεναας for Σεναας, x. 10.; ψιλια for ψιλλια, xxiv. 47., &c.

The Vowels are often interchanged; for instance, Α and Ε, as τεσσερακοντα for τεσσαρακοντα, vii. 4., ωκτη for ανεγη, xxi. 14.—Α and Η, as ανεωξιν for ηνεωξιν, viii. 6., μαχαιρη for μαχαιρα, xxvii. 40.—Ε and Η, as ενψιμα for ενψημα, xxv. 29., ηνωτιασθη for ενωτιασθη, xxviii. 12.—Η and Ι, as Κτιοι for Κητιοι, x. 4., ιλικη for ιλικι, xlix. 11.—Η and Υ, as πηχην for πηχυν, vi. 17.—Ριημα for Ρευμα, xxii. 24.—Ο and Υ, as διωρυφα for διορυφα, vi. 17.—Ο and Ω, as Ρωδοθ for Ρωδωθ, x. 11.

The *Vowels* are often interchanged with the *Diphthongs*, for instance, ΑΙ and Ε, as απιλευσισθαι for απιλευσεσθε, xix. 2., ανεκγκαι for ανεκγκαι, xxii. 2., παιδιον for παιδιον, xxxv. 27, καταξιται for καταξιται, xlii. 38.—ΕΙ and Α, as γηρει for γηρα, xv. 15.—ΕΙ and Ε, as ενεκειν for ενεκεν, xviii. 5.—ΕΙ and Η, as ειδειν for ηδειν, xviii. 19.—ΕΙ and Ι, as παρεισηκει for παρεισηκει, xviii. 8., γυναικια for γυναικεια, xviii. 11., ουδις for ουδεις, xxxi. 41., κρειον for κρεον, xv. 9., &c.—ΟΙ and Η, as λαζοις for λαζης. xxxi. 50. —ΟΥ and Η, as πληρης for πληρους, xxvii. 27; and, lastly, ΟΥ and Ω, as καταρουμενους for καταρωμενους, xii. 13.[1]

The manuscripts of the New Testament abound with similar instances of permutations. Thus we meet with Αμιναδαμ for Αμιναδαβ, in Matt. i. 4.; Αχειμ for Αχιμ, in Matt. i. 14.; δια των μαθητων for δυο των μαθητων, in Matt. xi. 2.; Ματθαν for Ματθατ, in Luke iii. 24.; μαρανθη for μωρανθη, in Luke xiv. 34; τοτον for τοτον, in John xx. 25.; καιρω for κυριω, in Rom. xii. 11.; Δαυιδ for Δαβιδ, in Matt. i. 1., and in many other passages. The reader will find numerous other examples in the elder Michaelis's Dissertation on various readings[2]. Permutations of this kind are very frequent in antient manuscripts, and also in inscriptions on coins, medals, stones, pillars, and other monuments of antiquity.

(3.) In like manner the transcribers might have mistaken the line on

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[1] Dr. Holmes's Edition of the Septuagint, Vol. I. Præf. cap. II. § I.

[2] D. Christiani Benedicti Michaelis Tractatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus Novi Testamenti, pp. 8—10. Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1749, 4to.

which the copy before them was written, for part of a letter; or they might have mistaken the lower stroke of a letter for the line; or they might have mistaken the true sense of the original, and thus have altered the reading; at the same time they were unwilling to correct such mistakes as they detected, lest their pages should appear blotted or defaced, and thus they sacrificed the correctness of their copy to the beauty of its appearance. This is particularly observable in Hebrew manuscripts.

(4.) A person having written one or more words from a wrong place, and not observing it, or not choosing to erase it, might return to the right line, and thus produce an improper insertion of a word or a clause.

Of this we have a striking instance in John vii. 26.—*Do the rulers know* INDEED (αληθως), *that this is the* VERY Christ (αληθως ὁ Χριστος, TRULY *the Christ*)? The second αληθως is wanting in the Codices Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis (or Codex Bezæ), Cyprius, Stephani η, or Regius 62, Nanianus, and Ingolstadiensis, in numbers 1, 13, 28, 40, 63, 69, 116, 118, and 124 of Griesbach's notation, and nine other manuscripts of less note, which are not specified by him; it is also wanting in the manuscripts noted by Matthæi with the letters a, l, s, and 10, in all the editions of the Arabic version, in Wheeloc's edition of the Persian version, in the Coptic, Armenian, Sclavonic, and Vulgate versions; and in all the copies of the Old Italic version, except that of Brescia. Origen, Epiphanius, Cyril, Isidore of Pelusium, Chrysostom, and Nonnus, among the antient fathers; and Grotius, Mill, Bengel, Bishop Pearce, and Griesbach, among the modern writers, are all unanimous in rejecting the word αληθως. The sentence in 1 Cor. x. 28. Του γαρ Κυριου η γη και το πλερωμα αυτης, *The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof*, is wanting in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis, Basileensis, Boreeli, Harleianus No. 5864, and Seidelii, and in Nos. 10, 17, 28, 46, 71*, 73, and 80, of Griesbach's notation: it is also wanting in the Syriac version, in Erpenius's edition of the Arabic version, in the Coptic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Vulgate, and Old Italic versions, and in the quotations of the fathers Johannes Damascenus, Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Isidore of Pelusium, and Bede. Griesbach has left it out of the text, as a clause that ought most undoubtedly to be erased. There is, in fact, scarcely any authority to support it; and the clause is superfluous; in all probability it was inserted from the twenty-sixth verse, which is word for word the same.

(5.) When a transcriber had made an omission, and afterwards observed it, he then subjoined what he had omitted, and thus produced a transposition. [1]

Thus, Matt. v. 4. is *subjoined* to 5. in the Codex Bezæ, in the Vulgate version, and in the quotation of Jerome. Luke xxiii. 17. is *omitted* in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Cyprius, and Stephani η, in the Coptic and Sahidic versions, and in the Codex Vercellensis of the Old Italic version: and it is subjoined to the nineteenth verse in the Codex Bezæ.

In like manner, Rom. i. 29. is very different in different copies.

In the Textus Receptus or common editions, we read, αδικια, πορνεια, πονηρια, πλεονεξια, κακια,—*unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness.*

In the Codex Alexandrinus and Ethiopic version, we read, αδικια, πονηρια, κακια, πλεονεξια,—*unrighteousness, wickedness, maliciousness, covetousness.*

In the Codex Claromontanus, we read, αδικια, κακια, πορνεια, πλεονεξια,—*unrighteousness, maliciousness, covetousness.*

In the Vulgate version, we read, *iniquitate, malitiâ, fornicatione, avaritiâ, nequitiâ,* whence it is evident that the authors of that translation read, αδικια, πονηρια, πορνεια, πλεονεξια, κακια. And

The order of the words in the Syriac Version shows that its authors read, αδικια, πορνεια, πονηρια, κακια, πλεονεξια,—*unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, maliciousness, covetousness.*

[1] Dr. Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, p. 238.

(6.) Another cause of various lections in Hebrew manuscripts, referable to this head, is the addition of letters to the last word in the lines in order to preserve their symmetry; and in Greek manuscripts omissions are frequently occasioned by what is called ὁμοιοτέλευτον, (*homoeoteleuton*) or when a word after a short interval occurs a second time in a passage. Here, the transcriber having written the word at the beginning of the passage, on looking again at the book from which he copies, his eye catches the same word at the end of the passage, and continuing to write what immediately follows, he of course omits intermediate words.

This fact will account for the *omission* of the concluding sentence of Matt. v. 19., and the whole of verse 30, in the Codex Bezæ. Again, in Matt. xxviii. 9., the words απαγγειλαι τοις μαθηταις αυτου (*to tell his disciples*), are *omitted* from the same cause, in the Codices Vaticanus and Bezæ, in the MSS. by Griesbach numbered 10, 33, 49, 59, 60, 69, 119, 142*, 225, 227, the Evangelisteria numbered 1, 13, 15, 17, 32, in the second of the Barberini MSS., and in those noted d. and q. by Matthæi; as well as in the Syriac, Arabic (as printed in the London Polyglott), Persic, Coptic, Armenian, Vulgate Latin, Saxon, and Old Italic Versions (except the manuscript of Brescia), and by the fathers Origen, Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine. And Mark ix. 26. is *omitted* in the Codices Vaticanus 1209, Stephani η, Vaticanus 354, and the MSS. by Griesbach numbered 2, 27, 63, 64, 121, 157, in Matthæi's 17, in the Coptic Version, the Codex San-germanensis 2 of the Italic Version, in the printed editions of Aldus and Frobenius, and by Theophylact.

(7.) As all antient manuscripts were written in capital letters, and without any spaces between words, or even sentences, syllables are frequently omitted or repeated. So, careless or ignorant transcribers have very often mistaken the notes of abbreviation, which are of frequent occurrence in antient manuscripts.

From this source probably originated the reading, in 1 Pet. ii. 3. of Χριστος (*Christ*) instead of Χρηστος (*gracious*), which occurs in the MSS. by Griesbach numbered 40, 68, and others of less note, in Matthæi's g, in some printed editions, and also in the verse as cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, Gregory Nazianzen, and Procopius, and by Theophylact in his commentary on this text. The reading in the manuscript whence the transcriber made his copy, must have been $\overline{\text{Χς}}$; which, not being understood by him, he altered into Χριστος.

(8.) Lastly, the ignorance or negligence of transcribers has been a most fruitful source of various readings, by their mistaking marginal notes or scholia for a part of the text. "It was not unusual in antient manuscripts to write in the margin an explanation of difficult passages, or a word synonymous to that in the text, but more usual and more easily understood, or with the intent of supplying a seeming deficiency; any or all of which might, in the copies taken from the manuscript in which these notes were written, be easily obtruded on the text itself.

Thus, to Matt. vi. 33. some copies, as well as the fathers Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Eusebius, add the following clause, as having been uttered by Jesus Christ. Αιτειτε τα μεγαλα, και τα μικρα υμιν προστεθησεται· και αιτειτε τα επουρανια, και τα επιγεια προστεθησεται υμιν:—*Seek ye great* things, *and little* things *shall be added unto you; and seek ye heavenly* things, and *earthly things shall be added unto you.* But this addition is manifestly a gloss.

So, in Mark vii. 35., after *he spake plain*, the following sentence is added in MS. 90 of Griesbach's notation:—Και ελαλει ευλογων τον Θεον,—*and he spake, praising God.* That the man did this, we may readily conclude; but this sentence was not added by the evangelist. It is evidently a gloss.

Again, in Luke vii. 16, after the sentence *God hath visited his people*, the words εις αγαθον, *for good*, are added in the manuscripts by Griesbach noted M. 13, 50, 69,

71, 106, 114, and eight others, in Matthæi's x, in the Syriac (as printed in the London Polyglott), in the Armenian, and in all the Arabic versions, and in the Codices Veronensis, Vercellencis, Corbeiensis, Colbertinus 4051, San-germanensis 1, and Forojuliensis, of the Old Italic Version. But it is manifestly a gloss, and is rejected as such by Dr. Mill, and Griesbach.

It is worthy of remark, that the difference caused by these or similar additions does in no respect whatever affect any point of faith or morality. Several eminent critics, for instance, are of opinion that the controverted clause in 1 John v. 7, 8, crept into the text in this manner; because it is not found in any antient manuscripts, nor in the writings of the fathers who disputed against the Arians. The evidence for the passage in question is considered in Vol. II. pp. 627—637. But, for the sake of argument, let us suppose it to be an omission in the manuscripts where it is wanting, or an addition to those where it occurs: it cannot in any way be prejudicial to the Christian faith; because, whatever sense we may put upon that passage, the same truth being most clearly and indisputably taught in other places of the New Testament, there is no more occasion for adding it, than there is inconvenience in omitting it.

2. Errors or imperfections in the manuscript, from which a transcriber copied, are a further source of various readings.

Besides the mistakes arising from the strokes of certain letters being faded or erased, others of a contrary nature may arise from the transparency of the paper or vellum, whence the stroke of a letter on one side of the leaf may seem to be a part of a letter on the other side of the leaf, and in this manner O may be taken for Θ.

According to Wetstein, this very accident happened to Mill, in examining the celebrated passage (1 Tim. iii. 16.) in the Codex Alexandrinus. Mill had asserted, in regard to the OC in this manuscript, that some remains of a stroke were still visible in the middle of the omicron, and concluded therefore that the word was properly ΘC. But Wetstein, who examined this manuscript more accurately, could discover no trace of any stroke in the omicron, but took notice of a circumstance which he supposes led Mill into error. On the other side of the leaf, directly opposite to O is the letter Є, in the word ЄΤΣЄΒЄΙΑ, the middle stroke of which is visible on the former side, and occupies the hollow of O. Wetstein having made the discovery, called several persons to witness, who confirmed the truth of it. But this hypothesis of Wetstein's has been questioned by Dr. Woide [1], and has been most clearly *disproved* by Dr. Berriman [2]. In order to discover the genuine reading of a manuscript where the letters are faded, Michaelis recommends the critic to have recourse to such as are related to it, either in time, place, or character, and if possible to those which were immediately copied from it while the letters were still legible. Velthusen and Griesbach are unanimous in regard to the propriety of this rule, but in their application of it to 1 Tim. iii. 16. they have drawn directly opposite conclusions. Those who endeavour to supply what time has destroyed, and venture to write anew the remnant or seeming remnant of a faded stroke, are guilty of an act that deserves the highest censure: the Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Ephremi, and Codex Claromontanus, have all suffered in this manner, but the authors of these amendments have deprived their successors of the means of judging for themselves, and have defeated the end which they intended to answer.

Again, the omission of a passage in an antient manuscript, which the writer added afterwards in the margin, might lead a copyist into error, unless it was particularly marked in what part of the text the passage ought to be inserted. Many manuscripts are still extant, in which omissions are in this manner supplied, especially in those preserved at Moscow, which Matthæi has extracted and accurately described in his critical edition of the New Testament.

3. A third source of various readings is critical conjecture, or an intended improvement of the original text.

"In reading the works of an author of known literary reputation, we ascribe grammatical or orthographical errors, if any are to be found,

[1] Novum Testamentum Græcum, e Codice MS. Alexandrino; Præfat. § 87. p. xxxi.

[2] Critical Dissertation upon 1 Tim. iii. 16. pp. 153—160.

rather to a mistake of the printer than to a want of knowledge in the writer. In the same manner the transcriber of a manuscript attributes the faults of his original to the error of a former copyist, and alters them, as he supposes they were written by the author. But if he carries his critical conjectures too far, he falls himself into the error which he intended to avoid." This may be done in various ways:

(1.) Thus the transcriber may take an expression to be faulty, which in reality is not so; or he may mistake the sense of the author, and suppose that he has discovered a grammatical error, when in fact he himself construes falsely:—or the grammatical error intended to be corrected actually proceeded from the author himself. [1]

(2.) Further, some critical copyists have not only corrected ungrammatical or inaccurate expressions, but have even converted inelegant into elegant phrases: and they have likewise omitted words that appeared to them superfluous, or the difference of which they did not understand.

Thus, in Mark vii. 37. *τους αλαλους*, *the dumb*, is omitted as superfluous in Griesbach's MS.28, (Colbertinus 4705, or Colbertinus 2. of Dr. Mill's notation.) So, in Mark x. 19. *Μη αποστερησης*, *defraud not*, is omitted in the Codices Vaticanus and Cyprius, and in eighteen other manuscripts, as well as in the Armenian version, and also in Theophylact. It seems included in *μη κλεψης*, *do not steal*, and does not occur in the other Gospels. Once more, *λεγοντος*, saying (Matt. i. 22.) is *omitted*, because the transcriber deemed it an unnecessary addition after the words, *that which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet.*

(3.) But of all the sources of various lections which are referable to this head, the most ample, according to Michaelis, and the most productive of spurious passages in the New Testament, is the practice of altering parallel passages so as to render more perfect their conformity to each other. The Gospels in particular have suffered in this way; and Saint Paul's Epistles have very frequently been interpolated in order to make his quotations from the Old Testament harmonise with the Septuagint version, where they differed from the exact words of the latter. Two or three instances of alterations from parallel passages will confirm this remark.

Thus, in Matt. xii. 8. *For the son of man is lord even of the Sabbath-day*, *και εν* is omitted in eighty-seven manuscripts, and in several printed editions, as well as in the Syriac, Arabic, the Persic in Bp. Walton's Polyglott, the Coptic, Armenian, Sclavonic,

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[1] With regard to these corrections of grammatical errors, Michaelis has laid down the four following rules, viz.

" 1. In those passages where we find only an apparent grammatical error, the seemingly erroneous reading may be generally considered as the genuine, and the other readings as corrections, and therefore spurious.

" 2. Real grammatical errors, in the works of a correct and classical writer, are justly ascribed to a mistake of the copyist, and the same sentiments may be entertained of an author of less eminence, when among several copies one or two only have the false reading.

" 3. But when expressions that deviate from the strictness of grammar are found in the writings of an author who had not the advantage of a learned education, and was totally regardless of the accuracy of his style, not in single but repeated instances, and retained in a very great number of manuscripts, they must be attributed, not to the transcriber, but the author.

" 4. When one grammatical error in particular is frequently found in one and the same writing, as the improper use of the nominative in the book of Revelation, no doubt can be made that it proceeded from the author himself." Michaelis, vol. i. p. 306.

and Italic versions, and also in the passage as quoted by Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Chrysostom, Euthymius, and Theophylact. It has been added from the parallel passage in Mark ii. 28. or in Luke vi. 5.; and is justly rejected by Griesbach as an interpolation. In Matt. xii. 35. *της καρδιας*, *of the heart*, is wanting in one hundred and seven manuscripts as well as in several printed editions, and in the Arabic, Persic, Sclavonic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Italic, and Vulgate versions; it is also wanting in the passage as cited by Origen, the author of the Dialogue against the Marcionites, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Cyprian, Lucifer, Hilary, and Ambrosiaster. It has been inserted from the parallel place in Luke vi. 45.

The clause in Matt. xxvii. 35. Ινα πληρωθη το ρηθεν (*that it might be fulfilled which was spoken*), &c. to the end of that verse is omitted in one hundred and sixty-one manuscripts, in the Syriac MSS. and also in some Syriac editions, in the Arabic version both MSS. and also as printed in Bp. Walton's Polyglott, in the Persic version of the Polyglott, in all the manuscripts and in most printed editions of the Coptic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, and Sclavonic versions, in most MSS. and editions of the Vulgate Latin version, in several MSS. of the Old Italic version; and likewise in the verse as cited by Chrysostom, Titus of Bostra, Euthymius, Theophylact, Origen, the Old Latin translator of Irenæus, Augustine, and Juvencus. This clause has been interpolated from John xix. 24. Griesbach justly omits it as decidedly spurious.

Numerous similar interpolations have been made in the Acts of the Apostles, by these supposed amendments; and where the same story is related more than once, transcribers, and more frequently translators, have supplied from the one what seemed to be deficient in the other. Not to multiply examples unnecessarily in illustration of this last remark, it will be sufficient to compare the narrative of Saint Paul's conversion, as related by Saint Luke (Acts ix.), with that Apostle's own account of it in Acts xxii. and xxvi.; and also the two narratives of the conversion of Cornelius, described in Acts x. and xi.

(4.) Lastly, some critics have altered the text of the New Testament in conformity to the Vulgate version; but various readings, which are evidently derived from this source, are utterly undeserving of attention.

4. *Wilful corruptions, in order to serve the purposes of a party, whether orthodox or heterodox, are another source of various readings.*

Among the antient heretics, no one has been more severely charged with falsifying the sacred text, in order to support his tenets, nor has any one more justly deserved the censure, which has been bestowed upon such unwarrantable conduct, than Marcion. Yet Michaelis has shown that *all* his deviations from the text in common use are not wilful corruptions, but that many of them are really various readings; and he has exculpated the Arians from the same charge.

It is however well known that Marcion caused the two first chapters of Saint Luke's Gospel to disappear from his copy, as also Luke iv. 37, 38, 39. In Luke viii. 19. he also expunged the words η μητηρ και οι αδελφοι αυτου, *his mother and brethren*. In Mark xv. 28. instead of μετα ανομων ελογισθη, *he was numbered with the transgressors*, the Eutychians read νεκρων, *dead*, in order to support their hypothesis, that Christ's body was an aërial form and not human.

On the other hand, it is a fact that some corruptions have been designedly made by those who are termed orthodox, and have subsequently been preferred when so made, in order to favour some received opinion, or to preclude an objection against it. As this is a source of various readings (we believe) but little known, and less considered, we shall adduce two or three examples from Pfaff's dissertation on various readings, who has considered the subject at length.

1. Mark xiii. 32. Ουδε ὁ υιος. These words are omitted in some manuscripts, and rejected by some of the fathers, because they thought it

favoured the Arians. Ambrose, who flourished in the fourth century, states that many manuscripts in his time omitted them.

2. Luke i. 35. After γεννωμενον, the words εκ σου have been added in several manuscripts in the Syriac, Persic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and other translations, as well as in numerous quotations of the fathers, in opposition to the Eutychians, who denied the two natures of Jesus Christ.

3. Luke xxii. 43. The whole verse is omitted in the Alexandrian and some other manuscripts, because some orthodox Christians imagined that the mention of an angel's strengthening our Saviour during his agony in the garden detracted from his Deity.

4. 1 Cor. xv. 5. Saint Paul asserts that Christ appeared after his resurrection *to the twelve*, τοις δωδεκα, though at that time two of the number were wanting, Thomas being absent, and Judas Iscariot being dead. Some manuscripts therefore read ενδεκα, *eleven*, lest the sacred historian should be charged with falsehood, though every attentive reader of the New Testament knows that the Apostle, in writing this, used the figure called *synecdoche*, in which a part is put for the whole.

5. Matt. i. 18. Πριν η συνελθειν αυτους (*before they came together*), and 25, αυτης τον πρωτοτοκον (*her first-born*), are in some copies designedly omitted, lest any should doubt the perpetual virginity of Mary the mother of Christ.

III. The causes of various readings being thus ascertained, the next step is to consider the sources whence the true reading is to be determined. The legitimate sources of emendation are, 1. Manuscripts; 2. The most antient and best editions; 3. Antient versions, (and, for the Old Testament in particular, the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, together with the Masora, and the Talmud); 4. Parallel passages; 5. Quotations from the Fathers; and 6. Conjectural criticisms. But these various sources are all to be used with great judgment and caution, as being fallible criteria; nor is the common reading ever to be rejected but upon the most rational grounds.

1. *Manuscripts.* Having already given some observations on the age of manuscripts, together with an account of some of the most antient [1], it will only be necessary that we should in this place offer a few hints concerning their relative value, and the application of them to the determination of various readings.

(1.) In general, then, we may affirm that the present copies of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, under the guardianship of the Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian churches, agreeing in every thing essential, are of the same authenticity and authority with the original autographs; notwithstanding the errors that have crept into them, from whatever cause.

(2.) The number of manuscripts, however, is not so much to be considered as their quality, antiquity, and agreement with the most antient interpreters; for the true reading may be preserved in a single manuscript.

(3.) Those manuscripts are to be accounted the best, which are most consonant with those used by the antient interpreters; and, with

[1] See an account of the principal Hebrew and Greek MSS. in pp. (1)—(30) *supra*.

regard to the Old Testament, in particular, M. De Rossi states that those manuscripts are in every case preferable which have not been tampered with by the Masoretes, and which have the Chaldee paraphrase interjected, in alternate verses.

(4.) Although, other things being equal, the more antient and accurately written manuscripts are to be preferred, yet a recent and incorrect copy may often have the better reading, because it may have been transcribed from an excellent and antient copy.

(5.) An accurate manuscript is preferable to one that is negligently written. Various readings, therefore, particularly in the Hebrew Scriptures, which are found in manuscripts transcribed by a learned person, or for a learned person, from some celebrated or corrected copy, are to be preferred to those written for private use; and the readings found in antient and unpointed manuscripts, written for the use of the synagogue, are better than those found in Masoretic exemplars.

(6.) The first erased reading of a manuscript is not always an error of the copyist, nor is the second substituted one always the better reading. Both are to be tried by the touchstone of the antient versions, and in the Pentateuch by the Samaritan text also.

(7.) Other things being equal, Michaelis states that a Lectionarium is not of equal value with a manuscript of the *same* antiquity that contains the books of the New Testament complete, because in the former the text was frequently altered, according to the readings which were most approved at the time when it was written; though Lectionaria sometimes have readings of great importance.[1]

(8.) In reckoning up the number of manuscripts for or against any particular reading, it will be necessary,

FIRST, *to distinguish properly between one manuscript and another, that the same MS. be not counted twice over, and consequently* ONE *pass for* TWO. This (it is now ascertained) was the case with the Codex Bezæ, which has been proved to be the same which was the second of Stephens's MSS. marked β, and not two distinct manuscripts. Wherever, therefore, a number of manuscripts bears evident marks of having been transcribed in succession, that is, each of them being first a copy taken from another, and then an original, having a copy taken from it, or where all are taken from one common original, they are not to be considered as furnishing so many different instances of a various reading, but should be estimated only as one, whose authority resolves itself into that of the first manuscript. Inattention to this circumstance has contributed to increase the number of various readings beyond what they really are. But though two manuscripts, one of which is copied from the other, can be admitted only as a single evidence, yet, if a word is faded in the more antient one, it may be supplied from that which is more modern. Manuscripts which, though not immediately copied from each other, exhibit a great uniformity in their readings, seem to be the produce of the same country, and to have as it were the usual readings of that country. A set of manuscripts of this kind is to be considered as the same edition, in which it is of no importance to the authenticity of a

[1] Introduction, vol. ii. p. 161.

reading whether five hundred or five thousand copies be taken. Numbers alone, therefore, decide nothing in the present instance.

SECONDLY, *We must carefully observe what part of the Scriptures the several manuscripts actually contain, and in what respects they are defective.* There are few MSS. extant, which contain either the Old or the New Testament entire, and have been transmitted to us without loss and damage. Of the MSS. of the Old Testament, which have been described in pp. (1)—(6), *supra*, not one is complete; and with regard to the New Testament, we have already seen that the Codices Alexandrinus [1], Vaticanus [2], and Leicestrensis [3], are mutilated. Other MSS. contain the Gospels, or the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles; others, the Acts, and Pauline Epistles, or the Catholic Epistles, or both; others have the Epistles by themselves; and there are several manuscripts which contain the whole of the New Testament except the Apocalypse; to which are to be added the Lectionaries, or select portions of the New Testament, which were read as lessons, or Epistles and Gospels in the service of the Church. Now it is absolutely necessary that we observe the state and condition of MSS., in order that we may avoid false conclusions and inferences from the non-production of a manuscript for a various reading by any editor of the New Testament, who professedly gives an account of the various readings of MSS., as if it therefore did not vary, when in reality the text itself was wanting therein; and also in order that we may not cite a MS. in favour of any reading, where in truth such MS. has no reading at all. From inattention to this obvious rule, Amelotte [4] cited the first Codex of Stephens, the Complutensian, Cardinal Ximenes's, Cisneros's, and that of Alcala, as so many different manuscripts, when, in fact, there was but one and the same printed edition.

THIRDLY, *We must also observe whether the MSS. have been entirely and exactly collated.* Sometimes perhaps only the more noted and important texts have been consulted. This was the case with the Codex Claromontanus, as collated by Beza, and also with the MSS. of the Apostolic Epistles in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, which have only been collated for the controverted clause in 1 John v. 7. Sometimes also it happens that MSS. have come late into the hands of editors of the New Testament, after the printing was begun, and consequently only part of the various lections have been exhibited. This was the case both with Dr. Mill and with Griesbach in their critical editions. Again, it sometimes happens that a manuscript has been collated in the beginning, but, from some accident or other, the collation of it has not been completed. This was the case with the Codex Cyprius, of which we had no entire collation until Dr. Scholz printed one at the end of his Dissertation on that manuscript [5], and also with the Codex Montfortianus, which was collated in the Gospels and most

[1] See Vol. II. Part II. (Appendix) p. 103.

[2] Ibid. p. 110. [3] See p. (30) of this Supplement.

[4] Amelotte, the bitter enemy of the learned and pious Port-Royalists, published a French Translation of the New Testament in four volumes, 8vo., in the years 1666—1668. In his notes he boasted of having consulted all the manuscripts in Europe, which he afterwards confessed he had not seen. Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. ii. pp. 95—97.

[5] Scholz, Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum, pp. 80—90.

parts of the Acts of the Apostles, and in part of the Epistle to the Romans. Nor had we any complete collation of it, until the Rev. Dr. Barrett printed one at the end of his fac-simile of the Codex Rescriptus of Matthew's Gospel, now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin [1]. It is therefore absolutely necessary that we should inquire into these particulars, that we may not be deceived ourselves, or deceive others, by alleging an authority that has never been examined.

2. *The best and most antient Printed Editions* have already been described [2]. But they are so far only to be admitted in evidence, as they are immediately taken from manuscripts. The various readings, however, which they contain, are not to be neglected, particularly those of the Hebrew Bibles printed in Rabbi Ben Chaim's or Hajim's Masoretical edition. In the New Testament, as the readings found in all the printed editions rest on the authority of a few manuscripts which are not always the most antient, the concurrence of all these editions cannot confer great authority on the readings adopted by them, in opposition to others which appear to be well supported.

3. The *Antient Versions* (of which an account has already been given [3]), though not free from error, nevertheless afford important assistance towards determining the true readings of passages, as they show what readings their authors considered to be genuine.

(1.) Antient Versions are a legitimate source of emendation, unless upon collation we have reason to conclude that the translators of them were clearly mistaken.

One or two examples will illustrate this remark. In James v. 12. many MSS., the Arabic of the London Polyglott, the Armenian and the Sclavonic Versions, as also the monk Antiochus, Oecumenius, and Theophylact, read *ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὑποκρίσιν πέσητε*, *lest ye fall into hypocrisy*. But the Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, and several other manuscripts, besides the printed editions, and the Syriac, Arabic (as edited by Erpenius), Coptic, Ethiopic, Vulgate, and other versions, all read the clause as it appears in our authorised English version, which is unquestionably the true reading, viz. *ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πέσητε*, *lest ye fall into condemnation*. Again, in 1 Pet. v. 13. we read, *ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή*. Here some word is evidently to be supplied, in order to complete the sense. Dr. Mill conjectured that Peter's wife was intended. But the word *Ἐκκλησία*, *church*, is found in the margin of two manuscripts (4 and 33 of Griesbach's notation), and in the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Vulgate versions. It ought therefore to be received into the text. It is very properly supplied in *Italic characters* by the learned and venerable translators of our authorised English version, who render the verse thus:—The *church that is* at Babylon, elected together with *you*, saluteth you. Once more, in 2 Pet. ii. 2. the apostle, predicting the false teachers who would corrupt the church by their destructive doctrines, says, that *many shall follow*, *ἐν οἷς τῶν ἀπωλειῶν*, *their destructions*, that is, *their pernicious ways* (as our translators have rendered it), their *heresies of destruction* or *destructive opinions*, mentioned in the preceding verse. This reading, however, is only found in the MSS. 43 and 65 of Griesbach's notation (both of the twelfth century), and in a few others of no note. But instead of it, we read, *ἀσελγείαις*, that is, *lasciviousnesses* or *uncleannesses*, in the Codices A. B. C. (Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Ephremi), and in more than fifty other manuscripts, most of which are among the most antient, correct, and authentic. This is also the reading of both the Syriac, all the Arabic, the Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Sclavonic, and Vulgate versions, and of the fathers Chrysostom,

[1] Barrett, Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii SS. Trinitatis juxta Dublin. Appendix, pp. 5—35.

[2] See Vol. II. Part II. (Appendix) pp. 124—143. for an account of the printed editions of the Scriptures.

[3] See an account of the Antient Versions, in Vol. 1. pp. 254—306.

Theophilus, Oecumenius, and Jerome. The word ἀσελγείαις, *lasciviousnesses*, is therefore, beyond all doubt, the true reading, and is very properly printed as such by Griesbach; and it points out the nature of the heresy intended by the apostle. It was a sort of antinomianism. The heretics alluded to pampered and indulged the lusts of the flesh; and if the Nicolaitans are meant, it is very applicable to them, for they taught the community of wives, &c.

(2.) Antient manuscripts, supported by some of the antient versions and by the sense, render a reading certainly right, though it be not found in the more modern.

In Isa. lviii. 10. we read, *If thou draw out thy soul to the hungry*. This, Bishop Lowth remarks, is a correct rendering of the present Hebrew text, but it is an obscure phrase and without example in any other place. Instead, however, of נפשך (GAPESHEK) *thy soul*, eight manuscripts (three of which are antient) read לחמך (LAHEMEK) *thy bread*; and so it is rendered in the Syriac version. The proper reading therefore is, *draw out* (or *bring forth*) *thy bread*. The Septuagint version expresses both words, τον αρτον εκ της ψυχης σου, *thy bread from thy soul*.[1]

(3.) The concurrence of the antient versions is sufficient to establish a reading as certainly right, when the sense or parallel place shows both the propriety of that reading, and the corruption of what is found in the copies of the original.

Thus, in Prov. xviii. 21. (22 of English version) we read, Whoso findeth *a wife, findeth a good* thing. This is not true in *every* instance: it contradicts other maxims of the inspired writer, as Dr. Kennicott has shown, who is sufficiently eloquent on this occasion. He therefore conjectured that Solomon originally expressed himself thus: *he that findeth a* GOOD *wife, findeth a good thing, and obtaineth favour from the* LORD. This reading derives a strong confirmation from the fact, that the epithet for good is uniformly found in the Septuagint Greek, the Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate versions. It is likewise found in two antient manuscript Chaldee paraphrases of the Book of Proverbs (one of which is at Cambridge, and the other in the King of Prussia's library at Berlin). All these concurring testimonies, together with the necessary sense of the text itself, prove that the Hebrew originally read, and ought to be so restored, *He that findeth a good wife, findeth a good thing*.[2]

(4.) The Samaritan Pentateuch, which is only a different copy of the same original text, being more antient than the Babylonish captivity, and religiously preserved in the antient Hebrew characters, is a legitimate source of emendation. Although it differs in many places from the present Hebrew text, and these differences have been made objections against its authority, because it has been taken for granted that it must be wrong wherever it is not conformable to the Hebrew; yet as this assumption proceeds on the erroneous supposition of the absolute integrity of the Masoretic copies, it ought not to be regarded.

Bauer has given a considerable number of rules for the application of the Samaritan Pentateuch to the determination of various readings, which he has illustrated, by examples, for the whole of which we have not room. The following are such of his remarks as are of most general application.

1. Where the Samaritan text has the larger sections repeated from the other chapters of the Pentateuch, it is interpolated, and the Hebrew text is on no account to be corrected from it.

2. Where the Samaritan text contains readings in support of the peculiar dogmas entertained by the Samaritans, there it is to be considered as altered by the fraud of that sect.

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[1] Gerard's Institutes, p. 271. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 343.

[2] Kennicott's Second Dissertation on the Hebrew Text, pp. 189—192. Dr. Gerard has given four additional instances of the above rule. Institutes, pp. 272, 273.

3. Where the Samaritan text more strictly follows the rules of Grammar, avoiding enallages of number and gender; and, on the other hand, where the Hebrew Text departs from those rules, not unfrequently expressing the enallage both of number and gender;—in such cases the reading of the Hebrew text is preferable to that of the Samaritan.

4. Where the Samaritan text contains a clearer reading, which removes any difficulty or obscurity, by the addition of a single word or phrase, there it has evidently been corrected by the Samaritan doctors, and the reading of the Hebrew copies is to be preferred. The application of this and the preceding canon to most of the corrections which Houbigant conceived might be drawn from the Samaritan Pentateuch, will show that those corrections are of no value whatever.

5. Where a reading in the Samaritan text departs from that of the Hebrew text, in the guttural letters, the true reading is to be found in the latter.

6. A various reading in the Samaritan text, which appears to be derived from the resemblance of the shape of the letters, is to be rejected.

7. A reading in the Samaritan text which is entirely unsupported by the authority of the Masoretic copies, and of the antient versions, is not to be regarded as the true one, and is not preferable to the Masoretic reading.

8. If the Samaritan text agrees with the Septuagint version (as frequently is the case), their testimony is to be considered but as one, from the very close affinity subsisting between them.

9. A various reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch is of the greatest value when it is confirmed by the antient versions of Aquila, and Symmachus, by the Syriac version, the Chaldee paraphrase, and the best and most antient Hebrew MSS. Thus, in Gen. xxii. 13. instead of, *behold*, BEHIND him אחר (ACHER), the Samaritan reads אחד (ACHAD) *one*, and with this reading agree the Septuagint and Syriac versions, the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, and *twenty-nine* of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott, together with *thirteen* of those collated by De Rossi. The proper rendering therefore of this verse is. *And Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked; and behold a ram caught in a thicket by his horns.*

The two following canons are selected from Dr. Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism [1], with a few corrections.

10. Readings in the Pentateuch supported by the Samaritan copy, a few Hebrew MSS., the antient versions, parallel places, and the sense, are certainly right, though they are not found in the generality of Hebrew Manuscripts nor in editions.

Thus in Gen. l. 25. after *ye shall carry up my bones from hence*, the parallel text in Exod. xiii. 19. twelve manuscripts, the Samaritan text, the Septuagint, Syriac, Arabic and Vulgate versions, all add *with you*. These words therefore are part of the text, and are very properly incorporated in it by Mr. Boothroyd, in his new translation of the Scriptures.

In Lev. ix. 21. the common reading is, *as Moses commanded*: but in thirty manuscripts, the Samaritan text, the Septuagint and Arabic versions, and the Targum of Onkelos, we read, *As Jehovah commanded Moses*; which unquestionably is the true reading, and is supported not only by these authorities, but also by the whole chapter itself.

11. Readings in the Pentateuch, supported by the Samaritan text, antient versions, parallel places, and the sense, are certainly right, though they are not found in any, (or in only one) Hebrew manuscript now extant. Thus in Gen. ii. 24. we read, *And they shall be one flesh*: but it is *they* TWO in the Samaritan text, and in the Septuagint, Syriac, Old Italic, Vulgate, and Arabic versions, compared with Matt. xix. 5., Mark x. 8. 1 Cor. vi. 16. Eph. v. 31, Philo Judæus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Jerome, and Augustine.

In Exod. vi. 20. after *she bare him Aaron and Moses*, 'and Miriam their sister,' is added in the Samaritan text, the Septuagint and Syriac versions, and in one manuscript. There is no doubt but that it forms part of the sacred text. Again, in Exod. xii. 40. we read, *The sojourning of the Children of Israel, which they dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.* But this is not true, for it was only *two hundred and fifteen years*; and it contradicts Gal. iii. 17., which says, that it was only four hundred and thirty years from the calling of Abraham, two hundred and fifteen of which elapsed before the going into Egypt. (Compare Gen. xii. 4. xvii. 1, 21. xxv. 26, and xl. 9.) The following is the verse as it appears in all the MSS. and editions of the Samaritan

[1] pp. 270, 271.

Pentateuch, confirmed by the Alexandrian Manuscript of the Septuagint. *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel* and of their fathers, *which they sojourned* in the land of Canaan and *in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years.* This is the true reading, and removes all doubt and obscurity. It is proper to remark, that the last three examples of additional passages from the Samaritan text are introduced by Mr. Boothroyd into the text of his translation of the Bible.

(5.) Such antient versions as were immediately made from the original are proper sources of emendation, when our present Hebrew and Greek manuscripts disagree; and their respective value is in proportion to their priority of date, their being made from accurate exemplars, their being literal translations, and their being confirmed by one another, and, as far as respects the Pentateuch, by the Samaritan text; for the sole dissent of versions, unsupported by other authorities, constitutes only a dubious lection. Before, however, we admit any various reading into the text on the authority of an antient version, we must be certain that the text of such version has not been corrupted. And no various reading can be derived from the modern *Latin versions* of the Greek or Oriental versions, which are given in the Polyglotts, because the Latin translators have in some instances mistaken the sense of such oriental versions.

(6). The Greek version of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, being the most antient and illustrious, is preferable to the Old Syriac version of the same portion of Scripture; but the Old Syriac version of the New Testament, being executed at the close of the apostolic age, and consequently the most antient of all the translations of the New Testament, is preferable to every other version of it.

The readings pointed out by the Greek version are sometimes the genuine lections, even when they are not found in any Hebrew manuscripts now extant. For instance, in Gen. iv. 8. we read, *And Cain said to Abel his brother: And it came to pass, when they were in the field, &c.* Here there is a manifest deficiency in all the Hebrew MSS. and printed editions. The translators of the authorised English version, not being able to find that any thing was said on this occasion, ventured to intimate that there was a conversation, indefinitely, and therefore rendered the first clause of the verse, *and Cain talked with Abel his brother.* The deficiency, which exists in all the MSS. and editions, is supplied in the Septuagint version, which is supported by the Samaritan text, the Syriac and Vulgate Latin versions, the two Chaldee Targums, the Greek translation of Aquila, and by the passage as cited by Philo: all of which supply the deficient words, *Let us go out into the field.* There is no doubt therefore, that they form part of the original text, and that the verse ought to be translated thus. *And Cain said unto Abel his brother*, Let us go out into the field. *And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.* Again, in Acts xiii. 18. we read, *about the time of forty years suffered he* (ἐτροποφόρησεν) *their manners in the wilderness*; that is, he dealt indulgently with them. However the Israelites provoked Jehovah, he mercifully bore with and endured them. On which clause we find in the margin of our authorised version the following conjecture. "Gr. ἐτροποφόρησεν, perhaps for ἐτροφοφόρησεν, *bore* or *fed them as a nurse beareth* or *feedeth her child.*" This conjecture is confirmed by the Codices Alexandrinus, Ephremi, and Basiliensis, and four others of less note, as well as by the Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions, and the quotations in some of the fathers; all of which read ἐτροφοφόρησεν, *he nourished and fed them*, or *bore them about in his arms as a tender nurse does her child.* This reading agrees excellently with the scope of the place, and is at least of equal value with that in the commonly received text. Griesbach has therefore admitted it, and excluded the other. Both readings indeed, when rightly understood, speak nearly the same sense; but the latter is the most expressive, and agrees best with St. Paul's discourse, and with the history to which he alludes. The same form of expression occurs in Exod. xix. 4. Numb. xi. 12. Isa. xlvi. 3, 4. and lxiii. 9.

(7.) The oldest Latin versions of the New Testament being of very

high antiquity, notwithstanding they contain some false readings, are nevertheless of great value, because they lead to a discovery of the readings in very antient Greek manuscripts, that existed prior to the date of any that are now extant. The Vulgate, for instance, in its present state, being (as we have already seen) a mixture of the Old Italic version, and that of Jerome, points out the state of the original text, partly in the first and partly in the fourth century, and it gives great authority to those readings which it clearly indicates: it also contains several which are preferable to the present readings, and are supported by some of the best and oldest manuscripts.

Thus the literal rendering of Jer. li. 19. is—*He is the former of all things, and the rod of his inheritance*, which is unintelligible. The venerable translators of our authorised version have supplied *Israel is* the rod, &c. most probably from the parallel sentence in Jer. x. 16.; and that this is the true reading is evident from the Vulgate version, which reads *et Israel sceptrum hæreditatis ejus*, and also from the Chaldee paraphrase, which is further supported by twenty-three manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott. [1]

(8.) The Syriac version being very literal, ascertains clearly the readings which it followed, to which, on account of its antiquity, it gives great authority; and it has preserved some, that appear to be genuine.

Thus in 2 Sam. xv. 7. we read, *It came to pass after forty years*, which is manifestly erroneous, though supported by the commonly printed Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Chaldee. David reigned only forty years, and, if we follow the text, the rebellion of Absalom would follow long *after* the death of David. In order to obviate this difficulty, some commentators have proposed to date from the time when David was first anointed by the prophet Samuel. But the Syriac version (which is confirmed by the Arabic version, by Josephus, by the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate, by several manuscripts of the same version, and by Theodoret,) reads FOUR. Most learned men are of opinion that ארבעים (ARBAYIM) *forty*, is an error for ארבע (ARBÂ) *four*. Accordingly, Mr. Boothroyd has adopted the reading of the Syriac version, and translates, *at the end of* FOUR *years*, in his new version of the Old Testament.

(9.) Every deviation in the antient versions, both of the Old and New Testaments, is not to be considered as a proof of a various reading in the original manuscript whence it was taken; for the translator may have mistaken the original word, or he may have given it a signification different from what it bears at present, and this is the case particularly with the Septuagint.

(10.) One or a few antient versions may render a reading probable, when it is strongly supported by the sense, connexion, or parallel places, in opposition to one that does not agree with these, though found in other versions and in manuscripts.

Thus, in Gen. xiv. 20. we read, *And he gave tithes of all.* This leaves it uncertain whether Melchizedek or Abram gave tithes. It rather seems to be the former, but it was the latter. In Heb. vii. 4. the Samaritan text, and the Septuagint version, we have, *Abram gave to him a tithe of all*, Δεκατην εκαστος Αβραμ δεκατην εκ των παντων; which is probably the genuine reading.

Again, in Isa. xl. 5. we read, *All flesh shall see together*, which is an imperfect sentence. The translators of our authorised version have supplied *it*, referring to the glory of God mentioned in the preceding part of the verse. This omission is antient, being prior to the Chaldee, Syriac, and Vulgate versions: but all the copies of the Septuagint version and the parallel passage in Isa. lii. 10. read, *shall see the salvation of our God*,

[1] Gerard's Institutes, p. 87. Kennicott's Second Dissertation, pp. 439, 440, and his Dissertatio Generalis, § 47, at the end of the second volume of his Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible.

which lection is acknowledged by Luke (iii. 6.). Bishop Lowth therefore considers it as genuine, and has admitted it into the text of his translation of Isaiah.

(11.) The concurrence of all or most of the antient versions, in a reading not found in manuscripts now extant, renders such reading probable, if it be agreeable to the sense, though not absolutely contrary to it.[1]

Thus, in 1 Sam. ix. 7. we read, *What shall we bring the man*, לאיש (LA-ISH)? In *one* of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott, (No. 182, a manuscript of the fourteenth century) we read לאיש האלהים (LA-ISH H-ELOHIM), *to the man of God?* which is confirmed by the Chaldee paraphrase, and by the Septuagint, Syriac, Vulgate, and Arabic versions, and is probably the genuine reading.

(12.) Of the Chaldee paraphrases[2], when manuscripts vary, those are to be preferred which are the more antient, and which have not been corrected according to the present Masoretic text.

(13.) The Masora[3], Talmud, and Talmudical writers, are also sources of emendation, but of no great authority in readings of any moment.

With regard to the Masora, that reading only is to be admitted from it, which is supported by antient versions, and is in perfect harmony with the context, the analogy of language, and parallel passages.

In Isa. ix. 2. (Heb.; 3 of English version) we read, *Thou hast multiplied the nation*, and *not the joy*. The Ketib has לא (LA) *not*, with which the Vulgate version, and that of Symmachus agree: but the Keri reads לי (LI) *to him* or *it*, that is, *the nation*; and with this agree the Chaldee paraphrase, the Septuagint, the Vulgate version, the readings in the text of fifteen manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott, and six of those collated by M. De Rossi. The latter reading is not only best supported but is also excellently in unison with the preceding verse. Bishop Lowth has therefore adopted it, and translates thus: Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased their joy.

Readings derived from the Talmud and Talmudical writers are only to be admitted, when they expressly cite the Hebrew text, and when their readings are confirmed by manuscripts. In judging of the various lections obtained from the Jewish writers, those which are collected from the Talmud, (though few in number) are of great value and equal to those furnished by Aquila, Symmachus, the Syriac version, and the Chaldee paraphrase. But such as are derived from the commentaries and lexicons of the Rabbins, who lived between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, are (according to Prof. Bauer) to be accounted equal with the readings of manuscripts.[4]

4. *Parallel passages* afford a very material help in determining various readings, where all other assistance fails. Cappel[5] and Dr. Kennicott[6] have shown at great length what use may be made of parallel passages, in order to ascertain the genuine reading where it may be dubious, or to restore it where it may be lost. Professor Bauer has given an abstract of Cappel's collection of parallel passages in

1 Gerard's Institutes, pp. 280, 281, where several additional examples are given, for which we have not room.

2 See an account of the Chaldee Paraphrases, in Vol. I. pp. 256—262.

3 See an account of the Masora in Vol. II. Part II. (Appendix) pp. 86—89. and of the Talmud in Vol. I. pp. 570, 571.

4 Bauer, Critica Sacra, pp. 444, 445.

5 See his Critica Sacra, (lib. i. cc. iii.—xiv.) vol. 1. pp. 14—135. 8vo edition, with Professor Vogel's notes.

6 In his first Dissertation on the Hebrew Text, pp. 13. 79. 199. 444. 457. 461. 481. 484. 502. 510.

pp, 235—238 of his *Critica Sacra:* and two or three instances will show their importance in ascertaining a true reading in the New Testament.

In Matt. i. 4. not fewer than fourteen manuscripts and two of the fathers read Αμιναδαμ, *Aminadam*; but the parallel passage in 1 Chron. ii. 10. has *Aminadab*, which therefore is the genuine reading of the Evangelist. Again, in Matt. xxvii. 46. instead of λαμα (*lama*), many MSS. read λειμα (*leima*), λιμα (*lima*), or λεμα (*lema*); but a reference to Psal. xxii. 2. (Heb.; or 1 of English version) shows that λαμα is the proper reading. Once more, in Matt. ii. 23. the common reading is Ναζαρετ (*Nazaret*); but in the Codices C. E. K. (Ephremi, Basileensis B. VI. 21, and Cyprius,) and many other MSS. of less note, besides several printed editions, and the Coptic, Armenian, Italic, Vulgate, and Anglo-saxon versions, and also in the quotations of Eusebius and Cyril, we read Ναζαρεθ (*Nazareth.*) And that this is the true reading is evident from comparing the numerous other passages of the four Gospels in which this place is called *Nazareth* and not *Nazaret.*

(1.) Where parallel passages, together with the sense, support the reading of antient manuscripts, they show that such reading is perfectly right.

