

Engraved by R. Cooper.

LIGHTFOOT.

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THE  
**WHOLE WORKS**  
OF THE  
**REV. JOHN LIGHTFOOT, D.D.**  
MASTER OF CATHARINE HALL,  
**Cambridge.**

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EDITED BY THE  
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**VOLUME I.**

CONTAINING  
THE VARIOUS PREFACES, &c. OF FORMER EDITIONS;  
INDEXES OF PLACES,  
SUBJECTS DISCUSSED, TALMUDIC AND GREEK WORDS;  
TOGETHER WITH A TRACT, ENTITLED  
"BATTLE WITH A WASP'S NEST."

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MDCCCXXV.

TO THE  
RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,  
WILLIAM,  
BY DIVINE PERMISSION,  
LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,  
THIS EDITION  
OF THE WORKS OF  
**John Lightfoot, D.D.**

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,  
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S  
MOST OBEDIENT AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

**PREFACE**  
TO THE  
**OCTAVO EDITION**  
OF  
**DR. LIGHTFOOT'S WORKS.**

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**T**HE excuse, alleged by the learned Bishop Kidder, for abandoning his intention of recording the life of Lightfoot, may, by modern editors, be urged with still greater force: “*Equidem decreveram de vitæ studiorumque reverendi doctissimique Auctoris ratione breviter sermonem instituisse, sed unîci ejus fratris morte præventus sum: unde iis omnibus, quæ ad hanc rem opus erant, penitus excidi.*” Nothing, therefore, remains, than to arrange and methodize the scattered materials of preceding biographers; and to state the grounds, on which the present edition may claim the indulgence of theological scholars.

**J**OHAN LIGHTFOOT, was born on Tuesday, the 19th or 29th of March, 1602, in the Rectory-House, at Stoke upon Trent, in Staffordshire. His father, Thomas Lightfoot (who entered into Holy Orders in that year), was a man much esteemed for his learning and piety.—His mother was Elizabeth Bagnall, a lady of good family; three members of which were honoured by knighthood, by Queen Elizabeth, for their military merit, during the wars in Ireland. Both his parents attained a good old age; his father dying, in his eighty-first year; his mother, in her seventy-first. The epitaph of Mr. Thomas Lightfoot, as inscribed in the church of Uttoxeter, may be seen at page 112 of this volume. He had five sons: Thomas, brought up to trade; John, the subject of this biographical memoir; Peter, a physician; Josiah and Samuel, clergymen.

**D**r. Lightfoot commenced the early part of his education under the care of Mr. Whitehead, at Morton Green, near Congleton, Cheshire. He continued under the tuition of this gentleman, until the year 1617; when, in his fifteenth year, he was admitted of Christ's College, Cambridge. The tutor of the college was Mr. William Chappel, afterward

master of Trinity College, Dublin, and subsequently promoted to the see of Cork. Mr. Chappel was the tutor of Milton, and of Dr. Henry More, who, in the preface to his philosophical works, speaks of him as a "learned, vigilant, skilful, prudent, and pious preceptor."

During his residence in Cambridge, Lightfoot applied himself so diligently to his studies, that he was frequently honoured with the approbation of his tutor, who formed the highest hopes of his future attainments, and considered him the best orator of all the undergraduates in the University. His attention does not seem to have been devoted with equal pleasure to all the studies which were then cultivated at Cambridge: he is said to have expressed a great aversion to the dry technicalities of logic; nor did he even pursue his researches in Hebrew literature, for which he afterwards became so eminent.

Upon taking his Bachelor's degree, he returned, at the age of nineteen, to his former preceptor, Mr. Whitehead, who had now become master of Repton School, in Derbyshire. From the necessity of submitting to the laborious occupation of assistant, which must have prevented him from cultivating his own peculiar studies, it appears that his father's pecuniary means were not sufficiently ample to allow him to remain at Cambridge. His conversation, says Mr. Edge, was as pleasing to the master of the school, as his mildness was to the boys. After passing two years as assistant to Mr. Whitehead, he entered into Holy Orders. The first place of his ministry was Norton under Hales, in the county of Salop. The vicinity of this place to Bellaport, where was the residence of Sir Rowland Cotton, Knt. introduced him to the notice and friendship of that worthy man and profound scholar. Sir Rowland Cotton was distinguished for his deep and intimate knowledge of the Hebrew tongue: at the age of seven, he had been able to read fluently the biblical Hebrew; and not only understood, but readily conversed in that language. Sir Rowland, himself a scholar, quickly appreciated the talents of Lightfoot: he received him into his family as domestic chaplain; and, to the advantages, which Lightfoot derived from this friendship, he attributes all his future attainments in Hebrew literature. That a layman should excel in studies which seemed more appropriate to a minister of the gospel, was

a circumstance which awakened the ambition of Lightfoot. He sedulously applied himself to studies, which he had much neglected; and gratefully availed himself of those assistances, which the superior knowledge of Sir R. afforded. Similarity of tastes and pursuits is one of the strongest bands of friendship. An indissoluble affection existed between Lightfoot and his lay-preceptor; in whose family he continued to reside, until his friend and patron removed to London, at the request of an uncle, Sir Allen Cotton, then lord mayor of that city.

Lightfoot's stay at Bellaport was not long protracted after the departure of Sir R. Cotton: he followed his patron to London;—but, probably, from his anxiety to discharge the duties of a parochial minister, he soon returned to the country. Either unable to settle himself in a manner agreeable to his own studies and feelings, or anxious to visit the reformed churches, he adopted the design of travelling on the continent. In this resolution he made a visit to his father, who was now vicar of Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire: and after taking leave of his parents, chancing to pass through Stone, in the county of Stafford, he was induced to accept the ministry of that place, and abandoned his intention of going abroad. He resided at Stone for the space of two years.

The learned and laborious works in which Lightfoot was occupied, requiring references to the rabbinical authors, he quitted Stone, and fixed his residence at Hornsey, that he might consult the literary treasures contained in the library of Sion College. In the year 1630, himself and family settled at Uttoxeter; and in the September of the same year, he was presented, by his patron Sir Rowland, to the rectory of Ashley, in Staffordshire. This new residence seemed to have completed his wishes, his stay at Ashley being protracted to twelve years. As if weary of so many changes of abode, and not anticipating any similar necessity, he resumed, with great sedulity, his Talmudic researches: and, totally abstracted in his studies, he purchased an adjoining field, in which he erected, in the midst of a garden, a small building, containing three rooms, his study, parlour, and bed-chamber. In this retreat, he devoted to study whatever time could be spared from his ministerial duties; and, not content with passing the day

at a distance from all domestic interruption, he often slept in this hermitage, although contiguous to his own parsonage-house. It is not easy to conjecture the cause which induced him to quit this beloved retreat. In the year 1642, he was appointed minister of St. Bartholomew's Church, near the Exchange. In addressing his new flock (vol. ii. p. 353), he says, "I must ever mention, both in private to God, and in public to the world, the love and favour which I have received from your congregation; how, when I was unknown, ye owned me,—when a stranger, ye took me in,—*when exiled* from mine own, ye made me yours." Strype infers from the expression "*exiled*," that his removal from Ashley was not a matter of choice, but of some unknown compulsion. But it is more probable, that the word *exiled* is merely a strong figurative expression, implying Lightfoot's unwillingness to quit parishioners, among whom he had long fixed his residence. There exists no ground for imagining, that any estrangement had crept in between Lightfoot and his patron; more especially as he was able to leave his brother Josiah in possession of the benefice which he had vacated. He had now matured and digested his general plan of study; and having arranged his papers for the press, it was almost necessary for him to remove to London, that he might personally superintend the publication of works, which could not, with full confidence, be submitted to the care of any scholar, not equal to himself. Neither is it improbable, that he had been summoned to attend the Assembly of Divines;—of which, in the following year, he was an active member.

The professed object of this Assembly was to arrange, in subordination to the parliament, what forms both of government and of liturgy should be adopted in the national church of England. The number of the members amounted to 151; ten of whom were peers, twenty were members of the House of Commons; the rest were clergymen. The sittings of the Assembly commenced on the first of July, 1643, in the chapel of Henry VII. Westminster Abbey. That the temporal interests of the members might not be injured by thus dedicating their time to spiritual affairs, a daily allowance of four shillings was assigned by parliament to each of them. The Journal of Dr. Lightfoot (see vol. xiii.) communicates to us, incidentally, several particulars re-

lative to the regulations, constitution, and conflicting interests of this celebrated Assembly. Episcopacy, whose crime it was to fear God by honouring the king, had been abolished; and, on the same political reasons, the republican party, to strengthen their operations against Charles, found it necessary to court the aid of the Scotch; and, as the most effectual means of conciliating these allies, to assimilate the ecclesiastical government of England to the rigorous and unbending spirit of Presbyterianism. The debates which occurred in the Assembly, may be considered as so many trials of strength between the two contending parties of Presbyterians, and Independents. It is true that, for the sake of a seeming impartiality in inquiring after truth, some Episcopalians had been included in the original convocation; and among this latter class, we find archbishop Usher, Brownrigg, Sanderson, and Hammond. These however soon seceded; alleging, that the Assembly had been forbidden by the royal proclamation; that they could not be considered representatives of the clergy, by whose concurrence their nomination had not been sanctioned; and that it was useless to mingle, for purposes of argument, with persons who had deliberately professed their enmity to the hierarchy of the English church.—The Erastians constituted another branch of the Assembly, whose principal tenet consisted in disclaiming all coercive power over the members of their communion; considering that punishment, and forms of ecclesiastical government, ought to be invested in civil rulers. The representatives of this party were not numerous in the Assembly: their most learned representative was Dr. Lightfoot.

The Independents, whose chief champions were Goodwin and Philip Nye, urged their peculiar opinions with much obstinacy and perseverance; and to their “vehemence, heat, and tugs,” Dr. Lightfoot makes frequent allusion. It is evident, however, that the Independents were unable to cope with the superior numbers of the Presbyterians; more especially when strengthened by the presence of the Scotch commissioners. The Presbyterians themselves,—while permitted to fulminate their censures against malignants, Anabaptists, and every sect who might claim to themselves the same liberty of conscience, which the Presbyterians had claimed in reference to episcopacy,—did not seem to be



aware, that they were little more than political puppets in the hands of the republican leaders. Some members of the House of Commons (called by Lightfoot, 'the parliament-men') were, from time to time, added to the Assembly as so many checks on their proceedings: nor indeed was the Assembly permitted to debate on any subject, which the parliament had not proposed to their discussion. They were often used as subordinate agents for promoting the rebellious plans of their masters; being frequently ordered to urge their congregations for subscriptions and contributions towards the raising of military forces.—“Monday, Aug. 14.”—There came an order of the House of Commons, about sending divers divines of London up and down the kingdom, to stir up the people in their cause, and to inform them of the justness of the parliament's taking up their defensive arms. Their names were brought into the Assembly for approbation.”—vol. xiii. 9.—“Monday, Feb. 26.”—The first thing done this morning was, that Mr. Millington brought in an order from the House of Commons, desiring the Assembly to write letters to the ministers of London and Westminster, to desire them to urge their congregations to subscribe and contribute to the raising of fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse, for Sir Thomas Middleton, for the reducing of North Wales.”—p. 181.

On asserting the “*jus divinum*” of the Presbyterian government, and complaining of a clause in a parliamentary ordinance, by which a person, censured by the church, might appeal to the higher authority of parliament,—the Commons were so incensed, as to threaten the Assembly with the penalties of a *præmunire*, for having violated the privileges of the Commons.

To the Assembly was referred the task of examining and approving such ministers, as petitioned for sequestered livings: and that the religious opinions of the petitioners might be more accurately ascertained, the business of the day was often opened by a sermon from the probationer. The rules by which the proceedings of the Assembly were regulated, were publicly read on the first Monday in each month.—It seems, that the members, from the stipend allowed by parliament, defrayed the expenses incident upon firing (page 43), and collections necessary for door-keepers and attendants.—Whoever came, after prayers, at half-past

eight (vol. xiii. 256), or departed from the room before the conclusion of the meeting (p. 296), forfeited sixpence. A fine of a shilling was inflicted on absentees.—Fasts were occasionally observed, and with great length of devotional exercise: the following extract will elucidate the nature of them:—"Monday, Oct. 16th.]—This day we kept a solemn fast in the place where our sitting is, and no one with us but ourselves, the Scotch commissioners, and some parliament-men. First, Mr. Wilson gave a picked psalm, or selected verses of several psalms, agreeing to the time and occasion. Then Dr. Burgess prayed about an hour: after he had done, Mr. Whittacre preached upon Isa. xxxvii. 3, 'This day is a day of trouble,' &c. Then, having had another chosen psalm, Mr. Goodwin prayed; and after he had done, Mr. Palmer preached upon Psal. xxv. 12. After whose sermon, we had another psalm, and Doctor Stanton prayed about an hour; and with another psalm and a prayer of the prolocutor, and a collection for the maimed soldiers, which arose to about 3*l.* 15*s.*, we adjourned till the morrow morning."—Vol. xiii. p. 19.

The chief publications, issued under the authority of the Assembly, were 1. "A Review of the 39 Articles," with an intention to render the language of them more Calvinistic. 2. "A Directory for Public Worship," which was designed to supersede the Book of Common Prayer. 3. "A Confession of Faith." 4. "A shorter and larger Catechism;" the former intended for the instruction of children; the latter, as a text-book for public exposition in the pulpit. The Annotations on the Bible, which go under their name, were neither undertaken nor revised by them.

The power, and indeed the respectability of the Assembly, seemed to decline, when the Scots' commissioners returned home, in October, 1647. From that period, the members were principally occupied in examining candidates for the sequestered livings, and were considered rather as a committee than a dignified synod. In the mean time, the members of the Assembly gradually dwindled away; until at length, in March, 1652, when the Presbyterian Commons were expelled by Cromwell, the Assembly itself finally broke up, without any legal form of dissolution.

Lightfoot's conduct in the Assembly seems to have been upright and conscientious. His attendance was

assiduous; but not permitted to interfere with his duties as a parish-priest. Many of the discussions, in which he took part, will be found in vol. xiii. of this edition. He advocated general admission to the holy Communion (vol. xiii. 272.) He held that sprinkling was sufficient, in opposition to immersion (p. 299), and that private baptism might be allowed in some cases: that marriage (p. 335) was a part of God's worship, and should therefore be solemnized by a minister, and not be considered merely as a civil compact:—that ministers should be possessed of competent learning: that the widows, mentioned in the Scriptures, 1 Tim. v. 2. and elsewhere, are not church-officers (p. 94): that lay-elders could not be mingled with Presbyters, in the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs (p. 78). In many important questions, Lightfoot frequently stood alone, preferring the voice of conscience to that of numbers; and little doubt can be entertained, but that many of the Presbyterians would have cheerfully dispensed with his absence. When the Assembly had expounded the meaning of that article—“He descended into Hell,”—to be that “he continued under the power of death;” Dr. L. prevailed to have this clause—“In the state of the dead,”—subjoined to the explication.—He assented to the proposition, that young men, designed for the ministry, might read the chapters, before the sermon, by way of ease to the minister.—He argues for the propriety of quotations in sermons, from the Hebrew language.—He maintained that the people could not elect their own ministers, (vol. i. p. 51): that it was dangerous so much as to intimate any thing against a set form of prayer.—In the directions relative to the observance of the sabbath, the first proposition was, “That the sabbath is to be remembered, *before it come:*” to which latter clause, Dr. L. objected, as putting upon the commemoration of the fourth commandment a gloss, never heard of before.—Another proposition was, “That there be no feasting on the sabbath,” which, at Dr. L.'s suggestion, was altered into, “That the diet on the sabbath day be so ordered, that no servants or others be unnecessarily kept from the public service.”—When the Directory for Prayer was reading over, and they came to that clause, “Freeing us from antichristian darkness,” he excepted against the expression, as too low: for that ‘antichrist’ importeth an activeness against godliness; and

darkness is but a privation of godliness. Therefore, it was thus mended, "From antichristian darkness and tyranny." And again, whereas it was thus penned, "These things we ask, for the merits of our High-priest,"—this he likewise excepted against; for that the allusion would not hold. For the Jews prayed to God by the *mediation* of the high-priest, but never by the *merits*. Whereupon the word *mediation* was put in.\*—On one occasion (so violent are the heats incident upon the collision of debate), even the placidity and equanimity of Dr. L. were indecorously ruffled, as the following extract from his Journal, will evince: vol. xiii. p. 11:—  
 "On Thursday morning, we, being met, prepared to go to the House of Commons with our resolves. But here Dr. Burgess began to be most uncivil and unmannerly; for having pretended a great deal of sorrow, that he could not in conscience agree with our conclusions, he desired liberty, that he might put in the reasons of dissent: which being granted, he farther desired, that our resolutions might not be brought in, till he had prepared his reasons. This was judged, and that justly, to be intolerable impudency, that the great affairs of two dying kingdoms, should be thought fit by him to stay and wait upon his captiousness. Then from entreating, he fell to challenging, and pleaded we ought to attend for his reasons, from the instructions we had received from the House for our proceedings. Well; we shook hands with him as soon as we could, and went to the House of Commons, where our Prolocutor made a speech, delivered our sense, and concluded with a petition in our name, that the House would please to provide against the people should come to take the covenant, that they might be instructed and prepared for it, that they might receive it holily and with godly fear. Thanks were returned to the Assembly, not only for their care, but also for the speed they had made, in so great a matter. But our turbulent doctor put in a petition to the House of Commons, that he might have liberty to bring in his exceptions against the covenant. Thus would he retard there, if he can, as he had done in our Assembly: a wretch, that ought to be branded to all posterity, who seeks for some devilish ends, either of his own or others, or both, to hinder so great a good of the two nations." If from graver matters, we may advert to circumstances

\* A general account of Dr. Lightfoot's conduct in the Assembly of Divines, may be found at pp. 49—52, 75—82, 149—165 of this volume.

of a lighter nature, we should be tempted to quote the brief lecture, which he read to the Assembly, on the subject of politeness:—"Then, for amending of neglect for the time to come, it was desired the scribes should observe the absent. And, for preventing going away before our rising, it was moved to be ordered, that whosoever should go out before we rise, should solemnly make his obeisance; which was ready to be done,—when I desired, that we might not leave it upon our records to posterity, that this Assembly had need to make order for common reverence and civility: whereupon, it was laid by, and the order reversed."—Vol. xiii. 295.

On the 29th of March, 1643, the day appointed for a public fast, Lightfoot was appointed to preach before the House of Commons. In his discourse, he runs a parallel between John Baptist and the House of Commons; and labours to prove, that the same obstacles which impeded the ministry of Christ, did proportionably obstruct the salutary reformation, which was intended to be wrought by the parliament. (See vol. vii. p. 141.) In the course of this year he was made Master of Catharine-Hall by the parliamentary visitors of Cambridge; and, before the close of the year, he was promoted by the ruling powers to the rectory of Much-Munden, in Hertfordshire. In thus accepting a sequestered living, to which he was recommended by the Assembly of Divines, he evinced a greater kindness than was usually manifested under similar circumstances. (Vol. xiii. p. 482.) To the ejected minister, Lightfoot paid a large contribution, though the laws of that time would have dispensed him from this voluntary tax upon himself. His predecessor in the living of Munden, was Dr. S. Ward, Margaret-Professor of Divinity, and Master of Sidney, who died before the restoration of the monarchy.

In tracing this period of Dr. Lightfoot's public life, we again find him officiating before the House of Commons, on the 26th of August, 1645, the day of their monthly fast. (Vol. vii. p. 165.) The chief object of his discourse on that occasion, was to prove that the opinion of the Millenaries is erroneous and false. In addressing himself more particularly to the House of Commons, he presses upon them various suggestions; urging them to interpose and prevent the pillage and injurious exactions, which disgraced the parliamentary forces. The conclusion of his sermon is re-

markable for the boldness and candour of the language, which could not have been palatable to some of the prevailing sectaries; and which conveys his own sentiments relative to the peculiar wants of the times. After deploring the growth of blasphemy, he proceeds thus: "I shall not take upon me to be your instructor for the means of stopping this mischief; but shall humbly crave leave to be your remembrancer of something, that may tend unto it.

"1. There is great talk of, and pleading for, the liberty of conscience; for men to do in matters of religion, as Israel did in the book of Judges, 'whatsoever seemeth good in their own eyes:' and how that proved there, there are sad stories that relate. I shall not go about to determine the question, whether the conscience may be bound or not; though, for mine own satisfaction, I am resolved it may; and do hold it a truer point in divinity, that 'errans conscientia liganda,' than 'ligat.' But, certainly, the devil, in the conscience, may be, nay, he must be bound, or else you act not according to that vigour, that Christ hath put into your hands; nor according to that exactness, that Christ requireth at your hands. It is true, indeed (which is so much talked of), that Christ alone must reign in the conscience; but it is as true also, that he doth so by the power that he hath put into the hands of the magistrate, as well as by his word and Spirit.

"2. I hope you will find some time, among your serious employments, to think of a review and survey of the translation of the Bible:—certainly, that might be a work which might very well befit a reformation, and which would very much redound to your honour.

"It was the course of Nehemiah, when he was reforming, that he caused not the law only be read, and the sense given, but also caused the people 'to understand the reading.' And, certainly, it would not be the least advantage, that you might do to the three nations (if not the greatest), if they be your care; and means might come to understand the proper and genuine reading of the Scripture, by an exact, vigorous, and lively translation.

"I hope (I say it again), you will find some time, to set afoot so needful a work: and, now you are about the purging of the temple, you will look into the oracle, if there be any thing amiss there, and remove it.

“3. I shall not beg of you to cherish learning, for that hath no enemy but ignorant ones,—nor shall I beg that you would cherish a learned ministry, for that may challenge cherishing: but, I beseech you, take care that none intrude upon the ministry, or to preach the word, that have not a calling to it, and some competent ability for it.

“This is a main well-head, from whence flow all the errors that are among us, when mechanics, unlettered and ignorant men, will take upon them to be preachers, and to instruct others, when they need teaching themselves: and this, if it be not stopped, will overflow all with a puddle of errors and heresy. You have made good orders for the stopping and preventing of this; but execution is all.

“4. I beseech you, hasten the settling of the church: these weeds grow, while government groweth not. I rejoice to see what you have done in platforming classes and presbyteries; and I verily and cordially believe, it is according to the pattern in the mount.

“The Lord speed and prosper you in working up the furniture for this fabric. Especially, he be your director in the two great things that are now under your agitation—church-power, and suspension from the sacrament. I am most unable to hold out to you any thing, that may direct you in matters of such weight: and if my judgment were any thing, yet should I be sparing to show it, because I must confess, that, about these matters, I differ in judgment from the generality of divines,—and I hold it not any happiness to be singular in opinion, nor do I hold these to be times to broach differences. I shall ever follow you with my desires and prayers, and write the success of the good hand of our God upon you.”—Vol. vi. 194.

In allusion to the former part of the preceding extract, Dr. Morgan observes,—“Mr. Lightfoot was not so good a friend to the toleration of persons differing in sentiment from the commonly received opinions, as might have been expected from his learning, judgment, and candour.” But it is evident by the history of the times, when Lightfoot’s sermon was peached, that he wholly pointed at the Anabaptists and Independent enthusiasts, who, under the pretence of liberty of conscience, opposed the settlement of the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical polity now, with as much furious zeal, as these, joining with them, had before

exerted in putting down the ancient established hierarchy; a universal anarchy being their aim; and how well they succeeded, need not be mentioned. It is with an eye to such as these, that we find Lightfoot arguing frequently with much zeal against schism and separation from an established church, and shewing the urgent necessity, more especially in those times, of keeping communion even with a national church, that had some corruptions in it. Upon the same principle we see him, in a sermon on St. Matthew xxviii. 19. preached at Ely (vol. vi. p. 391), censuring not only the Anabaptists, but Socinians: "Two heresies especially misconstrue this text, Anabaptism and Socinianism; for I must call that heresy, which unchurches all churches, and ungod's God." (See Biogr. Brit. vol. v. 2934. note I.)

Lightfoot took his degree of Doctor of Divinity, in the year 1652: on which occasion, his *Concio ad Clerum* turned upon the elucidation of 1 Cor. xvi. 22. (See vol. v. pp. 417-455.) The same subject is briefly discussed (vol. xii. p. 561) in his *Exercitationes* upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians. His interpretation of the passage is, that the expression "Maran Atha" implies "the coming of the Lord Jesus," and is applied by the Apostle as a threat against the unbelieving Jews. The questions, upon which Dr. L. disputed, were, 1. *An mors Christi fuerit in redemptionem universalem?* 2. *An personalis ab æterno certorum hominum electio fundatur in Scripturâ?* 3. *An post canonem Scripturæ consignatum, novæ sunt revelationes expectandæ?* (Vol. v. p. 455.) In the latter question, he argues, that after the sealing of the Scripture-canon, no additional revelation is necessary, either to communicate new doctrines, or to explain the old, or to impart fresh instruction relative to our moral duties.

In the year 1655, Dr. Lightfoot was chosen Vice-chancellor of the university; an office which he discharged with great diligence, notwithstanding the many literary avocations by which his time was incessantly occupied. His anxiety to fulfil this high post with justice and integrity, was so intense, that having (as he imagined) decided wrongly against a friend, he observed that the thought of his injurious decision, though not wilfully made, would accompany him with sorrow to his grave. During his Vice-chancellorship he presided in the divinity-schools, in room of his friend, Professor Arrowsmith, who had been born on



the same day with himself, and whose illness he laments very feelingly. (Vol. v. p. 398.) The questions which the respondent had discussed, and upon which Dr. Lightfoot pronounced, were, 1. Status integritatis fuit status immortalitatis: 2. Vita æterna promissa fuit sub Veteri Testamento.—He maintained the affirmative in both these questions.

Munden was the favourite residence of Lightfoot; and whenever he could find any relaxation from his academic duties, he was impatient to bury himself in his study at Munden. Upon the restoration of king Charles, Lightfoot had neglected to procure a new title; and an attempt was made by a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, to expel him from his living, as held from authorities no longer valid. The royal signature had actually been affixed to the deed of ejection: but the learning and piety of Lightfoot had conciliated in his behalf the favour of many powerful friends. Sir Henry Cæsar gave him timely notice of the measures in agitation; and Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, the primate, though having no personal knowledge of Dr. Lightfoot, so warmly espoused his cause, that, upon the representation of his great merits, he was confirmed in the possession of his rectory. His reinstatement was not altogether devoid of expense; he found it necessary to make some composition with the new claimant, in a sum nearly amounting to one hundred pounds. By the exertion of the same admiring friends, he was, at the same time, confirmed in retaining the mastership of Catharine-Hall. Conscious that the possession of his academic situation had no legal foundation, he voluntarily tendered to surrender to Dr. Spurstow, whom, in the republican times, he had superseded. The circumstances, attending this offer, reflect equal honour on the disinterested spirit of the parties concerned. Dr. Spurstow, aware that the society of Catharine-Hall could not but regret their being deprived of so illustrious an ornament, generously declined the offer. Upon his refusal to resume his former situation, Dr. Lightfoot then laid his petition at the foot of the throne: never was the royal indulgence dispensed towards one more worthy of it. Upon his returning to Cambridge, with the royal letters confirming him in the mastership, the fellows of Catharine-Hall rode out some miles to meet him with their respectful

congratulations, and welcomed him with the same ceremonies, as if he had been installed a new Master of their college. Such was the honourable reward of the affection and regard, which he had evinced for the college, in many instances. He was a liberal contributor, when it was necessary to enlarge some part of the college; and also redeemed a piece of land for its service. His name is still mentioned in the commemoration of the college benefactors. His discipline seems to have been as mild and lenient as the arduous nature of his office would allow. In confirmation of this, the following anecdote is recorded: that when giving an admonition in the public hall, to a youth of his college, the censure was as painful to himself as to the offender; nor could he proceed in the unwelcome duty without tears in his eyes.—To the circumstances attending his confirmation, in retaining the rectory of Munden, and the mastership of Catharine-Hall, he makes grateful allusion, in the addresses prefixed to his Talmudic Hours on the Gospel of St. Mark. The passage, as it is a sort of historical comment upon events so important in the life of Lightfoot, may, without impropriety be quoted here: “*Misericordiam Dei cano, et clementiam regis, per quas servatus ego, ut naufragium non facerem, cum jam equidem naufragium fecissem, et ne ædibus pellerer, cum jam quidem forem pulsus.*”

“*Rectoria Mundoniæ-Magnæ, qua jam, a viginti fere annis retro, ego fruor, ad regiam donationem concessionemque spectat, pleno, quod aiunt, jure. Isto jure dispositi hinc antehac a duobus regibus fuerunt duo rectores, eximii nominis, meritorum non vulgarium, et quibus pares pepere-  
runt sua tempora non multos. A serenissimo rege Jacobo celeberrimus Georgius Downhamus, S. T. D. qui hinc promotus, et translatus est ad episcopatum Duriensem in Hibernia. Atque ei recedenti, a serenissimo rege Carolo successor datus vir egregius Samuel Wardus, S. T. D. Collegii Sidneio-Sussexiensis, in alma academia Cantabrigiensi præfectus, idemque in eadem Academia Domine Margaretæ-Professor gravissimus doctissimusque. Huic fatis concedenti successi hinc ego, tantis viris, eheu! quam longe dispar, et infelix æque, quòd non eodem jure huc admissus, sed ea, quæ tunc occupaverat omnia, grassantibus bellis, potestate. Non latuit fragilitas foundationis hujus meæ infirmæ; quin quod, cum ad jura sua, felici nu-*”

mine, nutuque, rediret regia majestas, qua nunc lætamur, cito deprehenderetur; et supplicanti cuidam concessa est hæc rectoria, regali donatione.

“ Sic naufragamur ego et fortuna mea; et de rebus meis adeo est conclamatum, ut nihil aliud mihi jam restet, quam ut ex ædibus et sedibus hisce quietis emigrem, in quibus per tot annos, summa cum complacentia et dulcissimo otio literario, Musis litaveram. Ast erat et aliud, quod acrius punxit, nempe, quod videre mihi viderer regiam majestatem mihi indignantem, frontemque istam, suavissima serenitate aliis affulgentem, mihi obnubilatam, corrugatam, tristem: et bis perire certe est, perire irato Rege.

“ Quid hic agendum ita coarctato? Sperare non datur, cum contra me fatale chirographum sit jam obsignatum: desperare, est proprio infortunio subscribere; est regię clementiæ derogare; est certę ruinę succumbere sub incerta suspicione. Forsan non indignatur rex clementissimus omnino; nam aquilę non indignantur muscis. Forsan nec serum nimis est, nec inane prorsus, remedium vulnere meo quærere, non adhuc immedicabili; nam non processerat adhuc fatale decretum ultra revocationem. Forsan causa mea regi optimo vel est prorsus ignota, vel injusta aliqua querela decolorata; et solatio est, quod apud regem res mea sit agenda, non apud vulgarem.

“ Ad aras igitur clementiæ ejus humiliter confugio, summissa supplicatione orans obtestansque, causam meam recognoscat, edictum exitiale rescindat, et stationem meam hoc in loco continuare et stabilire dignetur. Accipe nunc regis tui specimen, o Anglia, et exemplo vel hoc uno disce, quali Principe glorieris. Excepit supplicationem Pater Patrię semper Augustus fronte serena, votis arrisit, donationem suam mihi indulisit, eam sigillo magno sanxit, et [quod aureis et immortalibus literis scriptum velim] cura sedula et quasi paterna sollicite providit, ne ulterius ququam modo in meum periculum et ruinam procederetur.

“ Addam et aliud, quod et addidit eadem clementia bonitasque. Cum enim eandem, quam ruri passus fueram fortunam, metuerem etiam in Academia, confugeremque iterum ad easdem aras, exaudiit regia benignitas, annuit supplicanti, vota rata dimisit, et stationem meam isthic etiam firmavit et stabilivit.”—Vol. xii. p. 369.

By the interest of Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord-keeper of

the great seal, he was preferred to a prebendal stall in the church of Ely: the year of this promotion cannot be ascertained. Lightfoot had frequently preached at the assizes at Hereford, before Sir O. Bridgman: in his dedicatory epistle to the Exercitations upon St. John, he professes his obligations to the courtesy and bounty of this patron, and to his encouragement of his literary labours.

In April, 1660, commenced the conference, at the Bishop of London's lodgings, at the Savoy, between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, relative to alterations and corrections in the Book of Common Prayer. Dr. Lightfoot attended among the assistants of the Presbyterian divines: but appears to have derived little satisfaction from the intemperate and violent mode, in which the arguments were conducted:—he was present only once or twice.

In the latter part of the year 1675, while journeying from Cambridge to Ely, he caught a violent cold. During his indisposition, he was induced to eat a red herring, and to drink two or three glasses of claret. A fever immediately ensued, occasioned, or at least heightened (as his physicians pronounced), by a beverage to which he was totally unaccustomed: his diet had always been very spare and simple; nor had he been accustomed to drink any other liquor than water or small beer. The malady affected principally his head; and was attended not with much bodily pain, but with torpor and dozing. His reason retained much of its power; and his piety was conspicuous throughout the whole of his latter hours. When questioned as to his state, he ever replied, that he “felt himself in the hands of a good God.” In this lethargic condition, he continued for the space of a fortnight; and expired Dec. 6 (1675), in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains were removed to Munden, which he had held for thirty-two years. Mr. Fulwood, formerly of Catharine-Hall, preached his funeral sermon. The inscription (see vol. i. p. 126, and vol.\* xiii. p. 487) was composed by Dr. Gardner, for Lightfoot's monument; but, owing to some dispute between Mr. Duckfield and Dr. Worthington, it was never adopted.

Dr. Lightfoot was twice married. His first wife was Joyce, widow of Mr. Crompton, of Staffordshire. The

\* In this latter reference, the reader is requested to correct, in line 4, *emendis* into *eruedis*.

Dr. became acquainted with this lady, while he lived in Sir R. Cotton's family. By this wife, he had four sons and two daughters: John, chaplain to Bishop Walton; Anastasius, also named 'Cottonus Jacksonus,' in memorial of the Dr.'s friends Sir R. Cotton and Sir J. Jackson; Athanasius, a tradesman; and Thomas, who died young. His daughter Joyce was married to Mr. Duckfield, rector of Aspeden, in Hertfordshire, who communicated to Bright and Strype many papers and manuscripts, of which they availed themselves in editing Dr. Lightfoot's works. The second daughter, Sarah, married Mr. Colclough, a gentleman of Staffordshire. With his first wife he lived nearly thirty years. His second wife was Mrs. Ann Brograve, a widow, related to Sir T. Brograve, Bart.; a gentleman also dear to Lightfoot, from having a relish for rabbinical pursuits. He had no issue by his second wife, whom he survived.

Dr. Lightfoot is said to have been mild in countenance, somewhat ruddy in face; of good stature, and well proportioned. He was grave; but easy of access; affable and courteous in deportment, and very communicative to all enquirers; plain, unaffected, and gentlemanly, in his behaviour. In the company of good and ingenious men, he was free and unrestrained in learned and innocent conversation: but if he chanced to be present, where rude or profligate conversation was introduced, he testified his uneasiness by silence, and would withdraw on the first opportunity. On returning home from a journey, it was his custom to pass directly to his study, and not to converse with his family until he had previously performed his private devotions. Temperate and abstemious in diet, he altogether abstained from wine: he drank only water, or chiefly small beer, which he chose to have very new. As to his food, he cheerfully took whatever was placed before him; never expressing any fastidious dislikes, but praising God for thus administering to his bodily wants. This systematic temperance had endued him with a sound and healthy constitution: even in his advanced age, he was able to pursue his studies; and, in a letter to Buxtorf, not above a year before his death, he congratulates himself, with pious acknowledgments to God, upon his "*vivacitatem corporis, animi, atque oculorum.*"

In referring to the qualities of Dr. Lightfoot's character, it is impossible not to admire his *industry*. The fatigues, incident to the laborious and incessant occupation, of usher in a school; his subsequent marriage, and the cares of an increasing family; his distance from the university, and consequent privation of many helps to learning; his assiduous attention to the duties of a parish-priest, both in visiting his flock, and in preaching twice on each sabbath; the abstruseness attending the studies, of which he had undertaken the cultivation; these difficulties must have presented insuperable bars to the progress of any scholar, whose obstinate industry was not equal to Dr. Lightfoot's. His favourite motto was that which Bright and Strype have quoted in the title-page of their edition of his works, *השכם והערב*; implying his resolution to rise up early, and sit up late, in pursuit of science.

He seems to have possessed a *grateful heart*, and never to have forgotten a kindness received. To his education at Christ's College, he refers in an address prefixed to his "Harmony of the Old Testament." He avails himself of similar opportunities of expressing, to his benefactors and friends, his sense of obligations: and hence his various pieces are, in general, addressed to those, who (he thought) had claims upon his respect and friendship. His Talmudic Exercitations on St. Matthew, are dedicated to the society of Catharine-Hall, with a warmth of language sufficiently indicative of the author's sincerity: (Vol. xi. p. vii.) "Opus autem hoc quaecunque, et qualiscunque fortunæ, vobis nuncupatum volumus, o carissimâ capita, nostri Catharinenses, et ex debito, et ex voto. Pro conjunctissimo enim isto, quo unimur nexu, vinculoque, vobis debentur omnia, quæ studemus; omnia, quæ possumus: si modo aliquid omnino sunt ista omnia: et cum universis prodesse cupiamus (si daretur) quod studiosum decet, et quod Christianum, vos istorum desideriorum votorumque, ex ipso nexu isto meritoque vestro, ipsissimum estis centrum et requies. Conscii quidem satis nobis sumus, quam nihil possimus, vel in publicum commodum, vel in vestrum: at publicum tamen judicium exhibere cupimus apud omnes velle nostri et studii; apud vos, insuper, intimi cordis atque animi.—Reponatur ergo apud vos voto singulariori pignus hoc amoris nostri, viscerumque; et, dum ratio-

nem aliis Horarum nostrarum reddere studemus, reddat hoc vobis etiam affectuum. Perstetque apud Catharinam nostram, etiam in futura secula, hoc officii testimonium, amoris monumentum, et memoria nostri vestrique.”—An affectionate remembrance of his early patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, was never obliterated from his mind: he often reverts to the former kindnesses of his friend and instructor; and in preaching his funeral sermon, he testifies the sincere affliction with which he discharged his unwelcome office. Out of respect to the name of Cotton, he named one of his sons “Cottonus”: and when a member and relation of that family was a student of Catharine-Hall, he took a pleasure in shewing every kindness, and in giving every admonition, which a father would confer upon a son. On one occasion, he feelingly deplores (vol. viii. p. xi) the miseries to which his native Staffordshire was subjected by the civil war. The intercession of his powerful friend Archbishop Sheldon, is thus commemorated: “Primitias fero replantationis meæ, quam mihi indulsit Regalis gratia, intercedente dignatione tua, cum jam forem eradicatus: nam per gratiam istam, sedibus hisce redditus, et quieti, et musis meis, nihil jam amplius magisque in votis habeo, quam ut sentiat princeps excellentissimus, a se non esse ingrato benefactum, utcunque indigno, utcunque ignoto: et dignitas tua, ab ea non pro immemori esse intercessum, utcunque pro immerenti.—Nunquam dilabetur mihi, vir amplissime, quanta cum comitate et candore exceperit me dignitas et dignatio tua in meis angustiis, ignotum penitus a facie, et nunquam antea visum: quanto cum ardore causæ meæ fuerit patrocinata apud Regiam majestatem, apud honoratissimum Angliæ cancellarium, apud reverendum diocesanum: qualiter pro me consuluerit, literas scripserit, obicem posuerit, ne procederet ruina mea ultra restorationem. Quæ omnia dum recognosco, quod facio semper, dumque cum recognitione ista subit hinc obligatio mea, illinc mea tenuitas,—hinc quam ego tanto favore indignus, illinc quam retributioni omnino impar; quid mihi aliud est reliquum, nisi ut ad eandem humanitatem iterum confugiam, humiliter implorans; ut quæ me ignotum tam comiter exceperit et tam indignum, excipiat etiam jam tanta obligatione notum, devinctum, et quas possum, maximas gratias agentem? Eas Amplitudini tuæ referendas commisi hisce

chartulis, indoctis quidem atque impolitis, at quæ sinceritatem secum ferunt, quamvis non eruditionem; gratitudinem, quamvis non elocutionem. Atque hoc ego illis munus demandavi eo magis, quod eas longe lateque divagaturas puto, et forsan ad posteros etiam victuras; atque omnibus enuntiatum ab iis cupio, quantum Amplitudini et summæ tuæ Humanitati debeat, quantis obligationibus ab ea astrictus teneatur, quamque animo grato atque intimo affectu omnia hæc profiteatur, ac sit agniturus in perpetuum."—To multiply additional instances of Dr. Lightfoot's gratitude, would be an unnecessary labour.

His *modesty* was great and unaffected. Few persons were oftener consulted by learned men; few scholars have been more commended by those, whose commendation was worth having: and yet no man could be less inflated by vanity, or be induced to think the more highly of his own intellectual attainments. In the address to the reader, prefixed to his "Harmony of the Old Testament," he observes, "What I have done, I leave, with all humbleness, at the reader's mercy. If he accept it, it is more than I can deserve; if he censure it, it is no more than I shall willingly undergo; being most ready ever to submit to others, and to acknowledge my own infirmity; and owning nothing in myself, but sin, weakness, and strong desires to serve the public."—The same spirit of humility distinguishes his epistle to Christ's College:—"Cum repeto, quantum sine numero numerum doctissimorum atque omni eruditione insignium virorum, enutrierit atque educaverit Collegium Christi, O me hebetem, inquam, stipitem et fungum, qui a tam docto gremio et in tam docto grege, tam indoctus, et tam nullius nominis et numeri, evaserim et perseverarim! O me plumbeum inter et post tot et tanta doctrinæ comoda, copiam, et exempla. Lætor et exulto multitudine filiorum tuorum, dilectissima nutrix, qui tibi decori jam sunt aut extiterunt et ornamento: parem numerum quodnam, quæso, collegium numerando adæquaverit? At ipse meam inscitiam, indoctrinam, et nihilatam liberrime agnosco, miserrime sentio et deploro."

The learning of Dr. Lightfoot did not prevent him from discharging the duty of *parish-priest*: if he was much in his study, he was also much in his church. No excuse, except sickness and infirmity, detained him from attending



his church on the Sabbath. Though fond of abstruse disquisitions, his discourses, addressed to his country-hearers, were always full of much practical matter. On the Lord's day, he preached morning and evening, and often continued in the church the whole day: whether abroad or at home, he scrupulously abstained from all food, until the evening service had been completed, that he might be the more intent upon his sacred duties, and preserve his thoughts from drowsiness. The dissenters of his parish scrupled not to attend upon his ministry, considering him (perhaps) not to be rigidly episcopalian: indeed, he was not entirely conformable to the rubric of the church, seldom wearing a surplice, or even reading all the prayers. His parish was scattered; but he never omitted to visit his sick parishioners. His house (says Strype) was a continual hospital: none went away unrelieved.—He would frequently bring poor people within doors to his fire; and, in winter, found occupation for them in spinning, &c. His secret charities must have been extensive; his income being 300*l.* a year, while his own expenses were inconsiderable: nor did he exact his full dues from his parishioners, as his successor is said to have augmented the value of the benefice by an additional fifty pounds. Whenever his duties removed him to Ely or to Cambridge, he was impatient of the absence from his parish; and would often express a longing to return to whom he called his dear “russet-coats.” His executors paid about twenty pounds for dilapidations, through the severity of his successor: but every thing was in very good repair.

Dr. Lightfoot's love of letters, and exemption from literary jealousy, may be instanced in the patronage, or (at least) in *the assistance which he afforded to contemporary scholars*. He contributed his valuable assistance to Dr. Walton, in arranging the Polyglot Bible, by revising the whole of the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch; by drawing up a general sketch of Sacred Geography, as a commentary upon the common maps of Judea; by correcting many errata in the Hebrew text; and by procuring subscriptions to the work. These literary obligations, Dr. Walton very gratefully acknowledged; as appears from many of his letters.—See vol. xiii. p. 347—364. Dr. Lightfoot was deeply interested in the progress of this great and stupendous

labour. In a speech, which, during his vice-chancellorship, he delivered at the Commencement, 1655, he congratulates the University upon the completion of an undertaking, reflecting so much honour upon the English nation, and contributing to the advancement of sacred literature: "Sic sub protrito et proculcato statu Cleri nuper Anglicani germinavit, et adhuc germinat, nobile illud eruditionis germen, editio Bibliorum multi-linguium; qua quid generosius vix vidit unquam Resp. literaria, nec quicquam Anglia sibi honorificentius; opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in sempiterna sæcula futurum, summæ eruditionis, zeli, et in Deo, bonarum literarum protectore, fiducia Cleri Anglicani jam tum summe periclitantis. Macti estote, viri Venerandi et Doctissimi, qui in opere tam magnanimo desudatis. Pergite, quod facitis, trophæa vobis erigere, patriæque; et perlegant ope vestra omnes gentes Sacra Biblia suis linguis; atque iisdem linguis eadem ope prædicentur fama eruditionis et literatura gentis Anglicanæ."

It appears from the letters of *Poole* (see vol. xiii. p. 439—443), that Lightfoot contributed his learned aid to the "Synopsis Criticorum."—"I very humbly and heartily thank you for your great favour, in promising me your help for the Historical Books. The Lord requite you."—"Sir, I here send you one part, upon Numbers: and I shall beg your thoughts upon any thing as you go on."—"Sir, I question not you mind your most encouraging and obliging offer and promise of assistance in reference to the historical books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to Job, out of the Rabbits and Talmud."—"I intend also a fifth volume of Appendices, as 'De nummis, ponderibus, mensuris; de Templo, quæstiones Chronologicæ, Chorographicæ, Historicæ, &c.' and 'Paralipomena, as to places of Scripture not thoroughly explained, &c.' Now, Sir, as you were pleased freely to offer me your help, for which I reckon myself much in your debt, the just value I set upon it, makes me bold humbly to entreat it, which I think will come in most seasonably in the fifth volume: but how, or wherein you will please to honour me with something which shall bear your name, I submit to your good pleasure and better judgment."—"Sir, I hope you remember the promise you were pleased to make me, the thought whereof is delightful to me, viz. in such places as you observe to be most defectively done in

my work, to give me some explications to the clearing up of the Hebrew words, or phrases, or matters, as you have many solid and material ones in your *Horæ*." The extent of Mr. *Poole's* obligation, to which allusion is made in the preceding extracts, cannot be precisely ascertained. Mr. *Duckfield* imagines, that the substance of *Lightfoot's* answers to *Poole's* enquiries are contained in the Synopsis, under the title of "*Quidam*."—See vol. xiii. p. 479.

To Dr. *Castell*, the learned editor of the *Heptaglot Lexicon*, Dr. *Lightfoot's* friendship and encouragement were consolations under difficulties, which were more than sufficient to break the spirit of ordinary men. The letters of Dr. *Castell* (somewhat pedantic, perhaps, and extravagant in language) bear abundant testimony to his grateful heart, as well as to the discouragements and obstacles, which that neglected scholar encountered. "The desired repute of your name and worth, amongst all the learned nation, occasions the presenting these enclosed papers to your judicious view, beseeching your clear impartial judgment concerning the design therein contained, which we may truly say, was not, at least for the present, so much contrived and undertaken by us, as by some with importunity pressed and urged upon us. Without your cognizance and approbation in a work of this nature, I would not willingly engage."—"I this day received by your nephew your very kind letter, full stored with encouraging expressions to a much-dejected spirit; together with 4*l.* for one copy of the *Heptaglot Lexicon*, and 2*s.* for the stitching it up."—"Your most affectionate and friendly letter I could not read, without a sympathy suitable to what I there found, eyes impregnant with tears; that in these three kingdoms there should be one found (for such a second has never yet appeared to me) who has manifested such a sentiment of my ruined and undone condition."—"And truly, had we not such an oracle to consult with, bootless and in vain it would be to attempt such an undertaking. We have all here just cause to break out into a serious admiration of that Divine goodness, which as it disposes all things most wisely for the order and measure, so likewise for the time in doing them; 'O nos felices te ret amplius! quibus contigit, te vivo, opus hoc tam grande quam arduum auspicato suscepisse; et benedictus ob hoc semper sit summus ille

rerum arbiter."—"That real sympathy I read in your so favourable and most affectionate lines, and that free and noble bounty I experience in your munificent and generous actions, is no small encouragement to me in my deserted and despised condition; only because this luxuriant age is, and will be, ignorant of this necessary part of theological knowledge."—"Sir, Mr. *Paget*, one of your fellows, was with me on Monday last, and signified to me your great favour in accommodating me at your lodgings, when I went down to commence the Arabic lecture."—"The bountiful, generous, and most free proffers you have so kindly made me of your lodgings, is one of the chiefest inducements to make my life here desirable to me; which I cannot but often reflect upon with much comfort."—"Sir, I return you my very humble thanks, for giving order about laying-in some winter-fuel for me in your lodgings, and that you are so graciously pleased to accommodate me with the use of them: the sight of your honoured presence there, would be a sun more joyful to my heart, than that in the firmament to the world."—To these extracts, we will subjoin one more, which cannot be perused without the liveliest sympathy with Dr. Castell's distresses, and without proportionable admiration of Lightfoot's kindness towards that distinguished scholar:—"Sir, I was last week with Dr. Burton, who presents his service to you; and if you come upon any occasion to London, is very ready to join his interest with yours, in mentioning my condition by the public service; in which I have now spent near twenty years in time, above twelve thousand pounds of my own estate; and, for a reward, left, in the close of the work, above eighteen hundred pounds in debt; almost a hundred letters written by me, in five months' space since the convocation house last arose, unto the bishops, who passed a vote, they would help me off with my copies amongst their dignified clergy and others that thought fit to recommend it: to all which letters, only one of their lordships returned me an answer; and but five copies amongst them all hath been yet taken off. A petition I lodged in my Lord Arlington's hands above a year ago, to his Majesty, whose chaplain I have been almost seven years, that a jail might not be my reward for so much service and expense, unto which by virtue of his Majesty's letters I was commanded. This veritable condition, Dr. Burton is very

desirous should be effectually made known to my lord-keeper, like as I have more than once made it known to not a few other lords. If I must perish for all my pains and work, with so much difficulty effected, ‘Fiat voluntas Domini.’”