Thus in Isa. lxi. 4. we read *They shall build the old wastes*: but the sentence is incomplete, as we know not who are the builders. After *they shall build*, four MSS. (two of which are antient) add ממך (MAMAD) *they that spring from thee*: and this reading is confirmed by lviii. 12. where the sentence is the very same, this word being added. Bishop Lowth therefore receives it into the text, and translates the sentence thus:

And they that spring from thee shall build up the ruins of old times.

(2.) In a text evidently corrupted, a parallel place may suggest a reading perfectly genuine. [1]

Thus, in the common printed editions, we read, *Say, of the Lord and of Gideon.* This is defective. The venerable English translators have, with great propriety, supplied *the sword* חרב (HEREB) from the successful exploit of Gideon, related in v. 20. The word, which those learned but much traduced men thus supplied from a parallel place, proves to be right: for it is found in ten manuscripts, besides the Chaldee Paraphrase, and the Syriac and Arabic Versions. In like manner, they have supplied the word *fourth* in 2 Kings xxv. 3. from Jer. lii. 6. to complete the sense; and this supply is also confirmed by the different versions.

5. *Quotations from the Old and New Testaments in the Writings of the Fathers* show what were the readings of their day, and are so far emendatory sources. But only *correct* editions of their works should be consulted. Among the antient fathers of the church, those are particularly worthy of attention and collation, who wrote in the Greek language; because they spoke, and read, and wrote that very language in which the sacred writings of the New Testament were originally composed. The phrase and diction of those writings was, therefore, familiar to them; they naturally expressed themselves in the scripture style and language. When they referred to any texts of scripture, or discoursed more at large upon them, they would of course be guided by the original *Greek* of the New Testament [2], and not by any version

[1] Gerard's Institutes, p. 273. Where the reader will find several additional illustrations of this canon.

[2] It is to be observed that the Greek Fathers generally quote the Old Testament from the Septuagint version.

that had been made, and might possibly vary from it: whereas the Latin fathers being only accustomed to the *Latin version*, it is as much to be expected that they should conform their language, and quotations, and comments to it; though, perhaps, upon some occasions, and according to their ability, taking notice also of the Greek original. A Latin father will be an evidence for the Latin version, where he takes no express notice of the Greek; and according to the clearness and fulness of that evidence, we may argue, that the Latin version, or some copy or copies of it, had that reading in his time, which is cited by him. And this may deserve to be attended to with regard to any omissions in the Greek MSS. which the Latin may be thought to have supplied: but still the testimony of the Latin father in this case will prove nothing more than the reading of a Latin version: by what authority that version is supported, is a matter of further enquiry. Indeed where it can be shown that a Latin father followed no particular version, but translated directly for himself (as Tertullian and Cyprian have frequently done); this brings us somewhat nearer to some manuscript in the original language, and may be considered, according as it shall happen to be circumstantiated, as a distinct testimony for the reading of some Greek MS. in particular. [1]

In order to judge of the true reading of any text of Scripture, from any quotation of it, with which we meet in the writings of the fathers, the following criteria have been laid down, principally by J. D. Michaelis.

(1.) In considering the testimony of a single father, we are in the first place to enquire in what age he lived, and what were his abilities? Whether he was a person of learning and judgement, of accuracy and exactness, or otherwise? And also, whether the treatise or work, in which the Scriptures are so quoted, be the genuine production of the writer, whose name it bears.

(2.) Wherever it is certain that the quotations were actually taken from manuscripts, they are of very great importance in deciding on the authenticity of a true reading, and are in general to be preferred to any manuscripts of the Greek Testament now extant, the oldest of which cannot be placed earlier than the end of the fourth or the commencement of the fifth century. If therefore a father, who flourished in the fifth and subsequent ages, has a particular reading, it is the same as if we found it in a manuscript of that time.

(3.) As the fathers have frequently, though not always, quoted from memory, it is necessary to make a distinction between those passages which they expressly declare that they have taken literally from manuscripts, and those which they quote without any such assurance.

(4.) We are not therefore to reject the quotation of a father, because it differs from the common text, but must first examine whether it cannot be discovered in manuscripts of the New Testament; and to enable those who have access to manuscripts to make this comparison with as much ease as possible, we should endeavour to procure the most accurate and copious extracts from the writings of the fathers. If a reading, then, which had the appearance of being an error of memory, is actually discovered in manuscripts, we may without hesita-

[1] Dr. Berriman's Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16. pp. 28, 29.

tion put it down in the list of various readings: its antiquity will be determined by the age in which the father who quoted it lived: and the manuscripts which contain it will afford a secondary evidence of its age and authenticity. But we must not judge of the writings of all the fathers, nor of all the writings of the same father, in the same manner. They may be divided into three different classes. 1. Commentaries, to which may be referred also those discourses which were written as expositions of parts of the Bible. 2. Works of edification. 3. Polemical writings. In the first it is evident that the book which is expounded is not quoted from memory, but the author, in writing his commentary, had lying before him a manuscript of the Greek Testament. But with respect to the polemical writings of the fathers, those who are acquainted with their mode of disputation, and know that their principal object is sometimes to confound their adversaries rather than to support the truth, will refer the quotations which appear in these productions to the lowest class. If a father was acquainted with more than one reading to a passage, he would certainly quote that which best suited his purpose, and with which he could most easily confute his opponents. It is therefore not sufficient to know what reading he quotes, but we must likewise consider where he quotes it: and those therefore who collect various readings from the writings of the antient fathers, would do well to point out the book, chapter, edition, and page, in order to enable the reader to form a proper judgment.

(5.) It is necessary to make an accurate distinction between a quotation properly so called, and a passage of scripture introduced and applied as part of a discourse. For if a writer, in treating any known doctrine of the Bible, uses the words of Scripture, he is at liberty to add or subtract, to contract or dilate them in a manner that is best adapted to the tenor of his discourse. But even such passages are not unworthy of notice, for if they are different in different manuscripts, and any one of these latter coincides with the former, the coincidence is not to be considered as a matter of chance. But when no manuscript corroborates the reading in such a passage, it is entitled to no voice in deciding on the text of the Greek Testament.

(6.) In collecting readings from the works of the fathers, an accurate distinction must be made between those who wrote in Greek, and those who wrote in another language. Properly speaking, the former only are to be considered when we select readings for the Greek Testament, and the latter immediately relate to the text of the version from which they are quoted, unless particular mention be made of the Greek, or the writer, like Jerome, made a practice of correcting the translation of his country from the original.

(7.) It must also be observed, whether a father takes notice of a text only once, or but seldom, or very often: for a *frequent* repetition will make the slighter kinds of reference deserving of more attention; whereas a single instance or two of that sort will be the more easily imputed to a slip of the memory, or a casual mistake.

(8.) It is necessary to observe whether an author be uniform and consistent with himself, or different and various: If a text be found differently expressed by the same author, we shall often be at a loss to know which he esteemed the right: and sometimes perhaps he may

be wrong in each; and yet sometimes too it may be easily discovered, that one passage was designed to express the text more exactly, and another was only a reference by memory, and from thence proceeded the variation. An example of this we have in Chrysostom. In his comment upon Acts xx. 28. he reads it ἐκκλησίαν του Θεου, *Church of God, three times* (though Dr. Mill cites him there for the reading of Κυρίου, *Lord*): but in his comment on Eph. iv. 12. he casually refers to this text, and quotes it probably by memory, and there he puts it down ἐκκλησίαν του Κυρίου, that is, *Church of the Lord.*

(9.) The writings of the fathers are to be compared, one with another; and an inquiry must be instituted, what testimony arises from them upon the whole. If it be a point, of which they generally take notice, or in which they are agreed; if we meet with no contrary voice, or none worthy of being regarded, or with some who argue for it, while others criticise or comment upon it, this will afford the clearest and strongest testimony that can be either desired or obtained.

(10.) We must compare the evidence arising from an examination of the writings of the fathers, with that which appears to be the reading of the Greek manuscripts in general, and see how well they agree together. Where the MSS. in general and the fathers do agree, it must be something very extraordinary that will make it reasonable to believe that they are altogether in a mistake: Nay, that evidence from the fathers must be very strong, which will make it reasonable to think the Greek MSS., agreeing in general among themselves, are mistaken: A casual citation of a text will not be sufficient to prove them so mistaken, nor a bare comment upon a version, where it varies from the original; much less will this do, where opposite testimonies can be produced from Greek writers; and especially where those opposite testimonies are so full upon the point, as supposes and implies that they found the reading which they mention in the Greek copies which were in use in their days. If any instance can be found in which it can be clearly proved from the writings of the fathers, that the general and allowed reading of the Greek copies, in the early ages of the church, was different from the general reading of the Greek MSS. in our days; we should without hesitation give up such general reading of our present MSS. But it is very questionable whether one single instance of this sort can any where be found: and those persons who raise general clamours about the corruption of the manuscripts of the sacred writings, *unsupported by any solid proofs*, are no more to be heard, but still more to be condemned, than those who speak in this manner of the writings of the fathers. But in a matter of doubt and uncertainty, where the MSS. of the sacred writings in the original language are divided, the united testimony of the fathers will turn the scale in favour of the side for which they appear, and will more powerfully establish and confirm the general reading of the Scripture MSS. where they are agreed. [1]

(11.) The Fathers having in general quoted the Scriptures very exactly, as they had it in their copies, whenever a reading followed by them agrees with any antient manuscript, it is in all probability the genuine reading.

[1] Berriman's Dissertation, p. 38.

Thus, in most copies of Matt. vi. 1. we read *Take heed that ye do not your* ALMS (ἐλεημοσυνην); but in the Codices Vaticanus and Cantabrigiensis, and three or four other MSS. of less antiquity, as also in the old Italic and Vulgate versions and most of the Fathers, we read δικαιοσυνην, *righteousness*, that is, acts of righteousness. This reading is most agreeable to the mode of speech which obtained among the Jews [1] and consequently is the genuine one. Griesbach has therefore inserted it in the text.

Again, in Luke x. i. we read that the *Lord appointed other seventy* disciples. The Codices Vaticanus, Cantabrigiensis, and Medicæus (No. 42 of Griesbach's notation,) together with the Persian, Armenian, Vulgate, and four copies of the Old Italic versions, read ἑβδομηκοντα δυο, seventy-two; and in this reading they are supported by eleven Fathers principally of the Latin or Western Church. On the contrary, all the other MSS. have simply ἑβδομηκοντα, *seventy*, in which reading they are supported by the learned Greek Fathers, Eusebius, Gregory bishop of Nyssa, Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylact, and Theophanes, and by Irenæus, Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, Damasus, and others among the Latin writers. The common reading therefore is established as the genuine one by the concurrence of the Fathers with MSS.

Once more, in John i. 28. we read that *These things were done in Bethabara.* This lection is found in thirty-one manuscripts, in the printed editions, in the Armenian version, and a late exemplar of the Sclavonic version, and is preferred by Origen, and after him by Eusebius, Suidas, Jerome, and others. But it is *certain* that, instead of Βηθαβαρᾳ, we ought to read Βηθανια, *Bethany*, which word is found in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Ephremi, Basileensis, Harleianus No. 5684, Seidelii, Stephani η, Stephani σ, Regius No. 2243 [2] (now 48) and Vaticanus 354, in B. and V. of Matthæi's notation, in upwards of one hundred other MSS. of less antiquity, and in the Syriac, Armenian, Persic, Coptic, and Vulgate versions, and in three MSS. of the Sclavonic version (one of the twelfth, the other two of the fourteenth century). The reading of Βηθανια, *Bethany*, is also confirmed by the most eminent of the primitive Fathers *prior* to the time of Origen (who is supposed to have first changed the reading); and is unquestionably the genuine one. Griesbach has therefore inserted it in the text.

(12.) The total silence of the Fathers concerning a reading, which would have confirmed their opinion in a controverted point, justly renders that reading suspicious, unless such total silence can be satisfactorily accounted for. This negative argument against a reading will be of little weight where it respects the writings of one single author only: and where it is founded only upon some particular part of his works, and such author has himself taken notice of the text in other places, it will be of no weight at all. Nay, if but one or two only have made mention of a text, this will be a better proof that it was read in their days, than any omission of their contemporaries, or of those that lived after them, will be a proof that it was not. But let us take this argument in the strongest light, and let the utmost possible be made of it; it can only furnish matter of doubt and enquiry; it can at most amount to no more than probable and presumptive evidence, and nothing can be positively and certainly concluded from it. One plain positive proof from the original MSS. or the antient versions, will be able to weigh it down, unless it can be shown that they have been altered and corrupted.

6. *Critical Conjecture* is not *alone* a legitimate source of emendation, nor is it at all to be applied, unless the text is manifestly corrupted, and in the most urgent necessity: for the conjectural criticism of an interested party, in his own cause, and in defiance of positive evidence, is little better than subornation of testimony in a court of law.

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[1] That the Jews in the time of Christ understood the word צדקה TSIDEKAH, δικαιοσυνη, *righteousness*, in the sense of alms, is abundantly proved by Mr. John Gregory, Works, pp. 59, 60. (London, 1684, 4to.) and especially by Dr. Lightfoot, Works, vol. ii. pp. 153, 154.

Conjectural readings, strongly supported by the sense, connexion, the nature of the language, or similar texts, may sometimes be *probable*, especially when it can be shown that they would easily have given occasion to the present reading: and readings first suggested by conjecture have sometimes been afterwards found to be actually in manuscripts, or in some version.

Thus, in Gen. i. 8. the clause, *And God saw that it was good*, is wanting to complete the account of the second day's work of creation, but it is found in the tenth verse in the middle of the narrative of the third day's work. Hence, many learned men have conjectured, either 1. That the sentence, *And the evening and the morning were the second day*, has been transposed from verse 10 to verse 8; or 2. That the clause *And God saw that it was good*, has been transposed from verse 8 to verse 10. The latter conjecture affords the most *probable* reading, and is to be preferred, being confirmed by the Septuagint version; the translators of which most evidently found this clause in the copies which they used.

No one, however, should attempt this kind of emendation who is not most deeply skilled in the sacred languages; nor should critical conjectures ever be admitted into the text, for we never can be certain of the truth of merely conjectural readings. Were these indeed to be admitted into the the text, the utmost confusion and uncertainty would necessarily be created. The diligence and modesty of the Masorites are in this respect worthy of our imitation: they invariably inserted their conjectures in the margin of their manuscripts, but most religiously abstained from altering the text according to their hypotheses: and it is to be regretted that their example has not been followed by some modern translators of the Old and New Testament (and especially of the latter); who, in order to support doctrines which have no foundation whatever in the sacred writings, have not hesitated to obtrude their conjectures into the text. This is particularly the case with the Greek and English New Testament, edited by Dr. Macey [1], whose bold and unhallowed emendations were exposed by Dr. Twells, and with the editors of the (Socinian) improved version of the New Testament, whose conjectures and erroneous criticisms and interpretations have been most ably exposed by the Rev. Drs. Nares and Laurence, the Quarterly and Eclectic Reviewers, and other eminent critics.

IV. Having thus stated the causes of various readings, and offered a few cautions with regard to the sources whence the true lection is to be determined, it only remains that we submit to the reader's attention a few general rules, by which an accurate judgment may be formed concerning various readings.

1. That reading which is supported by the authority of the most antient manuscripts, and by all the antient versions, is to be accounted genuine. The *earlier* manuscript, *cæteris paribus*, is more likely to be right than the later, because every subsequent copy is liable to new errors.

2. Readings are certainly right, and that in the very highest sense, at all consistent with the existence of any various reading, which are supported by *several* of the most antient manuscripts, or by the majority of them,—by all or most of the antient versions,—by quota-

[1] See a notice of this edition in Vol. II. Part II. p. 157.

tions,—by parallel places (if there be any),—and by the sense; even though such readings should not be found in the common printed editions, nor perhaps in any printed edition. [1]

Thus, in the common printed editions of 1 Kings i. 20. we read, *And thou, my Lord, O King, the eyes of all Israel* are *upon thee*, which is not sense. Instead of אתה *And* THOU, we have עתה *And* NOW, in ninety-one of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Kennicott, in the Chaldee paraphrase, and in the Arabic and Vulgate versions. This is the genuine reading, and is required by the sense. .

Again, in Matt. xxv. 29. we read, *From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he* HATH, *και* Ὁ ΕΧΕΙ *αφθησεται*. This is found in all the antient copies, and in the majority of manuscripts, and in all the versions but one. But in twenty-two other manuscripts and in the Vulgate, as well as in some copies of the Syriac, Sclavonic, and Old Italic versions, and six Fathers, we read Ὁ ΔΟΚΕΙ ΕΧΕΙΝ, *that which he* SEEMETH TO HAVE. But it is wrong, and has been corrected from Luke viii. 18.

3. Greater is the authority of a reading found in only a few manuscripts of *different* characters, dates, and countries, than in many manuscripts of a similar complexion. But, of manuscripts of the *same* family or recension, the reading of the greater number is of most weight. The evidence of manuscripts is to be weighed, not enumerated: for the agreement of several manuscripts is of no authority, unless their *genealogy* (if we may be allowed the term) is known, because it is possible that a hundred manuscripts that now agree together may have descended from one and the same source.

4. Readings are certainly right, which are supported by a few antient manuscripts, in conjunction with the antient versions, quotations, parallel places (if any), and the sense; though they should not be found in most manuscripts or printed editions, especially when the rejection of them in the latter can be easily accounted for.

The common reading of Psalm xxviii. 8. is, *The* LORD is *their strength*, למו (LAMEV); but there is no antecedent. In six manuscripts and all the versions, however, we read, לעמו (LOMEV) *of his people*, which completes the sense. This emendation is pronounced by Bp. Horsley, to be 'unquestionable:' he has therefore incorporated it in the text of his New Version of the Psalms, and has translated the sentence thus:

Jehovah is the strength of his people.

In most manuscripts and printed editions of Eph. v. 9. we read, *The fruit of the* SPIRIT (*του πνευματος*) is *in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth*. But it is *the fruit of the* LIGHT (*του φωτος*) in the Codices Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, and Claromontanus, Augiensis, San-germanensis, and Boernerianus, and six others of less note, as well as in the Syriac version, the Arabic version edited by Erpenius, the Coptic, Sahidic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Old Italic, and Vulgate versions; and it is so quoted by seven of the fathers. *Φως*, *light*, is therefore considered by most critics as the true reading, because the Spirit is not mentioned in any part of the context; and this reading is inserted in the text as genuine by Griesbach. The connexion, indeed, shows that this last is the true reading, which was altered by some unknown copyist or critic, because it was uncommon, from Gal. v. 22. As light (Eph. v. 8.) not only means the divine influence upon the soul, but also the Gospel, the apostle Paul might with admirable propriety say that *the fruit of the light* (that is, of the *Gospel*) is *in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth*:—*goodness*, *αγαθωσυνη*, in the principle and disposition;—*righteousness*, *δικαιοσυνη*, the exercise of that goodness in the whole conduct of life;—and *truth*, *αληθεια*, the director of that principle and of its exercise to the glory of God and the good of mankind.

5. Of two readings, both of which are supported by manuscripts, the best is to be preferred; but if both of them exhibit good senses, then that reading which gives the best sense is to be adopted.

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[1] Gerard's Institutes, pp. 266—268.

In Psal. ii. 6. there are two readings, one of which is found in the Masoretic copies, and the other in the Septuagint version. The former may be literally translated thus. *Yet will I anoint my King upon my holy hill of Sion.* This reading is supported by weighty evidence, viz. the Masora, the quotation of it in Acts iv. 27, the Greek versions of Aquila and Symmachus, the Chaldee paraphrase, and Jerome. The other reading, which is found in the Septuagint, may be thus rendered: *But as for me, by him I am appointed king on Sion, his holy mountain.* Now here the authority for the two readings is nearly equal; but if we examine their goodness, we shall see that the Masoretic lection is to be preferred, as being more grammatically correct, and more suited to the context.

6. A good various reading, though supported only by one or two witnesses of approved character, is to be preferred.

7. In the prophetical and poetical books of the Old Testament, as well as in the New Testament, that reading is best which accords with the poetical parallelism.

The subject of poetical parallelism is considered in Vol. I. pp. 318—323. The application of this canon to the various readings of the Old Testament has long been recognised; but, as its applicability to the New Testament is not so obvious, we shall illustrate it by an example drawn from the latter.

Thus, in Matt. vii. 2. we read,

> Εν ῳ γαρ κρινετε, κριθησεσθε·
> Και εν ῳ μετρειτε, αντιμετρηθησεται υμιν.
>
> For, with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged;
> And, with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

For αντιμετρηθησεται, *shall be measured again*, (which is the reading of the common printed editions, of the manuscript by Matthæi noted with the letter H, of the manuscript 13 of Griesbach's notation, of the Vulgate version, of some manuscripts of the Old Italic version, of Polycarp, of Clement of Alexandria, of Origen sometimes, and of the Latin Fathers) we read μετρηθησεται, *shall be measured*, in the Codices Vaticanus, Harleianus No. 5684, Cyprius, Stephani η, Regius 2243[2] (now 48), and Vaticanus 354, all of which are manuscripts in uncial characters of great antiquity, in twelve manuscripts in smaller characters, by Griesbach numbered 1, 17, 33, 77, 108, 114, 117, 131, 218, 236 of Professor Birch's Collation, the Evangelisteria, numbered 32 and 36, and seventy other manuscripts of inferior note, and by the manuscripts distinguished by Matthæi with the Letters B and V (both of the eighth century), a. c. and d. (all of the tenth or eleventh century,) and by eight others of Matthæi's manuscripts of less note, by the Armenian and Ethiopic versions, by the copies of the Old Italic version preserved at Verona, Vercelli, Forli, and Toledo, by Clement of Rome, by Origen once, by the author of the dialogue against Marcion, by Theodoret, Theophylact, Euthymius, Chrysocephalus, and other Greek writers. The reading of μετρηθησεται, therefore, being supported by such an overwhelming body of evidence, is very properly introduced into the text by Griesbach, as preferable to the common reading of αντιμετρηθησεται; and it is further demanded by the parallelism. For κριμασι (*judgment*), κρινετε (*ye judge*), and κριθησεσθε (*ye shall be judged*), in the first line, require, in order to preserve the balance of the periods, μετρω (*measure*), μετρειτε (*ye measure*), and μετρηθησεται (*it shall be measured*) in the second line.[1]

8. Of two readings of equal or nearly equal authority, that is to be preferred, which is most agreeable to the style of the sacred writer.

If therefore one of two readings in the New Testament exhibits the Hebrew idiom, it is preferable to one that is good Greek, because the latter has the appearance of being a gloss of some Greek writer, which the former does not present. Thus, in Jude 1, ηγιασμενοις, *sanctified*, is a better lection than ηγαπημενοις, *beloved*; because the former is more in unison with the usage of the apostles in their salutations, and in the commencement of their Epistles. In Acts xvii. 26. the reading, εξ ενος αιματος, *of one blood*, is preferable to εξ ενος, *of one* (which occurs in Rom. ix. 10), because it is in unison

[1] Jebb's Sacred Literature, p. 144. In pp. 206. 329—331 of the same work the reader will find other instructive examples of the canon above given.

with the Hebrew style of writing. In John vi. 69. the common reading, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God*, Χριστος ὁ υιος του Θεου του ζωντος, is preferable to that of *the holy one of God*, ὁ ἅγιος του Θεου, which Griesbach has admitted into the text, omitting του ζωντος, on the authority of the Codices Vaticanus, Ephremi, Cantabrigiensis, Stephani η, the Coptic version, and some other authorities of less note. That eminent critic, indeed, allows that the received lection is not to be despised; but we may observe that its genuineness is not only confirmed by the consentient testimonies of many MSS. versions, and fathers, but also from the fact and from the style of writing adopted by the Evangelists. For the appellation of *holy one of God* is nowhere applied to our Saviour, except in the confession of the demoniac (Mark i. 24. Luke iv. 54.). In Acts iv. 27, 30, Jesus is termed αγιος παις, *holy child*, but not *holy one of God*. On the contrary, the appellation of Christ, *the Son of God*, occurs repeatedly in the New Testament, and especially in this Gospel of John (i. 50.; 49 of English version, and xi. 27.), and is elsewhere expressly applied to him by Peter. See Matt. xvi. 16. The common reading therefore of John vi. 69. is to be preferred, in opposition to that adopted by Griesbach, as being most agreeable to the style of the sacred writer.

9. That reading is to be preferred which is most agreeable to the context, and to the author's design in writing.

Every writer, and much more a divinely inspired writer, is presumed to write in such a manner, as not to contradict himself either knowingly or willingly, and to write throughout with a due regard to the order and connexion of things. Now in Mark i. 2, for εν τοις προφηταις, *in the prophets*, several manuscripts read εν Ησαια τω προφητη, *in the prophet Isaiah*. Both Mill and Griesbach reject the common reading. But as the context shows that the evangelist cited not one but *two* prophets, viz. Mal. iii. 1. and Isa. xl. 3., the common reading ought to be retained, especially as it is supported by the Codex Alexandrinus, the Ethiopic and Coptic versions, and the quotations of many fathers.

10. A reading, whose source is clearly proved to be erroneous, must be rejected.

11. Of two readings, neither of which is unsuitable to the sense, either of which may have naturally arisen from the other, and both of which are supported by manuscripts, versions, and quotations in the writings of the fathers; the one will be more probable than the other, in proportion to the preponderance of the evidence that supports it: and that preponderance admits a great variety of degrees. [1]

In Acts xx. 28. we read, *Feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Of this sentence there are not fewer than six various readings, viz. 1. Την εκκλησιαν του Χριστου, *the church of Christ*; 2. Του Θεου, *of God*, which lection is expunged by Griesbach, who prefers, 3. Του Κυριου, *of the Lord.* This reading is also preferred by Wetstein; 4. Του Κυριου και Θεου, *of the Lord and God*, which Griesbach has inserted in his inner margin; 5. Του Θεου και Κυριου, *of the God and Lord*; and 6. Του Κυριου Θεου, *of the Lord God*: in order to determine which of these readings is to be adopted, it is necessary briefly to review the various authorities which have been adduced for each.

1. Του Χριστου—*Of Christ.* This reading is supported by no Greek MSS.; but it is found in the Peschito or old Syriac version, even in the Vatican copies of the Nestorians. Adler, however, affirms that one Syriac manuscript has *God:* but, as he has not said what or where this manuscript is, Dr. J. P. Smith observes, that possibly his mind may have been misled by the Philoxenian (or new Syriac) version; or he may refer to a lectionary, books of which kind are more liable than others to alterations by officiating ministers and transcribers. This reading is also found in the Arabic version edited by Erpenius (which was made from the Syriac,) and it seems to be supported by Origen (probably, for the passage is ambiguous), by Athanasius, the anonymous author

[1] Gerard's Institutes, p. 275.

of the first dialogue against the Macedonians, Theodoret, the interpolated Epistles of Ignatius, Basil, and Fulgentius. The popish synod of the Malabar Christians, held in 1599, under the direction of Mendoza, the Portuguese archbishop of Goa, states that the Nestorians inserted this reading at the instigation of the devil, *instigante diabolo!*

2. Του Θεου—*Of God.* This is the common reading. It is supported by that most antient and venerable MS., B. or the Codex Vaticanus [1], and by seventeen others, none of which indeed are older than the eleventh century, and many of them are more modern. This reading is found in the Latin Vulgate, the Ethiopic, according to Dr. Mill, though Griesbach thinks it doubtful; and it is quoted or referred to by Ignatius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Basil, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Celestine bishop of Rome, Oecumenius, Theophylact, and eleven other fathers of the Greek and Latin church, besides the sixth Synod in Trullo (held A. D. 680,) and the second Nicene Synod (held A. D. 787.)

3. Του Κυριου—*Of the Lord.* This reading is supported by thirteen manuscripts, viz. the Codices Alexandrinus, Cantabrigiensis, Ephremi, and Laudianus, (all of which are written in uncial letters, of great and undisputed antiquity, and derived from different and independent sources), the Moscow MS. which formerly belonged to Chrysostom, according to Matthæi (on Eph. iv. 9.) who has noted it with the letter B. and eight others of less note. This reading is also found in the Coptic, Sahidic, in the margin of the Philoxenian or later Syriac, in the Old Italic as contained in the Codex Cantabrigiensis, and as edited by Sabatier, and in the Armenian versions. The Ethiopic version has likewise been cited, as exhibiting the reading of Κυριου, *Lord*, but its evidence is indecisive, the *same* word being used therein for both *Lord* and *God*. Griesbach thinks it probable that this version reads Κυριου, from the consentient testimony of the Coptic and Armenian versions. Among the fathers, this reading is supported by Irenæus, Eusebius, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ammonius, Maximus, Antonius, Ibas, Lucifer, Jerome, Augustine, Sedulius, Alcimus, the author of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, and the second Council of Carthage (which, however, in the Greek, reads Θεου, *of God*).

4. Του Κυριου και Θεου—*Of the Lord and God.* This reading is supported only by the Codex G. (Passionei, assigned by Blanchini to the eighth, but by Montfaucon to the ninth century), and *sixty-three* other MSS.; none of which, though they form the majority in point of number, are among the most correct and authoritative. It is also found in the Sclavonic version, but is not cited by one of the fathers; and is printed in the Complutensian and Plantin editions.

5. Του Θεου και Κυριου—*Of the God and Lord.* This reading occurs only in the MS. by Griesbach numbered 47: it is an apograph transcribed in the sixteenth century by John Faber of Deventer from one written in 1293.

6. Του Κυριου Θεου—*Of the Lord God.* This reading is found only in one MS. (95 of Griesbach's notation) of the fifteenth century, and the incorrect Arabic version printed in the Paris and London Polyglotts; and it is cited by Theophylact alone, among the fathers.

Of these six readings, No. 2. Του Θεου, *Of God*, No. 3. Του Κυριου, *Of the Lord*, and No. 4. Του Κυριου και Θεου, *Of the Lord and God*, are best supported by external testimony, and it is the preponderance of the evidence adduced for each, that must determine which of them is the genuine reading.

1. The testimony of manuscripts is pretty equally divided between these three readings.

Though Κυριου is supported by the greater number of uncial MSS. (viz. the Codices Alexandrinus, Cantabrigiensis, Ephremi, and Laudianus), yet Θεου is supported by the

[1] From Professor Birch (of Copenhagen) finding nothing noted in his collation of the Vatican MS. respecting the reading of Θεου (though he expressly says, that if any variety of reading had taken place in that MS. it could not have escaped him, as he intended to examine this remarkable place above all others in all the MSS. that came in his way,) Griesbach endeavours to set aside the testimony furnished by the Vatican MS. But it is a FACT that Θεου is the reading of that manuscript: for it was there in 1738, when it was collated by the very learned Thomas Wagstaffe, then at Rome, for Dr. Berriman, who was at that time engaged in preparing for publication his work on the genuineness of 1 Tim. iii. 16.; and 2. Θεου is the reading of the Vatican MS., of which a transcript was obtained by Mr. R. Taylor from the keeper of the Vatican library for the second London edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament, printed by him in 1818, with equal beauty and accuracy.

Codex Vaticanus, which is of the highest authority; and Κυριου και Θεου, though deficient in this respect (for G. or the Codex Passionei, as we have noticed, is not earlier than the eighth or ninth century), yet is most numerously supported by manuscripts of different families, and especially by the Moscow manuscripts, and by the Complutensian edition.

2. The antient versions, supporting Θεου and Κυριου, are equal to each other in number indeed, but the former are superior in weight. For the Latin Vulgate, the Philoxenian Syriac, and the Ethiopic, in favour of Θεου, are of higher authority than their competitors, the Coptic, Sahidic, and Armenian. The compound reading Κυριου και Θεου, is unsupported by any but the Sclavonic; which is closely connected with the Moscow manuscripts.

3. The testimony of the fathers is greatly in favour of Θεου. For though a considerable number of counter-testimonies in favour of Κυριου are named by Wetstein, and copied by Griesbach; yet no citations from thence are adduced by either, which leads us to suspect, that their testimony is either spurious, slight, or else refuted by the express citations on the other side. Thus, the objection of Athanasius to the phrase, "the blood of God," as "being no where used in Scripture; and to be reckoned among the daring fabrications of the Arians," recorded by Wetstein [1], is abundantly refuted by his own counter testimony, citing the received reading of Acts xx. 28. and by the frequent use of the phrase by the orthodox fathers, Ignatius, Tertullian, Leontius, Fulgentius, Bede, Theophylact, and others above enumerated. The objection, therefore, was urged inconsiderately, and probably in the warmth of controversy; in which Athanasius was perpetually engaged with the Arians, his incessant persecutors.

Κυριου και Θεου, is unsupported by the fathers before Theophylact; and is contradicted by his testimony in favour of Θεου.

From this abstract, it appears to the writer of these pages, that the *external* evidence preponderates, upon the whole, in favour of Θεου; and this is further confirmed by the *internal* evidence. For, in the first place, the expression 'εκκλησια του Θεου, *Church of God*, is in unison with the *style* of St. Paul [2]; and it occurs in not fewer than *eleven* passages of his epistles [3], while the phrase 'εκκλησια του Κυριου, *church of the Lord*, occurs *no where* in the New Testament. And, secondly, Θεου might easily give occasion to the other readings, though none of these could so easily give occasion to Θεου. If, (as Michaelis remarks) the evangelist Luke wrote Θεου, the origin of Κυριου and Χριστου may be explained either as corrections of the text, or as marginal notes; because 'the blood of God' is a very extraordinary expression; but if he had written Κυριου, it is inconceivable how any one should alter it into Θεου. And on this latter supposition, the great number of various readings is inexplicable. It seems as if different transcribers had found a difficulty in the passage, and that each corrected according to his own judgment.

Upon the whole, then, the received reading, 'εκκλησια του Θεου, *church of God*, is BETTER supported than any of the other readings, and consequently we may conclude that it was the *identical expression* uttered by Paul, and recorded by Luke. [4]

12. Whenever two different readings occur, one of which seems difficult and obscure, but which may be explained by the help of antiquity, and a more accurate knowledge of the language, whereas the other is so easy as to be obvious to the meanest capacity, the latter reading is to be suspected; because the former is more in unison with the style of the sacred writers, which, abounding with Hebraisms, is

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[1] Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 597. [2] See canon 8. p. (128) *supra*.

[3] Compare 1 Cor. i. 2. x. 32. xi. 16, 22. xv. 9. 2 Cor. i. 1. Gal. i. 13. 1 Thess. ii. 14. 2 Thess. i. 4. and 1 Tim. iii. 5, 15. The phrase 'εκκλησια του Κυριου, *congregation of the Lord*, is of frequent occurrence in the Septuagint version, whence it might have crept into the text of the MSS. that support it, particularly of the Codex Alexandrinus, which was written in Egypt, where the Septuagint version was made.

[4] Nov. Test. a Griesbach, tom. ii. pp. 112—117. and Appendix, p. (34). 2d edit. (Halæ Saxonum, 1806.) Dr. Hales, on Faith in the Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 105—131. Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. p. 335. Nolan's Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, pp. 286—289. 516—518. Mr. N. has given *at length* the quotations from the writings of the fathers in which Θεου is found.

repugnant to the genius of the pure or strictly classical Greek language. No transcriber would designedly change a clear into an obscure reading, nor is it possible that an inadvertency should make so happy a mistake as to produce a reading that perplexes indeed the ignorant, but is understood and approved by the learned. This canon is the touchstone which distinguishes the true critics from the false. Bengel, Wetstein, and Griesbach, critics of the first rank, have admitted its authority; but those of inferior order generally prefer the easy reading, for no other reason than because its meaning is most obvious.

13. If for a passage, that is not absolutely necessary to the construction, various readings are found, that differ *materially* from each other, we have reason to suspect its authenticity; and likewise that all the readings are interpolations of transcribers who have attempted by different methods to supply the seeming deficiency of the original. This rule, however, must not be carried to the extreme, nor is a *single* variation sufficient to justify our suspicion of a word or phrase, though its omission affects not the sense, or even though the construction would be improved by its absence: for, in a book that has been so frequently transcribed as the New Testament, mistakes were unavoidable, and therefore a *single* deviation alone can lead us to no immediate conclusion.

14. Readings, which are evidently *glosses* or *interpolations*, are invariably to be rejected.

(1.) *Glosses* are betrayed, 1. When the words do not agree with the scope and context of the passage; 2. When they are evidently foreign to the style of the sacred writer; 3. When there is evident tautology; 4. When words, which are best absent, are most unaccountably introduced; 5. When certain words are more correctly disposed in a different place; and lastly, when phrases are joined together, the latter of which is much clearer than the former.

(2.) "An *interpolation* is sometimes betrayed by the circumstance of its being delivered in the language of a later church. In the time of the apostles the word Christ was never used as the proper name of a person, but as an epithet expressive of the ministry of Jesus, and was frequently applied as synonymous to 'Son of God.' The expression therefore 'Christ is the Son of God,' Acts viii. 37. is a kind of tautology, is almost as absurd as to say Christ is the Messiah, that is, the anointed is the anointed. But the word being used in later ages as a proper name, this impropriety was not perceived by the person who obtruded the passage on the text."

(3.) "If one or more words that may be considered as an addition to a passage, are found only in manuscripts, but in none of the *most antient versions*, nor in the quotations of the early fathers, we have reason to suspect an interpolation." In Acts viii. 39. he Alexandrian manuscript reads thus: ΠΝΑ[ΑΓΙΟΝΕΠΕΣΕΝΕΠΙΤΟΝΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΝ ΑΝΓΕΛΟΣΑΕ]ΚΥΡΙΟΥΗΡΠΑΣΕΝΤΟΝΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ—*The Spt* [*holy fell upon the eunuch, but the Angel*] *of the Lord caught away Philip.* The words between brackets, Michaelis thinks, are spurious; and Griesbach decidedly pronounces them to be an emendation of the copyist. They are found in six manuscripts cited by him, but these are *not antient;* and they are also in the Armenian version executed in the end of the fourth, or early in the fifth century, and in the Sclavonic version executed in the ninth century. We are justified therefore in stating that they are not to be received into the sacred text.

15. Expressions that are less emphatic, unless the scope and context of the sacred writer require emphasis, are more likely to be the genuine reading, than readings differing from them, but which have, or seem to have, greater force or emphasis. For copyists, like com-

mentators, who have but a smattering of learning, are mightily pleased with emphases.

16. That reading is to be preferred, which gives a sense apparently false, but which, on thorough investigation, proves to be the true one.

17. Various readings, which have most clearly been occasioned by the errors or negligence of transcribers, are to be rejected. How such readings may be caused, has already been shown in pp. (105)—(112) of this Supplement.

18. Lectionaries, or Lesson Books used in the early Christian church, are not admissible as evidence for various readings. Whenever, therefore, Ιησους, *Jesus*, αδελφοι, *brethren*, or similar words (which were antiently prefixed to the lessons accordingly as the latter were taken from the Gospels or Epistles, and which are found only in lectionaries), are found at the beginning of a lesson, they are to be considered as suspicious; and fifty manuscripts that contain them have no weight against the same number which omit them.

19. Readings introduced into the Greek text from Latin versions are to be rejected.

20. A reading that is contradictory to history and geography is to be rejected, especially when it is not confirmed by manuscripts.

In Acts xii. 25. we read that *Barnabas and Saul returned* FROM (εξ) *Jerusalem*, where seven manuscripts, two manuscripts (5 and 7) of the Sclavonic version, and the Arabic version in bishop Walton's Polyglott, have εις, TO *Jerusalem*. This last reading has been added by some ignorant copyist, for Barnabas and Saul were returning from Jerusalem to Antioch with the money which they had collected for the poor brethren.

21. That reading which makes a passage more connected is preferable, all due allowance being made for abruptness in the particular case. Saint Paul is remarkable for the abruptness of many of his digressions.

22. Readings, *certainly* genuine, ought to be restored to the text of the printed editions, though hitherto admitted into none of them; that they may henceforth be rendered as correct as possible they ought likewise to be adopted in all versions of Scripture: and till this be done, they ought to be followed in explaining it.

23. *Probable* readings may have so high a degree of evidence, as justly entitles them to be inserted into the text, in place of the received readings which are much less probable. Such as have not considerably higher probability than the common readings, should only be put into the margin: but they, and all others, ought to be weighed with impartiality.

24. Readings certainly, or very probably false, ought to be expunged from the editions of the Scriptures, and ought not to be followed in versions of them, however long and generally they have usurped a place there, as being manifest corruptions, which impair the purity of the sacred books.

The preceding are the *most material* canons for determining various readings, which are recommended by the united wisdom of the most eminent biblical critics. They have been drawn up chiefly from Dr. Kennicott's Dissertations on the Hebrew Text, the canons of De Rossi in his Prolegomena so often cited in the preceding pages, and from

the canons of Bauer in his Critica Sacra, of Ernesti, of Pfaff, Wetstein, Griesbach, and above all, of Michaelis, with Bishop Marsh's annotations, often more valuable than the elaborate work of his author. As the subject of various readings is of great importance, and has been treated at considerable length by different learned men, we shall conclude this article with a list of the principal separate treatises in which it has been discussed.

1. Adami Rechenbergii Dissertatio Critica de Variantibus Novi Testamenti Lectionibus Græcis. Lipsiæ, 1690, 4to.

2. Joannis Clerici Ars Critica. 8vo, London, 1698.

The two first sections of the third part of this very valuable critical work treat on the origin and correction of false readings, both in profane and particularly in the sacred writers.

3. Christoph. Matt. Pfaffii Dissertatio Critica de Genuinis Librorum Novi Testamenti Lectionibus. Amstelodami, 1709, 8vo.

4. J. H. ab Elswich Dissertatio de Recentiorum in Novum Fœdus Critice. Vitebergæ, 1711.

5. J. W. Baieri Dissertatio de Variarum Lectionum Novi Testamenti usu et abusu. Altdorf, 1712.

6. J. L. Frey Commentarius de Variis Lectionibus Novi Testamenti. Basil. 1713.

7. Chr. Luderi Dissertatio de Causis Variantium Lectionum Scripturæ. Lipsiæ, 1730.

8. J. A. Osiandri Oratio de Originibus Variantium Lectionum Novi Testamenti. Tubingen, 1739, 4to.

9. J. A. Osiandri Disputatio de Præcipuis Lectionibus Variis Novi Testamenti. Tubingen, 1747, 4to.

10. J. C. Klemm Principia Criticæ Sacræ Novi Testamenti. Tubingen, 1746, 4to.

11. Jo. Geo. Richter Exercitatio de Arte Critica Scripturæ Interprete. Lugd. 1750, 4to.

12. C. B. Michaelis Tractatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus Novi Testamenti caute colligendis et dijudicandis, in qua cum de illarum causis tum de cautelis agitur, simulque de codicibus, versionibus antiquis, et Patribus, partim curiosa, partim utilia, asseruntur. Halæ, 1749, 4to.

This treatise was the foundation on which J. D. Michaelis built his "admirable chapter" on the various readings of the New Testament, as Bishop Marsh most truly terms it. This chapter forms by far the largest portion of the first volume of his introduction to the New Testament. The Latin treatise of his father is of extreme rarity.

13. Jo. Jac. Wetstenii Libelli ad Crisin atque Interpretationem Novi Testamenti. Adjecta est Recensio Introductionis Bengelii ad Crisin Novi Testamenti, atque Glocestrii Ridley Dissertatio de Syriacarum Novi Fœderis Indole atque Usu. Illustravit Joh. Salomo Semler. Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1766, 8vo.

The first 109 pages of this volume contain Wetstein's *Animadversiones et Cautiones ad Examen Variarum Lectionum Novi Testamenti Necessariæ*, which were first printed in the second volume of his edition of the Greek Testament, pp. 859—874. They have been consulted for the preceding observations on various readings. Wetstein's rules for judging of various readings are given with great clearness and precision; and the whole volume "is a publication which should be in the hands of every critic." (Bishop Marsh.)

*** In Vol. II. Part II. Appendix, p. 144., it has been stated, that he *very worst* manuscript extant would not pervert one article of the Christian faith, or destroy one moral precept; these variations being mostly of a minute and sometimes of a trifling nature. It was the author's wish to have arranged the principal various readings, in Greek and English, under the classes of *Readings* PREFERABLE *to those in the received text,—Readings* EQUAL *to the received lections,—Readings* INFERIOR *to those commonly received,—Readings* PROBABLY *spurious,—Readings* CERTAINLY *spurious*, &c.; and to have exhibited at length the critical evidence (divested of the stenographic marks of Griesbach) for and against such readings, by way of proving the above cited statement, and at the same time to obviate, by the *testimony of indisputable facts*, the oft repeated cavils and objections, which infidel writers have raised against the credibility of the New Testament, in consequence of the existence of various readings. But this design the author has been compelled to relinquish, from the very serious expense of time, labour, and printing, which would be incurred by such an undertaking. If, however, the manner in which he has analysed the evidence for particular readings in the preceding chapter should be deemed satisfactory; and if sufficient encouragement should be given him for undertaking so laborious a task, he will cheerfully attempt it, and will endeavour (by giving an account of *all* the manuscripts hitherto collated) to render his publication a critical companion to the New Testament.

CHAPTER V.

ON HARMONIES OF SCRIPTURE.

I. *Occasion and Design of Harmonies of the Scriptures.*—II. *Works reconciling alleged or seeming Contradictions in the Sacred Writings.*—III. *Harmonies of the Old Testament.*—IV. *Harmonies of the Four Gospels.*—V. 1. *Harmonies of particular Parts of the Gospels.*—2. *Harmonies of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Apostolical Epistles.*—VI. *Observations on the different Schemes of Harmonisers, and on the Duration of the Public Ministry of Jesus Christ.*

[Supplementary to the Observation on Harmonies in Vol. I. p. 445.]

I. THE several books of the Holy Scriptures, having been written at different times and on different occasions, necessarily treat on a great variety of subjects, historical, doctrinal, moral and prophetic. The sacred authors also, writing with different designs, have not always related the same events in the same order: some are introduced by anticipation; and others again are related first, which should have been placed last. Hence seeming contradictions have arisen, which have been eagerly seized by the adversaries of Christianity, in order to perplex the minds and shake the faith of those who are not able to cope with their sophistries: though, as we have seen in the first volume of this work, there is no foundation whatever for charging *real* contradictions on the Scriptures.

The manifest importance and advantage of comparing the sacred writers with each other, and of reconciling apparent contradictions, have induced many learned men to undertake the compilation of works, which, being designed to shew the perfect agreement of all parts of the sacred writings, are commonly termed *Harmonies*. A multitude of works, of this description, has at different times been issued from the press; the execution of which has varied according to the different designs of their respective authors. They may, however, be referred to four classes, viz.:—Works which have for their object the reconciling of apparent contradictions in the Sacred Writings;—Harmonies of the Old Testament, which exhibit a combined account of the various narratives therein contained;—similar Harmonies of the New Testament;—and Harmonies of particular books. Walchius, Fabricius, and other bibliographers have given accounts of very numerous works of this description: it is proposed in this chapter to notice only a few of those which are most deserving of attention.

II. Among those harmonies, which have for their object the reconciling of apparent contradictions in the sacred writings generally, the following publications are the best known.

1. Michaelis Waltheri Harmonia Biblica; sive brevis et plana conciliatio locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti, adparenter sibi contradicentium. Noribergæ, 1696, folio.

This work first appeared at Strasburgh (Argentorati) in 1626, and has been repeatedly printed in Germany: the edition of 1696 is reputed to be the best and most correct. Walther's Harmonia Biblica is a work of considerable learning and industry, which illustrates many difficult passages with great ability. He has, however, unnecessarily augmented the number of seemingly contradictory passages; a defect which is common to most of the writers of this class.

2. Christiani Matthiæ Antilogiæ Biblicæ; sive Conciliationes Dictorum Scripturæ Sacræ, in speciem inter se pugnantium, secundum seriem locorum theologicorum in ordinem redactæ. Hamburgi, 1500, 4to.

3. Symphonia Prophetarum et Apostolorum; in quâ, ordine chronologico Loci Sacræ Scripturæ specie tenus contradicentes, conciliantur, ut et ad quæstiones difficiliores chronologicas et alias veteris Testamenti respondetur; in duas partes divisa. Auctore D. M. Johanne Scharpio, Scoto-Britanno, Andreapolitano, pastore. Genevæ, 1525, 4to.

4. The Reconciler of the Bible enlarged, wherein above three thousand seeming Contradictions throughout the Old and New Testament are fully and plainly reconciled. By Thomas Man, London, 1662. folio.

5. Johannis Thaddæi Conciliatorium Biblicum. Amstelodami, 1648, 12mo. Londini, 1662, folio.

The last is reputed to be the best edition, and professes to be considerably enlarged. This work follows the order of the several books of the Old and New Testament. The remark above made, on Walther's *Officina Biblica*, is equally applicable to Mr. Man's work, to the *Conciliatorium Biblicum* of Thaddæus, and also to

6. The Dividing of the Hooff: or Seeming Contradictions throughout Sacred Scriptures, distinguish'd, resolv'd, and apply'd, for the strengthening of the faith of the feeble, doubtfull, and weake, in wavering times. Also to bring the soule (by prayer and spirituall application) into more familiar acquaintance with the Lord Jesus, the onely David's-Key, to unlock the cabinet of Jacob's God, to fetch out that secret, why he should lay his hands thus crosse when he gave his children this blessing. Helpfull to every houshold of faith. By William Streat, M. A. London, 1654, 4to.

This work is occasionally found in bookseller's catalogues, where it is marked as both rare and curious. It is noticed here merely to put the student on his guard *not* to purchase it. The critical information it contains is *very* meagre; and the quaint title page, which we have copied, sufficiently indicates the enthusiastic spirit of the author.

7. Joannis Pontasii Sacra Scriptura ubique sibi constans; seu Difficiliores Sacræ Scripturæ Loci, in speciem secum pugnantes, juxta sanctorum ecclesiæ sanctæ patrum celeberrimorumque theologorum sententiam conciliati. Paris, 1698, 4to.

M. Pontas was distinguished for his knowledge of casuistical theology. His design in this publication was to have reconciled all the seeming contradictions of the Scriptures, but proceeded no further than through the Pentateuch. It is a work of considerable learning and research.

8. The Harmony of Scripture; or an attempt to reconcile various passages apparently contradictory. By the late Rev. Andrew Fuller, 8vo. London, 1817.

This posthumous tract contains fifty-five judicious observations on so many apparently contradictory texts of scripture. They were originally written for the satisfaction of a private individual.

III. The following works are more particularly worthy of notice, among the various Harmonies, which have for their object the elucidation of the *Old Testament* by disposing the historical, poetical, and prophetical books, in chronological order, so that they may mutually explain and authenticate one another. [1]

[1] Walchius has described a great number of works reconciling the seeming discrepancies in the sacred writers, as well as Harmonies of the Old Testament by eminent

1. A Chronicle of the Times and the Order of the Texts of the Old Testament, wherein the books, chapters, psalms, stories, prophecies, &c., are reduced into their proper order, and taken up in the proper places, in which the natural method and genuine series of the chronology requireth them to be taken in. With reason given of dislocations, where they come. And many remarkable notes and observations given all along for the better understanding of the text; the difficulties of the chronicle declared; the differences occurring in the relating of stories reconciled; and exceeding many scruples and obscurities in the Old Testament explained.

This 'Chronicle' is to be found in the first volume of Dr. Lightfoot's works, published at London, in 1684, in two volumes folio. Of all the theologians of his time, this celebrated divine (whose opinion was consulted by every scholar of note, both British and foreign), is supposed to have been the most deeply versed in the knowledge of the Scriptures. "It was his custom, for many years, to note down, as opportunity presented, in the course of his talmudical and rabbinical studies, the order and time of the several passages of Scripture, as they came under his consideration." By pursuing this method he gradually formed that invaluable chronicle, the title of which has just been given. In what year it was first published, we have not been able to ascertain, but it probably was not before the year 1646 or 1647, as it is not noticed by Mr. Torshel, in the publication which is noticed below. In this work, Dr. Lightfoot has briefly stated the summary or substance of the historical parts of the Old Testament, and has indicated the order in which the several historical chapters, psalms, and prophecies are to be placed. In the margin he has given the years of the world, and of the judges or sovereigns under whose administration the several events took place. Notwithstanding the differences in opinion entertained by the learned concerning the chronology of particular events, the general method of this 'Chronicle' has been, and still continues to be, held in the highest estimation by all who are competent duly to appreciate its merits.

About or soon after the appearance of Dr. Lightfoot's Chronicle, Mr. Samuel Torshel, another learned Englishman, published at London, in 1647, a quarto tract intitled

2. A Designe about disposing the Bible into an Harmony. Or, an Essay concerning the transposing the order of books and chapters of the Holy Scriptures, for the reducing of all into a continued history.

The { Benefits. Difficultie. Helpes.

It appears from the preface that Mr. Torshel was preceptor of the children of King Charles I. under the Earl of Northumberland; and his tract was addressed 'To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,' whom he endeavoured to excite to patronise the undertaking, by the consideration of the glory which had redounded to France by the then recent publication of the Parisian Polyglott, in ten folio volumes. The state, however, paid no regard to this address, and the design which Torshel had ably sketched, was never accomplished. He proposed "to lay the whole story together in a continued connexion, the books or parts of books, and all the severall parcels disposed and placed in their proper order, as the continuance and chronicall method of the Scripture-history requires; so that no *sentence* nor *word* in the whole Bible be *omitted*, nor any thing *repeated*, or any word *inserted* but what is necessary for *transition*. So as some whole chapters or pieces be put into other places, yea, great parts of some books, and some whole books, to be woven into the body of another book." (Torshel's Designe, p. 10.) In the prosecution of this undertaking,

critics of former times. But as our design is to notice only those which are *accessible* to biblical students, the reader, who is desirous of seeing an account of their labours, is referred to his Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta, vol. iv. pp. 854—861.

besides reducing all the historical books of the Old Testament to a continued series, the book of Psalms, and the sermons of the Prophets were to be inserted in their proper places, and the writings of Solomon, incorporated according to those periods of his reign when they are supposed to have been written; and those parts of the book of Proverbs, 'which the men of Hezekiah copied out,' were to be disposed in the body of the Chronicles, towards the end of the reign of Hezekiah, King of Judah. In harmonising the Gospels, Mr. Torshel proposed to follow the plan then recently adopted in the Latin Harmony, commenced by Chemnitz, continued by Lyser, and finished by Gerhard; and the apostolic epistles were to be distributed in the Acts of the Apostles, according to the order of time when they were written. The writings of Saint John were to close the proposed undertaking. The perusal of this modest and well written tract, several years since, suggested to the writer of these pages the idea of attempting a harmony of the entire Bible, on the completion of the present work. This laborious undertaking, however, has happily been rendered unnecessary, as it respects the Old Testament, by the publication of

3. The Old Testament, arranged in historical and chronological order, (on the basis of Lightfoot's Chronicle), in such manner, that the books, chapters, psalms, prophecies, &c. may be read as one connected history, in the very words of the authorised translation. By the Rev. George Townsend, M.A. London, 1821. In two very large volumes, 8vo.

This beautifully printed and carefully executed work (as its title page announces), is arranged on the basis of Dr. Lightfoot's Chronicle, above noticed. from which, however, Mr. Townsend has deviated for the better in one very material respect. According to Lightfoot's plan, the Old Testament would have been read as one unbroken history, without any division into chapters, or any of those breaks, the omission of which causes not a little weariness to the reader. In order to obviate this difficulty, and also with the view of making the Scripture narrative more attractive, as well as more easily remembered, Mr. T. has divided his Harmony into eight suitable periods, viz. 1. From the creation to the deluge;—2. From the confusion of tongues, to the death of Jacob and the Patriarchs;—3. From the birth to the death of Moses;—4. From the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan under the command of Joshua, to the death of David;—5. The reign of Solomon;—6. From the elevation of Rehoboam to the Babylonish Captivity;—7. The Babylonish Captivity, seventy years from B.C. 606 to 536;—8. From the termination of the Babylonish captivity to the Reformation of worship by Nehemiah, and the completion of the canon of the Old Testament, by Simon the Just, from B.C. 536 to about 300. These eight periods are further subdivided into chapters and sections, the length of which is necessarily regulated by the subjects therein discussed: and in settling the chronology and order of some particular events and prophecies, the arranger has availed himself of the labours of the most eminent modern biblical critics. A well written introduction developes his plan and design, and points out its advantages to various classes of readers, especially to clergymen, and those who are preparing for the sacred office, to whom this work is indispensably necessary. The work is terminated by *six* Indexes;—the *first*, containing an account of the periods, chapters, and sections into which the work is divided, with the passages of Scripture comprised in each;—the *second*, in columns, enabling the reader to discover in what part of the arrangement any chapter or verse of the Bible may be found;—the *third* and *fourth*, of the Psalms and Prophecies, in tables, shewing in what part of the arrangement, and after what passage of Scripture, every Psalm or prophecy is inserted; and likewise on what occasion, and at what period they were probably written, with the authority for their place in the arrangement;—the *fifth*, containing the dates of the events according to Dr. Hales's elaborate System of Chronology; and the *sixth*, a general Index to the notes, which, though not numerous, are very appropriate, and possess the rare merit of compressing a great variety of valuable information into a small compass.

IV. We now come to those works which profess to harmonise the memoirs or narratives concerning Jesus Christ, written by the four evangelists; which (as we have already observed) having been written with

different designs, and for the use of particular classes of Christians, various contradictions have been supposed to exist between them: although, when brought to the test of sober examination, their agreement becomes as clear as the noon-day sun. The importance and advantage of collating these relations with each other, and obtaining the clear amount of their various narratives, has, from a very early period, suggested the plan of digesting the Gospels into *Harmonies*, exhibiting completely their parallelisms and differences, or into a connected history, termed respectively a Monotessaron, or Diatessaron; in which the *four* accounts are blended into one, containing the substance of them all. Works of this description are extremely numerous. Mr. Pilkington has enumerated one hundred and four, which had come to his knowledge in 1747 [1]; and Walchius has given a *select* list of one hundred and thirty, which had been published prior to the year 1765 [2]. The indefatigable bibliographer and his editor, professor Harles, have given a list of those which were known to be extant, to the year 1795, which amounts to one hundred and seventy-two, but is by no means complete [3]. Our notice must necessarily be confined to a few of the principal composers of harmonies. [4]

1. Tatian, who wrote about the middle of the second century, composed a digest of the evangelical history, which was called το δια τεσσαρων, that is, the Gospel *of the four*, or Μονοτεσσαρον, *Monotessaron*, that is, *one* narrative composed out *of the four*. Tatian is the most antient harmonist on record: for, if Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, had before written on that subject, (as Jèrome insinuates), his work is long since lost. In the beginning of the third century, Ammonius, an Alexandrian, composed a harmony, which was also called το δια τεσσαρων, or the Gospel of the four, of the execution of which Eusebius speaks with approbation. The works of Tatian and Ammonius have long ago perished; but attempts have been made to obtrude spurious compilations upon the world for them in both instances. Victor, who was bishop of Capua, in the sixth century, gave a Latin version of a harmony, which was published by Michael Memler at Mayence, in 1524, as a translation of *Ammonius's Harmony*, in consequence of Victor being undetermined to which of those writers it was to be ascribed, though he was disposed to refer it to Tatian. And Ottomar Luscinius published one at Augsburg in 1524, which he called that of Ammonius, though others have ascribed it to Tatian. It is not a harmony in the strict sense of the term, but a mere summary of the life of Christ delivered in the authors' own words.

2. The diligent ecclesiastical historian Eusebius, who wrote in the former part of the fourth century, composed a very celebrated harmony of the Gospels; in which he divided the evangelical history into *ten* canons or tables, which are prefixed to many editions and versions of the New Testament, particularly to Dr. Mill's critical edi-

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[1] Pilkington's Evangelical History and Harmony, Preface, pp. xviii.—xx.

[2] Walchii Bibliotheca Selecta, vol. iv. pp. 863—900.

[3] Bibliotheca Græca, vol. iv. pp. 882—889.

[4] The notices of Harmonies in the following pages are chiefly derived from the three works just cited, and from Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. iii. part i. pp. 31—36. and part ii. pp. 29—49.

tion of it. In the *first* canon he has arranged, according to the antient chapters (which are commonly called the Ammonian Sections, from Ammonius, who made those divisions), those parts of the history of Christ, which are related by all four evangelists. In the rest he has disposed the portions of history related by,

2. Matthew, Mark, and Luke.
3. Matthew, Luke, and John.
4. Matthew, Mark, and John.
5. Matthew and Luke.
6. Matthew and Mark.
7. Matthew and John.
8. Luke and Mark.
9. Luke and John.
10. Only one of the four evangelists.

Though these Eusebian canons are usually considered as a harmony, yet it is evident, from a bare inspection of them, that they are simply indexes to the four Gospels, and by no means form a harmony of the nature of those which have been written in modern times, and which are designed to bring the several facts recorded by the evangelists into chronological order, and to reconcile contradictions. On this account, Walchius does not allow them a place in his bibliographical catalogue of harmonies.

3. About the year 330, Juvencus, a Spaniard, wrote the evangelical history in heroic verse. His method is said to be confused, and his verse is not of a description to ensure him that immortality which he promised himself. His work has fallen into oblivion.

4. The four books of Augustine, bishop of Hippo, in Africa, *de Consensu Quatuor Evangeliorum*, are too valuable to be omitted. They were written about the year 400, and are honourable to his industry and learning. Augustine wrote this work, with the express design of vindicating the truth and authority of the Gospels from the cavils of objectors.

From the middle ages until the close of the fifteenth century, various harmonies were compiled by Peter Comestor, Guido de Perpiniano, Simon de Cassia, Ludolphus the Saxon (a German Carthusian monk, whose work was held in such high estimation that it passed through not fewer than thirty editions, besides being translated into French and Italian), Jean Charlier de Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and many others. But, as their harmonies are of comparatively little value, we proceed briefly to notice those which have appeared in *modern times*, that is, since the Reformation, and the discovery of the art of printing.

1. Andreæ Osiandri Harmonie Evangelicæ Libri Quatuor, Græce et Latine. In quibus Evangelica Historia ex quatuor evangelistis ita in unum est contexta, ut nullius verbum ullum omissum, nihil alienum immixtum, nullius ordo turbatus, nihil non suo loco positum. Omnia vero litteris et notis ita distincta sint, ut quid cujusque evangelistæ proprium, quid cum aliis et cum quibus commune sit, primo statim adspectu deprehendere queas: item Elenchus Harmoniæ: Adnotationum liber unus. Basileæ, 1537, folio; Græce et Latine, Basileæ,

1567, folio; Latine, Lutetiæ Parisiorum ex Officina Roberti Stephani, 1545, 12mo.

Osiander's Harmony is not of very frequent occurrence. It is highly estimated by Walchius, though Michælis rather harshly observes, that he undesignedly renders the gospel history not only suspicious, but incredible, by adopting the principle that the evangelists constantly wrote in chronological order, and that the same transactions and discourses took place twice or thrice in the life of Christ. He acknowledges, however, that Osiander did not go so far as his successors, and that he sometimes deviates from his general principle.

2. Cornelii Jansenii, Gandavensis, Concordia Evangelica, in quâ, præterquam quod suo loco ponitur, quæ evangelistæ non servato recensent ordine, etiam nullius verbum aliquod omittitur. Litteris autem omnia sic distinguuntur, ut quid cujusque proprium, quid cum aliis et cum quibus commune, etiam ad singulas dictiones mox deprehendatur. Lovanii, 1549, 8vo, Antverpiæ, 1558, 12mo.

Jansenius *partially* followed Osiander. He subsequently wrote a Commentary on his Harmony, which was published together with it at Louvain, in 1571. The number of editions through which this work passed (*thirteen* others are enumerated by Walchius, between the years 1577 and 1624) sufficiently attest the favourable opinion entertained of its value. Walchius extols Jansenius's learning, ingenuity, and modesty.

3. Martini Chemnitii Harmonia Quatuor Evangeliorum, quam ab eodem feliciter inchoatam Polycarpus Lyserus et Joannes Gerhardus, is quidem continuavit, hic perfecit. Hamburgi, 1704, folio.

The best edition of a most valuable Harmony. Chemnitz compiled only the two first books, and part of a third, which were published after his death at Frankfort, in 1593, by Polycarp Lyser; who wrote the remainder of the third book, and added the fourth and part of the fifth book. These were published at different times at Leipsic and Frankfort between the years 1604 and 1611: and on Lyser's death Gerhard completed the undertaking, with learning and industry not inferior to those of his predecessors. The entire work, with the several continuations, was first published at Geneva, in 1628. This elaborate work is not only a harmony but a learned commentary on the four Gospels.

4. The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the New Testament. The text of the four Evangelists methodized. Story of the Acts of the Apostles analyzed. Order of the Epistles manifested. Times of the Revelation observed, and illustrated with variety of observations upon the chiefest difficulties Textual and Talmudical, for clearing of their sense and language. By John Lightfoot, D.D. London, 1654, folio. Also in the first volume of his works, London, 1682, folio.

In this valuable work Dr. Lightfoot has pursued the same method which he had adopted in his Chronicle of the Old Testament. He further published, at London, in 1644 and 1650, three parts of *The Harmony of the Four Evangelists, among themselves, and with the Old Testament.* The fourth and fifth parts, which were to have completed his design, never appeared. This harmony is enriched with numerous philological and explanatory remarks, of which many subsequent critics and harmonists have availed themselves.

5. The Harmony of the Four Evangelists, and their Text methodized, according to the order and series of times in which the several things by them mentioned were transacted. By Samuel Cradock, B. D. London, 1668, folio, and again in 1684 and 1685.

This work was revised by the learned Dr. Tillotson (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury [1]), by whom it was preserved from destruction during the memorable fire of

[1] Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. x. p. 447.

London, in 1666. In the seventeenth century it was deservedly held in the highest estimation; though it is now superseded by later and more critical works. Mr. Cradock has drawn up the Gospel history, in an explanatory paraphrase, in English, which is followed by the text of the evangelists. In the margin he has given short but useful notes in Latin, which are very judiciously extracted from Grotius, Doctors Lightfoot and Hammond, and other critics. The book is by no means dear; which, to students (who may not be able to procure recent and more expensive harmonies) is a great advantage. This harmonist did *not* adopt the principle of Osiander.

6. Bernardi Lamy Historia, sive Concordia Evangelistarum. Parisiis, 1689, 12mo.—Commentarius in Harmoniam sive Concordiam Quatuor Evangelistarum. Parisiis, 1699, 4to, in two volumes.

Lamy's Commentary is held in much higher estimation than his Harmony. It is justly characterised by Michaelis as a learned work. The chronological and geographical apparatus is peculiarly valuable.

7. Joannis Clerici Harmonia Evangelica, cui subjecta est historia Christi ex quatuor evangeliis concinnata. Accesserunt tres Dissertationes, de annis Christi, deque concordia et auctoritate evangeliorum. Amstelodami, 1699, folio.

All critics unite in commendation of Le Clerc's Harmony. He has arranged the history of the four evangelists, according to chronological order, in columns parallel to each other, in *Greek and Latin*; and under the text he has given a Latin paraphrase, the design of which is to remove apparent contradictions. Le Clerc promised to publish Annotations on his Harmony, which have never appeared. A Latin edition of it was printed at Altorf, in 1700, in 4to.; and an English translation of it is said, by Walchius, to have been published at London in the same year, also in 4to.

8. Nicolai Toinardi Harmonia Græco-Latina, Parisiis, 1707, folio.

M. Toinard drew up this Harmony for his own private use, of which only five or six copies were taken for the use of his friends. After his decease they published it (as he had desired they would), at the time and place above mentioned. It has long been held in the highest estimation, for the care and diligence which its author bestowed, in order to settle the several circumstances mentioned by the different evangelists. Bishop Marsh pronounces it to be of particular use to those who wish to examine the verbal agreement of the evangelists; as M. Toinard has not only placed in adjacent columns the parallel passages, but has also parallelised even single words.

9. In the years 1739 and 1740, Dr. Doddridge published the two first volumes of his Family Expositor, of which an account will be found in the Appendix to this volume. They are noticed here, because they contain a harmony of the four Gospels, which is acknowledged to be executed with great judgment, independently of the very valuable exposition, and notes that accompany it.

10. The Evangelical History and Harmony. By Matthew Pilkington, LL.B. London, 1747. folio.

This harmonist professes not to adhere to any of the schemes laid down by his predecessors for arranging the evangelical history. It is not disposed in columns, like the works of Le Clerc, Toinard, and others; but the text is exhibited in such a manner as to relate the various discourses and facts recorded by the sacred writers in their identical words, and in the fullest manner possible, yet so as to avoid tautology. The history is divided into chapters, and these are subdivided into sections of moderate length. Two Chronological Dissertations are prefixed: 1. On the time of Herod's death, of the birth of Jesus Christ, the duration of his ministry, and the year of his crucifixion, &c. &c. 2. On the time and place of the adoration of the wise men. Notes are subjoined for the elucidation of particular passages. The work is executed with great care, and may frequently be purchased at a low price.

11. The Harmony of the Four Gospels; in which the natural order of each is preserved, with a paraphrase and notes. By J. Macknight,

D. D. 4to, 2 vols. 1756; 2d edit. 1763; 3d edit. 8vo, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1804.

Dr. Macknight closely adheres to the principle of Osiander; but his paraphrase and commentary contain so much useful information, that his Harmony has long been regarded as a standard book among divines; it is in the lists of Bishops Watson and Tomline. The preliminary disquisitions greatly enhance its value. Dr. Macknight's work was translated into Latin by Professor Ruckersfelder, and published in 5 vols. 8vo. at Bremen and Deventer, 1772. Bishop Marsh says, that whoever makes use of this harmony should compare with it Dr. Lardner's observations on it, which were first published in 1764, and are reprinted in the eleventh volume of the octavo edition, and in the fifth volume of the quarto edition of his works.

12. An Harmony of the Gospels, in which the original text is disposed after Le Clerc's general manner, with such various readings at the foot of the page as have received Wetstein's sanction in his folio edition of the Greek Testament. Observations are subjoined tending to settle the time and place of every transaction, to establish the series of facts, and to reconcile seeming inconsistencies. By William Newcome, D. D. Bishop of Ossory (afterwards Archbishop of Armagh). London, 1778, folio.

Archbishop Newcome's Harmony contains all that its title-page professes, and is consequently held in the highest estimation. This circumstance induced an anonymous editor to render to the English reader the same service which the learned prelate had conferred on Biblical Scholars, by publishing *An English Harmony of the Four Evangelists, generally disposed after the Manner of the Greek of William Newcome, Archbishop of Armagh; with a map of Palestine, divided according to the twelve tribes; explanatory notes, and indexes.* London, 1802, 8vo. "The form in which this work is printed, is extremely convenient; so much so, that they who can use the Greek, may be glad occasionally to consult the English octavo rather than the unweildy folio of the Archbishop." (British Critic, (old series), vol. xxii. p. 437). The notes, though brief, are judiciously selected; and the authorised English translation is used throughout.

13. A Harmony of the Evangelists in Greek; to which are prefixed Critical Dissertations in English. By Joseph Priestley, LL.D. London, 1778, 4to.

14. A Harmony of the Evangelists in English; with Critical Dissertations, an occasional Paraphrase, and notes for the use of the unlearned. By Joseph Priestley, LL.D. London, 1780, 4to.

The same method of arrangement is followed in both these Harmonies. Dr. Priestley adopted the opinion of some antient writers (which is noticed in a subsequent page), that the ministry of Jesus Christ lasted only one year, or a year and a few months. For an account of these two publications see the Monthly Review (old series), vol. lviii. pp. 89—94, and vol. lxiv. pp. 81—90, 161—173.

15. Diatessaron, sive integra Historia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Græcè. Ex quatuor Evangeliis inter se collatis, ipsisque Evangelistarum verbis aptè et ordinatè dispositis confecta. Subjungitur Evangeliorum brevis Harmonia. Edidit J. White, S.T.P. Ling. Arab. Prof. Versionis Syriacæ Philoxenianæ Nov. Test. Interpres. Oxonii, è Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1799. small 8vo.

A *Diatessaron* is the result and summary of a *Harmony*. In the latter the whole text of the four evangelists is given, only so arranged in columns that their parallelisms and differences may be exactly seen; whereas, in a diatessaron one continued narrative is selected from the four, avoiding all repetitions of the same or similar words. Professor White founded his beautifully and correctly printed volume on the excellent Harmony of Archbishop Newcome, except in the part relating to the resurrection of

Jesus Christ, in which he has followed the arrangement of facts proposed by Mr. West and Dr. Townson, in their works on this subject, which are noticed in p. (146) *infra*. The *time* and *place* in which each event happened, are judiciously noticed in the margins; a map of Palestine is prefixed; and a very useful, though concise, Evangeliorum Harmonia, which is added at the end, connects the whole with peculiar clearness. In 1802, Dr. White's work was translated into Latin by the Rev. T. Thirlwall, who retained the chief part of the professor's title, and adopted principally the Latin version of Castellio; although, where the editor regarded his phrases as forced and affected (as they sometimes are), he has had recourse to the versions of Beza, Tremellius and the Vulgate. This publication may be of use to those, who, in reading the Greek, are occasionally induced to consult a translation; Mr. Thirlwall also published, in 1803, an English *Diatessaron, or History of our Lord Jesus Christ, compiled from the four Gospels, according to the authorised Version.* 8vo. and 12mo. Some brief notes, and a concise but useful introduction are annexed, together with a map of Palestine.

16. Diatessaron; or the Gospel History, from the Text of the four Evangelists, in a connected Series. With Notes critical and explanatory, by Robert Thompson. Edinburgh and London, 1808. 8vo.

17. The United Gospel; or Ministry of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, combined from the Narrations of the Four Evangelists. By R. and M. Willan. London, 1806. 8vo.

This is the *third* edition of a very useful *Diatessaron*, for such the work in effect is. The first impression appeared in 1782, and the second in 1786, under the name of the late eminent physician Dr. Robert Willan. It professes to exhibit the events of the Gospel history in a connected chain or order of succession; and, by combining the accounts of each evangelist, to relate in their own words every incident, with all its circumstances, at full length. The notes, which accompany the work, are judiciously selected; they relate chiefly to the manners, customs, opinions, and expressions, proverbial or allegorical, among the eastern nations, with which the generality of readers cannot be familiarly acquainted.

18. A Synopsis of the Four Evangelists; or a regular history of the conception, birth, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, in the words of the Evangelists. By Charles Thomson, 8vo, Philadelphia, 1815.

The venerable author of this Harmony, whose translation of the Old Testament is noticed in p. 32 of Appendix to Vol. II., considering the Gospels as memoirs of remarkable things said and done by Jesus Christ, has here arranged them according to the dates, places, and circumstances, which he found expressly mentioned in the several Gospels. He has employed a literal translation of the very words of the evangelists, without any omission or addition, excepting that he has inserted explanations of peculiar phrases and technical terms between brackets [ ]. It is very respectably executed; and at the end there are fifty pages of notes, chiefly explanatory of the manners and customs of the Jews.

19. An Harmony of the Four Gospels; or a series of the Narratives of the Evangelists, so collected and disposed as to bring the whole into one regular relation; having the references brought under the verses, with many historical and doctrinal notes, selected from various authors. By John Chambers. London, 1813. 8vo.

20. A Chronological History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, from the compounded texts of the Four Holy Evangelists; or the English Diatessaron; with a map of the Holy Land, explanatory notes, and illustrations from late oriental travellers and rabbinical writers, &c. &c. By the Rev. R. Warner. Bath and London, 1819. 8vo.

V. Besides the above harmonies of the four Gospels, there have been published harmonies of *particular parts* of them, and also har-

monies of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Apostolic Epistles, which throw considerable light upon those portions of the sacred writings. Of the former class the works of Mr. West, the Rev. Dr. Townson, and Mr. Cranfield; and of the latter, those of Mr. Cradock, Dr. Benson, Mr. Bevan, and the Rev. P. Roberts, are particularly worthy of notice.

(1.) *Harmonies of particular parts of the four Gospels.*

1. Observations on the History of the Evidences of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. By Gilbert West, Esq. London, 1747. 8vo.

The multiplied editions of this most valuable treatise, which places the history of the resurrection on impregnable ground, sufficiently attest its value, and the high estimation in which it is deservedly held. Mr. West had for a time listened to the blandishments of infidelity; and the treatise in question was written in consequence of the inquiries which he conscientiously instituted into the evidences of Christianity, of which he lived and died a bright ornament. His work is noticed here, on account of the luminous and satisfactory manner in which he has harmonised the several accounts of the evangelical history of the resurrection.

2. A Discourse on the Evangelical History, from the Interment to the Ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. By the late Rev. Thomas Townson, D.D. Archdeacon of Richmond. Oxford and London, 1793. 8vo.

In this very judicious work (which was edited, after the learned author's decease, by Dr. John Loveday), the harmony of the four evangelical accounts of the resurrection is exhibited in four parallel columns, with a collateral paraphrase, the order of which is illustrated and confirmed by various observations. Dr. Townson professes to tread nearly in the footsteps of Mr. West, whose reasonings he enforces by new considerations; and he has illustrated his accounts by a new arrangement, and by the introduction of some explanatory particulars. He "accurately discriminates the respective particulars of the three days of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection, minutely considers every circumstance in the different relations, reconciles apparent inconsistencies, accounts for particular omissions, and furnishes a clear and consistent history, confirmed by considerations and representations, in which much learning is displayed, without any parade." (British Critic, O. S., vol. i. p. 73). These 'Observations,' of Dr. Townson are also extant in the second volume of the collective edition of his works, published at London, in 1810, in two volumes, 8vo.

3. An Harmony of the Gospels, from the Resurrection to the Ascension of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; in which the English Narrations of the Four Evangelists are orderly exhibited in appropriate columns. Observations are subjoined tending to investigate the true evangelical sense, reconcile seeming discrepancies, and defend the order of the facts laid down in the Harmony. By Thomas Cranfield, A. B. Dublin, 1795. folio.

This publication was originally an academical exercise, undertaken in pursuance of a theological subject, given by the Reverend Mr. Graves (at present Dean of Ardagh), to the gentlemen attending his divinity class. The author professes to follow Dr. Townson's scheme, with some few variations. His work was published with a recommendatory character given by the Drs. Graves and Barrett (at that time the Divinity Lecturers in the University of Dublin); who state that, in their opinion "it contains much accurate research, and much useful information; and, therefore," that they "shall not hesitate to recommend it to the attention of the students in divinity, attending their lectures."

(2.) *Harmonies of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Apostolical Epistles.*

1. The Apostolical History, containing the Acts, Labours, Travels, Sermons, Discourses, Miracles, Successes, and Sufferings of the Holy

Apostles from Christ's Ascension to the Destruction of Jerusalem. Also a narration of the particular times and occasions upon which the Apostolical Epistles were written, together with a brief analytical Paraphrase of them. By Samuel Cradock, B. D. London, 1672. folio.

This author, an eminent non-conformist divine, also wrote "A plain and brief Exposition of the Revelation," now superseded by later and better works; "The Old Testament History methodized," folio, now also superseded by the valuable work of Mr. Townsend, noticed in page (139) *supra*: and the "Harmony of the Four Evangelists," likewise noticed in page (142). "Cradock's three volumes are very valuable: the two last on the New Testament are much better than the first on the Old. His extracts in the margin from Hammond, Lightfoot, and Grotius, are *very judicious*; and I think, on the whole, I never read any one author, that assisted me more in what relates to the New Testament." (Dr. Doddridge). The book is by no means dear, which to students is a great advantage.

2. A History of the First Planting of Christianity, taken from the Acts of the Apostles and their Epistles. Together with the remarkable Facts of the Jewish and Roman History, within this Period. 4to, London, 1735; 2d and best edition, 1756, 3 vols. usually bound in one.

Though this work does not profess to be a harmony of the Acts of the Apostles and of their Epistles, it may justly be considered as one. Besides illustrating the history of the Acts throughout, and most of the Epistles, by a view of the history of the times, the occasion of the several Epistles, and the state of the churches to which they were addressed, the learned author has incorporated a paraphrastic abstract of those epistles in the order of time when they were written; and has also established the truth of the Christian religion on a number of facts, the most public, important, and incontestable. It is indeed a most valuable help to the study of the Epistles; but it is to be regretted that its scarcity renders it accessible to few. A new edition, with corrections and additions, such as the present advanced state of biblical knowledge will supply, is a desideratum in sacred literature.

3. The Life of the Apostle Paul as related in Scripture; but in which his Epistles are inserted in that part of the History, to which they are supposed respectively to belong; with select Notes, critical and explanatory, and relating to persons and places, and a Map of the countries in which the Apostle travelled. By Joseph Gurney Bevan. London, 1807. 8vo.

The narrative of Saint Paul's life, is studiously related in the very words of Scripture, having only such additional matter as is necessary to introduce or connect the several parts. Attention, however, has been paid to the task of selecting, from different parts of the New Testament, such passages as belong to the regular chain of the history. The notes are principally selected from the best critics and commentators, and those which are geographical are the most conspicuous, and stamp a real value on the work; which (though designed for young persons of his own religious communion[1]), may be studied with advantage by those of every other class of Christians, especially those who have not many commentators within their reach, "without danger of finding any thing introduced which can give the smallest bias towards any principle that is not really and truly Christian." (British Critic, O. S., vol. xxxiii. p. 477.)

4. A Harmony of the Epistles of the Holy Apostles, to which is added, a Summary of the Entire. By the Rev. Peter Roberts, M. A. Cambridge, 1800, 4to.

This harmony of the apostolic Epistles differs, in its form and structure, from the three publications last noticed. It "consists of two columns, in the first of which a kind of continued Epistle is formed, principally, but not entirely, from the Epistle to the

[1] The Society of Friends.

Romans; which the author considers as intended more particularly for a delineation of the scheme of Christianity, as to the speculative part." This continued text or clue is printed in a narrow column and a large letter, which gives room for the introduction of all the parallel passages in the second column, which is much broader, and printed in a closer form and smaller type. The whole is digested under four principal divisions. 1. Introductory address. 2. Doctrinal instruction. 3. Practical precepts. 4. Conclusion. In this way the whole substance of the apostolical Epistles is arranged; and any particular passages are found by means of a table at the end of the book. Subjoined to this Harmony is the "Summary of the Epistles; in which the view of the contents is designed to be completely conveyed, according to the author's system." This part is followed by a very useful selection of notes. "Mr. Roberts deserves the highest commendation for his zeal and diligence in thus illustrating the epistles, and for the attention and acuteness manifested in digesting their very various contents." (British Critic, O. S. vol. xx. pp. 419—421.)

VI. The design of an Evangelical Harmony, we have already remarked, is to bring together the several evangelical narratives in a lucid order, and thus to avoid the seeming discrepancies between them. In the accomplishment of this design, two questions have presented themselves to the consideration of the harmonists, viz. first, what evangelist has preserved the true order of circumstances, to which all the others are to be reduced? And, secondly, what was the duration of the public ministry of Jesus Christ?

1. On the first of these topics, we may remark that all the modern harmonies of the Gospels (of which more than one hundred are extant in various languages) may be divided into two classes, viz. 1. Harmonies, of which the authors have taken for granted, that all the facts recorded in all the four Gospels are arranged in chronological order; and, 2. Harmonies, of which the authors have admitted, that in one or more of the four Gospels chronological order has been more or less neglected. At the head of the first class is Andrew Osiander, one of Luther's fellow labourers, in promoting the reformation in Germany: his method is followed by Calovius, Sandhagen, and others, on the continent, and in this country by Dr. Macknight. Chemnitz stands at the head of the other class, and also has many followers of his method of arrangement. "The harmonies of the former kind are very similar to each other, because though the authors of them had to interweave the facts recorded in one Gospel with the facts recorded in another, yet, as they invariably retained the order which was observed in each Gospel, and consequently repeated whatever facts occurred in different places in different Gospels, as often as those facts presented themselves to the harmonists in their progress through the Gospels, there was less room for material deviations in their plan and method. But in the harmonies of the latter kind we meet with considerable variations, because, though the authors of them are unanimous in their principle, they are at variance in the application of it: and, though they agree in making transpositions, by which they distinguish themselves from the harmonists of the first class, yet they do not always make the same transpositions. Some, for instance, have supposed, as Chemnitz, archbishop Newcome, and other harmonists of this class have done, that St. Matthew has mostly neglected chronological order, while others, as Bengel and Bertling, have supposed, that he has in general retained it. Hence, though they have all the same object in view, namely, to make a chronological harmony, or to arrange the events, which are

recorded in the Gospels, as nearly as possible according to the order of the time in which the events happened, they have adopted different modes of producing this effect. For in some harmonies the order of St. Matthew is inverted, and made subservient to that of St. Mark, while in other harmonies St. Mark's order is inverted, and made subservient to that of St. Matthew. Some harmonists again suppose, that all the Evangelists have neglected chronological order, while others make an exception in favour of one or more of them, though the question, which of the Evangelists should be excepted, likewise affords matter of debate. And even those harmonists, who agree as to the Gospel or Gospels, in which transpositions should be made, differ in respect to the particular parts where these transpositions ought to take place."[1]

Amid this diversity of opinions, supported as each is by the most ingenious arguments which its author could produce, it is extremely difficult to decide. On this account Bishop Marsh recommends Griesbach's Synopsis of the three first Gospels as preferable to every other harmony extant. The title of this work is,

Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ, una cum iis Joannis pericopis, quæ historiam passionis et resurrectionis historiam complectuntur. Textum recensuit, et selectam lectionis varietatem adjecit J. J. Griesbach. Editio secunda, emendatior et auctior. Halæ Saxonum, 1797. 8vo.

The chief purport of this synopsis, Bishop Marsh remarks, is, not to give a chronological series of events, but to represent in parallel columns all those sections which are common to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; the Gospel of John (except the last part) being omitted, because the rest of it has so very little matter in common with the other three. In order to make as few transpositions as possible, Mark's order is generally retained, because it is the same with that of Luke, as far as relates to the facts which are common to all three. Those parts which each evangelist has peculiar to himself, are inserted in intermediate sections. The learned translator of Michaelis pronounces the disposition of the whole work to be very commodious, and adds, that he knows of no harmony, which affords so much assistance in the investigation of the origin of the first Gospels.[2]

2. The several harmonisers, of whose labours an account has been given in the preceding pages, have entertained very different opinions with regard to the duration of Christ's public ministry; whence a corresponding diversity has necessarily arisen in the disposition of their respective harmonies. During the three first centuries, the common opinion was, that Christ's ministry lasted only one year, or at furthest one year and four months. Early in the fourth century, Eusebius the ecclesiastical historian maintained that it continued between three and four years: this opinion was generally received, though the antient opinion was retained by Augustine. During the middle ages, no further inquiries appear to have been made on this subject: and after the

[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iii. part. ii. p. 45.

[2] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iii. part ii. p. 47. Michaelis has given a harmony of the four Gospels (Introd. vol. iii. part i. pp. 37—83.); which Bp. Marsh (part ii. p. 67.) pronounces to be a very useful one, considered as a general index to the four Gospels. Dr. A. Clarke has reprinted Michaelis's harmonised table at the end of his Commentary on the Gospels; observing that it is useful to the reader of them in pointing out *where* the same translation is mentioned by the evangelists, what they have *in common* and what is *peculiar to each*. Michaelis has generally followed Matthew's account, with which the narratives of the other evangelists are collated.

reformation all the harmonists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries assumed it for certain that Christ's ministry lasted between three and four years. Bengel, however, in his German Harmony of the Gospels, published at Tubingen in 1736, reduced it to two years; and three years before, Mr. Mann in his essay "Of the true years of the Birth and Death of Christ." (London, 1733, 8vo.) revived the antient opinion that it lasted only one year. This was also followed by Dr. Priestley in his Greek and English Harmonies. The hypothesis of Eusebius was adopted by Archbishop Newcome, who maintained that one year was by far too short a period for the several progresses of Jesus Christ in Galilee, and the transactions connected with them: and Bishop Marsh observes, that the Gospel of John presents almost insuperable obstacles to the opinion of those who confine Christ's ministry to one year. For, in order to effect this purpose, it is necessary to make omissions and transpositions in St. John's Gospel, which are not warranted by the laws of criticism, but are attempted merely to support a previously assumed hypothesis. On the other hand, he thinks that the opinion, which makes Christ's ministry to have continued three years (and which receives no support whatever from the three first gospels) cannot be satisfactorily proved, even from the Gospel of Saint John, who at the utmost has noticed, or at least named, only three distinct passovers. [1]

Another opinion has lately been announced, with equal modesty and learning, in a dissertation on "*The Chronology of our Saviour's Life; or an Inquiry into the true Time of the Birth, Baptism, and Crucifixion of Jesus Christ,*" by the Rev. C. Benson, M. A. (Cambridge and London, 1819, 8vo.) The results of his investigation (which depends on minute chronological and critical discussions that do not admit of abridgement,) are, that Herod died in the year of the Julian period 4711; and consequently that the birth of Christ took place A. J. P. 4709, in the spring (probably in the months of April or May); that his baptism was performed in or about the month of November A. J. P. 4739, during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate; that, agreeably to the indications of time contained in Saint John's Gospel, the ministry of Jesus Christ lasted through three passovers, or *two years and a half*; and that he was crucified on the fifteenth day of the month Nisan (April 15th) A. J. P. 4742. The work, thus concisely noticed, appears to the writer of these pages to have laid down the only just basis for a harmony of the four gospels, founded upon certain indications: and he who should execute one upon this foundation would confer an essential benefit on students of the sacred writings.

From the difficulty of producing a harmony, complete in all its parts, some eminent critics (and among them the elegant and accomplished expositor, Gilpin) have maintained that we ought to peruse the four several memoirs of Jesus Christ written by the evangelists, separately, and distinctly; and that, by explaining them separately, the whole becomes more uniform. Archbishop Newcome, however, has ably vindicated, and proved, the utility and advantage of harmonies; and with his observations, the present chapter shall conclude. A harmony, he remarks, has the following uses.

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[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iii. part ii. p. 66.

By the juxta position of parallel passages, it is often the best comment; and it cannot but greatly alleviate the reader's trouble, in his attempts to illustrate the phraseology and manner of the evangelists. It also shews that Mark, who inserts much new matter, did not epitomise the gospel of Matthew; and it affords plain indications from the additions and omissions in John's gospel, that *his* was designed to be a supplemental history.

Further, a harmony in many instances illustrates the propriety of our Lord's conduct and works. Thus, previously to the call of the four apostles (Mark i. 16—20.) Andrew had been the Baptist's disciple, and had received his testimony to Jesus (John i. 35. 40.); Peter had been brought to Jesus by Andrew his brother (John i. 42.); and Jesus had shewn more than human knowledge and more than human power (John i. 48. ii. 11, 23. iii. 2. iv. 29, 49, 50.) which probably had fallen within the experience of these disciples, or at least must have gained their belief on the firmest grounds. So, the words of Christ (John v. 21, 25.) are prophetically spoken *before* he had raised any from the dead; and his reproofs (Matt. xii. 34. Mark vii. 6.) are uttered *after* he had wrought miracles, during two feasts at Jerusalem. Nor was the jealousy of the Jewish rulers early awakened by the call of the twelve apostles to a stated attendance. This event took place after our Lord had celebrated his second passover at Jerusalem, and when he was about to absent himself from that city for so long a period as eighteen months. In like manner, the seventy were not sent forth to shew, throughout a wide tract of country, with what wisdom and power their master endued them, till within about six months of our Lord's crucifixion: and the scene of raising the dead, a kind of miracle which would have exasperated his enemies in proportion as it tended to exalt his prophetic character, was remote from Jerusalem, till the last passover approached.

Lastly, strong presumptions of the inspiration of the evangelists arise from an accurate comparison of the gospels, from their being so wonderfully supplemental to each other, in passages reconcileable only by the suggestion of a seemingly indifferent circumstance, and from their *real agreement* in the midst of a *seeming disagreement.* "Truth, like honesty, often neglects appearances: hypocrisy and imposture are always guarded."[1]

On the preference due to any *one* of the numerous harmonies which have already been given to the world, it would be presumptuous in the author of these pages to offer a positive opinion. The student in such cases must be guided by the superior judgment of his tutor, or the adviser of his studies. The harmonies of Drs. Doddridge and Macknight are most generally read on account of their valuable expositions and commentaries. But, for exhibiting the parallel passages of each evangelist, perhaps the columnar form of Archbishop Newcome is preferable, while he, who is desirous of perusing one connected and continuous narrative, in which all the shades of circumstance are judiciously interwoven, will probably find Mr. Pilkington's Evangelical History and Harmony the most useful.

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[1] West on the Resurrection, p. 278. (London edit. 1807. 8vo.)

CHAPTER VI.

ON RECONCILING THE APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS OCCURRING IN THE SCRIPTURES.

SECTION VII.

APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE SACRED WRITERS.

[Supplementary to Vol. I. pp. 474—477.]

1. Gen. i. and Gen. ii. have been affirmed to contradict each other. They are perfectly consistent. In the first chapter, Moses gives a *general* account of the *whole* creation in six days; and then, carrying on his history, he proceeds to describe particularly the formation of Adam and Eve. In Gen. ii. 3. it is said, that God *had rested from all his work which he had created and made;* that is, he ceased to make any more creatures; consequently, Adam was NOT made after this.

2. Gen. vii. 12. *And the rain was upon the earth* forty days and forty nights.	is said to be contradicted by	Gen. vii. 17. *The flood was* forty days *upon the earth.*

The words '*and forty nights,*' in Gen. vii. 17. are lost from the Hebrew copies, but they are found in the Septuagint Greek version, and also in many MSS. of the Latin Vulgate version. They ought to be restored to the text, which will read as follows, in perfect unison with Gen. vii. 12.—*The flood was forty days and forty nights upon the earth.*

3. Gen. vii. 24. *And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days.*	is said to be contradicted by	Gen. viii. 3. *The waters returned from off the earth continually; and after the end of the hundred and fifty days, the waters were abated.*

Gen. viii. 3. ought to be rendered:—*The waters continually subsided from off the earth; and at the end of the hundred and fifty days, the waters were much abated.* This rendering (which Mr. Boothroyd has adopted in his new version of the Bible), completely removes the alleged contradiction.

4. Gen. viii. 4, 5. are affirmed to be repugnant. Mr. Boothroyd, renders them thus, which obviates that repugnancy:—The waters were much abated, *so that, in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, the ark rested upon* one of the *mountains of Ararat. And the waters were continually decreasing until the tenth month: and on the first day of the tenth month, the tops of the mountains were visible.*

5. Gen. vi. 19. vii. 2, 3, 8, 9. and 15. and viii. 20. are charged with being direct contradictions. A little attention to the context and connexion of the passages in question will shew their perfect consistency.

In Gen. vi. 19—21. general orders are given to Noah to take into the ark with him, animals of every kind, *pairs of each.* In Gen. vii. 2. the number of pairs, viz. *seven pairs* of clean beasts, and *two pairs* of beasts that are not clean; and (verse 3.) *of the fowls of the air that are clean, seven pairs, the male and the female, and of fowls that are not clean, two pairs, the male and his female*[1]. In vii. 8, 9. and 15. the historian, relating what was done in obedience to the divine command, says, generally, that *pairs* went with Noah into the ark; and in viii. 20. it is stated, also, in general terms, that he offered sacrifice of every clean beast and of every clean fowl. There is, therefore, no real contradiction between these several numbers. As animals were not used for food before the Deluge, it is probable that the distinction of beasts and fowls into clean and unclean was made with respect to sacrifices; the former being offered while the latter were not.

6. Gen. xxii. 1. *It came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham.*	apparently contradicts	James i. God cannot be tempted with evil, *neither tempteth He any man.*

Temptation signifies nothing more than trial; any opposition or difficulty that may exercise our virtues and make them known. In this sense God may be said to *tempt* men; that is, he tries and proves them, and thus he tempted Abraham. Sometimes temptation means dangerous trials and enticements to sin, under which we are more likely to sink, than to overcome them. In this sense God *tempteth not any man;* nor will he, if we resist them, *suffer us to be tempted above what we are able.* (1 Cor. x. 13.)

7. From Gen. xxxi. 38. and 41. compared with Gen. xxxiv. it has been asserted that Dinah was only *six* years of age (instead of *sixteen*), when she was forcibly defiled by Shechem; and hence it is insinuated that the narrative is so contradictory as to be unworthy of credit. This pretended difficulty, concerning the age of Dinah, originated in the supposition that that disastrous circumstance took place in the very same year when Jacob returned into Palestine. So far, however, is the book of Genesis from dating it in that year, that, on the contrary, we learn from it, that Jacob resided in that country a long time. (Compare Gen. xxxiii. 11. 18. xxxiv. 1. 30. and xxxv. 1. 28, 29.). The best chronologists compute that the patriarch's residence, both at Succoth and at Shechem was about ten years; and there is not a single word in the book of Genesis that affords any ground of contradiction or difficulty against this computation. Dinah therefore was about sixteen, or between sixteen and seventeen years of age; and her brothers, Simeon and Levi, about twenty-two or twenty-three (instead of twelve, as the opposers of the Bible falsely assert), when the disastrous occurrence at Shechem obliged Jacob to quit that district or canton, and go to Beth-el, whence he repaired to Mamre to his father Isaac. It is true that Isaac's death, which is recorded at the close of Gen. xxxv. was subsequent to Joseph's departure into Egypt, though the latter is not related until the thirty-seventh chapter; but that pa-

[1] The above is the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and of the Septuagint and Syriac Versions. The rendering of the Hebrew Text is imperfect:—*Of fowls of the air also by sevens, the male and the female.* Bishop Newton's Works, vol. i, p. 168.

triarch's decease was noticed in this place, by anticipation, in order that the history of Joseph might not be interrupted. This mode of narrating facts, it is well known, is pursued by all historians who do not wish to be mere annalists, and by no means affects the date of the account of Dinah, which took place previously to Isaac's death, as well as the sale of Joseph. *The days of Isaac were a hundred and four score years;* he was one hundred and seventy-three years old when Dinah was violated, and one hundred and seventy-four when Joseph was sold into Egypt.

8. The land of Rameses, in Gen. xlvii. 11. means the land of Goshen, and not the capital of that district; it was probably so called, in the time of Moses, from the city of Rameses, which the Israelites had built for Pharaoh. The Hebrew historian used an appellation well known to them. There is no improbability or contradiction whatever, between Gen. xlvii. 11. and Exod. i. 11.

9. Gen. xlviii. 8. and 10. In the first of these verses, it it said, that *Israel beheld Joseph's sons:* and in the other, that *his eyes were dim, so that he could not see.* The meaning is, not that he could not see at all, but only that he could not plainly and distinctly see the objects which were before him. Therefore, though he *beheld* Ephraim and Manasseh, yet he could not *distinguish* them, until they were brought nigh to him. The declaration of Jacob to Joseph, in xlviii. 22. is *not* prophetic of the future, as a scoffing writer of the present day has asserted. From Gen. xxxiii. 19. we learn, that Jacob bought a piece of land from Hamor at Shechem; to which he doubtless alludes, in Gen. xlviii. 22. *I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.* It should seem that this spot had afterwards fallen into the hands of an Amorite family or tribe, after the destruction of the Shechemites, and that Jacob had retaken it from them by force of arms, though this transaction is no where else mentioned.

10. Reuel in Exod. ii. 18. is the same as *Raguel* in Numb. x. 29. The Hebrew is the same *in both places*; consequently there is no contradiction. The reason of the seeming difference is, that the ע (oin or âin), in רעואל, is sometimes used merely as a *vowel*, and sometimes as a *g*, *ng*, and *gn*; and this is occasionally the difficulty of the sound, which scarcely any European organs can enunciate. As pronounced by the Arabs, it strongly resembles the first effort made in the throat by gargling. *Raguel* is the worst method of pronouncing this word, Re-u-el, the first syllable being strongly accented, is nearer to the true sound. On a comparison of all the places, where these relations of Moses are mentioned, it is evident that Re-u-el or Raguel was the father of Jethro, whose daughter Zipporah Moses married; and it is most probable that Hobab was the son of Jethro, who accompanied the Israelites through the wilderness. (Compare Exod. iii. 1. iv. 18. and Numb. x. 29.) No solid objection *can* be made against this explanation, from Reuel being called '*their father*,' (Exod. ii. 18.), as this appellation frequently denotes any remote ancestor[1]. Aged men, uncles, and grandfathers are in the Scriptures sometimes called fathers.