Numerous were the literary works which Dr. Lightfoot benefitted, if not by direct communications, at least, by his advice and learned suggestions. Contemporary scholars regarded him as a sort of oracle, from which they might derive directions infallible, and divested of ambiguity. *Samuel Clarke*, one of Bishop Walton’s assistants in publishing the Polyglot, and himself the editor of many learned works, submitted to the judgment of Lightfoot his translation of the Targum upon Chronicles: “Speciminis loco, partem aliquam hic additam habes. Si eam perlegere non pigeat, reliqua sequentur, quamprimum ea descripta erunt. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si tibi placuerit libere et ingenue corrigere, quod in rudi mea translatione minus apte positum occurrit:” vol. xiii. p. 406. To the preceding instance may be added the names of numerous scholars, who seemed to proceed more cheerfully and confidently in their respective labours, if sanctioned by the favourable judgment of Lightfoot.—“Having missed you once or twice in London, with intent to have shewed you these enclosed pages of Dr. Alting, about his Shiloh, which he, it seems, intends for the public, to have your opinion whether the matter, at least as he projects the same in this Synopsis, have any thing new or extraordinary, or deserve encouragement or not; for if he should not ‘portare singulare aliquid,’ I would then wish him to forbear coming abroad with it:” *Haak* to Lightfoot, vol. xiii. p. 421.—“Dubio procul mirabere, quod incognitus quid literularum sub oculos tuos mittendo molestus sim. Audacem me facit humanitas de te concepta, amorque tuus erga literariæ rei studiosos:” *Hoboken*, secretary to the Dutch ambassador.—“Theesteem that I have of your skill in the Jews’ writings, carries me to press farther upon you than civility allows me,—to get from you the sum of your judgment concerning Morinus’s Exercitations of them in the second book of his ‘Exercitationes Biblicæ:” *Thorndike*, an assistant in editing the Polyglot Bible.—“I have heretofore made bold, by my kinsman Mr. Radcliff, to beg your

advice about the right position of the priest's portion in the holy square of Ezekiel. I have also made bold to give you the trouble of this other paper:" *Calvert* (p. 445) author of a work on the Ten Tribes.

Having considered Dr. Lightfoot's moral qualities, let us, in the next place, advert to his writings.

The SERMONS of Dr. Lightfoot are posthumous publications: he himself was always unwilling to submit to the press his pulpit-discourses: conscious, perhaps, that his chief exertions had been employed in his "Talmudic Exercises," he was loath to publish what had not received his full and final attention. Mr. Chappel, Lightfoot's college-tutor, pronounced him to be an *excellent orator*: but it is not clear from the Sermons of Dr. Lightfoot, in what sense this encomium should be understood. The praise may, perhaps, relate to his *elocution*. The only occasion on which he attempts the higher flights of eloquence, is his funeral sermon intended to be preached on the death of his friend and patron, Sir Rowland Cotton: but it is not censorious to condemn that oration as turgid and unnatural in several passages.

"That blessed soul, that is now with God, in the night of its departure, laid the burden of this present work upon me, in these words: 'You are my old acquaintance; do me the last office of a friend; make my funeral sermon, but praise me not.' A hard task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me; when I, who, of all men, this day, have the greatest cause to mourn for his loss, that is departed, should, of all men, this day, be allowed the least liberty of mourning, because of this present work. And a strange task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me, when I must make to you all a funeral sermon, and yet must tell to none of you, for whom it is made; for if I do but call him Sir ROWLAND COTTON, I commend him. It was not a time to say so then, but now, I dare say it over again; a hard task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me, when I must have much cause of tears for his death, and yet not be allowed to weep; and such reason of remembrance of his life, and yet be denied to praise. I obey, blessed soul, I obey; but I am full, I cannot hold; dispense with me something, for I cannot hold: it is for your sake, worthy audience, that I must hold tears, lest they should hinder my speech; be

pleased to give me liberty of speech, in recompense of my restrained tears. And it is for thy sake, blessed soul, that I must withhold commendation, lest I should break thy command; give me liberty of indignation against that command, in recompense of my restraint from thy commendation. ‘Meus, tuus, noster, Christi,’ as Jerome of Nepotianus; so we of him, whose departure we now commemorate,—‘My Sir Rowland Cotton, yours, the country’s, nay, Christ’s,’ hath forsaken us; and, because Christ’s, therefore he hath forsaken us to go to him, whose he wholly was.—O that my head were waters, or rather words, for only that manner of mourning,—and my tongue a fountain of tears, for only that instrument of weeping,—is allowed me\* now; that I might weep day and night, not for him that is gone,—for he is gone where he always was, and where he would be,—but for myself, but for you, but for the country. It is not my ambition, but my sorrow, that I claim the first place, and to be first served, in this heavy dole of lamentation; for I have lost,—I cannot tell you what; my noble patron, my best friend, my father, my — : myself I should lose, if I should but begin to tell, what he was to me: why should I speak more? for should I speak myself away, I could never speak enough. O my father, my father! the chariot of my Israel, the horsemen thereof, how thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women! And, ‘is it nothing to you, O ye that sit by; behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.’ He it was that first laid the foundation of my poor studies, and always watered them with his discourse and encouragement; and now the Lord hath taken my master from my head. He it was, under whose branches I sheltered, when any storm was up; and now my tree of defence is cut down. He it was that was my oracle, both for things of this life, and of a better; and now my prophet is not any more. He it was that was all things to me that man could be, but now can be nothing to me but sorrow. And is this nothing to you, O all ye that sit by? yes, the cup is gone among you also, and a great man is fallen in your Israel. Hath not the magistracy, hath not the gentry, hath not the country, lost such a man

\* In this, and the two following lines, there are *five-and-thirty* monosyllables.

as was ———; but you must speak out the rest, for his command stops my mouth. You of the magistracy know, how he had wisdom in a high degree, as was his calling,—and, withal, care and conscience answerable to his wisdom, to discharge his calling; and you may commend this rarity in him,—I dare not. You of the gentry know, that he was a prime flower in your garland, that he spake a true gentleman in all his actions, in his comportment, in his attendance, in his talk; once for all, in his hospitality even to admiration, and you may,” &c.—Vol. vi. p. 206.

Yet if his Sermons have not that smoothness of diction and empassioned style, which, in the estimate of more modern times, may be deemed necessary for popular and mixed congregations; yet, even as a preacher, Dr. Lightfoot may be highly esteemed for many valuable qualities. In his own times, he was of signal service to the church: whenever he officiated in the pulpit of the University, he excited much attention. The subjects which he discussed, were such as evinced his own erudition, and established some material point of Christian doctrine; thereby fixing the principles of the young and wavering, ensuring the respect and regard of the studious, and vindicating the honour and dignity of learning, which, in that age, was, by some enthusiasts, decried as superfluous and almost unchristian. He zealously opposed the errors of the times; the arrogant claims of Popery [vol. i. p. 189—192; vi. 55. 364; vii. 110]; the pride of the Perfectionist; the laxity of the Antinomian, the proud ignorance of the Enthusiast [vii. 207. 289]; the evils of schism [vi. 214.] and separation from the Established Church; the misconception of the Anabaptist [vol. vi. 390. 412; vii. 365]; the visionary dreams of the Millenary [vol. vi. 165; vii. 63. 397]; such are the topics on which he energetically insists; topics, which, from their very nature, could not be examined without inculcating the accuracy of the Protestant creed, the necessity of prayer, humility of mind, the majesty of Scripture, the necessity of human learning, observance of the Sabbath, vigilance in the practice of moral duties, and a sober conformity to the general communion of Christ.

His discourses contain many Scriptural allusions, of much ingenuity and beauty:

“The soul that will breed and bring forth a lively hope,



must, like Rebekah, bring forth the rugged Esau of fear, before it can bring forth the smooth Jacob of hope.”—“As a golden thread was to be twisted with every twine and thread of the ephod and breast-plate, or it was not rightly made; so, if this action of communing with our own hearts be not entwisted with every one of our actions, we can neither undergo any thing, nor perform any thing, as becomes us to do:” vi. 108.—“Occasional meditations are Samson’s honey, gathered out of a dead carcass: heavenly thoughts, taken up from earthly occurrences: the sun and heaven seen, in looking downward into the water:” vi. 347. “The blood of the New Testament was not shed for himself, but *for many*. And here is enough for every soul that comes to him, be they never so many: like the widow’s oil, in the Book of the Kings, there is enough and enough again, as long as any vessel is brought to receive it:” vii. 241.—“As the pillar of fire was darkness to the Egyptians, but light to Israel;—so Christ’s obedience was destruction to the devil, and satisfaction to God:” vii. 236.—“You read in Exod. xxx. 13, &c. that every Israelite was to give half a shekel for the redemption of his soul; the rich was not to give more, nor the poor less. Prayer is that half-shekel to us. The rich can give no more, and the poor hath this to give,—viz. to make our humble acknowledgments to God for our lives, and our comforts:” vi. 419. “As the cherubins’ wings touched both sides of the house of the Lord, and met in the middle; so the church touches both ends of the world, beginning and end, and continues all along the space between:” vi. 39.—“That is the true religion, and true religiousness, that the devil hates most. That is the king of Israel, that the captains of the Syrians bend themselves most to fight against:” vii. 74.—“First; God will have his homage. It is reason Elias should have his cake first, that provides meal for the maintenance of the whole family:” vi. 420.

Dr. Lightfoot was careless of polished expressions; if his words convey his meaning, he is content. A due attention to English style must necessarily have been diverted and interrupted by his habit of composing in Latin, and by seldom having before his eyes any other writers than the Talmudic and Rabbinic. From this indifference to style, we find some vulgar phrases: as “Elias is at the same

game"—"to make cock sure"—"he played the knight of the post"—"Baronius is beside the cushion"—"he throweth dirt into the face of Eusebius"—"this knocks the business dead"—"to have his hand shot of him." He has some words, which Mr. Bonnell (vol. xiii. 467) considers as peculiar to Staffordshire; as *ungive* for *abate*; *loose* for *end* or *upshot*. He spells all words with *ei* wrong, as *feild* for *field*, &c. He sometimes affects a play upon words; as, "He that would understand the story of the times, must first understand the times of the story." He has some unusual words; as "disquieture;" "scrutinousness;" "recidivation;" to be "inheritanced;" "occurorily;" "infamoused."—Mr. Duckfield informs us, that the collection of Lightfoot's Sermons was originally sold for fifteen pounds.

The *learning* of Dr. Lightfoot was extensive and profound. In his writings, his most frequent allusions are to Pliny, Strabo, Plutarch, Homer, Plato, Athenæus; to the Greek and Latin fathers; to Josephus; to the Septuagint; and to many modern versions of the New Testament. He did not perhaps possess, as a classical scholar, that critical acumen,\* which characterises a Bentley, a Porson, or a Blomfield: but in that department of learning, to which he more immediately devoted himself, his reputation is firmly established; and his unrivalled excellence has been acknowledged by scholars, most competent to decide upon his merits.—"Ex quo" (says *Buxtorf*, in a letter to Lightfoot) "Horas tuas Hebraicas et Talmudicas in Matthæum vidi et legi, cœpi te amare, et pro merito æstimare. Tantam enim in eis Talmudicæ lectionis peritiam, et ad illustrationem S. S. Literarum dexteritatem; tantam etiam diligentiam et accuratationem in illis deprehendi, ut non potuerim non te magnifacere, et in admirationem tui rapi. Raræ hæ dotes hoc nostro sæculo in viris Theologis; rari hujusmodi Scriptores, qui nil nisi suas proprias observationes Lectoribus proponunt. Unde ab eo tempore desiderium me

\* Thus (by way of example), Dr. L.'s observation on St. Matthew xxvii. 16. fails in application, by his omitting to observe, that *υἱὸς* *son* ought to be corrected into *ἰδὲ* *weapon*. "This brings to my mind what Josephus relates to have been done in the besieging of the city, Σκοποὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καθεζόμενοι προεμήνουον, ὁπότεν σχασθεῖν τὸ ὄργανον, καὶ ἡ πέτρα φέροιτο, τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ βοῶντες, ὁ υἱὸς ἔρχεται. 'When huge stones were thrown against the city by the Roman slings,—some persons, sitting in the towers, gave the citizens warning by a sign, to take heed, crying out in the vulgar dialect, The Son cometh,' that is, בן בן. The Son of Man, indeed, then came in the glory of his justice and his vengeance, as he had often foretold, to destroy that most wicked and profligate nation." (xi. 345.)

tenuit, ob studiorum communionem, propius tecum conjungi, et familiarius te noscere, tibi que innotescere, si modo occasio aliqua commoda se offerret." (Vol. xiii. p. 423.)—"I have received your letter, for which, with your good acceptance of that motion which I made in my former one, I return you many thanks; and though you seem to doubt in the employment at a sense of inability, yet give me leave to impute that to your modesty, rather than to any want of abilities, of which you have given so sufficient and public testimony to the world, that it should be accounted a great obligation, if you shall please to contribute your assistance about the Samaritan version, or to say what you advise about any other part of that work:" Bishop *Walton* to Dr. *Lightfoot*.—"Inter alios autem viros præstantissimos, populares nostros, qui insignem in veteribus sacræ Scripturæ ritibus explicandis operam navarunt, merito primum locum occupat (ut ego arbitror) *Johannes Lightfoot*. Majori industria an modestia fuerit, dicere nequeo; erat ille quidem in omni literatura, Hebraica vero in primis, peritissimus; in Sacris Scripturis diligentissime atque accuratissime versatus. Ad hæc, Verbi Divini præco assiduus; summa præterea morum simplicitate conspicuus; ab omni animi fastu ac φιλαυτία maxime alienus. Neminem aut læsit aut contempsit; verbo dicam; qualis revera vir fuerit, plurima ab ipso edita, tum latino tum vernaculo nostro sermone, præclare testantur:" Bishop *Kidder*.—"Lightfootus" (says *Texelius*, in the preface to the edition of his works) "omnium judicio, in antiquitatibus Judæorum perrimandis præstitisse videtur, quod ante eum nemo:" a commendation, in which *Leusden* concurs.—"Lightfootus, reconditæ eruditionis, et exquisiti non minus ingenii, quam infinitæ in Talmudicis Rabbincisque lectionis vir:" *Carpzov*.—"Dr. Lightfoot was a profound scholar, a sound divine, and a pious man. He brought all his immense learning to bear on the sacred volumes, and diffused light wherever he went. His historical, chronological, and topographical remarks on the Old Testament, and his Talmudical Exercitations on the New, are invaluable:" *A. Clarke*.—This tribute of applause, tendered to Lightfoot by the most distinguished Hebricians, would have been still more justly merited, if he had possessed the means of editing his productions, at the time and in the manner, agreeable to the nature of his own

designs. But, amid the uproar of civil war, the voice of literature was partially drowned: and Academic retreats were threatened even with annihilation, by fierce enthusiasts, who disclaimed the necessity of human learning. In troublous and uncertain times, booksellers were reluctant to hazard the expense of publishing what few might read, and fewer purchase: so that Dr. Lightfoot was often compelled to swerve from plans, which had been sanctioned by his deliberate judgment. Some of his works were curtailed of their due extent; others were sent into the world before their time; and the proposed harmony and consecutive method of his various pieces were violated, and almost totally defaced. Of these difficulties, which prevented Dr. L. from doing justice to himself, he bitterly complains in a letter to Professor Buxtorf:—"Exasciavi paucis abhinc annis commentariolum in primam Epistolam ad Corinthios, eodem stylo ac methodo ac in Matthæum. Sed jam per biennium et quod excurrit, apud me jacet; nec possum jam eum edere nisi propriis impensis, ac cum magna mea jactura, quam satis magnam, imo nimiam, sensi in editione libri mei in Marcum. Aliquatenus progressus sum in Evangelio Lucae, sed nihil possum edere nisi meis sumptibus. Quapropter totum me trado lectioni, et scriptioni amplius parco. Aciem meam obtuderunt Typographi ac Bibliopolæ nostrates, qui nullum librum, præsertim Latinum, edere volunt, nisi habeant certum ac magnum lucrum."

With regard to the *utility of those studies*, which occupied, almost exclusively, the literary exertions of Dr. Lightfoot; let us listen to the arguments of the learned author himself. In the preface to his *Harmony and Chronicle of the New Testament* (vol. iii. p. 7.), he observes; "Though it is true, indeed, that there are no greater enemies to Christ, nor greater deniers of the doctrine of the gospel, than the Hebrew writers; yet, as Korah's censers, and the spoils of David's enemies, were dedicated to the sanctuary-service,—so may the records, to be met with in these men, be of most excellent use and improvement to the explication of a world of passages in the New Testament. Nay, multitudes of passages are not possibly to be explained, but from these records. For, since the scene of the most actings in it, was among the Jews,—the speeches of Christ and his apostles were to the Jews,—and they Jews, by birth

and education, that wrote the Gospels and Epistles; it is no wonder if it speak the Jews' dialect throughout; and glanceth at their traditions, opinions, and customs, at every step. What author in the world, but he is best to be understood from the writers and dialect of his own nation? What one Roman writer can a man understandingly read, unless he be well acquainted with their history, customs, propriety of phrases, and common speech? So doth the New Testament; 'loquitur cum vulgo:' though it be penned in Greek, it speaks in the phrase of the Jewish nation, among whom it was penned, all along; and there are multitudes of expressions in it, which are not to be found but there, and in the Jews' writings, in all the world. They are very much deceived, that think the New Testament so very easy to be understood, because of the familiar doctrine it containeth,—faith and repentance. It is true, indeed, it is plainer as to the matter it handleth, than the Old, because it is unfolding of the Old:—but for the attaining of the understanding of the expressions that it useth in these explications, you must go two steps farther than you do about the Old;—namely, to observe where, and how, it useth the Septuagint's Greek, as it doth very commonly;—and when it useth the Jews' idiom, or reference thereunto, which indeed it doth continually. A student, well versed in their language and writings, would find it no great difficulty to translate the New Testament into Talmudic language, almost from verse to verse, so close doth it speak all along to their common speech."—In the introduction to his 'Talmudic Exercitations on St. Matthew,' Dr. L. urges similar arguments for the theological utility of his favourite studies:—"Ipsissimæ eædem suasiones, quæ me primum et præcipue ad evolutionem Talmudicorum excitarunt, excitarunt etiam ad præsens opus: ita ut ab iisdem rationibus emanent hi fructus et usus istius lectionis, a quibus primum ipsa lectio: nam *Primo*, cum omnes libri Novi Testamenti a Judæis sint scripti, atque inter et ad Judæos; cumque omnes orationes in eo habitæ, a Judæis pariter, atque ad et apud Judæos fuerint habitæ; pro re indubitissima hoc mihi semper persuasum fuit, non posse istud Testamentum non Judæorum stylum, idioma, loquendi formam normamque, sapere ubique, et retinere. Atque hinc æque indubitanter a me conclusum est etiam *secundo*,

quod in locis istius Testamenti obscurioribus (quæ sunt quamplurima) optimus et summe genuinus sensum eruendi modus, est perquirendo quomodo et quonam sensu intellectæ fuerint istæ phraseologiæ et locutiones, secundum vulgarem et communem gentis istius dialectum et sententiam, et ab iis qui eas protulerunt, et ab auditoribus. Non enim valet, quid nos de istiusmodi locutionibus a conceptus nostri incude fingere possimus; sed quid illæ apud eos sonuerint vulgari sensu et sermone. Quod cum nullo alio modo perquiri possit, quam auctores Talmudicos consulendo; qui et vulgari loquuntur Judæorum dialecto, atque omnia Judaica tractant et patefaciunt: hisce rationibus ego inductus, præcipue horum voluminum lectioni me applicui." The propriety of these remarks has been fully acknowledged by all biblical critics since the days of Lightfoot. Succeeding commentators on the New Testament have evinced, by their multiplied references to the *Horæ Hebraicæ* of Lightfoot, that, in innumerable instances, the exposition of the sacred writings must be imperfect and erroneous, if reference be not made to the immediate customs of the age, in which the Evangelists and Apostles wrote. It is, indeed, no small praise to Lightfoot, that, although he may have had some few predecessors in the paths of Rabbinical learning; yet, in extent and propriety of observation, he has not only surpassed them all; but that to him we may deem ourselves indebted for the subsequent researches, which, with a generous emulation of scholars and preceptor, have been laboriously conducted by Schoetgen, Wetstein, Koppe,—and by many of our own countrymen, more especially by Gill and Clarke.

From the Talmudic writers, much information may be derived, relative not only to the customs of the age, and the general phraseology of the sacred penmen; but also to the *chorography* of the Holy Land. On this subject, Dr. Lightfoot expresses himself thus: (vol. v. p. 7.) "In reading of the two Talmuds, and other of the Jewish authors of the greatest antiquity, I have observed, and that not without much delight and content, that as to the subject that we are speaking of, namely, the description of the land of Canaan, these things may be picked up out of them, dispersedly in their writings, to very good profit:—1. In exceeding many passages, when they come to speak of places

of the land, that are mentioned in the Scripture, they either describe them, or show their situation, or distance from such and such places, or all these together: which might be of singular use, to compare with the descriptions, situations, and distances, that are given of such places in Christian writers. 2. They give us abundance of names of cities, mountains, and other places in that land, which names are neither to be found in Scripture, nor Josephus, nor in the heathen or Christian records, that speak of the places of that country, but in these Judaic writers only: and yet, which carry with them so fair a probability and rational evidence, that there were such names and places, that the looking after them might be exceeding pertinent to a Canaan story. 3. They relate many choice, eminent, and remarkable stories, occurring in such and such places, which are not to be found in any records but their own, and of singular illustration, both of the situation and of the history of the land and nation: and especially of the scholastical history of their learned men and doctors." And again, in the preface to his Chorographic Century, prefixed to St. Matthew's gospel: "Inter omnes eos, qui Tabulas Canaanitidis Chorographicas vel ediderunt ipsi, vel emendarunt aliorum, vix reperias, qui Talmudicos hac in materia in consilium vocaverint: cum certe minime spernendum sit eorum symbolum in ista causa, si quidem non præcipue æstimandum.—Nam, præterquam quod illi, præ omnibus aliis hominibus, curiosissime inquirunt et de rebus, et de locis istius terræ, doctores Misnici omnes, ac Gemaristæ etiam Hierosolymitani, eam inhabitaverunt atque incoluerunt: atque eam etiam inviserunt non pauci e Babylonicis. Oculati testes, et qui non solum (vel iudice quovis lectore) præ omnibus aliis mortalibus notitiam istius terræ non potuerunt non habere sibi familiarissimam, eam habitantes, sed et qui in infinitis Judaicæ suæ superstitionis apicibus, religiosa necessitate se constrictos sunt opinati, de situ naturaque locorum in ista terra omni cum scrutiniò et curiositate perquirere, atque investigare.—Dictet ergo jam ratio: an ii præ omnibus aliis in re Chorographica vel jure negligantur, vel prudenter? An inter omnes limas, in ista re adhibitas, merito, aut cum æquitate aliqua, lima sola Talmudica non adhibeatur? Terræ Judaicæ Chorographia Judaica? Iniquum certe est, si ea

vel ex præjudicio rejiciantur, vel ex ignorantia non admittantur, quæ aut planam utilitatem istius terræ Chorographiæ secum ferrent, aut non inutile scrutamen in ea excitarent. Si tabulas Palæstinæ vis cudere, æquissimum certe est, ut hos auctores consulas etiam cum aliis utpote testes proximos, terræ incolas, studiosissime religiosissimeque eam describentes: et si fide eos dignos non reputaveris, quia sunt Judæi, at certe examine digni sunt, et venia fandi, quatenus sunt chorographi.—Ego, cum in horum lectione omnia, quæ occurrebant huc spectantia, exciperem, et cum tabulis tractatibusque jam editis conferrem, plane vidi, si me non fefellerunt oculi mei, ex his auctoribus elici ac produci posse plurima, quæ tabulas corrigerent: plurima, quæ loca ignota patefacerent: plurima, quæ incerta figerent plurima, quæ certa illustrarent: atque infinita, quæ chorographiæ facem aliquo modo præferrent. Et si quis dexter et felix artifex, versatus in Talmudicis, et chorographiæ peritus, pensum atque opus istiusmodi in manus sumeret, ego ab ista manu politiores ac correctiores tabulas, plenior, planior, certior terræ Israeliticæ descriptionem expectarem, quam adhuc vidit orbis Christianus.”—The diligence and minute enquiry, with which Dr. L. has investigated this part of his subject, will be apparent by referring to pp. 1—416. of vol. x.

But, in estimating the advantages derivable from the perusal of Rabbinic writers, are we indebted to them, merely in matters of geography, or in elucidations of obscure phraseology? Are we not indebted to them (as truth is often established by reluctant witnesses) for much collateral confirmation as to the most momentous doctrines of our faith? If the Jews have, from their fidelity in guarding the sacred text, been termed the librarians of Christians; so also may many of the Rabbies be termed “our commentators.” The references which Lightfoot makes to the Talmudic authors, abundantly prove, that the doctrine of a Messiah was fully acknowledged, and fondly cherished, by the Jewish nation; thereby affording an internal evidence to the truth of the gospel. They acknowledged [vol. xi. p. 235], that the presence of Elias would precede the advent of Christ.—Even the birth of the Messiah had taken place, according to the confession of the Gemarists [vol. xi. p. 35]; while by others [xi. 422] that event was expected



before the destruction of the Temple:—by others [iii. 36. xii. 185] the time of his nativity was anxiously looked for, at the period when the Baptist was exercising his ministry: by others [viii. 52] the time of the Messiah's coming is fixed to the very time, when Jesus of Nazareth did appear and approve himself to be the Christ. The evangelical preparation for his coming, is pointed out [v. 154]. The revelation of Christ is designated by the gospel-titles of "Kingdom of God" [v. 40. xi. 52. xii. 174]; "the world to come" [xi. 199]. Our Lord is characterized by the Rabbinic commentators, as "the Son of David" [v. 261. xi. 11. xii. 179]; as "the Word" [iv. 118. xii. 230]; as "the Son of God" [viii. 469. xii. 286]; as "my (i. e. God's) servant" [xii. 287]; as "the Son of Man" [v. 259. xii. 288]; as "Light" [xii. 318]; as "the Consolation of Israel" [xii. 384]; as "the Spirit of the Lord" [xii. 554]. Among the offices assigned to the Messiah, they recognize the "resurrection of the dead" [xii. 292]. They even ascribe to him a state of humility and suffering [v. 185. viii. 437. 448], when they can awhile forget their dreams of worldly grandeur. Without some knowledge of Talmudic writings, we shall be unable to understand even the fundamentals of Christianity; since from these authorities, we learn that our Lord condescended to borrow even the sacraments of baptism [iii. 38. iv. 408. xi. 57] and communion [iii. 56] from the rites of his countrymen; and that even the prayer which was bequeathed to us in contradistinction to the vain repetitions of the Jewish doctors, is derived from expressions, that had been long familiar in the schools and synagogues of Judea [xi. 144].

Lastly, in estimating the utility of Lightfoot's studies, we may observe, that as the Rabbinic writings contain many undoubted testimonies relative to the advent, titles, and offices of the Messiah; so also do they establish the *necessity* of his appearing. The state of moral and religious knowledge among the Gentile world, has been often adduced as an argument for the urgent want of a divine revelation. The force of this argument is especially applicable to the condition of the Jewish nation, immersed in vice and ignorance; a condition which must be ascribed to the pride and profligacy of the Jewish doctors, who, having usurped the chair of Moses, had, by their traditions and by

subtle evasions of duty, rendered the word of God of no effect. As Dr. Bright, although he has instanced many benefits (see pp. 16—30) resulting from Talmudical learning, has left this last argument wholly untouched, we will briefly advert to it, by arranging, under appropriate divisions, some of the many quotations, which Dr. Lightfoot has drawn from the Rabbinic writers. Though the works to which he refers, were written subsequently to the birth of Christ, yet they are generally considered as correct representations of the morals and opinions, which the Rabbies inculcated, and which the Jewish people imbibed and observed, in the days of our Saviour's ministry.

Let us observe, 1. *The national vanity of the Jews in reference to the Gentile world.*—"If one see one of the Gentiles fall into the sea, he shall not fetch him up; for it is said, Thou shalt not stand up against the blood of thy neighbour. But such a one is not thy neighbour."—"An Israelite, that slayeth a stranger sojourning among them, is not to be put to death by the Sanhedrim for it: because it is said, If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour."—"The nations of the world (that is, the heathen) are likened to dogs."—"If any one's ox shall gore his neighbour's ox: his neighbour's, not a heathen's: when he saith 'neighbour's,' he excludes heathens."—The schools of the Scribes taught, That the dust of heathen land defiled by the touch:—"The dust of Syria defiles, as well as the dust of other heathen countries."—"Proselytes are dangerous to Israel, like the itch."—"Wicked heathens' little ones, all men confess, they shall not come into the world to come."—"The morning cometh, and also the night, Isa. xxi. 12. It will be the morning to Israel (when the Messiah shall come); but it will be night to the nations of the world."—"Let no Israelite eat one mouthful of any thing, that is a Samaritan's; for if he eat but a little *mouthful*, he is as if he ate swine's flesh."—"Whosoever lives within the land of Israel, is absolved from iniquity. And whosoever is buried within the land of Israel, is as if he were buried under the altar."—"The men of Israel are very wise: for the very climate makes wise."

2. *Bloody and desperate tenets, even in reference to fellow-countrymen.*—"Heretics, that is, Israelites that follow idolatry, or such as commit provoking transgressions,—

as, to eat a carcass, or to wear linseywoolsey for provocation,—this is a heretic. And Epicureans, which are such Israelites as deny the law and prophets, it is commanded that a man kill them, if he have power in his hand to kill them; and he may boldly kill them with the sword: but if he cannot, he shall subtly come about them, till he can compass their death: as, if he see one of them fallen into a well, and there was a ladder in the well before, let him take it up, and say,—I must needs use it to fetch my son from the top of the house, and then I will bring it thee again.” —“ In the days of Rabban Gamaliel, heretics increased in Israel” (by ‘heretics,’ he meaneth those that turned from Judaism to Christianity); “and they troubled Israel, and persuaded them to turn from their religion. He, seeing this to be a matter of exceeding great consequence, more than any thing else, stood up, he and his Sanhedrim; and appointed a prayer, in which there was a petition to God, to destroy those heretics: and this he set among the common prayers, and appointed it to be in every man’s mouth; and so their daily prayers became nineteen in number.” So that they daily prayed against Christians and Christianity.—“Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,” that is, “decree him to an easy death:”—namely, when he is adjudged by the Sanhedrim to die.

3. *Importance attached to letters, while the force of precepts was neglected.*—“It (that is, the history of the creation and of the Bible) begins therefore with the letter ב Beth (in the word בראשית, because two worlds were created,—this world, and a world to come.)”—“There is Tsadi that begins a word (or the crooked צ), and Tsadi that ends a word” (or the straight ק). What follows from hence? “There is the just person that is crooked (or bowed down), and there is the just person that is erect” or straight.—“There is a tradition from the school of R. Esaiah Ben Korcha, that twenty blessings are pronounced in the Book of the Psalms, and in like manner twenty woes in the Book of Isaiah. But I say, saith Rabbi, that there are two-and-twenty blessings, according to the number of the two-and-twenty letters.”—“The Samaritans (saith R. Benjamin) have not the letters ה He, or ע Ain, or ח Cheth. ה, He is in the name of Abraham, ואין לחם חור, And they have not honour: ח, Cheth is in the name of Isaac, ואין לחם חסד, And they have not mercy.

ע, Ain is in the name of Jacob, ואין להם ענוה, And they have not gentleness. But for these letters they use א Aleph: and hence it is known, that they are not of the seed of Israel.’ —“ The Book of Deuteronomy came, and prostrated itself before God, and said, ‘ O Lord of the universe, thou hast wrote me in thy law,—but now a testament, defective in some part, is defective in all. Behold, Solomon endeavours to root the letter Jod out of me’ (to wit in this text, לא ירבה נשים, ‘ He shall not multiply wives,’ Deut. xvii. 17). The holy blessed God answered, ‘ Solomon and a thousand such as he shall perish, but the least word shall not perish out of thee.’ R. Honna said in the name of R. Acha, The letter Jod, which God took out of the name of Sarai our mother, was given half to Sara, and half to Abraham. A tradition of R. Hoshaiia: The letter Jod came and prostrated itself before God, and said, ‘ O eternal Lord, thou hast rooted me out of the name of that holy woman.’ The blessed God answered, ‘ Hitherto thou hast been in the name of a woman, and that in the end (viz. in Sarai); but henceforward thou shalt be in the name of a man, and that in the beginning.’ Hence is that which is written, ‘ And Moses called the name of Hoshea, Jehoshua.’” —The Babylonians also do relate this translation of the letter Jod out of the name of Sarai to the name of Joshua, after this manner: “ The letter Jod, saith God, which I took out of the name of Sarai, stood and cried to me for very many years, How long will it be ere Joshua arise? to whose name I have added it.” —“ What is the seal of the Holy Blessed God? R. Bibia, in the name of R. Reuben, saith, אמת Truth. Resh Lachish saith, א is the first letter of the alphabet, מ the middle, and ת the last: q. d. I the Lord am the first; I received nothing of any one; and beside me there is no God; for there is not any that intermingles with me; and I am with the last.” —“ It is written (saith he), את לא תחללו, שם קדשי, You shall not profane my holy name. He that makes the ה a ה, destroys the world: for he makes this sense, You shall not praise my holy name. It is written, כל הנשמה תהלל יה, Let every thing that hath breath, praise the Lord: he that makes the ה a ה, destroys the world: for he brings to this sense, Let every thing that hath breath, profane the Lord. It is written, יכחשו ביהוה, They lied to the Lord: he that maketh the ב a ב, destroys the world: for he

maketh this sense, They lied like the Lord. It is written אין קדוש כיהוה, There is none holy like the Lord; he that makes the כ a ב, destroys the world: for he maketh this sense, There is no holiness in the Lord. It is written יהוה אחד, The Lord our God is one Lord: he that makes the ד a ר, destroys the world: for he bringeth the sense to this, The Lord our God is a strange God," &c.

4. *Profligacy in relation to marriage, and the reasons for divorcing a wife.*—"When Rabh went to Darsis ('whither,' as the Gloss saith, 'he often went'), he made a public proclamation, What woman will have me for a day? Rabh Nachman, when he went to Sacnezib, made a public proclamation, What woman will have me for a day?" The Gloss is, "Is there any woman who will be my wife, while I tarry in this place?"—"It is lawful (say they) to have many wives together, even as many as you will: but our Wise men have decreed, That no man have above four wives."—"The Lord of Israel saith, 'That he hateth putting away,' Mal. ii. 16. Through the whole chapter, saith R. Chaniah in the name of R. Phineas, he is called the Lord of Hosts: but here, of Israel, that it might appear, that God subscribed not his name to divorces, but only among the Israelites. As if he should say, 'To the Israelites I have granted the putting away of wives; to the Gentiles, I have not granted it.' R. Chaijah Rabbah saith, Divorces are not granted to the nations of the world. R. Solomon expresses the sense of that place thus: 'It is commanded to put away one's wife, if she obtain not favour in the eyes of her husband.'"—"The school of Hillel saith, If the wife cook her husband's food illy, by over-salting or over-roasting it, she is to be put away."—"R. Akibah said, If any man sees a woman handsomer than his own wife, he may put her away; because it is said, 'If she find not favour in his eyes.'"

5. *Logical deductions.*—"The Jews do gather six hundred and thirteen precepts, negative and affirmative, to be in the whole law, according to the six hundred and thirteen letters in the two tables, and so many veins and members in a man's body."—"While he asketh necessaries for himself, let him use any language but the Syriac; because the angels do not understand the Syriac language."—"The whale showed Jonah the Temple of the Lord, as it is said,

'I went down to the bottom of the mountains:' whence we learn, that Jerusalem was seated upon seven mountains."—  
 "The space of 'a sabbath-day's bound' was two thousand cubits. But it is disputed, Upon what foundation this constitution of theirs is built? 'Whence comes it to be thus ordained concerning the two thousand cubits? It is founded upon this, Let no man go out of his place on the seventh day," Exod. xvi. 29.—"Where are these two thousand cubits mentioned? they have their tradition from hence, **שבו איש תחתיו** Abide ye every man in his place, Exod. xvi. 29. These are four cubits. Let no man go out of his place:—these are two thousand cubits." It is true, indeed, we cannot gain so much as one cubit out of any of these Scriptures, much less two thousand; however, we may learn from hence the pleasant art they have of working any thing out of any thing."

6. *Drunkenness a matter of religion.*—"Rabba saith, A man is bound to make himself so mellow on the feast of Purim, that he shall not be able to distinguish between Cursed be Haman, and Blessed be Mordecai."

7. *Absurd calculations.*—"The ladder of Jacob is the ascent of the altar, and the altar itself.—The angels are princes or monarchs. The king of Babylon ascended seventy steps; the king of the Medes, fifty-and-two; the king of Greece, one hundred and eighty; the king of Edom, it is uncertain how many," &c. They reckon the breadth of the ladder to have been about eight thousand parasangæ, i. e. about two-and-thirty thousand miles; and that the bulk of each angel was about eight thousand English miles in compass.—"How much is a moment? It is the fifty-eight thousand, eight hundred, eighty-eighth part of an hour."—"Why is **רום** called a flight-shot? It is according to the numeral value of the letters, which is two hundred sixty-six: for two hundred sixty-six [cubits] make a flight-shot. Now count, and you will thus find it: Seven times **ר** two hundred make one thousand four hundred. Seven times **ס** sixty make four hundred and twenty. Number them together, and they mount to one thousand eight hundred and twenty. Seven times **ו** six make forty-two: half a **רום** one hundred thirty-three: number them together, and the whole amounts to one thousand nine hundred ninety-five. Behold two thousand cubits excepting five."

8. *Intricate questions.*—“Whether a man may bless God for the sweet smell of incense, which he smells offered to idols?”—“Whether a man may light a candle at another candle, that burns in a candlestick that hath images on it?”—“Whether a man, at his devotions, if a serpent come and bite him by the heel, may turn and stoop to shake her off, or no?”—“Whether it is lawful to go into the necessary-house, with the phylacteries, only ad mingendum.”—“If the brother’s wife should have her hands cut off, how should she loose the shoe of her husband’s brother? If she should spit blood; what then?”—“Asmodeus produced, from under the pavement before Solomon, a man with two heads. He marries a wife, and begot children like himself, with two heads,—and like his wife, with one. When the patrimony comes to be divided,—he that had two heads, requires a double portion; and the cause was brought before Solomon to be decided by him.”—“If any one should have two heads, on which of the foreheads should the phylacteries be bound?”

9. *Subtle distinctions.*—“Any spittle, found in the city, was clean, except that which was found in the upper street.”—“The hinges of the gates of the Temple are heard, as far as a sabbath-day’s journey eight times numbered. The hinges, indeed, not farther; but the gates themselves are heard to Jericho.”—“R. Jacob Bar Acha in the name of R. Lazar saith, ‘The victuals of the Cutheans are lawful,’ which is to be understood of that food, with which their wine and vinegar is not mingled.”—“They who had not nobler provision, hunted after locusts for food. The Gemarists feign, that there are eight hundred kinds of them, namely, of such as are clean.”—“There is a dispute upon that precept, Levit. xvii. 13: If any one kill a beast or bird upon a holy-day, the Shammean school saith, Let him dig with an instrument, and cover the blood. The school of Hillel saith, Let him not kill at all, if he have not dust ready by him to cover the blood.”—“R. Juda saith, The Monoceros entered not into Noah’s ark, but his whelps entered. R. Nehemiah saith, Neither he nor his whelps entered, but Noah tied him to the ark. And he made furrows in the waves, for as much space as is from Tiberias to Susitha.”—“If any wash himself all over, except the very top of his little finger, he is still in his uncleanness. And if any hath much

hair, he must wash all the hair of his head, for that also was reckoned for the body. But if any should enter into the water with their clothes on, yet their washing holds good; because the water would pass through their clothes, and their garments would not hinder it."—"He that vows abstinence from salt things, is restrained from nothing but from salt-fish."—"The pulling off of the shoe [of the husband's brother, Deut. xxv. 9] is right: and of the sandal, if it hath a heel, is right; but if not, it is not right."—"A Wise man is to take place of a king: a king, of a high-priest: a high-priest, of a prophet: a prophet, of one anointed for war: one anointed for war, of a president of the courses: a president of the courses, of the head of a family: the head of a family, of a counsellor: a counsellor, of a treasurer: a treasurer, of a private priest: a private priest, of a Levite: a Levite, of an Israelite: an Israelite, of a bastard: a bastard, of a Nethinim: a Nethinim, of a proselyte: a proselyte, of a freed slave. But when is this to be? namely, when they are alike as to other things: but, indeed, if a bastard be a disciple, or a Wise man, and the high-priest be unlearned,—the bastard is to take place of him. A Wise man is to be preferred before a king: for, if a Wise man die, he hath not left his equal: but, if a king die, any Israelite is fit for a kingdom."—"To lie on one's back, is not called lying down; and to lie on one's right side, is not called lying down."—"He that 'mingit,' let him turn his face to the north: he that easeth nature, to the south. R. Josi Ben R. Bon saith, The tradition is, From Zophim and within:"—that is, if this be done by any one from Zophim inwards, when he is now within the prospect of the city; when he 'mingit,' let him turn his face to the north, that he do not expose his modest parts before the Temple: when he easeth nature, let him turn his face to the south, that he expose not his 'nates' before it."—"But why was the city laid waste? Some say, For fornication: others say, Because they played at bowls."—"R. Zacchai's disciples asked him, How dost thou attain to old age? He answered them, I did never, in my whole life, make water within four cubits of the place of prayer."

10. *Superiority of oral tradition over the written law.*—  
 "Amongst all the commandments, there is not one commandment that is parallel to the learning and teaching of



the law; but that is equal to all the commandments put together.”—“The written law is narrow; but the traditional is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.”—“The words of the scribes 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.”—“The Bible\* is like water; the Mishna, like wine: he that has learned the Scripture, and not the Mishna, is a blockhead.”—“Who-soever\* scorns the words of the Wise Men, shall be cast into boiling dung in hell.”

11. *Punctilious washing of hands in opposition to purity of heart.*—“The Rabbins deliver: The washing of hands, as to common things (or common food) was unto the joining of the arm.”—“The second waters cleanse whatsoever parts of the hands the first waters had washed. But if the first waters had gone above the juncture of the arm, the second waters do not cleanse, because they do not cleanse beyond the juncture. If therefore, the waters, which went above the juncture, return upon the hands again, they are unclean.”—“They allot a fourth part of a log for the washing of one person’s hands, it may be of two; half a log, for three or four; a whole log, to five or ten, nay, to a hundred; with this provision, saith R. Jose, that the last that washeth, hath no less than a fourth part of a log for himself.”—“Of the quantity of water sufficient for this washing,—of the washing of the hands, and of the plunging of them,—of the first and second water,—of the manner of washing,—of the time,—of the order, when the number of those, that sat down to meat, exceeded five, or did not exceed,—and other suchlike niceties; read, if you have leisure, and if the toil and nauseousness of it do not offend you,—the Talmudic tract *ידים* ‘Of hands.’”

12. *Absurd legends and stories.*—“R. Judah sat labouring in the law before the Babylonish synagogue in Zippor: there was a bullock passed by him to the slaughter, and it lowed.” Because he did not deliver this bullock from the slaughter, he was struck with the tooth-ache for the space of thirteen years.—“A certain traveller, who was a barber, and an astrologer, saw, by his astrology, that the Jews would shed his blood” (which was to be understood of his proselytism, namely, when they circumcised him). “When a certain Jew, therefore, came to him, to have his hair cut, he cut

his throat. And how many throats did he cut? R. Lazar Ben Jose saith, eighty.—R. Jose Ben R. Bon saith, three hundred.”—“When a hog was drawn up upon the walls of Jerusalem, and fixed his hoofs upon them, the land of Israel shook four hundred parsæ every way.”—“They say of R. Chanina, that he, seeing once his fellow-citizens carrying their sacrifices to Jerusalem, crieth out: ‘Alas! they every one are carrying their sacrifices, and, for my part, I have nothing to carry; what shall I do?’ Straightway he betaketh himself into the wilderness of the city, and finding a stone, he cuts it, squares, and artificially formeth it; and saith, ‘What would I give that this stone might be conveyed into Jerusalem!’ Away he goeth to hire some that should do it;—they ask him a hundred pieces of gold, and they would carry it. ‘Alas! (saith he) where should I have a hundred pieces? indeed, where should I have three?’ Immediately the Holy Blessed God procureth five angels, in the likeness of men, who offer him, for five shillings, to convey the stone into Jerusalem, if himself would but give his helping hand. He gave them a lift; and, of a sudden, they all stood in Jerusalem; and when he would have given them the reward they bargained for, his workmen were gone and vanished.”—“A huge stone of its own accord takes a skip from the land of Israel, and stops up the mouth of the den in Babylon, where Daniel and the lions lay.”—Adam,\* when first formed, reached from earth to heaven; and had a tail like an ouran-outang.—Og\* of Basban, walked, during the deluge, by the side of the ark, and sometimes rode astride on it: from one of his teeth, Abraham made a bedstead.—The\* wings of the bird Bar Juchne, when extended, causes an eclipse of the sun: one of her eggs, which fell from her nest, broke down three hundred cedars, and inundated sixty villages.—Rabba,\* grandson of Channa said: “I once saw a frog as large as the village of Akra in Hagronia.” But how large was that village? It contained sixty houses. There came a huge serpent, which swallowed the frog. But after that came a raven, which devoured the serpent. Rabbi Papa answered, “If I had not seen it myself, I should not have believed it.”

13. *Opinions relative to the sabbath.*—“He that reapeth corn on the sabbath, to the quantity of a fig, is guilty. And plucking corn is as reaping; and whosoever plucketh up

\* Allen's Modern Judaism.

any thing from it growing, is guilty, under the notion of reaping.”—“ It is not only permitted to lead the beast out to watering on the sabbath-day; but they might draw water for him, and pour it into troughs, provided only that they do not carry the water, and set it before the beast to drink, —but the beast come and drink it of his own accord.” —“ Women may not look into a looking-glass on the sabbath-day, if it be fixed to a wall.”—“ Let not those that are in health, use physic on the sabbath-day. Let not him, that labours under a pain in his loins, anoint the place affected, with oil and vinegar; but with oil he may, so it be not oil of roses, &c. He that hath the tooth-ache, let him not swallow vinegar to spit it out again; but he may swallow it, so he swallow it down. He that hath a sore-throat, let him not gargle it with oil: but he may swallow down the oil, whence, if he receive a cure, it is well. Let no man chew mastich, or rub his teeth with spice for a cure; but, if he do this, to make his mouth sweet, it is allowed.” —“ They do not squirt wine into the eyes on the sabbath-day, but they may wash the eye-brows with it.”—“ They do all works necessary about the dead (on the sabbath-day); they anoint him; they wash him; provided only that they do not stir a limb of him,” &c.—“ They bound washing to them, but they loosed sweating:” meaning, they taught that it was lawful to go into the bath to sweat, but not to bathe for pleasure.—“ It is lawful near night, to put water to gums and copperas, to make ink; to put flax into an oven, to dry; to lay a net, or set a trap, for a wild beast, or vermin;—it is lawful to do these things near night, though the efficacy of the things,—as the ink’s soaking, the flax’s drying, and the net’s catching,—be on the sabbath, when it is come in.”

14. *Superstitions with respect to amulets, charms, magic, &c.*—See what various and manifold kinds of medicines are prescribed to a woman, labouring under a flux: “ R. Jochanan saith, bring (*or take*) of gum of Alexandria the weight of a zuzee: and of alum the weight of a zuzee: and of crocus hortensis the weight of a zuzee: let these be bruised together, and be given in wine to the woman, that hath an issue of blood, &c. But if this does no benefit; take of Persian onions thrice three logs, boil them in wine, and then give it her to drink, and say, Arise from thy flux. But if this does not prevail; set her in a place where two ways

meet, and let her hold a cup of wine in her hand; and let somebody come behind her, and affright her, and say, Arise from thy flux. But if that do no good; take a handful of cummin, and a handful of crocus, and a handful of *fœnum græcum*. Let these be boiled in wine, and give them her to drink, and say, Arise from thy flux."—"He that mutters, let him put oil upon his head, and mutter." (This muttering is to be understood concerning the manner of saying a charm upon a wound, or some place of the body, that feels pain.)—"One being sick, a certain person came to him, and muttered upon him in the name of Jesus of Pandira, and he was healed."—"R. Eliezer Ben Damah was bitten by a serpent: James of Capharsam came to heal him in the name of Jesus: but R. Ismael permitted him not," &c.—"Let one observe a good dream two-and-twenty years, after the example of Joseph."—"If you go to bed merry, you shall have good dreams," &c.—A certain old man (Babyl. Beracoth) relates this story; "There were four-and-twenty interpreters of dreams in Jerusalem: and I, having dreamed a dream, went to them all: every one gave a different interpretation, and yet they all came to pass," &c. You have (Jerusal. Maasar Shenî, fol. 52. 2. 3.) R. Joses Ben Chelpatha, R. Ismael Ben R. Joses, R. Lazar, and R. Akiba interpreting divers dreams, and many coming to them for interpretation of their dreams. Nay, you see there, the disciples of R. Lazar, in his absence, practising this art. See there, also, many stories about this business, which it would be too much here to transcribe.—"Let not any one go abroad with his amulet on the sabbath-day, unless that amulet be prescribed by an approved physician."—"They do not say a charm over a wound on the sabbath; that also, which is said over a mandrake, is forbid" on the sabbath.—"If any one say, Come, and say this versicle over my son, or lay the book" of the law "upon him, to make him sleep; it is forbid," i. e. on the sabbath.—"The Talmud,\* after cautioning its votaries against drinking water by night, lest it should cause dizziness and blindness, instructs them, if they do drink, to guard against these maladies, by repeating Shivriri, Vriri, Riri, Iri, Ri, I; i. e. omitting, each time, one letter of the word שברירי.

—"When\* a child laughs in its sleep, in the night of the

\* Allen's Modern Judaism.

sabbath, or of the new moon, the Dæmon Lilith is toying with it: then let the parents thrice exclaim, 'Begone, cursed Lilith;' and, at each exclamation, pat the nose of the child."—"The senior who is chosen into the council, ought to be skilled in the arts of astrologers, jugglers, diviners, sorcerers, &c. that he may be able to judge of those, who are guilty of the same.—"The chamber of Happarva in the Temple itself, was built by a certain magician, whose name was Parvah, by art-magic."—"Four-and-twenty of the school Rabbi, intercalating the year at Lydda, were killed by an evil eye:" that is, with sorceries. R. Joshua outdoes a magician in magic, and drowns him in the sea.—In Babyl. Taanith, several miracles are related, that the Rabbins had wrought. Elsewhere, there is a story told of eighty sorceresses at Ascalon, who were hanged in one day, by Simeon Ben Shetah: "and the women of Israel (saith the Gloss) had generally fallen to the practice of sorceries." It is related of abundance of Rabbies, that they were "skilful in working miracles:" thus Abba Chelchia, and Chanin, and R. Chanina Ben Dusa; of which R. Chanina Ben Dusa there is almost an infinite number of stories concerning the miracles he wrought, which savour enough and too much of magic. (Vol. xi. 302.) And, what can we say of the fasting Rabbies' causing it to rain in effect, when they pleased? What can we say of the Bath Kol very frequently applauding the Rabbins out of heaven? What can we say of the death or plagues foretold by the Rabbins, to befall this or that man? which came to pass just according as they were foretold.

15. *Hypocrisy in prayer.*—"R. Jochanan said, I saw R. Jannai standing and praying in the streets of Tsippor, and going four cubits, and then praying the additional prayer."

16. *Filthiness becoming part of religious instruction.*—"Dixit\* R. Akiba: Ingressus sum aliquando post R. Josuam in sedis secretæ locum, et tria ab eo didici: 1. quod non versus orientem et occidentem, sed versus septentrionem et austrum, nos convertered ebeamus:—2. quod non in pedes erectum, sed jam considentem se retegere liceat:—3. quod podex non dextrâ, sed sinistra manu abstergendus sit."

17. *Puerile and ridiculous descriptions of the future world.*—To this class of Rabbinic absurdities, may be refer-

\* Allen's Modern Judaism.

red their accounts of angels and dæmons, detailing their number, mode of birth, precise names, magnitude and stature, residences, and peculiar offices. Equally childish are the reveries of the Rabbies, relative to the chorography of Paradise; its various divisions, and names thereof. With the same accuracy they mark out the different compartments of Hell or Gehinnom; the extent, and inmates of each section; the various intensities of penal fire, and the processes of purgation. [See *Allen's M. J.* ch. ix. and x.]

18. *Representation of the Supreme Being.*—With regard to this fundamental doctrine of all religion, we must forbear to quote what would be offensive to the feelings of the pious, in perusal. Suffice it to say, that to speak of God as the author of sin; as needing atonement; as contracting pollution; as inferior to Rabbies in knowledge; these and more horrible blasphemies are of common occurrence.

In passing from the Rabbinic writings to the pages of the Evangelists, how striking is the contrast! how visibly stamped with every mark of divinity. On the part of the Jewish teacher, we behold bigotry and rancour; from the lips of Christ we hear 'Love thy neighbour as thyself:—' God loveth the world.' On one side, we read mystical speculations, cabalistic exposition, and the Scriptures interpreted by anagram, riddle, and acrostic; on the other, precepts so plain and perspicuous, that the simplest may understand,—and he that runneth, may read. While the Rabbies are contending for supremacy, and would fain aggrandize themselves by the number of their scholars, Christ, so far from courting attachment, disowns all followers, who do not assimilate their actions to their creed. In the Talmud, we are disgusted with legends and tales; in the Gospel, our hearts are affected and improved by parables of the most exquisite beauty. The Rabbi prays in the corner of the street; Christ retires into solitude, and enjoins his disciples to offer their devotions, without reference to human eyes. The Rabbi impiously and childishly portrays the fancied particulars of an invisible world: Christ assures us of another existence; and as to the rest, he veils futurity in a dignified and sublime reserve. The Rabbi is covered with vice; Christ rises immaculate above the innumerable corruptions, in which his countrymen were immersed. "The divinity of the Jews, which they taught and

heard in their schools, was as far out of the road of such doctrine as Christ teacheth, as it is from England to Jerusalem. For, though some of them stuck not to say, that the law might be expounded seventy-two ways,—yet, in all their expositions, the doctrine of regeneration, and the work of grace, was little thought on, or looked after. To omit their manner of expounding, by Rashe and Sopher Teboth, Gematria, Notaricon, Atbash, Cabala, and such wild kind of commenting, as was ordinary among them;—the best divinity that was to be had with them, was but to instruct them in carnal rites, and to heighten their spirits to legal performances. They would speak and teach, indeed, concerning repentance and mortification, and such kind of doctrines; but all was to promote their own legal righteousness in such things and actions the more. Their divinity, that they taught and learned, was generally to this tenor:—to build upon their birth-privilege to Abraham; to rest in the law; to rely upon their own works; to care for no other faith but historical; to patter over prayers, as efficacious ‘*ex opere operato*’; to account the day of expiation, afflictions, and their very death, to be expiatory; to expect Messias, and undoubted happiness, when he came,” &c. [See Lightfoot, vol. v. p. 43.] Our limits do not allow us to continue the parallel:—they who pursue the enquiry with an unbiassed mind, will, after contemplating the numerous points of contrast, feel themselves compelled to confess, that the Preacher of the gospel could not have been of human origin; and that among the strongest arguments for the truth of Christianity, may be reckoned the peculiarities of its moral code.

To the preceding remarks upon the utility of Dr. Lightfoot’s studies, may properly be subjoined a few references to some of his principal opinions.—I. *The utter rejection of the Jews*. “This makes me not believe the call of the Jews; because they sinned beyond the Gentiles; because they sinned against such light, as shall never appear to eyes again. Some have dreamed of some glorious appearance of Christ, that shall convert them; if more shall be seen, than they have seen already, I believe it. But more, certainly, they cannot see:” vi. 394.—“I see not how we can look upon the conversion of the Jews, under a lower notion than the conversion of a brood of antichrist. There

fore can I no more look for the general calling of them, than I look for the general call of the antichristian brood of Rome. We see, indeed, by happy experience, that several nations have fallen off from the Roman antichrist, as the Protestant countries that are at this day: but antichrist is yet in being and strong; and his end will be, not by conversion, but perdition. So can I not but conceive of the Jewish nation; that although numerous multitudes of them may, at the last, be brought into the gospel, as the Protestant party hath been,—yet that, to the end, numerous multitudes also shall continue in the antichristian spirit of unbelief, and opposition, and blaspheming: and both parts of antichrist, the Roman and this, so to perish together:” iii. 410.—II. *His opinion of the Septuagint.* This translation (in Lightfoot’s judgment) contains many wilful errors; is arranged so as to favour the manners, traditions, and ordinances of the Jews; and to conceal from the Heathen, the truth and treasure of the Scripture. (See vol. iv. 34. 326; xi. 419; xii. 579, &c.)—III. *His opinion respecting the keys of heaven.* “Christ promised ‘the keys of the kingdom of heaven’ to Peter only, of all the apostles: meaning thereby, that he should be the man, that should first unlock the door of faith, and of the gospel, unto the Gentiles; which was accomplished in Acts xi:” iii. 99. “He had said that he would build his Church to endure for ever; against which, ‘the gates of hell should not prevail,’ which had prevailed against the Jewish church: and, ‘to thee, O Peter (saith he), I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that thou mayest open a door for the bringing-in the gospel to that church.’ Which was performed by Peter in that remarkable story concerning Cornelius, Acts x. And I make no doubt, that those words of Peter respect these words of Christ, Acts xv. 7; ‘Αφ’ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐξελέξατο διὰ τοῦ στόματός μου ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὸν λόγον τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, καὶ πιστεῦσαι: ‘A good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel by my mouth, and believe:” xi. 226.—IV. *He did not allow that ‘binding and loosing’ related to discipline, but to doctrine.* And that because the phrases ‘to bind’ and ‘to loose’ were Jewish, and most frequent in their writers; and that it belonged only to the teachers among the Jews, to bind and to loose. And that when the Jews set any



apart to be a preacher, they used these words, "Take thou liberty to teach what is bound, and what is loose:" xi. 226.—V. *Interpretation of Gen. iv. 7.* "The common gloss upon 'sin lieth at the door,' that is, the 'punishment for sin is ready to seize on thee,' is flat contrary to the sense of the verse going before, and the latter end of that verse. God comes not there to deject, but comfort him. The word *חַטָּאת* translated 'sin,' signifies the 'sacrifice for sin,' all along Leviticus, which was brought to the tabernacle door:" ii. 13.—"God fireth Abel's sacrifice from heaven, but despiseth Cain's; yet readeth to him the first doctrine of repentance: 'That if he did well, he should certainly be accepted; and though he did not well, yet *חַטָּאת* a sin-offering lieth at the door;' if he repented, there was hope of pardon. Thus, as God had read the first lecture of faith to Adam, in the promise of Christ; so doth he the first lecture of repentance to Cain, under the doctrine of a sin-offering:" ii. 75.—VI. *Chronological discrepancies.* "Dr. Lightfoot often differs much from many or all other chronologers; as in the time of Christ's birth, the time from Christ's baptism to his death, the two terms of Daniel's seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years. In his account from the flood to Abraham's birth, he differs sixty years from the generality of computists; and that, upon a different interpretation of Gen. xi. 26, and proof that Abraham was not Terah's eldest son. From whence it necessarily follows, that where he agrees with others in the intermediate intervals, as from Abraham's birth to the promise, to their going out of Egypt, to the building and destruction of the Temple, &c. he must assign these to different years of the world, viz. sixty later than usual:" Dr. Bright, i. 41.—VII. "*Cain and Abel born twins:*" vol. ii. 75.—VIII. "About *universal redemption and election* he was somewhat bewildered, between the notions of his educators and those hammered out of his own head: it was his modesty made him hang in suspense."—See Bonnell's letter to Strype, vol. xiii. 467.—IX. *Calling on the name of the Lord,* Gen. iv. 26. "In this stock of Cain, also, began idolatry, and worshipping the creature instead of the Creator, blessed for ever; and, in a mournful feeling of this dishonour done to God by it, Seth calls his son, that was born to him in those times, 'Enosh,' or 'sorrowful;' because 'then began pro-

faneness in calling upon the name of the Lord:'” ii. 75.

X. *The soul of Jesus was troubled*, St. John, xii. 27: “Whence comes this disturbance? It was from the apprehended rage and assault of the devil. Whether our Lord Christ, in his agony of passion, had to grapple with an angry God, I question: but I am certain, he had to do with an angry devil. When he stood, and stood firmly, in the highest and most eminent point and degree of obedience, as he did in his sufferings,—it doth not seem agreeable that he should then be groaning under the pressure of divine wrath; but it is most agreeable, he should, under the rage and fury of the devil:” xii. 367. “It is said, John xviii. 1, he went beyond Cedron. There he is in his agony: then he prays, ‘Let this cup pass from me.’ Why? What did he see in the cup? Bitterness enough,—but not one drop of the dregs of God’s wrath. Guess his case by the case of sinful men. A Stephen, a Cranmer, a Ridley, a martyr, is brought to the stake: he hath a cup put into his hands, and that very bitter; but doth he see any of God’s wrath in it? Martyrs could not have gone so joyfully to death, had they seen God angry in that bitter dispensation. Christ could not have gone so readily to his sufferings, had he thought he had gone to encounter God’s indignation:” vol. vi. 19.—XI. *Virtue of Christ’s obedience, compared with that of his sufferings*. “But his sufferings were not all, that gave his blood and death that virtue, that most justly is ascribed to it, of justifying and saving. The torments that he suffered, were not the godfather, that named his blood by that precious name of justifying and saving; but it was that infinite obedience, that he showed in bowing so low as to undergo those sufferings. And there especially does the Scripture lay and lodge the stress of it; ‘By the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous:’—‘He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross:’—‘Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered:’” vol. vi. 235.—XII. *The descent of Christ into Hell*. “In this article, there are these three doctrines comprised:—1. That Christ had a true human soul, like other men. Like to us he had a soul, that was reasonable, that enlivened the body, that was whole in it: and not the divinity, that enlivened and actuated his body. 2. That when

Christ died, there was a real separation of soul and body as it is with other men. The soul slept not with the body, but was separate from it. Though it was to come into the body again, yet it forsook the body, and was separate.

3. As soon as it was departed, it went into another world of souls; to a place where holy souls go,—viz. to heaven; and there continued, till it was to return to the body. It was in paradise all the while,—the body was in the grave:” vol. vi. 27.—XIII. *Death of Judas*. “I cannot but take the story (with good leave of antiquity) in this sense: After Judas had thrown down the money, the price of his treason, in the Temple, and was now returning again to his mates,—the devil, who dwelt in him, caught him up on high, strangled him, and threw him down headlong; so that, dashing upon the ground, he burst in the midst, and his guts issued out, and the devil went out in so horrid an exit:” xi. 344.—XIV. *Urim and Thummim*. “By the ‘Urim and Thummim’ is meant, the twelve precious stones (in the breast-plate of the priest) which are called ‘Urim,’ or ‘Lights,’ or ‘Brightness,’—because of their shining lustre; and ‘Thummim,’ or ‘Perfections,’ because, with most exact and perfect compacture, they were all set and fixed in a plate and border of gold, in that embroidered piece, or that piece of cloth of gold:” vol. vi. 279; see also vol. ii. 406.—XV. *The woman hath power on her head, because of the angels*, 1 Cor. xi. 10. “As if he should say, ‘The woman hath not only power of her head, to bare her face before him, who is to be her husband,—but before them who are sent, and deputed by him, to betroth her: and from this very thing (saith he) it is clear, that the woman was created for the man; seeing she, that she might be for the man, hath such a power of uncovering her face before those angels, who come to espouse her; when otherwise, by the custom of the nation, it were not lawful.’—The apostle conceals the word קדושים ‘espousals;’ and saith only, ‘Because of the angels,’ not, ‘Because of the angels of espousals:’ for, by the very scope of his discourse, that is easily understood, when, in the words immediately going before, he saith, ‘The woman is created for the man.’ So also, the Talmudists very frequently use the single word שלימים ‘angels,’ when once it is known, that they are speaking of espousals:” xii. 520. “Women should not expose

their faces openly in the congregation, lest the devil make a bait of their beauty; and thereby entangle the eyes and hearts of the men, who should be then better employed, than gazing and longing after beauty.' There are, that by 'angels' understood the ministers; and interpret it, that 'women should be veiled, lest the ministers' eyes should be entangled by their faces:' which exposition if it be admitted, it may speak for the admission of that, also, which we give,—which provides for the eyes of the whole congregation, as well as of the ministers;" iii. 244.—XVI. A summary of the opinions, which Dr. L. maintained in the discussions of the Assembly of Divines, may be found at page xii. of this vol.—XVII. *The Revelation of St. John.* "I was unwilling to have meddled with 'The Revelation,' because I could not go along with the common stating of the times and matters there:" vol. iii. p. vii. Dr. L. considers 'the Revelation' to have been written before the fall of Jerusalem. The six seals, mentioned in the sixth chapter, refer exclusively to the rejection of the Jews, and to the destruction of their city, and not to the general state of the church under the Roman empire.—The smoke, arising out of the pit (Rev. ix. 2), designates the religion of Rome, and not of Mahomet. The fourth monarchy (Rev. xiii.) is the Syro-Grecian, and not the Roman empire. Gog and Magog (Rev. xx.) are the Syro-Grecian persecutors, and not the general enemies of true religion and its faithful professors. See vol. iii. p. 331—371.

XVIII. Lightfoot's opinions relative to the various sects, which were prevalent in his time. 1. *Perfectionists and Puritans*: "There is a generation among us, that talk of their perfection, and Pharisæically boast, that they are perfect: in which you can hardly tell, whether they bewray more arrogance and pride, or more ignorance and folly: folly,—in that they think they pay such absolute perfection, which it is impossible for poor sinful man to pay; and ignorance,—in that they do not know that God does not require such perfection as they dream of, and talk of, in their dreams." 2. *Enthusiasts*: "Quam longe ab institutione divina de publico ministerio aberrant hodierni nostri enthusiastæ! Nec aberrant solum, sed et summe contrariantur. Neminem sacrorum ministrum patiuntur, qui sit doctus, qui sit studiosus; sed eum solum, qui sit

**Spiritu inflatus, qui possit (ut vulgari dialecto utar) ‘prædicare aut concionari per Spiritum.’** Prophetas solos volunt ministrare in sacris, cum jam in toto terrarum orbe non sit propheta. At Deus, cum essent prophetæ plurimi, hos non ad statum ministerium constituit, sed homines, studio doctos, et in lege literatos, nempe sacerdotes. ‘De lege interrogate sacerdotes:’” vol. v. 463. “The Spirit of God inspired certain persons, whom he pleased, to be the revealers of his will, till he had imparted and committed to writing what he thought fit to reveal under the Old Testament; and when he had completed that, the Holy Ghost departed, and such inspirations ceased. And when the gospel was come in, then the Spirit was restored again, and bestowed upon several persons for the revealing farther of the mind of God, and completing the work he had to do, for the settling of the gospel, and penning of the New Testament: and that being done, these gifts and inspirations cease, and may no more be expected, than we may expect some other gospel yet to come:” iii. 371.—3. *Separatists.* “They that will pay nothing to our churches,—that will not come to our churches; nay, will not abide to be buried in our churchyards,—do they see any abominable thing in the service of our churches, worse than the corruptions that were crept into the Jewish religion; worse superstition, worse will-worship, worse corruptions? If they do, let them show it:—if they do not, why do they so despise our churches, and the worship there, when Christ himself refused not to be present at the temple, and to contribute to maintain the service there? Let me ask them and the negligent comers to church (though they do not quite refuse it), do they think, that our Saviour ever let a sabbath-day pass, in all his time while here, but he was present at the public service, either in the temple or in the synagogue? Look the gospel through, and see, by the current of the story there, whether ever he absented himself from the public congregation on the sabbath-day:” v. 343.—4. *Affectors of singularity in Public Worship.* “The evangelists make it plain that it was Christ’s manner to go to the synagogues, every sabbath-day. And what to do there? To disturb the congregation? To cross the service? To sit dumb whilst others sing psalms? To put on his hat [that I may express it by our known English garb], while others sat bare? To do

every thing, cross to the order of the synagogue [as there are too many among us, at this day, of this cross-grained humour ]? No ; no such thing came near his most meek and divine spirit. His noise or troublesomeness was not heard in the streets, much less in the place and time of divine worship. But he went to the public congregation, to join with the congregation in the worship of God, as the duty of the sabbath did require. He went, indeed to preach ; but withal he joined with the congregation in other parts of divine service, as he desired that they should join with him in that:" vol. vi. 223.—5. *Papists*. "The Papist saith, 'Scripture is not sufficient to instruct in all things of religion.' True ; not of the Romish religion. For the rags that patch that, you must go to some broker ; for the divine wardrobe of Scripture hath none such ; viz. the orders of monks and friars, pilgrimages, single life of the clergy, salt, oil, spittle in baptism, tapers at the communion, processions, praying to and for the dead, and a thousand other trinklements and trumperies.—Scripture never knew such base ware ; we must go to some other kind of shop for it. And that pedlar, with them, is tradition:" vi. 55.—6. *Anabaptists*. "And such an answer, if I had not other to give, should I give to an Anabaptist, that asks, Why I baptize my child ? I should answer, 'He is part of myself ; and so it is fit he be baptized, because I am : otherwise all of myself is not baptized.' And this gives some reason of what the apostle saith, that 'the child of a believing father or mother is holy, that he is a Christian, for the believing parent's sake ;' because he is part of that parent:" vii. 365. See vol. vi. pp. 391—416.—7. *Arians and Socinians*. "The Arian or Socinian will have Christ to be a creature, and not God ; the Holy Ghost a creature, and not God. What do they gain by this towards heaven ? Do they not set themselves farther off, when they make him, that should redeem them, but a creature like themselves ;—and him that should sanctify them, to be but a creature like themselves ?" vii. 289.—8. *Antinomians*. "Knowing this, that the law is not made for the righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient." The Antinomians misconstrue here, that righteous men are exempted from obedience to the law : but the meaning is, —the law is not to punish the righteous, that make conscience of their ways, but the wicked, that will not other-

wise be restrained :” v. 321.—9. *Millenaries*. “ But I must do more than barely tell you, that the gloss and exposition upon this prophecy (Rev. xx. 2), which hath got the deepest root, and the highest seat in the hearts and estimations of very many in these times, and carrieth the greatest cry with it, is the opinion of the Chiliasts of old, refined by the Millenaries alate, which take this matter about the thousand years, strictly and exactly according to the very letter; an opinion so strange to me, that, I must confess, I could not but make it a sad omen and presage a good while ago, what opinions we should fall into in time, when such an opinion as this could be so swallowed down and entertained, as I saw it was :” vol. vi. 167.—10. *Jesuits*. “ I cannot but admire the impudency, as well as abhor the wickedness, of the Jesuits’ doctrine of equivocation: a doctrine that hath put on a whore’s forehead, a brazen face, and the devil’s impudency itself, before men, as well as it hath clothed itself with horrid abominableness before God. It is a doctrine, that teacheth men to lie, and yet will maintain they lie not. And by their doctrine there can be no lying, forswearing, or deceiving in the world, though they lie, forswear, and deceive never so deeply. A trick beyond the devil’s: he turns truth into a lie: these can turn a lie into truth. A Popish priest or Jesuit is brought before a Protestant magistrate. He puts him to his oath; Are you a Popish priest or a Jesuit? They will swear *No* roundly, and make no bones of it; having this reserve in their mind, I am not a priest to you, or I am not a priest of the English church; or I am not a Jesuit to tell you, or be your confessor:—or some such lurking reserved thought in his mind. This man hath not told a lie, though he speaks not a word true: he hath not taken a false oath, though he has sworn falsely. As the devil changeth himself into an angel of light, so these a lie into the truth. But as he is a liar still, and is most dangerous, when he seems a good angel, so is their lie, when they thus clothe it with the pretence of truth. ‘ Into their secret let not my soul come; and with their counsel, my glory, be not thou united :” vol. i. 191.—11. *Deniers of the necessity or sanctity of set-days, &c.* “ The consideration of these ends of the sabbath, may serve to assoil that controversy about the antiquity of its institution;—viz. Whether its institution was not before the giving of the law? In the

dispute about the sabbath, a-foot in England some years ago, there were some went so high (shall I say?) or so low, as to maintain, that our sabbath was not of divine institution, but ecclesiastical only; not ordained by God, but the church. And to make good this assertion, they would persuade you, that there was no sabbath instituted before the giving of the law. None from the beginning, but that the world was two thousand five hundred and thirteen years without a sabbath: for so long it was from the creation to Israel's going out of Egypt: and that then, and not before, was the law for the sabbath given:" vii. 385.—“In the afternoon, the city-ministers met together to consult whether they should preach on Christmas-day, or no. Among them were only Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, and myself, of the Assembly. And when Mr. *Calamy* began to incline that there should be no sermon on that day, and was like to sway the company that way, I took him aside, and desired him to consider seriously upon these things. 1. That one sermon preached at the feast of the dedication, which had but a human original, John x. 2. That the thing in itself was not unlawful. 3. That letting the day utterly fall without a sermon, would most certainly breed a tumult. 4. That it is but this one day; for the next, we hope, will be resolved upon about it by authority. 5. That he, being an Assembly-man, and advising them, would bring an odium undeserved upon the Assembly. With these things I prevailed with him to change his mind; and so he also prevailed with the company; and it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, only some four or five gainsaying, that they would preach, but withal resolving generally to cry down the superstition of the day;" vol. xiii. 91.—12. *Anarchists*. “Unhappy the sheep that are without a shepherd; like a man without conscience to govern and restrain him. Unhappy family, where there is no restraint: such was Eli's.—Unhappy city where is no restraint: such was Sodom:—there was none to restrain it. And in the last times of the city, when the reins of government were gone, what murders, robberies, oppression, confusion, overspread all! And, in a word, conceive what outrages and uproars would be in London, with whoring, thieving, plundering, if there were no government to restrain:" vol. v. 319.—13. *Opposers of Liturgies*. “It is an opinion,



then, that I can rather wonder at, than understand, that bids when we pray, Say not, Our Father. As I have often grieved to see the neglect and disuse of the Lord's prayer, and to hear the reproach that some have cast upon it,—so have I, as seriously as I could, considered what ground these have had for the disusing of it : and to this hour I rest admiring, and no way satisfied, why they should refrain it, when Christ hath commanded the use of it, as plain as words can speak, ' After this manner pray ye ;' and again, ' When ye pray, say :' " vi. 423.—“ We have need to be taught to pray. There is no doing spiritual work, but according to the pattern in the mount. God prescribed forms :” vol. vi. 421.

XIX. Is not Dr. Lightfoot somewhat *cabalistic in interpreting* various passages of the Old Testament?—1. “ Joseph dieth a hundred and ten years old, having lived to see Ephraim's children to the third generation ; that is, to the third generation from Ephraim, or fourth from Joseph : and to this, the great ם in the שלשים, Gen. i. ver. 23, seemeth to point, to teach us to construe this to the greatest extent,—namely, to the third from Ephraim ; as the like is expressed of Manasseh :” ii. 107.—2. “ In the thirty-fifth verse of this chapter (Exod. x), the letter *nun* is written the wrong way in the word בזסע, ‘ when the ark set forward ;’ and so is it also in the fifth verse of the next chapter, in the word במתאזנים, ‘ they became as murderers.’ In the former is hinted, as the Jews observe, God's gracious turning back towards the people ; in the latter, the people's ungracious turning away from God :” ii. 127.—3. “ There is the letter א in the very first word of the book Leviticus, ויקרא written less than all his fellows : and it seemeth, by such a writing, to hint and intimate, that though this were a glorious oracle, yet was it small in comparison of what was to come, when God would speak to his people by his own Son, whom the ark, mercy-seat, oracle, did represent :” ii. 120.—4. “ Some Canaanites are overcome ; here appeareth some glimpse of the performance of God's promise, but the people turning clean back again, they begin to murmur. Here the strange word העליתנו Numb. xxi. ver. 5, and the scornful word הקלקל, used for *manna*, showeth their scornfulness and fuming :” vol. ii. 132.—5. “ In the fifth commandment, in this his rehearsal, there is an addition or two more than

there is in it in Exod. xx. ; and the letter *teth* is brought in twice, which, in the twentieth of Exodus, was only wanting of all the letters :” vol. ii. 136.—6. “ It cannot pass the eye of him, that readeth the text in the original, but he must observe it, how, in Deut. xxix. ver. 29, the Holy Ghost hath pointed one clause, לנו ולבנינו ‘ to us and to our children belong the revealed things,’ after an extraordinary and unparalleled manner: to give warning against curiosity in prying into God’s secrets; and that we should content ourselves with his revealed will :” vol. ii. 157.—7. “ A great-grandchild of Moses is the first idolatrous priest, but Moses’s name is written מנשה, ‘ Manasseh,’ (Judges xviii.) with the letter ך above the word; partly, for the honour of Moses, in the dust; and partly, because this his grandchild’s actions were like Manasseh’s actions, the king of Judah :” ii. 148.—8. “ Gehazi’s covetousness brings upon him Naaman’s leprosy. The text hath divinely omitted a letter in one word, that it might the more brand him with a blot for this his villany; ‘ I will run after Naaman,’ saith he, ‘ and will take of him מומה, a blot :’ instead of מאומה *somewhat* :” vol. ii. 225.—9. “ A letter of note and remarkableness in the word למרבה ‘ Lemarbeh’ (in ver. 7), Mem clausum,—to show the hid-deness and mysteriousness of Christ’s kingdom, different from visible pomp—and to hint the forty years before Jerusalem’s destruction, when this dominion increased through the world :” ii. 252.—10. “ The twenty-four heads of the courses of the priesthood, and the high-priest, that should have been serving God at the altar, turning their backs upon it, and adoring the sun (Ezek. viii. 16), משתחויתם לשמש; a very strange-framed word, to express their strange abominableness :” ii. 293.—“ For all the chapters in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the fifth or last excepted, are alphabetical,—or every verse beginning in order, with the letters of the alphabet, and the third chapter doing it three times over. Only in all the alphabets, but that of the first chapter, there is a dislocation of the two letters ך and ך; for, whereas ך should properly be set before, according to the constant method of the Hebrew alphabet, it is not so here, but ך set before, and ך after. The prophet, by this alteration of the letter ך, which in numbers denoteth seventy, aimeth, as it may be well supposed, to hint the seventy years that this desolation of Jerusalem, to which it was now come, should

last:" ii. 298.—12. " Observe that in 2 Sam. xi. 21, ' Who smote Abimelech the son of Jerubbesheth ?' Abimelech was the son of Jerubbaal, or Gideon, as you may see, Judg. ix. where you have Abimelech's story. Why, then, does the Holy Ghost here misname Gideon, and, instead of Jerubbaal, call him Jerubbesheth ? The reason is, because Baal was the general name of an idol ; and the Holy Ghost, in detestation of idolatry, changeth the name *Baal*, which signifieth a *Lord*, into *Besheth*, which signifies *shame*. And he calleth Gideon ' Jerubbesheth,' instead of ' Jerubbaal,' because Gideon had made an idol, that all ' Israel went a whoring after,' Judg. viii. 27 : " vol. vii. 556.—13. " The first letter in זכרו ' zicru,' ' remember,' is a great letter, and above ordinary size ; either, as some say, to intimate to them the great cause they had to remember the law ; or, as others, to call upon them to remember the five books of Moses, and the book of the prophets, and the book of Hagiographa, according to the great Zain's numeral, which is seven : " vol. vi. 203.—14. " You have an example of the eternal duration of the very little letter Jod, in Deut. xxxii. 18 ; where in the word תשי, it is written even less than itself, and yet it stands immortal in that its diminutive state unto this very day, and so shall for ever : " vol. xi. 99.—15. " This matter was done in the seventh year of Darius, or Artaxerxes, the same year that Ezra (chap. x.) came to Jerusalem, as the text seemeth to carry it on ; unless, by the strange writing of the word לדרוש ver. 16, the Holy Ghost would hint Darius's tenth.—Let the learned judge : " vol. ii. 324.

It is almost unnecessary to advert to Dr. L.'s political conduct : it has long been forgotten in the piety and learning of the theologian. During the collisions of the civil war, Lightfoot conformed to " the powers that were : " several of his pieces were dedicated to the parliamentary leaders ; and one work is inscribed to Oliver Cromwell. The Protector's patronage, extended to the Polyglot Bible, by permitting the paper to be imported duty-free, would powerfully tend to conciliate the gratitude of scholars, and would naturally be attended with complimentary acknowledgment. The lovers of social order, might, in complying with the necessity of the times, have urged in their defence, that when the kingly authority had been withdrawn, no other

resource was left than to seek refuge under any form of government, sufficiently vigorous to oppose a barrier to the tide of anarchy and blasphemy, which threatened inundation to the whole country. Lightfoot was the son of a Puritan father; and if, in advanced life, he might evince a disposition to hazard some alterations in ecclesiastical discipline, every candid judge of human nature will make due allowance for the force and bent of early education. Happy would it have been for England, if, in those turbulent periods, all politicians had resembled the character of Lightfoot; who, as far as party spirit is an object of censure, did in reality, stand alone. If the immorality of self-called saints; if the wild ignorance of enthusiasm; if the ravings of atheism and blasphemy; if the turbulence of those who were impatient of civil restraint; could, in any degree be repressed by the weapons of reason, or by the efficacy of example;—those arguments might have been derived from the writings of Lightfoot, and that example was exhibited in his conduct. His upright and conscientious character was honoured by general regard. Although in the Assembly of Divines, he thwarted, by the most scriptural arguments, the favourite speculations of the Presbyterian parliament,—they scrupled not to confer upon him, as a tribute due to his abstract merit, the rectory of Munden and the mastership of Catharine-Hall. At the restoration of monarchy, he was confirmed in the tenure of his situations, ecclesiastical and academic, by the urgent interference of the primate Sheldon, who, though a total stranger to his person, was able to appreciate his piety, learning, and moderation. What more satisfactory vindication can be alleged for those, whose lot is cast in times of national commotion,—than that, like Lightfoot, they have commanded the esteem of contending parties; and where hatred and rancour were most virulent, have so comported themselves as to irritate no enemies, but conciliate many friends. But on this point, let us listen to the observations of former apologists: “He was born in that age, when the strain of opinions in divinity ran generally another way, after the first foreign reformers, before things were so calmly, impartially, and perhaps judiciously examined. He lived, and publicly appeared, principally when factions grew high, and were in great ferment; when the populacy, the worst of masters, all being done, the

most ignorant, selfish, and ungenerous, were courted; when public accusation was the fashion, and all things found fault with, right or wrong; when affairs were carried with clamour, confidence, and violence, with pretences or appearances of religion and reformation, backed with a present success. And it was no wonder, if some good and innocent men, especially such as he who was generally more concerned about what was done in Judea, many centuries since, than what was transacted in his own native country, by the intrigues and designs of enthusiastical or hypocritical politicians; I say, it is no wonder, if some such were borne away to some compliances in some opinions and practices in religious and civil matters, which they themselves afterward, upon more sedate and serious reflection, did not allow. And yet, it seems, his innocency from any self-interest or design, together with his learning, secured him from the extravagancies and follies of the demagogues, the people's oracles,—every one of which affected to distinguish and signalize himself by some peculiar doctrine or custom; but in truth, were no more fit for teachers and governors in religion, than mountebanks to compose dispensatories, or to be presidents of colleges of physicians:”

*Bright.*—“ I do not pretend wholly to excuse and justify Dr. Lightfoot in being too much carried away with the late evil times, but only to lessen and mollify the charge. Consider, then, that he was but a man; and so subject to human slips and frailties, as well as others; and that even such who have enjoyed the greatest fame, either for learning or goodness, have, for the most part, had some abatement in their coat of arms. And those great endowments that were in him, and that eminent service he did the church and commonwealth of learning, may justly merit his pardon for any faults, into which either his ignorance or infirmity betrayed him. It was indeed his unhappiness, as well as of many other pious well-meaning men, to live in times of temptation: whereinto if they fell, it was because they were not politicians enough to see the bad consequences of those smooth and fair pretences. I may plead for him, that it was his credulity, not his malice, or any evil design, that made him err. He was carried away with their dissimulation (and there was an apostle once so); and that the more easily, being a man of an innocent and unsuspecting nature, especially when such

goodly things as religion and reformation were so much boasted. And, I make no doubt, he afterward was convinced, how he had been trepanned; and saw his error, as appeared sufficiently, by his ready compliance with the laws and orders of the established church, upon the happy Restoration; and encouraging his sons, also, to the same, who were both conformable men of the clergy. He never was a bigot or a busy officious man, always rather passive than active, unless in the Assembly. And then generally those matters, wherein he stirred, were such points, as in which the very locks of the Presbyterians' strength lay, which he, for the most part, opposed. And certainly, when we consider, how he thwarted their *πρῶτα ψεύδαρα*, their chief principles; arguing against lay-elders, standing for general admittance to the sacrament, for forms of prayers, and many such like,—the Presbyterians could never reckon him truly theirs; and I am apt to think, they wished him more than once out of their Assembly. Indeed he was then rather a man at large by himself, that followed his own studies, than followed any party of men, and promoted true goodness, as far as in him lay. In those times, he particularly made these three or four things his main drift, viz. To beat down enthusiasm, which, he plainly saw, tended to the enervating the authority of the Holy Scriptures; to maintain the honour of learning and a regular clergy; and to show the necessity of keeping up public communion with the national church: whereby unquestionably he did excellent service to the church, in those evil days:—*Strype*.

It now remains, to take a brief review of Dr. Lightfoot's writings. Some time previous to his decease, the booksellers had expressed to him their desire, that he would revise his works for publication: he assented to this wish; but the design was frustrated by his death. The following catalogue of his publications is arranged in chronological order. It is apparently impossible, that books which have no existence, should be formally specified with places and dates; and yet, after a careful consideration, the editor ventures to express his doubts as to the reality of several of the editions, stated by Walchius, Le Long, and Lipenius, to have been printed in England. That the reader may know, what degree of confidence is due, in these inquiries,

to the present editor; he states, that all the pieces and editions, which, in the ensuing enumeration, are designated by Roman numerals and by having their title pages printed in italic, have been *actually seen* by him. Of the foreign editions, to which Walchius and others refer, the editor has not had an opportunity of inspecting any, except those inserted in *Ugolini's* 'Thesaurus;' and *Carpzov's*, 4to. editions of the "Horæ in quatuor Evangelistas," Lips. 1675, and 1684; and of the "Horæ in Acta, Romanos, et in I. epist. ad Corinth." 1679.

I. "*Erubhin: or, Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical, and others; penned for recreation at vacant hours.*" Very small 8vo. Lond. 1629.

The work is dedicated to Sir R. Cotton.

"He published his 'Erubhin,' or 'Miscellanies,' at seven-and-twenty years of age. By the frequent quotations in which book it appears, that he had then read and studied even to a prodigy. For he doth not only make use of divers rabbinical and cabalistical authors, and of Latin fathers; but he seemed well versed in the Greek fathers also, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, &c.; well read in ancient Greek profane historians, and philosophers, and poets, Plutarch, Plato, Homer, &c.; well seen in books of history, ecclesiastical and profane, of our own nation; and, in a word, skilled in the modern tongues, as well as the learned: as is evident from his quotation of the Spanish translation of the Bible, and a Spanish book. And of what worth and value the book itself was, you may guess by the censure, that a man of great learning and wisdom gave of it: I mean that worshipful person to whom he dedicated it,—his patron, Sir Rowland Cotton: who, in a letter to him, upon the receipt of the book (vol. xiii. p. 347), tells this young author, 'That he had read it over, and that there were many rarities; nothing so vulgar that he needed to fear his book's entertainment, unless it lapsed into the hands of an envious or stupid dunce. And that he joyed much in his proficiency:—' *Strype*, vol. i. p. 82.

II. "*A few and new Observations upon the Book of Genesis; the most of them, certain; the rest, probable; all, harmless, strange, and rarely heard of before.*" Lond. 1642. 4to.

“J. Lightfooti ‘Paucas ac novas observationes super librum Geneseos,’ quemadmodum vere inscribuntur, convertit *Sigismundus Hosmannus* in sermonem Germanicum; ac *Jo. D’Espagne* gesamten schriften und wercken, Francofurti, 4to. 1699. adjecit.”—*Walchius*, *Bibl. Theol.* vol. iv. p. 457.

This work is inscribed to “My dear and loving countrymen of the county of Stafford, and other my friends residing in the city of London.” Dr. L. was at this time occupied in drawing up his “Harmony of the Four Evangelists.” The booksellers being unwilling to hazard the printing of more extended compositions, he published these “Few Observations,” which had occurred to him while compiling that greater work; considering them as so many sparks which had flown from the anvil of his “Harmony,” and as so many forerunners of his Biblical labours.

III. “*Elias Redivivus: a Fast Sermon* (on Luke i. 17.) preached before the House of Commons, 29th March, 1643.”

This Sermon, in *Watt’s* catalogue of Lightfoot’s Works, is counted as two; 1. *Elias Redivivus, a Fast Sermon*, Lond. 1643. 4to: 2. *Sermon on Luke i. 17.* Lond. 1643, 4to.

In this discourse, a parallel is drawn between the ministry of the Baptist, and the Reformation, which, in Lightfoot’s judgment, it was the duty of the parliament to effect in the English nation.

Dr. Grey alludes to a passage in this sermon, in a note upon *Hudibras*, part 3. canto 2. verse 629; *And learn’d th’ Apocryphal Bigots*:—“Their bigotry against the Apocrypha was so remarkable, that even the most learned amongst them, when opportunity offered, had a fling at it: and amongst the rest, the learned Dr. Lightfoot, then member of the Assembly of Divines: ‘Thus sweetly and nearly’ (says he) ‘stood the two Testaments joined together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that *the wretched Apocrypha* does thrust in between: like the two cherubims betwixt the Temple Oracle, they would touch each other, the end of the law with the beginning of the Gospel, did not *this patchery of human inventions* divorce them asunder.’”—See *Todd’s Life of Walton*, vol. i. p. 224.



IV. "*A handful of Gleanings out of the Book of Exodus.*"  
Lond. 4to. 1643.

This work is dedicated to the inhabitants of Bartholomew-Exchange, who had invited Dr. L. to be their Minister, upon his quitting Ashley, in Staffordshire, and settling in London, for the purpose (apparently) of attending the Assembly of Divines: See vol. i. page viii.

V. "*The Harmony of the Four Evangelists, among themselves and with the Old Testament; with an explanation of the chiefest difficulties both in language and sense: Lond. 4to. Part I. from the beginning of the Gospels to the baptism of our Saviour; 1644. Part II. from the baptism of our Saviour to the first Passover after: 1647. Part III. from the First Passover after our Saviour's baptism to the second: 1650.*"

*Lipenius* (vol. 1. p. 639.) speaks of a Latin edition, *folio* and *quarto*,\* Lond. 1655. *Le Long* designates the "Harmony" as *folio*,† Lond. 1655. 1644. 1650.—*Walchius* (vol. iv. p. 886) says, "Io. LIGHTFOOTI *Harmonia quatuor Evangelistarum tum inter se, tum cum Veteri Testamento, una cum explanatione præcipuarum difficultatum, quæ tum in lingua, tum in sensu, occurrunt, Londini, MDCLV.† fol. Antea autem illa Anglicè lucem adspexit, inscripta, "Harmony of the IV Evangelists," Londini, MDCXLIV. MDCL. 4. quod opus tribus partibus constat, et usque ad secundum pascha perductum est. Promiserat quidem auctor quinque illius partes; duæ posteriores autem lucem haud viderunt. Qualem singularem eruditionem Lightfootus in aliis ingenii sui monumentis monstravit, tali et *Harmonia* hæc se commendat."*—*Walchius* supposes (guided by *Lipenius*) that there was a Latin edition of the Harmony; and refers the two latter dates of *Le Long* to two former complete English editions, comprising the three parts.

In arranging the "*Harmony of the Four Evangelists*," Dr. L. expended much time and intense labour. The method which he proposed to himself in designing this great work, was, 1. To place the texts in that order which the progress of the history required:—2. To state his reasons

\* The existence of these editions is very disputable.

† The editor doubts whether there be a *folio* edition of the Harmony.

for so disposing them :—3. To give some account of the difficulties in the language of the original, by comparing it with the Septuagint, and with the Greek tongue in general, and by examining translations of the New Testament in various languages : and 4. To explain the meaning of the whole text, by adducing the expositions of commentators, ancient and modern.—To this he designed a copious and elaborate preface, in which he purposed, 1. To ascertain the exact year of our Saviour's nativity :—2. To give reasons for the various dislocations, which occur in the Old Testament, that the transpositions in the New Testament might appear less strange :—3. To make a chorographical description of Canaan and the adjoining country :—4. A topographical description of Jerusalem, and of the structure of the Temple :—and 5. To explain, from the writings of Talmudic and heathen authors, the general customs and condition of the Jews—in the times when the Gospel was preached among them.

Many unfortunate causes concurred in impeding Dr. L. from executing and completing a design, which he had so ably conceived. The distracted state of the times was adverse to the exertions of literary men,—more especially of theologians. The intended work must have run out into very considerable extent; a circumstance sufficient to deter the booksellers, who (as Dr. L. complains) were unwilling to undertake any except short pieces, and such as were attended with immediate profit. Neither is it improbable, that, when he originally sketched out his plan, he was little aware of its magnitude; and that some of the subordinate and prefatory parts, would increase into a size, utterly disproportioned to the more immediate work. His intention seems to have been obstructed by the ambitious extent of it; and each part became a distinct publication, without systematic reference to the first-projected undertaking. Thus the Harmony itself consists but of three parts, ending at the second Passover after our Saviour's baptism: they issued from the press at various intervals, and were separated from each other by different works. Not that the purpose, originally conceived, was wholly defeated; but that the various parts of it must be sought in various publications. Thus the arrangement of the texts, and his reasons for that arrangement, will be found in the above-named

three parts of his *Harmony of the Four Evangelists*, in his “*Chronicle and Order of the New Testament*,” and in his “*Rules for a Student of the Holy Scriptures*;” see vol. ii. pp. 43—58. The difficulties of the language and a general interpretation of the sense are, for the most part, comprised in his *Talmudic Hours*. The chorography of Canaan is discussed in the prefaces to his *Talmudic Hours*. The dislocations of the Old Testament constitute his great work, “*The Chronicle and Harmony of the Old Testament*.” The intended topographical description of Jerusalem was afterwards supplied by a map, delineated according to Dr. L.’s conceptions of the city. The description of the Temple forms a separate work; see vol. ix. The history of the Jews in the times when the gospel began, is slightly touched upon, in his “*Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles*,” and in the other pieces, comprised in vol. ix.

Of the three parts of “the *Harmony of the Four Evangelists*,” the first is dedicated to the Earl of Essex; the second, to the members for Staffordshire; the third, to William Cotton, nephew of Dr. L.’s patron, Sir Rowland.

VI. “*A Fast Sermon (on Rev. xx. 1, 2. ‘the Dragon bound,’) preached before the honourable House of Commons, at Margaret’s, Westminster, 26th of August, 1645.*”—4to. Lond.

This sermon is a refutation of the error entertained by the Millenarians.

Watt makes a double reference to this one sermon: “*Sermon on Revelations, xx. 1. 2. Lond. 1645. 4to;*” and “*Fast Sermon, Lond. 1647. 4to.*”

VII. “*A Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles; Chronical and Critical: the Difficulties of the Text explained, and the Times of the story cast into Annals. From the beginning of the Book, to the end of the Twelfth Chapter. With a brief Survey of the contemporary Story of the Jews and Romans.*” Lond. 4to. 1645.

This work is dedicated to the Earl of Essex; and to the county of Stafford, whom he addresses as his “*dear mother.*” The history ends in the third year of Claudius, being the 44th of the Christian era.

VIII. “*Fast Sermon (on Psalm iv. 4.) preached before the*

*House of Commons, in Margaret's, Westminster, 24th of Feb. 1647."*

The text of this Sermon, is, "Commune with your own hearts:" the tendency of the discourse may be gathered from its exordium.