[1] Dr. A. Clarke and Mr. Boothroyd on Exod. ii. 18.

Thus, in Gen. xxxi. 43. Laban calls his *grand*-children his *children*, and considers himself as their *father*; and, in 2 Kings, xiv. 3. David is called the *father* of Amaziah, though he was his remote ancestor.

11. Exod. iii. 2. *And the angel of the* LORD *appeared unto him* (Moses) *in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush.*	is said to contradict	Exod. iii. 4. *And when the* LORD *saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush.*

In these two verses there is *no* contradiction whatever. On the suoject of this and other divine appearances related in the Old Testament (which both Jews and Christians believe, on the solid evidence of facts, though infidels, unable to refute them, dismiss them with scoffing), the solid and incontestible solution is laid by Jesus Christ himself, who perfectly understood the whole affair of divine appearances, in John v. 37. *And the Father himself, which hath sent me, hath borne witness of me. Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape,* (John i. 18.) *No man hath seen God at any time.* He is *the invisible God, whom no man hath seen, nor can see.* It is often said, that the Lord, the Most High God, *appeared* to the patriarchs, to Moses, and to the prophets, the ancestors of the Jews: but, according to Jesus Christ's rule, the appearance, form, or shape which they saw, was not the appearance of the Lord God himself; for never, at any time, did they see his shape. Again, it is often said, that the most High God spake to the patriarchs, to Moses, and to the prophets; but our Lord affirms, that they never heard his voice at any time. How shall we reconcile this seeming inconsistency? The true solution, according to the Scriptures, is this:—That the Lord God never spake or appeared in person, but always by a proxy, *nuncius*, or *messenger*; who represented him, and spake in his name and authority. It was this messenger of Jehovah, (or angel of Jehovah), who appeared unto Moses, (Exod iii. 2.) and who is called, in verse 4, JEHOVAH or Lord (whence it is evident that he was no created human being); and who spake to Moses, in verse 5, saying, *Draw not nigh hither*, &c., *I am the God of Abraham* (verse 6), and I AM THAT I AM (verse 14). All which words were pronounced by an angel; but are true, not of the angel, but of God, whom he represented. So a herald reads a proclamation in the king's name and words, as if the king himself were speaking. The word ANGEL, both in the Greek language and in the Hebrew, signifies a *messenger* or *nuncius*, an *ambassador*; one who acts and speaks, not in his own name or behalf, but in the name, person, and behalf of him who sends him. Thus the word is frequently rendered in our authorised translation: and, if it had always been rendered the *messenger* of the Lord, instead of *the angel* of the Lord, the case would have been very plain. But *angel*, being a Greek word, which the English reader does not understand, throws some obscurity upon such passages.[1]

12. Exod. ix. 6. ALL THE CATTLE OF EGYPT DIED; *but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.*	is said to contradict	Exod. ix. 20. *He that feared the word of the Lord among the servants of Pharaoh made* - - - HIS CATTLE *flee into the houses.*

[1] Dr. J. Taylor's Scheme of Scripture Divinity, ch. xv. (Bp. Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. i. p. 65.)

Nothing can be more evident than that universal terms are used in all languages in a limited sense; so that the word ALL, in verse 6. means, that all the cattle that did die, belonged to the Egyptians, and died in the field, while those in the houses escaped; or else that a great many of all sorts of cattle died; or, if we understand that all the cattle of the Egyptians perished as asserted in ix. 6., what was there to hinder them from obtaining others from the Israelites, not one of whose cattle died in the land of Goshen? This justifies the supposition that there was some respite or interval between the several plagues.

13. It has been asserted, that Exod. xx. 11. and Deut. v. 15. (both which passages enjoin the observance of the Sabbath), are at variance; and hence it has been inferred that Moses could not be the author of the Pentateuch. But the enforcement of the *same* precept by *two different motives*, does not constitute two discordant precepts; and this is the case with the passages in question. In Exod. xx. 11. Moses urges the observance of the Sabbath, by a motive taken from the creation; and in the latter, by another derived from their exode, or departure from bondage in Egypt.

14. Exod. xxxiii. 11. *The* LORD *spake unto Moses face to face.*	apparently contradicts	John i. 18. 1 John iv. 12. *No man hath seen God at any time.*

The Almighty is said to have conversed with Moses, and Jacob to have *seen* him (Gen. xxxii. 30.). But this only signifies that God revealed himself in a more particular manner than to others: for *God is a Spirit, whom no one hath seen or can see* (1 Tim. vi. 16.), that is, as he is in Heaven. And when Moses besought this favour of God, he refused him, saying, *Thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live.* (Exod. xxxiii. 20.) The Apostle John might, therefore, say, that *no man hath seen God at any time.* The antient Christian writers (who certainly were more likely to understand the subject than we are) were generally agreed, that the person who appeared to Adam, Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets was the Word of God, the Son of God, Jesus Christ.

15. The promulgation of the Levitical law is said (Lev. i. 1.) to have been made from the *tabernacle*, and in Lev. xxvi. 34. we read, *These are the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses in mount* SINAI. But there is no real contradiction here. The Hebrew preposition ב (beth) signifies *near* as well as *in*; the meaning, therefore, is, that these were added to the foregoing commandments, before the Israelites removed from the wilderness of Mount Sinai, or while they were *near* Mount Sinai. And if the objector had distinguished the time and place when the Levitical law was given, from the time when the moral law was promulgated, he would not have asserted the existence of a contradiction. The latter was given on Mount Sinai, in the *third* month of the *first* year after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt (Exod. xix. xx.) The tabernacle was raised on the first day of the first month of the *second* year after their departure; on which occasion Aaron and his sons were set apart to the sacerdotal office. (Exod. xl. 2. 17—32.) To the ceremonies attendant on this consecration, the chief part of Leviticus belongs; and, from the manner in which this

book begins, it is plainly a continuation of the preceding. Indeed the whole is but one law, though divided from a very antient period into five portions.

16. Numb. iv. 3. *From* THIRTY *years old, and upwards, even until fifty years old.*	apparently contradicts	Numb. viii. 24. *From* TWENTY AND FIVE *years old and upwards, they shall go, &c.*

These texts may be reconciled in two ways, either by recollecting that the Levites were obliged to spend five years in learning the duties of their ministry, before they were admitted to officiate; or that, in the time of Moses, their consecration began at the twenty-fifth year of their age, but afterwards, during the time of David, at their twentieth year.

17. Numb. xiv. 25. (Now the Amalekites *dwelled in the* VALLEY.)	is said to contradict	Numb. xiv. 45. Then the Amalekites CAME DOWN, and the Canaanites which dwelt in that hill.

The twenty-fifth verse should be read without a parenthesis, and in the present tense *dwell*. The meaning simply is, that they at present lie in wait for you, at the bottom on the other side of the mountain. God, having consented not to destroy the people suddenly, gave them notice of their danger from the neighbouring people, who were lying in wait to give them battle. The Israelites presumed (verse 44.) to go up unto the hill top; whence they were driven and discomfited by the Amalekites and Canaanites, who had posted themselves there. A detachment of the Amalekites, who were encamped on the opposite foot of the hill, might easily ascend to succour their Canaanitish allies.

18. Numb. xxi. 2, 3, is said to be contradicted by the subsequent history of the conquest of Canaan. But there is no reason why we should not understand the destruction of the Canaanites and their cities, as limited to those which they then took; for Joshua afterwards took the king of Arad (Josh. xii. 14.) See also Judg. i. 16, 17.

19. In 1 Cor. x. 8. St. Paul tells us, that the number of persons who were cut off in the plague was *twenty-three thousand;* but, in Numb. xxv. 9. Moses makes them not less than *twenty-four thousand,* because in this number he includes the thousand who were found guilty of idolatry, and were in consequence slain with the sword; whereas the apostle speaks only of those who died of the pestilence.

20. From the law being mentioned in the book of Exodus, as delivered on Mount *Sinai,* and from Mount *Horeb* being mentioned as the place where it was delivered, in the book of Deuteronomy, without any notice being taken of Mount Sinai, it has been insinuated, that neither of these books are worthy of credit, especially because some injudicious persons have represented them in maps as two *distinct* mountains. It is however well known that Sinai and Horeb are two different peaks of one and the *same range* of mountains; and hence it is, that what is in one passage of Scripture related as having been done at Horeb, is in another place said to have been done at Sinai, or in the wilderness of Sinai.

21. Deut. i. 9—18. is said to contradict Exod. xviii. 13—23. and Moses is asserted to have *conceived* the idea of setting judges and rulers over the people. A little attention to the two passages would have

satisfied the objector that Moses did *not* conceive any such idea. In Exod. xviii. 13—23. Jethro, his father in law, having observed the great personal fatigue to which the Jewish legislator daily exposed himself, suggested to him the appointment of magistrates over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, men of integrity and piety, to hear and determine minor questions between the people, subject, however, to the approbation of God. In verses 24—27, we read generally that Moses *hearkened to the voice of his father in law*, followed his counsel, with the approbation of God, and appointed the necessary officers. In the first chapter of Deuteronomy, Moses is represented as alluding to this fact, but with this remarkable difference, that he not only says nothing of Jethro, but, instead of representing himself as the person who selected those magistrates, he states that he had appealed to the people, and desired that they would elect them. "There is a great and striking difference between these statements, but there is no contradiction: Jethro suggested to Moses the appointment; he probably after consulting God, as Jethro intimates, *if God shall thus command thee*, referred the matter to the people, and assigned the choice of the individuals to them; the persons thus selected he admitted to share his authority as subordinate judges. Thus the two statements are perfectly consistent. But this is not all; their difference is most natural. In first recording the event, it was natural Moses should dwell on the first cause which led to it, and pass by the appeal to the people as a subordinate and less material part of the transaction; but in addressing the people, it was natural to notice the part they themselves had in the selection of those judges, in order to conciliate their regard and obedience. How naturally also does the pious legislator, in his public address, dwell on every circumstance which could improve his hearers in piety and virtue. The multitude of the people was the cause of the appointment of these judges: How beautifully is this increase of the nation turned to an argument of gratitude to God! How affectionate is the blessing with which the pious speaker interrupts the narrative, imploring God, that the multitude of his people may increase a thousand fold! How admirably does he take occasion, from mentioning the judges, to inculcate the eternal principles of justice and piety, which should control their decisions! How remote is all this from art, forgery, and imposture! Surely here, if any where, we can trace the dictates of nature, truth, and piety."[1]

22. Deut. x. 22. is apparently contradicted by Acts vii. 14. The family of Jacob are differently reckoned at their going into Egypt. In Deut. x. 22. Moses says, that they were *three score and ten*, that is to say, all who *came out of Jacob's loins* (Gen. xlvi. 26.) *were three score and six*, besides himself, Joseph, and his two sons who were in Egypt before; which make three score and ten. But in Acts vii. 14. Stephen adds to these nine of his sons' wives, and thus makes the number three score and fifteen. The latter, though not of Jacob's blood, were of his *kindred*, as Stephen justly expresses it, being allied to him by marriage.

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[1] Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Four last books of the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 87.

23. There is *no* 'strange inconsistency' between Deut. xxxii. and Deut. xxxiii. The former is a sublime ode, which contains a defence of God against the Israelites, and unfolds the method of the divine judgments. In the latter chapter he takes his leave of the people, by pronouncing a blessing upon them generally, and upon each tribe in particular.

24. In Josh. x. 23 and 37, the Israelitish general is charged with killing the same king of Hebron *twice*. The historian relates no such thing. Hebron was a place of considerable note; and its inhabitants finding that their king had fallen in battle, elected another in his place. This second king was he whom Joshua slew, after he had taken the city and its dependencies, as related in verse 37.

25. Josh. xi. 19. There was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon; all *other* they took in battle.	is said to contradict	Joh. xv. 63. As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah unto this day.

There is no contradiction here. Although Jerusalem was taken and its king vanquished by Joshua, together with the land surrounding it (Josh. x. 5. 23. 42.), the fortress or strong hold of Zion continued in the hands of the Jebusites. And the Israelites not being able immediately to people all the cities they had taken, the Jebusites recovered possession of the city, whence the children of Judah expelled them after the death of Joshua (Judg. i. 8.) But the fortress of Mount Zion remained in their hands until the reign of David.

26. Josh xxi. 43, 44. we read, *The Lord gave unto Israel all the land which he sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed and dwelt therein. And the Lord gave them rest round about, according to all that he sware unto their fathers: and there stood not a man of all their enemies before them; the Lord delivered all their enemies into their hand.* This is asserted to be a direct contradiction to the preceding parts of this book; but it is assertion without proof. The whole country was now divided by lot unto them; and their enemies were so completely discomfited, that there was not a single army of the Canaanites remaining to make head against them; and those who were left in the land served under tribute; and the tribute so paid by them, was the amplest proof of their complete subjugation[1]. Add to this, that the Israelites had as much of the land in *actual* possession as they could occupy; and as they increased, God enabled them to drive out the antient inhabitants, but in consequence of the infidelity of the Israelites, their enemies were often permitted to straiten them, and sometimes to prevail against them. It is also to be recollected, that God never promised to give them the land, or to maintain them

[1] If payment of tribute be not an absolute proof of subjugation, the objector to the sacred historian might with equal truch have affirmed, that during the late war, in which Great Britain was engaged for her existence as an independent nation and government, her forces did not subdue the French West India Islands and the Dutch settlement at Batavia in 1812, because the antient inhabitants continued to remain in them, and to pay tribute.

but upon condition of obedience: and so punctually did he fulfil this intention, that there is not a single instance upon record in which they were either straitened or subjugated, while they were obedient and faithful to their God. In this sense, therefore, it might most correctly and literally be said that *there failed not ought of any good thing which the Lord had spoken unto the house of Israel: all came to pass.*—Not will one word of his ever fail, while sun and moon endure.

27. In Judg. i. 19. we read *The Lord was with Judah, and he drove out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley because they had chariots of iron.* From this passage M. Voltaire and his copyists in this country have taken occasion to remark that it is difficult to conceive how the Lord of heaven and earth, who had so often changed the order and suspended the established laws of nature, in favour of his people, could not succeed against the inhabitants of a valley, because they had chariots of iron.

A little consideration, however, of the context of the passage will shew that this mighty difficulty has as little foundation as all the rest which the ingenuity of the enemies of the Bible have imagined to exist. In the first place then it is to be observed, that when it is said HE *drove out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley*; the antecedent is Judah, not Jehovah; because Jehovah had often displayed much more eminent instances of his power; and he that effected the greater, could certainly have effected the less. In the second place, though it pleased God to give success to Judah in one instance, it does not necessarily follow, that therefore he should give it in all. So that there is no more absurdity in the passage, than there would be in the following speech, if such had been addressed to the sovereign by one of his commanders returned from America: "By the blessing of God upon your Majesty's arms, we overcame general Greene in the field; but we could not attack general Washington, because he was too strongly entrenched in his camp." There is no reason, therefore, for supposing, that "the Jews considered the God of Israel their protector as a local divinity; who was in some instances more, and in others less powerful, than the gods of their enemies."[1]

28. Judg. vi. 1. is said to contradict Numb. xxxi. 10. In the latter place, however, it is not said that *all* the Midianites were extirpated. Those who engaged the Israelites were discomfited, and their country was laid waste, that those who fled might have no encouragement to return thither. In the course of *two hundred years*, however, they might increase and become sufficiently formidable (as we read that they did in Judg. vi. 1.) to oppress the northern and eastern Israelites, especially when joined by the Amalekites and Ishmaelites, or *children of the east*, as their allies are termed in the third verse. This remark will serve also to remove the contradiction objected between 1 Sam. xv. 7, 8., where the Amalekites are said to have been discomfited by the Israelites under Saul, and 1 Sam. xxx. 1, 2, where they are said, twenty-three years afterwards, to have made a predatory

[1] Bp. Horne's Works, vol. vi. p. 493.

incursion against Ziklag. The latter were doubtless a travelling predatory horde, similar to those who to this day live in the country where the Amalekites formerly dwelt, viz. Arabia.

29. The account of Saul's death, related in 1 Sam. xxxi. 1—6. (whence it is copied, with some trifling difference, in 1 Chron. x.) is said to be contradicted by the account of the Amalekite, narrated in 2 Sam. i. 10. *The historian relates the fact as stated by the Amalekite himself,* whose story bears every mark of being a fiction, formed in order to ingratiate himself with David as the next probable successor to the crown. (Compare 2 Sam. iv. 10.) There are always men of this description about camps, whose object is plunder, and for which they will strip the dead.

30. 2 Kings xxiv. 13. and xxv. 8—12. are stated to be contradictory. If the objector had attended to the difference of *times,* he would have found the Scriptures perfectly consistent. Nebuchadnezzar carried away the riches and furniture of the temple at *three* different times:—*First,* in the third year of Jehoiachim (Dan. i. 2.); these were the vessels which his son Belshazzar profaned (Dan. v. 2.), and which Cyrus restored to the Jews (Ezra i. 7.), to be set up in the temple, when rebuilt:—*Secondly,* in the reign of Jehoiachin he again took the city, and cut to pieces a great part of the vessels of gold which Solomon had made (2 Kings xxiv. 13.): and, *thirdly,* in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, as related in 2 Kings xxv. 8—12., he once more pillaged the temple.

31. In 1 Chron. xix. 7. the children of Ammon are said to have hired *thirty-two thousand chariots, and the king of Maachah and his people;* which appears an incredible number. But the original word here rendered chariots does not always bear that meaning: it is a collective noun, signifying *cavalry* or *riders.* The meaning therefore is, that they hired thirty-two thousand Syrian auxiliaries, who were usually mounted on chariots or horses, but who occasionally also served as foot soldiers, which is perfectly in unison with 2 Sam. x. 6., where the Syrian auxiliaries engaged by the Ammonites amount exactly to thirty-two thousand, besides a thousand men, whom they hired of the king of Maachah; and whom we may presume to be infantry.

32. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. *Again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel;* and he moved David against them, *to say, Go number Israel and Judah.*	is said to contradict	1 Chron. xxi. 1. Satan stood up and provoked David *to number* Israel.

It is not usual to mention the anger of God, without stating its cause: but as the first of these texts now stands, God is stated to be angry, and his anger leads him to move David to number the people. This numbering of the people, however, was not the cause, but the effect of his anger; the *cause* is stated in the second passage, which may be rendered—*an adversary* (perhaps one of David's wicked counsellors, for the Hebrew word שטן (SATAN) signifies an adversary) *stood up against Israel, and moved David to number Israel.* At the time referred to, David probably coveted an extension of empire; and having through the suggestions of an adversary given way to this evil

disposition, he could not well look to God for help, and therefore wished to know whether the thousands of Israel and Judah might be deemed equal to the conquest which he meditated. His design was, to force all the Israelites to perform military service, and engage in the contests which his ambition had in view; and, as the people might resist this census, soldiers were employed to make it, who might not only put down resistance, but also suppress any disturbances that might arise. Concerning the difference of numbers in this census, see Vol. I. pp. 491, 492.

33. In 2 Kings xvi. 9. it is said, that the king of Assyria *hearkened* unto Ahaz, but in 2 Chron. xxviii. 20. we read that he *distressed him, but strengthened him not.* Both statements are true. He *did* help him against the king of Syria, took Damascus, and delivered Ahaz from the power of the Syrians. But this service was of little value; for the Assyrian monarch did *not* assist Ahaz against the Philistines; and he distressed him by taking the royal treasures and the treasures of the temple, and rendered him but little service for so great a sacrifice.

The preceding are the chief passages in the Old Testament, in which differences have been imagined to exist: but with how little propriety the reader will be enabled to judge from a careful examination of the various passages themselves. It remains only that we notice a few passages in the New Testament which have also been the subject of cavil.

34. Mark ii. 26. is at variance with 1 Sam. xxi. 1. Abiathar was not high priest at that time: but the expression may easily signify, *in the days of Abiathar*, who was afterwards high priest. Or, probably, both Ahimelech and Abiathar might officiate in the high priesthood, and the name of the office be indifferently applied to either.

35. The different manner in which the four evangelists have mentioned the superscription which was written over Jesus Christ when on the cross, was objected as a want of accuracy and truth by Dr. Middleton; and his objection has been copied by late writers. But it is not improbable that it varied in each of the languages in which that accusation or superscription was written: for both Luke (xxiii. 38.) and John (xix. 20.) say that it was written in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. We may then reasonably suppose Matthew to have recited the Hebrew;

THIS IS
JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.

And John the Greek:

JESUS THE NAZARENE THE KING OF THE JEWS.

If it should be asked, Why *the Nazarene* was omitted in the Hebrew, and we must assign a reason for Pilate's humour; perhaps we may thus account for it. He might be informed, that *Jesus* in Hebrew denoted *a Saviour* [1], and as it carried more appearance of such an appellative or general term by standing alone, he might

[1] Pearson on the Creed, art. ii. at the beginning.

choose, by dropping the epithet, *the Nazarene*, to leave the sense so ambiguous, that it might be thus understood:

THIS IS
A SAVIOUR THE KING OF THE JEWS.

Pilate, as little satisfied with the Jews as with himself on that day, meant the inscription, which was his own, as a dishonour to the nation; and thus set a momentous verity before them, with as much design of declaring it, as Caiaphas had of prophesying, *That Jesus should die for the people*[1]. The ambiguity not holding in Greek, *the Nazarene* might be there inserted in scorn again of the Jews, by denominating their king from a city which they held in the utmost contempt.[2]

Let us now view the Latin. It is not assuming much to suppose, that Pilate would not concern himself with Hebrew names, nor risk an impropriety in speaking or writing them. It was thought essential to the dignity of a Roman magistrate in the times of the republic not to speak but in Latin on public occasions[3]. Of which spirit Tiberius the emperor retained so much, that in an oration to the senate he apologised for using a Greek word; and once, when they were drawing up a decree, advised them to erase another that had been inserted in it[4]. And though the magistrates in general were then become more condescending to the Greeks, they retained this point of state with regard to other nations, whose languages they esteemed barbarous, and would give themselves no trouble of acquiring. Pilate indeed, according to Matthew, asked at our Lord's trial, *Whom will ye that I release unto you, Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?* And again, *What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ?* But we judge this to be related, as the interpreter by whom he spake delivered it in Hebrew[5]. For if the other Evangelists have given his exact words, he never pronounced the name of Jesus, but spake of him all along by a periphrasis: *Will ye that I release unto you* The king of the Jews? *What will ye then that I shall do unto him whom ye call* The king of the Jews? Thus he acted in conference with the rulers, and then ordered a Latin inscription without mixture of foreign words, just as Mark repeats it:

THE KING OF THE JEWS:

Which is followed by Luke; only that he has brought down *This is* from above, as having a common reference to what stood under it:

THIS IS
THE KING OF THE JEWS.[6]

Thus, it is evident that there were variations in the inscription, and that the Latin was the shortest; but it is equally evident that these variations are not discrepancies or contradictions in the narratives of the evangelists.

36. The alleged discrepancies in the genealogies recorded by Matthew (i.) and Luke (iii.) have already been considered in Vol. I. pp. 437, 438. *supra*. In addition to the observations there adduced,

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[1] John xi. 49—51. [2] John i. 46. [3] Valerius Maximus, b. ii. c. ii. § 2.
[4] Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 71. The two words were *Monopoly* and *Emblem*.
[5] See Wolfius on Matt. xxvii. 2. [6] Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 200, 201.

the following remarks, by the late Bishop Horne, are highly deserving of attention.

In the first place, genealogies in general, and those of the Jews in particular, with their method of deriving them, and the confusion often arising from the circumstance of the same person being called by different names, or different persons by the same name, are in their nature, and must be to us, at this distance of time, matters of very complicated consideration, and it is no wonder they should be attended with difficulties and perplexities.

Secondly, The evangelists, in an affair of so much importance, and so open then to detection, had there been any thing wrong to be detected, would most assuredly be careful to give Christ's pedigree as it was found in the authentic tables, which, according to the custom of the nation, were preserved in the family, as is evident from Josephus, who says, "I give you this succession of our family, as I find it written in the public tables."

Thirdly, As it was well known the Messiah must descend from David, the genealogical tables of that family would be kept with more than ordinary diligence and precision.

Fourthly, Whatever cavils the modern Jews and others now make against the genealogies recorded by the evangelists, the Jews their contemporaries never offered to find fault with or to invalidate the accounts given in the Gospels. As they wanted neither opportunity, materials, skill, nor malice to have done it, and it would have offered them so great an advantage against the Christians, this circumstance alone, as Dr. South well remarks, were we not now able to clear the point, ought with every sober and judicious person to have the force of a moral demonstration.[1]

37. Heb. ix. 4. is apparently contradictory to 1 Kings viii. 9. From the text of the former book it appears that the ark contained the several things therein specified: whereas, we learn from the latter that it contained only the two tables of stone. The words Ἐν ᾗ, *in which* (*wherein* in the authorised translation), therefore, refer to the tabernacle, and not to the ark; and thus the difference is removed.

Lastly, Some of the differences between the Old and New Testaments arise from numbers and dates, and may be explained on the principles already laid down in Volume I. pp. 435—458, *supra*; and others arise from the variances occurring in the quotations from the Old in the New Testament. But as these require a distinct consideration, the reader will find them fully discussed in pp. 495—525 of the same volume.

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[1] Bishop Horne's Works, vol. vi. p. 513.

CHAPTER VII.

A TABLE OF THE CHIEF PROPHECIES RELATIVE TO THE MESSIAH.

[To elucidate the Observations on the Accomplishment of Prophecies concerning the Messiah, in Volume II. pp. 232—236.]

PART I.

THE PRINCIPAL PROPHECIES RELATIVE TO THE MESSIAH, WITH THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENT, IN THE VERY WORDS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

SECTION I.

PROPHECIES RELATIVE TO THE ADVENT, PERSON, SUFFERINGS, RESURRECTION, AND ASCENSION OF THE MESSIAH.

§ 1. *That a Messiah should come.*

PROPHECY.—Gen. iii. 15. *He* (the seed of the woman) shall *bruise* thy head, and thou shalt *bruise* his heel. Compare Gen. xxii. 18. xii. 3. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 4. and Psal. lxxii. 17.—Isa. xl. 5. The glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see *it* together.—Hagg. ii. 7. The desire of *all* nations shall come.

FULFILMENT.—Gal. iv. 4. When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his son, made of a *woman*, (4000 years after the first prophecy was delivered.)—Rom. xvi. 20. The God of peace shall *bruise* Satan under your feet shortly.—1 John iii. 8. The Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the *Devil*, (that old *serpent*, Rev. xii. 9.) See also Heb. ii. 14.—Luke ii. 10. I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to *all* people.

§ 2. *When he should come.*

PROPHECY.—Gen. xlix. 10. The sceptre *shall not* depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, *until* Shiloh come.—The Messiah was to come at a time of universal peace, and when there was a general expectation of him; and while the second temple was standing, seventy weeks (of years, i. e. 490 years) after the rebuilding of Jerusalem. See Hagg. ii. 6—9.; Dan. ix. 24, 25.; Mal. iii. 1.

FULFILMENT.—When the Messiah came, the sceptre *had departed* from Judah; for the Jews, though governed by their own rulers and magistrates, yet were subject to the paramount authority of the Roman emperors; as was evinced by their being subject to the enrolment of Augustus, paying tribute to Cæsar, and not having the power of life

and death. Compare Luke ii. 1. 3—5.; Matt. xxii. 20, 21.; and the parallel passages; and John xx. 10. 15.—When Jesus Christ came into the world, the Roman wars were terminated, the temple of Janus was shut, and universal peace reigned throughout the Roman empire; and all nations, both Jews and Gentiles, were expecting the coming of some extraordinary person. See Matt. ii. 1—10.; Mark xv. 43.; Luke ii. 25. 38.; and John i. 19—45. for the expectation of the Jews. The two Roman historians, Suetonius and Tacitus, confirm the fulfilment of the prediction, as to the expectation of the Gentiles.

§ 3. *That the Messiah should be God and man together.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. ii. 7. Thou art my *Son*, this day have I begotten thee.—Psal. cx. 1. The Lord said unto my Lord.—Isa. ix. 6. The mighty *God*, the everlasting Father.—Mic. v. 2. Whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

FULFILMENT.—Heb. i. 8. Unto the *Son* he saith, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.' Compare Matt. xxii. 42—45.; Acts ii. 34, 35.; Cor. xv. 25.; Heb. i. 13.—Matt. i. 23. They shall call his name Emmanuel, that is, *God* with us.—John i. 1. 14. The *Word* was with God, and the *Word* was *God*. The *Word* was made flesh, and dwelt among us.—Rom. ix. 5. Of whom (the fathers) as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is *God* over all, blessed for ever. See also Col. ii. 9.; 1 John v. 20.

§ 4. *From whom he was to be descended.*

PROPHECY.—From the first woman. Gen. iii. 15.

From *Abraham* and his descendants, (Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18.); viz. *Isaac*, (Gen. xxvi. 4.); *Jacob*, (Gen. xxviii. 14.); *Judah*, (Gen. xlix. 10.); *Jesse*, (Isa. xi. 1.); *David*, (Psal. cxxxii. 11. lxxxix. 4. 27.; Isa. vi. 13, 14. ix. 7.; Jer. xxiii. 5. xxxiii. 20, 21.)

FULFILMENT.—Gal. iv. 4. When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman.

Acts iii. 25. The covenant, which God made with our fathers, saying unto *Abraham*, 'And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.' (See Matt. i. 1.)—Heb. vii. 14. It is evident that our Lord sprang out of *Judah*.—Rom. xv. 12. Isaiah saith there shall be a root of *Jesse*.—John vii. 42. Hath not the Scripture said, that Christ cometh of the seed of *David*. See also Acts ii. 30. xiii. 23.; Luke i. 32.

§ 5. *That the Messiah should be born of a virgin.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. vii. 14. Behold a *Virgin* shall conceive and bring forth a *Son*.

Jer. xxxi. 22. The Lord hath created a new thing on the earth; a woman shall compass a man. (N.B. *The antient Jews applied this prophecy* to the Messiah, whence it follows, *that the later interpretations* to the contrary *are only to avoid the truth which we profess*; viz. *That Jesus was born of a virgin, and therefore is* THE CHRIST or Messiah.—Bp. Pearson on the Creed, Art. III. p. 171. edit. 1715. folio.)

FULFILMENT.—Matt. i. 24, 25. Joseph took his wife and knew her not, till she had brought forth her first born son. Compare Luke i. 26—35.—Matt. i. 22, 23. All this was done, that it might be fulfilled,

which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, 'Behold a *virgin* shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son.'

§ 6. *Where the Messiah was to be born.*

PROPHECY.—Mic. v. 2. Thou *Bethlehem* Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah; yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel.

FULFILMENT.—Luke ii. 4—6. All went to be taxed (or enrolled), every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, with Mary his espoused wife, unto *Bethlehem*; and while they were there she *brought forth her first-born son*. Compare also Luke ii. 10, 11, 16, and Matt. ii. 1, 4—6, 8, 11.; John vii. 42.

§ 7. *That a prophet, in the spirit and power of Elias, or Elijah, should be the Messiah's forerunner, and prepare his way.*

PROPHECY.—Malachi iii. 1. and iv. 5.; Isa. xl. 3.; Luke i. 17. Behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare my way before me.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. iii. 1. In those days came *John the Baptist* preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, Repent ye, the kingdom of heaven is at hand.—Matt. xi. 14.; Luke vii. 27, 28. This is Elias which was for to come.

§ 8. *That the Messiah was to be a Prophet.*

PROPHECY.—Deut. xviii. 18. 15. I will raise them up a *Prophet* from among their brethren, like unto thee.

FULFILMENT.—John iv. 19. The woman saith unto him, Sir, I perceive that thou art a *Prophet*.—John ix. 17. He is a *Prophet*. —Matt. xxi. 46. They took him for a *Prophet*.—Mark vi. 15. It is a *Prophet*, or as one of the Prophets.—Luke vii. 16. A great *Prophet* is risen up among us.—John vi. 14. This is of a truth *that Prophet*, which should come into the world.—John vii. 40. Of a truth this is *the Prophet*.—Luke xxiv. 19. Jesus of Nazareth, which was a *Prophet*, mighty indeed and word before God and all the people. —Matt. xxi. 11. This is Jesus *the Prophet*, of Nazareth of Galilee.

§ 9. *That the Messiah should begin to publish the Gospel in Galilee.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. ix. 1, 2. In *Galilee* of the nations, the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. iv. 12. 17. Now when Jesus heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into *Galilee*. From that time Jesus began to preach and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

§ 10. *That the Messiah should confirm his doctrine by great miracles.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. xxxv. 5, 6. Then the *eyes* of the *blind* shall be *opened*, and the *ears* of the *deaf* shall be *unstopped*: then shall the *lame* man *leap* as an hart, and the *tongue* of the *dumb* sing.—Isa. xlii. 7. To *open* the *blind eyes*.—Isa. xxxii. 3. The *eyes* of them that *see* shall not be dim; and the *ears* of them that *hear*, shall hearken.—Isa. xxix. 18. The *deaf* shall *hear* the words of the book; and the *eyes* of the *blind* shall *see* out of obscurity and darkness.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xi. 4, 5. Jesus . . . said, 'Go and shew John those things which ye do hear and see: the *blind* receive their *sight*,

and the *lame walk*; the lepers are cleansed, and the *deaf hear*, the *dead* are *raised* up.—Luke vii. 21. In the same hour, he cured many of their infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto many that were *blind*, he gave *sight*.—Matt. iv. 23, 24. Jesus went about all Galilee . . . . healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease among the people . . . They brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatic, and those that had the palsy, and he healed them.—Matt. xv. 30, 31. And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were *lame*, *blind*, *dumb*, *maimed*, and many others; and cast them down at Jesus's feet, and he *healed* them. Insomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the *dumb* to *speak*, the *maimed* to be *whole*, the *lame* to *walk*, and the *blind* to *see*.—Acts ii. 22. Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by *miracles* and wonders and signs; which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye know.

As it would swell this article of the Supplement to an undue length, were we to state at length *all* the miracles of Jesus Christ related by the evangelists, we annex (in further proof of the fulfilments of the prophecies concerning them) the following catalogue of them, from the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists Demonstrated, pp. 283—286.

1. Water turned into Wine	John ii.
2. Nobleman's Son of Capernaum healed	John iv.
3. Passing unseen through the Multitude	Luke iv.
4. Miraculous Draught of Fishes	Luke v.
5. Demoniac cured	Mark i. Luke iv.
6. Peter's Wife's Mother cured	Matt. viii. Mark i. Luke iv.
7. *Multitudes* healed	Matt. viii. Mark i. Luke iv.
8. *Also throughout Galilee*	Matt. iv. Mark i.
9. A Leper healed	Matt. viii. Mark i. Luke v.
10. The Paralytic let down in a bed	Matt. ix. Mark ii. Luke v.
11. The impotent Man, at Bethesda	John v.
12. The withered Hand, on the Sabbath	Matt. xii. Mark iii. Luke vi.
13. *Many healed*	Matt. xii. Mark iii.
14. *Many*, and some by mere touch	Luke vi.
15. Centurion's Servant	Matt. viii. Luke vii.

16. The Widow's Son raised, at Nain	Luke vii.
17. *Various Miracles* appealed to	Matt. xi. Luke vii.
18. *Many healed*	Matt. ix.
19. A Demoniac	Matt. ix. Mark iii. Luke xi.
20. The Tempest stilled	Matt. viii. Mark iv. Luke viii.
21. The Legion of Devils cast out [1]	Matt. viii. Mark iv. Luke viii.
22. The Woman who touched his Garment	Matt. ix. Mark v. Luke viii.
23. The Daughter of Jairus raised	Matt. ix. Mark v. Luke viii.
24. Two blind men	Matt. ix.
25. A dumb Demoniac	Matt. ix.
26. Power given to the Apostles to heal	Matt. x. Mark vi. Luke ix.
27. *Many Sick healed*	Matt. xiv. Luke ix.
28. Five thousand fed	Matt. xiv. Mark vi. Luke ix. John vi.
29. He walks on the Sea	Matt. xiv. Mark vi. John vi.
30. Ship immediately at its Destination	John vi.
31. As many as touched healed	Matt. xiv. Mark vi.
32. Daughter of Syrophœnician Woman	Matt. xv. Mark vii.
33. Deaf and dumb Man	Mark vii.
34. *Multitudes healed*	Matt. xv.
35. Four Thousand fed	Matt. xv. Mark viii.
36. A blind Man cured	Mark viii.
37. The great Miracle of the Transfiguration	Matt. xvii. Mark ix. Luke ix.
38. A deaf and dumb Demoniac	Matt. xvii. Mark ix. Luke ix.

[1] St. Matthew says two demoniacs, the others mention only one. Probably one was more remarkable than the other.

39. A Fish brings the tribute Money	Matt. xvii.
40. The Man blind from his Birth	John ix.
41. The infirm Woman restored	Luke xiii.
42. The Dropsy healed on the Sabbath	Luke xiv.
43. Ten Lepers cleansed	Luke xvii.
44. Lazarus raised from the Dead	John xi.
45. Blind Bartimeus cured[1]	Matt. xx. Mark x. Luke xviii.
46. *Many blind and lame*	Matt. xxi.
47. The barren Fig-tree destroyed	Matt. xxi. Mark xi.
48. The ear of Malchus restored	Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. John xviii.
49. Miraculous Draught of Fishes, after his Resurrection	John xxi.

§ 11. *In what manner the Messiah was to make his public entry into Jerusalem.*

Prophecy.—Zech. ix. 9. Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Jerusalem, behold thy King cometh unto thee; he is just and having salvation, lowly and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass.

Fulfilment.—Matt. xxi. 7—10. The disciples—brought the ass and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and set him (Jesus) thereon, (that is, *upon the clothes*). And great multitudes spread their garments, &c. &c.—Matt. xxi. 4, 5. *All this was done*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, 'Behold thy king cometh,' &c. &c.

§ 12. *That the Messiah should be poor and despised, and be betrayed by one of his own disciples for thirty pieces of silver*, (at that time the ordinary price of the vilest slave); *with which the potter's field should be purchased.*

Prophecy.—Isa. liii. 3. There is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised and we esteemed him not.—Ps. xli. 9. and Ps. lv. 12—14. Yea, mine own familiar friend in whom I trusted, who did eat of my bread, hath lift up his heel against me.—Zech. xi. 12. So they weighed for my price *thirty pieces of silver*.—Zech. xi. 13. And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was prized at of them! And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord.

Fulfilment.—Luke ix. 58. The Son of man hath not where to lay his head.—2 Cor. viii. 9. For your sakes he became poor.—John xi. 35. Jesus wept.—Luke xxii. 3, 4. Then Satan entered into Judas, being one of the twelve, and he went his way, and communed with the chief priests how he might betray him unto them.—Matt. xxvi. 14.

[1] St. Matthew says two blind men. Of whom doubtless Bartimeus was the most remarkable.

And Judas went unto the chief priests, and said unto them, what will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you; and they covenanted with him for *thirty pieces of silver*.—Matt. xxvii. 3—8. Then Judas, who had betrayed him, brought again the thirty pieces of silver, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood; and he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the silver, and they said it is not lawful to put it into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the *potter's field*, to bury strangers in.

§ 13. *That the Messiah should suffer pain and death for the sins of the World.*

Prophecy.—Psal. xxii. 16, 17. For dogs (that is, the *Heathens*, whom the Jews called dogs), have compassed me; the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me; they pierced my hands and my feet. I may tell all my bones; they look and stare upon me.—Isa. l. 6. I gave my *back* to the *smiters*, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair. I hid not my face from *shame* and spitting.—Isa. liii. 5, 8. He was wounded for our transgressions: he was bruised for our iniquities: by his stripes we are healed. He was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken. —Isa. liii. 12. And he *bare* the sin of *many*.

Fulfilment.—John xix. 1, 2. Then Pilate took Jesus, and *scourged* him. And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, — and they *smote* him with the palms of their hands.—Matt. xxvii. 30.; Mark 15, 19. And they did *spit* upon him,—and *smote* him on the head.—Mark xv. 25. And they crucified him.—1 Pet. ii. 23, 24. Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not. Who bare *our* sins in his own body on the *tree* (the cross).

§ 14. *That the Messiah should be cruelly mocked and derided.*

Prophecy.—Psal. xxii. 12, 13, 7, 8. Many bulls have compassed me; strong bulls of Bashan—(that is, the wicked and furious Jews, who like the beasts fattened on the fertile plains of Bashan, "waxed fat, and kicked,"—became proud and rebellious)—have beset me round. They gaped upon me with their mouths as a ravening and roaring lion. All they that see me, laugh me to scorn; they shoot out the lip, saying, *He trusted in God that he would deliver him: let him deliver him*, seeing he delighted in him.

Fulfilment.—Matt. xxvii. 39, 41, 42.; Mark xv. 31, 32.; Luke xxiii. 35, 36. And they that passed by, reviled him, wagging their heads. Likewise also the chief priests, and the rulers also with them, derided, *and* mocking, said among themselves, with the scribes and elders, 'He saved others, himself he cannot save; if he be the Christ, the chosen of God, let him now come down from the cross, and save himself, that we may see, and we will believe him. *He trusted in God, let him deliver him* now, if he will have him.' And the soldiers also mocked him,—saying, 'If thou be the King of the Jews, save thyself.'

§ 15. *That vinegar and gall should be offered to the Messiah upon the cross; and that his garments should be divided, and lots cast for his vesture.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. lxix. 21. They gave me also gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.—Psal. xxii. 18. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.

FULFILMENT.—John xix. 29.; Matt. xxvii. 48.; Mark xv. 36. And they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth.—John xix. 23, 24. And the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also his coat: now the coat was without seam. They said, therefore, Let us not rend it, but cast lots, whose it shall be.

§ 16. *That not a bone of the Messiah should be broken.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. xxxiv. 20. He keepeth all his bones; not one of them is broken.—Zech. xii. 10. And they shall look upon me whom they have *pierced*.

FULFILMENT.—John xix. 32—34. Then came the soldiers, and broke the legs of the first; and of the other which was crucified with him: but when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs. But one of the soldiers with a spear *pierced* his side, and forthwith there came out blood and water.

§ 17. *That the Messiah should die with malefactors, but be buried honourably.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. liii. 9. And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xxvii. 38. 57—60. Then were there two thieves crucified with him. There came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, and begged the body of Jesus; and he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb.

§ 18. *That the Messiah should rise from the dead and ascend into heaven.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. xvi. 9, 10. My flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in *hell* (the separate state of departed spirits) neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption.—Isa. liii. 10. When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin,—he shall prolong his days.—Psal. lxviii. 18. Thou hast *ascended* up on high; thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts for men, that the Lord God might dwell among them.

FULFILMENT.—Acts ii. 31. (David) spake before of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in *hell* (Hades, or the separate state;) neither did his flesh see corruption. See also Acts xiii. 35.—Matt. xxviii. 5, 6. The angels said unto the women, 'He is not here, for he is *risen*, as he said.' See Luke xxiv. 5, 6.—1 Cor. xv. 4. He rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures.—Acts i. 3. He shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs.—Mark xvi. 19.; Luke xxiv. 51.: Acts i. 9. So then, after the Lord had spoken to them, while he was blessing them, and while they beheld, he was parted from them, and *carried up* into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God. Compare also 1 Pet. iii. 22.; 1 Tim. iii. 16.; Heb. vi. 20.

§ 19. *That the Messiah should send the Holy Spirit, the Comforter.*

PROPHECY.—Joel ii. 28. I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophecy.

FULFILMENT.—See all these promises and predictions fulfilled in cts ii. 1—4.; iv. 31.; viii. 17.; x. 44.; xi. 15.

SECTION II.

PREDICTIONS RELATIVE TO THE OFFICES OF THE MESSIAH.

§ 1. *That the Messiah was to be a* PROPHET *and* LEGISLATOR LIKE UNTO MOSES, *but superior to him, who should change the law of Moses into a new and more perfect law, common both to Jews and Gentiles, and which should last for ever.*

PROPHECY.—Deut. xviii. 18, 19. I will raise them up a *Prophet* from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words into his mouth.... And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. See also Deut xviii. 15. Acts iii. 22. and vii. 37.

FULFILMENT.—That the Messiah was to be a *Prophet*, generally, see § 8. p. (167) *supra*; and how closely Jesus Christ resembled Moses, to whom he was also infinitely superior in many respects, will appear from the following particulars.

(i.) *As to the dignity of his person.*—Heb. iii. 5, 6. Moses verily was faithful in all his house, as a *servant*, for a testimony of those things which were to be spoken after; but Christ as a *Son* over his own house, whose house are we. Other prophets had revelations in dreams and visions, but Moses talked with God face to face. Christ spake that which he had seen with the father.

(ii.) *As to his legislative office.*—Moses was a *Legislator*, and the *Mediator* of a covenant between God and man. Christ was the *Mediator* of a better covenant than that which was established by the sacrifice of bulls and goats. The one was mortal; the other divine. Other prophets were only interpreters and enforcers of the law, and in this respect were greatly inferior to Moses. This is of itself a sufficient proof, that a succession of prophets could not be *solely* alluded to. The person who was to be raised up, could not be like Moses in a strict sense, unless he were a legislator—he must give a law to mankind, and consequently a more excellent law; for if the first had been perfect, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews argues, there could have been no room for a second. Christ was this legislator, who gave a law more perfect in its nature, more extensive in its application, and more glorious in its promises and rewards.—Heb. vii. 18, 19. There is a disannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof; for the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a *better hope* (i. e. of a new law) did, by the which we draw nigh to God.

The *Law* of Moses belonged to one nation only, but the Gospel, which is the *Law of Christ*, is designed *for all nations*. The Messiah was to *enact a new Law*, Isa. iv. 3. Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the law from Jerusalem. This new law or covenant was to be *common to all nations*; see Isa. ii. 2, 3. and li. 4, 5.; and was to endure for ever; see Isa. lix. 21.; Jer. xxi. 34.; Ezek. xxxvi. 27. xxxvii. 26; Isa. lv. 3. lxi. 8.; Jer. xxxii. 40.; Ezek. xxxiv. 25.; Dan. vii. 13, 14.; Isa. xlii. 6. lxii. 2.; compared with Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Moses instituted the passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were to be broken, and whose blood protected the people from destruction—Christ was himself that paschal lamb. Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care; and, to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he used his utmost endeavours to make the people obedient to God, and to save them from ruin; but in vain: in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness except two—Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse; his instructions and his miracles were lost upon them; and in about the same space of time after they had rejected him, they were destroyed.

(iii.) *As to his prophetic office and character.*—Moses foretold the calamities that would befal his nation for their disobedience—Christ predicted the same events, fixed the precise time, and enlarged upon the previous and subsequent circumstances.

Moses chose and appointed seventy elders to preside over the people—Christ chose the same number of disciples. Moses sent twelve men to spy out the land which was to be conquered—Christ sent his twelve apostles into the world, to subdue it by a more glorious and miraculous conquest.

Moses was very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth—Christ was meek and lowly; mildness, patience, and resignation were conspicuous in all his actions; he submitted with the most perfect composure of mind to every indignity; when he was reviled, he answered not again, but resigned himself to him who judgeth rightly.

The people could not enter into the land of promise till Moses was dead—by the death of Christ "the kingdom of heaven was opened to believers."

(iv.) *As to the benefits conferred.*—Moses delivered the Israelites from their cruel bondage in Egypt; he contended with the magicians, and had the advantage over them so manifestly, that they could no longer withstand him, but were constrained to acknowledge the divine power by which he was assisted. Moses conducted the Israelites through the desert; assuring them that if they would be obedient, they should enter into the happy land of promise, which the wiser Jews usually understood to be a type of the eternal and celestial kingdom, to which the Messiah was to open an entrance. And Moses interceded with the Almighty for that rebellious people, and stopped the wrath of God, by lifting up the brazen serpent in the wilderness.—But JESUS has delivered us from the far worse tyranny of Satan and sin, and He *saves* ALL who truly believe in him, and unfeignedly repent, *from* the guilt, the power, and the punishment of *their sins* (Matt. i. 23.)—

Jesus Christ cast out evil spirits, and received their acknowledgements both of the dignity of his nature and the importance of his mission. He was lifted up on the cross, and was the atonement for the whole world. He has also brought life and immortality to light; and opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers. As our forerunner, he hath entered into heaven, that where he is, there his followers may be also (Heb. vi. 20. ix. 24.; John xiv. 2, 3.); and as an *Advocate* he *ever* liveth to make intercession for all that come unto God by him. (1 John ii. 1.; Heb. vii. 25.)

Moses wrought a great variety of miracles, and in this particular the parallel is remarkable: since besides Christ *there arose not a prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, and all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do.* (Deut. xxxiv.) Moses was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest. He is called king (Deut. xxxiii. 5.), and he had indeed, though not the pomp, and the crown, and the sceptre, yet the authority of a king, and was the supreme magistrate; and the office of priest he often exercised. In all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was striking and exact.

Moses fed the people miraculously in the wilderness—Christ with bread and with doctrine; and the manna which descended from heaven, and the loaves which Christ multiplied, were proper images of the spiritual food which the Saviour of the world bestowed upon his disciples.

Moses expressly declares, "that it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which the prophet shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." The Jews rejected Christ, and God rejected them. In the whole course of the history of the Jews there is no instance recorded, where, in the case of disobedience to the warnings or advice of any prophet, such terrible calamities ensued, as those which followed the rejection of the Messiah. The overthrow of the Jewish empire, the destruction of so many Jews at the siege of Jerusalem, the dispersion of the surviving people, and the history of the Jews down to the present day—calamities beyond measure and beyond example—fulfilled the prophecy of Moses.

(v.) *As to the circumstances of his death.*—Moses died in one sense for the iniquities of his people: it was their rebellion, which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him: "The Lord," said Moses to them, "was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou shalt not go in thither, but thou shalt die." (Deut. i. 37.) Moses therefore went up in the sight of the people to the top of Mount Nebo, and there he died when he was in perfect vigour, "when his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated."—Christ suffered for the sins of men, and was led up in the presence of the people to Mount Calvary, were he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from sacred history, were ever sick or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent. Their sufferings were of another kind.

As Moses a little before his death promised the people that God would raise them up a Prophet like unto him—so Christ, taking leave

of his afflicted disciples, told them, *I will not leave you comfortless; I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter.* (John xiv. 18. 16.)

"Is this similitude and correspondence, in so many particulars, the effect of mere chance?" says Dr. Jortin, to whom we are principally indebted for the preceding circumstances of resemblance between Jesus Christ and the Great Prophet and Legislator of the Jews;—"Let us search all the records of universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so like to Moses as Christ was. If we cannot find such a one, then we have found HIM of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, to be Jesus of Nazareth, THE SON OF GOD."[1]

§ 2. *The Messiah was to be a Teacher, who was to instruct and enlighten men.*

(i.) *Messiah was to be a Teacher.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. lxi. 1. The Lord hath anointed me to *preach* good tidings unto the meek.—Isa. liv. 13. All thy people shall be *taught* of the Lord.—Psal. lxxviii. I will open my mouth in a *parable.*

FULFILMENT.—Mark i. 14. Jesus came .... *preaching* the kingdom of God.—Luke viii. 1. He went throughout every city and village, *preaching*, and shewing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God.—Mark vi. 6. He went round about all the villages *teaching*.—Luke iv. 15. 44. He *taught* in their synagogues; and he *preached* in the synagogues of Galilee. See also Matt. iv. 23. ix. 35. ; Mark i. 38, 39.—Matt. xi. The poor have the Gospel *preached* unto them.—Matt. xiii. 34. All these things spake Jesus unto the multitude in *parables*, and without a parable spake he not unto them, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in *parables*.—Mark iv. 33. With many such *parables* spake he the word unto them. The following list of parables may serve to illustrate the prophetic character of the Messiah as a teacher; it is borrowed from Mr. Archdeacon Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists Demonstrated, pp. 287—289.

1. Of the Blind leading the Blind	Luke vi.
2. Of the House built on a Rock	Matt. vii. Luke vi.
3. Of the two Debtors	Luke vii.
4. Of the relapsing Demoniac	Matt. xii. Luke xi.
5. Of the rich Man and his vain Hopes	Luke xii.
6. Of the Lord returning from a Wedding	Luke xii.
7. Of the barren Fig-tree	Luke xiii.
8. Of the Sower	Matt xiii. Mark iv. Luke viii.
9. Of the Tares	Matt. xiii.

[1] Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. pp. 135—150. second edition. See also Bp. Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. i. pp. 90—101. London, 1793, ninth Edition.

10. Of the Seed sown	Mark iv.
11. Of the Mustard Seed	Matt. xiii. Mark iv.
12. Of the Leaven	Matt. xiii.
13. Of the hid Treasure	Ibid.
14. Of the Merchant seeking Pearls	Ibid.
15. Of the Net cast into the Sea	Ibid.
16. Of the good Householder	Ibid.
17. Of the new Cloth and old Garment	Matt. ix. Mark ii. Luke v.
18. Of the new Wine and old Bottles	Matt. ix. Mark ii. Luke v.
19. Of the Plant, not planted by God	Matt. xv.
20. Of the lost Sheep	Matt. xviii. Luke xv.
21. Of the unmerciful Servant	Matt. viii.
22. Of the Shepherd and the Sheep	John x.
23. Of the good Samaritan	Luke x.
24. Of the Guest choosing the highest Seat	Luke xiv.
25. Of the great Supper	Ibid.
26. Of the building a Tower	Ibid.
27. Of the King preparing for War	Ibid.
28. Of the Salt	Ibid.
29. Of the Piece of Silver lost	Luke xv.
30. Of the Prodigal Son	Ibid.
31. Of the unjust Steward	Luke xvi.
32. Of the rich Man and Lazarus	Ibid.
33. Of the Master commanding his Servant	Luke xvii.
34. Of the unjust Judge and Widow	Luke xviii.
35. Of the Pharisee and Publican	Ibid.
36. Of the Labourers hired at different Hours	Matt. xx.
37. Of the Ten Pounds and Ten Servants	Luke xix.
38. Of the professing and the repenting Son	Matt. xxi.
39. Of the wicked Husbandman	Matt. xxi. Mark xi. Luke xx.
40. Of the Guests bidden and the Wedding Garment	Matt. xxii.
41. Of the Fig-tree putting forth Leaves	Matt. xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.
42. Of the Thief in the Night	Matt. xxiv.
43. Of the Man taking a long Journey	Mark xiii.
44. Of the faithful and unfaithful Servant	Matt. xxiv.
45. Of the Ten Virgins	Matt xxv.
46. Of the Talents	Ibid.

Perhaps also the following may be added.

47. Children in the Market-place ..... { Matt. xi. Luke vii.

48. The strong Man keeping his House ..... { Matt. xii. Mark iii. Luke ix.

(ii.) *Messiah was to instruct and enlighten men.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. ix. 2. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

FULFILMENT.—John xii. 46. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness. (See also John viii. 12. ix. 5.)—Luke ii. 32. A light to lighten the Gentiles.—Acts xxvi. 18. To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.—Eph. v. 8. Ye were sometime darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light.—Acts iii. 26. God having raised up his son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.

§ 3. *He was to be the Messiah, Christ, or Anointed of God.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. lxi. 1. The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath *anointed* me to preach good tidings unto the meek.—Dan. ix. 24, 25. To *anoint* the most holy,—the *Messiah* the Prince.—Psal. cxxxii. 17. I have ordained a lamp for mine *Anointed*. See also Psal. lxxxix. 20. 51.—Psal. ii. 2. The rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his *Anointed* or *Messiah*.

FULFILMENT.—John iv. 25. 42. I know that the *Messiah* cometh, which is called the *Christ*. This is indeed the *Christ*.—vi. 69. We believe and are sure that thou art the *Christ*, the Son of the living God. See also John xi. 27. Mat. xvi. 16.—Mat. xxvi. 63, 64. The high priest said, 'I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the *Christ* the Son of God;' Jesus saith unto him, 'Thou hast said.' See also Mark xiv. 61.—Acts xviii. 28. He mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the *Christ*. See also Acts ix. 22. and xvii. 3.—Acts ii. 36. Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and *Christ*.—Phil. ii. 11. That every tongue should confess that Jesus *Christ* is Lord.

§ 4. *The Messiah was to be a priest.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. cx. 4. Thou art a *priest* for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck. (Cited in Heb. v. 6. vii. 21.)—Zech. vi. 13. He shall be a *priest* upon his throne.

FULFILMENT.—Heb. iv. 14. We have a great *high priest* that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God. (See also viii. 1.)—Heb. iii. 1. x. 21. Consider the apostle and *high priest* of our profession, Christ Jesus.—Heb. ii. 17. That he might be a merciful and faithful *high priest* in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation

for the sins of the people.—Heb. vii. 24. This man becasue he continueth for ever hath an unchangeable *priesthood.*

§ 5. *The Messiah was, by the offering of himself as a sacrifice for sin, to make an end of sin, to make reconciliation for iniquity, to make men holy, and to destroy the power of the devil.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. liii. 6, 10, 11, 12. The Lord hath *laid on him the iniquity of us all.* Thou shalt make his soul an *offering for sin.* He shall bear their *iniquities.* He bare the *sin* of many.—Dan. ii. 24. To *finish* the *transgression,* to make an *end of sins,* and to make *reconciliation for iniquity,* and to bring in an everlasting righteousness, —Gen. iii. 15. It (the seed of the woman, the promised Messiah) shall *bruise* thy (Satan's) head.

FULFILMENT.—Eph. v. 2. Christ hath given himself *for us,* an *offering* and a *sacrifice* to God. (See also 2 Cor. v. 21. Rom. viii. 3.)—1 John ii. 2. He is the *propitiation* for our sins.—Heb. ix. 14. Christ, who through the eternal spirit *offered himself* without spot, to God.—1 Pet. i. 19. *Redeemed*—with the precious blood of Christ, as of a *lamb* without blemish.—1 Pet. iii. 18. Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.—Heb. x. 12. This man, after he had offered one *sacrifice* for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God.—Heb. ix. 12. Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place.—Heb. vii. 27. Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice first for his own sins, and then for the people's; for this he did once when he offered up himself.—Heb. ix. 25, 26. Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others. But now, once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the *sacrifice of himself.*—John i. 29. The lamb of God, which *taketh away the sin* of the world. —Acts v. 31. To give repentance to Israel and *forgiveness of sins.* —1 Cor. xv. 3. Christ died *for our sins* according to the Scriptures.—1 John i. 7. The blood of Jesus Christ his son *cleanseth us from all sin.*—Rom. v. 10. We were *reconciled* to God by the death of his son. —2 Cor. v. 18. Who hath *reconciled* us to himself by Jesus Christ.—Col. i. 20. By him (Christ) to *reconcile* all things unto himself.—Heb. v. 8, 9. He became the author of *salvation* unto all them that obey him.—2 Cor. v. 15. He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them. (See also Rom. vi. 10—12. 1 Thess. v. 10.)—1 Pet. ii. 24. Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that *we,* being dead to sin, *should live unto righteousness.*—Tit. ii. 14. Who gave himself for us, that he might *redeem us from all iniquity,* and purify unto himself a *peculiar people zealous of good works.*—1 Cor. vi. 20. Ye are *bought* with a price; therefore *glorify* God in your *body and in your spirit, which are God's.*—1 Pet. iv. 1, 2. As Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh, arm yourselves likewise with the same mind; for he that hath suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sin, that he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh, to the lusts of men, but *to the will of God.*—Col. i. 20. By him (Christ) to *reconcile* all things unto himself.

§ 6. *The Messiah was to be a Saviour.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. lix. 20. The *Redeemer* shall come to Zion, and to them that turn from transgression in Jacob.—lxii. 11. Say ye to the daughter of Zion, 'Behold thy *salvation* cometh.'

FULFILMENT.—1. John iv. 14. The Father sent the Son to be *the Saviour* of the world.—Luke ii. 11. Unto you is born a *Saviour*, which is Christ the Lord. (See also Matt. i. 21. Acts xiii. 23.)—John iv. 42. We have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ *the Saviour* of the world.—Acts v. 31. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a prince and a *Saviour*, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins.—2 Pet. ii. 20. Have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and *Saviour* Jesus Christ. (See also 2 Pet. iii. 18.)—Tit. iii. 6. The Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our *Saviour*.—2 Pet. i. 1. Through the righteousness of God, and our *Saviour* Jesus Christ.—Phil. iii. 20. From whence (heaven) we also look for the *Saviour*, the Lord Jesus Christ.—Tit. ii. 13. Looking for . . . . the appearing of our great God and *Saviour*, Jesus Christ.

§ 7. *The Messiah was to be a mediator.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. cx. 1. The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand.—Dan. ix. 17. 19. O our God, cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate for the Lord's sake. Defer not for thine own sake, O my God.—Isa. viii. 14. He shall be for a sanctuary.

FULFILMENT.—John xiv. 6. Jesus saith unto him, 'I am the way and the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.'—1 Tim. ii. 5. There is one God, and one *mediator* between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.—Heb. xii. 24. Jesus the *mediator* of the new covenant. (See also Heb. vii. 22. viii. 6. ix. 15.)—John xv. 16. xvi. 23, 24. Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you; hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name.—John xiv. 14. If ye shall ask any thing in my name I will do *it*.

§ 8. *The Messiah was to be an intercessor.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. liii. 12. He made *intercession* for the transgressors.

FULFILMENT.—Luke xxiii. 34 Jesus said, *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.*—Heb. ix. 24. Christ is entered into Heaven itself, now to *appear* in the presence of God *for us*.—1 John ii. 1. If any man sin we have an *advocate* with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.—Rom. viii. 34. Christ, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh *intercession* for us.—Heb. vii. 25. He is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make *intercession* for them.

§ 9. *Messiah was to be a shepherd.*

PROPHECY.—Isa. xl. 11. He shall feed his flock like a *shepherd*, he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.—Ezek. xxxiv. 23. I will set up one *shepherd* over them, even my servant David.—(See also Ezek. xxxvii. 24.)

FULFILMENT.—John x. 11. 14. I am the good *shepherd*, and know my sheep, and am known of mine. Other *sheep* (that is, the Gentiles) I have, which are not of this fold . . . and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, *and* one *shepherd*.—Heb. xiii. 20. Our Lord Jesus, that great *shepherd* of the sheep.—1 Pet. ii. 25. Ye are now returned unto the *shepherd* and bishop of your souls.—1 Pet. v. 1, 2. 4. The elders, I exhort, feed the flock of God; and when the *chief shepherd* shall appear ye shall receive a crown.

§ 10. *Messiah was to be a king, superior to all others, the head and ruler of the church, and more particularly exalted as a king, after his sufferings and resurrection.*

(i.) *Messiah was to be a king.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. ii. 6. Yet have I set my *king* upon my holy hill of Zion.—Psal. cxxxii. 11. The Lord hath sworn to David, 'Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy *throne*.' (See also Isa. ix. 6. lv. 4. Zech. vi. 13.)—Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. A *king* shall reign and prosper; this is his name whereby he shall be called, 'The Lord our righteousness.' (See also Isa. xxxii. 1.)—Ezek. xxxvii. 24, 25. David my servant shall be *king* over them. (See also xxxiv. 23, 24. Jer. xxx. 9. Hos. iii. 5.)—Zech. ix. 9. Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem, behold thy *king* cometh unto thee. (Cited as fulfilled in Matt. xxi. 5. John xii. 15. Luke xix. 38.)

FULFILMENT.—Matt. ii. 5, 6. Thus it is written by the prophet, 'Out of thee shall come a *governor*, that shall rule my people Israel.' (Mich. v. 2.)—Luke i. 32, 33. The Lord God shall give unto him the *throne* of his father David, and he shall *reign* over the house of Jacob for ever.—John i. 49. Nathaniel answered, 'Thou art the son of God, Thou art the *king* of Israel.'—John xviii. 33, 36, 37. Pilate said, 'Art thou the *king* of the Jews?' Jesus answered, 'My kingdom is not of this world: now is my kingdom not from hence.' Pilate said, 'Art thou a king then?' Jesus answered, 'Thou sayest that I am a king.' (See also Matt. xxvii. 11.—Acts v. 31. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a *prince* and a saviour.

(ii.) *Messiah was to be a king, superior to all others, the head and ruler of the church.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. lxxxix. 27. 36. I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth. His throne as the sun before me. —Dan. vii. 13, 14. One like the Son of Man;—There was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom; that all people, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion. (See also Dan. vii. 27. ii. 44.)

FULFILMENT.—Rev. i. 5. The *Prince of the kings of the earth*.—1 Tim. vi. 15. Who is the blessed and only potentate, the *King of kings and Lord of lords*. (See also Rev. xvii. 14. xix. 16.)—Eph. i. 21. Far *above* all principality and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.—Phil. ii. 9. God hath highly *exalted* him, and given him a name which is *above every name*.—Eph. i. 22, 23. God hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be *Head* over all things *to the Church*, which is his body.—Col. i. 18. Christ is the

Head of the Church, which is his body. (See also Eph. v. 23.)—Eph. iv. 15, 16. Who is the *Head, even* Christ; from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted .... maketh increase.—1 Cor. xii. 27. Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.

(iii.) *Messiah the king was to be exalted more particularly after his sufferings and resurrection.*

PROPHECY.—Psal. ii. 6, 7. (cited and applied to Christ in Acts xiii. 33. and Heb. v. 5.) I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.—Psal. viii. 5. Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.—Isa. liii. 10, 12. When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed; and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.—Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong, because he hath poured out his soul unto death.

FULFILMENT.—1 Pet. i. 11. The prophets . . . testified before hand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow.—Luke xxiv. 26. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and to have entered into glory?—John xvii. 1. The hour is come, glorify thy son.—Rom. i. 4. Declared to be the Son of God with power .... by the resurrection from the dead.—1 Pet. i. 21. God . . . raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory.—1 Pet. iii. 22. Who is gone into Heaven, and is on the right hand of God, angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him.—Acts ii. 32, 33. Jesus hath God raised up. . . . therefore, being by the right hand of God exalted—Phil. ii. 8, 9. Being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; wherefore God also hath highly exalted him.—Heb. ii. 9. We see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour.—Heb. xii. 2. Who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.

PART II.

THE PRINCIPAL PREDICTIONS BY JESUS CHRIST, RELATIVE TO HIS SUFFERINGS, DEATH, RESURRECTION, THE SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

SECTION I.

PREDICTIONS (FOR THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS DISCIPLES' FAITH) THAT THEY WOULD FIND THINGS ACCORDING TO HIS WORD.

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxi. 1, 2, 3. Mark xi. 2. Luke xix. 30, 31. Jesus sent two disciples, saying unto them, 'Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied and a colt with her,

loose them, and bring them unto me; and if any man shall say aught unto you, ye shall say, 'The Lord hath need of them,' and straightway he will send them.' Luke xix. 30.—Mark xiv. 13, 14, 15. Go ye into the city, and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water, follow him; and wheresoever he shall go in, say ye to the good man of the house, 'The master saith, Where is the guest chamber where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?' And he will shew you a large upper room. (See also Matt. xxvi. 18.)

Fulfilment.—Mark xi. 4, 5, 6. Luke xix. 32. They found the colt tied by the door without, in a place where two ways met, and they loose him; and certain of them that stood there said to them, 'What do ye loosing the colt?' and they said unto them even as Jesus had commanded, and they let them go.—Luke xxii. 13. Mark. xiv. 16. They went and found as he had said unto them.

SECTION II.

PREDICTIONS OF JESUS CHRIST, RELATIVE TO HIS SUFFERINGS, DEATH, RESURRECTION, AND ASCENSION.

§ 1. *That he was to be betrayed by one of his disciples, and by Judas Iscariot.*

Prophecy.—John vi. 70, 71. Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil? He spake of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, for he it was that should betray him.—Matt. xx. 18. Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests and unto the scribes. (See also Matt. xvii. 22. Mark x. 33. Luke ix. 44.)—Matt. xxvi. 2. Ye know, that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the Son of Man is betrayed to be crucified.—John xiii. 10, 11. Ye are clean, but not all; for he knew who should betray him, therefore said he, ye are not all clean. (18. xvii. 12.)—Mark xiv. 18. Jesus said, Verily I say unto you, one of you which eateth with me shall betray me. (Matt. xxvi. 21. John xiii. 21. Luke xxii. 21.)—John xiii. 26. He it is to whom I shall give a sop;—he gave it to Judas Iscariot. (Mark xiv. 20.)—Mark xiv. 42. He that betrayeth me is at hand. (Matt. xxvi. 46.)

Fulfilment.—Matt. xxvi. 14, 15, 16. One of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, and said unto them, What will ye give me and I will deliver him unto you? and they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver; and from that time he sought opportunity to betray him. (Mark xiv. 10. Luke xxii. 3. John xiii. 2.)—Matt. xxvi. 47—49. Judas one of the twelve came, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves from the chief priests and elders of the people. Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he, hold him fast; and forthwith he came to Jesus and said, Hail, master, and kissed him.

§ 2. *That his other disciples would forsake him.*

PROPHECY.—Mark xv. 27. Matt. xxvi. 31. Jesus saith unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night, for it is written, 'I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.'—John xvi. 32. The hour cometh, yea is now come, that ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone.—John xviii. 8. 9. Jesus answered, If ye seek me, let these go their way; that the saying might be fulfilled which he spake, Of them which thou gavest me have I lost none.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xxvi. 56. Then ALL *the disciples* FORSOOK *him and fled.*—Mark xiv. 50. *And they* ALL FORSOOK *him and fled.*

§ 3. *That Peter would deny him.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xxii. 31, 32. Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren.—John xiii. 38. Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, the cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice. (See also Matt. xxvi. 34. Luke xxii. 34.)—Mark xiv. 30. Verily I say unto thee, that this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.

FULFILMENT.—Luke xxii. 60, 61, 62. Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest; and immediately, while he yet spake, the cock crew. And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter, and Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice; and Peter went out and wept bitterly. (See also Matt. xxvi. 75. John xviii. 27.)—Mark xiv. 72. The second time the cock crew, and Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice.

§ 4. *The circumstances, place, and manner of his sufferings.*

(i.) *That he should suffer.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xvi. 21. Mark viii. 31. Luke ix. 22. Jesus began to teach *and* to shew unto his disciples, how that he, the Son of Man, must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and, after three days, be raised again the third day.—Mark ix. 31. Matt. xvii. 22, 23. The Son of Man shall be delivered into the hands of men; and they shall kill him; and after that he is killed, he shall rise the third day.—Mark x. 33, 34. Matt. xx. 18, 19. Luke xviii. 31—33. Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written in the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished: and the Son of Man shall be betrayed, *and* delivered unto the chief priests, and unto the scribes; and they shall condemn him him unto death, and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles. And they shall mock and spitefully entreat him, and shall scourge him, and shall spit upon him, and shall kill him, and crucify *him*; and the third day he shall rise again.

FULFILMENT.—John xi. 53. They took counsel together to put him to death.—Matt. xxvi. 4. Mark xiv. 1. Luke xxii. 2. And consulted how they might take Jesus by subtilty, and put him to death.

Matt. xxvi. 66. Mark xiv. 64. Luke xxii. 71. They answered and said, He is guilty of death .... and they all condemned him to be guilty of death.—Matt. xxvii. 26. Luke xxiii. 24. John xix. 16. When he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.—John xix. 18. Matt. xxvii. 35. Luke xxiii. 33. .... Golgotha; where they crucified him, and two others with him.—Luke xxiv. 6, 7. 26. 46. Remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again .... Ought not Christ to have suffered these things? .... Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day.—Acts ii. 23. Him .... ye have taken, and by wicked hands crucified and slain.—Acts xiii. 27. They have fulfilled *(the prophecies)* in condemning him.—Acts xvii. 3. *(Paul opened and alleged out of the Scriptures)* That Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead.—Gal. iii. 1..... Christ hath evidently been set forth crucified among you.

(ii.) *The* PLACE *where he should suffer*, viz. *at Jerusalem.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xvi. 21. Luke ix. 31. He must go unto Jerusalem and suffer.—Luke xiii. 31. 33. Herod will kill thee.—It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.—Luke xviii. 31. Matt. xx. 18. We go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished.

FULFILMENT.—Luke xxiv. 18. Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days? (See also Matt. xxvii. Mark xv. Luke xxiii. John xix.)—Acts xiii. 27. They that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.—Heb. xiii. 12. Jesus—suffered without the gate.

(iii.) *The* PERSONS, *by whom he was to suffer*, viz. *particularly by the Chief Priests and Gentiles.*

(*a.*) *By the Chief Priests.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xvi. 21. Mark viii. 31. Luke ix. 22. He must suffer many things of the elders and chief-priests and scribes.—Matt. xvii. 12. Likewise shall also the Son of Man suffer of them—Mark x. 33. The Son of Man shall be delivered to the chief priests, and to the scribes, and they shall condemn him to death.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xxvi. 3, 4. John xi. 53. Then assembled together the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high-priest who was called Caiaphas; and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty and kill him.—John xviii. 13. 24. Matt. xxvi. 57. They led him away to Annas first.—Now Annas had sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.—Matt. xxvi. 65, 66. Mark xiv. 64. The high-priest rent his clothes, saying, 'He hath spoken blasphemy,—what think ye?' They answered and said, 'He is guilty of death.'—Matt. xxvii. 20. Luke xxiii. 18.—The chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should *ask* Barabbas and destroy Jesus.—Luke xxiv. 20. Acts xiii. 28. The chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death.

(*b.*) *By the Gentiles.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xviii. 31, 32. Mark x. 33. Matt. xx. 19. The Son of Man shall be delivered to the Gentiles. (Note, that when Jesus foretold that he should be crucified, it also implied that he should be delivered to the Gentiles; for crucifixion was a Roman not a Jewish punishment.)

FULFILMENT.—Acts xiii. 28. Though they found no cause of death *in him*, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain.—Matt. xxvii. 1. Mark xv. 1. They delivered him unto Pontius Pilate the governor. —John xviii. 31, 32. Pilate said unto them, 'Take ye him and judge him according to your law.' The Jews therefore said unto him 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death;' that the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled.—Mark xv. 15. Luke xxiii. 24. Pilate delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.—Acts iv. 27. Against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together.

(iv.) *The manner of his sufferings, viz. by mocking and crucifixion.*

(*a.*) *Jesus foretold that he should be mocked.*

PROPHECY.—Mark ix. 12. The Son of Man must suffer many things and be set at nought.—Luke xviii. 32. Mark x. 34. The Son of Man shall be delivered to the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully intreated, and spitted on.

FULFILMENT.—*At the high priest's.*—Matt. xxvi. 67, 68. Mark xiv. 65. Then did they spit in his face and buffeted him, and others smote him with the palms of their hands, saying 'Prophesy unto us thou Christ, who is he that smote thee?'—*Before Herod.*—Luke xxiii. 11. Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe.—*At Pilate's judgment hall.*—Mark xv. 17, 18, 19. Matt. xxvii. 28. John xix. 2. They clothed him with purple, and platted a crown of thorns and put it about his head, and began to salute him. 'Hail, king of the Jews;' and they smote him on the head with a reed, and did spit upon him, and bowing their knees worshipped him.—*At the cross.*—Mark xv. 29—32.—They that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads and saying, 'Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself, and come down from the cross.' Likewise also, the chief priests mocking, said, among themselves, with the scribes, 'He saved others, himself he cannot save; let Christ the king of Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe.' And they that were crucified with him reviled him.

(*b.*) *Jesus foretold that he should he crucified.*

PROPHECY.—John iii. 14. As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up.—John xii. 32. And I, if I be (*more correctly*, when I am) lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. John viii. 28. When ye have lift up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I am he. Matt. xx. 19. . . . . To mock and to scourge, and to crucify him.

FULFILMENT.—Matt. xxvii. 31. John xix. 16. They led him away to crucify him.—Luke xxiii. 33. Mark xv. 34. When they were come

to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified him.—Luke xxiv. 6, 7. Remember how he spake to you. . . . . The son of man must . . . . be crucified. Compare also Luke xxiv. 20. Acts ii. 23. and iv. 10. 1 Cor. i. 23. Gal. iii. 1.

§ 5. *Jesus Christ predicted his resurrection.*

PROPHECY.—John ii. 19, 21. Jesus said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' He spake of the temple of his body.—John x. 17. I lay down my life that I might take it again. Mark x. 34. (See also Mark viii. 31. Luke ix. 22.) They shall kill him, and the third day he shall rise again.—Matt. xxvii. 62, 63. The chief priests and Pharisees came together to Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said while he was yet alive, 'After three days I will rise again.'

FULFILMENT.—Luke xxiv. 5, 6. Why seek ye the living among the dead? he is not here but is risen; remember how he spake to you when he was yet in Galilee. See also Matt. xxviii. 6. and xxviii. 9, 11. Luke xxiv. 15. 34. 36. John xx. 14. 19. and xxi. 4.—John xx. 27. Then saith he to Thomas, 'Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands, and reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing.'—Acts i. 3. To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days.—Acts x. 40, 41. Him God raised up the third day and shewed him openly, not to all the people, but to witnesses chosen before of God, even to us who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead. See also Acts ii. 32. and iv. 33. 1 Cor. xv. 20. Acts xvii. 3. xxvi. 23. Rom. i. 4.

§ 6. *Jesus Christ foretold that he would appear again to his disciples.*

PROPHECY.—John xvi. 16, 22. A little while and ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father. I will see you again.—Matt. xxvi. 32. Mark xiv. 28. After I am risen again I will go before you into Galilee.—Matt. xxviii. 10. Mark xvi. 7. Go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.

FULFILMENT.—Mark xvi. 14. John xx. 19. Luke xxiv. 36. He appeared to the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief.—Matt. xxviii. 16, 17. The eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him they worshipped him, but some doubted.—John xxi. 1. Jesus shewed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias.—1 Cor. xv. 5, 6. He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve, after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once.

§ 7. *Jesus Christ foretold his ascension into heaven.*

PROPHECY.—John vi. 62. What if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before.—xvi. 28. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world, again I leave the world, and go to the Father.—xx. 17. I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my brethren and say unto them, 'I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.' See also John vii. 33. xiii. 33. xiv. 19. and xvii. 13.

FULFILMENT.—Mark. xvi. 19. After the Lord had spoken unto them he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God. (See also Luke xxiv. 51.)—Acts i. 9, 10. While they beheld he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight.—They looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up.—Eph. iv. 10. He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens. See also 1 Pet. iii. 22. Heb. ix. 24. iv. 14. vi. 20. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

SECTION III.

PROPHECIES BY JESUS CHRIST RELATIVE TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

§ 1. *The signs, which were to precede the destruction of Jerusalem.*

(i.) *The* FIRST SIGN *is, the appearance of false Christs or Messiahs.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 3, 4. Mark xiii. 5, 6. Luke xxi. 8. *Take heed that no man deceive you; for many shall come in my name, saying 'I am Christ,' and shall deceive many; and the time draweth near.*

FULFILMENT.—These false Christs began to appear soon after our Lord's death, but they multiplied as the national calamities increased. Josephus informs us, that there were many who pretending to divine inspiration deceived the people, leading out numbers of them into the desert. He does not indeed expressly say that they called themselves the *Messiah* or Christ: yet he says that which is equivalent, viz. that they pretended that God would there shew them the signs of liberty, meaning redemption from the Roman yoke, which thing the Jews expected the Messiah would do for them (compare Luke xxiv. 21.). Josephus further adds, that an Egyptian false prophet led thirty thousand men into the desert, who were almost entirely cut off by Felix the Roman Procurator[1]. The same historian relates that in the reign of Claudius, "the land was over-run with magicians, seducers, and impostors, who drew the people after them in multitudes into solitudes and deserts, to see the signs and miracles which they promised to shew by the power of God[2]." Felix, and afterwards Festus, governors of Judea, judging these proceedings to be the commencement of rebellion against the Romans, continually sent out detachments of soldiers, and destroyed great numbers of the deluded populace. Among these impostors were Dositheus the Samaritan, who affirmed that he was the Christ foretold by Moses; Simon Magus, who said that he appeared among the Jews as the Son of God; and Theudas, who pretending to be a prophet, persuaded many of the people to take their goods and follow him to the river Jordan, declaring that he was divinely commissioned, and that at his command the waters would be

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[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 13. § 4, 5.
[2] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. 20. c. 8. § 6.

divided, and give them a safe passage to the opposite side [1]. Many other examples of pretended Messiahs might be adduced; but the preceding are sufficient to establish the truth of our Lord's prediction. [2]

(ii.) *The* SECOND SIGN *is, Wars and Commotions.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 6. Mark xiii. 7. Luke xxi. 9. *When ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, and commotions, see that ye be not troubled,* and *terrified; for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.*

FULFILMENT.—These wars and commotions were as the distant thunder, that forebodes approaching storms. Previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, the greatest agitation prevailed in the Roman empire, and the struggle for succession to the imperial throne was attended by severe and bloody conflicts. Four emperors, Nero, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, suffered violent deaths within the short space of eighteen months. The emperor Caligula commanded the Jews to place his statue in their temple; and in consequence of a positive refusal to comply with so impious a request, he threatened them with an invasion, which was prevented by his death [3]. Jesus Christ added, *See that ye* (my disciples) *be not troubled,* as the Jews will be, expecting the approaching destruction of their nation; *but the end is not yet:* these events, alarming as they seemed, were only the preludes to the dreadful and tumultuous scenes that followed.

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 7. Mark xiii. 8. Luke xxi. 10. *Nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom.*

FULFILMENT.—In this prediction Christ declares that greater disturbances than those which happened under Caligula, would take place in the latter part of Claudius's reign, and during that of Nero. The rising of *nation against nation* portended the dissensions, insurrections, and mutual slaughter of the Jews, and those of other nations, who dwelt in the same cities together: as particularly at Cæsarea [4], where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city; which contention at length proceeded so far, that above twenty thousand Jews were slain, and the city was cleared of the Jewish inhabitants. At this blow the [5] whole nation of the Jews were exasperated, and dividing themselves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immense slaughter of the people. The Syrians in revenge destroyed not a less number of the Jews, and every city, as [6] Josephus expresseth it, was divided into two armies. At Scythopolis [7] the inhabitants compelled the Jews who resided among them to fight against their own countrymen; and after the victory, basely setting upon them by night, they mur-

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[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. 20. c. 4. (al. 5.) § 1.

[2] In the Rev. David Simpson's Key to the Prophecies, there is an instructive History of *twenty-four* false Messiahs, who deluded the Jews between the time of the emperor Adrian and the year of Christ 1682. See pp. 133—148.

[3] Josephus, Antiq. lib. 18. c. 8. (al. 9.) De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 10.

[4] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 7. § 7. &c. De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 13. § 7. c. 18. § 1. edit. Hudson.

[5] Ibid. c. 18. § 1. [6] Ibid. § 2. [7] Ibid. § 3. Vita Joseph. § 6.

dered above thirteen thousand of them, and spoiled their goods. At Ascalon[1] they killed two thousand five hundred, at Ptolemais two thousand, and made not a few prisoners. The Tyrians put many to death, and imprisoned more. The people of Gadara did likewise, and all the other cities of Syria, in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria[2] the old enmity was revived between the Jews and Heathens, and many fell on both sides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thousand. The people of Damascus[3] too conspired against the Jews of the same city, and assaulting them unarmed, killed ten thousand of them. The rising of *kingdom against kingdom* portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces against one another; as[4] that of the Jews who dwelt in Peræa against the people of Philadelphia concerning their bounds, while Cuspius Fadus was procurator: and[5] that of the Jews and Galilæans against the Samaritans, for the murder of some Galilæans going up to the feast at Jerusalem, while Cumanus was procurator; and[6] that of the whole nation of the Jews against the Romans and Agrippa and other allies of the Roman empire, which began while Gessius Florus was procurator. But as Josephus says[7], there was not only sedition and civil war throughout Judea, but likewise in Italy, Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

(iii.) *The* THIRD SIGN *is, Famines and Pestilences.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 7. Mark xiii. 8. Luke xxi. 10. *And there shall be famines and pestilences.*

FULFILMENT.—There was a famine predicted by Agabus (Acts xx. 28.) which is mentioned by Suetonius, Tacitus and Eusebius[8], and *which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar*; and was so severe at Jerusalem that (Josephus informs us) many people perished for want of food.[9] *Pestilences* are the usual attendants of famines, as scarcity and badness of provisions almost always terminate in some epidemical distemper. That Judæa was afflicted with pestilence we learn from Josephus; who says that, when one Niger was put to death by the Jewish zealots, besides other calamities, he imprecated famine and *pestilence* upon them, "all which imprecations God confirmed against these impious men."[10]

(iv.) *The* FOURTH SIGN *is, Earthquakes.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiv. 7. Mark xiii. 8. Luke xxi. 11. *There shall be earthquakes.*

FULFILMENT.—*Earthquakes* in prophetic language mean commotions and popular insurrections: if these be intended, they have already been noticed under the second sign; but if we understand this prophecy, *literally*, of tremors or convulsions of the earth, many such occurred at the times to which our Lord referred; particularly

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[1] De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 18. § 5. [2] Ibid. §. 7. et 8. [3] Ibid. c. 20. § 2.
[4] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. c. 1. § 1. [5] Ibid. c. 5. De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 12. § 3, &c.
[6] Ibid. c. 17. [7] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 9. § 9.
[8] Suetonius, in Claudio. c. 18. Taciti Annales, lib. 12. c. 43. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 8.
[9] Antiq. lib. 20. c. 2. § 5. (al. 6.) [10] De Bell. Jud. lib. 4. c. 6. § 1.

one at Crete, in the reign of Claudius, and others at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos and other places, in all of which Jews were settled [1]. Tacitus mentions one at Rome in the same reign, and says, that in the reign of Nero, the cities of Laodicæa, Hierapolis, and Colosse were overthrown; and that the celebrated city of Pompeii in Campania was overthrown [2], and well nigh demolished, by an earthquake [3]. And another earthquake at Rome is mentioned by Suetonius as having happened in the reign of Galba. [4]

(v.) *The* FIFTH SIGN *is, fearful Sights and Signs from Heaven.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xxi. 11. *There shall be fearful sights and signs from heaven.*

FULFILMENT.—Many prodigies are related by Josephus; particularly that, in Judæa, at the commencement of the war and before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, "there broke out a prodigious storm in the night, with the utmost violence and very strong winds, with the largest showers of rain, with continual lightenings, terrible thunderings, and amazing concussions and bellowings of the earth that was in an earthquake. These things were a manifest indication, that some destruction was coming upon men, when the system of this world was thrown into such a disorder; and any one would guess that these wonders portended some grand calamities that were impending [5]." The same historian, in the preface [6] to his history of the Jewish war, undertakes to record, "the signs and prodigies that preceded it: and accordingly in his sixth book [7] he enumerates them, thus;—1. A star hung over the city like a sword, and the comet continued for a whole year.—2. The people being assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night there shone so great a light about the altar and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day, and this continued for half an hour.—3. At the same feast a cow, led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple. —4. The eastern gate of the temple, which was of solid brass and very heavy, and was scarcely shut in an evening by twenty men, and was fastened by strong bars and bolts, was seen at the sixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be shut again.—5. Before the setting of the sun there were seen over all the country chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and besieging cities.—6. At the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going into the inner temple by night as usual to attend their service, they heard first a motion and noise, and then a voice as of a multitude saying, *Let us depart hence.*—7. What Josephus reckons as the most terrible of all, one Jesus, an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, and when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the streets day and night, '*A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice*

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[1] Philostratus, in Vita Apollonii lib. 4. c. 34. [2] Taciti Annales, lib. 14. c. 27.
[3] Ibid. lib. 15. c. 22. This earthquake is mentioned by Seneca, Nat. Quæst. lib. 6. c. 1.
[4] Suetonius, in Galba, c. 18. [5] De Bell. Jud. lib. 4. c. 4. § 5.
[6] De Bell. Jud. § 11. [7] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 5. § 3.

against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, a voice against all the people.' The magistrates endeavoured by stripes and torture to restrain him; but he still cried with a mournful voice, '*Woe, woe, to Jerusalem*!' This he continued to do for seven years and five months together, and especially at the great festivals; and he neither grew hoarse nor was tired; but went about the walls, and cried with a loud voice, '*Woe, woe, to the city, to the people, and to the temple*;' and as he added at last, '*Woe, woe, also to myself*,' it happened that a stone from some sling or engine immediately struck him dead. These were indeed *fearful signs and great sights from heaven*: and there is not a more creditable historian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them [1]. But it may add some weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, also gives us a summary account of the same occurrences. He says [2] that, there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr. Jortin's remark is very pertinent, "If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many, who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians." [3]

(vi.) *The* SIXTH SIGN *is, the Persecution of the Christians.*

PROPHECY.—Mark xiii. 9. Matt. xxiv. 9. Luke xxi. 12. *But, before all these things, they shall lay hands on you, and persecute* you, and *shall deliver you up to councils, to the synagogues and to prisons, to be beaten; and shall kill you. And ye shall be hated of all nations,* and *shall be brought before rulers and kings for my name's sake, for a testimony against them.*

FULFILMENT.—The precision with which the time is specified, is very remarkable. Previously to the other prognostics of the destruction of Jerusalem, the disciples of Jesus Christ were taught to expect the hardships of persecution: and how exactly this prediction was accomplished we may read in the Acts of the Apostles. There we find that some were *delivered to councils*, as Peter and John. (iv. 5, &c.) Some were *brought before rulers and kings*, as Paul before Gallio (xviii. 12.), Felix (xxiv.), Festus and Agrippa (xxv.), Some had *a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries were not able to gainsay nor resist*, as it is said of Stephen (vi. 10.), that *they were*

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[1] Mr. Milman has admirably wrought up these portentous signs, in his Poem on the Fall of Jerusalem, pp. 106—114.

[2] Evenerant prodigia—Visæ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humana vox, *Excedere Deos*. Simul ingens motus excedentium. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. c. 13. p. 217. edit. Lipsii.

[3] Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1. p. 41.

not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake, and Paul made even Felix to *tremble* (xxiv. 25.), and the Gospel still prevailed against all opposition and persecution whatever. Some were *imprisoned*, as Peter and John. (iv. 3.) Some were *beaten*, as Paul and Silas. (xvi. 23.) Some were *put to death*, as Stephen (vii. 59.), and James the brother of John (xii. 2.) But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecutions under Nero, in which (besides numberless other Christians) fell those [1] two great champions of our faith, St. Peter and St. Paul. And it was *nominis prælium*, as Tertullian [2] terms it; it was a war against the very name. Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough if he was a *Christian*; so true were our Saviour's words, that they should be hated of all nations *for his name's sake*. Hence arose that common saying among the heathens—*Vir bonus Caius Sejus; tanquam modo quòd Christianus*:—Caius Sejus is a good man, *only* he is a Christian.

(vii.) *The* SEVENTH SIGN *was, the Preaching of the Gospel throughout the then known world.*

PROPHECY.—Mark xiii. 10. *The Gospel must be published among all nations.*

FULFILMENT.—Both sacred and profane historians bear testimony to the rapid propagation of the Gospel after the ascension of Jesus Christ. Compare Acts i. 5. ii. 41. iv. 4. v. vi. xi. 21. 24. 26. xii. 24. xiv. 1. 21. xvi. 5. xvii. 4. 12. 34. xviii. 8. xix. xx. 26. See also the inscriptions of the several apostolical epistles, which neither would nor could have been written, if there had not been Christian churches at the places and in the countries to which those epistles were directed. Among pagan writers, Tacitus [3] and Pliny [4] attest that Christianity had in their time spread throughout the Roman empire: and the persecution of Christians by Nero (recorded by Tacitus) is particularly worthy of note, as it took place at Rome A. D. 64, not more than eight or nine years *before* the destruction of Jerusalem.

§ 2. *The Circumstances of the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

(i.) *The Siege of Jerusalem by the Roman Armies.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xxi. 20. Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. *When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies,* [and] *the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, in the holy place,—then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.*—Luke xix. 43. *The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench round about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.*

FULFILMENT.—The devoted place, which was the immediate object of these formidable denunciations, is here most clearly pointed out.

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[1] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. c. 25.
[2] Tertull. Apol. c. 2. p. 4. edit. Rigaltii. Paris, 1675.
[3] Tacitus, Annal. lib. 15. c. 44. See also Suetonius in Nerone, c. 16.
[4] Plinii Epistolæ, lib. 10. epist. 97.

The *abomination of desolation* is the Roman army; and *the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place*, is the Roman army encamped around Jerusalem; for not only the temple and the mountain on which it stood, but also the whole city of Jerusalem and several furlongs of land round it, were accounted holy. This Jesus Christ declared to be *the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet* in his ninth and eleventh chapters; and *so* let every one who reads these prophecies understand them, and in reference to this very event they are understood by the rabbins. The Roman army is further called the *abomination*, on account of its ensigns, for the images of the emperor and the eagles, which were carried in front of the legions, were regarded with religious abhorrence by the Jews, as they were ranked among the pagan deities, and reverenced with divine honours. Josephus relates, that after the city was taken, the Romans brought their ensigns into the temple, placed them over the eastern gate, and sacrificed to them there.[1]

A *trench was* literally *cast about* Jerusalem, when that city was besieged by Titus. The Roman armies *compassed it round about* completely; and although it was at first considered an impracticable project to surround the whole city with a wall, yet Titus animated his army to make the attempt. Josephus has given a very particular account of the building of this wall; which, he says, was effected in *three days*, though it was not less than *thirty-nine furlongs* in length, and had thirteen towers erected at proper distances, in which the Roman soldiers were placed, as in garrisons. When the wall was thus completed, the Jews were *so inclosed on every side*, that no person could escape out of the city, and no provision could be brought in; so that the besieged Jews were involved in the most terrible distress by the famine that ensued.[2]

(ii.) *Christ's prophetic advice to the Christians, who might then be in Jerusalem, to make their escape.*

Prophecy.—Matt. xxiv. 16—18. Mark xiii. 14—16. Luke xxi. 21. *Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains, and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let them that are in the* [adjacent] *countries enter thereinto. And let not him that is on the house-top, go down into the house, neither enter therein to take any thing out of his house. And let him that is in the field not turn back again to take up his garment* (which he had thrown aside as an incumbrance).

Fulfilment.—This counsel was wisely remembered and wisely followed by the Christians afterwards. By *Judea*, in this part of our Lord's prophecy, we are to understand all the southern parts of Palestine, both the plain and the hill countries, which at this time had received the appellation of Judea. By the *mountains* we are to understand the countries on the eastern side of the river Jordan, especially those which during the Jewish war were under the government of the younger Agrippa, to whom the emperor Claudius gave Batanea and

[1] De Bell. Jud. lib. 6. c. 6. § 1.

[2] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 12. § 1, 2, 3.

Trachonitis (the tetrarchy of Philip), and Abilene (the tetrarchy of Lysanias). Nero afterwards added that quarter of Galilee where Tiberius and Tarrichea stood, and in Peræa, Julias with its fourteen villages. As all these mountainous countries remained in obedience to the Romans, those who fled into them were safe. In the twelfth year of Nero, Josephus informs us that Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, came with a powerful army against Jerusalem; which he might have assaulted and taken: but without any just reason, and contrary to the expectation of all, he raised the siege and departed. Immediately after his retreat, "many of the principal Jewish people forsook the city as men do a sinking ship [1]." And a few years afterwards, when Vespasian was drawing his forces towards Jerusalem, a great multitude fled from Jericho into the *mountainous country* for their security [2]. Among these it is probable that there were some Christians; but we learn more certainly from ecclesiastical historians [3], that, at this juncture, all who believed in Jesus Christ, warned by this *oracle* or prophecy, quitted Jerusalem, and removed to Pella, and other places beyond the river Jordan; and thus marvellously escaped the general shipwreck of their country: for we do not read any where that so much as one Christian perished in the siege of Jerusalem.

(iii.) *The appearance of false Christs and false prophets during the siege.*

PROPHECY.—Mark xiii. 22. Matt. xxiv. 4. *False Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if* it were *possible, they shall deceive the very elect* (that is), the disciples of Jesus Christ.

FULFILMENT.—Our Saviour had before cautioned his disciples against false Christs, (see p. (188) *supra.*) This prediction is not a repetition of the former prophecy, but relates to those impostors who appeared during the time of the siege, and concerning whom Josephus [4] thus speaks:—"The tyrannical zealots, who ruled the city, suborned many false prophets to declare, that aid would be given to the people from heaven. This was done to prevent them from attempting to desert, and to inspire them with confidence. In this manner impostors, abusing the sacred name of God, deluded the unhappy multitude; who like infatuated men who have neither eyes to see, nor reason to judge, regarded neither the infallible denunciations pronounced by the antient prophets, nor the clear prodigies that indicated the approaching desolation."

(iv.) *The miseries of the Jews during and subsequently to the siege.*

PROPHECY.—Luke xxi. 22. *For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled.*—Mark xiii. 17. 19. Matt. xxiv. 19. 21. Luke xxi. 23, 24. *But woe to them that are with child, and that give suck in those days, for in those days there shall be great tribulation, distress in the land, and wrath upon this people; such as*

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[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 19. § 6. c. 20. § 1. [2] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 8. § 2.
[3] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 5. Epiphanius adversus Nazaræos, lib. i. § 7.
[4] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 6. c. 5.

was not from the beginning of the creation which God created, unto this time; no, nor ever shall be. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations.

FULFILMENT.—It is a very material circumstance in this prophecy, that the calamity of the Jews should be so strange and unparalleled, as never was in the world before; for though it might easily have been foretold from the temper of the people, which was prone to sedition, that they were very likely to provoke the Romans against them; yet there was no probability that all things should have come to such an extremity; for it was not the design of the Roman government to destroy any of those provinces which were under them, but only to keep them in subjection, and reduce them by reasonable severity in case of revolt. But that such a calamity should have happened to them under Titus, who was the mildest, and farthest from severity of all mankind, nothing was more unlikely; and that any people should conspire together to their own ruin, and so blindly and obstinately run themselves into such calamities, as made them the pity of their enemies, was the most incredible thing; so that nothing less than a prophetical spirit could have foretold so contingent and improbable a thing as this was. To the extreme sufferings of the Jews Josephus bears most ample testimony. In the preface to his history of the Jewish war, speaking generally of the calamities that befel the Jews, he says, almost in our Saviour's words, that "*all the calamities, which had befallen any nation* FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD, *were but small in comparison of those of the Jews* [1]." A brief enumeration of particulars will, however, shew the extremities to which this unhappy nation were reduced.

Within the city, the fury of the opposite factions was so great that they filled all places, even the temple itself, with continual slaughters. Nay, to such a height did their madness rise, that they destroyed the very granaries of corn, which should have sustained them; and burnt the magazines of arms which should have defended them [2]. By this means, when the siege had lasted only two months, the famine began to rage, and at length reduced them to such straits, that the barbarities which they practised are not to be imagined. All the reverence due to age and the sacred ties of parent and child were annihilated. Children snatched the half baked morsels, which their fathers were eating, out of their mouths; and mothers even snatched the food, even out of their own children's mouths [3]. As the siege advanced, the ravages of the famine increased, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the upper rooms were filled with women and children who were dying by famine, and the lanes of the city were full of the dead bodies of the aged [4]. The children also, and the young men, wandered about the market places like shadows, and fell down dead wheresoever their misery seized them. At length the famine became so extreme, that they gladly devoured what the most sordid animals refused to touch: and a woman of distinguished rank (who had been stripped and plundered of all her goods and provisions by the sol-

[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. Præf. § 4.
[2] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 1. § 4.
[3] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 10. § 2, 3.
[4] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 12. § 3.

diers,) in hunger, rage, and despair, killed and roasted her babe at the breast, and had eaten one half of him before the horrid deed was discovered. [1]

During the siege, many hundreds, who were taken by the Romans, were first whipped, then tormented with various kinds of tortures, and finally crucified; the Roman soldiers nailing them (out of the wrath and hatred which they bore to the Jews), one after one way, and another after another, to the crosses, by way of jest: until at length the multitude became so great, that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies [2]. Thus terribly was their imprecation fulfilled—*His blood be on us and on our children!* (Matt. xxvii. 25.)