"When I communed with mine own heart, concerning what subject to discourse upon before this honourable and great audience, at this time,—methought this text, when it came to hand, would be very suitable, both for the auditory, and for the occasion, and for the age wherein we live, and for all the age that we have to live in. *First*, For this honourable auditory; for how fitting is it, that they that spend so much time in needful conferences among themselves, about the affairs of church and state, should sometimes be minded of spending some time in the as needful conferences with their own hearts, about the state and affairs of their own souls. *Secondly*, For this solemn occasion: for how impossible is it, that we should either deal with God, or with these weighty things that we have in hand, as we ought to do,—unless we commune with our own hearts, concerning ourselves, and concerning God, and concerning these things; with whom, and about which, we have to deal. *Thirdly*, For this age wherein we live: for how proper an answer and a check is this text, for all the inquisitiveness and censoriousness, that so much raveth and rageth amongst us in these times:—to answer inquisitiveness, by sending men to inquire after their own hearts; and to check censoriousness, by minding men to examine their own selves. And, *lastly*, For our whole age that we have to live: for while we carry our hearts about us, we should carry this duty with us,—I am sure we carry the obligation upon us,—of communing with our own hearts. Thus doth the text suit to us, to our present occasion, and to our present times: the business is, if our heart would but as well and truly suit to the text, and then a perfect harmony and unison were made."

**IX.** *"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."* Lond. 4to. 1647.

This title-page, as given by Bright, differs (though not materially) from that of the first edition, which runs thus : "*The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the Old Testament : the Years observed, and laid down chronically ; and the Books, Chapters, Stories, Prophecies, &c. taken up orderly, as the natural method, and genuine series of the chronology and history do require. With Reasons given of Dislocations of Texts and Stories, where they come : very many remarkable observations upon the text as it goes along : difficulties in the chronology untied : differences in the relating of stories reconciled : and abundance of places in the Old Testament, briefly cleared.*"

The Rev. *T. H. Horne*, in his invaluable work, "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures," observes (vol. ii. p. 476), "In what year the Chronicle, &c. 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 mentioned by Mr. Torshell," &c. Mr. Horne's doubt arises from not having seen the "Chronicle" as a separate publication. Bright and Strype, in their folio edition of Lightfoot's Works, have omitted his prefatory addresses ; one of which, that to Christ's College, is dated *July 22, 1647* ; another, that to the reader, is subscribed, "*From my lodging, in Duck Lane, London, July 23, 1647.*" It appears from a passage in the latter address, that Torshell's Tract, relative to the Harmony of the Old and New Testament, had preceded Dr. L.'s "Chronicle."—The Rev. *G. Townsend* has, from the same cause, fallen into the same error ; when he argues, from Torshell's omission to name the 'Chronicle' of Lightfoot, that the latter work did not attract due attention upon its first publication :—See Preface (p. ii.) to "Old Testament arranged in historical order," &c. a work indispensably necessary to the Biblical Student.

The 'Chronicle' is dedicated to the Earl of Warwick ; Earl of Manchester ; Lord Kimbolton, &c. ; and also contains an

address to the Fellows of Christ's College. It was originally intended as part of a preface to the "Harmony of the Four Evangelists:" see No. 5.—Dr. L. in an address to the reader, gives the following statement of the method which he proposed to himself in drawing up this much-esteemed publication: "What I have done in it, I shall not need to inform the reader; it lies before him: only, let me briefly mention these particulars. 1. That, for the more clear view of the Harmony of the Old Testament, I have carried the series of the text, and the chronicle of the times, together; as the one inferring, enforcing, and confirming the other. 2. In the Chronicle I have set some things to their times only, upon probability and conjecture, and yet not without some ground; but, where-soever the year of the world is affixed, there have I, as I think, either visible certainty of the times from express text, or some certainty from undoubted consequence. 3. In drawing up the series of the texts and books of the Old Testament, I might have eased myself exceedingly, If I would have taken up what Seder-Ham hath done for the one, and what a common opinion of the Jews holdeth out for the other: but I was willing to spare no labour, and to take up all things at the first hand, according as my poor judgment would direct me. 4. I have not disputed questions, either in the chronology, or in the series, but only given my opinion,—not giving my grounds,—for that would have made the volume endless. 5. I have laboured to clear the most difficulties, occurring both in the one and in the other, by a brief setting down of mine own sense, and referring it still to better judgments. 6. I have given brief observations almost continually upon the texts and stories, as they go along, but such as are not commonly obvious, but more rare and unnoted; and which may be, the most of them, useful, and are, I believe, all of them, inoffensive. 7. I have not, nor dare not undertake exactness in what I have done in this matter; but tender it, as, I think, the first, so, I know, the poorest essay, that hath been, or can be made, of so worthy a work.

X. "*The Temple-Service, as it stood in the Days of our Saviour; described out of the Scriptures and the eminentest Antiquities of the Jews.*" Lond. 4to. May 30, 1649.

— Latinè, in vol. ix. of Ugolini's 'Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum.'

The Catalogue of the Bodleian confounds this and No. XI. as one and the same work. The error has been copied by *Watt*, in his ‘*Bibliotheca Britannica*.’

“*The Temple Service*,” was intended to be published with “*The Prospect of the Temple*,” as mutually connected by similarity of subject; *this*, describing the structure of the Temple; *that*, detailing the religious ceremonies. A delay in procuring the *engraving* of a map necessary to illustrate the topography of the Temple, detained the latter work; and caused the “*Temple-Service*” to be published without its intended companion.

XI. “*The Temple; especially as it stood in the days of our Saviour*.” 4to. Lond. 1650.

———— Latinè, in vol. ix. of Ugolini’s ‘*Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*.’

This work is dedicated to Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons. The publication of it (as stated in the preceding number) had been delayed by some difficulties which occurred in procuring the engraving of a map; and was, at last, sent forth without a map; which was not added previously to the folio-edition of the whole works. Dr. L.’s zeal and industry in preparing his ‘*Prospect of the Temple*’ for the press, were somewhat repressed by an incident of a singular nature, which we narrate in his own words: “That very day, whereon I first set my pen to paper, to draw up the description of the Temple, having but immediately before laid aside my thoughts of the description of the land, I was necessarily called out, towards the evening, to go to view a piece of ground of mine own, concerning which some litigiousness was emerging, and about to grow. The field was but a mile from my constant residence and habitation, and it had been in mine owning divers years together; and yet, till that very time, had I never seen it, nor looked after it, nor so much as knew whereabouts it lay. It was very unlikely I should find it out myself, being so utterly ignorant of its situation,—yet, because I desired to walk alone, for the enjoying of my thoughts upon that task, that I had newly taken in hand, I took some directions which way to go, and would venture to find out the field myself alone. I had not gone far, but I was at a loss; and whether I went right or wrong, I could not tell; and if right thither, yet I knew not how to do so farther; and if wrong, I knew

not which way would prove the right,—and so, in seeking my ground, I had lost myself. Here my heart could not but take me to task; and reflecting upon what my studies were then, and had lately been upon,—it could not but call me fool; and methought it spake as true to me as ever it had done in all my life, but only when it called me sinner. A fool, that was so studious, and had been so searching about things remote, and that so little concerned my interest; and yet was so neglective of what was near me, both in place, and in my particular concernment: and a fool again, who went about to describe to others, places and buildings that lay so many hundred miles off, as from hence to Canaan, and under so many hundred years' ruins,—and yet was not able to know, or find the way to, a field of mine own, that lay so near me:” vol. v. p. ix.

XII. “*The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order, of the New Testament.—The Text of the Four Evangelists methodized.—The Story of the Acts of the Apostles analyzed.—The Order of the Epistles manifested.—The Times of the Revelation observed: all illustrated with Variety of Observations upon the chiefest Difficulties, Textual and Talmudical, for clearing of their Sense and Language, with an additional Discourse concerning the Fall of Jerusalem, and the Condition of the Jews in that Land afterward: small folio, Lond. 1655.*”

——“*Harmonia Veteris et Novi Testamenti, cum Chronico,†*” 4to Oxon. (sine anno.) This edition is mentioned by Lipenius, vol. ii. p. 834; who also (p. 12.) speaks of a “*Harmonia† V. et N. Testam.*” folio and quarto, 1665.

The work is inscribed to Oliver Cromwell; and also contains an ‘*Epistle Dedicatory*’ to his Highness’ Honourable Council. It is divided into two parts; the First, comprising the Evangelists; the Second, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Revelation, together with a ‘*Parergon concerning the Fall of Jerusalem, and the Condition of the Jews in that Land after.*’

XIII. “*Animadversiones in Tabulas Chorographicas Terræ Sanctæ.*”

This forms part of the ‘*Prolegomena*’ to Walton’s Polyglot Bible; vol. i. p. 51.

† The existence of these editions is very disputable.



**XIV.** "*Collatio Hebraici Pentateuchi cum Samaritico.*" 1660.

Dr. Lightfoot's collation did not extend (as the Bodleian Catalogue implies) to the *whole* of the Pentateuch; it was confined to Numbers and Deuteronomy. The collation itself is in *Walton's Polyg. Bible*, vol. vi. The Bodleian assigns the year 1660: the more usual date is 1657.

**XV.** "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ I. in chorographiam aliquam terræ Israeliticæ: II. in Evangelium S. Matthæi.*" Cantab. 4to. 1658.

In addition to the general title-page, the Chorographic Remarks on the land of Israel have the following *separate* half-title page: "*Centuria Chorographica, loca quædam terræ Israeliticæ memorabilia perlustrans, face præsertim Talmudica.*"

The Bodleian catalogue (so also *Lipenius*, vol. i. p. 274.) designates this piece as "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in Chorographiam terræ Israeliticæ.*" By thus omitting all allusion to the *Horæ in S. Matthæi Evangelium*, it implies, that the whole work consists of geographical remarks. The date, by an error of the press, is stated to be 1648. The Bod. Catalogue notices the *Horæ* upon the three other Evangelists, as if the respective pieces were *not* prefaced by chorographic observations. These inaccuracies have been transcribed by *Watt*, into his 'Bibliotheca Britannica.'

The '*Centuria Chorographica*' is in vol. v. of Ugolini's '*Thesaurus Sacrarum Antiquitatum.*'

The '*Horæ in S. Matthæum*' are preceded by a short preface, and by a dedication to the students of Catharine Hall; in both of which, Dr. L. points out the utility of perusing the Rabbinic writers in reference to the geography, customs, and phraseology, of the New Testament.

**XVI.** "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in Evangelium S. Marci; quibus præmittitur 'Decas Chorographica, loca nonnulla terræ Israeliticæ perlustrans, ea præsertim, quorum mentio apud S. Marcum.'*" Cantab. 4to. 1663.

The '*Decas Chorographica*' is in vol. v. of Ugolini's '*Thesaurus Antiq. Sacr.*'

This work is preceded by a sort of Talmudic dedication (dated Jan. 1, 1661) to Charles II., who had confirmed the

author in his possession of Much-Munden and Catharine Hall. Dr. L., in the ensuing address, offers his grateful acknowledgments to Archbishop Sheldon, by whose interposition the royal favour had been conciliated.

XVII. "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in Epistolam Primam S. Pauli ad Corinthios; quibus adjuncta sunt quædam capita de usu Bibliorum in conventibus Judæorum sacris, deque Bibliorum versionibus, potissimum Septuaginta Interpretum.*" Cantab. 4to. 1664.

— Amstelodami, 4to. 1677. } Mentioned by *Le Long*, p.  
 — Lipsiæ, 4to. 1679. } 830; *Lipenius*, vol. i. p.  
 470; *Walchius*, Biblioth. Theolog. vol. iv. p. 693.

The *Journal des Sçavans* (vol. 5), in a "Catalogue des livres nouveaux imprimez depuis l'an 1665, jusques à l'an 1677 inclusivement, dont il n'est fait mention dans le Journal des Sçavans," mentions a Paris edition.

This work is dedicated to Sir William Morice (principal secretary of state, and privy-counsellor), who befriended Dr. L. on the restoration of the monarchy.

XVIII. "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in Evangelium S. Johannis. Præmittitur 'Disquisitio Chorographica,' loca quædam terræ Israeliticæ investigans, illa præsertim, quorum mentio apud hunc Evangelistam.*" 4to. Lond. 1671.

*Lipenius* (vol. ii. p. 117) speaks of a Cambridge† edition, 1671.

The '*Disquisitio Chorographica*' is in the fifth volume of *Ugolini's 'Thesaurus Sacr. Antiq.'*

This work is dedicated to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, lord-keeper of the great seal: see vol. i. p. xxi.

XIX. "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in Evangelium S. Lucæ. Præmittuntur 'Chorographica Pauca' de locis, apud hunc Evangelistam nominatis.*" 4to. Camb. and Lond. 1674.

*Lipenius* (vol. ii. p. 197) alludes also to two† prior editions, Cantab. 4to. 1658 and 1663.

The '*Chorographica Pauca*' are in vol. v. of *Ugolini's 'Thesaurus Sacr. Antiq.'*

† The existence of these editions is very disputable.

The *Horæ* on St. Luke's Gospel are dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon.

XX. "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in Acta Apostolorum; et in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos.*"

This is a posthumous publication, edited by Bishop Kidder. The copy in the Bodleian Library, has not a title-page; nor has Kidder's preface any date subjoined. The notes upon the Epistle to the Romans, relate to a few passages in chapters iii. viii. xi. In the preface, Kidder states, that it had been his intention to write the Life of Lightfoot; but that his design was defeated by the death of Dr. L.'s brother, from whom the biographical materials were expected.

*Lipenius* (vol. ii. p. 682.) mentions an edition, 4to. 1679, at Leipsic\* and Amsterdam.

The *Horæ* on the Four Evangelists, together with the Chorographical pieces, were published by *Carpzov*, Lips. 4to.: 1st edition, 1675: 2d edition, 1684. Two indexes are subjoined; 1. Of Scriptures illustrated; 2. Rerum et verborum.

The *Horæ* on the Acts, Romans, and Corinthians were edited by *Carpzov*; 4to. Lips. 1679.

The following extract is from *Walchius*, 'Bibliotheca Theologica,' vol. iv. p. 360.

"LIGHTFOOTI *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in Chorographiam aliquam terræ Israeliticæ in Evangelium Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, et Johannis: in Acta Apostolorum: in quædam capita Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos: in Epistolam Primam Pauli ad Corinthios.* Opus hoc primum prodiit lingua† Anglica, per partes ac diversis annis: deinde etiam Latine conjunctim lucem adspexerunt; I.—'Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in quatuor Evangelistas et Chorographiam terræ Israeliticæ,' Anglice, Londini, MDCXLIV. MDCL.†4. duobus voluminibus: ibidem MDCLV.† fol.—Latine Cantabrigiæ, MDCLVIII. MDCLXXI.†4.—Lipsiæ cura ac studio Io. Benedicti Carpzovii, MDCLXXXIV. 4.—II. 'Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in Acta Apostolorum,' Anglice, Londini,† MDCXLV. 4.—Latine Cantabrigiæ et Amstelodami, MDCLXXIX 4.—Lipsiæ, eodem anno 4. itidem Io. Bene-

\* The Leipsic edition is probably that by *Carpzov*, including the Corinthians.

† The *Horæ* were originally written in *Latin*, and not (as *Walchius* supposes) in *English*.

‡ The existence of this edition is disputable.

dicti Carpzovii operâ.—III. ‘*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in quædam capita Epistolæ ad Romanos et in Epistolam Primam ad Corinthios, quibus adjuncta sunt capita quædam de usu Scripturæ in conventu Judæorum, deque Bibliorum versionibus, potissimum Septuaginta Interpretum,*’ Cantabrigiæ, MDCLXIV. Amstelodami, MDCLXXVII. Lipsiæ, MDCLXXIX. 4.

“*Scrpsit Horas has Lightfootus ea ratione, ut luculenter monstraret, se litteris Hebræis eruditissimum esse, atque ex antiquitate Judaica locis obscurioribus multam lucem adferret: vitiorum tamen, quæ recte reprehenduntur atque emendantur, opus ejus non penitus expers est. Quum enim Lightfootus Rabbinicis atque Talmudicis monumentis nimium tribueret, iisque non semper caute ac prudenter uteretur, factum est, ut non solum sine necessitate testimonia Judæorum recenseret, atque ex illis illustrare vellet, quæ ipsa satis perspicua sunt; sed etiam, rabbinos sequutus, nonnunquam de veritatis via deflecteret.*”

As *Walch*, whose ‘*Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta*’ appeared in 1765, must be supposed to have examined the labours, and thereby corrected the errors, of preceding Bibliographers, it is perhaps unnecessary to refer to *Lipenius* and *Le Long*. But as some discrepancies exist in their respective accounts, it may be advisable to subjoin their statements; that the learned reader may be exempted from the trouble of recurring to books, which are not always at hand. With regard to the ‘*Horæ*’ on the Four Evangelists, *Lipenius* (vol. i. p. 635.) speaks of three editions; Cantab. 4to. 1658: Lond. 1663: Lips. 1675. *Le Long* (whom *Walch* seems to have followed) has the following notice, pag. 830: “*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensæ in quatuor Evangelistas et in Chorographiam locorum quorundam Terræ Sanctæ, quorum fit mentio apud quempiam eorum. Eadem Anglice, 2 voll. in 4to. Londini, 1644—1650. In fol. ibid. 1655. Latine, 4 voll. in 4to. Cantabrigiæ et Londini, 1658—1671. Lipsiæ, 1675.* Of the ‘*Horæ*’ upon ‘the Acts,’ *Lipenius* (vol. i. p. 10.) mentions three editions: Hag. Com. 1678. fol. — Lips. and Amstel. 4to. 1672. *Le Long* (pag. 830.) alludes to the two last mentioned, and speaks of a third edition “*Anglicè, in 4to. Londini, 1645.*”

These “*Hebrew and Talmudic Hours*” of Lightfoot (whom, from his intimate acquaintance with Jewish cus-

toms, Gibbon styles "*a Rabbi,*") have not been received by all critics, with unqualified approbation. The French theologians are less indulgent than the German, in appreciating his Rabbinic researches. "L'auteur s'y propose d'éclaircir le Nouveau Testament par le Talmud et les Rabbin; dessein qui a été désapprouvé avec raison par les meilleurs critiques:" *Niceron, Memoires, &c.* vol. vi. p. 315.

The remarks of *Simon* upon Lightfoot, being more elaborate, may properly claim insertion:— \*

"Enfin il nous faut dire quelque chose des commentaires que Jean Lightfoot a publiez sur la meilleure partie du Nouveau Testament sous le titre de *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*. Ce titre fait assez connoître le dessein de l'Auteur, qui à passé la meilleure partie de sa vie à lire les livres des Juifs, à fin d'entendre mieux les écrits des Evangelistes et des Apôtres, lesquels, ayant été Juifs ont suivi les usages et les façons de parler de ceux de leur nation. Mais après tout, à la reserve de leurs Rites et d'autres choses de cette nature, quelque érudition Rabbinique que cet Anglois fasse paroître dans son ouvrage, les Chrétiens n'en tireront pas un grand secours, s'ils ne joignent à cela l'étude de la Version des Septante, qui est plus utile pour apprendre le stile du N. Testament, étant jointe à une connoissance mediocre de la langue Ebraïque et de la Syriaque, que tout ce grand apparat de Rabbinisme. Il nous a donné des remarques de cette façon sur les quatre Evangiles, sur les Actes des Apôtres and sur l'Epît. 1. de S. Paul aux Corinthiens: mais il est plus exact et plus étendu sur les Evangiles, principalement sur Saint Matthieu, que sur les autres livres. Il met de plus au devant de chaque livre une Chorographie, où il explique selon la même methode les noms des villes et des lieux dont il y est parlé.

"Nous devons donc chercher dans ce commentateur ce que peut être de quelque utilité, pour connoître plus à fond les anciens usages des Juifs. Il est bon, par exemple, de savoir que le verbe Grec βαπτίζειν repond à l'Ebreu טבל qui signifie *plonger*, et que le batême des Juifs ne se fait qu'en plongeant tout le corps dans l'eau, comme les Chrétiens l'observent encore presentement dans toutes les Eglises d'Orient. Les Protestans qui font profession de s'attacher

\* Histoire critique du N. T. p. 797.

à la pure parole de Jesus Christ, sont fort embarrassés quand on leur demande pourquoi ils ne batisent point par immersion, selon l'institution du batême, mais comme on le pratique depuis quelques siècles dans l'Eglise Romaine. Lightfoot, qui étoit instruit de la véritable signification de ce mot, et qui connoissoit de plus à fond les rites des Juifs, n'a pas osé dire que *batiser* signifiât autre chose que *plonger* : mais pour se tirer d'affaire, il a recours à je ne sais quel raisonnement qui ne peut être reçu, puis qu'il suppose que la pratique d'aujourd'hui est manifestement contraire aux propres termes du precepte, et à la pratique de tous les Juifs.

“ Les Protestans sont donc obligés d'avoüer qu'il est arrivé en cela du changement, et qu'ainsi l'Eglise a pu le faire; autrement leur batême seroit nul. Les Catholiques de leur côté ont raison d'inferer de là, que la même Eglise a eu le pouvoir de retrancher la coupe dans la communion, comme une chose qui est purement de discipline, bien qu'elle soit marquée dans l'Évangile comme une espèce de commandement.

“ Les mêmes Protestans n'ont pas moins de difficulté à répondre aux Anabatistes, qui leur demandent avec instance en quel endroit du Nouveau Testament il est commandé de batiser les enfans. Lightfoot tâche d'appuyer cet usage par quelques endroits du Talmud; mais ce qu'il produit, n'est pas capable de satisfaire des gens, qui font conscience de recevoir autre chose que ce qui est expressément dans l'Écriture. Il prétend que le batême des enfans chez les Juifs, lors qu'on recevoit un Proselyte, étant alors connu de tout le monde, il n'étoit point nécessaire d'en faire un commandement dans la loi Evangelique. Jesus Christ, dit-il, a introduit dans la nouvelle loi, le batême de la manière qu'il l'avoit trouvé dans l'ancienne: mais au moins peut on prouver de là qu'il y a des commandemens dont il n'est fait aucune mention dans le Nouveau Testament, et qui ne sont par consequent appuyés que sur la tradition.

“ Il seroit inutile de m'arrêter sur plusieurs autres endroits, où ce commentateur éclaircit doctement par le Talmud et par les Rabbins ce qui appartient aux ceremonies des Juifs. Il s'étend trop à la vérité sur des faits éloignés et de pure curiosité; mais il en traite plusieurs qui sont nécessaires, et entr' autres celui qui regarde la Pâque des

**Juifs.** On prendra garde néanmoins qu'il n'est pas exempt de prejuges ; et qu'il accommode quelque-fois les Rabbins à ses idées, comme on le peut voir dès le commencement son Commentaire sur Saint Matthieu, où il pretend que cet Evangeliste n'a point écrit en Ebreu ou Syriaque. Il cite là dessus plusieurs passages du Talmud qui ne viennent guere à-propos. Saint Matthieu, dit il, ni aucun autre Evangeliste n'ont pu écrire dans une langue qui ne fût pas agréable aux Juifs : ou si nous écoutons les fables de Talmudistes, la langue Syriaque ou Chaldaïque étoit une langue maudite. A quoi bon cette fausse érudition Rabbinique, pour combattre un sentiment qui est fondé sur toute l'antiquité ? Peut on être desagréable à une nation lors qu'on lui parle en sa langue ? Qui a-t-il de plus naturel que ce que Saint Matthieu a fait dans cette occasion ? Il écrit son Evangile pour les Juifs de Jerusalem en Ebreu ou Syriaque, qui étoit la langue qu'ils parloient alors dans cette grande ville.

“ On remarquera de plus, que la critique de Lightfoot est quelquefois trop Rabbinique. Les commentateurs ont trouvé de tous tems des grandes difficultés sur le vers 9. du chap. 27. de Saint Matthieu, où il semble que cet Evangeliste ait mis le nom de Jeremie pour celui de Zacharie. Nôtre auteur croit se tirer d'affaire par un passage qu'il rapporte du Talmud, d'où il prouve que Jeremie étoit autrefois à la tête des Prophéties. Cela étant supposé, il dit que bien que Saint Matthieu ait cité en effet un passage de Zacharie, il l'a rapporté sous le nom de Jeremie, parce qu'il n'a cité sous ce nom que le livre des Prophetes en general, qu'il appelle Jeremie à cause que Jeremie y tenoit le premier rang. Il donne pour exemple de cette expression ces paroles de Jesus Christ dans Saint Luc, ‘ Il falloit que tout ce qui a été écrit de moi dans la loi de Moise, dans les Prophètes et dans les Pseaumes, fût accompli.’ On entend, dit-il, par les Pseaumes tous les livres Hagiographes, parce que les Pseaumes étoient à la tête : *In Psalmis, id est, in libro Hagiographorum, in quo primum obtinuit Liber Psalmorum.* Mais je doute que les personnes, qui ont quelque goût de la critique, soient satisfaites de cette reponse, qui paroît plus ingenieuse que solide.

“ Lightfoot, outre ces Commentaires sur le Nouveau Testament, nous a laissé une Harmonie des quatre Evangiles,

où il est à la vérité moins Rabbin, mais il n'en est pas pour cela plus exact. C'est principalement dans cet ouvrage, qu'il fait connoître son entêtement pour le partie Protestant. Il n'y donne point d'autre version du texte des Evangelies que celle de Beze, à laquelle il a joint de petites notes, et ensuite des explications amples, qui servent de commentaire. Il nous veut persuader des le commencement, que Saint Luc par ces mots, *Ut agnoscas earum rerum veritatem quas auditione accepisti*, a voulu montrer qu'il n'est point defendu aux laïques de lire l'écriture sainte, et que l'ignorance et la foi implicite ne suffisent pas pour être sauvé. *D. Lucas nec illicitum esse laico S. Scripturas evolvere, nec ignorantiam pietatis matrem, nec fidem implicitam sufficere ad salutem videtur credidisse.* Si cet homme n'étoit pas meilleur Rabbin que controversiste, le libraire de Rotterdam, qui a recueilli avec tant de soin des principaux ouvrages, auroit bien perdu sa peine. L'on trouve enfin, à la tête du II. volume de ce recueil, les livres du Nouveau Testament, redigez selon l'ordre et le tems, avec des observations qui meritent d'être luës.

“Je ne dirai rien des premieres éditions, sinon que Lightfoot avoit fait imprimer lui-même en Latin ce que nous avons de meilleur de lui sur le Nouveau Testament. On a depuis reimprimé à Paris son Commentaire sur les Actes des Apôtres et sur la I. Epître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens : ceux de Leipsic ont aussi publié un recueil de ses meilleures pieces, qui est assez commode. Mais la belle édition de Rotterdam, qui contient en deux volumes *in folio* tous les ouvrages de cet Auteur, à la reserve peut-être de ses sermons qui sont en Anglois, et qui ne meritoient pas d'être mis en Latin, a effacé entierement toutes ces éditions.”

A more modern theologian (Mr. ORME, in his 'Bibliotheca Biblica,' pag. 293.) prefers to side with Niceron and Simon, than with Buxtorf and Adam Clarke. “The Talmudical Exercitations partake largely of the unsatisfactoriness, and even silliness, of rabbinical learning, to which Lightfoot attached more importance than he ought, for assistance in interpreting the New Testament. If any man could have made a good use of the works of ancient and modern rabbins, for illustrating the Bible, Lightfoot certainly was the man. But even in his hands, the material is very unproductive; and though we are grateful to him



for the collections which he has made, we can scarce help regretting, that so much labour has been expended to so little purpose."

It was Lightfoot's fate to encounter a third description of critics, who decided upon the nature of his writings, without subjecting themselves to the trouble of perusal: "Ce titre a fait naître d'assez plaisantes idées a quelques controversistes ignorans: car on dit qu' ayant sçu en gros qu'il y avoit un livre nouveau intitulé *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ, Heures Hebraïques et Talmudiques*, ils crûrent que c'étoit un manuscrit trouvé depuis peu par les Bénédictins de la congrégation de St. Maur, et qui convaincroit les hérétiques de l'antiquité des heures canoniales: en un mot ils crûrent qu' on avoit trouvé le breviaire des anciens Rabins, ou celui qu' Elie ordonna aux Carmes de reciter chaque jour a plusieurs reprises:" *Nouvelles de la rep. des lettres*, année 1686, mois d'Avril, art. 4. pag. 413.

**XXI.** "*The WORKS of the Reverend and Learned John Lightfoot, D. D. late Master of Catharine-Hall, in Cambridge.*" 2 vols. folio. Lond. 1684."

This edition was published by the joint care of Dr. *George Bright*, Rector of Loughborough, Leicestershire; and Rev. *John Strype*, M. A.

The first volume was revised and corrected by Dr. Bright, who dedicates it to Mary, Princess of Orange. The dedication is followed by a preface, in which he offers some forcible and learned observations on the utility of the Rabbinic studies, to which Dr. L. devoted the greater part of his literary researches. After the preface, comes a very brief biographical sketch of the author. The more copious materials, relative to the life and studies of Dr. L. are arranged by Strype, in an *Appendix* to Bright's *Life* of the author.

The second volume, edited by the sole care of Strype, is divided into two parts; the first, containing an English translation of the "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*;" the second, Dr. L.'s sermons and discourses. The volume is dedicated to Dr. Henry ———, bishop of London.

It does not clearly appear from Strype's preface, who were the translators of the "*Horæ*:" but, from his omission to name coadjutors, it is most probable, that this honour-

able labour must be ascribed to himself alone: "I hope there will be no occasion to accuse the translation for any defect of care, or faithfulness, or skill; but rather that it may merit some approbation upon all those accounts. The work of a translator chiefly consists in carrying along with him the sense of the author; and, as much as another language will allow, the very air of his expression; that he may be known, and discovered, though he wear the dress and habit of another nation. I trust, *those who undertook* this employment, will be found to have duly attended to both. I will not be so confident, as to vouch it so absolutely free of all mistake, as *if the translators* had been inspired by the author himself: it being morally impossible, in a work of that critical nature and considerable length, not to make a stumble or a slip. It will satisfy reasonable men, I hope, if the errors are but few, and the work be generally accompanied with a commendable diligence. The judicious reader will not like *our pains* the less, that *we* have not much regarded curious and smooth language:" vol. i. p. 131.

The "*John Williams*" (see vol. i. p. 274) who arranged the Chorographical Table of Dr. L.'s works, was afterwards bishop of Chichester.

This edition is noticed in the '*Acta Eruditorum*,' ann. 1686, pag. 120. The reviewer briefly points out the contents of each volume, and bestows his commendation on the learning of the Author.

XXII. "*Opera Omnia: Cura Texelii.*" 2. vols. folio, Roterodami, 1686.

The celebrity which Dr. L. had acquired on the continent, by his '*Hebrew and Talmudic Hours*,' excited a general desire of possessing the other works, more immediately relating to Biblical criticism: and hence arose this edition. *Texelius* was a minister, at Rotterdam. The translation of Lightfoot's English pieces into Latin was the work of several coadjutors, whose names *Texelius* omits. He professes his obligations to Dr. *Jos. Hill*, and to *Kidder*, the former of whom was resident in Rotterdam, while this edition was passing through the press. The Talmudical quotations were examined by a Jew, who (*Texelius* says) was thoroughly conversant in Rabbinic writings.

The Indexes are very copious. *Texelius* omits the Sermons of Lightfoot; but has inserted two Dissertations not contained in the English folio-edition, the Dissertation (1) “on the meaning of the expression *Maran Atha*, and (2) on the improbability of any additional revelation after the sealing of the Scripture canon:” see vol. v. p. 417—468.—The omission of the Sermons is not a matter of regret to Nicéron; “*Ces Sermons ne se trouvent que dans l’édition Angloise; ils n’ont pas paru dignes d’être traduits en Latin; parce que ce sont moins des Sermons, que des projets de Sermons, que l’auteur avoit jetté sur le papier pour soulager sa mémoire; ce qui fait qu’ on y voit en beaucoup d’endroits de l’obscurité et peu de suite:—Memoires, &c. tom. vi. p. 316.*”

A review of *Texelius’* edition may be found in the ‘*Bibliothèque Universelle*:’ vol. i. page 366. The reviewer gives a copious analysis of each volume, and exhibits a summary of each separate piece, with the exception of the ‘*Horæ Talmudicæ*,’ which had already been before the public.—Of this edition the ‘*Acta Eruditorum*’ (1686, p. 269.) most justly observes, “*nitidissimam eam esse, sive typos spectemus, sive chartam, nemo, in eum intuens, ire poterit inficias.*”

### XXIII. *Opera Omnia. 3 vols. folio. Franekeræ, 1699.*

The two first volumes of this edition are a reprint of *Texelius*, under the immediate care of the celebrated Hebrician, *John Leusden*. “*Percurri utrumque volumen (says Leusden), et accurate perspexi omnia Hebraica, quæ inibi occurrunt: neque temere dicam me ultra mille voces Hebraicas correxisse, et pristino nitore restituisset. Etiam textus Latinus in centenis locis est correctus, et quidem in plurimis locis, in quibus sensus a nullo, nisi difficillime, potuit intelligi:”* see vol. i. p. 203.

The third vol. of this edition might, originally, have been purchased separately; for which purpose, it has separate indexes; but it is, now, usually bound up with the second volume. The materials were transmitted by *Strype* to professor *Leusden*, and consist of *twenty-one* tracts:—

“*I. The first tract (vol. x. p. 419.) contains several observations on the version of the Septuagint. Dr. Lightfoot was so fully persuaded of the perfection of the He-*

brew text, even with respect to the smallest points, which he believed to be of Divine institution, that it cannot be expected that he should have any high esteem for that version, which is so different from the Hebrew. His conjectures upon this matter are as follow. He believes, upon the authority of Massechet Sopherim, that five Jews of those who were in Egypt, translated the Law of Moses into Greek, by order of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and without the knowledge of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, who would never have consented to that version, had they been consulted about it. Afterward, the Sanhedrin likewise sent to the king of Egypt, by his order, a copy of the law in the Hebrew; but in it they corrupted thirteen several passages, which might have exposed the Law of Moses to the insults of the heathen, had they not made these alterations. This, according to the Doctor, the Septuagint did, who were only copiers of the law, and not interpreters. Lastly, the Sanhedrin seeing that the Law of Moses was already translated into Greek, and in the hands of the Gentiles, resolved upon translating the whole Bible, for fear it should be done in spite of them; as the law was already by the five Jews of Egypt above mentioned. But instead of rendering it faithfully, they made such a version as was proper to impose on the Gentiles, by means of which they could not dive into the true sense of the law, but only discover, that the Jews, who sought to settle in all the corners of the world, taught nothing in their religion which might hinder them from obtaining the privileges, which they desired in the places where they were inclined to settle. According to this supposition, it is evident that the Doctor is not of their opinion, who thought that the version of the Septuagint was read in the synagogues of the Hellenistic Jews, even in the time of Jesus Christ. He refutes this opinion in the sequel of this tract, and pretends that these very Jews read the law in the Hebrew original. He gives us a large catalogue of the faults of that version, and refutes what Josephus had said in its favour. He observes, that it was never cited by the Rabbins; whereas they frequently cite the version of Aquila: which confirms his opinion, that the Jews never made it for their own particular use, but only to inform the heathen in as much of their religion, as they thought convenient to let them know. II. *The second*

*tract* is a comparison (see vol. x. p. 453.) of the Hebrew text of the twelve minor prophets, with the Greek version, the vulgar Latin, and the Targum. III. *The third* is entitled “*Vestibulum Talmudis Hierosolymitani:*” and contains, in a few words, the explication of the division of the Jews into divers classes; such as those of ‘the Disciples of the Sages,’ or ‘Ecclesiastics,’ and of the ‘people’ or ‘laics’; of the ‘cleric sacrificer,’ and the ‘lay sacrificer,’ &c. IV. *The fourth* (vol. x. p. 473.) is a kind of argument of what is contained in the Jerusalem Talmud: it is very long, though imperfect. V. *Next to this* (vol. x. p. 367) follow several fragments concerning the Holy Land; in which the Doctor explains, how the city of Jerusalem, situated in a rocky and dry soil, and besides being so great, populous, and full of strangers, who resorted thither from all parts, could be supplied with water for such a vast multitude. And what was still more surprising in the case is, that the Jews were obliged by their law to a great many washings, which consumed a prodigious quantity of water. The Doctor almost inclines to think it to have been a kind of perpetual miracle, which God wrought in favour of that people. However he explains the method made use of by the Jews, to furnish themselves with water in so dry a place. Among others there was an officer appointed on purpose, whom we may style ‘the Supervisor of the waters,’ whose business was to take care of the digging of wells, and to look after the public conduits; that so the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the strangers, who came thither at the solemn festivals, might not want water. In the same Tract he explains the ceremonies, which were observed upon the account of the ashes of the Red Heifer. He likewise makes mention of several families of Jerusalem, of the place where Adam was created, and of that where he was buried, and of several other particulars. There are also several geographical remarks on Galilee and the cities thereof, and other places of the Holy Land. VI. *The sixth piece* (vol. iii. p. 433) is a treatise concerning the spirit of prophecy. The author very briefly runs through all the prophets of the Old Testament from Adam, who was the first prophet as well as man, down to the time, wherein the spirit of prophecy entirely ceased among the Jews; which happened, when the canon of the books of the Old Testament was

completed. The Doctor supposes, that the spirit of prophecy ceased likewise under the New Covenant, when the canon of the books of the New Testament was finished. In the same tract, he speaks of the first rise of traditions among the Jews. He believes, that this nation being always used to have prophets, when they ceased, the Jews were willing to supply the defect by imagining, that God had given to their fathers two distinct laws on Mount Sinai, the one written, and the other only oral. This pretended oral law was the source of all manner of wild fancies and errors.

VII. *The seventh tract* (vol. x. p. 524) is a collection of several remarkable things, which happened in the time of Ezra and the grand synagogue, digested into a chronological order, according to the years of the reign of the kings of Persia, and the weeks of Daniel. Among other things he observes, that Ezra was a hundred years old, when he died. He was the son of Seraiah, the Chief Priest, who perished with Jerusalem and the Temple. So that though he were a posthumous son, yet he must necessarily have been fifty years old, at the return from the Babylonish captivity: to which if we add the fifty years which elapsed from that return to the time when Jerusalem and its walls were rebuilt, they will make completely the one hundred years of Ezra's life. The Doctor looks upon it as an unquestionable truth, that he wrote the book which goes under his name. He is not so positive, that he was the writer of the book of Chronicles. But he assures us, that Ezra made no law concerning the canon of scripture; that he did not correct any copies of it; and that he determined nothing with respect to the text. The reason which he assigns for it, is, that the first and principal correction of the Hebrew text, consists in what the Jews call *Keri* and *Chetib*; that is, certain marks to be met with in the margin of the Hebrew copies, to shew, that certain words were to be read otherwise than they were written. Now it seems, that this correction arose from the comparison, which was made between two copies, that of Babylon, and that of Jerusalem. But this correction is very frequently to be met with in the book of Chronicles, and in the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; which Ezra perhaps never saw; or if he had seen them, he could not have confronted two different copies; since it is probable, that at that time there was only the original ma-

nuscript of the authors of those books. VIII. *The eighth tract* (vol. iii. p. 445) is a fragment of a chronological history of the School or Academy, which the Jews erected at Jabne, by the permission of Titus Vespasian, after the destruction of Jerusalem. IX. *The ninth* (vol. x. p. 532) contains a few Talmudical notes on the books of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua. X. *Next follow* a few additions to our Author's Hebraical and Talmudical Hours on St. Matthew xi. XI. *The next piece* is a sermon preached at Ely, in 1674, (vol. vi. p. 85) wherein he explains that celebrated passage in St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 3, 'Know ye not, that we shall judge angels?' The Doctor is of opinion, that when St. Paul says, that 'the saints shall judge the world'; it ought to be understood of Christian magistrates, who, after the establishment of Christianity, should become the natural judges of men; and that those who should judge the angels, are the apostles and the first ministers of the Gospel, who, by their ministry, should condemn the wicked angels, and overthrow their empire in the world. XII. *Then follow* the Speech and other Academical exercises of our Author (vol. v. p. 389) when he was chosen Vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge. At the same time, two questions were proposed for a Doctor of Divinity's act, on which Dr. Lightfoot was obliged to give his opinion by reason of the indisposition of the Professor, who should have moderated. The questions were, 'Whether the state of innocence was a state of immortality,' and 'Whether eternal life was promised in the Old Testament.' Both which, the Doctor maintained in the affirmative. XIII. *Then follows* (vol. i. p. 411) a small fragment of the history of the creation. XIV. *The fourteenth piece* (vol. i. p. 415) contains an account of the journeys and encampments of the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt. XV. *The next* (vol. i. p. 423) is a short explication of the four first chapters of the visions of the prophet Hosea. The Doctor is of the same opinion with those who believed, that the command which God gave to that prophet to marry a wife of whores, is no more than a parable. XVI. *In the next* (vol. iii. p. 425) he examines whether the repast in which Christ (John xiii. 27, 30) gave the sop, which he had dipped, to Judas, was the Passover or not. He maintains the negative, grounding his opinion chiefly on what St. John says,

(chap. .xiii. i.) who being about to relate what happened at that time, begins by observing, 'that it was at Bethany before the feast of the Passover.' XVII. *The next piece* (vol. iii. p. 431) is an examination of the question, whether St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, is the author of the Apocalypse: which Dr. Lightfoot maintains against Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, and other learned men who are of the contrary opinion. XVIII. Then follows (vol. i. p. 444) a collection of the promises made to the Jewish Church, in the prophets, and which are not to be fulfilled till the last times. XIX. The next (vol. x. p. 553) is an examen of the liturgy ascribed to St. James: the Doctor proves this to be spurious. XX. *The twentieth piece* (vol. viii. p. 303) is a fragment of the Roman and Christian History, and of the affairs and principal persons, of the four first centuries of Christianity. In the first chapter, he refutes the history of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. He observes in the third, that the emperor Nerva prohibited the making any man a Eunuch, and the marrying of a kinswoman. XXI. The volume concludes with a *few* letters from John Buxtorf, and some other learned men, to Dr. Lightfoot." [These and *other* letters are inserted in vol. xiii. pp. 345, &c. of this edition.] "In these letters, we find among other particulars, that in the year 1656, Monsieur Le Moine, who was then minister at Roan, and afterwards professor of Divinity at Leyden, sent word into England, that the edition of Josephus which he was about, was near finished, and immediately to be put to press. Yet above thirty years after, no edition appeared; nor so much as the least token of any such thing was found in the library of Monsieur Le Moine, after his death. Some have supposed, that this work was stolen; and others, that it was not so far advanced, as to be ready for a publication." (See "A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical," vol. vii. p. 75.)

Of the preceding twenty-one tracts, the twelve first were, originally, composed in Latin: the others, written in English, were translated into Latin, for Leusden's edition; by the Rev. Mr. BOR, a friend of the Editor.

XXIV. *Some Genuine Remains of the late reverend and learned Dr. John Lightfoot.* Lond. 8vo. 1700.

This is the third and last memorial (see No. XXI. and



**XXIII.**) which Mr. Strype has left of his solicitude to promote the reputation of Lightfoot, by superintending the publication of his writings. The volume is dedicated to Dr. John More, bishop of Norwich. In the preface, Strype considers Dr. L. in the characters of scholar and divine, gives some account of his conduct in the Assembly of Divines; and adduces many instances of his zeal as a Christian, to oppose the heretical and immoral opinions, which were prevalent in those times. The materials of the volume itself consist of three tracts. The *first* tract is entitled (see vol. ii. p. 3.) “*Rules for a Student of the Holy Scriptures;*” in which Dr. L. shews the method of reading the Old and New Testament, according to the historical order of time. The *second* tract consists of *Meditations upon some abstruser points of divinity, and explanations of divers difficult places of Holy Scripture.* These are extracts from many of his manuscript sermons, which were never printed; they are arranged into three decades: see vol. v. p. 289. The *third* tract comprises two discourses, 1. Upon the *Holy Catholic Church*; 2. Upon the *Communion of Saints.* See vol. v. p. 37—82.

**XXV.** “*The whole Works.*” 13 vols. octavo. London, 1822—5. Edited by the Rev. John Rogers Pitman, M. A.

Since the death of Lightfoot, there has elapsed a period of 150 years. During that interval, his reputation has not declined: though Rabbinic literature has been more minutely explored, the utility of his labours is generally acknowledged; his name is familiar to every Theologian, not merely among his countrymen, but even among continental scholars; and all commentators on the Holy Scripture have drawn, amply and gratefully, from his Talmudic researches. That the whole works of a divine whose writings are universally admired by all biblical critics, should never yet have been collected into one uniform edition; is not this a considerable reproach even to the country which gave him birth? To supply this chasm in English theology, is the purpose of this edition. The attempt, though imperfectly executed, is at least meritorious; and may have some claim upon the approbation of scholars, even from its adventurous boldness. An editor whose know

ledge of the Hebrew has been confined to the Old Testament, cannot be deemed competent for the just performance of so important an undertaking: but a sufficient period of time has elapsed, in which scholars, conversant in Rabbinic literature, have had ample opportunity to stand forth. If they have declined the toil, let it at least be the consolation—if not the praise—of meaner and humbler men, that they have not intruded into an arena, where the able were contending; that the very effort, though feeble, may serve to direct public attention to the erecting of a worthier monument to the fame of Lightfoot; that even errors and imperfections are salutary warnings to subsequent editors; and that it is an honourable failure, to fail in a difficult and noble enterprise.

In arranging the Talmudical quotations, the editions of Bright and Leusden have been carefully compared. Where they differed, the editor has been able, in numerous instances to correct the mistake; but in discrepancies, which exceeded his limited knowledge of the Rabbinic idiom, he deemed it safe to retain the readings of Leusden. Throughout the whole of the work, indexes are dispersed, in suitable places; as the reader will observe by examining the comparative contents of the respective volumes. A more particular attention has been directed to the indexes, 1. Of Talmudic words, p. 353; and 2. Of Scriptures illustrated, pp. 305—352; the former of which has been augmented by the accession of more than a thousand references; the latter is entirely new, and very copious. In the progress of the work, it occurred to the Editor, that references to the paging of the English folio-edition might be useful: these commence at page 243 of vol. vi. and are continued through vol. vii. at the commencement of each sermon. From the beginning of vol. vii. an additional reference is made to the paging of Leusden's edition.

As the Editor has exerted the most conscientious care, that the following volumes may have the merit of accuracy; he cannot but regret that his efforts have been so often impeded not merely by that lassitude, which insensibly blunts the eye during the labour of correcting the press; but by his previous unacquaintance with the Rabbinic authors. To excuse our own faults by adverting to the greater mistakes of others, is an ungraceful apology; otherwise the Editor might allege, and with strict truth, that the errata of

the folio-edition are far more numerous than those of its humble successor.\*

But whatever may be the defects of this edition, there is at least one honourable distinction to which it prefers a just claim—that it contains many additional materials,—some, not comprised in the edition of Bright and Strype,—some, now, for the first time, committed to the press. For the clearer statement of these particulars, it is necessary to exhibit the contents of each volume in a general synopsis, which, at the same time, may serve as a useful reference to the disposition and arrangement which, in the present edition, have been made of Dr. Lightfoot's various publications.

### VOLUME I.

	<i>Page</i>
Dedication to the Bishop of London . . . . .	iii
Preface to the Octavo Edition . . . . .	v
Dr. Bright's Dedication to the Princess Mary . . . . .	1
Dr. Bright's Preface to the Reader . . . . .	5
Author's Life . . . . .	43
Strype's Appendix to 'Author's Life' . . . . .	63
Strype's Dedication of Vol. II. to the Bishop of London	127
Strype's Preface to Vol II. of Folio Edition . . . . .	130
† Strype's Dedication of 'Lightfoot's Genuine Remains' to the Bishop of Norwich . . . . .	143
† Strype's Preface to 'Genuine Remains' . . . . .	145
† Preface to the Edition by Texelius . . . . .	198
† Preface to the Edition by Leusden . . . . .	203
† Strype's Preface to the 3d Vol. of Leusden's Edition	204
General Index to Lightfoot's Works . . . . .	209
Chorographical Table to Lightfoot's Works . . . . .	274
Index of Texts illustrated . . . . .	305
Appendix to Ditto . . . . .	319

\* At the end of the second volume, Strype observes, "Since the printing of the former errata before the Indexes, this following more perfect collection of errors has come to hand, which is here exhibited for the reader's further advantage in the use of this volume. These are the chief mistakes in the Chorographical pieces. There are divers in the Exercitations, as mispointings; and, particularly errors in the Hebrew letters of a like shape, as  $\gamma$  for  $\delta$ , and  $\kappa$  for  $\lambda$ , and  $\psi$  for  $\chi$ , &c. and vice versa: which a judicious and skilful reader will easily amend." The editor has not time for the labour of re-examining all the volumes, for the purpose of drawing up a list of errata; and therefore must content himself with requesting the reader to expunge note <sup>m</sup>, at pag. 54. of vol. iv.; *Jerusalamy* (or *Yerushlemey*,) being a *Targum*.