Not to enter into details of the multitudes that were massacred by the contending factions in Jerusalem, the full accomplishment of Christ's prediction, that the Jews should *fall by the edge of the sword*, is recorded by Josephus [3] when describing the sacking of that city.

"And now rushing into every lane, they slew whomsoever they found, without distinction, and burnt the houses and all the people who had fled into them. And when they entered for the sake of plunder, they found whole families of dead persons, and houses full of carcases destroyed by famine; then they came out with their hands empty. And though they thus pitied the dead, they did not feel the same emotion for the living, but killed all they met, whereby they filled the lanes with dead bodies. The whole city ran with blood, insomuch, that many things which were burning, were extinguished by the blood." Thus were the inhabitants of Jerusalem slain with the sword; thus was she laid even with the ground, and her children with her. "The soldiers being now wearied with killing the Jews, and yet a great number remaining alive, Cæsar commanded that only the armed, and they who resisted, should be slain. But the soldiers killed also the old and the infirm; and taking the young and strong prisoners, carried them into the women's court in the temple. Cæsar appointed one Fronto, his freed-man and friend, to guard them, and to determine the fate of each. All the robbers and the seditious he slew, one of them betraying another. But picking out such youths as were remarkable for stature and beauty, he reserved them for the triumph. All the rest that were above seventeen years old, he sent bound into Egypt, to be employed in labour there. Titus also sent many of them into the provinces, to be slain in the theatres, by beasts and the sword. And those who were under seventeen years of age, were slain. And during the time Fronto judged them, a thousand died of hunger."

But the *falling by the edge of the sword* mentioned in our Lord's prophecy, is not to be confined to what happened at the siege, in

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[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 6. c. 3. § 3, 4. The historian deplores the cruel deed, as a most flagrant violation of nature, which had never been perpetrated by Greek or barbarian; and such as he would not have related, if there had not been innumerable witnesses to it in his own age. It may be proper to remark, that this horrid circumstance was a further accomplishment of the prophecy of Moses in Deut. xxviii. 53. 56. 57.; and which had twice before been fulfilled,—first in Samaria, the capital of the idolatrous ten tribes, when besieged by Benhadad king of Syria (2 Kings vi. 29.), and again, in Jerusalem, when besieged by Nebuchadnezzar. See the Lamentations of Jeremiah, ii. 20. iv. 10.

[2] Ibid. lib. 5. c. 11. § 1.

[3] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 8. § 5. c. 9. § 2, 3.

which not fewer than eleven hundred thousand perished [1]. It also comprehended all the slaughters made of the Jews, in different battles, sieges, and massacres, both in their own country and at other places, during the whole course of the war. Thus, by the command of Florus, who was the first author of the war, there were slain at *Jerusalem* [2], *three thousand and six hundred*:—By the inhabitants of *Cæsarea* [3], *above twenty thousand*:—At *Scythopolis* [4], *above thirteen thousand*:—At *Ascalon* [5], *two thousand five hundred*, and at *Ptolemais*, *two thousand*:—At *Alexandria*, under Tiberius Alexander the president [6], *fifty thousand*:—At *Joppa*, when it was taken by Cestius Gallus [7], *eight thousand four hundred*:—In a mountain called *Asamon* near *Sepphoris* [8], *above two thousand*.—At *Damascus* [9], *ten thousand*:—In a battle with the Romans at *Ascalon* [10], *ten thousand*:—In an ambuscade near the same place [11], *eight thousand*:—At *Japha* [12], *fifteen thousand*:—Of the Samaritans upon mount *Garizin* [13], *eleven thousand and six hundred*:—At *Jotapa* [14], *forty thousand*:—At *Joppa*, when taken by Vespasian [15], *four thousand two hundred*:—At *Tarichea* [16], *six thousand five hundred*, and after the city was taken, *twelve hundred*:—At *Gamala* [17], *four thousand* slain, besides *five thousand* who threw themselves down a precipice:—Of those who fled with John from *Gischala* [18], *six thousand*:—Of the *Gadarenes* [19], *fifteen thousand* slain, besides an infinite number drowned:—In the villages of *Idumæa* [20], above *ten thousand* slain:—At *Gerasa* [21], *a thousand*:—At *Machærus* [22], *seventeen hundred*:—In the wood of *Jardes* [23], *three thousand*:—In the castle of *Masada* [24], *nine hundred and sixty*:—In *Cyrene*, by Catullus the governor [25], *three thousand*:—Besides these many of every age, sex, and condition, were slain in this war, who are not reckoned; but of these who are reckoned, the number amounts to above *one million three hundred fifty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty*; which would appear almost incredible, if their own historian had not so particularly enumerated them.

But besides the Jews who *fell by the edge of the sword*, others were also to *be led away captive into all nations*: and, considering the numbers of the slain, the number of the captives too was very great. There were taken particularly at *Japha* [26], *two thousand one hundred and thirty*:—At *Jotapa* [27], *one thousand two hundred*:—At *Tarichea* [28], *six thousand* chosen young men were sent to Nero, the rest sold to the number of *thirty thousand and four hundred*, besides those who were given to Agrippa:—Of the *Gadarenes* [29], *two thousand two hundred*:—In *Idumæa* [30], above *a thousand*. Many besides these were taken at *Jerusalem*, so that as Josephus himself informs us [31], the number of the captives taken in the whole war amounted to *ninety-seven thousand*; the tall and handsome young men Titus reserved for his triumph; of the rest, those

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[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 6. c. 9. § 3. [2] Ibid. lib. 2. c. 14. § 9.
[3] Ibid. c. 18. § 1. [4] Ibid. § 3. [5] Ibid. §. 5. [6] Ibid. § 8.
[7] Ibid. § 10. [8] Ibid. § 11. [9] Ibid. c. 20. § 2.
[10] Lib. 3. c. 2. § 2. [11] Ibid. § 3. [12] Ibid. c. 7. § 31.
[13] Ibid. § 32. [14] Ibid. § 36. [15] Ibid. c. 8. § 3.
[16] Ibid. c. 9. § 9, 10. [17] Lib. 4. c. 1. § 10. [18] Ibid. c. 2. § 5.
[19] Ibid. c. 7. § 5. [20] Ibid. c. 8. § 1. [21] Ibid. c. 9. § 1. [22] Lib. 7. c. 6. § 4.
[23] Ibid. § 5. [24] Ibid. c. 9. § 1. [25] Ibid. c. 11. § 2. [26] Lib. 3. c. 7. § 31.
[27] Ibid. § 36. [28] Ibid. c. 9. § 10. [29] Lib. 4. c. 7. § 5.
[30] Ibid. c. 8. § 1. [31] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 9. § 2. & 3.

above seventeen years of age were sent to the works in Egypt, but most were distributed through the Roman provinces, to be destroyed in their theatres by the sword or by the wild beasts; those under seventeen were sold for slaves. Of these captives many underwent a hard fate. *Eleven thousand* of them[1] perished for want. Titus exhibited all sorts of shows and spectacles at Cæsarea, and[2] many of the captives were there destroyed, some being exposed to the wild beasts, and others compelled to fight in troops against one another. At *Cæsarea* too, in honour of his brother's birth-day[3], *two thousand five hundred* Jews were slain; and a great number likewise at *Berytus* in honour of his father's. The like[4] was done in other cities of Syria. Those whom he reserved for his triumph[5] were Simon and John, the generals of the captives, and *seven hundred* others of remarkable stature and beauty. Thus were the Jews miserably tormented, and distributed over the Roman provinces; and are they not still distressed and dispersed over all the nations of the earth?

Was not this *a time of great tribulation*? Were not these *days of vengeance* indeed? Was there ever a more exact accomplishment of any prediction than these words of our Saviour had?

(v.) *The total destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem.*

PROPHECY.—Matt. xxiii. 37, 38. Luke xiii. 34, 35. *O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! - - - Behold your house is left unto you desolate.*—Matt. xxiv. 2. Mark xiii. 2. Luke xxi. 6. *The days will come, in the which there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.*—Luke xix. *They shall lay thee even with the ground, and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another.*—Luke xxi. 24. *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.*

FULFILMENT.—It seemed exceedingly improbable that the events here foretold by Jesus Christ, should happen in that age, when the Jews were at perfect peace with the Romans; and the strength of their citadel was such, as constrained Titus to acknowledge that it was the SINGULAR HAND OF GOD, that compelled them to relinquish fortifications which no human power could have conquered[6]. And our Saviour's words were almost literally fulfilled, and scarcely *one stone was left upon another*. The temple was a building of such strength and grandeur, of such splendour and beauty, that it was likely to be preserved, as it was worthy to be preserved, for a monument of the victory and glory of the Roman empire. Titus was accordingly very desirous of preserving it, and protested[7] to the Jews, who had fortified themselves within it, that he would preserve it, even against their will. He had[8] expressed the like desire of preserving the city too, and repeatedly sent Josephus and other Jews to their countrymen, to persuade them to a surrender. But an over-ruling

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1 Ibid. lib. 6. c. 9. § 2. 2 Lib. 7. c. 2. § 1. 3 Ibid. c. 3. § 1. 4 Ibid. c. 5. § 1.
5 Ibid. § 3. 6 Ibid. lib. 6. c. 9. § 1. 7 Ibid. lib. 6. c. 2. § 4.
8 Ibid. lib. 5. c. 8. § 1. c. 9. § 2, &c. c. 11. § 2. lib. 6. c. 2. § 1.

Providence directed things otherwise. The Jews themselves [1] first set fire to the porticos of the temple, and then the Romans. One of the soldiers [2], neither waiting for any command, nor trembling for such an attempt, but urged by a certain divine impulse, threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and thereby set fire to the buildings of the temple itself. Titus [3] ran immediately to the temple, and commanded his soldiers to extinguish the flame. But neither exhortations nor threatenings could restrain their violence. They either could not hear, or would not hear; and those behind encouraged those before to set fire to the temple. He was still for preserving the holy place. He commanded his soldiers even to be beaten for disobeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the Jews, and a certain warlike vehement fury overcame their reverence for their general, and their dread for his commands. A soldier in the dark set fire to the doors: and thus, as Josephus [4] says, the temple was burnt against the will of Cæsar.

When the soldiers had rested from their horrid work of blood and plunder, Titus gave orders to demolish the foundations of the city and the temple.—But, that posterity might judge of the glory and value of his conquest, he left three towers standing as monuments of the prodigious strength and greatness of the city; and also a part of the western wall, which he designed as a rampart for a garrison, to keep the surrounding country in subjection. All the other buildings were completely levelled with the ground. It is recorded by Maimonides, and likewise in the Jewish Talmud, that Terentius Rufus, an officer in the army of Titus, with a ploughshare tore up the foundations of the temple, and thus remarkably fulfilled the words of the prophet Micah: *Therefore shall Zion, for your sake, be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.* (Mic. iii. 12.) The city also shared the same fate, and was burnt and destroyed together with the temple [5]. With the exception of the three towers, above mentioned as being left standing [6], all the rest of the city was so demolished and levelled with the ground, that those who came to see it could not believe that it had ever been inhabited. And when Titus came again to Jerusalem in his way from Syria to Egypt, and beheld the sad devastation, he bitterly lamented the cruel necessity, which had compelled him to destroy so magnificent a city. After the city was thus taken and destroyed, a great quantity of riches were found by the Romans, who dug up the ruins in search of the treasures which had been concealed in the earth [7]. So literally were the words of Jesus Christ accomplished in the ruin both of the city and of the temple! Well might Eleazar say to the Jews who were besieged in the fortress of Masada—"What is become of our city, which was believed to be inhabited by God?—It is now demolished to the very foundations; and the only monument of it that is left is—the camp of those who destroyed it, which is still pitched upon its remains." Well might he express a passionate wish that they had

[1] Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 6. c. 2. § 9. [2] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 4. § 5. [3] Ibid. § 6, & 7.
[4] Ibid. § 7. [5] Ibid. lib. 6. c. 6. § 3. c. 7. § 2. c. 8. § 5.
[6] Ibid. lib. 7. c. 1. § 1. [7] Ibid. lib. 7. c. 1. § 2.

all died before they beheld that holy city demolished by the hands of their enemies, and the sacred temple so profanely dug up from its foundations.[1]

As the Jews were to be *led away captive into all nations*, so was Jerusalem to be *trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* So completely was Judea subjugated, that the very land itself was sold by Vespasian, the Gentiles possessing it, while the Jews were nearly all slain or led into captivity: and Jerusalem has *never since* been in the possession of the Jews. When, indeed, the emperor Hadrian visited the eastern parts of the Roman empire, and found Jerusalem a heap of ruins, forty-seven years after its destruction, he determined to rebuild it; but not exactly on the same spot. He called the new city, Ælia, after his own name, placed a Roman colony in it, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the room of the temple of Jehovah. This profanation of the holy place was the great cause of the rebellions and sufferings of the Jews during the reign of Hadrian. The city was once more taken by them and burnt.—Hadrian rebuilt it—re-established the colony—ordered the statue of a hog (which the Jews held in religious abhorrence) to be set up over the gate that opened towards Bethlehem; and published an edict, strictly forbidding any Jew, on pain of death, to enter the city, or even to look at it from a distance. Thus the city remained, till the time of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, who greatly improved it, and restored the name of Jerusalem; but the Jews were not permitted to reside there. Attempting in vain to get possession of their capital, Constantine caused their ears to be cut off, their bodies to be marked as rebels, and dispersed them over all the provinces of the empire, as fugitives and slaves. The emperor Julian, from enmity to the Christians, favoured the Jews; and, in the vain hope of contradicting the prophecy concerning it, attempted to rebuild the temple; but, he was miraculously prevented, and obliged to desist from his impious undertaking. Jovian revived the severe edict of Hadrian; and the Greek emperors continued the prohibition; so that the wretched Jews used to give money to the soldiers for permission to behold and weep over the ruins of their temple and city, particularly on the return of that memorable day, in which it had been taken by the Romans. In the reign of Heraclius, Chosroes, king of Persia, took and plundered it; but Heraclius soon recovered possession.—In 637, the Christians surrendered Jerusalem to Omar, the Saracen caliph, who built a mosque upon the site of Solomon's Temple. It remained in the possession of the Saracens above 400 years, and then was taken by the Turks. They retained it till the year 1099, when the Francs took it under Godfrey of Bouloigne, General of the Crusaders. The Francs kept possession 88 years, that is, till 1187, when the Turks, under Saladin, retook it by capitulation, and with them it has remained ever since.[2]

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[1] De Bell Jud. lib. 7. c. 8. § 7.

[2] Bp. Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies vol. ii. pp. 57—69. The preceding account of the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of

"Thus literally has this prophecy been hitherto fulfilled!—Jerusalem has been thus constantly trodden down of the Gentiles,—the Romans, the Saracens, the Franks, and the Turks.—Its antient inhabitants have been expelled, and persecuted, and its holy places have been polluted. The eagles of idolatrous Rome, the crescent of the impostor Mahomet, and the banner of popery carried by the Crusaders, have been successively displayed amidst the ruins of the sanctuary of Jehovah, for nearly eighteen hundred years [t]." And the Jews are still preserved, a living and continued monument of the truth of our Lord's prediction, and of the irrefragable truth of the Christian religion.

The conclusion of the prediction, however (TILL *the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*), indicates that Jerusalem,—the city once *beautiful for situation* and *the joy of the whole earth*,—shall NOT be trodden down for ever. "The times of the Gentiles will be fulfilled, when the times of *the four great kingdoms* of the Gentiles, according to Daniel's prophecies, shall be expired, and *the fifth kingdom*, or the kingdom of Christ, shall be set up in their place, and *the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.* Jerusalem, as it has hitherto remained, so probably will remain in subjection to the Gentiles, *until* these *times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*; or, as St. Paul expresses it (Rom. xi. 25, 26.), *until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved* and become again the people of God. *The fulness of the Jews* will come in as well as *the fulness of the Gentiles.* For (ver. 12. 25, 26.) *if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved.*" [u]

SECTION IV.

THAT THERE IS SALVATION ONLY THROUGH CHRIST—AND THE DANGER OF REJECTING IT.

§ 1. *That there is salvation* ONLY *through Christ.*

PROPHECY.—Zech. xiii. 1. 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.—Mal. iv. 2. Unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise, with healing in his wings.—Isa. liii. 11. By his knowledge shall my righteous Servant justify

Jerusalem, the subversion of the Jewish polity, and the calamities which have befallen the Jews, are chiefly abridged from this learned prelate's eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first dissertations, with occasional assistance from Mr. Kett's History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 288—333.

[t] Kett, on Prophecy, vol. i. p. 233.

[u] Bp. Newton's Dissertations, vol. ii. p. 70.

many.—Isa. lix. 20. The Redeemer shall come to Sion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob. See Rom. ix. 26.—Ps. cxviii. 22. The stone which the builders refused, the same is become the head stone of the corner. Isa. xxviii. 16. Matt. xii. 10.

Fulfilment.—John iii. 16. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. Compare also 1 Thess. v. 9.; John xvii. 3.—Luke xxiv. 47. That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name. See also Acts x. 43.—Acts xiii. 38, 39. Through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins; and by him all that believe are justified.—Acts iv. 11, 12. This is the stone, which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under Heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.

§ 2. *Of the necessity of believing in Christ, and the danger of rejecting him.*

Deut. xviii. 15. 19. The Lord—will raise up unto thee a Prophet—Unto him shall ye hearken—Whosoever will not hearken unto my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. [In Acts iii. 23. this prediction is cited and applied to Jesus Christ.]—Numb. xv. 30, 31. The soul that doth aught presumptuously—reproacheth the Lord; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people, because he hath despised the word of the Lord.—Ps. ii. 12. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the right way.

John iii. 18. He that believeth on him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only Son of God.—Heb. ii. 3. How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?—Heb. x. 26. 29. If we sin wilfully, after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses' law died without mercy, under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace.—*The Lord shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Christ.* 2 Thess. i. 7, 8.

'*The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy*' (Rev. xix. 10.);—and of that testimony it were easy to have offered hundreds of instances equally striking with those above given. Copious as the preceding table of prophecies is, *the selection has necessarily been restricted to* THE PRINCIPAL, in order that this article of our Supplement might not be extended to an undue length. The reader, who is desirous of seeing all (or nearly all) the predictions relative to the Messiah, is re-

ferred to Huet's *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Prop. IX. (vol ii. pp. 595—1056. Amsterdam, 1680), and to Mr. Barker's Messiah: being the prophecies concerning him methodized, with their accomplishments, London 1780. 8vo. Both these works have been consulted in drawing up the preceding table of prophecies and their accomplishments. At the end of Vol. II. Book II. (pp. 1374—1380.) of Dr. Hales's Analysis of Sacred Chronology, that learned writer has given two series of the great prophecies and allusions to Christ in the Old Testament; which are expressly cited either as *predictions fulfilled* in him, or applied to him by way of *accommodation*, in the New Testament. The *first* of these series describes Jesus Christ in his *human nature*, as the PROMISED SEED OF THE WOMAN in the grand charter of our Redemption (Gen. iii. 15.); and his pedigree, sufferings, and glory in his successive manifestations of himself, until the end of the world. The *second* series describes his *character* and *offices*, human and divine. Although these two series of prophecies consist *only* of references to the Old and New Testament, some of which necessarily coincide with the predictions above given at length; yet the biblical student will find his time not ill-spent in comparing them. The second series contains many titles and offices of Jesus Christ, which could not, for want of room, be inserted in the present work.

To conclude:—It is a FACT worthy of remark, and which ought *never* to be forgotten, that *most* of the prophecies, delivered in the Old Testament concerning the Messiah, were revealed *nearly*, and some of them *more than three thousand years* ago, and yet scarcely one of them can be applied to any man that ever lived upon earth except to Him, who is Immanuel, God with us, the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom '*give all the prophets witness.*' (Acts x. 43.) With regard to the predictions announced by Jesus the Messiah, the voice of history in every age,—(and especially the present state of Jerusalem and of the Jews), concurs to demonstrate their truth, and consequently the truth of the Gospel. The more, therefore, we contemplate these astonishing FACTS,—the more deeply we investigate the wonderful display of divine power, wisdom and goodness,—the more we shall be disposed to exclaim, with the amazed centurion,—TRULY THIS WAS THE SON OF GOD!

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE WRITINGS USUALLY CALLED THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. *Enumeration of these apocryphal writings.*—II. *External evidence to shew that they were never considered as inspired or canonical.*—III. *Internal Evidence.*—IV. *These apocryphal books are so far from affecting the credibility of the genuine books of the New Testament, that the latter are confirmed by them.*

[Supplementary to the article on the Apocrypha, in Vol. II. pp. 321—335.]

I. THE spurious and apocryphal books composed in the early days of Christianity, which were published under the names of Jesus Christ and his apostles, their companions, &c., and which are mentioned by the writers of the first four centuries under the names of gospels, epistles, acts, revelations, &c., are very numerous. Most of these have long since perished[1], though some few are still extant, which have been collected, (together with notices of the lost pieces) and published by John Albert Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, the best edition of which appeared at Hamburg, in 1719—1743 in three parts, forming two volumes 8vo. Of this work the Rev. and learned Mr. Jones made great use, and in fact translated the greater part of it, in his 'New and Full Method of settling the canonical Authority of the New Testament.' The apocryphal books extant are, an *epistle from Jesus Christ to Abgarus*; his Epistle, which (it is pretended) fell down from heaven at Jerusalem, directed to a priest named Leopas, in the city of Eris; the Constitutions of the Apostles; *the Apostle's Creed*; the *Apostolical Epistles of Barnabas, Clemens or Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp*; *the gospel of the infancy of our Saviour*; *the gospel of the birth of Mary*; *the prot-evangelion of James*; *the gospel of Nicodemus*; *the Martyrdom of Thecla* or *Acts of Paul*; Abdias's History of the Twelve Apostles; *the Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans*[2]; *the Six Epistles of Paul to Seneca*, &c. Of these various productions, those of which the titles are printed in *Italics* are comprised in a late publication entitled "*The Apocryphal New Testament, being all*[3] *the Gospels, Epistles, and other Pieces now extant, attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their companions, and not included in the New Testament by its compilers. Translated and now*

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[1] See an alphabetical catalogue of them, with references to the fathers by whom they were mentioned, in Jones on the Canon, vol. i. pp. 119—123.

[2] That St. Paul did not write any epistle to the Laodiceans, see Vol. II. pp. 531—534.

[3] This is a misnomer; for *all* the apocryphal writings are not included in the publication in question.

collected into one volume, with Prefaces and Tables, and various Notes and References. London, 1820."—Second edition, 1821, 8vo. The writings ascribed to Barnabas, Ignatius (at least his *genuine* epistles), Polycarp, and Hermas, ought not in strictness to be considered as apocryphal, since their authors, who are usually designated the *Apostolical Fathers*, from their having been contemporary for a longer or shorter time with the Apostles of Jesus Christ, were not divinely inspired apostles. The first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians indeed was for a short time received as canonical in some few Christian churches, but was soon dismissed as an uninspired production; the fragment of what is called the second epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, Dr. Lardner has proved not to have been written by him. These productions of the apostolical fathers, therefore, have no claim to be considered as apocryphal writings.

As the external form of the Apocryphal New Testament [1] harmonises with that of the larger octavo editions of the authorised English Version of the New Testament, the advocates of infidelity have availed themselves of it, to attempt to undermine the credibility of the genuine books of the New Testament. The preface to the compilation entitled '*The Apocryphal New Testament*,' is, certainly, so drawn up, as *apparently* to favour the views of the opposers of divine revelation; but as its editor has DISCLAIMED any sinister design in publishing it, the writer of these pages will not impute any such motives to him.

II. In order however that the reader may see how little the sacred writings of the New Testament can suffer from this publication [2], a

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[1] The title page is surrounded with a broad black rule, similar to that found in many of the large 8vo. editions of the New Testament, printed in the last century: and the different books are divided into chapters and verses, with a table of contents, drawn up in imitation of those which are found in all editions of the English Bible.

[2] In 1698 Mr. Toland published his *Amyntor*, in which he professed to give a catalogue of books, attributed in the primitive times to Jesus Christ, his apostles, and other eminent persons, "together with remarks and observations relating to the canon of scripture." He there raked together whatever he could find relating to the spurious gospels, and pretended sacred books, which appeared in the early ages of the Christian church. These he produced with great pomp to the number of eighty and upwards, and though they were most of them evidently false and ridiculous, and carried the plainest marks of forgery and imposture, of which, no doubt, he was very sensible, yet he did what he could to represent them as of equal authority with the four gospels, and other sacred books of the New Testament, now received among Christians. To this end he took advantage of the unwary and ill-grounded hypotheses of some learned men, and endeavoured to prove that the books of the present canon lay concealed in the coffers of private persons, till the latter times of Trajan or Adrian, and were not known to the clergy or churches of those times, nor distinguished from the spurious works of heretics; and that the scriptures, which we now receive as canonical, and others which we now reject, were indifferently and promiscuously cited and appealed to by the most ancient Christian writers. His design in all this, manifestly was to shew, that the gospels and other sacred writings of the New Testament, now acknowleged as canonical, really deserve no greater credit, and are no more to be depended upon, than those books which are rejected and exploded as forgeries. And yet he had the confidence to pretend, in a book he afterwards published, that his intention in his Amyntor, was not to invalidate, but to illustrate and confirm the canon of the New Testament. This may serve as one instance out of many that might be produced of the insincerity of this opposer of revelation, whose assertions have been adopted by infidels of the present day. Many good and satisfactory refutations of Toland were published at that time by Dr. Samuel Clarke, Mr. Nye, and others, and especially by the learned Mr. Jeremiah Jones in his "New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament," in 2 vols. 8vo. reprinted at Oxford in 1798, in 3 vols.

brief statement shall be given, of the very satisfactory reasons, for which the apocryphal (or rather spurious) writings, ascribed to the apostles, have been deservedly rejected from the canon of Scripture.

1. *In the first place, they were* NOT *acknowledged as authentic, nor were they much used, by the primitive Christians.* There are *no* quotations of these apocryphal books in the genuine writings of the apostolical fathers, that is, of Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Hermas, whose writings reach from about the year of Christ 70 to 108; nor are they found in any antient catalogues of the sacred books. Some of them indeed are mentioned, but not cited by Irenæus and Tertullian, who lived in the second century. Indeed the apocryphal books above mentioned are expressly, and in so many words, rejected by those who have mentioned them, as the forgeries of heretics, and consequently as spurious and heretical.

2. *Few or none of these productions, which (it is pretended) were written in the apostolic age, were composed before the second century, and* several *of them were forged so late as the third century, and were rejected as spurious at the time they were attempted to be imposed upon the heathen world.* A brief statement of the dates of the pieces contained in the *Apocryphal New Testament,* (with the exception of the writings of the apostolic fathers which are omitted for the reason already stated) will demonstrate this fact.

Thus, the pseudo-*Epistles of Abgarus* prince of Edessa and *of Jesus Christ,* which were never heard of, until published by Eusebius in the *fourth* century [1]—Though an *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans* was extant in the second century, and was received by Marcion the heretic, who was notorious for his mutilations and interpolations of the New Testament, yet that now extant is not the same with the antient one under that title in Marcion's Apostolicon or collection of apostolical epistles. It never was extant in Greek, and is a production of uncertain, but unquestionably very late, date. Mr. Jones conjectures it to have been forged by some monk not long before the Reformation [2]; and, as will be shewn in a subsequent page, it was compiled from several passages of St. Paul's epistles. The *six Epistles of Paul to Seneca,* and eight of the philosopher to him, were never heard of, until they were mentioned by Jerome and Augustine, two writers who lived at the close of the *fourth* century; and who do not appear to have considered them as genuine [3]. In the third or perhaps in the second century, a *Gospel of the birth of Mary* was extant and received by several of the antient heretics, but it underwent many alterations, and the antient copies varied greatly from that now printed in the apocryphal New Testament, which was translated by Mr. Jones from Jerome's Latin version, first made at the close of the fourth century [4]. This gospel of the birth of Mary is for the most part the same with the

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8vo. From this work principally the following refutation of the pretensions has been principally derived, as well as from Dr. Lardner, who in different parts of his works has collected much curious information. The passages being too numerous to be cited at length, the reader will find them indicated in the fifth index to his works, article *Apocryphal Books.*

[1] See Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.
[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 37—49.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 50—68.
[4] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 130—146.

Prot-evangelion or Gospel of James (which nevertheless it contradicts in many places); and both are the production of some Hellenistic Jew. Both also were rejected by the antient writers. The two gospels of the infancy (the second of which bears the name of Thomas) seem to have been originally the same; but the antient gospel of Thomas was different from those of the infancy of Christ. They were received as genuine only by the Marcosians, a branch of the sect of Gnostics, in the beginning of the *second* century; and were known to Mohammed or the compilers of the Koran, who took from them several idle traditions concerning Christ's infancy[1]. The *Gospel of Nicodemus*, also called *the Acts of Pilate*, was *forged* by Leucius Charinus, at the latter end of the third or in the beginning of the *fourth* century, who was a noted forger of the Acts of Peter, Paul, Andrew, and others of the apostles[2]. The *Apostles Creed* derives its name, not from the fact of its having been composed, clause by clause, by the twelve apostles (of which we have no evidence); but because it contains a brief summary of the doctrines which they taught. It is nearly the same with the creed of Jerusalem, which appears to be the most antient summary of the Christian faith that is extant; and the articles of which have been collected from the catechetical discourses of Cyril, who was bishop of Jerusalem in the fourth century.—The *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, though ranked among the apocryphal scriptures by the primitive Christians (by whom several things therein related were credited) were in part the forgery of an Asiatic presbyter, at the close of the first or at the beginning of the *second* century, who confessed that he had committed the fraud out of love to Paul, and was degraded from his office; and have subsequently been interpolated.[3]

3. *When any book is cited, or seems to be appealed to, by any Christian writer, which is not expressly and in so many words rejected by him, there are other sufficient arguments to prove that he did not esteem it to be canonical.* For instance, though Origen in one or two places takes a passage out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, yet in another place *he rejects it*, under the name of the gospel of the twelve apostles, as a book of the heretics, and declares that the *church received only* FOUR GOSPELS[4]. Further, though several of these apocryphal books are mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, as well as by Origen, yet Clement never does it as attributing any authority to them, and sometimes he notices them with expressions of disapprobation. In like manner, though Eusebius mentions some of them, he says that they were of little or no value, and that they were never received by the sounder part of Christians. Athanasius, without naming any of them, passes a severe censure upon them in general; and Jerome speaks of them with dislike and censure.

4. Sometimes the Fathers made use of the apocryphal books to shew their learning, or that the heretics might not charge them with partiality and ignorance, as being acquainted only with their own books. Remarkable to this purpose are those words of Origen[5], the

1 Jones, vol. ii. pp. 226—234. 2 Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 342—345. vol. i. pp. 236—251.
3 Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 393—397.
4 Origen, Comment. in Matt. lib. 1. in Eusebius's Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. c. 25. and in Philocal. c. 5.
5 Legimus, ne quid ignorare videremur, propter eos qui se putant aliquid scire, si ista cognoverint. Homil. in Luc. i. 1.

church receives only four Gospels, the heretics have many; such as that of the Egyptians, Thomas, &c. These we read, that we may not be esteemed ignorant, and by reason of those who imagine they know something extraordinary, if they know the things contained in these books. To the same purpose says Ambrose [1]; having mentioned several of the apocryphal books, he adds, we read these, that they may not be read (by others); we read them, that we may not seem ignorant; we read them, not that we may receive them, but reject them, and may know what those things are of which they (heretics) make such boasting.

5. Sometimes perhaps these books may be cited by the Fathers, because the persons against whom they were writing received them, being willing to dispute with them upon principles out of their own books.

6. It may perhaps be true, that one or two writers have cited a few passages out of these books, because the fact they cited was not to be found in any other. St. John tells us, (xxi. 25.) that *our Lord did many other things, besides those which he had recorded; the which,* says he, *if they should be written every one, I suppose the world itself could not contain the books which should be written.* Some accounts of these actions and discourses of Christ were unquestionably preserved, and handed down to the second century, or farther, by tradition, which though inserted afterwards into the books of the heretics, may be easily supposed to have been cited by some later writers, though at the same time they esteemed the books which contained them uninspired, and not of the canon. This was the case with respect to Jerome's citing the Hebrew Gospel, which he certainly looked upon as spurious and apocryphal.

III. The internal evidence for the spuriousness of these productions is much stronger than the external evidence: for, independently of the total absence of all those criteria of genuineness, which (it has been shewn in the preceding part of this volume) are clearly to be seen in the canonical books, it is evident that the apocryphal productions, ascribed to the apostles, are utterly unworthy of notice; for, 1. They either propose or support some doctrine or practice contrary to those which are certainly known to be true;—2. They are filled with absurd, unimportant, impertinent and frivolous details;—3. They relate both useless and improbable miracles;—4. They mention things, which are later than the time when the author lived, whose name the book bears;—5. Their style is totally different from that of the genuine books of the New Testament;—6. They contain direct contradictions to authentic history both sacred and profane;—7. They are studied imitations of various passages in the genuine Scriptures, both to conceal the fraud and to allure readers; and 8. They contain gross falsehoods, utterly repugnant to the character, principles, and conduct of the inspired writers.

1. *The apocryphal books either propose or support some doctrine or practice, contrary to those which are certainly known to be true, and appear designed to obviate some heresy, which had its origin subsequent to the apostolic age.*

[1] Legimus, ne legantur; legimus, ne ignoremus; legimus non ut teneamus, sed ut repudiemus, et ut sciamus qualia sint in quibus magnifici isti cor exultant suum. Comment. in Luc. i. 1.

One of the doctrines, which these spurious writings were intended to establish, was, the *sanctity of relics.* As a striking proof of this, we are told in the *first* Gospel of the Infancy, that when the eastern magi had come from the east to *Jerusalem*, according to the prophecy of Zoradascht, and had made their offerings, *the lady Mary took one of his swaddling clothes in which the infant was wrapped, and gave it to them instead of a blessing, which they received from her as a most noble present* [1]. As bandages, of a similar nature and efficacy, were preserved in some churches with the most superstitious reverence, the purpose for which the above was written was obvious.

"The corrupt doctrines relative to the Virgin Mary form an essential part in the scheme of some of these designers. Those who believed, or affected to believe, that the Virgin was exalted into heaven, who adopted the notion of her immaculate conception, and her power of working miracles, found but little countenance for their absurdities in the genuine Gospels. It was a task too hard for them to defend such tenets against their adversaries, while the canonical books were the only authority they could appeal to. Hence a Gospel was written *De Nativitate Mariæ* (the Gospel of the birth of Mary [2]), in which her birth is foretold by angels, and herself represented as always under the peculiar protection of Heaven. Hence in the Gospel, attributed to James, which assumed the name of Prot-evangelium, as claiming the superiority over every other, whether canonical or apocryphal, the fact of the immaculate conception is supported by such a miracle, as to leave no doubt upon the most incredulous mind. Hence too in the *Evangelium Infantiæ,* or Gospel of the Infancy, the Virgin, who is simply said by St. Matthew to have gone into Egypt, is represented as making her progress more like a divinity than a mortal, performing, by the assistance of her infant Son, a variety of miracles [3], such as might entitle her, in the minds of the blind and bigotted, to divine honours." [4]

In further corroboration of the design of exalting the Virgin Mary, she is sometimes made *to work miracles herself,* is almost always made the instrument or means of working it, and the person applied to, and receiving the praise of the work, while Joseph stands by as an unconcerned spectator, and is never mentioned. But what is most remarkable, is, that she is canonised, and called always (not only by the author of the Gospel, but by those who were perfect strangers to her before in Egypt, and elsewhere) *diva Maria* and *diva sancta Maria*; which we know not how better to translate, than in the language of her worshippers, the *Lady St. Mary.* And old Simeon in his prayer, which is here, chap. ii. v. 25. [5] and recorded Luke ii. 28—34. is introduced as stretching out his hands towards her, as though he worshipped her. But of all this the first ages were ignorant; nor in the first centuries

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[1] 1 Infancy, iii. 2. Apoc. New Test. p. 2, 3. It may be proper to state that the translations of the spurious gospels, acts, and epistles, contained in the publication here cited, are taken without acknolwedgement from Mr. Jones's New Method of settling the Canon; though divided into *chapters* (which are *different* from his), and also into *verses*, in imitation of the editions of the genuine New Testament. The translation of the epistles of the apostolic fathers (which form no part of our enquiry) is acknowledged to be that of Archbishop Wake; and is divided into verses in a similar manner.

[2] Apoc. New Test. pp. 1—8. [3] 1 Infancy, v. vi. Apoc. New Test. pp. 25—28.

[4] Maltby's Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion, p. 40.

[5] Apoc. New Test. p. 23.

after Christ do we find any thing of this prodigious deference to the Virgin: this was an invention of later ages, and was not heard of in the church till the fourth or fifth century, nor so common as this book supposes, till some centuries after.

2. Whoever has perused with *candour and attention* the memoirs of the four evangelists, cannot but be struck with the natural and artless manner in which they relate every fact. They never stop to think how this or that occurrence may be set off to most advantage, or how any thing unfavourable to themselves may be palliated. Nothing ludicrous, no impertinent or trifling circumstances are recorded by them. Every thing, on the contrary, proves that they derived the facts which they have related, from infallible and indisputable sources of information. Far different was the conduct of the compilers of the apocryphal gospels. The *unimportant, impertinent, and frivolous details*, with which their pages are filled, plainly prove that they were not possessed of any real and authentic information upon the subject, which they undertake to elucidate; and clearly invalidate their pretensions as eye-witnesses of the transactions which attended the introduction of the religion of Jesus Christ. Thus, in the pseudo-gospel of the Birth of Mary [1], we have an idle tale of Christ's ascending the stairs of the temple by a miracle at three years of age, and of angels ministering to Mary in her infancy [2]. So, in the prot-evangelion, ascribed to James the Less [3], we are presented with a dull and silly dialogue, between the mother of Mary and her waiting-maid Judith, and with another equally impertinent between the parents of Mary [4]. We have also, in the same performance, an account of Mary being fed by angels [5], and a grave consultation of priests concerning the making of a veil for the temple [6]. The pseudo-gospel of the infancy, and that ascribed to the apostle Thomas, present childish relations of our Saviour's infancy and education, of *vindictive* and *mischievous* miracles wrought by him, of his learning the alphabet, &c. &c. [7]

3. In the pseudo-gospels of Mary, of the Infancy, and of Thomas (which have been already cited), *numerous miracles are ascribed to the mother of Jesus, or to himself in his infancy, which are both* USELESS *and* IMPROBABLE. The proper effect and design of a miracle is, to mark clearly the divine interposition: and, as we have already seen [8], the manner and circumstance of such interference must be marked with a dignity, and solemnity, befitting the more immediate presence of the Almighty. When therefore we observe any miraculous acts attributed to persons, not exercising such a commission, performed upon frivolous or improper occasions, or marked by any circumstance of levity or inanity, we conclude that the report of such miracles is unworthy our attention, and that the reporters of them are to be suspected of gross error or intentional deceit. Thus we smile with contempt at

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[1] Ch. iv. 6. Apoc. New Test. p. 4.
[2] Ibid v. 2.
[3] Prot-evangelion, ii. 2—6. Apoc. New Test. 9.
[4] Ibid. vii. 2—4. p. 11.
[5] Ibid. viii. 2. p. 12.
[6] Ibid. ix. 1—4. p. 13.
[7] Apoc. New Test. pp. 21—43. Mr. Jones has given a list of thirty-two trifling and absurd stories, which are found in the pseudo gospels of the infancy, *different from the above*. On the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 246—249. and in pp. 152, 153, he has given *twelve* others from the prot-evangelion, and the Gospel of Mary. See also pp. 347. 404—406. 454.
[8] See Vol. I. pp. 584. 590.

the prodigies of a writer, who gravely relates as a stupendous miracle, that a child at the age of three years, ascended without assistance the steps of the temple at Jerusalem, which were half a cubit each in height [1]. In the same gospel, in supposed accommodation to a prophecy of Isaiah, which is most grossly misinterpreted, a declaration from Heaven is alleged to have taken place in favour of Joseph, the reputed father of Jesus, similar to that, which, upon the strongest grounds, we believe to have been made in honour of Jesus at his baptism. The bandage which was mentioned in p. (210,) as having been presented by Mary to the magi, is of course represented as the instrument of a miracle, being cast into a fire, yet not consumed. In another of these ingenious productions, when Elizabeth wished to shelter her infant son from the persecution of Herod, she is said to have been thus wonderfully preserved. "*Elizabeth also, hearing that her son John was about to be searched for, took him and went up unto the mountains, and looked around for a place to hide him; and there was no secret place to be found. Then she groaned within herself, and said 'O mountain of the Lord, receive the mother with the child.' For Elizabeth could not climb up. And instantly the mountain was divided and received them. And there appeared an angel of the Lord to preserve them.*" [2]

Various miracles are said to be wrought both by Mary and her Son, particularly by the latter, who is represented as employing his powers to assist Joseph in his trade (he being but a bungling carpenter), especially when he had made articles of furniture of wrong dimensions [3]. The various silly miracles attributed to the apostles, throughout these writings, are so many arguments to prove that the compilations containing them are apocryphal,—or more correctly spurious; and that they are either the productions of the weakest of men, who were fondly credulous of every report, and had not discretion enough to distinguish

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[1] Gospel of Mary, iv. 6. Apoc. New Test. p. 4. v. 13—17. Ibid. p. 5.

[2] Prot-evangelion, xvi. 3—8. Apoc. New Test. p. 19.

[3] "And Joseph, wheresoever he went in the city, took the Lord Jesus with him, where he was sent for to work, to make gates or milk-pails, or sieves, or boxes; the Lord Jesus was with him, wheresoever he went. And as often as Joseph had any thing in his work to make longer or shorter, or wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus would stretch his hand towards it, and presently it became as Joseph would have it; so that he had no need to finish any thing with his own hands, for he was not very skilful at his carpenter's trade. On a certain time the king of Jerusalem sent for him, and said, 'I would have thee make me a throne, of the same dimensions with that place in which I commonly sit.' Joseph obeyed, and forthwith began the work, and continued two years in the king's palace, before he finished it. And when he came to fix it in its place, he found it wanted two spans on each side of the appointed measure. Which when the king saw, he was very angry with Joseph; and Joseph, afraid of the king's anger, went to bed without his supper, taking not any thing to eat. Then the Lord Jesus asked him 'What he was afraid of?' Joseph replied, 'Because I have lost my labour in the work which I have been about these two years.' Jesus said to him, 'Fear not, neither be cast down; do thou lay hold on one side of the throne, and I will the other, and we will bring it to its just dimensions.' And when Joseph had done as the Lord Jesus said, and each of them had with strength drawn his side, the throne obeyed, and was brought to the proper dimensions of the place: which miracle, when they who stood by saw, they were astonished, and praised God. The throne was made of the same wood, which was in being in Solomon's time, viz, wood adorned with various shapes and figures." I Infancy, xvi. (xxxviii. xxxix. of the chapters adopted by Jones and other writers). Apoc. New Test. p. 36.

between sense and nonsense, or between that which was credible and that which was utterly unworthy of credit; or else that these compilations are the artful contrivance of some who were more zealous than honest, and who thought by these strange stories to gain credit to their new religion.

4. *Things are mentioned, which are later than the time in which the author lived, whose name the book bears.* Thus the epistle under the name of our Saviour to Abgarus[1] is manifestly a forgery, for it relates *that to have been done by Christ, which could not possibly have been done till a considerable time after Christ's ascension.* Thus, in the beginning of the Epistle *a passage is cited out of St. John's Gospel*, which was not written till a considerable time after our Lord's Ascension: the words are, *Abgarus, you are happy, forasmuch as you have believed on me whom you have not seen;* for it is written concerning me, *That those who have seen me should not believe on me, that they who have not seen might believe and live.* This is a manifest allusion to those words of our Saviour to Thomas (John xx. 29.) *Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed.* Here indeed that, which the Epistle says, is written concerning Christ, but in no other passage of the New Testament. The same proof of forgery occurs in the Gospel of Nicodemus[2], in which the Jews style Pilate *your highness*,—a title which was not known to the Jews or used among them at that time;—in the story of Christ's going down into hell, to recover and bring thence the patriarchs[3];—in the profound veneration paid to the sign of the cross, particularly the practice of signing with the sign of the cross, which is here said to be done by Charinus and Lenthius[4], before they enter upon their relation of the divine mysteries;—and in Christ's making the sign of the cross upon Adam and upon all the saints in hell[5] before he delivered them from that state. It is to be observed that the practice of signing with the cross, though very common in the fourth and following centuries, was not at all known till towards the end of the second century, when it was mentioned by Tertullian. Similar anachronisms are pointed out by Mr. Jones in various parts of his New Method of settling the Canonical authority of the New Testament, to which want of room compels us necessarily to refer the reader. See also § 1. p. (210) *supra*, for some additional instances of anachronism.

5. The style of the authors of the New Testament, we have already seen[6], is an indisputable proof of its authenticity. Whereas the style of the pseudo-evangelical compilations is totally different from, or contrary to, that of the genuine writings of the author or authors whose names they bear. Every page of the apocryphal New Testament confirms this remark; but especially the pretended gospel of Nicodemus, and the epistles of Paul to Seneca.

(1.) *The names*, given in the pseudo-gospel of Nicodemus to those who are represented as being Jews, *are not Jewish, but either Greek, Roman, or of other foreign countries.* Such are the names of Sumnras,

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[1] Apoc. New Test. p. 44.
[2] Nicodemus, i. 7. Ibid. p. 45.
[3] Ibid. xvii—xix. pp. 65—67.
[4] Ibid. xii. 24. p. 61.
[5] Ibid. xix. 11.
[6] See Vol. II. p 345.

Datam, Alexander, Cyrus [1], Asterius, Antonius, Carus or Cyrus, Crippus or Crispus [2], Charinus, and Lenthius [3]: which evidently indicate imposture. Further, the Gospel of Nicodemus is not extant in Greek; that which is now extant is evidently a translation into very bald and barbarous Latin. [4]

(2.) Nothing can be more unlike the known style of the confessedly genuine epistles, than is the style of the spurious epistles bearing their names in the apocryphal New Testament [5]. This is so obvious to every one who is at all acquainted with those two writers, that it is unnecessary to multiply examples. The epistles attributed to Paul have not the least vestige of his gravity, but are rather compliments and instructions. Further, the *subscriptions* of the letters are very unlike those used by the supposed authors in their genuine epistles. Thus in the first epistle of Seneca, the subscription is, *Bene te valere, frater, cupio*, I wish your welfare, *my brother* [6],—which was an apellation exclusively in use among Christians. And in Paul's fifth epistle to Seneca, he concludes with, *Vale, devotissime magister,—Farewell, most respected master* [7]; which is not only contradictory to Paul's usual mode of concluding his letters, but also most barbarous latinity, such as did not exist in the Roman language till several hundred years after the time of Paul and Seneca.

6. *The apocryphal Books ascribed to the apostles and evangelists contain direct contradictions to authentic history both sacred and profane.* Thus, in the beginning of the epistle of Abgarus [8], that monarch is made to confess his faith in Christ as God, or as the Son of God; in the latter end he invites Christ to dwell with him in his city, because of the malice of the Jews, who intended him mischief. Now this is a plain contradiction; for had he really thought him God, he must certainly think him possessed of Almighty power, and consequently to be in no need of the protection of his city. This seems to be as clear demonstration as subjects of this sort are capable of receiving; nor are we aware of any objection that can be made, unless it be that Peter, who had confessed him to be the Son of God (Matt. xvi. 16.), yet when he came to be apprehended, thought it necessary to interpose with human force to attempt his rescue. (Matt. xxvi. 51. compared with John xviii. 10.) To which it is easy to answer, that whatever opinion Peter, or indeed any of the Apostles, had of Christ before this time, they seem now to have changed it, and by the prospects of his danger and death to have grown cool in their opinion of his Almighty power, else they would never all have forsaken him at his crucifixion as they did. But nothing of this can be supposed in the case of Abgarus, who cannot be imagined to have altered his sentiments in the interval of writing so short an epistle.

Again, *several parts of the above cited letters, which profess to be addressed to Seneca, suppose Paul to have been at the time of writing at Rome; whereas others imply the contrary.* That he was then at

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[1] Nicodemus, i. 1. Apoc. New Test. p. 45.
[2] Ibid. ii. 12. p. 47.
[3] Ibid. xii. 24. xxi. pp. 61. 69.
[4] Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. p. 352.
[5] Apoc. New Test. pp. 74—78.
[6] Apoc. New Test. p. 75.
[7] Ibid. p. 77.
[8] Ibid. p. 44.