† Not contained in the English folio-edition.

	<i>Page</i>
† <i>General Index</i> of Texts illustrated . . . . .	321
† <i>Index</i> of Talmudic Words explained by Lightfoot	353
<i>Index</i> of Greek Words . . . . .	367
† <i>Battle</i> with a Wasp's Nest . . . . .	371
† <i>Three Letters</i> from <i>Duckfield</i> to <i>Strype</i> . . . . .	425

VOLUME II.

† <i>Index</i> to Rules for a Student of the Holy Scriptures	v
† <i>Index</i> to the Harmony and Chronicle of the Old Testament . . . . .	vii
† <i>Index</i> of Chapters to the Observations upon Genesis	xiv
† <i>Index</i> of Sections to the Gleanings from Exodus	xv
† <i>Rules</i> for a Student of the Holy Scriptures . . . . .	3
† <i>Epistle Dedicatory</i> to the Earls of Warwick and Manchester . . . . .	61
† <i>Address</i> to Christ's College . . . . .	65
† <i>Address</i> to the Reader . . . . .	69
<i>Harmony and Chronicle</i> of the Old Testament	71
<i>Observations</i> on Genesis . . . . .	329
† <i>Address</i> to Staffordshire-men, residing in London	331
<i>Gleanings</i> from Exodus . . . . .	351
† <i>Address</i> to the Inhabitants of St. Bartholomew-Exchange . . . . .	353
† <i>De Creatione</i> . . . . .	411
† <i>Itinera et Mansiones</i> Israelitarum in exitu ex Ægypto	415
† <i>Expositio</i> 4 priorum Cap. Proph. Hoseæ . . . . .	423
† <i>Promissiones</i> Divinæ, quæ Judaicæ Ecclesiæ datae, et ultimis diebus, &c. . . . .	444
† <i>Chronological Table</i> , intended as a companion to reading Lightfoot's Chronicle of the Old Testament . . . . .	445

VOLUME III.

<i>Harmony, Chronicle, and Order</i> , of the New Testament . . . . .	1
† <i>Dedication</i> to Oliver Cromwell . . . . .	3
† <i>Epistle Dedicatory</i> , to his Highness's Honourable Council . . . . .	4
<i>Address</i> to the Reader . . . . .	6
<i>Harmony and Order</i> of the Four Evangelists . . . . .	17

† Not contained in the English folio-edition.

	<i>Page</i>
Harmony and Order of the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles and the Revelation . . . . .	179
Parergon concerning the Fall of Jerusalem, and the condition of the Jews in that land after . . . . .	373
† Index to the Harmony of the New Testament . . . . .	413
† Index to the Parergon concerning the Fall of Jerusalem . . . . .	423
† De Coena Christi ultima . . . . .	425
† An Johannes Evangelista sit auctor Apocalypseos . . . . .	431
† De Spiritu Prophetiæ . . . . .	433
† De Academia Jafnensi . . . . .	445

## VOLUME IV.

Erubhin: or, Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical . . . . .	1
Dedication to Sir Rowland Cotton . . . . .	3
Address to the Reader . . . . .	5
Index to the Erubhin . . . . .	55
The Harmony of the Four Evangelists, among themselves, and with the Old Testament: <i>Part the First</i> ; from the beginning of the Gospels to the Baptism of our Saviour . . . . .	87—331
† Dedication to the Earl of Essex . . . . .	89
Epistle to the Reader . . . . .	93
Prolegomena; relative to the age of the World, at our Saviour's birth . . . . .	97
The Harmony of the Four Evangelists, among themselves, and with the Old Testament: <i>Part the Second</i> ; from the Baptism of our Saviour to the first Passover after . . . . .	333
† Dedication to the County, and Members, of Stafford . . . . .	335
† Address to the Reader . . . . .	339

## VOLUME V.

The Harmony of the Four Evangelists: Part III. . . . .	1
Dedication to W. Cotton, Esq. . . . .	3
Address to the Reader . . . . .	7
† Index to the <i>Sections</i> of 'The Harmony of the Four Evangelists' . . . . .	253
† Index of <i>Texts</i> elucidated in 'The Harmony of the Four Evangelists' . . . . .	283

† Explanation of Divers difficult Places of Holy Scripture . . . . .	287
† Index to the 'Explanation,' &c. . . . .	385
† Exercitia Academica . . . . .	387
† Preces et Oratio, Quibuscum, &c. . . . .	389
† Status Integritatis fuit status Immortalitatis . . . . .	401
† Vita æterna promissa fuit sub Veteri Testamento . . . . .	405
† Concio ad Clerum de 'Maran Atha' . . . . .	414
† Disputatio, an, post canonem Scripturæ consignatum, novæ revelationes sint expectandæ . . . . .	455
† In præfatam questionem carmen auctoris . . . . .	468

## VOLUME VI.

## Exposition of three select Articles of the Apostles' Creed :

1. He descended into Hell . . . . .	3
† 2. The Holy Catholic Church . . . . .	37
† 3. The Communion of Saints . . . . .	63

## Sermons.

Acts, xvii. 31 : The great assize . . . . .	346
1 Cor vi. 3 : Judicabimus angelos . . . . .	85
1 Cor. x. 2 : Baptism . . . . .	412
James, v. 9 : The Judge standeth before the door . . . . .	378
John, viii. 9 : Conviction of conscience . . . . .	302
John, x. 22, 23 : Communion of Christ with the Jews . . . . .	209
John, xiv. 2 : Many mansions . . . . .	317
John, xviii. 31 : The judge judged . . . . .	362
1 John, v. 16 : A sin unto death . . . . .	331
Jude, ver. 12 : Feasts of charity . . . . .	230
Judges, xx. 27, 28 : Ark of the covenant . . . . .	274
† Luke, i. 17 : Elias Redivivus . . . . .	128
† Luke, ix. 30, 31 : Funeral Sermon upon Sir R. Cotton . . . . .	196
Luke, xi. 2 : Prayer . . . . .	417
Matt. xxviii. 19 : Baptize all nations . . . . .	391
2 Pet. iii. 13 : Justifying righteousness . . . . .	290
† Psal. iv. 4 : Commune with our own hearts . . . . .	96
† Rev. xx. 1, 2 : The dragon bound . . . . .	165
Rev. xx. 4 : Christian magistracy . . . . .	255
Rom. v. 1 : Justification and Peace . . . . .	243

## VOLUME VII.

Acts, vii. 53 : Reasons for keeping God's law . . . . .	177
---	-----

† Not contained in the English folio-edition.

	<i>Page</i>
Acts, xiii. 9, 10: Elymas the sorcerer . . . . .	102
Acts, xxiii. 8: Creed of the Sadducees . . . . .	282
1 Cor. xiv. 26: Every one hath a psalm . . . . .	29
Dan. x. 21: Michael your prince . . . . .	45
Dan. xii. 12, 13; Wait the time of God . . . . .	217
Exod. xx. 5: A jealous God . . . . .	350
Exod. xx. 11: The sabbath hallowed . . . . .	367
Exod. xx. 12: The blessing of long life . . . . .	391
Exod. xxx. 15: Dependance upon God . . . . .	128
Gen. iii. 20: Faith of Adam . . . . .	335
Gen. iv. 15: A mark upon Cain . . . . .	347
Heb. x. 29: The blood of the covenant . . . . .	228
Heb. xiii. 10: Christ our Altar . . . . .	242
John, xi. 51: Prophecy of Caiaphas . . . . .	303
1 John, iii. 12: Cain described . . . . .	339
Judges, xi. 39: Prudence in making vows . . . . .	151
1 Kings, xiii. 24: Disobedient prophet . . . . .	167
Luke, xv. 7: One sinner that repenteth . . . . .	255
Luke, xxiii. 42, 43: The penitent thief . . . . .	269
1 Pet. v. 13: The church at Babylon . . . . .	1
2 Pet. ii. 15: The way of Balaam . . . . .	78
Rev. xiii. 2: The dragon gave power . . . . .	41
Rev. xx. 5.: The first resurrection . . . . .	187
Rev. xx. 7, 8: Fraud and violence of Satan . . . . .	60
Rev. xxi. 2: The new Jerusalem . . . . .	112
Rom. viii. 23: First-fruits of the Spirit . . . . .	15
Rom. ix. 3: St. Paul's wish to be accursed . . . . .	312
2 Sam. xix. 29: Difficulties of Scripture . . . . .	201
2 Tim. iii. 8: Jannes and Jambres . . . . .	89
† Sermon Notes . . . . .	413
Table of the Texts of Dr. Lightfoot's Sermons, together with an account of the time when, the places where, and the occasions whereupon, the more public of them were preached . . . . .	418
† Alphabetical Table of the Texts . . . . .	423

### VOLUME VIII.

A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles . . . . .	1
† Dedication to Robert, Earl of Essex . . . . .	3
† Address to the County of Stafford . . . . .	11
Chronicle to the Commentary on the Acts . . . . .	297
† Fragmenta quædam Historiæ Romanæ et Christ-	

ianæ de Rebus et Personis quatuor primorum seculorum . . . . .	303
† Index to "Fragmenta quædam," &c. . . . .	346
Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the 'Acts of the Apostles' . . . . .	347
† Ad Lectorem præfatio . . . . .	349
† General Index of Passages, occurring in the Acts of the Apostles, which are explained in the <i>Com- mentary</i> and in the <i>Exercitations</i> . . . . .	504

VOLUME IX.

The Temple Service . . . . .	1
To the Reader . . . . .	3
Contents of the Temple-Service . . . . .	204
Prospect of the Temple . . . . .	207
† Dedication to Lenthall . . . . .	209
To the Reader . . . . .	210
Contents to the Prospect of the Temple . . . . .	483

VOLUME X.

The Chorographic Pieces . . . . .	1, &c.
A Chorographical Century : searching out some more memorable places of the land of Israel; those, especially, whereof mention is made in the Gos- pel of St. Matthew . . . . .	1
Preface to the 'Chorographical Century' . . . . .	3
† Contents of the 'Chorographical Century' . . . . .	183
A Chorographical Decad : searching into some places of the land of Israel; those, especially, whereof mention is made in St. Mark . . . . .	187
† Contents of the 'Chorographical Decad' . . . . .	271
A few Chorographical Notes upon the places men- tioned in St. Luke . . . . .	275
Contents of the 'Chorographical Notes' . . . . .	305
A Chorographical Inquiry into some places of the land of Israel, particularly those mentioned in St. John . . . . .	307
† Contents of the 'Chorographical Inquiry' . . . . .	364
† Fragmenta Terræ Sanctæ historico-chorographica et topographica . . . . .	367

† Not contained in the English folio-edition.



	<i>Page</i>
† Contents of the 'Fragmenta Topographica' . . . . .	393
† Animadversiones in Tabulas Chorographicas Terræ Sanctæ . . . . .	395
† Index to the Chapters and Sections of the Chorographic Pieces . . . . .	412
† Δείψανα de Rebus ad τῶν LXX versionem Græcam spectantibus . . . . .	419
† Versiones Prophetarum Minorum, &c. . . . .	453
† Vestibulum Talmudis Hierosolymitani . . . . .	468
† Index aliqualis Talmudis Hierosolymitani . . . . .	473
† Memorabilia quædam sub Ezra et synagoga, &c. . . . .	524
† Annotationes Talmudicæ in Genesin, Exodum, Numeros, et Josuam . . . . .	532
† Disquisitio de S. Jacobi Liturgia . . . . .	553

### VOLUME XI.

Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew . . . . .	1
Dedication to his dear friends of Catharine-Hall . . . . .	5
Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Mark . . . . .	367
Address to Charles II. . . . .	369
Address to Archbishop Sheldon . . . . .	375

### VOLUME XII.

Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Luke . . . . .	1
Dedication to the 'Exercitations upon St. Luke' . . . . .	3
Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. John . . . . .	223
Dedication to the 'Exercitations upon St. John' . . . . .	225
Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon some few chapters of the Epistle to the Romans . . . . .	437
Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians . . . . .	447
Dedication to the 'Exercitations upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians' . . . . .	449
Of Corinth itself . . . . .	452
Addenda to 1 Cor. xiv. . . . .	566
Index to the Addenda . . . . .	595
† Index of Texts elucidated in the 'Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations' . . . . .	596

## VOLUME XIII.

† Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines from January 1, 1643, to December 31, 1644.	1
† Letters to and from Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	345
Bernard Dr. to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	452, 458
Bonnell, Mr. to the Rev. Mr. Strype . . . . .	464
Bridges, Mr. Thomas, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	447
Brograve, Sir Thomas, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	438
Buxtorf, Professor John, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	423
Calvert, Rev. J. to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	445
Castell, D. E. to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	366
Clarke, Rev. S. to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	401
Cotton, Sir Rowland, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	347
* Duckfield, Rev. Mr. to the Rev. Mr. Strype . . . . .	462, 468, 483
Edge, Mr. to the Rev. Mr. Duckfield . . . . .	460
Gardner's, Dr. Epitaph on Dr. Lightfoot, with Dr. Pool's emendations. . . . .	486
Haak, Theodore, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	421
Hoboken, Nicholas, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	422
Lightfoot, Dr. to Professor John Buxtorf . . . . .	425
Lightfoot, Dr. to Dr. Bernard . . . . .	454
Lightfoot, Dr. to ——— . . . . .	459
Mieg, Frederick, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	430
Ott, Professor J. H. to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	448
Outram, Dr. W. to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	365
Poole, Dr. Matthew, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	439
Strype, Rev. Mr. to the Rev. Mr. Kidder . . . . .	480
Thorndike, Dr. H. to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	443
Walton, Bishop, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	348
Worthington, Dr. John, to Dr. Lightfoot . . . . .	431

Every attempt has been made in exploring the recesses, in which any unedited work of Lightfoot might be supposed to lurk. An expression † in (vol. i. p. 184) Strype's preface to "*Some Genuine Remains*" had excited a hope, that some

† Not contained in the English folio-edition.

\* See also vol. i. pp. 425.—430.

‡ "I have been inquisitive after these" [viz. Dr. L.'s Exercitations upon the Apostles' Creed], but cannot recover them: I conjecture they were embezzled at Ely, where he died."

valuable materials might be traced in the cathedral or episcopal library at Ely: an application, on this subject, was made to the present bishop of Ely, who very courteously instituted inquiry: but nothing was discovered.

The funeral sermon intended to be preached on the death of Sir R. Cotton; vol. vi. p. 196, and the many interesting letters, which form part of the xiiiith volume; have been transcribed from the Lansdowne MSS. (No. 1055.) in the British Museum. Two of these letters (page 454. 456) were found among Dr. *Smith's* MSS. No. 45. in the Bodleian library. And here the editor ventures to offer the public expression of his obligations to the politeness of the librarian, Dr. PHILIP BLISS, who subjected himself to much trouble in facilitating the researches of a stranger. The treasures of a library become doubly valuable, when consigned to the charge of so courteous a guardian.

The Journal of the Assembly of Divines (vol. xiii.) is printed from Lightfoot's MS. contained in three duodecimo volumes, forming part of Bishop More's MSS. in the University library, Cambridge. Mr. Duckfield makes mention of them, in a letter to Strype (vol. xiii. p. 478), who was then collecting materials for his Life of Lightfoot: "I had acquainted you before, that there were three of those Journal-books of the Doctor's.—I told you also, that there were, besides, *some few loose sheets, which begin a little higher than the first book, which you have.*"—These "*few loose sheets*" seem to have fallen into the possession of (or at least were copied by) *Baker*, the antiquarian; among whose MSS. (vol. xxxvi. art. 30) in the Cambridge University library, are papers containing two extracts from Lightfoot's Journal: the one, comprising July 1—Oct. 11, 1643, connects the first volume of the Journal with the opening of the Assembly;—the other, from April 25 to Dec. 19, is nothing more than what occurs in the 3d volume.

The "*Battle with a Wasp's Nest*" (vol. i. p. 371), though published under the name of 'Peter Lightfoot,' is considered by the Rev. WILLIAM ORME\* to be, in reality, the composition of Dr. L. The tract has some internal evidence in favour of Mr. *Orme's* supposition; since the general argument is consonant to the opinions of Lightfoot, who, in

\* See his '*Bibliotheca Biblica*,' pag. 229.

the Assembly of Divines, strenuously maintained the impropriety of debarring any applicant from participating in the sacred elements. To the courtesy of Mr. *Orme*, the editor is indebted for his knowledge of the above-mentioned curious tract, and for the obliging loan of the volume which contains it. It is not probable, that any farther accessions will be made to future editions of Lightfoot; or, at least, any valuable accessions. The papers left by him have been *thrice* examined by *Strype*, in reference to selecting portions for publication. Dr. L.'s library of Rabbinical works, Oriental books, &c. were bequeathed by him to Harvard College, in America, where the whole were burned in 1769. See the 'General Biographical Dictionary,' of Mr. *Chalmers*, who states this fact, apparently on the authority of a manuscript note in *Gough's* copy of the 'Biographia Britannica.'

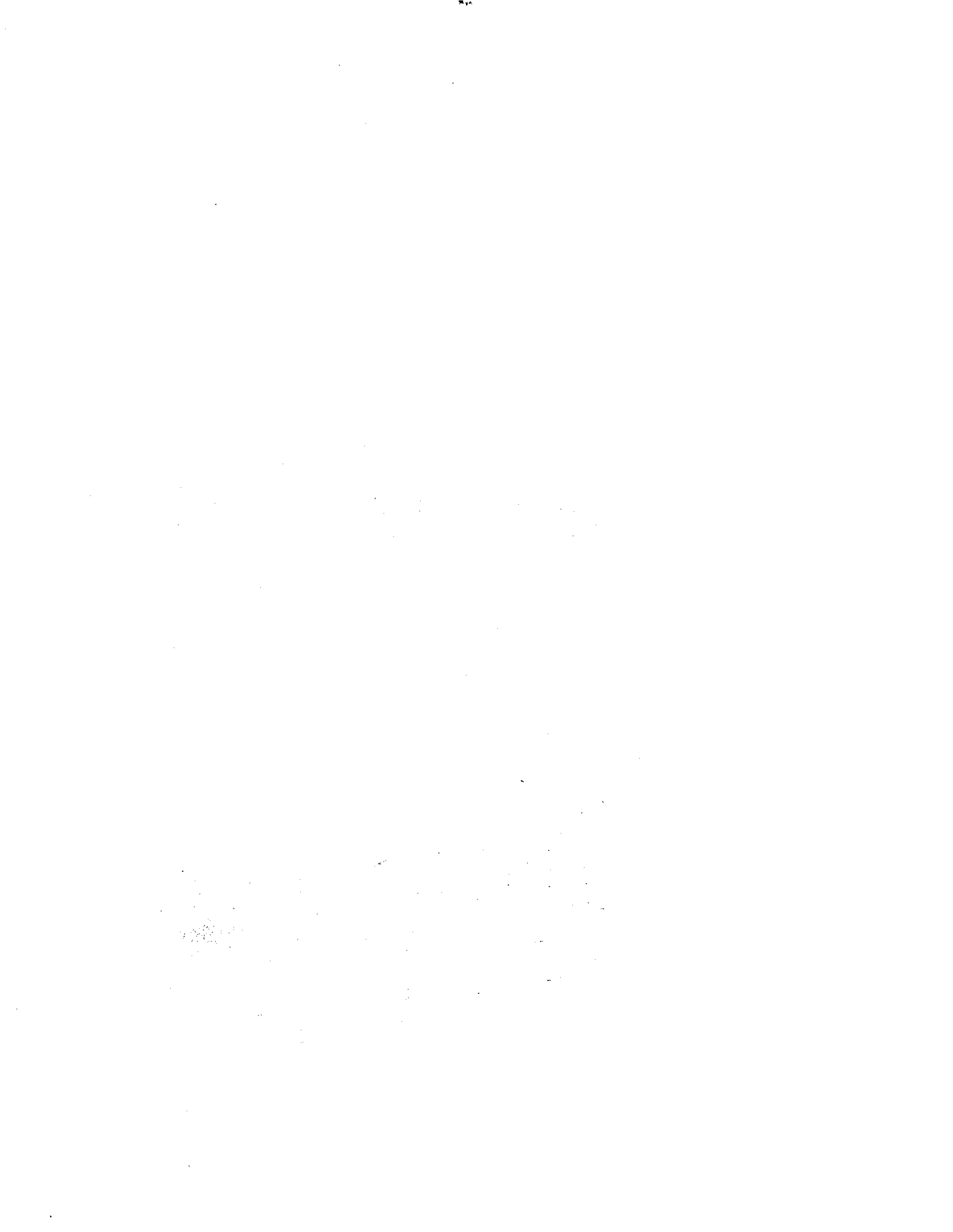
The Proprietor of this edition, foreseeing the heavy expenses, incident to an undertaking in which general readers would be little interested, appealed to the kind support of theological scholars, under the hope that, by the aid of subscription, he might be the less exposed to pecuniary loss; which, by a strange\* fatality, seemed always to have threatened the publication of Lightfoot's writings, and thereby to have hitherto discouraged all intention of forming a complete collection of his works. Although the present appeal has not been fully successful, the Proprietor cheerfully acknowledges that he has much reason for gratitude; and while he returns his respectful thanks to his Subscribers in general, he earnestly tenders a more particular expression of his obligations to those patrons whose generous and persevering support of his arduous undertaking will be ever entitled to his most grateful recollections. Several distinguished prelates have condescended to promote this attempt, by affording the sanction of their names. The edition comes forth, dedicated, by permission, to a prelate, whose rank receives new lustre from his acquirements as a scholar, and from his qualities as a Christian bishop. As Lightfoot was indebted, in his lifetime, to the

\* In a letter to *Buxtorf*, Lightfoot declares, that "he could find scarce any booksellers in England, who would venture to print his works, and that he was obliged to print some of them at his own expense;" and *Frederick Miede*, in a letter, informed him, that there was not a bookseller in Germany, who would freely undertake the impression of his Commentary upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

generous interposition of a Primate (vol. xii. p. iii.), so his writings are now fostered by a successor in that see, from whom every effort, in the cause and to the honour of the Christian church, experiences munificent patronage. Or if greater honour had been wanting, that honour has been most graciously extended in the accession of a name—which will be ever dear to those who record the benefactors of English literature,—the name of our present illustrious Sovereign, THE FOURTH GEORGE.

I. R. P.

*Kensington, May, 1825.*



(SPECIMEN OF DR LIGHTFOOT'S HANDWRITING)

Good Sr

I thank you for y<sup>e</sup> last mornings visit, but I forgat om<sup>ing</sup>  
telling then that makes me thus to fend the. & say after  
you & that is I must treat you & if in treating will not  
doe I must command you to be personally at bury. the last Sunday  
in this month, than to be absent to me. in performing me  
the morning & in administering the Sacrament with me. I know  
that y<sup>e</sup> Billy will not be against it, & I hope before another Savar  
ment to have a letter, & thin I am at thy service for a day or  
there hast a rambling mind in y<sup>e</sup> workshir: if y<sup>e</sup> hear nothing from  
you before next Saturday It depend upon you, & you shall notethy  
ingays

Jan: 17 1658

Your faithful servant & Bro:  
John Fildes

TO THE  
MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND HIGH-BORN PRINCESS

M A R Y,

PRINCESS OF ORANGE, &c.

---

MADAM,

WHEN my unhappy circumstances obliged me to retreat from your Highness's person and service,—it soon came into my mind, what engagements I remained still under, to testify, as I had occasion, my sincere and profound respect and devotion to both: and that although I could not enjoy the honour and happiness of a near attendance, yet I should never think myself emancipated, and at liberty. The rare goodness and sweetness of your temper and behaviour, the exemplary piety, virtue, and prudence, of so exalted a condition, have so powerful an influence upon all who approach your Highness,—that nothing but a perfect inability can hinder them from serving you without any other reward than the honour and satisfaction of its performance and acceptance.

Persons of our garb and profession have seldom any better way of signifying our respect than a book, sometimes our own, sometimes another's: of the former, I had none ready; of the latter, it hath happened I had no contemptible one under my hand: a divine of your Highness's own country; a son and dignitary of the church of England: in one sort of learning, the most



knowing, perhaps, of any man in Europe, and the most inquired after in the country, where your Highness now resides, of any English divine. Insomuch, that most of these English works are (as I am informed) translating into Latin by some of our own countrymen here and in Holland, as his Latin ones are here in England now translated into English. These last, with some pieces in English never before printed, are collected into a second volume,—and, with the first, humbly beg the honour of admission into your Highness's presence. This will still more confirm your Highness's own observation, and the proof of your Highness's own closet, that no one country hath and doth still more abound in learned, pious, judicious, writing divines, than England:—in talking, noise, and gesture, perhaps they may be equalized, or outdone.

Not that I will answer for all, or perhaps a great number, of notions and observations of the author:—that is enough to do for one's self. Some things were written, when young: some things were the systematical and received opinions of the times: but, generally speaking, as many useful and peculiar notions are to be found in this author as in most other.

I am not insensible, that, although the author be in English, yet not only the meanness, but also the unsuitableness, of such a present to your Highness, being so full of Hebrew and chronological learning, may seem to want excuse enough. But, first, the greatest part of this volume is the whole history contained in the Scriptures, the most venerable and valuable for antiquity, certainty, variety, rarity, and use, of any extant; and that so well methodized and laid together,

according to order of time, as to make it very easy and pleasant. And then for the Hebrew, as all other the learned languages, they are generally rendered into English, except the unusualness of the writing, or the emphasis of the phrase, or some other such cause, hinder. Finally, for the chronological part,—The great condescension and most obliging freedom, with which your Highness is pleased to treat those, who have served you in my quality, have given me opportunity enough to know so much, as not to doubt of your Highness's capacity to understand and make use of it, when you please. Besides the dedication of this author's works, thus revised and corrected, to so great, so judicious, and exemplary a patroness of the church of England, and so illustrious an ornament to it by your practice, seems a convenient expiation for (I had almost said) the innocent fault, or the unhappy mistakes, of the author in that kind; having, through an excess of misguided gratitude, prefixed the name of one of the worst of men (free confession may sooner gain pardon) to one of the best of his pieces.

I am not here to detain your Highness any longer, than with the addition of my unfeigned and incessant prayers for the improvement of those excellent qualities already attained, in so great a degree, by your Highness, of religion, virtue, and prudence,—the proper characters of great minds, who are to fill great places; the continuance and preservation of health; the blessing of posterity, in God's due time; the increase of all prosperity here, and the immortal reward of pious and virtuous souls hereafter. These, I am sure, have the concurrence of all, who have had the happiness of

knowing any thing of your Highness; but are more especially due from him, who hath had the honour and benefit too of attending your Highness in holy things, and still retains the just ambition of ever continuing

Your Highness's

Most devoted and most humble servant,

GEORGE BRIGHT.

THE  
PREFACE TO THE READER.

---

**ALTHOUGH** this very learned author's Epistles and Prefaces to many of the English pieces, contained in this volume, may save me much the labour of a general Preface to them all; yet it may be convenient to add something concerning the use of this kind of learning, the author himself, and these English tracts of his.

As for the first, the reader must not expect a treatise about it in a Preface to another's book; but only some brief suggestions for the direction and encouragement of the studious; that the author might not seem to have employed so much time and tedious labour too fruitlessly in writing,—nor myself somewhat of both, in reviewing, correcting, and publishing, what is here presented to him. There seems to me two chief points of a more comprehensive wisdom; the one, is justly to estimate and prize the several parts of knowledge, and that principally from their usefulness; not so much from their antiquity, their being esteemed and cultivated, perhaps, by great personages, or the like slight and pedantic considerations, any farther than as they are signs or arguments of the former: the other, is to understand the inclinations, capacity, and ability, of any person, for one or more of them. These two things are principally to be observed by those, who apply themselves to any study (and, indeed, to any employment) in making their choice: Which is, in itself, of greatest use and importance,—and which a person can make most progress in? what is best in itself? and what he can best do?—If any thing be of no good use or advantage, it is not to be undertaken at all: if a man wants ability or capacity for it, it is not to be attempted by him. Although there be truly great difference between the several sorts of science, in respect of their value; yet, there

is hardly any, which hath not its use, and oftentimes much more than the ignorance, or envy, or fashion, or humour, of an age will allow.

There are four things, which our author hath been very diligent and laborious in, and where we may be considerably benefitted by the reading of these tracts:—I. The chronology of the Holy Scriptures. II. Their chorography. III. Their original texts and various versions. IV. Talmudical and Rabbinical authors.

First, For chronology, It is nothing but the knowledge of the relation and existence of things one to another, before, with, or after; and particularly with the conversions and situations of the sun and moon, i. e. years, months, weeks, days, as being the most constant, and the most universally known: though the time of a thing's existence may be, and frequently is, characterized by the existence of other things likewise; nor is it so easy to define, what is the first measure of time. But this is not so much to our purpose. The uses of the knowledge, both of the times of writings, and of their matter or contents, are very considerable; and, in short, these among others:—First, From thence we collect many other circumstances, and, consequently, a more full and adequate knowledge of things; such as place, authors, qualities, persons to whom, reasons why, and twenty others. Whence it frequently helps to the discovery of the true writing in an author, or of its meaning and sense; and in profane and fallible writings, the truth or falsehood of things themselves therein delivered. Instances of the former are numerous in the Scriptures; for, as to the latter, the truth of what is delivered therein, we are secure. As in p. 80 of the ensuing volume<sup>c</sup>, according to our author, the sense of למלכות לאסא i. e. 'of the kingdom of Asa' (2 Chron. xvi. 1), in the thirty-sixth year of which, Baasha, king of Israel, is said to come up against Judah,—is not his personal, but his national kingdom, if I may so call it; not his reign, but the kingdom of Judah, in opposition to that of the ten tribes, since their division. This appears from the chronology or computation of Baasha's reign, who is said, 1 Kings xv. 33, to begin it in the third of Asa, and to continue it but twenty-four years, that is, to the twenty-seventh of Asa; and this, according to all the

translations too. Baasha, therefore, could not come up against Israel in the thirty-sixth of Asa's reign, being understood of his personal reign or kingdom. We will take leave to argue from the chronology of the Scripture, especially where all copies and translations agree, notwithstanding the assertions and conjectures of the late famous critic<sup>d</sup>, "That no exact chronology" (what! for no time?) "can be stated upon the authority of these books;" till he lays surer foundation for his opinion, and more particularly explains it.

However, this and other following instances are proofs and illustrations of what use chronology may be; although the integrity and truth of the present writing, in the Hebrew copies, be only supposed, not proved. Thus, also, Omri's beginning to reign over Israel twelve years, in the thirty-first year of Asa, king of Judah, according to the Hebrew text, and all the versions, must have the sense, which chronology will there allow. Vide Harmony of the Old Testament, p. 81<sup>e</sup>. In p. 87<sup>f</sup>, Ahaziah's being forty-two years old when he began to reign, 2 Chron. xxii. 2, and Jehoiachin eight years old, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, must be otherwise rendered than it usually is, to make it consistent with chronology, supposing no error in the Hebrew text. But both the Greek and Oriental versions, in the first place, having the number twenty-two, or twenty, instead of forty-two; and, in the other place, the Oriental versions having eighteen instead of eight,—makes it probable, that there is a mistake. Grotius's confident assertion concerning the reading of Isa. vii. 8, viz. that, in the Hebrew, it should be שש וחמש, i. e. *six and five*,—not ששים וחמש *sixty-and-five* (though this last agree with all the versions too), and consequently that it was to be *six and five* or *eleven* years, not *sixty-and-five* to the time, when Ephraim should be no people, to the taking of Samaria, and captivating the ten tribes;—I say, this assertion of his is to be rejected (however otherwise that place is to be interpreted), because it is inconsistent with chronology, as well as for other reasons. For this prophecy must be in the third year of Ahaz, at the farthest; because it was in the time of Pekah, king of Israel, when he invaded Jerusalem with Resin, king of Syria. Ahaz began to reign in the seventeenth year of Pekah's twenty years' reign, 2 Kings

<sup>d</sup> Pref. to Crit. Hist. of Old Testament.

<sup>e</sup> Present edition, vol. 2. p. 215.

<sup>f</sup> Present edition, vol. 2. p. 227.

xvi. 1: and therefore could be contemporary with him but three years at most. But now, from Ahaz's third year to the taking of Samaria, which was the ninth of Hosea, king of Israel, was *eighteen* years; not *eleven*, as Grotius would have it. Even to the beginning of the siege, it was fifteen years. For Hosea began to reign in the twelfth of Ahaz, 2 Kings xvii. 1: there is nine years; and Samaria was taken in the ninth of Hosea: there is nine more. The reason of Grotius's mistake, we read in 2 Kings xv. 30, viz. that "Hosea slew Pekah, and reigned in his stead." This he takes to have been immediately after Pekah's death, which is not necessary. And it appears from the other computation, that there was an interregnum in the throne of Israel seven years; or, at least, that Hosea was not accounted to reign, as our author hath observed. The reason of which he probably conjectures to have been, that Shalmaneser, the Assyrian king, had conquered him and his kingdom, and kept them for about seven years: afterward he permitted him to govern as his tributary, or Hosea by force rescued himself from that subjection. Our author, in p. 104<sup>g</sup>, makes the same observation serviceable for the methodizing and explaining Isa. i. 9, and xiv. 28.—Once more, the most probable reading of that known place, Exod. xii, in the Samaritan text and Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, is determined by chronology. A number of other places there are both in the prophecies and Epistles especially, beholding to the knowledge of the time both of their writing and matter, for their meaning; as, on the other hand, oftentimes the matter is a character of the time.

The proof of the completion of prophecies by chronology, is a matter of great importance, to assure us, that there hath been such a thing as *revelation* in the world, by one of the greatest miracles, the prediction of contingent futurities. As that of the habitation and servitude of Abraham and his posterity, in Canaan and Egypt, four hundred years, a round and even number for an uneven and more particular; a thing so usual in the Scriptures, that the Rabbins have made a rule of it in the interpretation of them. And the number four hundred and thirty, recorded Exod. xii, is an argument of no design in the writer or compiler of the Pentateuch to make the prophecy and its completion exactly

agree; but that he set down, as he received by writing, tradition, or inspiration. Remarkable also are indeed the prophecies of the pollution of Jeroboam's altar, about three hundred and fifty years after the prediction, by Josiah offering up the priests of Baal, and burning men's bones upon it; 1 Kings xiii. 2. 23. That of Daniel's seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, from the going-out of the decree to the coming of the Messiah; that of the seventy years Babylonian captivity; the express naming of king Cyrus, who should show favour to the Jews in giving them liberty to rebuild their Temple and city; that of the destruction of the Temple before the end of one generation, predicted by our Saviour;—the time of prediction and completion of these things, that the one is before the other, and how long, is to be taught and proved by chronology. But these things are here only to be set down as known examples; it requires leisure and some diligence to examine them. Finally, Chronology fixes things in our memories, and makes it more easy and pleasant to apprehend and remember them.

The next is chorography, or the knowledge of places. This, also, is extremely helpful to our understanding, imagination, and memory. Generally we cannot well conceive nor remember any intellectual objects, such as are the qualities, tempers, and dispositions, of men's minds, without some sensible circumstances; nor sensible objects, such as bodily actions and speech, without the circumstance of place. And we may observe in our reading, when we desire to understand and retain what we read, if we find not such circumstances related, we fancy them, and make them to ourselves. This, also, prevents errors in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and is often necessary to it, especially in the prophets, where frequently the names of notable places, as cities, mountains, or rivers, are set to denote whole countries, their inhabitants and qualities; as, Isa. ii, and every where else:—what is so common, needs no other instance.

Concerning copies and translations, they are of great use. I. To evidence and confirm the integrity of any copy of the original text; though there be great difference between these, and all are not of the like weight and autho-



riety. Generally speaking (just to mention my conjecture), I reckon the Samaritan text and version in the first place, after the Hebrew; next, the paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch; then, the Syriac version in the English Polyglots; then, the vulgar Latin; then, the present Septuagint; then, the Arabic version; then, the Ethiopic; then, the other Chaldee and Persian paraphrases. Thus, for example, that the old original reading of the place before cited, Isa. vii. 8, was not  $\psi\psi$ , as Grotius affirms, but  $\text{ד}\psi\psi$ , as it is in all our Hebrew copies,—is very probably argued from the agreement of all our translations. In Deut. x. 6, the Hebrew and Samaritan texts are contrary one to the other: besides, there is a whole sentence in the Hebrew, which is not in the Samaritan. According to the Hebrew it is, “And the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth, of the children of Jaakan, to Moserah: there Aaron died, and there he was buried,” &c. But in the Samaritan it is, “And the children of Israel went from Moserah, and pitched their tent among the sons of Jaakan.” And then, all the encampments of the children of Israel being interposed and reckoned up, as Numb. xxxiii, it follows, “Then died Aaron,” &c. But all the other versions, exactly agreeing with the Hebrew copy, are a very good argument for its reading: and it may be reconciled with the history, Numb. xxxiii. 31. 38, in some such manner as is done by our author, p. 38<sup>i</sup>: though it be confessed too, that the exact agreement of the story, in both places, according to the Samaritan, is, on the other hand, considerably for the reading of the Samaritan text. The repetitions of the Samaritan, in Exod. xvii, after ver. 14. 19. 22; from Deut. xxiv, and v. with some alterations, as in many other places; and the interposition of a whole sentence, Exod. xxii. 10, and elsewhere; these, I say, being all absent from all the translations, are arguments of the integrity of the Hebrew copy in general, and particularly in those places. Nor can I believe but in that vexatious question of the two Cainans, Gen. x. 24, and Luke iii. 36, the Septuagint is corrupted, and the Hebrew copy in the right,—since the Samaritan text and version, and all other translations, agree with the Hebrew. And even the Vatican copy of the Septuagint,

<sup>i</sup> Present edition, vol. 2. p. 136, 137.

in 1 Chron. i, hath quite left out the second Canaan; and the Alexandrine Copy, as it once hath it, so it hath once omitted it also.

II. But then, on the other hand, it is to be acknowledged, that sometimes the consent of other versions is an argument of defect or error in our present Hebrew copies. For though the Hebrew copies we have, be, beyond all comparison, the best, and nearest the originals; yet, it is too much partiality or superstition to believe, that there are not therein some faults considerable to be corrected by the translations, of which examples are frequent in the restoring of other authors, and particularly Ignatius's Epistles by primate Usher. In that known place, Psal. xxii. 16, the English translation hath truly read it בארו, "they pierced my hands and my feet:" but, in our present Hebrew copies, it is בארי ידי ורגלי, "As a lion, my hands and my feet." That there is a defect in all these Hebrew copies, and that it was formerly written בארו, "they have pierced or digged" my hands and my feet, all the versions, except the Chaldee paraphrase, confirm. Besides that the present reading is nonsense, except it be supplied with some verb, as it is by the Chaldee paraphrast, which, upon this book of the Psalms, and upon the Hagiographa, is of no great antiquity; where we read נחתן כאריא i. e. "like a lion, biting my hands and my feet." But this is very precarious; and such an ellipsis (though the Hebrew abounds with that figure) as seems contrary to the genius of the Biblical Hebrew, and perhaps without example. Not now to mention, that, according to the Masora itself, it must be here read in another sense than *as a lion*: for it here notes, that, in בארי, the letter (ב) is twice found in the Bible with the vowel (א), but in two different significations; and that the other place is Isa. xxxviii. 13, שויתי ער בקר, according to our English translation, "I reckoned till morning, that, as a lion, so will he break all my bones." In this last place, no doubt but בארי must signify *as a lion*: therefore, in the first place of Ps. xxii, it must not signify so, but some other sense. These are things known sufficiently to the learned, but not to beginners in this sort of literature, nor in our language; and, therefore, it may not be superfluous to mention them. Nor that of Ps. cxlv. 14, where all the translations, except the Chaldee paraphrase, again interposing a whole verse to this sense, "The Lord is faithful in all his words,

and holy in all his works;" make it highly probable (besides the argument from the alphabetical beginning of every verse, one of which will be wanting without that interposition), that so much is left out in all our modern Hebrew copies, which was in the more ancient, whatever the industrious and laborious Hottinger<sup>1</sup> may, briskly and warmly, after his manner, say in defence of them: though the repetition of that verse, with the alteration of two words in the seventeenth verse, may be some argument on the other side. That famous place of difficulty, Exod. xii. 40, "The sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years," would be justly suspected of defect from the Samaritan text, and Alexandrine copy of the Seventy, though there was no evidence from chronology: both of which have it, "The sojourning of the children of Israel, and of their fathers in Egypt and Canaan:" and even the Roman edition of the Seventy adds, "the land of Canaan" to Egypt.

In old Jacob's prophecy concerning his youngest son Joseph, Gen. xlix. 22, the Samaritan text, confirmed by the Seventy, seems much the better reading than the Hebrew. In the Hebrew, it is בְּנֹת צֶעֶדָה עָלַי שָׂרָה which our English translation renders, "Whose branches run over the wall." But indeed, according to the present punctuation, it can hardly be construed: but in the Samaritan text, it is מִן מִן מִן מִן מִן, and, in the Seventy, υἱός μου νεώτατος, i. e. "Joseph my youngest son:" which, also, well answers that in the prediction concerning Reuben, ver. 3, "Reuben my first-born." In Gen. iv. 8, the agreement of the Samaritan text and version, the Syriac, Septuagint, Vulgar Latin, for the interposition of נִלְכָה הַשָּׂדֶה (as it is in the Samaritan text), i. e. "let us go into the field," in the speech of Cain to Abel (besides the word וַיֹּאמֶר "and he said," necessarily requiring it, and a void space left in the Hebrew copies), makes it extremely probable, that those words are really wanting in our present books. As for the great difference of the intervals, or sum of years, from the creation on to the flood, and from the flood to Abraham's birth, which is between the present Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint, I leave it to chronologers. This is not a place to dispute it.

<sup>1</sup>Thes. Philolog.

That there are, also, many errata and faults, in many places of the present Hebrew, of single letters, both consonants and vowels (I mean the sounds, not the characters of vowels, which, without doubt, are very late), cannot reasonably be denied by one unprejudiced, as principally from other arguments, so from one or more of the versions. I do not allow of all the examples produced by learned men; and some of them as much partial on the other hand, and almost spiteful against the Hebrew; but I think some instances are just and reasonable. As to single out one or two, Ps. ii. 9, we read now in the Hebrew תרעם i. e. “Thou shalt break them with a rod (or, rather, a *sceptre*) of iron: but in the Septuagint and in the New Testament, as Rev. ii. 27, it is ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς, “Thou shalt *feed*, or rule, them:” to which agree all the other translations, except the Chaldee paraphrase. Whence we have very little reason to believe, that they did read it תרעם in the Hebrew; which signifies, “Thou shalt feed, govern, or rule them.” It is true, the sense of both readings is much the same; and, therefore, the variety of no great consequence. For the same reason it is probable, that, in Hos. xiii. 14, the true reading of the Hebrew formerly was איה, “where are,” which St. Paul follows, 1 Cor. xvi. 55; not אהי “I will be thy plagues, O death.” Though the conjecture of the very learned Dr. Pocock<sup>n</sup>, observed also by Buxtorf in his ordinary lexicon, concerning a metathesis or transposition of the letters ו and ה, be ingenious. But I confess his citation of the Chaldee paraphrast, ver. 10. of the same chapter, is so far from proving it, that it might as well argue another defect in the Hebrew of the same kind; and that there also the paraphrast as well as the Vulgar, and all the rest of the translations, did read in the Hebrew formerly, איה “where,” not אהי “I will be.” Nor, I doubt, is there one example of אהי by a metathesis signifying interrogatively. And yet Buxtorf, in his lexicon before cited, only upon the authority of these two places, hath given us this new word אהי for *where*. Our English translation, following the present Hebrew, hath more truly rendered it, “O death, I will be thy plagues; and I will be thy king:”—for nothing is more ordinary than for the future tense of the verb, יהיה to be written defectively with an apocope. Again, Amos ix. 12

<sup>n</sup> Not. Misc. ad Port. Mos. cap. 4.

there seems to be three words otherwise read by the Septuagint, and followed by St. Paul, Acts xv. 16, than is now extant in the Hebrew, which much alters the sense: for יִרְשׁוּ, “they shall possess,” the Septuagint read יִדְרְשׁוּ, “they shall seek;” for אֵת, the article of the accusative case, אֹתִי, *me*; and for אֲדוֹם *Edom*, אָדָם *man* or *mankind*. The Septuagint, and out of them the Arabic, reading one way,—the Chaldee, Vulgar Latin, and Syriac, reading another,—leave it uncertain, which is the right, unless it can be determined by other means.

These things are now almost known to every body, and are brought here only for instances, with some little additional observation.

Moreover, it may not be amiss to take notice, that the punctuation of the present Hebrew is not always accurate. This is apparent enough, as from many other anomalies not mentioned by the Masora; so also from many proper names, otherwise written in the versions, and that according to their own analogy of the Hebrew tongue. As, בְּלַעַם and שִׁנְעָר in the Seventy Βαλαάμ and Σενναάρ, and so, likewise, in the Vulgar: whence it is most likely, these words should have been pointed שִׁנְעָר and בְּלַעַם, as כְּנַעַן, with patach, not scheva, before the guttural.

And to add this upon this occasion; It hath been nothing but mere superstition, I conceive, in the modern Jews, and, perhaps, in the more ancient, even beyond the time of the Seventy,—to put the vowels of אֲדוֹנָי Adonai, under יְהוָה Jehovah the proper name of the God of Israel. For it seems to me more likely, that this proper name of God was pronounced, because it frequently made a part of men's names, both in the beginning and ending; as in יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ, יִרְמְיָהוּ, יִרְבֵּעָם, יִכְנִיָּהוּ (to be pointed as יִכְנִיָּהוּ, not יִרְמְיָהוּ as it is falsely in our Hebrew Bibles) יְהוֹנָתָן &c. vulgarly written ‘Isaiah,’ ‘Jeremiah,’ ‘Jonathan.’ Nor is it less probable, that the true punctuation of this proper name, יְהוָה Jehovah, as now pointed, was anciently יְהוָה Jahavoh, as יְהוֹבָה, יְצַחְקָה, שְׁלֹמֹה, &c. But this by the bye, for a little digression.

Another use and benefit of the several versions of the Scriptures, is oftentimes to suggest to us some significations of phrases or words, which, otherwise, we should not have

thought of. Thus, Isa. xxviii. 16, in the Hebrew we read; *וְיִחַשׁ לֹא יִחַשׁ*, which our English translatheth, “He that believeth, will not make haste:” but the Seventy render it, *οὐ μὴ κατασχυνθῆ*, and St. Paul, Rom. ix. 33, *οὐ κατασχυνθήσεται*, “shall not be ashamed:” and the Chaldee paraphrase *וְיִחַשׁ לֹא* ‘shall not be troubled,’ or ‘disturbed;’ and the Syriac, *לֹא נִדְחַל*, ‘shall not fear.’ Now from these different translations it may not be unlikely, that the Hebrew word may signify all these four senses, especially being of so near an alliance one to another; though, in our modern interpretations, we take notice but of one. Which is rendered somewhat more probable by that very learned orientalist Dr. Pocock<sup>o</sup>, who tells us, the Arabic verb *hausch*, answering to the Hebrew *וְיִחַשׁ*, signifies three things, viz, ‘to haste,’ ‘to fear,’ ‘to be ashamed.’ And, in the Heptaglot lexicon of the indefatigable Dr. Castell,—now the worthy Arabic professor in Cambridge, who, with the loss almost of his senses, limbs, and estate, undertook that laborious work; and underwent a great part of the toil in the edition of the English Polyglot Bible (such is too often the fate of learned drudgery!); I say, in this lexicon appear four or five more significations. But as to this last, it seems, I confess, that the arguing from the various significations in one tongue, to the like in another, may be too much relied upon. For what is more ordinary than for people, in a little tract of time, by reason of many accidents, to change the signification of words, and to give others; and for one country, who first borrowed a word from another, to add more senses, and oftentimes quite to lose the first. As for example, the word ‘conceive’ hath many significations in English different from those of ‘concipio’ in Latin, from whence it is derived. Nor doth ‘infelix’ in Latin signify both ‘unhappy’ and ‘mischievous,’ because ‘unlucky,’ in English, which answers to the Latin ‘infelix,’ sometimes signifies both. Nor do the French words ‘trier’ and ‘craquer,’ signify any other thing, that I remember at this day, than to *pick*, or *choose*, or *cull*, and to *shake*, or *quake*, not to *try*, *attempt*, *make an essay*, or *to boast*; though the English words to *try*, and to *crack*, do, which are derived from those French words. Nor, finally, doth the word *letten* in Dutch signify contraries, viz. to *hinder*, and to

*permit*, because the English word to *let*, which answers to it, doth: of which Dr. Pocock takes notice (*loc. cit.*) as one instance of a word signifying contraries, amongst many others, of other languages. No more will it follow, that צער in Hebrew is ἐναντιόσημον, of two repugnant significations, because the Arabic, sometimes translating it, according to some of their lexicographers, is of that kind.