Rome, is implied in the first words of the first letter, in which Seneca tells Paul, that he supposed he had been told the discourse that passed the day before between him and Lucilius by some Christians who were present; as also in the first words of Paul's first Epistle, and that part of Seneca's second, where he tells him, He would endeavour to introduce him to Cæsar; and that he would confer with him, and read over together some parts of his writings, and in that part of Paul's second, where he hopes for Seneca's company, and in several other places. But on the other hand several parts of the letters suppose Paul not at Rome, as where Seneca (Epist. iii.) complains of his staying so long away, and both Paul and Seneca are made to date their letters, when such and such persons were consuls; see Paul's fifth and sixth, and Seneca's sixth, seventh, and eighth. Now, had they *both* been in the same city, nothing can be more unreasonable than to suppose that they would have dated thus: what need could there be to inform each other who were consuls? Paul therefore is supposed to be and not to be at Rome at the same time, which is a manifest contradiction. Besides this contradiction, the very dating of their letters by consulships seems to be no small evidence of their spuriousness, because it was a thing utterly unknown that any persons ever did so; nor does one such instance occur in the Epistles of Seneca, Cicero, or any other writer. To which we may add, that, in these letters, there are *several mistakes* in the names of the consuls who are mentioned; which clearly prove that these epistles could not have been written by Paul and Seneca. Another circumstance which proves the epistles ascribed to the apostle to be a gross forgery, is that the latter is introduced as intreating Seneca not to venture to say any thing more concerning him or the Christian religion to Nero, lest he should offend him [1]. Now it is utterly improbable that Paul would obstruct Seneca in his intentions of recommending Christianity to the Emperor Nero; and it is directly contrary to his known and constant zeal and endeavours for its propagation. Would he not rather have rejoiced in so probable an opportunity of spreading the knowledge of Christ, and by the means of one so near to, and so much in favour with, the emperor, have procured the liberty for himself and the other Christian converts of exercising their religion freely? To imagine the contrary is to suppose the apostle at once defective in his regards to himself and the whole body of Christians, and acting in direct contradiction to the whole of his conduct, and zealous endeavours to advance the interest of Christianity.

But, besides, it has happened here, as commonly in such cases; want of memory betrays the forgery; although the author, so unlike Paul, in this place wishes not to discover the Christian religion to the emperor, yet in another Epistle, viz. the sixth of Paul, he is made to advise Seneca to take convenient opportunities of insinuating the Christian religion, and things in favour of it, to Nero and his family; than which nothing can be a more manifest contradiction.

Similar gross and glaring contradictions occur in the Gospel of Nicodemus. To instance only in one or two, which are very noto-

[1] Epist. viii. Apoc. New Test. p. 76.

rious. In chap. ii. 14.[1] the twelve men, Eliezer, Asterius, Antonius, &c. who declare themselves to be no proselytes, but born Jews; when Pilate tendered them an oath, and would have had them swear by the life of Cæsar, refused, because, they say, we have a law that forbids our swearing, and makes it sinful to swear; yet in ch. iv. 7. the elders, scribes, priests, and Levites, are brought in swearing by the life of Cæsar without any scruple[2]; and in ch. xii. 23,[3] they make others, who were Jews, swear by the God of Israel; and Pilate gives an oath to a whole assembly of the scribes, chief-priests, &c. ch. xii. 3.[4] This seems a manifest contradiction. Another is, that in ch. xi. 15.[5] Pilate is introduced as making a speech to the Jews, in which he gives a true and just abstract of the Old Testament history relating to the Israelites, viz. what God had done for them, and how they had behaved themselves to him. Whereas the same Pilate, ch. xxiii. 2.[6] is made to be perfectly ignorant of the Bible, and only to have heard by report that there was such a book; nor can it be said, that Pilate here only refers to the Bible kept in the Temple; for the manner of speech shews he was ignorant of the contents of the book; I have heard you have a certain book, &c. and this is indeed in itself very probable.

Further, this book contains many things contrary to known truths. Such is indeed the whole of it, besides what is taken out of our present genuine Gospels. Who, for instance, will credit the long story ch. xv.—xviii.[7] of Christ's going down to hell, and all the romantic fabulous relations of what happened in consequence of it? Who will believe that Christ there signed Adam and the Patriarchs with the sign of the cross, and that all the holy Patriarchs were in hell till that time? &c. Besides, in other places there are notorious falsehoods; as that is, to make the Jews understand our Saviour, as saying that he would destroy Solomon's Temple, ch. iv. 4.[8] which they could not but know had been destroyed several hundred years before. To make the name Centurio to be the proper name of a man who came to Christ, when it is certain it was the name of his post or office, &c. To make the words of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 55. *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?* to be the words of Isaiah, ch. xxi. and to make Simeon (ch. xvi. and xvii.) to be a high-priest, which it is certain he was not.

7. The striking contrast between truth and falsehood, is naturally heightened, when those passages come under consideration which are borrowed from the genuine Scriptures, and with more or less deviation from the original, adapted to the purposes of the apocryphal writers[9]. Thus, the simple fact contained in Matt. i. 19. is expanded through a chapter and a half of the prot-evangelion[10]. Again, the plain narrative of Luke ii. 16. is not thought sufficient for the great event which was just before related; and accordingly it is thus improved in the Gospel of the Infancy. "After this, when the shepherds came,

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[1] Apoc. New Test. p. 48. [2] Ibid. p. 49. [3] Ibid. p. 61.
[4] Ibid. p. 70. [5] Ibid. p. 53. [6] Ibid. pp. 69, 70.
[7] Ibid. pp. 63—66. [8] Ibid. p. 49.
[9] Dr. Maltby's Illustration. pp. 48, 49.
[10] c. xiii. xiv. of the edition of Fabricius, but x. xi. of the Apocryphal New Testament, pp. 14, 15.

and had made a fire, and they were exceedingly rejoicing, the heavenly host appeared to them, praising and adoring the supreme God; and as the shepherds were engaged in the same employment, the cave at that time seemed like a glorious temple, because both the tongues of angels and men united to adore and magnify God, on account of the birth of the Lord Christ. But when the old Hebrew woman saw all these evident miracles, she gave praises to God, and said *I thank thee, O God, thou God of Israel, for that mine eyes have seen the birth of the Saviour of the world* [1]." The short and interesting account, which is given by the genuine evangelist at the end of the same chapter, is considered by the author of a spurious Gospel, as by no means adequate to the great dignity of our Saviour's character, nor calculated to satisfy the just curiosity of pious Christians. We are therefore informed, that Jesus, in his conference with the doctors in the temple, after explaining the books of the law, and unfolding the mysteries contained in the prophetical writings, exhibited a knowledge no less profound of astronomy, medicine, and natural history [2]. Hence too in the Gospel attributed to Nicodemus, the particulars of our Saviour's trial, are enumerated most fully, the testimony of the witnesses both for and against him is given at large, and the expostulations of Pilate with the Jews are recorded with a minuteness equal to their imagined importance. And as, in the genuine history of these transactions, the Roman governor is reported to have put a question of considerable moment, to which our Saviour vouchsafed no answer, or the evangelists have failed to record it, these falsifiers have thought proper to supply so essential a defect. "Pilate saith unto him, *What is truth?* Jesus said, *Truth is from heaven.* Pilate said, *Therefore truth is not on earth?* Jesus saith unto Pilate, *Believe that truth is on earth among those, who, when they have the power of judgment, are governed by truth, and form right judgment.* [3]

In the prot-evangelion, there are not fewer than *twelve* circumstances stolen from the canonical books, and in the Gospel of the birth of Mary, *six* circumstances [4]; and by far the greater part of the pretended

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1 1 Infancy, i. 19—21. (iv. of Fabricius's edition). Apoc. New Test. p. 22.

2 Gospel of the Infancy, (li. lii. of Fabricius) xx—xxi. of Apoc. New Testament, pp. 39—41. The latter part is so curious, and forms such a contrast to the sober narrative of the sacred historians, and indeed of all serious history, that we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing it. "When a certain astronomer, who was present, asked the Lord Jesus, 'Whether he had studied astronomy?' The Lord Jesus replied, and told him the number of the spheres and heavenly bodies, as also their triangular, square and sextile aspect; their progressive and retrograde motion; their size and several prognostications; and other things, which the reason of man had never discovered. There was also among them a philosopher well skilled in physic and natural philosophy, who asked the Lord Jesus, 'Whether he had studied physic?' He replied, and explained to him physics and metaphysics, also those things which were above and below the power of nature; the powers also of the body, its humours and their effects; also the number of its members, and bones, veins, arteries, and nerves; the several constitutions of body, hot and dry, cold and moist, and the tendencies of them: how the soul operated upon the body; what its various sensations and faculties were; the faculty of speaking, anger, desire; and lastly, the manner of its composition and dissolution; and other things, which the understanding of no creature had ever reached. Then that philosopher arose, and worshipped the Lord Jesus, and said, O Lord Jesus, from henceforth I will be thy disciple and servant.

3 Gospel of Nicodemus, iii. 11—14. Apoc. New Test. p. 48.

4 They are enumerated by Mr. Jones, On the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 153—156.

Gospel of Nicodemus is transcribed and stolen from other books. Nothing can be more evident to any one who is acquainted with the sacred books, and has read this Gospel, than that a great part of it is borrowed and stolen from them. Every such person must perceive, that the greatest part of the history of our Saviour's trial is taken out of our present Gospels, not only because it is a relation of the same facts and circumstances, but also in the very same words and order for the most part; and though this may be supposed to have happened accidentally, yet it is next to impossible to suppose a constant likeness of expression, not only to one, but sometimes to one, and sometimes to another of our evangelists. In short, the author seems to have designed a sort of abstract or compendium of all which he found most considerable to his purpose in our four Gospels; though he has but aukwardly enough put it together.[1]

But the most flagrant instance, perhaps, of fraudulent copying from the canonical books, is to be found in the pretended epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, almost every verse of which is taken from the great apostle's genuine writings, as will appear from the following collation, which is taken from Mr. Jones's work on the canon[2], whose translation is reprinted without acknowledgment in the Apocryphal New Testament.[3]

The Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans.	*The places in St. Paul's genuine Epistles, especially that to the Philippians, out of which this to the Laodiceans was compiled.*
1. Paul an Apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, to the brethren which are at Laodicea.	1. Gal. i. 1. Paul an Apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, &c.
2. Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.	2. Galat. i. 3. Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. See the same also, Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 2. Phil. i. 2. Col. i. 2. 1 Thess. i. 2. 2 Thess. i. 2.
3. I thank Christ in every prayer of mine, that ye continue and persevere in good works, looking for that which is promised in the day of judgment.	3. Phil. i. 3. I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, for your fellowship in the Gospel, from the first day until now, &c.
4. Let not the vain speeches of any trouble you, who pervert the truth, that they may draw you aside from the truth of the Gospel which I have preached.	4. Galat. i. 7. There be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ, &c.
5. And now may God grant, that my converts may attain to a perfect knowledge of the truth of the Gospel, be beneficent, and	

[1] See Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 349, 350. where the above remark is confirmed by many examples.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 33—35.

[3] Apoc. New Test. pp. 73, 74.

doing good works which accompany salvation.

6. And now my bonds, which I suffer in Christ, are manifest, in which I rejoice, and am glad.

7. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation for ever, which shall be through your prayer, and the supply of the Holy Spirit.

8. Whether I live or die; (for) to me to live shall be a life to Christ, to die will be joy.

9. And our Lord will grant us his mercy, that ye may have the same love, and be like-minded.

10. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have heard of the coming of the Lord, so think and act in fear, and it shall be to you life eternal;

11. For it is God, who worketh in you;

12. And do all things without sin.

13. And what is best, my beloved, rejoice in the Lord Jesus Christ, and avoid all filthy lucre.

14. Let all your requests be made known to God, and be steady in the doctrine of Christ.

15. And whatsoever things are sound, and true, and of good report, and chaste, and just, and lovely, these things do.

16. Those things which ye have heard, and received, think on these things, and peace shall be with you.

17. All the saints salute you.

18. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen.

19. Cause this Epistle to be read to the Colossians, and the Epistle of the Colossians to be read among you.

6. Phil. i. 13. My bonds in Christ are manifest.

7. Phil. i. 19. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit.

8. Phil. i. 20, 21. Whether it be by life or death, for to me to live is Christ, to die is gain.

9. Phil. ii. 2. That ye be like-minded, having the same love.

10. Phil. ii. 12. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, &c. work out your salvation with fear;

11. Phil. ii. 13. For it is God who worketh in you.

12. Phil. ii. 14. Do all things without murmuring, &c. ver. 15. that ye may be blameless.

13. Phil. iii. 1. Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord.

14. Phil. iv. 6. Let your requests be made known unto God.

15. Philip. iv. 8. Whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, &c.

16. Phil. iv. 9. Those things which ye have both learned and received, and heard and seen,—do, and the God of peace shall be with you.

17. Phil. iv. 22. All the saints salute you.

18. Gal. vi. 18. The grace of our Lord Jesus be with your spirit. Amen.

19. Col. iv. 16. And when this Epistle is read amongst you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea.

8. Lastly, as the credibility of the genuine books of the New Testament is established by the accounts of countries, governors, princes, people, &c. therein contained, by their being confirmed by the relations of contemporary writers; both friends and enemies to Christians and Christianity (and especially by the relations of hostile writers); so the spuriousness of the pseudo-evangelical writings is demonstrated by their containing *gross falsehoods, and statements which are contradicted by the narratives of those writers who were contemporary with the supposed authors of them.*

Thus, in the fourth of Seneca's epistles to Paul [1], we read that *the emperor* (Nero) *was delighted and surprised at the thoughts and sentiments in Paul's epistles to the churches*; and in the fourth of Paul's epistles to the philosopher [2], that the *emperor is both an admirer and favourer* of Christianity. These assertions are notoriously *false*, and contrary to the unanimous relations of heathen and Christian writers concerning Nero and his regard to the Christians. The Gospel of Mary contains at least two gross falsehoods and contradictions to historical fact; and not fewer than seven equally glaring instances exist in the pseudo-gospel or prot-evangelion of James [3]; six others occur in the two gospels of Christ's infancy [4], which relate things notoriously contrary to the benevolent design of Christ's miracles, and to his pure and holy doctrine, which prohibited revenge, and promoted universal charity and love. Lastly, for it would exceed the limits of this article, (already perhaps too much extended,) to specify all the absurd falsehoods contained in the spurious writings which we have been considering;—the Acts of Paul and Thecla directly falsify the doctrines and practice of the Apostle, concerning the *unlawfulness* of marriage (which he is here said to have taught, though the reverse is evident to the most cursory reader of his epistles); and concerning the *preaching of women*, Thecla being said to be commissioned by him to preach the gospel, though it was not only contrary to the practice of both Jews and Gentiles, and also to St. Paul's positive commands in his genuine epistles [5]. But what proves the utter spuriousness of these Acts of Paul and Thecla—if any further proof were wanting, is the fact that Paul, whose life and writings bespeak him to have been a man of unimpeachable veracity, is introduced in them as uttering a wilful and deliberate *lie*. That he is so introduced, is evident; for after an intimate acquaintance between Paul and Thecla [6], and their having taken a journey together to Antioch [7], he is presently made to deny her, and to tell Alexander, I know not the woman of whom you speak, nor does she belong to me. But how contrary this is to the known and true character of St. Paul, every one must see. He, who so boldly stood up for the defence of the Gospel against all sorts of opposition, who hazarded and suffered all things for the sake of God and a good conscience, which he eneavoured to keep void of offence towards God and men, most unquestionably never

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[1] Epist. viii. in Apoc. New Test. p. 76. [2] Ibid. p. 76. epist. ix.

[3] See them specified, and the falsehoods detected in Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. pp. 147—151.

[4] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 249—251. [5] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 400—402.

[6] Ch. xiv. xvii.—ii. vi. of Apoc. New Test. pp. 80. 84.

[7] Ch. xix.—vii. 3. of Apoc. New Test. p. 84.

would so easily have been betrayed to so gross a crime, to make a sacrifice of the credit of his profession, and the peace of his conscience at once upon so slight a temptation and provocation. Nor will it be of any force to object here, that, in the received Scriptures, Abraham is said twice to have denied his wife, viz. Gen. xii. 19. and xx. 2, &c. as also Isaac is said to have denied his, Gen. xxvi. 7, &c. and in the New Testament, that Peter denied his master, and declared he did not know him, Matt. xxvi. 72. for the circumstances are in many cases very different, and especially in this, that Paul appeared now in no danger if he had confessed her; or, if he had been in danger, might have easily delivered himself from it; to which we must add, that he had undergone a thousand more difficult trials for the sake of God and a good conscience, and never was by fear betrayed into such a crime. [1]

"Such are the compositions which attempted to gain credit, as the real productions of the Apostles and Evangelists; and so striking is the contrast between them and the genuine writings, whose style they have so unsuccessfully endeavoured to imitate. It deserves the most serious consideration of every one, who is unhappily prejudiced against Christianity, or (what is almost as fatal) who has hitherto not thought the subject worthy his attention, whether, if the canonical books of the New Testament had been the productions of artifice or delusion, they would not have resembled those, which are avowedly so, in some of their defects. Supposing it, for a moment, to be a matter of doubt, by whom the canonical books were written; or allowing them the credit, which is granted to all other writings having the same external authority, that of being written by the authors whose names they have always borne; upon either of these suppositions, the writers of the New Testament could not, either in situation or attainment, have had any advantages, humanly speaking, which the authors of the apocryphal books were not as likely to have possessed as themselves: consequently, if the first books had been founded upon the basis of fiction, it is surely most probable, that subsequent attempts would have equalled, if not improved upon, the first efforts of imposture. If, however, it appears, upon a candid and close investigation, that one set of compositions betrays no proofs of a design to impose upon others, and no marks that the others were themselves deceived; while on the contrary, the others evince in every page the plainest symptoms of mistake and fraud; is it fair, is it reasonable, to ascribe to a common origin productions so palpably and essentially different? or rather, is it not more just, and even philosophical, to respect truth in those performances, which bear the fair stamp of her features; and to abandon those, and those only to contempt, which have indubitable traces of imposture?" [2]

IV. From the preceding view of the evidence concerning the apocryphal productions, which have lately been reprinted, the candid reader will readily be enabled to perceive how little cause there is, lest the credibility and inspiration of the genuine books of the New Testament

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[1] Jones on the Canon, vol. ii. p 401. Additional proofs of the spuriousness of the apocryphal writings, ascribed to the apostles, are given by Dr Malthy. Illustrations, pp. 57—65.

[2] Malthy's Illustrations, p. 65.

should be affected by them. "How much soever we may lament the prejudice, the weakness, the wickedness, or the undefinable hostility of those who enter into warfare against the interests of Christ; whatever horror we may feel at the boldness or the scurrility of some Anti-christian champions; we feel no alarm at the onsets of infidelity in its attempts against the Gospel. We know that the cause of Revelation has sustained already every species of assault which cunning could contrive, or power direct. It has had its enemies among the ignorant and among the learned, among the base and among the noble. Polite irony and vulgar ribaldry have been the weapons of its assailants. It has had its Celsus, and its Porphyry, and its Julian. And what were the effects of their opposition? The same as when the 'rulers and elders and scribes' united against it,—its purification and increase. It has had its Bolingbrokes and its Woolstons, its Humes and its Gibbons; and what disadvantages has it sustained, what injuries has it received? Has it lost any of its pretensions, or been deprived of any portion of its majesty and grace, by their hatred and their hostility? Had they a system more credible, more pure, better comporting with the wants of man, and with the anticipations of everlasting existence, to enlighten and sanctify man, and to effect the regeneration of the world, for which they were able to prevail on mankind to exchange the system of Jesus of Nazareth? We gain but little from our reading, but little from our observation, if we shake with the trepidations of fear, when truth and error are combatants. All facts connected with the history of the Christian religion are confirmations of a Christian's faith, that the doctrine which he believes, will resist every attack, and be victorious through all opposition. No new weapons can be forged by its enemies: and the temper and potency of those which they have so often tried, they will try in vain. They may march to battle; but they will never raise their trophies in the field."[1]

The apocryphal pieces which have thus been considered, have been in circulation for ages, as were many others of a similar kind, which have perished, leaving only their titles behind them, as a memorial that they once existed. Many of them, indeed, soon became extinct, the interest which was felt in them not affording the means of their preservation. But we think that it is of special importance, that some of the spurious productions which either the mistaken zeal of Christians, or the fraud of persons who were in hostility to the Gospel, sent abroad in the primitive or in later times, should have been saved from destruction. Such books as the "Gospel of Mary," the "Protevangelion," "The Gospel of the Infancy," "The Gospel of Nicodemus," "Paul and Thecla," &c. &c. are not only available as means of establishing the superior excellence of the Books of the New Testament, in the composition of which there is the most admirable combination of majesty with simplicity, strikingly in contrast with the puerilities and irrationalities of the others;—but they are of great service in augmenting the evidences and confirming the proof of Christianity[2]. So far indeed are these books from militating, in any degree against the evangelical history, that, on the contrary, they most decidedly corro-

[1] Eclectic Review, (N. S.) vol. xv. p. 163.

[2] Ibid. p. 164.

borate it: for they are written in the names of those, whom our authentic Scriptures state to have been apostles and companions of apostles; and they all suppose the dignity of our Lord's person, and that a power of working miracles, together with a high degree of authority, was conveyed by him to his apostles. It ought also to be recollected that few, if any of these books, were composed before the beginning of the second century. As they were not composed before that time, they might well refer (as most of them certainly do) to the commonly received books of the New Testament: and therefore, instead of invalidating the credit of those sacred books, they really bear testimony to them. All these books are not properly spurious, that is, ascribed to authors who did not compose them; but, as they were not composed by apostles, nor at first ascribed to them, they may with great propriety be termed *apocryphal:* for they have in their titles the names of apostles, and they make a specious pretence of delivering a true history of their doctrines, discourses, miracles and travels, though that history is not true and authentic, and was not written by any apostle or apostolical man. Further, we may account for the publication of these apocryphal or pseudepigraphal books, as they were unquestionably owing to the fame of Christ and his apostles, and the great success of their ministry. And in this respect, the case of the apostles of Jesus Christ is not singular: many men of distinguished characters have had discourses made for them, of which they knew nothing, and actions imputed to them which they never performed; and eminent writers have had works ascribed to them of which they were not the authors. Thus, various orations were falsely ascribed to Demosthenes and Lysias; many things were published in the names of Plautus, Virgil, and Horace, which never were composed by them. The Greek and Roman critics distinguished between the genuine and spurious works of those illustrious writers. The same laudable caution and circumspection were exercised by the first Christians, who did not immediately receive every thing that was proposed to them, but admitted nothing as canonical that did not bear the test of being the genuine production of the sacred writer with whose name it was inscribed, or by whom it professed to have been written. On this account it was that the genuineness of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of some of the Catholic Epistles, and of the Apocalypse, was doubted by some, when the other books of the New Testament were universally acknowledged. Upon the whole the books which now are, and for a long time past have been termed apocryphal, whether extant entire, or only in fragments,—together with the titles of such as are lost,—are monuments of the care, skill, and judgement of the first Christians, of their presiding ministers, and their other learned guides and conductors. The books in question afford no valid argument against either the genuineness or the authority of the books of the New Testament, which were generally received as written by the apostles and evangelists; but, on the contrary, they confirm the general accounts given us in the Canonical Scriptures, and thus indirectly establish the truth and divine authority of the *Everlasting Gospel.*[1]

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[1] Lardner's Works, vol. v. pp. 412—419. 8vo: or vol. iii. pp. 131—134. 4to.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE CONTROVERTED CLAUSE IN 1 JOHN V. 7, 8.

[Supplementary to the notice of this controversy, in Vol. II. Part I. pp. 627—637.] [1]

THE controversy respecting the clause in 1 John v. 7, 8. concerning the *Heavenly Witnesses*, which has for nearly four centuries divided the opinions of learned men, is even yet undecided, though the majority of biblical critics now abandon it as spurious. The following pages contain an abstract of the evidence on this much litigated question, which (it is hoped) the reader will find satisfactorily argued in the affirmative.

In the *Textus Receptus*, or received Greek Text of the New Testament, the seventh and eighth verses of the fifth chapter of this Epistle are as follow:

Ὅτι τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες [εν τω ουρανω ὁ πατηρ, ὁ λογος, και το ἁγιον πνευμα· και οὗτοι οἱ τρεις ἑν εισι. Και τρεῖς εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες εν τη γη] το πνευμα, και το ὑδωρ, και το αιμα· και οἱ τρεις εις το ἑν εισι.

In the Vulgate Latin, aud our authorised English version they run thus:

Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant [*in cœlo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra:*] spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres in unum sunt.	For there are three that bear record [*in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth,*] the spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these agree in one.

The disputed passage is included between the brackets.

The decision of the controversy depends partly upon the Greek manuscripts, partly upon the antient versions, and partly upon the quotations which occur in the writings of the antient fathers.

AGAINST THE GENUINENESS OF THE CONTROVERTED PASSAGE IT IS URGED,

1. *That this clause is not to be found in a single Greek manuscript written before the sixteenth century.*

Of all the manuscripts hitherto discovered and collated which contain this Epistle, amounting to *one hundred and fifty-one* [2], if we

[1] As the whole of the pages on this subject, in the last edition, has been re-written, and numerous additional remarks have been interwoven, the author has reprinted his essay on 1 John v. 7, 8. for the convenience of the reader; and has given a new *fac-simile* of the clause from the Codex Montfortianus and the Complutensian Polyglott.

[2] In this number are now for the first time, included *five* manuscripts in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, numbered 1181—1185, which were brought from the

FAC SIMILES,

of 1 John, V. 7. 8. & 9.

from the Codex Montfortii in Trinity College, Dublin.

ὅτι· τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυ-
ροῦντ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· πατήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον,
καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς, ἓν εἰσι· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυ-
ροῦντ ἐν τῇ γῇ· πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ τὴν
μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ
θεοῦ μείζων ἐστίν, ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι·
μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

from the Complutensian Polyglott.

(**Greek**)

ὅτι τρεῖς εἰ=
σίν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες εν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ πα=
τήρ καὶ ὁ λογος καὶ το ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ
οἱ τρεις εἰς το εν εἰσί. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσίν οἱ μαρ
τυροῦντες επὶ της γης, το πνεῦμα καὶ το ὕ
δωρ καὶ το αἷμα. καὶ την μαρτυρίαν των αν
θρωπων λαμβάνομεν, η μαρτυρία του θεοῦ
μείζων εστίν. ὅτι αὕτη εστὶν η μαρτυρία του θεοῦ ὅτι
μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ του υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Latin.

Qui tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo: pater:
verbum: et spiritus sanctus: hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui
testimonium dant in terra: spus: aqua
et sanguis. Si testimonium hominum
accipimus: testimonium dei maius est. Qui hoc est testimonium
dei quod dedit de filio
suo.

H. Meder sc.

London Published July 1st 1811 by T. Cadell in the Strand.

deduct several that are either mutilated or imperfect in this place, it will be found that three only have the text, and two of these are of no authority, viz. 1. The *Codex Guelpherbytanus*, which is evidently a manuscript of the seventeenth century, for it contains the Latin translation of Beza, written by the same hand, and consequently is of no use whatever in sacred criticism. 2. The *Codex Ravianus* or *Berolinensis*, which is obviously a forgery; it is for the most part only a transcript of the Greek text in the Complutensian Polyglott, printed in 1514, with some various readings from Stephens's third edition; and the remainder (from Mark v. 20. to the end of Saint John's Gospel, and Rom. i.—vi. and xiii.—16.) is a copy of the same edition, with some various readings taken partly from Stephens's margin, and partly from the Complutensian Polyglott [1]. 3. The *Codex Britannicus*, as it was called by Erasmus, now better known by the appellation of the *Codex Montfortii* or *Dublinensis*, which is preserved in Trinity College Library, Dublin. A fac-simile of it is annexed [2]: it may be said to be the only *genuine* manuscript containing the disputed text. Michaelis assigns it to the sixteenth century [3]; Dr. A. Clarke to the fourteenth or even the thirteenth century. Conceding, however, every advantage that can be claimed for this manuscript, it is still *modern*: and the testimony of a single witness, and that of so exceptionable an internal character, (it is affirmed) can be of no value in opposition to all other evidence.

But the above assertion, that the *disputed clause is not to be found in a single Greek manuscript written before the sixteenth century*, must be received with considerable allowance. For the entire number of manuscripts of the New Testament, which are *certainly* known to have been hitherto collated, either wholly or in part, does not exceed four hundred [4]; and these bear but a small proportion to those which have not yet been collated in the several libraries of Europe. There are many manuscripts, in uncial or capital letters, in the different

Greek islands by the late professor Carlyle. See an account of them in pp. (27), (28) of this Supplement. The information that the disputed clause does not exist in these MSS., was communicated to the author, with equal promptitude and kindness, by the Rev. Dr. D'Oyley, Domestic Chaplain and Librarian to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[1] See this proved in Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, pars i. p. clxxxi. and especially in Pappelbaum's Codicis Manuscripti Raviani Examen, 8vo. Berlin, 1796.

[2] Our engraving is copied (by permission) from the fac-simile prefixed to the Rev. Dr. A. Clarke's Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature, 12mo. London, 1807. This fac-simile was traced by the accurate hand of the Rev. Dr. Barrett, senior fellow of Trinity College; by whom Dr. Clarke's engraving was collated with the original manuscript, so as to represent it with the utmost fidelity.

[3] See a description of this manuscript, in the Appendix to Vol. II. p. 118, where it is shewn that it could *not* have been written in the sixteenth century.

[4] According to the catalogue of Professor Beck, in his Monogrammata Hermeneutices Librorum Novi Fœderis (part i. pp. 42—100.), the manuscripts of the New Testament, *certainly* known to have been collated, amount to three hundred and ninety-four, exclusive of Lectionaria, Euchologia or Prayer-books of the Greek church, and Menologia or Martyrologies. The catalogue of manuscripts, collated for Griesbach's edition of the Greek Testament, amounts to *three hundred and fifty-five*. (Proleg. tom. i. pp. ci.—cxxvi.) Bp. Marsh in his valuable notes to his translation of Michaelis's Introduction (vol. ii. part ii. p. 834) reckons the total number of those *described* by his author and himself, at *four hundred and sixty-nine*.

libraries of Italy, which have never been collated. Of the numbers in the Vatican library at Rome, only *thirty-four* have been collated; and the difficulty of access to the manuscripts there is so great, as to make it almost impossible for a critic to derive at present any advantage from them. It is strictly forbidden not only to copy, but even to collate them [1]. Further, in the Grand-Ducal Library at Florence alone, there are at least a thousand Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, two of which are of the Apocalypse; and of these only *twenty-four* have been collated. And the Royal Library at Paris has eighty manuscripts of the Greek Testament, either entire or in part, besides sixty-five catenæ or commentaries (having the text of part at least of the New Testament), and fifty-seven Lectionaries, in all amounting to two hundred and two; of which only *forty-nine* have been collated. To which we may add that Blanchini, in the Appendixes to his Evangeliarium Quadruplex, has described many manuscripts which have hitherto been unnoticed in the editions of the Greek Testament.[2]

Of the hundred and fifty-one collated manuscripts above noticed, only *two* of the oldest class, viz. the Alexandrian and the Vatican, omit the clause in question [3]; but such omission may be accounted for from the history of these manuscripts. Neither of them is older than the fourth, fifth, or sixth century, according to Wetstein, Woide, Griesbach, Michaelis, and his translator Bishop Marsh. They were written, therefore, subsequently to the prevalence of Arianism in the Greek church for forty years, from the death of Constantine the Great, A. D. 337, to the accession of Theodosius the Great, A. D. 379, during the reigns of Constantine II., Constans, Julian the Apostate, and Valens. And that the Arians then *adulterated* the received text in some places, is highly probable: we are warranted to infer this, from the charge brought against Athanasius, in the council of Tyre, A. D. 335, that Macarius, one of his clergy, broke into the chancel (θυσιαστηρίου) of Ischyras, one of the Arian faction, overturned the holy table, broke the mystical cup, and *also burned the holy Bibles* [4]. During this entire period, the Arians persecuted the Catholics with the utmost intolerance. In the council of Constantinople, A. D. 336, Athanasius was banished to Gaul; in the council of Alexandria, A. D. 340, Athanasius was censured; and in that of Antioch, A. D. 341, Athanasius was deposed. But soon after, in the council of Sardica, in Illyricum, A. D. 347, Athanasius was vindicated, and the Arians condemned. A

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[1] Dr. Hales on Faith in the Holy Trinity, vol. ii. p. 146. In confirmation of the above remark, he adds, that, "In the year 1783, the Abbé Spoletti presented a memorial to the Pope, requesting permission to print the whole of the celebrated Codex Vaticanus." He was referred, according to the usual routine, to the inquisition; whose permission was refused under the plea that "the Codex Vaticanus differed from the Vulgate, and might, therefore, *if made known to the public*, be prejudicial to the interests of the Christian Religion." Ibid. p. 147.

[2] Bp. Marsh's Michælis, vol. ii. part ii. p. 649.

[3] The Codex Ephremi is mutilated in this place; and the Codex Bezæ D., the Laudian E., and the Coislinian F. do not contain the Catholic epistles. The rest are comparatively modern; none probably older than the ninth century, and many of much later date.

[4] Τα ἱερα βιβλια κατεκαυσε. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. xxvii. p. 64.

schism then took place between the Greek and Latin churches, the former siding with the Arians, the latter with the Athanasians. And during the remainder of that turbulent period, counter-councils were frequently held by the partisans of each side, until the council of Antioch, A. D. 363, when the Arian bishops at length adopted the Nicene Creed.

From the long enmity and rivalry that subsisted between Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, and Athanasius, even from the council of Nice, A. D. 325, we may reasonably infer that there was a difference between the Origenian or Eusebian, and the Athanasian editions; and that the latter was more conformable to the κοινη εκδοσις, or Vulgate Greek edition, which prevailed in the Latin church. If then the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts followed the Egyptian (or, according to Mr. Nolan's classification, the Palestine) recension, in preference to the Western, they and their successors, the later Greek manuscripts, even of the Moscow class, might all want this text; which might have been either casually omitted, or designedly expunged, in their original Egyptian or Palestine exemplars.[1]

2. *Though the clause in question is contained in the common printed editions of the Greek Testament, it was* NOT INSERTED *on the authority of any Greek manuscripts: for the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott translated it from Latin into Greek; and from the Complutensian it was transferred to the other editions of the Greek Testament.*[2]

The passage, as extant in the Complutensian Polyglott, is exhibited in the fac-simile of the Greek Text and the Vulgate Latin version, that faces page (225) and which is accurately copied from the exemplar preserved in the library of Sion College, London, by the courtesy of the Rev. Robert Watts, the present learned librarian. On this fac-simile it is to be observed, 1. That the five first lines, both of the Greek and Latin, are at the top of the opposite page to that, on which the other four lines are found; and 2. That the alphabetical letters, intermingled with the Greek text, refer to the corresponding words in the Latin text, which is printed in a parallel column in the Complutensian edition, and marked with the same letters, in order to ascertain more easily the corresponding Greek and Latin words. As the size of our plate does not admit of the Greek and Latin texts being disposed in parallel columns, they are necessarily placed one below the other.

We now proceed to consider the assertion made by Griesbach and other opposers of the controverted clause, that the Complutensian editors translated it from Latin into Greek; and that from their edition it was transferred to the other editions of the Greek Testament.

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[1] Dr. Hales on Faith in the Trinity, vol. ii. p. 139.

[2] The disputed clause is *not* printed in Erasmus's first and second editions (printed in 1519), nor in those of Aldus, Cephalæus, Colinæus, Macey (in Greek and English); Dr. Harwood (whose edition of the Epistles represents the Clermont manuscript), Matthæi, and Griesbach: and in the editions of Bowyer, Knappe, and Tittman, it is included between brackets. It may be proper to remark, that Erasmus inserted this clause in his third edition, on the faith of the Codex Britannicus above mentioned, not from any conviction of its genuineness, but, as he says, 'to avoid calumny.'

There is strong reason to believe that the Complutensian editors did *not* translate from Latin copies into the Greek: for the only Latin copy they acknowledged as an authority was the Vulgate, which they fairly printed in a parallel column, as above noticed, and which, in modern type, is as follows:—"Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo; Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimoniu3 dant in terra, spūs (spiritus) aqua et sanguis. Si testimonium hominum accipimus, testimonium Dei majus est: quoniam hoc est testimonium Dei, quod majus est, quoniam testificatus est de Filio suo."

But the Greek differs from this, 1. In omitting the proper rendering of *hi*, viz. ουτοι, instead of which it reads οι; and, 2. In mis-rendering *unum sunt*, εις το εν εισιν. This last variety, in particular, the Complutensian editors could not have derived from the Latin; and therefore they must necessarily have derived from some Greek manuscript, either the Codex Rhodiensis or others, which it is now impossible to trace. If they translated the passage into Greek from the Vulgate, it is strange that they did not mention it in their note on this place in question, which is given in the next paragraph, when so fair an opportunity presented itself to them, while speaking so very pointedly on the doctrine in question; and forming a note for the occasion, which indeed is the only *theological* note in the whole volume. Further, it is worthy of remark, that when these editors found an important various reading in any of their Greek manuscripts, they noted it in the margin: two examples of this kind occur in 1 Cor. xiii. 3. and in 1 Cor. xvi. Why then did they take no notice of so important an *omission* as the text of the three witnesses, if they really had no manuscript in which it was contained? The question however recurs, how are we to account for the omission of the clause εις το εν εισι in the Complutensian edition? To this it is replied, that the editors themselves have accounted for such omission in the following marginal note, which is literally transcribed from the copy in Sion College Library.

"Sanctus Thomas, in expositione secunde decretalis de suma trinitate et fide catholica, tractans istum passum contra abbatem Joachim, ut tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo, pater, verbum, et spiritus sanctus: dicit ad literam, verba sequentia. Et ad insinuandam unitatem trium personarum subditur, et hii tres unum sunt. Quod quidem dicitur propter essentie unitatem. Sed hoc Joachim perverse trahere volens, ad unitatem charitatis et consensus inducebat consequentem auctoritatem: Nam subditur ibidem, et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra s. [i. e. scilicet] spiritus: aqua: et sanguis. Et in quibusdam libris additur; et hii tres unum sunt. Sed hoc in veris exemplaribus non habetur: sed dicitur esse appositum ab hereticis arrianis ad pervertendum intellectum sanum auctoritatis premisse de unitate essentie trium personarum. Hec beatus Thomas ubi supra."

In order to understand this note, it is necessary to add a brief notice of the controversy to which it relates.

"In the year 1215, Pope Innocent III. held a general council in the Lateran [1]; in which was condemned a work of the abbot Joachim,

[1] This great council was attended by the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem; by the proxies of the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, and by the repre-

who had written against Lombard archbishop of Paris, on the subject of the Trinity. In the acts of this council, which were written originally in Latin[1], the two verses, 1 John v. 7. 8. were quoted. These acts were translated into Greek, and sent to the Greek churches, in the hope of promoting a union with the Latin, which was one of the subjects in debate in this Lateran council."[2]

The Complutensian editors, therefore, deferred too much to the authority of Thomas Aquinas, and the Latin Vulgate (both omitting the latter clausule in the eighth verse), against the authority of the Lateran council, and the Latin MSS. referred to in their acts; and against the implied testimony of the translator, that "it existed in the Greek:" from which only the Complutensian editors could have derived the variety, εις το εν εισι, which they improperly transferred to the seventh verse[3]. And as the manuscripts, which were used by the Complutensian editors, have long since been lost, we can at present only rely, for their testimony, on the veracity of the editors themselves; which, at this distance of time, it is impossible to disprove.

3. *It is contained in no other antient version besides the Latin.*

It is wanting in the *Old Syriac* version, executed at the beginning of the second, if not in the first century[4]; and also in the *Philoxenian Syriac*, a version made in the fifth century. It is wanting in the *Coptic*, a version in the dialect antiently spoken in Lower Egypt, which is referred to the fifth century: and in the *Sahidic*, a version in

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sentatives of the eastern churches; whose concurrence in these acts is no mean proof that the authenticity of the seventh verse was allowed by them in the thirteenth century.

[1] They are printed in Harduini Acta Conciliorum, tom. vii. pp. 1—78.

[2] Marsh's Letters to Travis, p. xv. The words of the acts of this council, in reference to these two verses, are as follows:—Quemadmodum in Canonicâ Joannis epistolâ legitur, Qui tres sunt qui testimonium dant in Cælo, Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus; et hi tres unum sunt. Statimque subjungitur, Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus aqua et sanguis: et tres unum sunt. Sicut in codicibus quibusdam, (scil. Latinis) invenitur. In the Greek translation, which is printed in the adjacent column, (both by Harduin, Concilia, tom. vii. p. 18. and by Mansi, Concilia, tom xxii. p. 984.) these Latin words are thus rendered, ὅν τρόπον ἐν τῇ καινοτέρᾳ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῇ ἀναγινώσκεται· Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὁ πατὴρ λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον· καὶ τοῦτοι (a mistake for οὗτοι) οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσιν. Εὐθὺς τι προστίθησι . . . . . Καθὼς ἐν τισι κώδηξι ἐυρίσκεται.—"I have here represented this passage," says Bishop Marsh, "exactly as it stands in the Greek Acts: in which there is a chasm between προστίθησι and καθὼς. For as verse 8, already existed in the Greek, the translator thought it unnecessary to produce it." P. 16. How could it escape the notice of this acute critic, that the expression, sicut in codicibus quibusdam invenitur; so far from being "very artful," as he imagines, are an honest and important avowal, on the part of the council, that the latter clausule, "et tres unum sunt," in the eighth verse, is "not suspicious," for, though omitted in the Latin Vulgate of Jerome, it was found in some Latin MSS. extant in their time, and we have in confirmation thereof, the valuable testimony of Professor Porson, that "it is actually found in twenty-nine Latin MSS. the fairest, the oldest, and the most correct in general." Letters, p. 152. Dr. Hales on the Trinity, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.

[3] Dr. Hales on the Trinity, vol. ii. p. 144.

[4] We are informed by Dr. Buchanan that it is not to be found in a Peschito or Syriac manuscript which belonged to the Syrian church in India above a thousand years, nor in any copy of the Syriac Scriptures which he had seen. Christ. Researches in Asia, p. 118. This manuscript is now in the public library at Cambridge.

the dialect antiently spoken in Upper Egypt, which is considered as having been made in the second century. It is wanting in the *Ethiopic* version, executed in the fourth century; and in the *Armenian* version, which is referred to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. It is wanting in all the manuscripts of all the known *Arabic* versions; and it is absent from *all* the manuscripts of the *Sclavonic* or Old Russian version, executed in the ninth century.

4. *Not all the manuscripts, even of the Latin version, contain this clause.*

The Vulgate Latin version is justly valued as an important relic of Christian antiquity, and, generally speaking, as a good and faithful translation; but (as we have shown in the preceding volume[1]), in its passage from the fifth to the fifteenth century, it has undergone many corruptions and interpolations. The passage does not appear in any manuscripts writen *before* the tenth century. It is *wanting* in upwards of forty of the oldest Latin manuscripts[2]; in others it occurs only in the margin; and in others it is interlined by a later hand. And even in those manuscripts, which do contain it without any marks of later interpolation or correction, the passage is found exceedingly diverse and fluctuating, both as to its readings and position. Many of them, and also the printed text, even that of Pope Clement VIII., have the final clause of the eighth verse, *tres unum sunt*, which is manifestly a corruption from the *homoioteleuton*[3] ΤΡΕΙΣΕΙΣ; while others omit that final clause. Some add, *in Christo Jesu*; some read *Filius* instead of *Verbum*; some omit *Sanctus*; others transpose *quoniam* and *et*; and the more antient of those, which have the passage, put the *eighth* verse *before* the seventh. This uncertainty and fluctuation (it is contended) is, itself, a most suspicious mark of interpolation.

5. *The Greek fathers* HAVE NEVER *quoted the clause, not even in those places where we should most expect it.*

This has been ascertained after repeated and most minute examinations of the writings of the Greek fathers, who have frequently cited the preceding verse, as well as that which immediately follows. Now, that they should not avail themselves of so strong and apposite a text in their controversies with the Arians and other sectaries, as an additional confirmation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, is utterly inexplicable on any other supposition than that of its not being in existence. Dr. Hales, however, has shewn, that it was probably quoted by Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen, in opposition to the assertion of Griesbach.[4]

6. *The Protestant Reformers either rejected* 1 John v. 7., *or at least marked it as doubtful; and though the editors of the English New Testament, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., uniformly*

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[1] See Vol. I. pp. 292—295.

[2] Professor Porson, however, who was one of the most learned of the opposers of the disputed clause *asserts the contrary*. See the conclusion of the note in p. (229).

[3] That is the recurrence of the same word at the end of two contiguous clauses.

[4] See Dr. Hales on the Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 184—195.

admitted this verse into the text, yet they generally expressed a doubt of its authenticity.

Thus it is wanting in the German translation of the illustrious reformer, Dr. Martin Luther, and in all the editions of it published during his life-time. The last edition printed under Luther's superintendence (and which was not quite finished till after his death), was that of 1546, in the preface to which he requests that no person will make any alterations in it. But this great and good man had not been dead thirty years, when the passage was interpolated in his German translation. The first edition in which this act of injustice took place, and in which Luther's text at least was corrupted, is that which was printed at Frankfort in 1574. But in the edition of 1583, printed in the same place, and also in several still later Frankfort editions, the passage was again omitted. The oldest Wittenberg edition, which received it, was that of 1596: and in the Wittenberg edition of 1599 it is likewise contained, but is printed in Roman characters. In 1596 it was inserted also in the Low German Bible, printed in that year at Hamburgh. In the seventeenth century, if we except the Wittenberg edition of 1607, which remained true to Luther's text, the insertion was general: and since that time it is found in every edition of his German translation of the Scriptures.

Calvin, who retained it, speaks very doubtfully of it. In the Latin version, printed by Stephens in 1544, and ascribed to Leo Juda (who embraced the theological views of Zwingle the reformer of Switzerland), it is dismissed from the text, but retained in the margin; and in Castalio's Latin version, printed at Basil in 1551 and again in 1553, it is included between brackets.

Of the English versions, the earliest is that of William Tindal, printed in 1544, and again in 1546. Coverdale's Bible was printed in folio in 1535. Matthew's in 1537, partly from Tindale and partly from Coverdale, and reprinted in 1549 and 1551. Cranmer's Bible was printed in 1539 and 1541. In 1540 and 1541 two folio editions were published by Taverner. In 1541 a folio Bible was printed under the inspection of Bishops Tonstal and Heath. In 1549 Taverner's was reprinted. In 1550 a New Testament, in octavo, in Latin and English, was printed by Gualter, for Sir John Cheeke. In 1552 a Testament, in 4to, by Hill. In 1553, a Bible, in small quarto, by Grafton. In 1556, an English Bible, in folio, was printed at Rouen; and in 1562 a folio Bible was printed in London, by Harrison.

All these editions contain 1 John v. 7., but not without marks of doubt, either including the verse between parentheses, or printing it in diminutive letters. Thus, in Cranmer's Bible, usually called the Great Bible, on account of its size, in the edition of 1539, it appears in the following manner.

"This Jesus Christ is he that came by water and bloud, not by water onely, but by water and bloud. And it is the sprete that beareth wytnes, because the sprete is trueth. (For ther are thre, which beare recorde in heaven, the father, the worde, and the wholy goost. And these thre are one) and ther are thre which beare recorde (in erth) the sprete," &c. [1]

[1] In his prologue, Cranmer explains what is meant by the small letters: "Where as often ye shall finde a small lettre in the texte, it signifyeth, that so moche as is in the

On the other hand, there are three old editions which insert the disputed passage without any mark of suspicion; viz. one in 1536, believed to be printed by Gough, from Tindal's version; the New Testament, in 1552, translated by command of Edward VI.; and the Geneva Bible, in 1557. The English Testaments, printed in 1538 and 1558, are not included in the preceding notices of translations in our language: both of them were translated from the Vulgate, and consequently have the disputed passage.[1]

But the omission of the clause in question by some of the venerable reformers, is not a conclusive argument against its genuineness. It only shows that they entertained some doubts concerning it, and their fidelity in intimating those doubts. The utmost that can be made of the objection, from such omission, is, that the passage was wanting in the copies of the Greek Testament consulted by them when executing their several translations. And if its absence from their copies can be satisfactorily accounted for (as the preceding and subsequent pages show that it can), the objection now under consideration necessarily falls to the ground.

FOR THE GENUINENESS OF THE CONTROVERTED CLAUSE, IT IS CONTENDED THAT,

(1. *External Evidence.*)

1. *It is found in the confession of faith, and also in the liturgies of the Greek Church.*

The *Confession of faith of the Greek Church* thus introduces the clause:—GOD, in his nature, is true and eternal, and the Creator of all things, visible and invisible: such also is THE SON, and the HOLY SPIRIT. They are also of the same essence among themselves, according to the doctrine of John the Evangelist, who says, '*there are three that bear testimony in heaven,* THE FATHER, THE WORD, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE.'

In the *Liturgies of the Greek Church,* among other portions of scripture, this verse is directed, by the Greek rituals, to be read in its course, in the thirty-fifth week of the year.[2]

2. *It is found in the ORDO ROMANUS, or primitive Liturgy of the Latin church,* which recites this verse in the offices for Trinity Sunday, and for the octave of Easter, and also in the office for the administration of baptism.[3]

These two testimonies, Dr. Hales remarks, are decisive in favour of the authenticity of the clause. For surely, when we consider the lasting schism that prevailed between the Greek and Latin churches,

small lettre doth abounde, and is more in the common translacyon in Latyne, then is founde, either in the Hebrue or the Greke, which wordes and sentences we have added, not only to manifeste the same unto you, but also to satisfie and content those that herebeforetyme hath myssed such sentences in the Bybles and New Testaments before set forth."

[1] Christian Observer for 1809, vol. viii. p. 210. In this volume, the lover of Biblical criticism will find an elaborate and interesting dissertation on the various readings in the principal passages of the New Testament, respecting the doctrine of the Trinity.

[2] Dr. Smith's Miscellanea, p. 155. London, 1686.