I know, that the English to *let*, signifying to *permit*, comes from the Dutch word *belaten*, not from *letten*; but the word *let*, in English, signifying to *hinder*, is written with the same letters, and answers to the Dutch *letten*, in one sense; whence one might infer, that *letten*, in the Dutch, should have the same significations. But I fear, I shall almost tire my reader, before I come to that I principally designed, which was the benefit and advantages of Talmudical and Rabbinical learning, the chief talent of this learned and laborious author.

This kind of study hath now flourished in these western parts about the space of one century, and somewhat more; but at present begins (as it seems) to be neglected, and laid aside, partly, because it is thought that the best of it is already extracted and prepared to our hands, by the hard and assiduous labours of many both learned and judicious men (in which may be much mistake); partly, because it requires much time and pains, not attended with such secular advantages, as other studies more easy and delightful. Since its restoration, it hath had somewhat the fortune of chemistry, and hath been by degrees inspected, improved, and used, not only by men of whimsy, memory, or vanity, but by the more wise, judicious, and philosophical. Many of both sorts have given us a large account and examples of the great usefulness of it: perhaps, besides some more instances of what they have observed, I may suggest or more insist on one or two, which they have not taken so much notice of.

First, then, the very knowledge of the opinions and customs of so considerable a part of mankind, as the Jews now are, and especially have been heretofore, is valuable, both for pleasure and use. It is a very good piece of history, and that of the best kind, viz. of human nature, and that part of it which is most different from us, and commonly the least known to us. And indeed the principal advan-

tage, which is to be made by the wiser sort of men, of most writings, is rather to see, what men think and are, than to be informed in the natures or truth of things they write of; to observe what thoughts and passions have run through men's minds, what opinions and manners they are of. Particularly it is of great importance here, to take notice of the strange ignorance, the putid fables, the impertinent trifling, the ridiculous discourses and disputes, the odd conceits, the fantastical observations and explications, the childish reasonings, the groundless arrogance and self-conceit, the superstitious temper of this people universally, except Maimonides, and one or two modern, more philosophically given, who yet had enough of it too. The very spirit of hypocrisy, weakness, pride, and superstition,—which our Saviour and the prophets, those illustrious preachers of inward and real righteousness, of a solid and intelligent piety and virtue, reprov'd and inveigh'd against in their times,—runs still generally through their writings. It appears yet by them, how blindly, or hypocritically, they prize the smaller matters of their religion, and their own additional circumstances, beyond the weightier and more important. They make a great noise of their being God's peculiar people, in special covenant with him; of the divinity of their religion, and the 'jus Divinum' of all their little institutions, and nonsensical mysteries, especially of their Cabala, either from the groundless and whimsical interpretation of some command of their law, or from uncertain or false tradition; when, in the mean time, they little mind the great end and design of what is true and useful in them. They will dispense with charity and humanity itself, to observe their own decisions, while they think it lawful to compass the death of an Israelite, who wears linsey-woolsey, and unlawful to take up a heathen out of the sea, ready to perish. They talk, as if God were so enamour'd of their ancestors, and doted on their posterity, that he made the world only for their sake; and thought himself still so oblig'd to them for the honour they do to him, by preferring and choosing him, and his laws, and religion, before others,—that he must needs be their Protector and Saviour, nor ever suffer one of those, his dear people, to perish, or scarce come to any harm. This is a disease in all reli-



gions, and but too ready to creep into the best of religions, Christianity itself; which hath so expressly discovered, and severely condemned it, in the foolish hypocrites of the Mosaical religion, to which it succeeds. We may farther also observe, how much the Jews, and other oriental people, are given to strange, uncouth, and strong imaginations, especially about intellectual things, like the Pythagoreans and Platonists, who had their learning and notions from the east and the south: which, as it hath its use for invention and discovery, sometimes of more than whatever enters into the thoughts of the dull generality of mankind,—so it is a great disadvantage of nature too, stuffing the mind with a great many impertinences, follies, and falsehoods, and that are believed with great pertinacity, unless it be managed by the supreme faculties of understanding, reason, and judgment. After all this, a man may meet with some opinions among them, either by chance, or tradition, and many institutions, rites, and laws, with the explication and application of them, which may be good hints to wiser men. Though I have been generally inclinable to believe, that the *most* of the considerable doctrines among them, about intellectual matters in divinity and philosophy, as concerning the nature and attributes of God, some things of the Messiah, the nature and orders of angels, of the Holy Spirit, and Divine presence (שכינה and רוח הקודש), of the resurrection of the dead, the immortality of souls, and their states after death, of the first and second death, of a kind of purgatory, of the day of judgment, of original sin, &c. of some of which, there is some account in the *Theologia Judaica* of Du Voisin; I say, I have been always prone to think, that the Jews, especially the modern, such as Rambam, Rasi, Saadia, Kimchi, Abarbanel, &c. have received them, though insensibly, and not known to themselves, and with some mixture and interpolation of their own, from heathen and Christian philosophers, fathers, schoolmen, who first taught them, and set them about in the world. I have said the *most*, not *all*; and this, I think, I could make probable, in many particulars, if this were a place for it. But this is enough for the first advantage.

A second use of the Talmudical and Rabbinical authors, may be the confirmation of the history of our Saviour Jesus,

the true Messiah; that there were such persons as Jesus, and his disciples, who lived in such a country, and in such an age; that he performed such actions, and delivered such discourses; that there were such places, opinions, customs, practices, public and private, in that time. For the Jewish writers, who then lived, or not long after, and others from them, make mention of these matters of fact,—they report to us such usages and rites among themselves,—they relate and discuss such opinions and controversies. Their style and phrase is perfectly the same with that of the evangelists; nay, much of the matter too, such as Proverbs, Parables, Similitudes. Now what confirms or weakens the credit of a history in some particulars, doth it in all the rest; for the oftener any one relates things truly, or falsely,—the more probable it is, he may do so again. Were it not in our own tongue, I should think it almost superfluous to give but an instance or two, out of many of our own observation, there being so great a number already produced by our author, and other learned men, to commend and encourage this study. How like to that of our Saviour, in his sermon on the mount, Matt. vi. 25, and Luke xii. 22, “Therefore take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink,” &c.—is that in the Babylonian Talmud, in the Gemara of the treatise Sota, fol. 48. col. 2. רא הגדול אומר כל מי i. e. “It was a saying of Rabbi Eliezer the elder, That whosoever, having one morsel in his basket, inquires what he shall eat on the morrow,—he is no other, than one of little faith,” *ὀλιγόπιστος*. This samesaying is quoted by our author, in his *Horæ Heb.*, but at the second hand, out of R. Abuhab’s preface to *Menorath Hammaor*. And again, *Talm. Babyl. Kidd. in Misn. Misn. 14.* דם מתפרנסין שלא בצער אני שנבראתי i. e. “Shall the beasts and the fowls be fed without solicitous care and trouble, and shall not I, who am created to serve my Master and Maker?”—Again, Matt. x. 35, 36, our Saviour tells his disciples, that “He was come to set a man at variance against his father,” &c. We meet with the very same tradition almost in the same words, *Talm. Babyl. cap. 9. mis. 15:* the citation is too long to be all recited. It begins *אם תבטח* to this purpose, “That about the time of the Messiah, impudence should abound,” &c; and then

a little after, **בן מנוול אב בת קמה באמה כלה בחמותה אויבי איש**, "the son shall revile and ill treat his father, the daughter shall rise up against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law, and a man's foes shall be they of his own household." R. Judah tells the same story in Talm. Babyl. Sanhed. fol. 97. col. 1:—although these unwonted things seem to be spoken by these Rabbins, not as the consequents or effects, but as the immediate precedents, of the Messiah's coming. Some of the most notable parables of our Saviour, in the gospels, we meet with them, the very same, or very like, with some few alterations, in their Talmuds. That of the rich glutton, Luke xvi. in Talm. Babyl. Gem. Berac.: that of the labourers in the vineyard, Matt. xx. in Talm. Hieros. Gem. Berac.: that of the marriage-feast, and the wise and foolish virgins, Talm. Babyl. Gem. Schab. 153. These, translated by Conrade Otho, are already cited by Sheringham, in his preface to Codex Joma: the last of which is loosely and ill rendered, with additions and omissions, for the better explanation and accommodation of it to the text of the evangelist. Furthermore, how exactly true doth that reproach of our Saviour, to the Scribes and Pharisees appear, Matt. xxiii. 3, from their own disputes and decisions, in Talm. Babyl. Maas. Misn. cap. 4. Misn. 5: *and how deservedly* our Saviour pronounceth a woe against them, for their greater care and accuracy in paying tithe of mint, anise, and cummin, than in judgment, mercy, and faith. Their great doctors and wise men, in the place cited, make it an important question, whether anise (which they call **שברת**) should give tithe of its seeds, leaves, stalks, or sprouts altogether (as I suppose). R. Eliezer was of opinion, that it ought: but the Wise men (**חכמים**), who always carry it, judged that nothing was to be tithed in its leaves and seeds, but only **השלחים ורגר** 'nasturtium and eruca,' which some english *cresses* and *rocket*. Scores of places might be here set down, which have not been taken notice of by other authors: nor was it worth their while always to do it, unless very briefly to indicate such a custom or phrase, and the places in their authors, where, for curiosity, or exercise, they may be found. And to keep myself within the bounds of a preface, I will here together just note many places in the Talmuds, where there is mention made of our

Jesus, that the learners or learned may consult them at their leisure. Most of them are to be found scatteringly in Buxt. Lex. Talmud: only we must observe, that, partly, out of ignorance,—partly, out of malice,—they have mixed many fooleries and falsities with what is true. In Talm. Babyl. Sanh. Gem. 43. 1, it is delivered as a tradition, “That Jesus was hanged (upon a cross) the day before the Passover, because he had enchanted, seduced, and drawn away, the people; that it being proclaimed three days for some person to appear in his behalf, to testify his innocence, there was none found to do it; that he was קרוב למלכות “regno propinquus,” i. e. either of the royal family, or in favour with some courtier; “that there were five of his disciples” (the names, except one, agree not with ours) “who pleaded they were not to be put to death.” Again, in the same treatise, fol. 101, 102, and in Sot. 47. 1, they say, “Jesus used enchantments and sorceries;” and they tell a story of his going into Egypt, with one Joshua son of Perachiah, and that he was excommunicated by R. Simeon. The rest of the places are, Talm. Babyl. Avod. Zar. 17. 1, and those which speak of בן סטרא ‘an apostate.’ By whom Buxtorf and others think, they covertly mean Jesus; as Talm. Babyl. Sanhedr. 67. 1. Schab. 104. 2. and Talm. Hieros. Sanhed. cap. 7, about the end. It were easy to fill many sheets more under this head: but these are abundantly sufficient for instances of this second use of Talmudical and Rabbinical skill. The reader also, in perusing this volume, will find a multitude of passages and observations to this purpose, and particularly, chap. 9, 10, ‘Of the Temple-Service:’ and sect. 77, ‘Of the Harmony of the New Testament.’

To these ought to be added, the known benefit and advantage of the interpretation of many places of the Old Testament, concerning the Messiah; the rendering them more probable even to Christians, and the establishment of many Christian dogmas against the Jews, denied by some, or many, or almost all, the later of them,—from authors and writers of greatest authority in their account. As to this last point against the Jews, it matters not so much of what authority they are in themselves (though some may be allowed them), or from whence they had their opinions. Such

are, for example, the time of the Messiah's coming; the excellency of his nature; the greatness of his power; that he was to be a spiritual prince, to have spiritual power against Satan, and to turn him and wicked men into hell; yet a calamitous, afflicted, and despised person, though highly meritorious; the justification of men for his sake; his satisfaction, by his merits, for the sins of penitents, &c. I do not say, that what we meet withal among the Jews, especially more ancient, is exactly the same with these Christian doctrines; but that at least it is so like, and comes so near them, truly and intelligibly explained, that they have reason to be fairly disposed to the belief and reception of them.

And, first, I will very briefly put together (that I may take in as much as I can, into this Preface) many Scripture interpretations, especially of the ancients, concerning the Messiah, to which many more may be added. Isa. ix. 6, "His name shall be called Wonderful," &c. Maimonides, in his אג'ר' תימן confesseth these six names to belong to the Messiah, construing the words as we do. So doth Aben Ezra. But R. Lipman, R. Solomo, and D. Kimchi, make another construction,—viz. "that the mighty God, the everlasting Father, &c. shall call him (the *child*), Wonderful," &c. Isa. xi. 1, 2, "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse," &c. The Gemarists, in Talm. Bab. Sanh. 93. 2, and Maim. in his אג'ר' תימן, and the Chaldee paraphrast, interpret it of the Messiah.—Isa. lii. 13, "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted," &c. Tanchuma, in 'Jalkut,' understands it of the Messiah; and R. Houna, in the same place, refers the fifth verse of chap. liii, "He was wounded for our transgressions," to the afflictions of the Messiah. That whole prophecy is generally, by the ancients, interpreted of the Messiah; though R. Saadia, and Aben Ezra, whom Grotius thought good to follow, refer it to Jeremiah; and the Kimchis, R. Solomon, and Abarbanel, with much less reason or sense, to the people of Israel.—Isa. xi. 10, "To it shall the Gentiles seek." In Beres. Rabb. fol. 110, it is said to be meant of Messiah: so, indeed, do all the Jewish interpreters.—Isa. xi. 4, "And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares," &c. it is spoken of the times of the Messiah in Jalkut, out of Talm. Bab. Schabb.—Zech. xi. 12, "And they weighed for my

price thirty pieces of silver :” R. Chanina and R. Jochanan, in Beres. Rab., are of opinion, that those thirty pieces were thirty new precepts, which the Messiah was to bring with him, whence would follow some change in their law : though there are three, who object that those thirty precepts are to be given to the Gentiles, not to the Israelites, as the scholiast R. Issachar there interprets it.—Zech. xii. 10, “And they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced” (which place, I think, may be better rendered, to secure it against the grammatical objection of the Jews). R. Dousa, in Talm. Bab. Succ. 52. 1, will have it meant of the Messiah, the son of Joseph.—Micah v. 2, “Out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel :” the Chaldee paraphrase tells us this is the Messiah. Buxtorf, in his Lex. Talm. gives us above sixty places, where the Chaldee paraphrasts mention the Messiah. Many or most of which interpretations or allusions being fantastical, and not owned by any Christian expositors, who have handled the Scripture with judgment and sobriety, are impertinent to our purpose. Although, I fear, I have already cloyed the reader with the first sort of citations, yet I must beg his patience a little while, for one or two more of the second,—viz. those that belong to the establishment and more easy reception of some Christian dogmas. That gloss of Tanchuma in Jalkut, on Isa. lii. 13, a place just before mentioned, is now quoted by every body. The words of the prophet are, הנה ישביל עבדי ירום ונשא וגבה מאד i. e. “Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted, and be extolled, and be very high.” That ancient author glosseth, זה מלך משיח ירום מאברהם ונשא ממושה וגבה ממלאכי השרת, i. e. “This is the king Messiah; he shall be exalted above Abraham, extolled above Moses, and high above the ministering angels; for it is said (Ezek. i. 18), As for their heights or backs, there is a height above them.” I know, in the Hebrew this last sentence, brought for proof, may and ought to be otherwise rendered : but it is sufficient to my purpose, that the sense must be as I have translated it, according to this ancient author, because otherwise it proves not the thing, for which it was quoted. Now that which is principally observable, is, that, by the ‘living creatures’ in Ezekiel, this author and others under-

\* The two preceding periods have been omitted by Leusden.—Ed.

stood the supreme order of angels (of which they make seven) called חיות הקודש 'holy animals,' and by גביהם, which we translate 'rings,' they 'backs,'—they mean their 'dignities:' and yet they say, there was גבה להם 'a height or dignity above them,' which was that of the Messiah; and, therefore, that he was next God, the fountain of being: and why not, then, that he did, from eternity, emanate or issue from him? This doctrine of this ancient author, is directly contrary to the opinion of Maimonides, who tells us, that the dignity or eminency of the Messiah should be greater than that of all the prophets, except Moses. But nothing can be more agreeable to the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and especially to the seventh and fourteenth verses: and, indeed, this chapter, and the beginning of St. John's Gospel, and the Epistle of Jude, and many things in St. John's and St. Peter's Epistles, in the Apocalypse, and elsewhere, have so much of a cabalistical strain, both as to matter and phrase, that the Jews, methinks, should have a kindness for them, if it were but only upon that account. I should here scarce mention so whimsical a writer as Baal Hatturim, who seems to attribute at least the formation of the chaos to the Messiah,—did not our learned author, in his 'Harmony of the New Testament,' tell us, that the same is to be met withal in Zohar and Bahir, two of the most esteemed books among the Jews. Upon the words, רוח מרהפת, אלוהים מרהפת, "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," Gen. i. 2, that author notes, זה היא רוחו של משיח, "This was the Spirit of the Messias." Nor is that translation and paraphrase of the Chaldee paraphrase on Isa. lii. 13, to the end of chap. liii. now, I suppose, less commonly known, where justification, or remission of sins, is so plainly ascribed to the intercession of the Messiah. Chap. liii. 4; בכך על חובנא "Therefore he shall pray for the remission of our sins, and our iniquities shall be forgiven for his sake:" and ver. 6 and 7, in the Chaldee; כלנא בענא i. e. "We all of us have been scattered like sheep; every one strayed and wandered in his own way: but it hath seemed good to God to forgive us all our sins for his sake; he prayed and was heard; nay, before he opened his mouth, he was accepted." It may indeed be some doubt, whether the paraphrast, by this, *He*, who shall intercede, understands the Messiah, or some other; because those

things which are spoken from ver. 13, of chap. lii, to ver. 4, of chap. liii:—he seems to mean them confusedly, sometimes of the Messiah, and sometimes of the people of Israel, as many of their modern authors do. But the doubt may soon be resolved by observing, that he attributes remission of sins to the same person, of whom he saith, “That he shall gather the captivity of Israel, and shall send the wicked to hell:” but this cannot be meant of the people of Israel; and, consequently, it must be understood of the Messiah. Nor is it any wonder, that the Jews should do this honour to the Messiah, when they give so great a part of it to their ancestors, Abraham, Isaac, &c. The Jerusalem Targum, Gen. xxii. 14, introduceth Abraham, desiring of God, that, when the children of Israel should address themselves to him in time of necessity, he would remember Isaac’s voluntary oblation of himself to be a sacrifice (for so they think it was), and pardon them, and forgive their sins. And in Talm. Bab. Ber. 7. 1, there is one Rabbi, who interprets those words in Daniel’s prayer (Dan. ix. 17), “for the Lord’s sake,” בְּשֵׁבִיל אַבְרָהָם i. e. “for Abraham’s sake.” But the plainest and clearest place to this purpose, as if it had been written by a Christian under the disguise of a Jewish style, is extant in a book of great repute among the Jews for its antiquity (though, for some reasons, I conjecture, the author lived after Mahomet’s time) called ‘Pesikta.’ It is quoted in Jalkut, on Isa. lx. 1. Buxtorf hath already given us this place largely translated into Latin, in Arca Foed. cap. 14. I will here set down as little as may be of it, for brevity’s sake, with an observation or two. הַתְּחִלָּה ‘הַק”בָּה מִתְּנָה עִמּוֹ וְכ’ “God, beginning to make a covenant with him (the Messiah), thus bespake him:—Those whose iniquities are hid with you, will put you into an iron yoke, with which they will make you like a heifer, almost blind with labour, and strangle you; for the cause of their iniquities, your tongue shall cleave” (with grief and drought) “to the roof of your mouth. Do such things as these like you?” To which the Messiah answers, “Perhaps those afflictions and sorrows may last for many years.” God tells him, “That he had decreed him to suffer them for a whole week of years; but if he did not consent thereto, he would presently remove them.” To whom the Messiah returns, “That



he would most willingly undergo them upon condition, that not one Israelite should perish, but that all of them should be saved ;—those who lived and died in his days ; those who were hid in the earth ; those who were dead since Adam ; even all embryos and untimely births ; finally, all who had been or should be created.”

Are not these expressions very near the Christian doctrine of the Messiah's suffering for the sins of all mankind, or of Christ's being a propitiation for the sins of the whole world ? Only these true Jews, according to their wonted uncharitableness and arrogance, restrain the benefit to themselves. Again, the same author, Pesikta, tells us, “ That it is a tradition of their masters, that, in the month Nisan, their forefathers are to rise up and say, to the Messiah, ‘ O Messiah, although we are your ancestors, yet thou art more excellent than we, because thou hast borne the iniquity of our sons,—and harder and heavier afflictions have passed over thee, than ever yet happened or shall happen to any man, &c. Is it your pleasure, that our children should enjoy the benefits, which God will bestow upon them ? For peradventure because thou sufferest even from them, while they cast thee into prison’ (‘ he came unto his own, and his own received him not,’ John i. 11), ‘ thou mayest be less favourable unto them.’ ” To whom the Messiah answered, “ That what he had done, he had done it for the sake of them and their children.” What is all this, but what the Christians teach, that the Messiah was to be a person despised (it is there one instance of his condition), afflicted, and cruelly used, even by his own kindred and countrymen ? It is true, in the same place of the same author, we have two traditions likewise of the victorious, pompous, splendid, and prosperous state of the Messiah at last : but they are different traditions of different persons, the one of R. Isaac, the other of R. Simeon. And then suppose they had been of the same persons, yet still the Messiah was to have been a man of mighty sufferings ; and no marvel, if they withal retained their inveterate opinions of his temporal power and greatness. In the same place, a little before, they feign a short colloquy (according to their fashion) between God and Satan ; where God tells Satan, “ That the light, which he saw under his throne of glory,

belonged to him, who should in time confound him with shame; and that Satan, when he saw it, fell down and trembled, crying out, That he truly was the Messiah, who was to cast him and all the heathen people into Gehenna. For this purpose was the Son of God manifested (saith St. John, i. 3. 8), that he might destroy the works of the devil." Much more might be observed and transcribed in this quotation, and many more instances might be brought: but I am to remember, I am writing a Preface, not a Treatise.

But, lastly, The principal use of Talmudical and Rabbinical authors is yet behind,—namely, the right interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament. Inspired writings are an inestimable treasure to mankind; for so many sentences, so many truths: but then, the true sense of them must be known; otherwise, so many sentences, so many authorised falsehoods. Whatever, therefore, contributes to the finding out of that, must in proportion be valuable. And no greater help to do it with ease, speed, and plainness, than the knowledge of the phrases, opinions, laws, rites, and customs, as well as other circumstances of the Jews, at the time of those writings. This appears from the great and frequent ignorance or mistakes of many both ancient and modern interpreters, who had as great a share of piety, parts, and wit, and other suitable qualities, as other men, but wanted this assistance; and even Jerome and Origen, who had the most skill, would have done better, if they had had more of it. In this age, all commentaries are full of this kind of learning, and none hath more frequently, and perhaps to better purpose, made use of it, than this our laborious and learned author. I will only here, as I have done in the particulars before, add an instance or two out of many of our own observation, and put an end to this short essay of the utility of oriental learning. In Matt. xii. 36, the *ῥῆμα ἀργόν*, or *idle word*, 'for every one of which, our Saviour saith, men shall give an account' (he doth not say shall be condemned or punished), may perhaps be of the same importance with that, which the Talmudists and Rabbins call *שיחה בטילה*, i. e. 'the talk of those who are idle,' at leisure, have little to do; such as is used among people in ordinary conversation, when they meet together:—as, What news? How doth such a

person? or the like. Even this may be well or ill done, prudently or foolishly; and, therefore, even of this, an account will be required. See Maimon. Comment. in Pirk. Avoth, cap. 1.—That of our Saviour's promise, Matt. xviii. 20, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them,"—is well paralleled and illustrated by the saying of R. Chanina, Pirk. Avoth, cap. 3, שני יושבים ויש ביניהם דברי תורה שכינה ביניהם, "If but two together employ themselves in the law,—the Shechinah, or Divine Presence, will be among them." The like, also, Talm. Bab. Ber. 6. 1.—That of St. Mark xiv. 56, concerning the false witnesses against our Saviour, that "their witnesses agreed not together," *ὀκ ἤσαν ἴσαι*, may be somewhat explained by the custom we read of in Talm. Bab. Sanh. Misn. cap. 5:—They used to put seven questions to every one of the witnesses apart;—namely, In what jubilee, or space of forty-nine years, any thing was done? In what year of that jubilee? What month? What day of the month? What day? What hour? What place? If the words of the witnesses agreed not, the testimony was called עדות בטילה 'an idle testimony,' which was to no purpose: if they did agree, it was עדות קיימת 'a firm and effectual testimony.' And a somewhat more obscure saying of our Saviour to the Samaritan woman, John iv. 14, "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life;"—this may receive light from a like saying in Pirk. Avoth, cap. 6; ונתנת מלכות לו וממשלה וחקר דין ומגלים לו רזי תורה ונעשה כמעין שאינו פוסק ובנוהר וממשלה וחקר דין ומגלים לו רזי תורה ונעשה כמעין שאינו פוסק ובנוהר i. e. "The law gives him that studies in it, a kingdom, dominion, sagacity in judgment, revelation of its secrets; and becomes to him like a never-ceasing fountain, and mighty flowing river."—The קורת רוח ב"ע i. e. "the refreshment of spirit in the world to come," of which R. Jacob (in Pirk. Avoth, cap. 4.) pronounceth, that "One hour's enjoyment is more worth than a whole life in this world," is very like St. Peter's *καιροὶ ἀποψύξεως*, "the times of refreshment, which shall come from the presence of the Lord," Acts iii. 19.—The apostle's advice, Cor. i. 8, to abstain from things offered to idols, was in compliance with those brethren, who thought it unlawful from a Jewish

canon. Talm. Babyl. Avod. Zar. Misn. cap. 2, בשר הנכנס לע"א מותר והיוצא אסור מפני שהוא מזבחי המתים, "It is lawful to eat of the flesh, which is carrying into an idol's temple, but not of that which comes out; because it is of the sacrifices of the dead," i. e. to inanimate idols, or to dead persons. That place of 1 Cor. xi. 10, where St. Paul commands the women to cover their heads in praying, "because of the angels," would have given critics and expositors no trouble,—if they had observed, that the apostle alluded to, and allowed of, the received opinion of the Jews concerning angels being present, and that with curiosity, in some human affairs of importance, but especially in religious matters. We may learn thus much, and smile into the bargain, from what we read concerning R. Joshua, and R. Jose, the priest, in Talm. Babyl. Chag. 14. 2. It is this, ר' יהושע ור' יוסי הכהן היו מהלכין בדרך אמרו אפ' אנו נדרש במעשה מרכבה פתח ר' יהושע ודרשו אותו היום היה תקופת תמוז נתקשרו שמים בעבים ונראה כמין קשת בענן והיו מלאכי השרת מתקבצים לשמוע כבני אדם : to this sense: "As R. Joshua and R. Jose, the priest, were walking together, they said, one to another, Let us discourse of the Mercavah, or Chariot" (that is, the metaphysical part of their Cabala, or traditional mysterious philosophy, so called from the vision of Ezekiel, where, they think, it was mystically taught). "R. Joshua began (and it was upon the day of the summer solstice): presently the heavens were covered with clouds; and there appeared a kind of a bow in a cloud, and the ministering angels were crowding to hear, as men used to do at the solemnities of the bridegroom and bride." This story will not fail to bring to our minds that of St. Peter, 1. i. 12; *εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι*: "Into which things" (the matters of the gospel) "the angels desire to look." Which makes me a little wonder at the opinion of our author, p. 303<sup>z</sup>, so well versed in those books, that by the 'angels' are meant the 'devils,' making a bait of the beauty of the women to entangle the eyes and the hearts of the men. Perhaps he hath changed his opinion in his notes upon the Epistle to the Corinthians, which I could never yet see.—He that reads in the Chaldee paraphrase, commonly called Jonathan's, on the Pentateuch, Gen. xxxv. 25, 26, 'That the angels used to meet together at certain times to praise

<sup>z</sup> Present edition, vol. 3. p. 244.

God vocally ;' and in the same Targum, as also in the Jerusalem, how the angel, which wrestled with Jacob, desired him that he would let him go, because that very morning was his first course from the creation with others to laud and praise God: he that reads the long story of R. Chani-na and R. Kasma, in the Medraschim, printed with Zohar, fol. 46. p. 2. col. 2, concerning the angels Aza and Azael (אזא and אזאל), who, murmuring and rebelling against God, and by him tumbled down from his holy place, and then clothed with airy vehicles, playing pranks with women, were bound with long iron chains to the mountains of darkness; I say, he that reads these, cannot but refer them to 1 Cor. xiii. 1, "The tongues of angels;" and 2 Pet. ii. 4, "The angels that sinned and were cast down to hell, and delivered into chains of darkness;" and Jude, ver. 6, "The angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness." I have put as many things together here, as I could conveniently, and could add much more. But it is time to put an end to this part of our little dissertation, and to draw to a conclusion of the whole.

In the beginning of our Preface, I promised something concerning this very worthy and learned author. It is but a little I have to say of him; but it is all that either my own knowledge or others', no very forward information, would amount to. He was born in Staffordshire, and educated in Christ's College in Cambridge; but in that age, when the strain of opinions in divinity ran generally another way, after the first foreign reformers, before things were so calmly, impartially, and perhaps judiciously, examined. He lived, and publicly appeared, principally when factions grew high, and were in great ferment; when the populacy, the worst of masters, *all being done*, the most ignorant, selfish, and ungenerous were courted<sup>b</sup>; when public accusation was the fashion, and all things found fault with, right or wrong; when affairs were carried with clamour, confidence, and violence, with pretences or appearances of religion and reformation, backed with a present success. And it was no wonder, if some good and innocent men, especially such as he who was generally

<sup>b</sup> "Cum plebecula, pessima Magistra, omnium ignarissima, sui amantissima, et nullâ generositate imbuta, ambiretur;"—Leusden's version.

more concerned about what was done in Judea, many centuries since, than what was transacted in his own native country, by the intrigues and designs of enthusiastical or hypocritical politicians; I say, it is no wonder, if some such were borne away to some compliances in some opinions and practices in religious and civil matters, which they themselves afterward, upon more sedate and serious reflection, did not allow. And yet, it seems, his innocency from any self-interest or design, together with his learning, secured him from the extravagances and follies of the demagogues, the people's oracles,—every one of which affected to distinguish and signalize himself by some peculiar doctrine or custom; but in truth, were no more fit for teachers and governors in religion, than mountebanks to compose dispensatories, or to be presidents of colleges of physicians.

For one little proof of which, when, in the University itself, the use of the Lord's prayer was generally laid aside, he did in the University church, as I remember, both produce and discourse his own opinion, concerning the obligations to use the form of it in public; and accordingly, to testify his more than ordinary assurance and zeal, recited it both before and after his sermon.

His preaching in the University in his course (which he seldom omitted) was, to the most judicious and best disposed (and there were many, who began carefully to examine things, when heats were over), very acceptable. For he always brought with him some new and considerable notion, either in the explication of some place of Scripture, or confirmation of it, which was usually followed with some application, delivered with a very sensible and grave piety.

He was for his temper, as far as I know, or have heard from those who knew him better, and may be gathered from many of his prefaces, of as great modesty as learning; humble and mean in his own opinion, perhaps to an excess: where the greatness of that amiable virtue (a thing rare), seems to have betrayed him to an error in judgment concerning himself and his own value, and too long commendations and eulogiums of others. As he was most obliging and kind himself to others, so, by what I have heard, he was the most sensible of his obligations to them; which might be the cause, why he was, in some cases,

so liberal in his acknowledgments and praises; having more regard to the favour he received, than to the right or other qualities and circumstances of the person, who bestowed it. He was most assiduous and laborious in his study, where he spent almost the whole time, and peradventure somewhat too much, when he was in a station of some action and government.

His learning is best known from his works. It lay principally in history, chronology, systematical divinity, the oriental tongues, but above all, in Rabbinical and Talmudical authors. In these last, doubtless he had spent a great deal of time, and taken a vast deal of pains; and I do believe I have reason to say, as far as appears by writings, that he had been the most conversant, and was the most skilled, in the two Talmuds (the principal part of Jewish learning, being their canon and civil law), of any man in Europe. And his ability in this sort of knowledge and learning was so well known and esteemed, in the time of the edition of that Herculean and incomparable work of the English Polyglot Bible (though now too low prized), that he was often consulted, and did as freely communicate his observations and collections. In the Apparatus to it, are printed his animadversions upon the Chorographical tables or maps of the Holy Land, made by Adrichomius, Trinius, &c. in which he discovers and corrects a great number of gross errors; and his opinion is more than once cited in the Prolegomena. All which is but very little in compare with what he hath since done in his Chorographical disquisitions, before his *Horæ Hebraicæ*, on Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; but of this, others perhaps, ere long, will give an account.

It is not so foreign to the argument and design of this Preface, to take notice here, by the way, and upon this occasion, of the French critic, now so much in vogue with us, Father Simon; who as he hath indeed in that book of his, given very just commendations to so great a performance; so he hath been pleased to find some faults therein, and to make many other observations and reflections concerning other matters, with reason little enough. As for example, perhaps because he saw the compilers of those many great volumes so good *husbands*<sup>d</sup> as to give us the

<sup>d</sup> "Ita temporis et chartæ pepercisse."—Leusden's edition.

Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, as it were in the margin, by noting only the differences from the Vatican copy; he thought they would have done well to have given us, in like manner, the Samaritan text and version of the Pentateuch: whereas there are not the same reasons. Perhaps there are more and more considerable differences between the Hebrew and Samaritan, than between the two copies of the Seventy: and then the reading of the Hebrew in Samaritan letter, and that without any points, as also the being acquainted with the dialect of the Samaritan version, so very remote from the Hebrew, and somewhat different from all other of the Chaldee paraphrasts, were sufficient reasons, besides others, for the printing them, as they are done, entirely. And, indeed, they would have been much to blame, if they had omitted them, and followed some such advice as that of this author.

But his reflection upon the Protestants, in another place, wants either judgment or sincerity;—where, when he hath showed, as he thinks, the very great difficulty in translating the Holy Scriptures, he infers the great ignorance of the Protestants, or the little pains they have taken in finding out their difficulty, when they affirm, that the word of God, contained in the Scriptures, is plain, and not at all intricate. But what Protestant saith so? They say, indeed, That the matters, necessary to salvation, are plainly contained in the Scriptures;—which, in my opinion, is so certain and easy a truth, that neither he nor any other will be able to confute it: and, for my part, I am so far from believing, that all necessaries to salvation are not plainly contained in the Scriptures, that I think both they and a multitude of not-necessaries too (though of great use), are there plainly to be found. Yet I am not ignorant what they have ever ready to object against Protestants<sup>e</sup>.

And for his explication of ‘Authentic,’ viz. ‘a faithful copy which one cannot suspect to have been altered,’—it is not only ‘equally’ (as himself honestly acknowledgeth), but ‘much more’ applicable to all the modern Latin and vernacular translations than to the Vulgar Latin, a great part of which nobody can tell what it is, or whence it comes. For the present Hebrew copy itself, though it may have its defects, yet without doubt coming infinitely

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Crit. lib. 2. cap. 14.



nearer the true first original, as himself confesseth, than the Vulgar Latin, must be a more faithful copy, and consequently more authentic. And then all the modern both Latin and vernacular translations, though they have their faults, not every where truly rendering the Hebrew, yet more agreeing with the present Hebrew than the Vulgar Latin, as every one knows, they must be more faithful copies, and consequently more authentic too.

And in effect, the reasons of the ingenious Parisian divine<sup>g</sup>, who is so well pleased with this notion for the authenticity of the Vulgar Latin, are only because the council of Trent hath said so; and those of Father Simon<sup>h</sup>, an unreasonable suspicion of all other translations from the Hebrew, and the long use of it for some centuries in a corrupted ignorant church.

It is pretended for the reputation of that council by this critic, Bellarmine, and others, who were too learned not to see the advantage of Protestants against the Romanists, by this decree; That the council did not intend either to exclude the present Hebrew, or to prefer the Vulgar Latin before it. But either the contrary is true, or else they were strangely negligent in a most important affair, which they should have first settled, viz. the best version of the Holy Scriptures. Otherwise, why did they not appoint some of their own to review and correct the Latin translation of Sanctes Pagninus, from the Hebrew, encouraged by Leo the Tenth,—or else to make a new one and a better? Besides, the words of the decree, “*In publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur; et ut nemo eam, quovis prætextu, rejicere audeat vel præsumat,*” can infer nothing less, than that every one should be bound, either quite to neglect the Hebrew, and consequently to exclude the use of it,—or else, wheresoever they found the Vulgar Latin differing from or contrary to the Hebrew, yet to stick to the Vulgar Latin: and what is this, but to prefer it before the other?

This, methinks, is a considerable instance of the indefensibleness and wilfulness of some of the opinions of the Roman church. Wherefore this learned and industrious critic follows the present mode of France, to make the most plausible and tenable explications of their received

<sup>g</sup> Defence of the Crit. Hist. p. 57.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Crit. lib. 2. cap. 14.

dogmas : which, for my part, supposing they be not only plausible, but true, shall have not only my permission, but commendation. But that they have been always the general sense of their church,—or, though true, ought to be imposed upon all Christians as conditions of communion ; the one, I do not always believe,—the other, I do not by any means allow. I am glad to see such effects of the increase of solid knowledge amongst a people more ingenious, free, and generous, that they are ashamed somewhat of follies and falsehoods, though too ancient and too much authorized.

This writer indeed is learned, and hath much considered the task he undertakes ; but all is not extraordinary,—and all that is so, is not perhaps true. For very many things are now commonly known, and many observations concern the pontifician, or the more early reformed critics and commentators, altogether ignorant or indifferently skilled in oriental learning, nor gotten out of the prejudices of an infallible church, or more modern systems, not then to be questioned without the suspicion of atheism or heresy. Many also are his remarks, which though they have the hap now first to appear in public, yet they have been taken notice of by many among the Protestants, who have not been so forward to publish them, but chose rather to reserve them to longer consideration. And in general, I think it may be observed, that that learned genius, that free, judicious, and serious spirit, in philosophy, morality, and religion, which hath of late showed itself amongst the French, hath been much earlier and more propagated among us here in England ; if it be not again oppressed or discouraged by confidence, superstition, and interest. For I look upon Roman Catholics till lately, in France, under too much restraint, and the reformed generally under too much employment, and both under too much prejudice, to make any considerable discovery or improvement in science, religion, and learning. In fine, as there are, in this ingenious and new critic, many unusual and useful remarks,—so he will give occasion for, and hath need of, many animadversions.

But to return to our author:—what he hath written in Latin, is as much and perhaps more considerable than what is here collected in English : the various pieces are now with us translated into our own tongue, and printed

altogether also in one volume. Amongst these, are his ‘*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians,’ which I had not seen, when this preface was first written and gone off from the press, but since I have seen and perused it. And the managers of this whole edition, for some reasons of their own, having deferred the perfecting and publishing of it till this present time, have put me upon a necessity of altering some things in this sheet, and given me opportunity of adding others.

I have before, in this preface, mentioned the most natural and easy interpretation, in my judgment, of that so much criticised and seemingly difficult place, 1 Cor. xi. 10, “For this cause, ought the woman to have power on her head, *διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους*, because of the angels.” It seems a received opinion among the ancient Jews, that some of the good angels, when they pleased, used to be present with some curiosity, and concernment, in their religious affairs and assemblies; as perhaps the evil ones were in the filthy and idolatrous ones, of the heathens, which were by their own contrivance, suggestion, and encouragement. This opinion, in itself not improbable to reason, the apostle might approve and make use of. It was there somewhat unexpected to me, that our author, so well versed in these writings, should not take notice of it: but that, contrariwise, in page 303<sup>k</sup> of the ensuing volume, he should interpret that place of “evil angels making a bait of the beauty of women, to entangle the hearts and eyes of the men.” Yet I suspected, that he might have changed his opinion in his notes upon this Epistle to the Corinthians. But now upon perusal, I find he hath here taken little notice of the first, and, I think, most genuine interpretation, and started a new one: “Because of the angels;” that is, saith he, “because of the messengers or deputies of espousals,” the women were permitted the liberty either of unveiling their faces to show their comeliness and beauty, or of veiling them, to show their modesty. Which interpretation, as it shows his notable conjectural faculty, so it seems to be remote and improbable.

For, first, it is hard to find any instance in the Scripture where *ἄγγελοι*, without any addition, signifies an office, and not an order of beings, which we call *angels*: nor in the

<sup>k</sup> Present edition, vol. 3. p. 244.

Rabbins themselves, as he acknowledgeth, do we find the word שילוחים without the addition of קידושים signifying those deputies, unless they have been before mentioned together.

Secondly, The apostle speaks not only of women to be married, but of women in general, married or unmarried : whereas the reason, by this interpretation, of the women's having power on their heads, would reach only the unmarried. But this only occasionally, and to fill up a page.

In the late ill and unjust times, he was not for nothing taken from his country employment, and put into the mastership of Catharine-Hall in Cambridge, by those who, out of interest, did oftentimes respect and draw in persons of some account and reputation for learning. Here he continued till the happy return of our Sovereign to the rightful possession of his crown and kingdom ; when he soon ranged himself in the Church of England, in which his innocency and learning were so far taken notice of by his superiors, and especially the late most reverend and generous Archbishop, and the lord-keeper Bridgman, two impartial countenancers of honest men and scholars, that (as I have been informed) they always used him with kindness, respect, and liberality. And indeed his dedicatory epistles before his Latin commentaries on St. Mark and St. John, are sufficient witnesses both of his benefactors and his gratitude. By their care and bounty it was, that what he had before his majesty's restoration, was continued to him, and moreover a prebendary of Ely bestowed upon him. In those stations he followed his studies, and constantly and honestly discharged his duty till his death, which happened in December, in the year 1675. And thus much of the author. Much more without doubt might be said to his advantage by those, who had more acquaintance with him, or knew him better. I have done what right I could, to his worth and memory.

It remains only, in the last place, that we say something concerning this edition of these several pieces of the author, and so conclude this somewhat long preface. All his writings being in very good esteem here among us, and in greater beyond sea, where I have been more than once inquired of about them, and his English ones being grown scarce ; some booksellers were desirous to reprint these in English, and put them altogether in one fair volume : in

order to which they requested me to dispose, revise, correct, and put some preface before them; which I have now done.

I have ordered them according to their more natural use, not according to the time of publishing them by the author: and, therefore, I have put in the first place, The general Harmonies of the Old and New Testaments;—then the particular books, as the Harmony of the Four Evangelists, his Observations on Genesis and Exodus, his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, and, in the rear, his two tracts of the Temple-Service, and Miscellanies, which contain many observations, applicable and useful to the interpretation of the Scriptures. The latter of which was written by him when very young, and when that learning was not so much cultivated nor dispersed by other works; and, therefore, no wonder, if there be in it many things now more ordinary and well known. I have corrected hundreds of errors, both in the texts and history, and in the chronology and figures. In the first, notwithstanding, I left some small matters, as being uncertain whether they were the printer's faults, or the author's own way of writing, which was sometimes a little out of the common road. My principal care was in the Hebrew, Talmudical, and Rabbinical quotations, which were generally misprinted. This I thought more worth the pains, because the many citations and translations of these authors, are a very considerable help for young beginners to understand them, otherwise tedious and difficult enough. They are many and very useful examples, so that many good notions may be gotten at the same time with the language. In the chronology, were a great number of faults likewise to be mended: those which were more manifest and plain, I did alter; but some, which to me seemed mistakes, yet uncertain whether it was the author's opinion, I have left to the observation and correction of others, if they see cause. And, indeed, it would have been endless to have examined all the little accuracies; as the interregnums, the concurrent reigns of several kings, especially the last and first years, when they were complete, and in order succeeding one another, when they were in part coincident and concurrent, so that the last year of one should be the first of another.

There is one thing generally altered for the best.

Whereas, in the former edition, the numbers of several epochas answering one another, were set any how, as the printer could hit it,—now they are put one over-against another in the same line, except here and there, where the printers have neglected my directions in the copy; of which I shall presently advise by an instance or two. There is, also, a place or two where I know not how to reconcile the numbers, as in p. 99, 100<sup>n</sup>. For Jotham's first year and Uzziah's last, and the three thousand two hundred and fifty-second year of the world, should be concurrent, according to the author himself; unless he gives a double sense to the word 'reign' of Jotham;—namely, one more improper, as deputy to his father Uzziah, struck with leprosy in his last year,—and the other more proper by himself alone, the year after his father's death; which is a way of solution he sometimes useth. How far it is to be allowed, I am not here to say: I am not to set down my own but my author's sense, be it what it will, or what others can make of it. And, in general, once for all, I hope no man will think me obliged to applaud or approve every notion or remark of these Treatises. It is not my business to make an author, but to give him made; not to tell what the author should say, but what he hath said; every one may take, or leave, as he pleaseth. For he seems, I confess, too seriously to make and imitate Cabalistical and Rabbinical observations, such as that of the Talmudists and Baal Hatturim. But sometimes, perhaps, the importance of the matter of the observation, more than the certainty or probability of it, might induce him to do so. Though, indeed, I think more generally, it was his kindness for such authors, and his settled opinion of the authenticness of every point and tittle of our modern Masoretical copies of the Old Testament. As p. 86<sup>o</sup>, he observes that the Hebrew text hath divinely omitted a letter in one word,—viz. the letter (א) in מאומה which signifieth *something* (as all translations render it); and written it מומה signifying a *blot*; to brand Gehazi for his villany, in running after Naaman, and desiring something from him in his master Elisha's name, 2 Kings v. 20. As the observation is taken from R. Solomon, in his Commentaries upon that place, an author much given to such Talmudical fancies; so it is, also, founded upon a

<sup>n</sup> Present edition, vol. 2. p. 247, 248.

<sup>o</sup> Present edition, vol. 2. p. 225.

mistake. For it is not written מומה but מאומה in the copies, which our Polyglot Bibles followed, and in Athia's edition, all that I had at present to consult, besides Buxtorf's Bibles, with the Rabbinical commentaries. Here, indeed, it is מומה : the reason of which is, I suppose, the Masora's marginal note upon that word, which is חסר אלף כפר"שי i. e. Aleph in מומה is wanting, according to the commentary or explication of R. Solomon Jarchi. It seems, therefore, only to be so written in the copy, which that Rabbi used, and those who were pleased to follow him. Besides that, the word which signifies a blot, is not מומה but מום ; and even this last is sometimes written with an epenthetical Aleph מאום. But enough of this trifle. Such, also, is his conjecture, p. 129°, concerning the reason of the transposition of the Hebrew letters (y) and (פ) in the alphabetical chapters of the 'Lamentations;' or rather of the verses which begin with (פ), being set before those which begin with (y); whereas (y) in the Hebrew alphabet is before (פ). 'The reason may be (saith our author), to hint the seventy years' desolation of Jerusalem, because the Hebrew letter (y) stands for the number seventy.' If it were to denote any such thing, it might as well have hinted eighty years as seventy, (פ) being the numeral letter for eighty. Besides, the Syriac and Arabic versions there have retained their usual and natural order. His note upon the extraordinary and unparalleled punctuation of the Hebrew words לָנוּ וּלְבָנֵינוּ "To us and to our children belong the revealed things," Deut. xxix. 29, with points over every one of those letters, nay, with eleven points, according to the Masora; I say, this is of the same nature. 'It is, saith he, to give warning against curiosity in prying into God's secrets, and that we should content ourselves with his revealed will.' But it is far more probable, or certain, that these things were the casual mistakes or crotchets of some transcribers. His style, also, is often less proper; sometimes grammatically defective; which is to be attributed to his perpetual converse with the Talmudists, Rabbins, and other oriental languages, whose genius is so extremely different from that of the western;—and to the want of reading authors in our own tongue, being sufficiently employed with his own thoughts and compositions;—and sometimes perhaps to the

singularity of his notions. It may be observed also, that he often differs much from many or all other chronologers; as in the time of Christ's birth, the time from Christ's baptism to his death, the two terms of Daniel's seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years. In his account from the flood to Abraham's birth, he differs sixty years from the generality of computists; and that, upon a different interpretation of Gen. xi. 26, and proof that Abraham was not Terah's eldest son. From whence it necessarily follows, that where he agrees with others in the intermediate intervals, as from Abraham's birth to the promise, to their going-out of Egypt, to the building and destruction of the Temple, &c. he must assign these to different years of the world, viz. sixty later than usual. Perhaps, in some points, he may have as good reason and proof as others; of which let the reader judge: for I intend not, in this place, to dispute or decide any chronological controversies, which are numerous, often operose, and of little moment.

It is pity he finished not his 'Harmony upon the Evangelists,' and added not a fourth part, or perhaps as many as are printed. But, it may be, the bulk of them, and the time they would take up to perform them as the rest are done, he having by him other collections and designs, might make him unwilling to go on. He might also suppose, that some other hand, in time, might add the rest in the like method. So, likewise, his commentaries on the Acts are imperfect; they go no farther than chap. ix. and the year of Christ 45; whereas the whole story reacheth to about the year of Christ 60.

In the last place, according to promise, it is to be advised that all is not so well printed, as might be desired; some numbers are not so accurately placed over-against other. As p. 81. numb. 24. of Baasha,—and p. 81, the first of Jehoash should have been set two lines higher, against the 15th of Jehoahaz. Sometimes a column and name at the head of it is needless; as p. 49, Ahimelech. Sometimes the name in the top of the column mistaken; as p. 50, *Jair* for *Tolah*; and p. 83, *Ahab* for *Jehoshaphat*. But such small things as these, as they could not be easily prevented, so they may easily be remedied by any one, who will make use of the chronology. And as for other errata, I hope they are not worth the pains of collecting,—or else



are such, as will be, at first sight, mended by an intelligent reader: the sheets being carefully corrected by a reverend and worthy friend of mine in London, of long study and great skill in this kind of learning; when I, by the undeserved favour of my superiors, was called to an honourable employment out of my own country.

To conclude all. As I doubt not but the serious and intelligent reader, in the perusal of this volume, will see abundant reason highly to esteem the great and profitable labours of the pious and learned author; so I hope he will be pleased kindly to accept my little care and pains in publishing it with decency and advantage, and thereby endeavouring to contribute some small assistance to the study and understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and consequently the advancement of piety together with the most useful knowledge in the world.

G[eorge]. B[right].

# SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE<sup>a</sup>

OF THE

REVEREND AND MOST LEARNED

**JOHN LIGHTFOOT, D. D.**

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**T**HE exemplary virtue and industry of good men, hath always had a considerable influence upon the manners of men: great examples do work more powerfully than the most subtle reasonings, and the most elaborate arts of persuasion. For though men are generally shy of an eloquent and witty man, and apt to suspect an artifice, where they discern a piercing wit, and a ready invention; and, consequently, are little bettered by the strongest arguments of persuasion, but go on in a course of vice and sloth, in spite of all endeavours to reclaim them; yet there is something in a good example, which does more powerfully charm them: here is a certain force not easily eluded: this confirms the truth of what we should not, without it, so firmly have believed. Besides, it does, after the most lively manner, represent virtue and goodness to us, and its desirableness, and its beauties, in the most sensible and familiar way that we can desire. A great example does, also, convince us, That it is a possible thing to do virtuously; and that our excuses are but pretexts and covers to our sloth and laziness.

Hence it is, that, as the death of a virtuous and good man is a great loss to the community, so the preservation of his memory, and representing his example to those who survive him, doth greatly advance the public good. Many excellent persons have passed through the world with little

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. i.

observation; they have affected privacy, and avoided crowds, and shunned public notice. Their modesty hath been as great as their other virtues; and many others, who could not be concealed while they lived, have yet been soon forgotten after their decease, for want of some to do them right in transmitting their memory to posterity.

Upon these considerations, and upon no other whatsoever, I have undertaken to give the world some small account of our reverend and very learned author. I sincerely declare, I had much rather it had been done by any other hand: for, besides my want of time and leisure, and of many other helps needful for such a work, which I could plead for my excuse; I might justly have expected that this should have been done by some one, who, upon all accounts, was better provided for it.

Our author, John Lightfoot, D.D. was born in the rector's house of Stoke upon Trent, in the county of Stafford, on the 29th day of March (being Tuesday), Anno Domini 1602. As for this time of his birth, I find it under his own hand in one of his academical exercises, which he performed, being vice-chancellor, in the stead of Dr. Arrow-smith, public divinity professor, and master of Trinity College in Cambridge, who was at that time sick. He tells us there, That that doctor and himself were born<sup>b</sup> in the same year, on the same day above-named, and almost in the same hour; that doctor, near Newcastle upon Tyne, in Northumberland,—himself, near Newcastle under Line, in the county of Stafford. For which he had a very dear affection, calling it, in one of his epistles, 'his mother, the mother of his birth, and the mother of his dearest interests.' And, in another, most passionately and most elegantly lamenting her under the miseries, that the civil wars had brought upon her.

He was the son of Mr. Thomas Lightfoot, vicar of Uttoxeter, in the county of Stafford; a man not to be named without a preface of honour and respect. He was born in a little village, called Shelton, in the parish of Stoke above-named: he was a man of exemplary piety, and of an industry indefatigable, and one of the greatest examples of this last age for his constant care of those souls, which were committed to his charge. This he showed by his

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. ii.

constant preaching, and diligent instructing and catechizing the youth of his parish, which his preaching did not excuse him from. He was a burning and shining light, and showed his love to his great Lord and Master by the unwearied care of his sheep. He was in holy orders six-and-fifty years, and thirty-six years vicar of Uttoxeter above-named. Died July 21, Anno Domini 1658, and in the eighty-first year of his age.

Our author's mother was Mrs. Elizabeth Bagnall, a gentlewoman of very good family; three of which family were made knights, by queen Elizabeth, for their martial prowess and valour in the then wars in Ireland against the rebels. She was a woman of exemplary piety, and died Jan. 24, Anno Domini 1636, at the age of seventy-and-one.

Our author, when he was fit to be sent to a grammar school, was committed to the care of Mr. Whitehead, school-master, at Morton Green, near Congerton, in the county palatine of Chester. There he continued till June, Anno Domini 1617. And thence he was sent to Christ College, in Cambridge, where he was admitted under the tuition of the very learned and pious Mr. William Chappel, then fellow of that house, and afterward doctor in divinity, and master of Trinity College, in Dublin, and, lastly, lord bishop of Cork, in Ireland.

While he continued in Christ College, he gave great proofs of a pregnant wit, and great proficiency in his studies. His tutor told some of the heads of the University, at that time, that he had a young pupil, meaning Lightfoot, whom he thought the best orator of all the under-graduates in the town. He made an extraordinary proficiency in his studies during his stay in that place, especially in the Latin and Greek tongues. For the Hebrew tongue, he neglected it there, and lost that skill in it which he brought thither. And for logic, he could by no means fancy that contentious and quarrelsome study, it being very disagreeable to the quiet genius of this young student. He could not be so happy as to stay any longer in that learned society, than till such time as he was bachelor of arts.

After this, he was admitted as an assistant to his former master, Mr. Whitehead, who was then master of a famous school at Repton, in the county of Derby, where he continued a year or two, and made great improvement in the

Greek tongue. His conversation there was as pleasing to the master, as his mildness was acceptable to the boys, who were under his trust.

Sometime after this, he entered into holy orders; and the first place of his settlement, after this, was at Norton under Hales, in the county of Salop: this was near to Belaport, in the same county, which was the mansion house of the very learned and worthy Sir Rowland Cotton, knight, who was his constant hearer then, his patron afterward, and his faithful friend while he lived.

This Sir Rowland Cotton was a man of very singular learning: he was the son of Mr. William Cotton, citizen and draper of London: he had great skill in the Hebrew tongue by the early instructions of Mr. Hugh Broughton, who often lodged, and, for some considerable time, resided at his father's house. There were few places in the Hebrew Bible, which he was not able readily to read, and render into English, when he was but seven or eight years of age, and he did not only understand but readily speak the language. This worthy knight our author often mentioned as his great friend, and a person of a most exemplary life, as well as of great learning and judgment. I have seen a sermon of our author's, prepared to be preached at his funeral, in which he bewails his death; and complains, at the close of it, that he was hindered by the express command of this worthy and modest knight, upon his death bed, from saying any thing of him.

This may seem to be a digression, but it is a very pardonable one; it being designed only, to take an occasion of speaking well of one, who deserved well of the world, and particularly of our learned author, whose incomparable learning and skill, in the Hebrew affairs, are, under God, in great measure owing to that learned and religious gentleman.

Sir Rowland Cotton did, while our author preached at the place above-named, out of respect to his hopeful parts, take him into his own family, as his chaplain: there he laid the foundation of his Rabbinical learning, for which he is justly renowned, not only here in England, but beyond the seas. And that which put him upon it, as our author himself would frequently relate it, was this:—Sir Rowland

would often question him in that language, in which our author was then but a novice; and this after some time wrought upon him so effectually, that, out of shame and indignation that he wanted that learning, which his patron had, he set himself close to the study of the tongues, and the Hebrew especially. He was ashamed to be baffled (as, he confessed, he often was) by a country-gentleman; and that also in a piece of learning, which he, by his profession and his character, was much more obliged to attain to, than his patron could be supposed to be. And this was the occasion of his applying himself to those very useful studies, to which otherwise, probably, he would have continued a stranger.

In his studies in this family, he made a great progress, and was greatly cherished in them by his patron, to whom he was always very dear. With him he continued at Belaport, till Sir Rowland left the country, and went to reside at London with his family, at the request of Sir Allen Cotton, his father's younger brother, who was lord-mayor of the city.

Within a little while, our author followed his patron to the city. He continued not long there, before he returned into the country again, and visited his father and mother at Uttoxeter above-named, of whom he took a solemn leave, with a resolution to travel beyond the seas, to their no little sorrow. But having left his father and mother, and traveling as far as Stone, in the county of Stafford, which place was then destitute of a minister, he was, by the importunity of those who were concerned, persuaded to accept of that place. And so he did; and forthwith set his parents at ease by letting them know, that his travels were now at an end. At this place he continued two years, or thereabouts. During this time (May 21, 1628), he married Joice, the daughter of William Crompton of Stone Park, Esq.; and widow of George Copwood of Dilverne in the county of Stafford, gentleman.

From Stone our author removed to Hornsey, near the city of London, for the sake of the library of Sion College, to which he often resorted; and from thence in the spring, Anno Domini 1630, he and his family came to Uttoxeter aforesaid; where he continued till the September following, when Sir Rowland Cotton preferred him to the rectory of

Ashley in the county of Stafford. Here our author continued in great esteem for the space of twelve years; and here he very much pursued his Rabbinical studies. And to that end he bought a small piece of land lying near unto his parsonage-house, where he built a small house in the midst of a garden, containing a study and withdrawing-room below, and a lodging chamber above. Here he closely followed his said studies, with great delight, and unwearied diligence; and did choose to lodge here very often, though it were so near to his family and parsonage-house. He continued in this place till June, Anno Domini 1642, when, upon what occasion soever it was (most probably being called up to the Assembly of Divines), unwillingly he seems to leave his abode and country, and became a kind of exile in London, as we may collect from his epistle before his 'Handful of Gleanings upon Exodus;' where he thus bespeaks the parishioners of St. Bartholomew's Behind the Exchange, "That when exiled from his own, they made him theirs." But in this his destitute state, it seems, he continued not long. His parts and worth, like a great light, could not be hid; but soon were taken notice of in the city. So that he became minister to the inhabitants of the parish aforesaid. Where, as we learn from that epistle, their first meeting was with extraordinary kindness, and the same mutual affection abated not between them. About this time it was also, that another employment was laid upon him; namely, to be a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Whither I shall now follow him, and give some account of his carriage and demeanour there.

In the year 1643, the ministers of the city of London met together to consult, whether they should preach on the Christmas-day following, as they had been wont to do, or take no notice at all of the day. One of them (whom I shall not name), of great authority among them, was against their preaching, and was very near prevailing with the rest of his brethren to forbear. Our author was at that meeting (being at that time minister at St. Bartholomew's aforesaid), who was so far from consenting to the advice of that person who gave it, that he took him aside, and argued the point with him; and did not only maintain the lawfulness of the thing in question, but the expedience of it also; and

showed, that the omitting it would be of dangerous consequence, and would reflect very much upon those men, who made profession of no other design, but reforming what was culpable and faulty. In a word, he so far prevailed with the company, that when it was put to the question, it was carried in the affirmative, and there were not above<sup>w</sup> four or five of the whole, who dissented. I forbear to mention the particular arguments, which our author made use of (which I could easily have done); because, I do not mention it as an instance of his learning, that he was able to maintain this cause; than which, nothing can be thought more defensible;—but only to let the reader know, that, though our author lived in the late unhappy times, and conversed with men who were extravagantly bent upon extremes, yet he did not want courage and integrity in standing against the stream.

In the debates of that Assembly at Westminster, our author used the like freedom, and gave great proofs both of his courage and learning also, in opposing many of those tenets, which the divines were endeavouring to establish; of which, I shall give some instances, which I do not take upon hearsay, and uncertain report, but from better grounds, and such as are unexceptionable.

It is very well known, that those divines spent much time concerning lay-elders, and their power of ruling. This they endeavoured to prove from 1 Cor. xii. 28, “helps, governments:” this opinion our author did not forbear to oppose; and did, with great truth and judgment, affirm, that the Seventy-two used the word κυβέρνησις (Prov. i. 5, xi. 14, xx. 18, and xxiv. 6), to translate תולדות, which word imports, not the *act*, but the *ability*, of gifts fit to govern. And that the ἀντιλήψεις and κυβερνήσεις, in the place in hand, imported *helps* to interpret the languages and sense of those, who spake with tongues: as may be gathered, by a diligent comparing of the 28th, 29th, and 30th verses together.

And whereas some would have founded lay-elders upon the elders of the Jewish church, and did affirm, that there were two consistories in every city, and that they were civil and ecclesiastical;—our author replied, that the two Sanhedrims, or consistories, in every city, are not owned

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. iv.



by the Jewish authors: and, for that, he alleged Maimonides at large. He proved, that there were three courts in Jerusalem, but that they were not distinguished into ecclesiastical and civil; and that there was but one court, or consistory, in every other inferior city. He granted, indeed, that there were elders in the Sanhedrim, that were not priests or Levites; but, withal, they were civil magistrates.

At another time, when they were for making a court to consist of lay-elders, mixed with presbyters, to decide ecclesiastical matters, and that from the Jewish practice;—our author showed, that, in divers things, the priest had a propriety, and was only concerned,—and the civil magistrate had nothing to do,—as, in the case of leprosy, and the trial of jealousy, and judging between clean and unclean, &c. and that, in those things, where the lay judges were concerned, as in blasphemy, idolatry, false doctrines, &c,—the censure was civil, it being capital.

And, when some of them affirmed, that the civil elders, in the Sanhedrim, judged in all cases,—our author replied, that this was impossible in the case of leprosy: it being evident, that leprosy was infectious to all Israel, but only to the priests. And, as for that place, Deut. xvii, he affirmed, that it spake not of ‘appeals,’ but of ‘advice,’—not of ‘judicature,’ but of ‘direction:’ for, that the judges of the inferior courts were to go to the place, which the Lord should choose, to inform themselves in a matter, too hard for them in judgment.

In that assembly, in discoursing of church-officers, there was a certain divine, who affirmed that widows were to be esteemed as such; and, for the confirmation of his opinion, he alleged, that it appeared from hence,—viz. that they were chosen at sixty years of age. Our author opposed that fond opinion, from that very argument, on which the divine aforesaid grounded it, alleging, that, under the old testament, the officers at the Temple were dismissed at fifty years of age,—and that it was, therefore, unreasonable to suppose, that, in the new, any should be admitted to office, who were not under sixty. And whereas another divine in that assembly affirmed, that the priests were dismissed from their service, because of the burden of carrying the ark, &c. our author replied, that the ark was fixed in Solomon’s time, and that the courses of the priests were so

full, as that eighty opposed Uzziah; and that Josephus saith, That the courses had five thousand a piece at least in them, and their service but one week in about half a year; and that, therefore, they could not be supposed to be overladen with work.

Our author was against the people's election of their ministers, which some in that assembly attempted to prove from the word *χειροτονία*, which they would have to signify not 'laying-on of hands,' but 'election.' He argued against this opinion from Zonaras and Balsamon, and from the apostolical canons, and from the notation of the Greek word. To which he added, that it was not possible for the people, in those early times of Christianity, to elect their ministers, because none were fit in those times to be such, but by the gift of the Holy Ghost; and that it was not reasonable to suppose, that the people did nominate and choose such, who were to receive that heavenly gift.

I<sup>d</sup> find also, that, upon a consultation whether they should add something forbidding the directory to be turned into a set form, that our author spake against it as a dangerous thing, so much as to intimate any thing against a set form of prayer.

Upon that proposition relating to baptism, "it is lawful and sufficient to sprinkle the child,"—our author opposed them, that worded it in that manner; it being unfit to vote that as lawful only, which every one grants so to be. And whereas one of that assembly attempted, in a large discourse, to prove that *טבילה* (which signifies *baptism*) imports a "dipping overhead;"—our author replied at large, and proved the contrary, (1.) From a passage of Aben Ezra on Gen. xxxviii. (2.) From R. Solomon Jarchi, who, in his Commentary on Exod. xxiv, saith, That Israel entered into covenant with sprinkling of blood, and *טבילה*, which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews expounds by 'sprinkling,' Heb. ix. (3.) From this, that John the Baptist sometimes preached and baptized in places, where he could not possibly dip those, who were baptized. In conclusion, he proposed to that assembly to show him, in all the Old Testament, any one instance, where the word, used "de Sacris et in actu transeunte," implied any more than 'sprinkling.' It is said, indeed, that the priests washed their bodies, and

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. v.

that the unclean washed himself in water; but this was not a transient action. And when they came to the vote, whether the directory should run thus, "The minister shall take water and sprinkle, or pour it with his hand, upon the face or forehead of the child;" some were unwilling to have 'dipping' excluded; so that the vote came to an equality within one: for the one side there being twenty-four, and for the other twenty-five. The business was thereupon recommitted, and resumed the day following; when our author demanded of them, who insisted upon 'dipping,' the reason of their opinion, and that they would give in their proofs. Hereupon it was thus worded, "That pouring on of water, or sprinkling, in the administration of baptism, is lawful and sufficient." Where our author excepted against the word *lawful*, it being all one as if it should be determined to be lawful to use bread and wine in the Lord's supper; and he moved that it might be expressed thus, "It is not only lawful, but also sufficient." And it was done so accordingly.

Concerning the members of a synod, the proposition was, that "Pastors and teachers, and other fitting persons, are constituent members of a synod." This our author opposed, and gave his interpretation of the "brethren and the whole church," Acts xv; viz. that by 'brethren' was meant the 'uncircumcised converts,' as ver. 1, and 23. And that it was most likely, the churches of the uncircumcised would send their 'ministers,' and not 'laymen;' and that by ἐκκλησία was meant not 'the church,' but 'the meeting of the council.'

There were many other matters debated in that assembly, in which our author was greatly concerned, and did not fail to argue very strenuously upon occasion against those opinions, that were then in vogue. I could give a particular account of what he said in the debates, touching the admission of persons to the sacrament of the Lord's supper,—of private baptism,—of the learning required in those, who were to be ordained,—of the raising doctrines from a text,—of the use of learned languages in sermons, &c.; but I forbear these things, not being willing to exceed that short account of our author, which I only undertook at first.

In the latter end of the year 1643, I find our author was preferred to the rectory of Much-Munden, in the county of

Hertford, void by the death of that excellent person, Samuel Ward, D. D., the Lady Margaret-professor in the university of Cambridge. In that rectory, he continued to the day of his death. He resided upon his living as much as was consistent with his relation to Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, of which he was master many years before his death. He was uneasy when he was from his living; and would express a great desire to be at home with his 'russet-coats,' [*Subrufas tunicas*, Leusd.] as he was wont to call his country neighbours, when he was absent from them. His labours in that place were very great and exemplary. He was unwearied in his studies, which he followed early and late with indefatigable diligence. He was a most constant and painful preacher: his parsonage-house was about a mile distant from his parish church, whereunto he resorted every Lord's day, read the prayers, and preached morning and afternoon, and did many times continue there all the day, and returned not home till night, remaining in the church, not diverting to any other house to refresh himself, until evening service was all finished. He had for his flock the care and compassion of a father; he lived among them in great peace, and with great hospitality. There he continued without let or disturbance many years. Indeed, soon after the happy restoration of his majesty, a fellow of a college in Cambridge, procured a grant of our author's living. Of this he was soon advertised by his neighbour and worthy friend, Sir Henry Cæsar; upon which, by the favour of the late Archbishop Sheldon, our author was confirmed in his rectory. This great favour of the archbishop, our author gratefully acknowledgeth in two epistles dedicatory to him, prefixed to his 'Horæ Hebraicæ upon St. Mark and St. Luke.' And he would often mention the great favour he received from that worthy and very excellent person Sir Henry Cæsar, whose neighbourhood and encouragement was one of the greatest comforts of our author's life.

He commenced doctor in divinity in the year 1652. His Latin sermon was upon those words, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran Atha;" 1 Cor. xvi. 22. When he was in the University, he preached frequently, and to the great advantage of the students there. He always pressed an exemplary life upon his auditors,

and to very good purpose preached up the necessity of human learning, and exploded the enthusiasm, which had, at that time, gotten a great possession of the minds of unstable men. He preached up the lawfulness of forms of prayer in those times, when many men were so extravagantly vain as to decry it. And for schism and separation from an established church, he was so great an enemy to it, that he did, in those times, urge the necessity of communion with a church, which had corruption in it. And whoever will be at the pains to consider what he hath to this purpose, in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* upon St. Matthew, chap. viii. ver. 4,—and especially in his sermon preached at St. Michael's Church in Cornhill, before his countrymen of the county of Stafford, upon St. John x. 22 (which is printed with the rest of his works),—will be abundantly convinced of this. When he preached at Cambridge, he did generally pitch upon some difficult text of the Holy Scriptures, which he explained to the great satisfaction of the learned auditors. In which, I reckon, he did very considerable service to the public. In doing so, he relieved the minds of honest and inquisitive men, who were at a stand,—and defended the Holy Scriptures from the contempt of those, who were profane scoffers, and were ready upon all occasions to lessen their authority. And, indeed, he was very happy this way: I have heard a very learned and reverend divine (lately deceased) profess, that “he never heard our author preach, but he learned something, which he did not know before.” He was of very singular use in the University in those times; and his discourses were of that nature, that they greatly gained upon the more studious and inquisitive sort of men. He laboured much in proving ‘infants’ baptism,’ against the Antipedobaptists of those times. This he did upon most substantial grounds, and such as commended themselves to the lovers of truth: I doubt not but that he did confirm many, by his way of proof, who were wavering before. I find among our author's papers a letter directed to him from a very learned divine, William Outram, D.D., who was then his auditor in Cambridge; in which he gives our author all possible thanks for “his choice and truly learned observations” (as he justly calls them) in relation to the Lord's prayer, in which he asserted the lawfulness of forms; and is earnest with him to grant him his notes of his sermons

on baptism, "Which (says he) I have most earnestly longed for, ever since they were preached; and not without due cause: for verily, had I not heard them, I should not to this day have been so well reconciled to infants' baptism, as (I bless God) I now am. I desire, therefore, that you would be pleased to consider what real usefulness your notes may be of; and how (for my own part) I am infinitely more persuaded by your way of probation, than by some other ratiocinations of men ordinarily used." There are many persons now living, that have great cause to bless God for our author, and will confess the eminent service, which he did in that time.

In the year 1655, our author was chosen Vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge; which office he discharged with great care and diligence, though he had at that time a multiplicity of affairs to divert him, especially that of perusing the sheets of the Polyglot, as they were wrought off from the press. He was extremely solicitous during his being vice-chancellor, that he might not do any wrong to any man, or any unkindness to his friend. He did once fear, during that year, that he had, by a sentence, determined injuriously against a friend of his. This was so great a torment to his mind, that he told a friend that is yet alive, that "he thought it would accompany him with sorrow to his grave." But the good man was soon satisfied, that what he had determined, was not only just, but necessary also.

Nor were our author's labours confined to the University and to his rectory. For besides the many excellent books which he wrote (of which I forbear to give any account here, because I find it done to my hand), he was concerned in the useful undertakings, which were begun and finished in his time.

Among which, the edition of the Polyglot Bible, which was finished in the year 1657, deserves to be mentioned in the first place. This excellent and useful work was in great measure accomplished by the indefatigable pains of the learned and reverend Brian Walton, D. D. (and afterward lord bishop of Chester), and remains a monument of the exemplary diligence and eminent learning of that excellent prelate. I shall only, at present, consider, how far our author was concerned in that work. I find him consulted about that whole work by Doctor Walton, at his first en-

trance upon it, in a letter of the doctor's to him, bearing date Jan. 2, 1653: in which he begs our author's assistance, as to the Samaritan Pentateuch, which he bestowed much pains about; vid. Dec. Chorograph. in S. Marc<sup>g</sup>. cap. x. sect. 5. Nor was this the first application, which had been made to him; for by that letter it appears, that our author had modestly declined the employment, upon the score of his inability;—to which the doctor in that letter replies, that our author had given “sufficient and public testimony to the world of his ability.” I find also, that Doctor Walton (as appears by his letters, bearing date Feb. 23, 1653, and April 24, 1654, and June 14, 1654, and several others) sent our author the several alphabets of sheets, as they came off from the press,—and desired him to peruse them as he had done, and note the mistakes he should meet withal. In one of which he tells him, that, “as to the Samaritan, his diligence and judgment had been so exact, that there would be little cause to alter, much less to censure and correct.” I find also, that our author assisted in that work several other ways, not only by procuring subscriptions towards its encouragement, but by furnishing him with several MSS. out of the University library, viz. a Syriac MS. of the prophets (which the doctor acknowledges, in a letter bearing date Nov. 7, 1655), and a Syriac lexicon, a MS. He assisted him, likewise, in rectifying the map of Judea, as appears by another letter, dated July 23, 1656,—and with certain notes out of the Jerusalem Talmud, as appears by another letter, Nov. 4, 1657. Besides this, our author sent him his chorographical observations, which we find prefixed to the Polyglot Bible under his name.

Next to the Polyglot Bible, and in order to render that the more useful also, the greatest work of this last age, and, indeed, of any other of that kind, is that incomparable book, the *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, by Edmund Castell, D. D., published in the year 1669. I find that Dr. Castell (a man, for his great piety, incomparable learning, and incredible diligence, not to be mentioned without a preface of honour), before he entered upon that work, consulted our author about it, and submitted it to him “either to stifle or give it life,” as he expresseth himself in a letter to him, bearing date Dec. 2, 1657. To which when the doctor had received

our author's answer, in which he approves his excellent design, in a second letter the doctor returns him his thanks; and, after his acknowledgments, he adds, "And truly (says he) had we not such an oracle to consult with, bootless and in vain it would be to attempt such an undertaking." And a little afterward he adds, "O nos felices ter et amplius, quibus contigit, Te vivo, opus hoc, tam grande quam arduum, auspiciato suscepisse: et benedictus ob hoc semper sit summus ille rerum Arbitrator." This letter is not dated, but must be written upon the beginning of that great undertaking.

I forbear to relate, in how many particulars his advice and assistance towards that excellent work was requested. The doctor tells our author in a letter, dated Feb. 22, 1663, —what his sense of him was, in these words; "Your worth and works, so transcendent to the vulgar way of writing, all the learned world doth and ought highly to esteem: I have, and shall (as does become me), in this work now upon me, sundry times with honour mention," &c. Our author did not only advise, and commend, and speak well: these are cheap things. He assisted by supplying with money, and supporting the excellent undertaker: this I find acknowledged by the doctor, in a letter bearing date March 14, 1663. How far our author gave his assistance this way, I know not; but this I find, that in that letter the doctor is transported, that "In these three kingdoms (says he to our author) there should be one found (אֵל אֱלֹהִים for such a second has never yet appeared to me), who has manifested such a sentiment of my ruined and undone condition." He does, indeed, except in that letter the Bishop of Exon, whose kindness to him was incomparably great.

Doctor Lightfoot, indeed, was very much concerned for that most worthy undertaker,—and did, I find, do his utmost to support the good man in that excellent work. He wrote often to him, and failed not, by all manner of ways, to encourage him in his labours. The doctor tells him, in a letter, bearing date Nov. 15, 1664, "Next to the divine, I meet with no lines like yours, that so sweetly refresh and delight my soul, when quite wearied with labour," &c. When the first volume of that excellent book came out, I find the doctor giving our author the notice of it, and promising him to transmit it, with a request to give a censure



of it, none being "either more able to judge, or that will do it with greater candour;" especially he desires "his more severe scanning of the Arabic." This he does in a letter, dated Jan. 14, 1667. He acquaints him, also, with the finishing of the second volume, in a letter, dated to him June 9, 1669. By this it appears, how far our author was concerned in the encouraging of this excellent work.

For the 'Synopsis Criticorum,' undertaken by Mr. Matthew Pool, I find our author likewise concerned. For I have seen many letters of Mr. Pool's to him, full of thanks and acknowledgment; and one bearing date Jan. 7, 1673, in which he does acknowledge to have received his second papers, and expresses his great desire of receiving the remaining. How far our author was concerned in that very useful design of that diligent and worthy man, hath not come to my knowledge; and, therefore, I cannot give a particular account of it. This only is not to be omitted, that a friend of mine hath seen many short annotations in Latin, written by his own hand, upon many chapters of Exodus<sup>b</sup>, Numbers, Joshua, which he communicated to Mr. Pool; whether for the use of his 'Synopsis,' or somewhat else, it is uncertain.

This reverend man was, divers years before his death, preferred, by the favour of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then lord-keeper, to a prebend in the church of Ely: but in what year this was, hath not come to my knowledge: and, I must confess, there are many other things, in which I wanted information: I did never think it would be my lot to give any account to the world of this excellent person: had I foreseen that, I could, some years since, have been more plentifully furnished with materials to this purpose; having had the honour to be acquainted with him myself, and the opportunity (which is now passed) of informing myself better of his life, than now I have. And I do acknowledge, that this account that I now give, I receive for the most part, from the hands of the reverend, and my worthy friend, Mr. John Strype, minister of Low-Leyton, in Essex, who hath furnished me with such an account, as, though it be short of what might have been had, yet may be relied upon. And I thought it better to give some, though imperfect, account

<sup>b</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. viii.

of this learned and pious man, than that he should go without any at all.

As to his great learning, his works are a proof beyond all exception; and I make no doubt, but that the reader will receive great benefit by them. Our author was a very perspicacious man, and very happy in clearing the difficulties of the Holy Scriptures, and greatly furnished with that learning, which enabled him that way. His great abilities were acknowledged by the learned of our own country, and those beyond the seas. I shall not need to insist upon the testimonies to this purpose, which I could easily produce. However, I shall not forbear to mention some. Our author had sent Doctor Castell one of his books, at that time when he was engaged in his Lexicon. In a letter of his, bearing date Aug. 16, 1664, he makes this following acknowledgment: "Sir, you have laid an unutterable obligation upon me by the gift of this learned and much-longed-for work—you have enriched my poor library with an addition so excellent and delightful, that truly, when I first received it, I could not contain myself from reading it quite through, notwithstanding the importunacy of my public engagement, and the clamour of all the workmen, correctors, compositors, pressmen, &c. to all whom I turned a deaf ear, till I had satisfied my eye with the entire perusal of it." And afterward he adds,—“ Sir, I will never be ashamed to confess by whom I have profited: all that would understand that clear light, together with the mysterious hidden use and benefit, which the most ancient records of the Jews bring unto Holy Writ,—must confess themselves, above all others, deeply indebted to your elaborate and incomparable writings, who have fetched out more of these profound and rich mines, than any of the best seers in this or the precedent ages, have been able to discover.” I might have added much more from that very excellent person's own hand. Take the suffrage of another learned man, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who, in a letter to our author, bearing date May 18, 1669, expresses his esteem of his learning in the Jews' writings, and desiring his judgment of the exertations of Morinus, in words too long to be transcribed. And for foreigners, I shall content myself with two only. The first is that of Monsieur Le Moine, a most learned minister of the Protestant church of Ruen, who, in a letter to

Dr. Worthington, speaking of his notes and exercitations upon Josephus, he saith: "In iis utor sæpissime Lightfootii Talmudice doctissimi operibus; quem si inter Philebræorum familiam ducem dixerò, nihil certe dixerò, quod assurgat ultra meritum eruditissimi illius viri. Quæ de Templo, de chorographia sacra in Matthæum, in Actus, erudite et feliciter conscripsit, diu est quod illa possideo, iisque præclaris operibus Bibliotheca mea superbit." The other testimony is that of the most learned professor of Basil, the late Doctor John Buxtorf: this great man, speaking of our author, in a letter of his to Doctor Castell, hath these words: "Ex horis ejus Talmudicis incepti illius doctrinam et diligentiam valde amare. Illæ salivam mihi moverunt, ut propediem ab ipso similia videre desiderem et gustare. Precor ipsi omnia læta, ac meritis ejus digna." Again, in a letter of the same professor to our author, dated at Basil, Dec. 12, 1663, I find he expresses the highest esteem for him, whose diligence, and accuracy, and dexterity, in illustrating the Holy Scriptures, he tells him, he admires: "Raræ hæ dotes hoc nostro sæculo in viris theologis, rari hujusmodi Scriptores," &c. as he goes on in that letter, too long to transcribe.

As no man can question the great learning of our author, so he will appear to be very exemplary for his indefatigable diligence,—if we duly consider, under what disadvantages he arrived to this great degree of knowledge. He was young, when he left Cambridge, and a stranger to those studies, which he was afterward so deservedly famous for. He went as an usher into a country-school, remote from the books and helps, which might assist him: his hours were taken up with the care of boys, and his head filled with their noise and importunities. After this, he entered into orders, but that did not advance him in learning: besides, he entered upon constant preaching, when he was very young. After this, he married a wife, and soon had the charge and burden of children, and the cares of<sup>1</sup> the world to divert him from his studies. His worldly circumstances were not large; and his family increased, and his work in preaching was constant. He was far from the help and the leisure, which a life in the University would have given him: but this brave man surmounts all these difficulties and disadvantages. He, in his great judgment, saw, that the

<sup>1</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. ix.

oriental learning was worth his while; that chronology, and other difficult pieces of knowledge, would be of use to him, and make him serviceable to others; he was sensible of his defects, and generously does this young divine resolve to shake off all sloth, and to make no excuses: he knew very well, that what he undertook, was a great work, that it was

*Magnum mentis opus, nec de codice paranda  
Attonitæ—*

And now he betakes himself in good earnest to these abstruse and perplexing studies. He defrauds himself of his rest and ease; withdraws from his friends; and abstracts himself from the world, and all secular entanglements; and early and late pursues his wise and worthy end. His motto seems to have been (for we find it written, in one of his note books, under his name), *השכם והערב*, denoting his resolution to ‘rise up early,’ and ‘sit up late,’ in the pursuit after knowledge.

Our author had not the helps of tutors to instruct him in these studies: he had not the time of students in the Universities, who need take no care for their daily bread: he had not the advantage of books and learned society, which those men have, who live in cities; nor had he the advantages of wealth, or dignities, to provide himself of helps; nor interest in great persons, who might have encouraged his studies; and yet, when he appeared in the world, he gave the greatest proofs of his abilities. He drew after him the eyes of the learned part of the kingdom, and exceeded far the expectation of all men. What would not our author have done, if he had had the advantages, which he wanted? had he been assisted by states and kingdoms, encouraged with a supply of all foreign helps, excited by some great rewards, placed in a better light, directed in his first attempts and studies by the wisest guides and masters, which the age could afford?

He was not only a man of great learning, and exemplary diligence; but of great modesty, and humility, and gratitude, and candour. He did not swell with pride upon the account of his learning or his labours. He was far removed from any great opinion and conceit of himself, or a low and mean one of his neighbour:—those who knew him, will confess this. Indeed, he was so far from thinking

highly of himself, and his own performances, that some men have thought him extreme and something faulty; and that he did not value himself, as he ought to have done. There did not, perhaps, live in the world a man of more profound humility, than our author was: a man ready to hear others speak; willing to be put in mind of any thing, that was a mistake or slip; full of the sense of another man's worth, and without a just sense of his own. The most grateful and modest man, and of the greatest candour and humanity, and sweetness of temper, our author was.

He died at Ely, December 6, 1675; to the great loss of the whole kingdom, and particularly of the inhabitants of Munden; to whom he was a father, a diligent pastor, and a bountiful friend. Among them, he spent the greatest part of his time, for many years. He was not at ease, when he was absent from his flock. It was not the fleece, he regarded, but the sheep: they had, also, a great regard for their shepherd; they gladly heard his voice, and did not go astray in his time.

Thus, I have given some short account of this excellent man, and of his useful life in the world. He lived to great purpose, died much lamented; and hath left us, who survive, an excellent example. God grant, that we may closely and vigorously follow every thing, that, in our author, or any others, was virtuous and exemplary: we shall in due time reap, if we faint not.

AN APPENDIX<sup>a</sup>,  
OR  
COLLECTION OF SOME MORE  
MEMORIALS OF THE LIFE  
OF THE EXCELLENT  
DR. JOHN LIGHTFOOT,  
MOST OF THEM TAKEN  
FROM ORIGINAL LETTERS, OR MSS. OF HIS OWN.

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I.

*Concerning the occasion, reason, and method of his undertakings, in harmonizing the New Testament.*

THE original cause of those books of Harmony, that this excellent man published at several times, was an ardent love of the Holy Scriptures; which put him upon an earnest search into them, that, if possible, he might at length arrive to a true and sure understanding of them. This account he gives of himself: "It<sup>b</sup> was neither arrogance nor rashness, that made me employ myself in these obscurities; but a studious mind, breathing after the knowledge of the Scriptures, and something restless, when, in difficult places, it knew not where to fix." And, that he might read the Scriptures with the better advantage, this was his constant course, in his private use of them;—to take the Bible before him, and to read it, according to the proper order of its times and stories: always carefully observing, where the method of it is direct, and where transposed, and how and where to place those transpositions. This, as he somewhere tells us, he proposed to himself, and practised many years together. By which, he gathered no little help, for the apprehending the right sense of those holy pages. This encouraged him, not only to proceed still in that method himself, but seriously to recommend it unto others:

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. x.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. before his Hor. Hebr. upon 1 Cor.

and, for the helping and furthering all pious students of Holy Scriptures, he resolved to communicate this his course, by publishing a *Harmony*, for the use of all. And now he bends all his study and thoughts to do this fully and exactly, so as it might answer the religious and good ends he intended it for. Vast and long pains it cost him : for the course of his studies was employed in ‘elaborating’ (to use his own most true expression) ‘the Harmony of the Four Evangelists.’ And both nature and providence assisted him in this noble intended work. For he was naturally of a strong and hale constitution ; and his lot fell to be seated in a private country living, free from noise, and secular business, and importunate visits. Here, in his beloved study, built by himself in the midst of a garden, he plods hard at it, night and day ; and, for divers years, allowed himself but some few hours in the night for sleep.

And the scheme, which he drew out, and propounded to himself, for the method of this great and useful work, was,

I. To<sup>c</sup> lay the texts in that order, that the nature and progress of the story doth require.

II. To give his reasons for his so disposing them.

III. To give some account of the difficulties of the language in the original, as he should meet with them.

IV. To clear and open the sense all along. The way that he took, in prosecuting these two last, was, to examine translations in divers languages ; to allege the various expositions and opinions of commentators, both ancient and modern, and, also, of others, who spake to such and such places occasionally ; and then, lastly, to pass his own conjecture of the probability or improbability of them. Which seemed to be the same course, that the learned Dr. Pocock afterward took, in his late admirable commentary upon Micah and Malachi.

To all this he designed a large preface : which should contain prolegomena of divers things fit to be known, introductory to such a work. Where he purposed to treat largely and freely upon these five things : (Oh ! that it had pleased God so to have disposed his future occasions and opportunities, that he might have accomplished these his useful and brave designs !)

I. To fix the certain year of our Saviour’s birth.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Epis. to the Harmony, published 1644.

II. To dispose in their proper places, all the dislocations of texts and stories in the Old Testament, which are exceeding many; that such dislocations in the New Testament might be thought the less strange.

III. To<sup>d</sup> make a chorographical description of the land of Canaan, and the places adjoining: which would help to the clearer understanding of much of the story of the gospel. And,

IV. A topographical description of Jerusalem, and of the fabric of the Temple: to facilitate divers passages in the gospel, of no small obscurity. And,

V. To give some history of the state and customs of the Jews, in those times, when the gospel began, and was first preached, out of their own authors.

What an excellent book would this have been! And this he set himself roundly and in good earnest about, and had chosen him a patron,—viz. a nobleman of his own country, to whom to dedicate the whole. For this work, he had laid-in many materials, and made a good progress in it: insomuch, that he foresaw, it was like to swell to a great volume. This began to discourage him; not his own pains, which he saw, by what he had already done, would be very great; but the injurious press, that, in those times, refused any thing, but what was very brief. This put him upon a new labour,—namely, to contrive, how to epitomise and abbreviate what he had written; and to send out his studies, piecemeal, into the world: as he did afterward; whereby his method was broken, many of his useful notions suppressed, by studying brevity; and all that after saw the light, was but a kind of confused harmony:—whereas, what a noble and excellent treatise would it have appeared, if it had been digested, according to the author's first project, into one just volume! Indeed, had it pleased God to lengthen out his life sometime longer, we might possibly have seen all his pieces, compiled and digested into a method by his own hand, and reduced probably in such an order, as he had originally designed them. For, upon the resort of some booksellers to him, and their desire, that he would revise and prepare all his formerly published works, he gave them his promise, that he would consider their proposal. But his death prevented the bringing this to any effect.

<sup>d</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xi.



But it may be some satisfaction to all those, that value Dr. Lightfoot and his learning, that, though the world enjoys not this labour, in the method and perfection it was at first intended; yet he lived so long, as to impart to us, at several times, the sum and substance of it. For, to look back upon the design of that 'Harmony' and 'Preface' before mentioned,—of the four parts, whereof the 'Harmony' was to consist, the two last, namely, the explaining of the difficulties of the language, and illustrating the sense, are effected, in part, in his last and best labours, "The Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations:" and we lament only, that his leisure, or his life, permitted him not to have gone through all the books of the New Testament, in that method, as well as the Four Gospels, the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and some part of the Acts of the Apostles, and a scrap of the Romans. And, the two former parts of the said Harmony, namely, the order of the texts, and his reasons for so ordering them, we have in his Three Harmonies afterward published, and especially in his last, published in the year 1655. The chief thing we want here, is the full text of the four evangelists, laid down before us in its true order of time. And this he had transcribed curiously and exactly, from end to end, by his own hand, in that order and series, as things occurred. Whereby, those four divine historians were reduced into one complete story, and might have been read with far more ease, and pleasure, and understanding. But, "he offered it to the press, and found its passage difficult;" because it would swell the book too much, as he tells us in his epistle before that book. This MS. lies in a private hand, and may hereafter (if occasion serve) see the light.

As for the five parts of the Preface designed, the two first were completed and published, long since, by him, Annis 1644 and 1647. And, for the two next, the land of Canaan is chorographically described, and the situation of Jerusalem, and the Temple, in some measure shown, in his Disquisitions prefixed before his several *Horæ Hebraicæ*, and in his distinct Treatise of the Temple. And this last edition of his works exhibits all this in three maps, one of Jerusalem, another of the Holy Land, drawn according to the Doctor's own judgment; and a third of the Temple itself, accurately drawn by the Doctor's own hand upon

vellum, and now printed from that original. This map he mentions in his Epistle before the 'Prospect of the Temple.' Which, it seems, he himself had a good conceit of (a thing he seldom had of his own performances), so as he would fain, for the excellent use of it, have had it published with the book, but it would not then pass. Hear his own commendation of it: he calls it, "A full, plain, punctual, and exact prospect and description of the Temple; its situation, dimension, platform, fabric, and furniture, both within and without: the walls, gates, courts, cloisters, chambers, and buildings, that were about it: the altar, lavers, stations for men, slaughter-places for beasts, and all the offices belonging to it. A delineation so copious and plain, in all the particulars, of that holy ground, that had it had the hap to have come to the public view, I should not have feared to have made the reader, the judge and censor upon the nature and use of the thing" (he seldom speaks so confidently): "but the hap of becoming public is not happened unto it." Though now at last, by good hap, it is.

But, however, the world has at length gained this map, so long suppressed; yet his chorographical description of Canaan and the places adjoining, is irrecoverably lost. You will be the more sensible of the loss of it, if you will hear what the design of it was, and what pains he had taken about it. Take it from his own pen in one of his epistles:—he intended "to describe the land of Israel in a way somewhat new, indeed, and untrodden, and (as he believed) unattempted:" he means, out of the writings of the Jews. For he had observed three sorts of things, that might be picked up out of the Talmuds, and other Jewish authors (if dexterously managed), in reference to the land of Canaan:—**I.** In exceeding many passages, when they come to speak of places of the land, that are mentioned in Scripture, they either describe them, or show their situation, or distance from such or such places. **II.** They give us abundance of names of cities, mountains, and other places, in that land. Which names are neither to be found in the Scripture, nor Josephus; nor in the heathen or Christian records, that speak of the places of that country; but in these Judaic writers only; but yet carry a fair probability and rational evidence, that there were such names

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xii.

and places. III. They relate many choice, eminent, and remarkable stories, occurring in such and such places, which are not to be found in any records, but their own: and of singular illustration both of the situation, and of the story, of the land and nation." Now the taking notice of passages of this nature had been his course for many years together, as he had occasion to read the Talmudical writers. So that he had gathered a great stock of these *rarities*, as he styles them, for the use of his chorographical work; even to the bulk of a great volume. Insomuch, that what he saith of his book of the Temple, "That it cost him as much pains to give that description of it, as to travel thither," is as much, or more true of this. The unhappy chance, that hindered the publishing this elaborate piece of his, which he had brought to pretty good perfection, was the edition of Doctor Fuller's "Pisgah Sight:" great pity it was, that so good a book should have done so much harm: for that book, handling the same matters, and preventing his, stopped his resolution of letting his labours, in that subject, see the light. Though he went a way altogether different from Doctor Fuller; and so both might have shown their faces together in the world; and the younger sister, if we may make comparisons, might have proved the fairer of the two. But that book is lost utterly, save that many of his notions are preserved in his chorographical pieces put before his "Horæ."

And for the last thing (whereof that Preface was to consist), namely, to give some historical account of the affairs of the Jews; that is done, in part, in his Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles, published Anno 1645, and in his 'Parergon, Concerning the Fall of Jerusalem,' at the end of the Harmony, Anno 1655. But, alas! these are but light touches of their story, rather than any complete and full account thereof. But such as they are, we must be glad of and contented, in the want of the rest. Indeed, the Jews' history, from the beginning of the gospel downwards, for some centuries, would have been as excellent and useful, as the subject would have been rare and unusual. And a thing of that difficulty, also, that the modest Doctor propounds it to others, rather than dares to undertake it himself. For we find, in one of his Epistles Dedicatory<sup>f</sup>,

<sup>f</sup> To the Earl of Essex, Anno 1645.

he recommends it to "some able pen to continue the story of the Jews, where Josephus and Hegesippus end theirs, and where Jerusalem ended her days,—until these latter times, out of the Jews' own Talmud and writings; for the illustration of the truth of those predictions of Scripture that foretell their doom, and for the evidencing that justice, that hath ever since haunted them for the murder of the Righteous One, whom they crucified."

## II.

### *Concerning his learning and studies.*

NATURE had endued him with a strong and sound constitution of body: so that, in his old age, he was able closely to follow his studies, without finding any inconvenience by it: and though he had not spared his eyes in his younger years, yet they still remained good; for which he blesseth God, in a letter to the learned Buxtorf, Anno 1664. And, divers years after that, he acknowledgeth the same blessing of health, in his epistle to his last book that he put forth,—which was not above a year or two before his death; calling it, "Vivacitatem corporis, animi, atque oculorum;" "The vivacity of his body, mind, and eyes." This excellent temperament qualified him for study; which he pursued hard all his days. He had read much; which may be gathered from his note-books, wherein are short notes, from book to book, and from chapter to chapter, of the chief contents of many authors, collected by his own hand, and both fathers and historians, and<sup>s</sup> especially the latter: and such of them chiefly, as might afford him light into the affairs of the church, in the earliest times of it. And hereby he laid himself in a good stock of materials, to make use of, in his future Rabbinical studies. That abstruse and more recondite learning, he from his younger years greatly affected. "To those studies (he tells us himself<sup>b</sup>) he was most fervently carried out, ex innato mihi nescio quo genio, by he could not tell what innate genius and that there was nothing so sweet and delicate to him: istis<sup>l</sup> deliciis nihil mihi dulcius delicatiusque."

Indeed, this learned man seemed to have a genius, that

<sup>s</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xiii.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. Ded. before the Hor. upon St. John.

<sup>l</sup> Ubi ante.

naturally affected the study of such things, as were beyond the sphere of ordinary and common learning, and delighted to tread in ‘untrodden paths<sup>k</sup>,’ to use his own phrase; and loved to lead rather than follow. “He was willing to spare no labour, and to take up all things at the first hand:” as he speaks somewhere. And this appeared by the very title that he gave some of his books. His ‘Observations upon Genesis,’ are called by him, “new and rarely heard of.” In his ‘Handful of Gleanings,’ he promiseth solution of difficulties, scarcely given by any heretofore: and, in the second part of his Harmony, published Anno 1647, he professeth to give observations upon text and story, “not commonly obvious, and more rare and unnoted.” And that proposition before mentioned, of a just history of the Jews, bespake the high and more than ordinary flights of his learned mind. But especially his Harmony showed this: wherein he reckons himself the first, that ever essayed a work of that nature, in the English language: which he himself calls, “an untrodden path, and a bold adventure.”