[3] Travis's Letters to Gibbon, pp. 61, 62.

from the time of the Arian and Athanasian controversy, about the Homo-ousian and Homoi-ousian doctrine of the Father and of the Son; and about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son; which was maintained from both by the Latin Church; but contested respecting the latter by the Greek, inasmuch as the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, is not expressly asserted in Scripture, though it may fairly be implied[1]; we may rest assured that the clergy of the Greek church would never have adopted the clause merely upon the authority of the Latin, if they had not sufficient vouchers for it in their own Greek Verity; and even, perhaps, in the autograph and primary copies of St. John's Epistles, which were probably subsisting in the Church of Ephesus, till the end of the fourth century, at least.[2]

3. *It is found in most Latin manuscripts.*

It is readily conceded that most of the Latin manuscripts now extant contain the disputed clause, but (with the exception of twenty-nine[3]) they are the least antient and most incorrect. It must also be recollected that no version has been so corrupted as the Latin. The Latin transcribers took the most unwarrantable liberties, inserting in one book of the New Testament passages which they took from another, and frequently transferring into the text what they found written in the margin of the manuscript whence they copied. Under these circumstances, Michaelis concludes, every one must immediately suspect that a passage, which is wanting in all the antient Greek manuscripts, and is likewise wanting in many antient copies even of the Latin version, is an interpolation in those Latin manuscripts that contain it. And, in the present instance, the same cause which has procured so many zealous advocates in favour of 1 John v. 7. was the principal cause of its introduction and general reception, viz. the importance of the doctrine which it contains.

4. *It is cited by numerous Latin fathers.*

In reply to this argument, it is urged that their authority is inferior to that of the Greek fathers in determining the readings of the Greek manuscripts: for, in writing to the Latin churches, they usually refer to their own version of the Scriptures, and like our divines, must be understood to quote the established translation, unless they give notice of the contrary: now, if the Latin fathers were unexceptionable witnesses, and if they had quoted in express terms the whole of the controverted passage, their quotations would prove nothing more than that the passage stood in their manuscripts of the Latin version, and consequently that the Latin version contained it in a very early age; but their evidence, it is *asserted*, is very unsatisfactory.

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[1] That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, we learn, from the express authority of Christ, who says, "the Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father." John xv. 26. In the same verse he says: "I will send the Spirit," and St. Paul tells the Galatians, "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts." Gal. iv. 6. Hence we infer, that the Spirit proceeds from the Son also.

[2] The Author of the Chronicon Alexandrinum, in the fourth century, affirms, that the originals of St. John's writings were then preserved at Ephesus. Dr. Hales on the Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197.

[3] See the conclusion of note 2 in p. (229).

As the Western Church generally received the disputed clause as genuine in the seventh century, we need not commence our researches earlier than that age. In the seventh century, then, we find this clause quoted by Maximus; towards the close of the *sixth*, by Cassiodorus; towards the end of the *fifth* and at the beginning of the *sixth*, by Fulgentius; in the *fifth* by Eucharius, and the bishops of the African churches in the celebrated confession of faith delivered by them to Hunneric, the Arian king of the Vandals; in the *fourth*, by Phœbadius, Marcus Celedensis, and Idatius Clarus; in the middle of the *third* century by Cyprian; and at the end of the *second* or beginning of the *third* century, by Tertullian. Of these various testimonies,—which are enumerated in a retrograde order, that we may ascend gradually and regularly, as nearly as possible to the fountain head, or the apostolic age,—the principal are those of Fulgentius, the confession of the African churches, Marcus Celedensis, Phœbadius, Cyprian, and Tertullian.[1]

(1.) "Fulgentius, the learned bishop of Ruspa in Africa, was born A. D. 464, and died A. D. 533[2]. He was called to the episcopal office in 507, and boldly opposed the Arians, who were patronised by Thrasimund, king of the Vandals, by whom he was exiled, together with all the African bishops who adhered to the orthodox faith. In his treatise the following paragraph occurs:

"In the Father, therefore, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, we acknowledge unity of substance, but dare not confound the persons. For St. John the Apostle testifieth, saying '*There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one.*' Which also the blessed martyr Cyprian, in his Epistle de unitate Ecclesiæ, confesseth, saying, Whoso breaketh the peace of Christ, and concord, acteth against Christ: whoso gathereth elsewhere beside the church, scattereth. And that he might show, that the church of the one God is one, he inserted these testimonies, immediately from the Scriptures: The Lord said, '*I and the Father are one.*' (John x. 30.) And again, of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, it is written, '*And these three are one.*' (1 John v. 7.) We, therefore, do not worship one God, [consisting] of three parts; but retaining the rule of apostolic faith, we confess that the perfect co-eternal Son is born, without beginning, of the perfect, and eternal Father, not unequal in power, and equal in nature; and we also confess, that the Holy Spirit is not other than God, neither different from the Father, nor the Son, nor confounded in the Son, nor in the Father."[3]

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[1] The testimony of Vigilius bishop of Tapsum, who wrote in this century, is designedly omitted, as he is a writer of very little credit, who imposed his sentiments upon the world under the names of Athanasius, Idacius and others; and also because the passage, in which he is supposed to have referred to the disputed clause, is suspected not to be genuine.

[2] In order to lower the force of this eminent writer's testimony, Griesbach represents him as living nearly in the *middle* of the sixth century,—*sæculi* sexti fere medii *scriptorem*. Nov. Test. vol. ii. Diatribe, p. [24.]

[3] The following is the original passage of Fulgentius:—In Patre ergo, et Filio et Spiritu sancto unitatem substantiæ accipimus, personas confundere non audemus. Beatus enim Joannes apostolus testatur, dicens, *Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent* IN CŒLO, *Pater, Verbum et Spiritus: et tres unum sunt.* Quod ETIAM beatissimus Martyr

And in his treatise on the Trinity, he gives the following explanation of the preceding texts, and his inference from that explanation:

"*I and the Father are one.*" (John x. 30.) The words teach us to refer 'unum' to the nature, 'sumus' to the persons. In like manner, that text, *There are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one.* (1 John v. 7.) Let Sabellius hear 'sumus,' and 'tres,' and believe that there are 'three persons:' Let Arius also hear 'unum,' and not say that the Son is of a different nature; since a different nature cannot be called 'unum.'[1]

Stronger testimony than this, it is scarcely possible to adduce; let us however pass

(2.) To the evidence furnished by the confession of faith of the African churches. In the year 484, Hunneric, king of the Vandals in Africa, a fierce persecutor of those who believed the doctrine of the Trinity, and a strenuous favourer of the Arians, commanded all the catholic bishops within his dominions to meet, and to confirm their doctrine by Holy Scripture. Accordingly, they assembled together, to the number of more than four hundred and sixty, with Eugenius bishop of Carthage at their head. The bishops drew up and presented to their sovereign a confession of their faith, which is recorded by Victor Vitensis[2], and in which occurs the following passage: *Ut adhuc luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum doceamus, Joannis Evangelistæ testimonio comprobatur. Ait namque,* TRES SUNT, QUI TESTIMONIUM PERHIBENT IN CŒLO, PATER, VERBUM, ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS, ET HI TRES UNUM SUNT. In English thus:—"*That we may further show it to be clearer than the light, that the divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, we have the testimony of the Evangelist John; for he says,*—THERE ARE THREE WHICH BEAR RECORD IN HEAVEN, THE FATHER, THE WORD, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE."

Cyprianus in epistola De Unitate Ecclesiæ *confitetur*; dicens, Qui pacem Christi et concordiam rumpit, adversus Christum facit: qui alibi præter ecclesiam colligit, Christi ecclesiam spargit. Atque ut unam ecclesiam unius Dei esse monstraret, hæc confestim TESTIMONIA DE SCRIPTURIS inseruit:—Dicit Dominus, *Ego et Pater unum sumus:* Et iterum de Patre, Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est: *et hi tres unum sunt.* Non ergo ex tribus partibus unum colimus Deum, sed Apostolicæ fidei regulam retinentes, perfectum consempiternum Filium de perfecto et sempiterno Patre, sine initio genitum, et potestate non imparem, et natura *fatemur* equalem, *Sanctum* quoque Spiritum non aliud *fatemur* esse quam Deum; nec a Filio, nec a Patre diversum, nec in Filio nec in Patre confusum. Fulgent. contra Arianos—Max. Bibl. Patr. tom. ix. p. 41. ed. Lugd. A. D. 1677.

[1] *Ego et Pater unum sumus. Unum* ad naturam referre nos docent, *sumus* ad personas. Similiter et illud: *Tres sunt* inquit, *qui testimonium dicunt* IN CŒLO *Pater, Verbum et Spiritus, et hi tres unum sunt.* Audiat Sabellius *sumus*, audiat *tres*, et credat esse tres personas. Audiat scilicet et Arrius *unum*, et non differentis Filium dicat esse naturæ: cum, natura diversa, *unum* dici nequeat. Fulg. de Trin. cap. iii. Ibid. p. 60. The two preceding testimonies are transcribed from Mr. Archdeacon Travis's Letters to Mr. Gibbon, Appendix, No. xx. pp. 18—20. who has collected additional testimonies from Fulgentius.

[2] Historia Persecutionis Vandalicæ, p. 29. edit. Ruinart. Mr. Travis has related the history of this transaction in his "Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq." pp. 57—60; and has given the confession itself in his Appendix, No. xxxi. pp. 31, *et seq.*

In this passage of the confession of the African bishops, 1 John v. 7. is clearly and distinctly quoted; but this Michaelis remarks, proves nothing in respect of its authenticity; for the only inference which we can deduce is, that the passage was contained in the Latin manuscripts then used in Africa. "We may infer that Eugenius, who drew up the confession, found the passage in his Latin manuscript; but that all the bishops who signed this confession found the quoted passage likewise in their manuscripts, is a very unwarrantable inference. For when a formulary of religious articles is composed, however numerous the persons may be who set their names to it, it is in fact the work only of him who drew it up: and a subscription to such a formulary, though it conveys a general assent to the doctrines contained in it, by no means implies that every subscriber has, previous to his subscription, examined every argument adduced, or every quotation that is alleged in it, and obtained a thorough conviction that not one of them is exceptionable.

"But it is said, the Arians themselves, who were present when this confession was delivered, made no objection to the quotation, '*Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, &c.*:' that they acknowledged therefore, by their very silence, that the passage was not spurious. Now this is a very weak and even absurd argument. For, in the first place, we have no further knowledge of this transaction, than what the orthodox themselves have given of it: and therefore it is not fair to conclude, that the Arians made no objections, merely from the circumstance that no objections are on record. Secondly, if the conclusion were admissible, nay, were it absolutely certain that the Arians, who were present at this conference, admitted, '*Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, &c.*' it would follow only that the passage was in their Latin manuscripts, as the quotation of it shows that it was in the Latin manuscript of Eugenius, who drew up the confession. For these Arians were Vandals who had been driven out of Spain into Africa, who read the Bible only in the Latin translation, and were totally unacquainted with Greek. Consequently their silence on the quotation of a passage from the Latin translation, at the end of the fifth century, affords no presumption whatsoever that the passage existed in the Greek original. Lastly, the whole transaction between Hunneric with his Arian Vandals, on the one side, and the orthodox bishops of Africa on the other, was of such a nature as was very ill adapted to the decision of a critical question. For these Vandals did not combat by argument, but by force; and they brought their adversaries to silence, not by reasoning with them, but by cutting out their tongues. To argue therefore from the silence of such men to the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. is nearly the same as an appeal in its favour to the testimony of a Russian corporal."[1]

Forcible as this reasoning of Michaelis confessedly is, an eminently learned Roman Catholic layman[2], who is disposed to give it all the weight which it justly demands, has endeavoured to support the argument deducible from the narrative in favour of the authenticity of the

[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 427, 428.
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verse, by the following considerations. "1st. The Catholic bishops were summoned to a conference; so that they expected (and it certainly was highly probable,) that their tenets, and the proofs they should adduce of them, would be strongly attacked.—2d. This circumstance must have made them very cautious of what they inserted in their proposed confession:—3d. Particularly, as all power was in the hands of their angry and watchful adversaries:—4th. Of course, though they might, and from the nature of the case, must have inserted in the confession, some things, at which they knew the Arians would cavil, they would not have inserted in it any thing, which, by merely asking a plain question, the Arian could prove to be a palpable falsehood:—5th. Now, if the Arians could, with truth, have said to the Catholic bishops, what the present opposers of the verse say,—The verse is in no Greek copy; it is in no antient Latin copy; it is in no antient father; it is in few only of your own copies:—Can you even assert the contrary? What could the Catholic bishops have replied? If we are to believe the adversaries of the verse, the bishops could hold out no Greek copy; no antient Latin copy; no antient father, where the verse was to be found:—6th. On this supposition, therefore, instantly and on the very spot, the Arians could have shown the spuriousness of the verse, and have convicted the bishops of a palpable falsehood:—7th. And this, at a time and in a situation, when the eyes of all the Christian world were upon them:—8th. Now, is it probable the Catholic bishops would have exposed themselves to such immediate and indelible infamy?—9th. Particularly, as it was volunteering it: for their producing the verse was a mere voluntary act: their cause did not depend on it; long treatises had been written by the antient defenders of the Trinity, in which the verse had not been mentioned:—10th. Consequently, when the Catholic bishops produced the verse, they could have no fear that any such proof positive of its spuriousness could be dashed upon them:—11th. Therefore, they knew, either that the verse could not be attacked; or that, if attacked, they could produce Greek copies, antient Latin copies, and antient fathers in its defence:—12th. It is observable that the greatest part of the Catholic prelates who assisted at this conference, suffered, for their steady adherence to their faith, the severest persecutions. In the language of Mr. Gibbon (ch. 38), "Three hundred and two of them were banished to different parts of Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life. Gundamund, the nephew and immediate successor of Hunneric, appeared to emulate and even to surpass the cruelty of his uncle. At length he relented and recalled the bishops. Thrasimund, his brother and immediate successor, prohibited by law any episcopal ordination; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardinia, where they languished fifteen years." Surely it is improbable, that men who could undergo such persecutions and sufferings for their belief of the consubstantiality of the Son, would introduce a spurious verse into his Word."

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(3.) About fifty years before the African churches delivered their memorable confession of faith, Marcus Celedensis addressed his exposition of the Christian faith to Cyril, in which the following passage occurs:—

"To us there is one '*Father*,' and his only '*Son*,' [who is] very [or true] God, and one '*Holy Spirit*,' [who is] very God, 'and *these three are one*;'—one divinity, and power, and kingdom. And they are *three persons*, not two, nor one," &c. [1]

(4.) Contemporary with this writer was Phœbadius, bishop of Agen, A. D. 459; who, in his controversy with the Arians, writes,

"The Lord says, *I* will ask of *my father*, and he will give you *another advocate*." (John xiv. 16.) Thus, *the Spirit* is *another* from *the Son*; as the Son is *another* from *the Father*; so, the third person is in the Spirit, as the second is in the Son. All, however, are *one God*, because *the three are one*." [2]

In this passage 1 John v. 7. is evidently connected, as a scriptural argument, with John xiv. 16.

(5.) From the writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, two passages have been cited, to prove that 1 John v. 7. was contained in his manuscript of the Latin version. The first is from his seventy-third Epistle, addressed to Jubaianus, in A. D. 256, the object of which is to invalidate the baptism administered by heretics. In this epistle, the following passage occurs:

"*If any one could be baptised by a heretic, and could obtain remission of sins,—if he has obtained remission of sins, and is sanctified, and become the temple of God? I ask, of what God? If of the Creator, he cannot be his temple, who has not believed in him: if of Christ, neither can he, who denies him to be God, be His temple; if of the Holy Spirit, since the* three are one, *how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him who is an enemy, either of the Father or of the Son.* [3]

In this passage, Dr. Mill, and other advocates for the genuineness of the disputed clause, contend, that there is plainly an argument founded upon the *unity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit*. But how does Cyprian make out or prove that unity? He attempts no proof of such unity, but presupposes it as a point that must be admitted.—"*Since the* three," he says, "are one, *the Holy Spirit cannot be reconciled to him, who is an enemy either of the Father or of the Son*." That they *are* one, he supposes every one will know, who

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[1] Nobis unus '*Pater*,' et unus '*Filius*' ejus verus Deus, et unus '*Spiritus Sanctus*,' verus Deus, '*et hi tres unum sunt*;' una Divinitas, et potentia, et regnum. Sunt autem *tres personæ*, non duæ, non una, &c. Marc. Celed. Exposit. Fid. ad Cyril. apud Hieronymi Opera, tom. ix. p. 73 g. (Nolan's Inquiry, p. 291 *note*.)

[2] Dominus 'Petam' inquit, a Patre meo, et *alium advocatum* dabit vobis. Sic *alius* a Filio 'Spiritus,' sicut *alius* a Patre 'Filius.' Sic tertia in Spiritu, ut in Filio secunda persona: unus tamen Deus (omnia) quia '*tres unum sunt*.' Phœbad. contr. Arian. c. xlv. (Nolan's Inquiry, p. 291 *note*.)

[3] *Si baptizari quis apud hæreticum potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit,—si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est; quæro, cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit, qui in eum non credidit; si Christi, non hujus potest fieri templum, qui negat Deum Christum; si Spiritus Sancti,* cum tres unum sunt, *quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est?* Cypriani Opera, a Foll. p. 203. folio, Oxon. 1682.

has read the New Testament, and therefore he only just alludes to the text as his authority. In opposition to this reasoning, Michaelis observes that the words—*cum tres unum sunt*,—though inserted in the later editions of Cyprian's works, are *not* contained in that edition which was published by Erasmus; and that, even if they were genuine they will prove nothing more than the same words which are quoted by Tertullian. [1]

The other passage of Cyprian above alluded to, is to be found in his treatise on the Unity of the Church, written A. D. 251, where he thus expressly cites the disputed clause:—

"The Lord saith, *I and my Father are one*; and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, *and these three are one*." [2]

This, it is urged by the advocates of the contested clause, is a plain citation of two different texts of Scripture, viz.—The first, of what Jesus Christ says of himself, in John x. 30.—"The Lord says, *I and my Father are one*;" and the second (which is expressly accompanied with the antient formula of quotation, *it is written*) is a citation of what is spoken of them and of the Holy Spirit in some other place. 'And again,' it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, *and these three are one*. But where is it so written, except in 1 John v. 7.? On the other hand, admitting that the words *Et tres unum sunt*,—*and these three are one*, were so quoted from the verse in question, Michaelis asks whether a passage found in no antient Greek manuscript, quoted by no Greek father, and contained in no other antient version than the Latin, is therefore to be pronounced genuine, merely because one single Latin father of the three first centuries, who was Bishop of Carthage, where the Latin version only was used, and where Greek was unknown, has quoted it? Under these circumstances, should we conclude, that the passage stood originally in the Greek autograph of Saint John? Certainly not: for the only inference, which could be deduced from Cyprian's quotation, would be this, that the passage had been introduced into the Latin version so early as the third century.

This answer, Michaelis thinks sufficient to invalidate Cyprian's authority, in establishing the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. on the supposition that Cyprian really quoted it. But that he did so, it is asserted to be more than any man can prove. The words *tres unum sunt* are contained not only in the seventh, but likewise in the eighth verse, which is a part of the antient and genuine text of Saint John: and therefore it is at least possible, that Cyprian took them, not from the seventh, but from the eighth verse. It is true that he says, these words are written of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whereas *tres unum sunt* in the eighth verse relates only to the spirit, the water, and the blood. But it must be observed that the Latin fathers interpreted *Spiritus*, *Aqua*, et *Sanguis*, not literally but mystically, and some of them really understood by these words, Pater, Filius, et Spi-

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[1] See p. (240), *infra*.

[2] Dicit Dominus, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*: et iterum de Patre et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, *Et tres unum sunt*. De Unitate Ecclesiæ, Op. p. 109.

ritus sanctus, taking aqua in the sense of Pater, sanguis in the sense of Filius, and spiritus in the sense of Spiritus sanctus.[1]

(6.) The evidence of Tertullian, the oldest Latin writer who has been quoted in favour of 1 John v. 7. is contained in the following passage of his treatise against Praxeas:

"Thus the connexion of the '*Father*' *in* the Son, and of the '*Son*' in the '*Paraclete*' (that is the Holy Spirit), makes three [persons] connected with each other; which '*three are one*' [substance], *not one* [person]. In like manner it is said, *I and the Father are one*, to denote the unity of *substance*, not singularity of *number* [or person].[2]

Now, if these words—'*which three are one*'—had not been in Tertullian's copy of the New Testament, most assuredly we should never have seen them in this place. For the design of this whole book against Praxeas, was to prove that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, were three distinct persons, and not one single person only, under three names, as Praxeas had insinuated. It was the *Trinity*, therefore, and *not the Unity* which Tertullian wanted to maintain. Consequently he had no occasion to say any thing of their being *one*: nor would he, had not this text of Saint John obliged him. But because that might seem to favour his adversary's notion, he therefore introduces it, in order that, by a critical observation upon the *gender* of the word, *unum* or ἕν, and by comparing it with another text in the Gospel, he might shew its true meaning, and rescue it from the misinterpretation which Praxeas might probably have put upon it.

The necessary inference is, that the words *tres unum sunt* which now appear in the Vulgate Latin version, stood there likewise in the time of Tertullian, who quoted them from it. And this inference derives additional strength from the fact, that this eminent father lived within little less than one hundred years after the first Epistle of John was written, and at the very time when Christians publicly read in their churches the *Authenticæ Literæ*, the authentic Epistles of the apostles,—by which we may understand, either their original autographs, which had been carefully preserved by the churches to whom they were addressed, or correct transcripts from these autographs[3]. It is worthy of remark, that both Cyprian and Tertullian, in referring

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[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. p. 423. He adduces instances of such mystical interpretation from Augustine, who wrote a century after Cyprian; from Eucherius, who wrote A. D. 434; and from Facundus, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century. (Ibid. p. 424.) Dr. Hales, however, vindicates the quotations of Augustine and Eucherius as *real citations* and not mystical interpretations from the eighth verse. On the Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 197, 198.

[2] Ita connexus '*Patris*' in Filio, et '*Filii*' in '*Paracleto*' tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui '*tres* unum *sunt*,—*non unus*: quomodo dictum est, '*Ego et Pater unum sumus*,' ad *substantiæ* unitatem, non ad *numeri* singularitatem. Tertullian adv. Praxeam, c. 25.

[3] Tertullian de Præscript. c. 36. Michaelis, however, (who does not appear to have been aware of the strong presumptive confirmation thus given to the inference that the disputed passage was extant in the Latin version cited by Tertullian), positively asserts that such an inference is wholly *without* foundation. (Introduction, vol. iv. pp. 421, 422.) But Mr. Nolan, who has examined in detail the quotations both of Cyprian and of Tertullian, has most clearly proved the contrary. Inquiry, pp. 297—301, *notes*.

to 1 John v. 7. have substituted *Filius*—the Son, for *Sermo*—the Word, in the second person. This was necessary in a controversy with the Sabellians and Praxeans, who took advantage of the ambiguity of the term Λογος or *Sermo*, denoting either a *person* or an *attribute* of the Deity, in order to wrest it to the latter sense.[1]

Such is the *external* evidence *for* the genuineness of this much litigated clause. It only remains that we briefly notice,

2. *The Internal Evidence adduced in its behalf.*

1. It is contended that the connexion of the disputed clause requires it to be inserted, in order to complete the sense; while those who reject it affirm that its insertion injures the whole passage. Bishop Horsley, Dr. Macknight, Mr. Valpy, and Mr. Scott have all given explications, which show that the verse, if properly interpreted, instead of disturbing the sense of the verses with which it is joined, rather renders it more connected and complete[2]. The following view of the connexion of the clause in question will show that it *is* necessary to complete the sense.

In the passage adverted to, there is a contrast of three witnesses in heaven to three upon earth, viz. In heaven, *the Father*, *the Word*, and *the Holy Ghost*, whose testimony is called the *Witness of God:* and on earth, *the Spirit*, *the Water*, and *the Blood*, which are called the *Witness of Men*. The three *Heavenly Witnesses bore record* or testimony to the truth, that Jesus is the CHRIST or MESSIAH, who assumed our nature and came to die for the whole world (for whose sins he, by himself once offered upon the cross, has made a full, perfect, and sufficient oblation, satisfaction, and atonement), and to give life to the world,—in the following manner, viz.

(1.) God *the Father* bore witness to the incarnation and divinity of Jesus, and to his being the Messiah or Christ, by his own voice from heaven; twice declaring Jesus to be his beloved Son, and requiring us to hear and receive him as the Saviour of men, at the peril of our souls, first at his baptism (Matt iii. 16.) and again at his transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 5, 6.) The *Father* likewise bore witness a third time in the temple; when, in answer to Christ's prayer, *Father, glorify thy name, a voice came forth from heaven, saying,* "*I have both glorified it and will glorify it again.*" (John xii. 28.) Moreover, the *Father* bore witness that Jesus was the Messiah, by the miracles which constantly accompanied his preaching[3]: and, by raising him from the dead, He yet more emphatically testified that Christ had discharged the debt, for which he had been imprisoned in the grave, and was able to save to the uttermost all that should come unto God through Him. Lastly, the *Father* bore witness by sending the Holy Spirit, whom he had promised in the times of the Messiah, on which account

[1] Hales on the Trinity, vol. ii. p. 183.

[2] Bishop Horsley's Sermons, pp. 158, *et seq.* 2d edit. The passage is also extracted in Mr. Hewlett's and Bp. Mant's and Dr. D'Oyley's Commentaries on 1 John v. 7. See likewise Macknight and Scott *in loc.* and Mr. Valpy's Nov. Test. cum Scholiis, vol. iii. pp. 579, 580.

[3] John v. 19. viii. 28. x. 25. 37, 38.

the Holy Spirit is expressly called *the Promise of the Father.* (Luke xxiv. 49. Acts i. 4.)

(2.) The *Word*, or Jesus Christ, bore witness in or from heaven, by appearing to the blessed martyr Stephen, who beheld him *standing on the right hand of God* (Acts vii. 56.); and to Saul, who is also called Paul, to whom he said, *I am Jesus whom thou persecutest* (Acts ix. 5.); but chiefly by shedding his Spirit on the apostles and other believers in the primitive church according to his promise: for Saint Peter tells us that Christ, *being exalted to the right hand of God, and receiving from the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, hath shed forth this* (the Holy Spirit) *which ye now see and hear. Therefore let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus both Lord and Christ.* (Acts ii. 33. 36.)

(3.) *The Holy Spirit* also bore witness to the truth that Jesus is the Messiah or Christ, first by the testimonies of his inspired servants and instruments, Simeon and Anna (Luke ii. 25—38.) in which they acknowledged the infant Jesus; and afterwards, by his visible descent upon Jesus at his baptism (Matt. iii. 16.), and also upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost. (Acts ii. 1—11.) Thus the three in heaven bear witness: and *these three*, Saint John adds, *are one*, not only in the unity of a consentient testimony (as the apostle's argument requires they should be) but also *one God*, the names, attributes, and perfections of Deity being ascribed to each of these divine persons in the Holy Scriptures.

And there are three that bear witness in earth, viz.

(1.) *The Spirit*, still sent down from heaven in his illuminating, renewing, and sanctifying operations, which continue to produce the noblest and most blessed effects: for, at this very day, when any are converted to the faith of Christ, and turned from idolatry, and from sinful thoughts and practices, to the love and practice of holiness, it is owing to the testimony which the Holy Spirit bears to Christ; *the Spirit testifies of him*, and thereby produces conviction or consolation in the soul. (John xv. 26. xvi. 7—11.)

(2.) *The Water* also bears witness, in baptism, wherein we are dedicated to the Son, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, which water typifies his spotless purity, and the inward purification of our nature; and,

(3.) *The Blood* bears witness, being represented in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and applied by faith to the consciences of believers; *and these three agree in one.* They harmoniously agree with the three witnesses in heaven, in one and the same truth, and testify that Jesus is the divine, the complete, the only Saviour of the world.

The preceding view of the *internal evidence* for the disputed clause of 1 John v. 7. has been given at length, on account of its importance for completing the sense of the apostle's argument (which would otherwise be imperfect), and also because it is a proof, of the force and propriety of which every sincere and impartial reader of the word of God is fully competent to decide.[1]

[1] The following observations of the celebrated critic, Professor John Augustus Ernesti, materially confirm the argument above stated. Speaking of the evidence deduced by Griesbach from manuscripts, against this clause, he says:—"If the genuine-

2. At the seventh verse, the three that bear record are manifestly persons, and the words that express two of them are masculine nouns, ὁ Πατηρ (*the Father*), and ὁ Λογος (*the Word*); whence we may naturally expect that the adjuncts, or adjectives which allude to them, would all be of the masculine gender likewise: consequently we find the heavenly witnesses to be denoted by the words τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες (*there are three that bear record*). Thus far, all is conformable to the rules of plain grammar. Besides, it cannot be difficult to conceive that the sacred writer, when about to express the earthly witnesses in the next verse, might carry on the same expression or adjuncts to that verse; and the correspondence in the number of witnesses, and the similarity of their design in bearing witness to the truth of the religion of Christ, may tend to confirm this sentiment. But if the former verse did not precede, and should be rejected as spurious, it will be difficult to account for the use of the masculine gender; and we should rather be inclined to suspect that the words would have been τρια εἰσι τα μαρτυροῦντα, as all the terms that follow to denote the earthly energies, or attestations, are every one of the neuter gender. It appears then that the turn of the language, as well as the nature of the witnesses, would require the use of this gender; and therefore the accuracy of the construction, or the strict rules of grammar, must *favour the present text.*[1]

3. Bishop Middleton has a long and elaborate dissertation, the design of which is to shew that the article TO before εν εισιν in the eighth verse, must necessarily refer to the word EN in the preceding verse, and consequently that *both* verses must be retained, or *both* rejected. The argument is not of a nature to admit of abridgment, but it is too important not to be noticed in this place.[2]

4. Further, those critics who advocate the genuineness of this text, observe that *omissions* in antient manuscripts, versions, and authors, are neither absolute contradictions, nor direct impeachments of facts. They only supply food for conjecture, and conjectural criticism ought to be sparingly and cautiously applied before it can be admitted as sufficient authority for altering the received text. Besides, the omission in the present case may be satisfactorily accounted for, from various circumstances.[3] Thus,

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ness of the seventh verse depended on Greek MSS. alone, and was to be estimated by them solely, Griesbach would have gained his cause. But although the Greek MSS. take a lead in this inquiry, yet learned and skilful critics require other helps also. In my opinion, its connexion with the antecedent and subsequent verses prevents me from subscribing to their decisions, who think this verse ought to be expunged: for, in the ninth verse, a comparison is introduced between the testimony of men, and the testimony of God himself; in which the apostle undoubtedly refers to these heavenly witnesses, of whom he had made mention a little before." Ernesti, Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti, p. 109.

[1] Classical Journal, vol. ii. pp. 869—871. See also Mr. Nolan's Inquiry, pp. 260. 304.

[2] See Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 633—653.

[3] The reader, who is desirous of seeing *every* thing (good, bad, or indifferent) that either *has been* said, or that *can be* said, to account for the omission of the disputed clause, is referred to Frederic Ernest Kettner's *Historia Dicti Johannei de Sanctissima Trinitate*, 1 *Joh. cap. V. vers.* 7. *per multa sæcula omissi, sæculo v. restituti, et exeunte sæculo xvi. in versionem vernaculam* (i. e. Lutheranum) *recepti; una cum*

(1.) The great havoc and destruction of the antient copies of the Greek Testament, in the Dioclesian persecution especially, which raged throughout the Roman empire, as far as Britain, but was lighter in Africa, probably occasioned a scarcity of antient Greek copies; and left the remnant more open to adulteration, either from the *negligence* of transcribers, or the *fraud* of heretics; especially during the prevalence of the Arian heresy in the Greek church, for forty years, from the death of Constantine the Great to the accession of Theodosius the Great.

(2.) The negligence of transcribers is another cause of other omissions. Of this negligence Dr. Hales has adduced the following instances, viz.

1. Of τȣ ἀοράτȣ, after τȣ Θεȣ, in 2 Cor. iv. 4.; to bring it to a correspondence with the parallel text, Coloss. i. 15. Christ being styled "the image of the invisible God" in both: and accordingly, it is supplied in the former case, by eleven manuscripts;—by the Complutensian, Aldine, Colinæan, Plantin, and Geneva editions;—and by the Syro-Philoxenian, and Arabic versions; and it ought to have been replaced by Griesbach in his corrected text.
2. The omission of the third clause καὶ ἓν πνευμα ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ τα παντα, after the other two, 1 Cor. viii. 6, which was quoted by several of the early fathers, as Linus, Ignatius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Eucherius. Johannes Damascenus, and Nicetas; and which is supported by the parallel text, 1 Cor. xii. 4—11. To these we may add,
3. An entire clause dropped, out of Luke xxi. between the 33d and 34th verses, which should be supplied, either from Matt xxiv. 36. or from Mark xiii. 32., in order to harmonise St. Luke with the other Evangelists, and to furnish an antecedent to ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκεινη, Luke xxi. 34. which in the received text has none.[1]

(3.) The seventh verse begins in the same manner as the eighth; and therefore the transcribers might easily have overlooked the seventh verse, and consequently have omitted it by accident.

The following illustration will enable the reader who understands no other language but English, readily to apprehend how the words came to be omitted.

The word which in the seventh verse is rendered *bear record*, and in the eighth *bear witness*, is the same in Greek, (ὁι μαρτυρουντες): and if it had been translated in both verses alike, as it ought to have been, the two verses would have run thus, 7. *For* THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS *in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.* 8. *And* THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS *in Earth, the Spirit,*

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apologia B. Lutheri. 4to. Francofurti et Lipsiæ, 1713. Some of the learned author's arguments are as fanciful as others are weighty.

[1] This material chasm in Luke's text was overlooked by all the commentators and critics, till Dr. Hales took notice of it in his New Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. p. 1279, *note.*

the Water, and the Blood, and these three agree in one. Now, how easy it is for one who is transcribing, and perhaps in haste, to slip his eye from the words THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS, in the 7th verse, to the same words THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS in the eighth verse, any person may easily conceive, who has been accustomed to transcribing himself, or who has ever read and observed the transcripts of others, or has been much employed in correcting the press. Similar omissions are to be found in almost every page of Mill's and Griesbach's Critical Editions of the New Testament. For where the beginning and ending of two sentences within a line or two happen to be alike, the copyists so frequently omit the former, that if the text under dispute had been found in ALL the manuscripts and copies, we should have had a great deal more reason to wonder, than we have now, that it appears in so few. Let it be granted therefore that an omission of the intermediate words might naturally happen; yet still, the appearing of the omission, both early and wide, proves no more than that the words happened to be early dropped, and overlooked in some still more early copy. It might be dropped, for any thing we know, out of a copy taken immediately from the original of Saint John himself. And then, most assuredly, all future transcripts, mediately or immediately derived from that copy, must continue, at least, as imperfect and faulty as that first copy itself. And if there should have been but few copies taken from the original in all, (and who will pretend to say how many were really taken?) it is no wonder that, while some churches, as those for instance in Africa and Europe (whither the perfect copies had been carried) had the true reading, other churches in Asia and the East, from an imperfect copy, should derive down an imperfect reading.

(4.) The Arians might have designedly expunged it, as being inimical to their doctrine.

The Latin Fathers said this of the interpolation *quia Deus Spiritus est* (John iii. 6.); but they did not say the same of 1 John v. 7. The charge of having expunged this passage (Michaelis says) has been laid to the Arians, only in modern times, and by writers who certainly would not undertake to defend the former.

(5.) The orthodox themselves might have designedly withdrawn it out of regard to the mystery of the Trinity, under the persuasion that such a passage as 1 John v. 7. ought not to be exposed to every reader.

Without examining the strength or weakness of these reasons, Michaelis observes, that such causes, though they *might* have produced the omission of the passage in *some* copies, *could not* possibly have occasioned it in *all* the antient Greek manuscripts, and in all the antient versions, except the Latin. Besides, they are wholly foreign to the present purpose: they

do not tend to show the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. but account merely for its omission, on the previous supposition that it is authentic. But this is the thing to be proved. And it is surely absurd to account for the omission of a passage in Saint John's first Epistle, before it has been shown that the Epistle ever contained it. "Suppose," he continues, "I were to cite a man before a court of justice, and demand from him a sum of money, that on being asked by the magistrate, whether I had any bond to produce in support of the demand, I answered, that I had indeed no bond to produce, but that a bond might have been very easily lost during the troubles of the late war. In this case if the magistrate should admit the validity of the demand, and oblige the accused party to pay the sum required, every man would conclude, not so much that he was unjust, as that his mental faculties were deranged. But is not this case similar to the case of those who contend that 1 John v. 7. is genuine, because it might have been lost? In fact, their situation is still worse, since the loss of a single manuscript is much more credible than the loss of one and the same passage in more than eighty manuscripts. [1]

(6.) Several of the early fathers may have designedly omitted to quote the clause in their controversies with the Sabellians and Arians; because it might not have appeared to them to be a proof of *unity of nature*, in the three heavenly witnesses, but rather of the *unity* or *concurrency of their testimony* to the Messiahship of Christ. Such antient fathers whose private judgment restricted their interpretation of the text to unity of testimony alone, would forbear to cite it, as being irrelevant in their opinion to the point in debate. Others again understood it of *unity of sentiment* or *unanimity* in the three witnesses. [2]

(7.) The silence of several of the earlier Greek and Latin fathers, which is noticed by Griesbach and other opposers of this clause, is no proof at all that it was wanting in their Greek Testaments.

The remarkable text 1 Cor. xii. 4—11., one of the strongest perhaps in the whole Bible to prove the Trinity in Unity, was not quoted by any of the fathers against the Sabellians and Arians, until A. D. 484 in the protest of the African prelates, at Carthage. And yet, unquestionably, it was well known to Tertullian, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Augustine, and Jerome; for its authenticity was never disputed.

There is not a more important, nor a more celebrated text on the subject of the Trinity, than the Baptismal form—"in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Matt. xxviii. 19. And yet, strange to tell, it is un-

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1 Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 434.

2 Hales, vol. ii. pp. 212, 213, where proofs are adduced at length, for which we have not room. See also Dr. Burgh's Inquiry into the Belief of the Christians of the first three centuries, pp. 196—204, 8vo. York, 1789.

noticed by several of the early fathers, in their controversies with the Sabellians and Arians; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Titus of Bostra, Phœbadius, Cerealis, Vigilius Tapsensis, and Fulgentius.—Gregory in particular, proving the Son's equality with the Father, against the Arians, passes over this leading text, which is so clear to the point, and cites the very next verse, "And lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." And yet, that they were all well acquainted with the text, cannot be doubted; since they have noticed it elsewhere in their writings, and its authenticity was never questioned. [1]

(8.) Lastly, the silence of several of the Fathers is more than compensated by the total silence of all the heretics, from the days of Praxeas at least, respecting the spuriousness of the clause. We have already seen that Cyril and his Arian associates at Carthage, A. D. 484, received the appeal to it in sullen silence. And is it to be imagined, says the learned Eugenius, Archbishop of Cherson, in Russia, in his letter to Matthæi, "that no one would have complained of the supposed adulteration of the text, that none of the heretics would have reproached the Catholics with so great an imposture? Among the Arians especially, who were called upon to defend themselves against those African bishops, who strenuously urged the text against them, and openly to convict them of falsehood? No, surely." [2]

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[1] Hales on the Trinity, vol. ii. p. 210. Profane history furnishes similar instances. Thus the celebrated decree of the Spartan Senate censured "Timotheus the musician, for composing a poem unbecoming the Eleusinian mysteries; and also for corrupting the simplicity of their antient music, by increasing the seven stringed lyre to eleven strings; which superfluous number they commanded him to retrench, leaving only seven, as before; that all men seeing the grave severity of their city, may be deterred from introducing into Sparta any thing immoral, or not conducive to the honour of virtue." This decree, though passed in the reign of the first Philip of Macedon, who died B. C. 602, and noticed by Cicero, Dio Chrysostom, and Athenæus, who relate the fact, with some variety in their accounts, is not expressly quoted by any of the writers on antient music, or on the Greek Dialects, or on Law and Government, until the time of Boethius, the Roman philosopher, who died A. D. 525. In his book, De Musica, he first gave a copy of the decree itself, in the Spartan dialect, nearly a thousand years after it was enacted. The knowledge of this curious instance we owe to the researches of Bishop Burgess, in his vindication of Bishop Cleaver's edition of the Lacedemonian decree, &c. from Mr. Knight's Strictures, p. 57—59. in which the corrected edition of the decree itself, with an English translation and notes, is given, pp. 52—57.

Another instance occurs in the Parian Marbles, preserved in the Musæum Arundelianum, at Oxford. One of these contains the league, made by the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia, with Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, who began to reign B. C. 246. But this league is utterly unnoticed by any of the historians of that period, or their successors. See Dr. Hales's New Analysis of Chronology, vol. i. p. 211; and Selden's Works, vol. ii. p. 1439. Ibid. p. 211.

[2] Matthæi Præfat. ad Epistolas Catholicas, p. lix. of vol. viii. of his Critical Edition of the New Testament.

Let us now briefly recapitulate the evidence on this much litigated question.

AGAINST *the genuineness of the disputed clause, it is urged that,*

1. It is not to be found in a single Greek manuscript, written before the sixteenth century.

But though it is not found in any manuscripts hitherto collated, yet we cannot be sure that it does not exist, since it is acknowledged that there are many hundred manuscripts preserved in various public libraries, which have not hitherto been collated.

2. Though the clause in question is contained in the common printed editions of the Greek Testament, it was not inserted on the authority of any Greek manuscripts; for the editors of the Complutensian Polyglott translated it from Latin into Greek; and from the Complutensian it was transferred to the other editions of the Greek Testament.

There is, however, strong reason to believe that the Complutensian editors did not translate from the Latin into the Greek, from the fidelity with which they have printed the only Latin copy which they acknowledged to be authentic,—the Vulgate; from which the Greek differs. They must therefore have given the Greek from some manuscript or manuscripts which it is now impossible to trace.

3. It is contained in no other antient version besides the Latin.

4. Not all the manuscripts, even of the Latin version, contain this clause.

It is wanting in upwards of forty of the oldest Latin manuscripts; in others it is found only in the margin, evidently inserted by a later hand; and, even in those manuscripts which do contain it, this passage is variously placed, sometimes before and sometimes after the earthly witnesses.

5. The Greek fathers have never quoted the clause, even in those places where we should most expect it.

Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen (there is reason to think) did quote it; but the silence of the Greek fathers may be satisfactorily accounted for. See No. 4. of the summary of internal evidence, opposite.

6. The Protestant reformers either rejected it, or at least marked it as doubtful.

But this only shews their caution and integrity; and as the omission of the clause can be satisfactorily explained, this objection falls to the ground.

FOR *the genuineness of the disputed clause, it is contended that,*

(1. *External Evidence.*)

1. It is found in the confession of faith, and also in the liturgies of the Greek church.

2. It is found in the primitive liturgy of the Latin church.

When the schism, which commenced between those churches in the fourth century, and which has been irreconcilable ever since the ninth century, is considered, this FACT forms a strong and conclusive argument in favour of the genuineness of the disputed clause. For such is the enmity between these two communions, that the Greek church would never have adopted the clause merely on the authority of the Latin, if she had not sufficient authority for it in her own original Greek manuscripts.

3. It is found in most Latin manuscripts, particularly in twenty-nine of the fairest, oldest, and most generally correct MSS.

But the authority of these manuscripts is justly to be suspected on account of the many alterations and corruptions which the Vulgate version has undergone.

4. It is cited by numerous Latin fathers, especially by the Catholic bishops of Africa, in their confession of faith, by Cyprian, and by Tertullian.

The fact of their quoting the disputed clause has been denied: but it has been shewn, pp. (238)—(240), that it REALLY WAS CITED by them.

(2. *Internal Evidence.*)

1. The connexion of the disputed clause requires its insertion, inasmuch as the sense is not perfect without it.

2. The grammatical structure of the original Greek requires the insertion of the seventh verse, and consequently that it should be received as genuine.

Otherwise the latter part of the eighth verse, the authenticity of which was never questioned (as indeed it cannot be, being found in *every* known manuscript that is extant), must likewise be rejected.

3. The doctrine of the Greek article, which is found in both verses is such, that both must be retained, or both must be rejected.

4. The omission of this clause may be satisfactorily accounted for.

1. The great scarcity of antient Greek copies, caused by the persecutions of the Christians by the Roman emperors, would leave the rest open to the negligence of copyists or to the frauds of false teachers.

2. The negligence of transcribers is a cause of other omissions.

3. The seventh verse begins and ends in the same manner as the eighth, and therefore the transcribers might easily have overlooked the seventh verse, and consequently have omitted it by mere accident.

4. The Arians might have designedly expunged it, as being inimical to their doctrine.

5. The orthodox themselves might have designedly withdrawn it out of regard to the mystery of the Trinity.

6. Several of the early fathers may have designedly omitted to quote the clause in question, from considering it as a proof of the *unity of the testimony* of the heavenly witnesses to the Messiahship of Christ, and not of the unity of their nature, and consequently not relevant to the controversies in which those writers were engaged.

7. The silence of several of the earlier Greek fathers is no proof at all that their copies of the Greek Testament wanted the clause in question; since, in their controversies they have omitted to quote other texts referring to the doctrine of the Trinity, with which *other* parts of their writings show that they must have been well acquainted.

8. The silence of several of the fathers is more than compensated by the total silence of all the heretics or false teachers, at least from the days of Praxeas (in the second century); who NEVER charged the orthodox fathers with being guilty of interpolation.

Upon a review of all the preceding considerations, we may remark, that, although the weight of the external evidence, in itself, is strongly *against* the genuineness of the disputed clause; yet, that negative evidence is, to a great degree, neutralised by the observations above stated, and also counteracted, by the positive external evidence *for* its genuineness. And when to this we add the strong internal evidence in its behalf, (especially the first, third, and fourth arguments), we have good grounds for pausing before we absolutely reject the passage in question as spurious. Upon the whole, we cannot help entertaining a suspicion with the learned prelate above named, that though so much labour and critical acumen have been bestowed on these celebrated verses, more is yet to be done before the mystery in which they are involved can be wholly developed; especially, if (as another eminent critic has remarked), it should happen that still older manuscripts should yet be found than those on which we are now obliged to rely.[1]

We have thus briefly placed before the reader the principal arguments that have been adduced on the present very important question. Should it *ultimately* appear that the disputed clause is spurious, its absence will not diminish the weight of IRRESISTIBLE EVIDENCE which other undisputed passages of holy writ afford to the doctrine of the Trinity[2]. The proofs of our Lord's true and proper Godhead remain *unshaken*—deduced from the prophetic descriptions of the Messiah's person in the Old Testament—from the ascription to him of the attributes, the works, and the homage, which are peculiar to the Deity—and from those numerous and important relations, which he is affirmed in Scripture to sustain towards his holy and universal church, and towards each of its true members. "There are," to use the words of Griesbach, "so many arguments for the true deity of Christ, that I see not how it can be called in question; the divine authority of Scripture being granted, and just rules of interpretation acknowledged. The exordium of Saint John's Gospel, in particular, is so perspicuous and above all exception, that it NEVER CAN *be overturned* by the daring attacks of interpreters and critics."[3]

The reader, who may be desirous of entering more fully into this controversy, may consult the dissertations of Calmet and Dr. Benson[5], the elaborate note or rather disquisition of Wetstein[6], and particu-

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1 Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, p. 653. British Critic, vol. xxxvii. (O.S.) p. 387.

2 On this subject the reader is referred to a small volume by the author of this work, entitled *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity briefly stated and defended*, &c. (12mo. London, 1820.) In an appendix is exhibited the *very strong collateral testimony*, furnished to the scriptural evidence of this doctrine, by the actual profession of faith in, and worship of, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, as well as of God the Father, by the Christian church in every age; together with other documents illustrative of this important truth of divine revelation, derived from ecclesiastical history and the writings of the fathers of the three first centuries of the Christian æra.

3 Griesbach's Preface to vol. ii. of the *first* of his Critical Editions of the Greek Testament, 1775.

4 Comment. Littéral, tome viii. pp. 745—752.

5 Paraphrase on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 631—646.

6 Nov. Test. vol. ii. pp. 721—726.

larly the dissertation of Michaelis already cited [1], together with Mr. Archdeacon Travis's Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq. (8vo. 1794, 3d edit.), the late Professor Porson's Letters to Mr. Travis, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1788, 1789, and 1790, which were soon afterwards collected into an octavo volume, and published with additions, and also the Rev. Herbert (now Bishop) Marsh's Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, (8vo. Leipsic and London, 1795.) Those who may not have the opportunity of consulting these rare and elaborate works, will find a copious and perspicuous account of the controversy in Dr. Mill's long note at the end of 1 John v. (p. 582. of Kuster's edition); in the *Diatribe* of Griesbach, at the end of the second volume of his edition of the Greek Testament, as well as in the sixth volume of the Christian Observer, for the year 1806; in the Eclectic Review for 1810, vol. vi. part i. pp. 62—71. 155—164.; Dr. Hales's Treatise on Faith in the Holy Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 131—225. 8vo, Lond. 1818.; Mr. Nolan's Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, 8vo. London, 1815.; and the Bishop of Saint David's Vindication of 1 John v. 7. from the objections of M. Griesbach (London, 1821, 8vo. There is also a neat and succinct statement of the arguments, in Dr. A. Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature [2], and also in the second volume of Mr. Butler's Horæ Biblicæ [3]. The dissertation of the late Rev. Dr. Hey, though less extensive than either of the last mentioned disquisitions, is richly deserving of a perusal from the candid spirit in which it is drawn up. [4]

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[1] See his Introd. to the New Test. vol. iv. pp. 412—441.

[2] Pp. 85—98 Dr. C. has reprinted his Essay, with important additions, at the end of his Commentary on the First Epistle of Saint John.

[3] Mr. Butler's work is particularly valuable, as he has given the *literary history* of this controversy, which want of room has compelled us to omit.

[4] See his Norrisian Lectures on Divinity, vol. ii. pp. 280—291. All the above noticed works (except the Bishop of St. David's publication, which did not appear till *after* the preceding pages had been printed in the second edition of this work) have been consulted for the preceding observations on the contested clause, with the exception of Bp. Marsh's Letters to Archdeacon Travis, which the author has not been able to procure.

THE END OF THE SUPPLEMENT.

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