But let us follow him to his beloved Rabbies, or rather, to the beloved writings of the ill-beloved authors. Of whom he gave this character, “That the doctrine of the gospel had no more bitter enemies than they, and yet the text no more plain interpreters.” The reason he bent himself to the study of them, was, because he was fully convinced, an insight into their language and customs, was the best way to a safe and sure understanding of the New Testament; which he thirstily gasped and breathed after the knowledge of. And though the barbarous and difficult style, and the great store of trifling, wherewith they abound, might, and doth, justly discourage many from reading them, —yet, Dr. Lightfoot undervalued all hardships and discouragements for the compassing that great and noble end he aimed at. Let us now view him tugging day and night at these studies; and especially take notice of that excellent method he proposed to himself, for the prosecuting them with the more fruit and advantage. Which was to note, 1. Whatsoever any way tended to illustrate the phrase or story of the New Testament. 2. Whatsoever tended to the better knowledge of the places in the land of Canaan. And, 3. Whatsoever related to history, and especially that of the

<sup>k</sup> Ep. before his Harm. publish. 1647.

Jews. And to acquaint you, more particularly, how he ordered himself in taking up these notices, he used large note-books in folio. And therein he digested what he intended to note, as he read the Talmuds, and other Jewish books, under such titles as these: “*Quædam de Terra Israelitica sparsim collecta*; Things scatteringly collected concerning the land of Israel.” And “*ארץ ישראל* *Quænam*. What was the land of Israel.” And “*ארץ ישראל* Things appropriated to the land of Israel.” And there is an alphabet by him framed, in this method: A א ע. B ב. C כ. K ρ. π κ χ. D ד. E א γ. ε η Græc. G γ Γ. H η η. I י א γ. L ל Λ, &c. Under which, according to their initial letters, he used to reduce all places of the Holy Land, mentioned in the Talmud, and something of their situation, or history, with references unto the page of the tracts, where they were mentioned. And, lastly, there is another title,—viz. “*Places in Babylonia*,” under which he collected the names and stories of towns or cities in that country also.

He was very curious, indeed, in tracing the countries and places mentioned in Scripture, and especially wherein the Jewish nation were any ways concerned. This sufficiently appears in his laborious disquisitions, premised before each of his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations. And, in one of his note-books, he is tracing, with much accuracy, the marches of Israel out of Egypt, under this *ἐπιγραφὴ*, “*The Motions and Stations of Israel, in their march out of Egypt*.” Pity it is, it was not perfected by him.

He read over both Talmuds often, and with great deliberation, as appears from several of his paper-books, in which are many rough notes of the contents thereof, taken by him at several times; and, sometimes, short observations of his own thereupon. He seemed to have had a design of publishing a brief account of the Jerusalem Talmud, and of the chief matters, whereof it treats from tract to tract. For there is such a thing<sup>1</sup>, fairly written out by him in Latin, bearing this title, “*Index aliqualis Talmudis Hierosolymitani*.” But it is imperfect, reaching but to the seventh tract of the first classes.

He was as studious of the sacred chronology of the Old and New Testament, as, we have seen, he was of the

<sup>1</sup> Present edition, vol. 10. p. 473.

chorography of the Holy Land; as accounting this highly necessary to the understanding of the Scriptures. When it was once debated by the assembly of divines at Westminster, in what parts of learning the candidates for holy orders should<sup>1</sup> be examined, and some were for waving the trying them in Scripture-chronology,—Doctor Lightfoot urged the necessity of it, in order to the apprehending the sense of the sacred volumes; alleging, that he held, “that he read not Scripture, who was not expert in chronology.” And he prevailed in that debate. His abilities, in that sort of learning, may be seen in several of his works published, and in divers rude essays, in MS.

He had, long and very carefully, searched into the translation of the LXX, and compared it, verse by verse, with the Hebrew original, as appears by his MS. under this title, “Discrepantiæ τῶν LXX a textu Hebræo,” with brief notes here and there. And under another title<sup>m</sup>, viz. “Σφάλματα τῶν LXX,” he enumerates all their errors throughout the whole translation; and them he makes to be very many, in this method; “Inaniter addita. Periculose decurtata. Sensum clarum obfuscantia. Vitiantia pulchrum. Reddita in sensum alienum. Reddita in sensum plane contrarium. Reddita in sensum nullum. Traditiones Judaicas redolentia. Hebraica retenta. Reddita pro fama gentis. Pro fama textus. Paraphrases. Propria nomina facta Appellativa. Numeri male calculati. Locorum nomina recentiora. Vocales male lectæ. Literæ male lectæ. Sensus foedatus. Variatio nominum. Versus male conjuncti, &c.” And accordingly, under each of these heads, the places of Scripture, so mistaken, are by him disposed, which are infinite. Which cost him no small pains. By these things, it appears he was no good friend to the LXX. It was great pity he lived not to digest into a just volume these his careful studies concerning the LXX, as he intended to do; and had begun it in Latin, in three or four chapters, written fair with his own hand, carrying this title, “Disquisitio modesta de LXX, et de Versione Græca:” and had, likewise, consulted the great Buxtorf about this his purpose.

He was, also, well seen in Josephus. He seems to have

<sup>1</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xiv.

<sup>m</sup> *Present edition*, vol. 10. p. 440.

communicated his own Josephus, with notes of his own written in it, unto Monsieur Petit, a learned man of Nismes, in France: who had laboured hard in preparing a good edition of that useful author: for, Anno 1666, in a letter, June 12, from Dr. Worthington to him, speaking concerning Petit, he hath these words, "I doubt not but when you have your own Josephus returned, you will meet with some observations of your own noted in him." Another Frenchman, about the year 1666, viz. Monsieur Le Moine, reputed to be one of the learnedest men in France, and minister of the Protestant church at Roanne, laboured in the same work that Petit before had done. And, for the furthering of his design, he wrote to the said learned and pious Doctor Worthington, that if he had any thing for the benefit of that edition, to impart it. Whereupon he applies himself to his old friend Doctor Lightfoot (who, as he tells him, was "well versed in Josephus"), that he would assist him with his hints and short observations upon the doubtful passages in that author: a thing that, he knew, would be very acceptable unto that learned man. What the issue of this request was, appears not: only we know the Doctor did not use to be backward in communicating any knowledge he had; who had so freely yielded his assistance to the Polyglot Bible, to the Heptaglot Lexicon, and 'the Synopsis of the Critics,' as we shall see by and by. We are sure Monsieur Le Moine made great use of what the Doctor had before published, especially in the chorographical century before St. Matthew, where he had occasion to speak to several places in Josephus. And so he writes expressly to Doctor Worthington, speaking of his notes and exertations upon Josephus, "In iis utor sæpissime Lightfootii Talmudice doctissimi, &c. In these, I do very often make use of the works of Doctor Lightfoot, a man well studied in Talmudical learning, &c."

What Doctor Worthington contributed to this work, besides the using his interest with his learned friends for the same purpose, let me mention, though not so much to our present theme. At the library at St. James's, there was a Josephus in Greek, printed at Basil; probably once belonging to the very learned Isaac Casaubon; for in the margin were various lections written by his hand, which he had gathered out of MSS. and some conjectures and



hints of his own; there were, also, marked in it other notes of Patrick Young, written most in Greek. These the aforesaid Doctor transcribed, and numbered the pages and the lines, which made three sheets of paper close written, a matter of no small pains, and sent them over to the said Monsieur Le Moine. But to return to our author.

### III.

#### *Some account of him as a Divine.*

HE gave no small specimen of his skill, also, in divinity, as well as in oriental and other learning, when he proceeded Doctor, which was Anno 1652. The question upon which he disputed, was, “Post Canonem Scripturæ consignatum, non sunt novæ Revelationes expectandæ.” Which he managed against the enthusiasts, against whom he by° all means opposed himself; as being greatly sensible, how that sect tended to the overthrow of the Holy Scriptures; which were his dearest care and delight. He managed this question by discoursing, first, Concerning the sealing of the canon of the Holy Scriptures; and, secondly, Concerning not expecting revelations, after it was once sealed. His meaning he stated in these three particulars; that now, after the Scripture canon is sealed, revelations are not to be expected, I. To reveal new doctrines of faith. Nor, II. To discover the sense of the Scriptures, or to explain the doctrines of faith. Nor, III. To direct our lives and manners. And among other arguments, whereby he proved his question, he produced two historical passages for that purpose. The one was, “That in those very times, wherein revelations, inspirations, and prophecies abounded, even then men were directed to the written word. Yea (which is more, and most worthy of notice), from the first founding of the church of Israel, unto the expiration of it, though, for the most part, prophets and men inspired were at hand;—yet God ordained not these, for the standing and constant ministry, whereby the people were to be instructed, but priests, that were skilled in the law, and studied the Scripture. How far do our enthusiasts (saith he) swerve from this divine institution concerning the public ministry; who suffer none to be a

minister, who is learned and studious, but he only, who is inspired with the Spirit, and who can preach by the Spirit!" The other is, "That the apostle St. Paul, after the first age of the gospel, in which revelations were often very necessary,—would no longer use the imposition of his hands, which conferred the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, because he well knew, that God saw good no farther to make use of such a ministry: and, therefore, placeth Timothy in Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, and other excellent men elsewhere, who, though they could not confer the Spirit, yet they ordained ministers, not inspired by the Spirit, but learned by study." He, the next day, determined learnedly upon that question, "An mors Christi fuerit in redemptionem universalem." His Clerum, which he preached, was upon 1 Cor. xvi. 22; *Εἷς οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ἢ τῷ Ἀνάθεμα Μαράν ἀθά.* The sum whereof was afterward by him published in his 'Horæ,' upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

And since we are considering him now as a learned divine, having before taken notice of him as a learned man; let us hear him arguing, and showing his great abilities, among the divines at Westminster. Whose notions he did not seldom oppose, even to a challenge,—sometimes by the strength and clearness of his reasonings, and evidence of Scripture (for he seemed to deserve that character that was given to Apollos, "A man mighty in the Scriptures") he turned the whole assembly: and, sometimes, such was his honesty and courage, he would, in some cases, dissent from the whole company, and be the only negative in the assembly. Some passages of his judgment, in that assembly, are related in the Account of his Life: there are divers more, that deserve to be recorded to his fame and memory.

Doctor Lightfoot's judgment was, for general admission to the holy sacrament, and spake for it by these arguments: I. That though the law forbid the unclean to come 'ad sacra,'—yet it gave not power to any to repel those, that offered themselves to come. Nor find we any such example. II. That in Matt. vii. 6. "Sanctum canibus, Give not that which is holy, to the dogs," is spoken in reference to the apostles' safety. For the Jews themselves, who use this proverb, by *dogs* and *swine*, understand the bitter ene-

mies and persecutors of the truth. And so our Saviour hereby warrants his disciples, though they preach not to persecutors and enemies, lest it cost them their lives. III. Circumcision was indifferently ministered to all the seed of Abraham: ergo, IV, Judas received the sacrament, ergo. And when Mr. G. instanced in Uzziah's being repelled, our Doctor answered, That it was 'ab officio et loco;' and withal said, "Grant the priest did and might repel the unclean, yet the case was different:" for that uncleanness was external, and it might be known, whether they were purified or no: but so cannot a minister now judge of a man's conscience: for though he were scandalous yesterday, yet may his repentance be unfeigned by to-day, for aught he knows."—Dr. B. urged, That though Christ was καρδιογνώστης, yet Judas's villany was not now known among the disciples. Our Doctor answered, Christ had publicly marked him out for a traitor before.—Dr. H. urged, "After the sop, he went out." The Doctor answered, That was no Passover nor sacrament, but before it.—Upon this, the matter arose to a great heat (for he seemed herein to oppose the whole assembly), and leave was publicly given, to our author and Mr. P. to debate the point about Judas:—and they did it, somewhat largely. And the next day, Dr. H. offered to dispute the same matter against him; but the assembly thought fit not to allow it. Again, Matt. vii. was taken up, which Dr. Lightfoot again opposed, and desired, that the verse might be taken in this sense, which they would have, "Give not the sacrament to dogs, lest they rend you;" and then that they would consider, how doth this agree? And farther urged, that *dogs* in Scripture doth most constantly signify *an enemy*: and where *dog* once signifies a *profane* man at large, it signifies many a time for that one, either *those without*, or *utter enemies* of the truth. Mr. S. pleaded for<sup>p</sup> the place thus: "The ordinances are not to be administered, where they will be profaned; but when a scandalous person comes," &c. Our respondent denied the major. The other, in proving it, construed, 'To tread under foot,' as much as 'To neglect or slight.' Which received this answer, That neither the word in the Hebrew, in the Old Testament,—nor in the Greek, in the New,—signifieth in that

sense. And that *καταπατείν* signifies not *profaning*, but a higher maliciousness, than ordinary slighting.

Again, they used that text, for suspension from the sacrament, in 2 Thess. iii. 6. "That ye withdraw yourselves from every brother, that walketh disorderly." Where our Doctor desired to know, how this private proof would come up to a positive proposition. For the proposition is of suspending another from the sacrament, and this of suspending ourselves from company with another. To which Dr. B. gave this answer, That though the terms be different in the proposition and text, yet the sense is the same. Against which, our champion argued thus, "That in Matt. i. 19, for *ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν*, 'Put her away,' Erasmus and Brucioli the Italian render it, 'He would depart from her.' This, he conceived, did much change that sense, and spake not of any divorce at all from Joseph, but makes him passive." Mr. P. answered again, "That the apostle, giving so strict a charge, makes the passive an active." He replied *דברה תורה בלשון בני אדם*. "The law speaks in the language of man," that the reader or hearer may best understand. Now if the apostle had mainly intended *actively*, "I conceive (saith he), he would have spoke *actively*." Yet this text, being put to the vote, was carried in the affirmative, nemine contradicente, but Dr. Lightfoot.

I perceive, I must beg the reader's pardon for so large a relation of the canvassing of one single point. But the use and pleasure of it may countervail its tediousness. Whereby may be observed the manner of proceeding in that assembly (which, it may be, may be a curiosity, at least not unacceptable to some ingenious persons), and particularly the courage, honesty, quickness, learning, and intimate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, that appeared in the worthy man of whom we are speaking.

Let us not be weary to hear his thoughts and discourse upon the other sacrament of baptism, as we have heard him upon that of the Lord's supper. Our Doctor did allow of private baptism in some cases. This was opposed by some, who would have baptism celebrated in public only. Here the Doctor insisted upon these things. I. That, in 1 Cor. i. 16, "I baptized the house of Stephanas," was "in *ecclesia constituta*;" and the phrase importeth, that it was not in a synagogue. II. Whereas some had asserted, that

circumcision was public,—he proved, that it was generally private. 1. Otherwise in great towns, every day sometimes would have been as a sabbath; for every day would some child come to be eight days old. 2. Moses's wife, and Judah at Chezab, circumcised children distant from any congregation. III. All the nation was baptized, when they were to come out of Egypt; but this could not be in the congregation. IV. The Jews' Pandect tells us, That a proselyte was to be baptized at home, as a servant by his master; but if either servant or master refuse, then should he be brought before the congregation.

Then was there a learned discourse, between our author and another well skilled in Hebrew learning, concerning the import of the word טבילה The one in a large discourse making it to mean “dipping over head and ears.” Which Dr. Lightfoot largely, also, proved to imply no more but ‘sprinkling:’ and, finally, made a challenge to them all, to produce any one place in all the Old Testament, where *Baptizare*, when it is used *De Sacris*, and in a *transient action*, is not used of *sprinkling*. And so assured he was of this, That he declared he held ‘dipping’ unlawful, and an Ἐσελοθρησκεία, ‘a piece of wilworship.’

Concerning ‘keeping the sabbath,’ the first proposition was, “That the Sabbath is to be remembered, before it come,” &c. That phrase, “Before it come,” our Doctor spake against, as putting a gloss upon the commemoration of the fourth commandment, never heard of before. But, howsoever, it was carried in terminis. But he succeeded better in his dislike of the third proposition, which was, “That there be no feasting on the sabbath:” he instancing in Christ's feasting, Luke xiv,—and in his feasting, at least dining, with all his disciples, in Peter's house, Matt. viii. Whereupon it was thus proposed, “That the diet on the sabbath day be so ordered, that no servants or others be unnecessarily kept from the public service.”

The assembly discoursing concerning marriage, whether it should be denied to be a part of God's worship, or whether it were to be held out as a mere civil thing, Mr. G. alleged, Eccl. viii. 2, “I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God;” to show obedience to magistrates to be a mere civil thing, and yet it lays a tie of obedience from God. Dr. Lightfoot de-

nied that gloss of the place, and said, That the oath there is not an oath taken by the subject to David, but the oath made by God to David's house.

When the assembly had expounded the meaning of that article, "He descended into hell," to be, that "he continued under the power of death;" he impleaded that sense as too short<sup>a</sup>, and not reaching to the meaning of the Greek phrase. For, saith he, 1. There is not so much difference between, 'He was dead, till he rose again,' and 'He continued under the power of death, till he rose again,' as to make two distinct articles of the creed. 2. The Greek phrase is a phrase, used among the heathen originally, and, therefore, from them best to be understood. 3. That "Αδης among them, signifies properly and constantly in relation to the souls departed. For this he cited Homer, Diphilus, and other heathens, which prove this undeniably. 4. Κατελθεῖν imports *locomotion*, and there is a plain difference between *descending*, and *continuing in*. 5. It is without doubt, that this article came into the Creed upon emergent occasion, because it was inserted after so many scores of years' absence out. Now the detention of Christ, under death, was not such an emergency, as to cause an article of so obscure a nature, for expression of that, which was so well known. But it seems rather to have come in upon the heresy of Apollinarius, who denied Christ to have had a true human soul.—These things he pleaded at large: and at last prevailed to have this clause, 'In the state of the dead,' added to the explication; but could not strain it to any expression of his 'soul.' Of this article, he hath a just and learned discourse in the second volume of his works.

That proposition,—Christ's whole obedience is imputed to us,—the assembly proved from that place among others, Rom. v. 9. 17—19. Against this Mr. G. began to except, that δικαίωμα, signifies here, not 'righteousness,' but 'Justa Satisfactio:' and that the ὑπακοή, 'obedience' of Christ, is to be restrained to 'obedience in suffering.' To this, Dr. Lightfoot made reply, 1. That δικαίωμα translates קים 'statutes,' twenty times,—and פקדים 'commandments,' five times, in Psal. cxix; and these words have plain reference to action. 2. That the heathen writers use it rarely for 'recompense,' if at all:—for this purpose he alleged

<sup>a</sup> English-folio edition, vol. 1. p. cvii.

Aristotle and Dion. 3. That ὑπακοή is not used for the expression of Christ's suffering, but ταπείνωσις, Isa. liii. Act. viii.

Treating of the thirteenth Article of Religion, "That works, done before justification, are not pleasing to God,"—one of the places brought to prove this proposition was, Tit. i. 15, 16. "Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, nothing is pure," &c. This place our Doctor held improper upon these reasons: 1. Because the place seems to speak concerning *meats*. 2. It speaks of 'unbelieving Jews,' and our Article seems to speak of 'men under Christianity.' 3. That, of most abominable wretches; our Article, of men of good morals. But it was voted to pass for all this.

Among the rules laid down for preachers, it was made one of the qualifications of a doctrine raised from a text, "A doctrine raised ought to be such a truth, as is principally intended in that place." This was gainsaid by our Doctor, alleging these three places in one chapter, viz. Matt. ii. 'Out of Egypt, have I called my son.' And, 'In Rama was a voice heard.' And, 'He shall be called a Nazarite:' which the Evangelist quotes, besides the principal intent of the Prophet. Whereupon they altered it thus, "Such a truth as it principally intended, or what is most for edification." Mr. P. vehemently spake against the use of strange tongues in sermons. Among others that contraried him, Dr. Lightfoot was one; who pleaded, that the very cadence of many sentences in the Hebrew is of divine observation, as in Gen. xi. And that it is impossible to give the life and vigour of the text to the full meaning of the Spirit, without the very citing of the words of the original. And urged further, that it would take ill abroad, if they should declare any thing against languages: and moreover instanced in that place, "which, in Hebrew, is called Abaddon." Now if I should, said he, preach upon this, how could I open it without the use of the word אברך Numb. xxiv. 24.—And when this point came afterwards to the vote, it ran "against the unnecessary and unprofitable use of it."

The matter being debated,—“Whether ministers should read the service and chapters before sermon;”—some propounded, that young men, designed for the ministry, should do it for the ease of the ministers.—To this our author

assented, and shewed, That, in the New Testament, we find the preacher to be different from the reader; as Luke iv. 16, the law was read, before Christ preached on it. So Acts xiii. 15: and so the Karraim, among the Jews seemed to be 'the readers of the law,'—and the Pharisees the 'expositors' (from פָּרַשׁ 'to expound') of it.

To that clause in the second article of religion, "Who truly suffered,"—they added for its illustration, "That for our sakes he suffered most grievous torments in his soul, immediately from God." These words, after much debate, were concluded on; and these proofs allowed for its confirmation, Isa. liii. 10, 11; Mark xiv. 33, 34. But those places gave not the Doctor satisfaction, nor the addition itself any content. For it was his fear, that it would intricate the article, rather than clear it; and that the proofs would not either satisfy the honest conscience, nor convince and stop the cavils of the captious. Indeed this was an opinion, that he could never digest: "The soul of the dearly beloved of God, to lie under the heaviest wrath of God! (as he speaks elsewhere.) The Lord of heaven and earth to be under the torments of hell! Let it not be told in Gath; publish it not in the streets of Ascalon. Let not the Jews hear it, nor the Turks understand such a thing: lest they blaspheme our Lord of life, more than they do." For the proving that clause in the same article, "To reconcile his Father to us," they produced Ezek. xvi. 63; which the Doctor opposed, as improper for the thing in hand.

At another time, being upon "discipline," when there had been great bandying of that place, Ephes. iv. 11, "pastors and teachers;" disputing what officers they were, whether distinct or the same,—whether ordinary or extraordinary:—the Doctor spake to this purpose, That he, for his part, was of a strange indifferency in this place and point. For with the one part he held, that these two, here named, are distinct officers; but it was 'pro hic, et nunc, et ad tempus.' For by that μέχρη καταστήσωμεν, &c. *Till we all come, &c.* ver. 13, he means the coming-in of the Gentiles: and that is ἐνότης τῆς πίστεως, and μέτρον ἡλικίας, &c. *the unity of the faith, and the measure of the stature, &c.* there spoken of. And, that these officers were those, that God appointed for the bringing-in the Gentiles to the union

† *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xviii.*



with the Jews, ἐν ἐνότῃ τῆς πίστεως; and therefore is no institution of such officers for the time to come. A pastor indeed is to continue, but this 'ex necessitate rei,' rather than 'hujus loci.' But a doctor is not of such necessity. Then indeed there were, as Acts xiii. 'prophets and διδάσκαλοι, teachers,' but it was κατὰ τὴν οὔσαν ἐκκλησίαν, 'according to the church being;' but now not so.

I will mention but one or two passages more, that will show how accurate a man he was, as well as learned. When the Directory for Prayer was reading over, and they came to that clause, "Freeing us from antichristian darkness," he excepted against the expression, as too low: for that antichrist importeth an activeness against godliness; and darkness is but a privation of godliness. Therefore it was thus mended, "From antichristian darkness and tyranny." And again, whereas it was thus penned, "These things we ask, for the merits of our High-priest,"—this he likewise excepted against; for that the allusion would not hold. For the Jews prayed to God by the *mediation* of the high-priest, but never by the *merits*. Whereupon the word *mediation* was put in.

By all which passages, laid together, we may discover not only his knowledge in divinity, his great parts and quickness, and his happy skill in interpreting Scriptures, and the great progress he had then made in the oriental learning; but also much of his judgment in the Presbyterian points; and how frequently and freely he opposed their most beloved and espoused tenets.

He was now but a young man, little above forty years old: but by all this it appears, that he had read much, and maturely digested his reading, especially Jewish learning. Nay, long before this, he was an author. For he published his 'Erubhin,' or 'Miscellanies,' at seven-and-twenty years of age. By the frequent quotations in which book it appears, that he had then read and studied even to a prodigy. For he doth not only make use of divers rabbinical and cabalistical authors, and of Latin fathers; but he seemed well versed in the Greek fathers also, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, &c.; well read in ancient Greek profane historians, and philosophers, and poets, Plutarch, Plato, Homer, &c.; well seen in books of history ecclesiastical and profane of our own nation;

and, in a word, skilled in the modern tongues, as well as the learned: as is evident from his quotation of the Spanish translation of the Bible, and a Spanish book. And of what worth and value the book itself was, you may guess by the censure, that a man of great learning and wisdom gave of it: I mean that worshipful person, to whom he dedicated it,—his patron, Sir Rowland Cotton. Who, in a letter to him upon the receipt of the book, tells this young author, “That he had read it over, and that there were many rarities; nothing so vulgar that he needed to fear his book’s entertainment, unless it lapsed into the hands of an envious or stupid dunce. And that he joyed much in his proficiency.”

## IV.

*Some remarks upon his Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ.*

I DESIGN not to give a particular account of his works, as they came forth,—something hath already been spoken of them; his several epistles before them will shew that: only of his last pains, that crowned all the rest, I mean his ‘*Horæ Hebraicæ*,’ I would remark something: and that is, the universal approbation and applause they met with in the learned world, both at home, and in foreign parts. When our author had sent his *Horæ* upon St. Mark to the great and profound linguist, Dr. Castell, he calls it “an unutterable obligation laid upon him; that it was a learned and much-longed-for work, and that it enriched his poor library with an addition so excellent and delightful,” &c. And upon the Doctor’s sending him his *Horæ* upon St. John, he writes thus: “I received last week, by your appointment, a gift *Auro quovis, gemmisque pretiosius*, that all the riches of the Levant congested together cannot equal: such a *מכתם*, as will justly deserve to be enrolled among the very next records to those of infallibility. And truly, Sir, all your rare discoveries of celestial<sup>r</sup> verities, seem to me to be at all above the reach either of doubt or hesitation.” And again, “Your criticism of Bethabara and Bethany (saith he) is so native, proper, genuine, and ingenious, I no sooner read it, but straightway said to myself, *Securus jurarem in verba magistri*. It is like all the other births of your blessed Minerva.” And upon the edition of

<sup>r</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xix.

another of those pieces, Mr. Bernard of St. John's, Oxon, a man of known learning, worth, and piety, writes thus to him: "I most humbly thank you for the happy Hours on the more copious evangelist; by which that most excellent part of Holy Scripture is finished, and completely expounded in the most proper and yet untrodden way. God reward you, both here and in the better world, for this, and the rest of your labours in this sort; which posterity will admire and bless, when they see them altogether." Dr. Worthington, another person of great judgment, learning, and goodness, treats our doctor with these words, in a letter, wrote to him Feb. 1666, concerning the same subject; "I wish you length of life, health, vacancy, and freedom for what remains. I hope that you are still proceeding, and are not weary in well-doing, though books sell but little: those that are able to buy, less mind books; and those that would buy, are less able: having little to spare from what is necessary for their families: but your labour will not be in vain in the Lord: nor here neither." The learned men beyond the seas had also a high value for these pieces: let some of them speak for themselves. Frederick Mieg (son to a great Counsellor of the Elector Palatine, once brought up under Buxtorf in Hebrew and Rabbinical studies, and of whom he gives a high character) thus writes to our doctor from Paris, 1664, concerning those 'precious Hours,' as he styles them, and 'public labours:' "*Publicos enim labores non vereor appellare, quos in publicum literarii Orbis commodum redundare, nemo est qui ignoret.*" And tells him besides, That there were no learned men, as he knew, on that side the seas, but did, "*summis anhelitibus,*" earnestly pant after his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which he had then ready for the press. And begs him, in his own name and in the name of all that love those studies, "*ut lucem non inideas scripto luce dignissimo, neque illud intra privatos parietes consensescere sinas, unde tantum imminet publico emolumentum:* That he would not envy it the light, since it was so worthy of it: nor suffer that to lie longer concealed within private walls, whence so great profit would accrue to the public."—In a letter from Nicholas Hoboken, secretary to the Dutch ambassador, here in England, written to Dr.

Lightfoot in the year 1659, he acquaints him with the sense Gisbertus Voetius (professor of divinity, and a man of great name in Holland) had of his Chorographical Century before his *Horæ upon St. Matthew*; namely, "That he had expressed to him (the said secretary), the complacency that he took from those geographical illustrations of his, fetched out of the Talmudists: *ita tamen, ut spe largiori frui desideret plura lucubrationum ejusmodi tuarum videnti.*" And if we should travel into France, there we shall find a man of as great fame, as the other was in Holland, and, it may be, of greater learning,—I mean, Monsieur Le Moine, who, in a letter to Dr. Worthington, anno 1666, expressing the value he had of Dr. Lightfoot's books, and among the rest of his sacred Chorography before St. Matthew, he saith, "that his library is proud of them." But the judgment of the venerable Buxtorf is 'instar omnium,' who, in a letter to Dr. Castell, in the year 1664, earnestly desires to know what Dr. Lightfoot did: and saith, "That by his Talmudic Hours he began greatly to love his learning and diligence, and wished heartily to see more of them." And in the year before that, in a letter to our doctor himself, he thus accosts him: "*Ex quo Horas tuas Hebraicas et Talmudicas in Matthæum vidi et legi, cœpi te amare, et pro merito æstimare. Tantam enim in eis Talmudicæ lectionis peritiam, et ad illustrationem SS. literarum dexteritatem; tantam etiam diligentiam et accuratorem in illis deprehendi, ut non potuerim non te magnificare, et in admirationem tui rapi. Raræ hæc dotes hoc nostro sæculo in viris Theologis, rari hujusmodi Scriptores; qui nil nisi suas proprias observationes lectoribus proponunt: unde ab eo tempore desiderium me tenuit, ob studiorum communionem propius tecum conjungi, et familiarius te noscere.* Since the time I saw and read the Hebrew and Talmudic Hours upon Matthew, I began to love you, and to esteem you, as you deserved. For in them I observed so great skill in Talmudical reading, and dexterity in illustrating the Holy Scriptures, accompanied with so great diligence and accuracy, that I could not but extol you, and be carried away with an admiration of you. These endowments are rare in divines in our days, writers of this nature are rare; who propound to readers only their own observations. Whereupon, from that time, I had a desire

from the commonness of our studies, to be better acquainted with you.”

This was the reception these learned *Hours* of his found in the world: and a great and invaluable loss it was, that he went not through the whole New Testament in that excellent method of explaining them. His friends indeed often called upon him, and set him on to proceed. Dr. Worthington’s judgment was, that he would do better to publish more at a time than he did, since he needed not to fear now their reception: so as Luke and John might make one volume, and after that the Acts and the Epistle to the Romans would make another: and then his works would meet at the Epistle to the Corinthians. But if the tediousness of the work should discourage him to go on, yet he earnestly recommends one book at least to him,—and that is ‘the Epistle to the Hebrews,’ the matter of it being so suitable to his Hebrew studies. Such good suggestions were made to him, but they took no effect: not that his strength began to fail him, or that he was unwilling to give his pains (for he had a mind generously disposed to communicate his knowledge), but the true reason was, because he could not get them printed, and had so much impaired his own estate by what he had before sent abroad. This he complains of more than once: and particularly in a letter to Buxtorf: into whose bosom thus he pours out his mind. “*Exasciavi paucis abhinc annis commentarium, &c.* A few years since, I prepared a little Commentary upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the same style and manner as I had done that on Matthew. But it laid by me two years and more, nor can I now publish it, but at my own charges, and to my great damage: which I felt enough and too much in the edition of my book upon St. Mark. Some progress I have made in the Gospel of St. Luke, but I can print nothing but at my own cost. Whereupon I wholly give myself to reading, and scarce think of writing more. Our booksellers and printers have dulled my edge, who will print no book, especially Latin, unless they may have an assured and considerable gain.” So that I know not, whether we ought to be more angry or grieved; grieved, that we are deprived of such useful labours; or angry with those, who were the occasions of it.

## V.

*The assistances he gave to the Polyglot Bible, the Heptaglot Lexicon, and other learned works and men in his time.*

THUS his fame spread itself far and wide ; and this made him sought unto by many learned men for his counsel or furtherance in their studies, or for his directions or castigations in their labours, that they intended for the public. How much the Right Reverend Bishop Walton made use of him in his Bible (one of the bravest works that ever came forth), the reverend writer of the account of the Doctor's life showeth. It was as good a work as it was great, and this raised a wonderful zeal and affection in the Doctor to it, and excused the trouble that he was at about it, in revising it ; and specially the Samaritan Pentateuch : and so the great undertaker tells him, in one of his letters to him. And it much rejoiced his heart, when the work was brought to perfection : which he expressed in a congratulatory letter to Mr. Samuel Clark, of Oxon, who had a great hand in it. To which that excellent linguist makes this answer : “ As for the work past through, I have great cause of thankfulness and blessing God, that hath, even beyond our own hopes, carried us through it. Yet I have no reason to attribute to myself, as due, any part of that thanks and praise, whereunto you are pleased jointly to entitle me with others far more deserving : but I rather contract a greater debt of thankfulness, that, by the testimony and suffrage of one so eminently judicious as you are, I am adjudged to have been faithful.” I conclude this matter with a part of Dr. Lightfoot's speech, that he made at the commencement, anno 1655, being then Vice-chancellor : wherein he mentions this work then in hand in a kind of triumph, as so much tending to the honour of learning, and particularly of the English (then despised) clergy, and finally for promoting the knowledge of the Bible all the world over : “ Sic sub protrito et proculcato statu Cleri nuper Anglicani germinavit, et adhuc germinat, nobile illud eruditionis germen, editio Bibliorum multi-linguium, qua quid generosius vix vidit unquam Resp. literaria, nec quicquam Anglia sibi honorificentius. Opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in sempiterna sæcula futurum,

summæ eruditionis, zeli, et in Deo bonarum literarum protectore fiducia Cleri Anglicani jam tum summe periclitantis. Macti estote, viri Venerandi et Doctissimi, qui in opere tam magnanimo desudatis. Pergite, quod facitis, trophæa vobis erigere, patriæque; et perlegant ope vestra omnes gentes Sacra Biblia suis linguis; atque iisdem linguis eadem ope prædicentur fama eruditionis et literatura gentis Anglicanæ: Thus, under the now-despised and trampled-on English clergy, hath grown up, that noble issue of learning, the edition of the Polyglot Bible; and still it grows: than which the learned world hath scarce ever seen any thing more generous, nor the English nation any thing to itself more honourable. A work of eternal fame, a memorial to endure to everlasting ages, of the English clergy's great learning, zeal, and trust in God the protector of learning, when now it lay under mighty hazard. Go on, ye reverend and learned men, who are sweating in so brave a work. Proceed, as ye do, to raise trophies to yourselves, and your country. And by your labours let all nations read the Holy Bible in their own tongues: and by the same tongues and the same labours, let the English nation's fame for its learning and literature be proclaimed." Thus did the good man rejoice in learning, and in the fame of his coat, and of his country.

The next book to the Polyglot Bible, for labour and worth, and which is always to be named with it, is the Heptaglot Lexicon: to the laborious author of which, our Doctor also contributed his aid. A work it was of seventeen years; 'a seventeen years' drudgery,' as he styles it in one of his letters: in which, besides his own pains, he maintained in constant salary seven English, and as many strangers, for his assistants: all which died some years before the work was finished; and the whole burden of it fell upon himself. Though by God's grace he at last finished it, before it finished him.

And here I cannot but turn a little out of my way, to condole with this author, that wore out himself, and his estate too, in a work so generally beneficial; and had little thanks after for his labour. See and pity his condition, as he sets it out in one of his letters to Dr. Lightfoot: where he says, "He had spent twenty years in time to the public

<sup>1</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xxi.

service, above 12,000*l.* of his own estate ; and, for a reward, left in the close of the work above 1800*l.* in debt." Thus he kept his resolution, though it was as fatal to him as useful to the world. For, in the beginning of the undertaking, he resolved to prosecute it, though it cost him all his estate, as he told Mr. Clark. This forced him to make his condition known unto his Majesty, wherein he petitioned, " That a jail might not be his reward for so much service and expense." It is pity such true learning and hard labour should meet with no better encouragement.

But to go back, whence, for mere charity and commiseration, we diverted. In this great undertaking Dr. Castell more than once acknowledgeth the help of our author: " Sure I am, my work could never have been so entire as it is, without you. All pretenders to the oriental tongues must confess their great obligation to you." And in another letter, with which he sent him his lexicons, he tells him, " That his name ought to have shined in the front, who had given the most orient splendour (if there be any such in them) unto all that is printed, and may therefore most justly (saith he) be called yours." And again, " He calls him his greatliest and most highest honoured master, father, and patron." Indeed our Doctor did frequently encourage and comfort him with his letters, got him subscribers and friends, afforded him his lodgings at Catharine Hall, whensoever he came to Cambridge to read his Arabic lectures, for some years, and such like kindnesses: for which he always professed a most dear affection and honour for him.

Another great man in this kind of learning, I mean Mr. Samuel Clark, one employed in both the aforesaid great labours, applied to him for his counsel and help in a learned work, that he designed for the public:—which was the publishing of the Targum upon the Chronicles, with his own translation ; which was a part of the Hebrew Bible belonging to the library of the University of Cambridge: a MS., it seems, that the university set so highly by, that he made three journeys to Cambridge, before he obtained it: but he borrowed it at last by Dr. Lightfoot's means about the year 1659; and by the doctor's interest had it continued to him for some years. This he designed (as soon as he had finished it) to join, with some other addi-



tionals, to the Polyglot Bible. Which design he communicates to our Doctor, before he came to a resolution about it; telling him, That “if he and such as he approved the design, it would be an encouragement to him to proceed in it.” That the Doctor approved of his purpose, it appears from that constant assistance that he gave him afterward about it: Mr. Clark sending it as he transcribed and translated, sheet by sheet, for the Doctor’s review and correction. For which, in a letter, dated from Holywell, September 3, 1667, he professeth himself “exceedingly engaged to him for the great pains he had taken, and that he had so freely declared his judgment in some places he had noted: being so far from unwillingness (saith he) to have my errors showed me, that I am very thankful to you for it: and entreat you to go on as freely with the rest.” This Targum, it seems, by a place in the Talmud, mentioning Onkelos, the Doctor was moved to think Onkelos might be the author of. For which discovery Mr. Clark heartily thanks him, telling him, “that he would do him a great favour, if he would please to let him know his sense of it, whether he conceived that passage of weight enough to entitle him to this his Targum (as he calls it), upon the Chronicles.”

This same worthy person had printed that Tract of the Talmud called Beracoth, which he sent to our Doctor, desiring his impartial judgment upon his performance therein, and begging him to signify to him wherein he might be guilty of mistake.

Nor ought we to forget the assistance he gave to the author of “the Synopsis of the Critics,” upon his desire: for he cheerfully devoted himself to the public good. First, He encouraged him with an ample testimonial of the usefulness of the design in general, and of the careful and impartial management of it by the undertaker. Then as to his pains in the work itself; he seems to have reviewed it piece by piece, as it passed from the hand of Mr. Pool, before it went to the press. For in one letter he tells the Doctor, “that he therewith sent him one part upon Numbers, begging still his thoughts upon any thing as he should meet with it.” He likewise promised him, in such places as he observed to be most defectively done, to give him some explications, tending to the clearing of the Hebrew words,

or" phrases, or matter, which Mr. Pool designed to bring into a distinct volume, as *Paralipomena*, to go under the Doctor's name, by themselves, with some other things, as Appendices to his work; as ' *De Nummis, ponderibus, mensuris, De Templo:*' ' *Quæstiones Chronologicæ, Chorographicæ, Historicæ,*' &c. Some sheets of these Explications of Scripture I have seen, which he had sent to Mr. Pool according to his promise. There is all the book of Joshua, and some chapters of Exodus and Numbers. Where the Doctor proceeds, chapter by chapter, briefly to give the sense or illustration of difficult passages according to the Talmudists and Rabbins. But this last designed additional volume, I think, Mr. Pool never published. And this was not all; for in another letter he takes notice of a promise, made him by the Doctor, of his assistance in reference to the historical books of the Old Testament from Joshua to Job, out of the Rabbins and Talmud: unless, perhaps, this was the same with the former.

## VI.

*The addresses of learned men to him.*

It would be endless to mention the applications of learned men to him. The deeply learned Mr. Herbert Thorndike, in the year 1669, writ to him a long letter, desiring him to communicate the sum of his judgment concerning Morinus's ' *Exercitationes of the Jews,*' in the second book of his ' *Exercitationes Biblicæ.*' Mr. James Calvert, a learned man of York, begs his advice about the right position of the priests' portion in the holy square of Ezekiel. This learned man, for the clearer understanding of divers passages in the prophetic writings, was inclined to think, that that vision of Ezekiel, commonly understood mystically, is rather literal and historical. The only or main objection against this hypothesis, is, the placing of the priests' portion: " For if the temple be either five, or thirty miles distant from the city, there can be no question but that the "vision is mystical" (they are his words): " but if there be an error in placing of the priests' portion, and that the city and sanctuary may meet together, the greatest objection against the literal sense will be removed." And thus con-

<sup>u</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xxii.*

cludes his letter; "Sir, I do not know your person, but I have both read and heard so much of your excellent learning, and your candid and ingenuous nature, that it emboldens me to write thus freely to you, and to entreat you, that as you have hitherto, so you would still make this one great end of your rare learning, to illustrate the Scripture text, that, instead of too many aerial and subtle speculations, the Church of Christ may be fed with solid food: I mean, the simple and sincere meaning of the Holy Ghost, be it history or mystery."

It would be too long to tell of young Buxtorf, upon whom the magistrates of Basil conferred his father's Hebrew-professor's place, at seventeen years of age; "Maximo parente, spe major filius," as Dr. Castell characterizes him; John Henricus Ottho, a learned man of Berne in Switzerland; Frederick Mieg, a noble, learned, and ingenious German; D. Knorr, a very learned man of Silesia; Theodore Haak; and many other foreigners of divers nations, that came into England chiefly to see Dr. Lightfoot, and to be directed in their Rabbinical studies by him: all whom he did, with much humanity and affability, receive: and from him they departed with great satisfaction; as by their letters to him after their departure, does appear.

## VII.

### *His correspondences.*

HE held a learned correspondence, especially with persons most eminent for that recondite learning, that he was so famed for, and was dear unto and highly valued by them. Namely, The great Buxtorf, while he lived; and at home, the Right Reverend Father in God, Brian, Lord Bishop of Chester, deceased; Dr. Pocock, Hebrew professor at Oxon; Dr. Castell, Arabic professor at Cambridge; Dr. Marshal, the reverend and learned rector of Lincoln College, Oxon; Mr. Samuel Clark, sometime keeper of the famous library of the University of Oxon; Dr. Worthington, sometime master of Jesus College, in Cambridge; Mr. Bernard, of St. John's College, Oxon: all men famous in their generation, whose names we need only mention; and among the laity, he held a most intimate friendship and correspondence with Sir Thomas Brograve,

of Hertfordshire, Baronet, his neighbour and kinsman, a gentleman well seen in those abstruser studies. Nor did their letters consist of vain strains of compliments, nor were they stuffed with idle and unprofitable news of affairs in the state; but they carried deep and learned inquiries<sup>x</sup> about difficulties of Scripture, or doubts in their oriental studies: they conferred about brave and high designs for the better promoting of truth and religion, and solid, useful learning. One conference I met with between Dr. Castell, who was the *συζητητής*, 'The Propounder,'—and our Doctor, 'The Resolver,'—was upon this subject proposed by the former, "Whether when the ordinary interpretation of any Hebrew words renders the sense hard and rough, recourse may not be had to the interpretation of those words according as they signify in Syriac, Chaldee, or Arabic."—This question had been occasioned from Dr. Lightfoot's excellent interpretation of that difficult place, Ezek. viii. 17. Upon which place he put a fair sense (as it seems) by interpreting some word or words there, according to some of those languages. Whereupon he tells him, "That he met often with many seeming contradictions and absurdities in our English (though one of the best), as well as in other versions. As Job iii. 5: 'Let the shadow of death *stain* it' (in the margin, *challenge*); a catachresis I remember not to be found elsewhere. But גאל (the word there used) in the Arabic use is *excipere*, *colligere*, as the LXX, not there alone best.—Chap. xv. 4, תגרע 'Thou (speaking to Job) restrainest prayer:' whereas Job was often in prayer: in Arabic (in which language many words with him occur) ضمير is, to *protract* and *multiply*; as the Syriac and Arab, that render it, 'Thou art much in complaints.'—Chap. xviii. 2. קנצי למלין 'Aucupia Verborum,' again from the Arabic قنص 'Contradicendi vices, as the Arab and Chaldee both.—Chap. xvi. 18, 'O earth cover not thou my blood, ויהי so that there should be no place to my cry': because blood is a crying sin,—to pray 'his cry should have no place:' I am a Davusto that sense.—Prov. xxiii. 7, כמו שער בנפשו 'As he thinks in his heart...' 'and yet his heart is not with thee:' seem very repugnant." Whereupon he propounds this question, "That meeting

<sup>x</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xxiii.

with a world of these (seeming contradictions) every day, he craves his judgment, whether the Arab, Chaldee, Syrian, may not sometime sit upon the bench, and pass their vote concerning their old mother's meaning?" All the news, communicated between these correspondents, was about the farther progress of oriental learning, the discovery of more books of that nature, &c. which was the best and joyfulest news to them. It may be, it will not be amiss to communicate a letter or two of this nature. The one is of the aforesaid Dr. Castell, written 1664: "Sir, though I perish, it comforts me not a little to see how Holy Writ flourishes. I lately received an Armenian psalter given me by Professor Golius, come newly off the press: where they are printing, at Leyden, the whole Bible in that language. The Old Testament is there printing in the Turkish language, perfected by Levinus Warnerus. The New Testament in Turkish, done by Mr. Seaman, is just now in the press at Oxford: of which I have some sheets by me: as I have also of the old Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon gospels, now printed with a glossary to them at Leyden. Mr. Petreus hath printed some parts of the Old Testament in Ethiopic, and hath many more prepared both in that and the Coptic language. The Lithuanian (of which I have a good part by me), and the New English Bibles, I need not name. I have a specimen of a Turkish Dictionary printed at Rome, and of a Chaldee Dictionary in folio, in the Hebrew language, composed by the learned Coken de Lara; which our *ὁ μακαρίτης*, Professor Buxtorf, much desired he might live to see finished: it is said to be now near its period at the press." And news of the same import the learned Mr. Bernard communicated to him from Oxon, about the year 167 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; which let it not be too tedious to peruse also: it ran thus:

"Reverend and right learned, I cannot but acquaint you, that the learned and pious Mr. Robert Huntington, present minister of the church of the English factory at Aleppo, hath lately sent over hither a good Samaritan Pentateuch, together with an account of the religion of the Samaritans of Sychem, written by themselves there upon his request, and sent as it were to their brethren here in England (as they mistook Mr. Huntington, who told them that there were Hebrews here, he meaning Jews, and they their own

sect). The translation whereof into Latin out of the Samaritan (which is nothing but the Biblical Hebrew, save some Arabisms here and there: for that is the language commonly made use of by them at Sychem), I have here sent; and, if you think it worthy the while, I will also transmit a copy of the Samaritan unto you. Mr. Huntington acquaints me, that there are about thirty families of these Samaritans at Sychem, and not more, and that they desire correspondence here. But care is to be taken that we do not dissemble with them, but beg their history of Joshua, and their liturgy; and also examine them upon points that may be material. If you please to send what questions you would desire resolution from them in, I will send them to Mr. Huntington, to whom I shall write about three weeks hence. The said good Mr. Huntington hath likewise sent over a hundred and fifty MSS. Arabic and Hebrew. Among which are Cosis in Hebrew; R. Saadias's Sepher Emunah in Arabic, Bar Bahlul's Lexicon, well written; Maimonides's Jad entire except two tracts, which are not quite complete; R. Saaidas's Version and Notes on Job in Arabic; Maimonides's Moreh, both in Arabic and Hebrew; Maimonides's Son's Notes on his Father's Jad; Gregorius's Syriac Grammar; pieces of R. Tanchum, and his Lexicon, or Murshed; Kimchi's Michlol; R. Alphes, and Tanchuma; and other good books in Hebrew MSS. Besides, he hath sent over a catalogue of books to be had now at Damascus in Arabic and Persian, and some in Hebrew. He is skilful himself, and ready to serve you in any thing Jewish or Oriental, that may be had there. This opportunity I would not let you be ignorant of, knowing how you have recommended above all others the study of Jewish learning, as plainly necessary to the right understanding of the New Testament, as well as the Old." And then by way of postscript: "As for Greek MSS. he could meet with none that were classical, but Ascetics' enough. The account of their calendar in the Samaritan's libel is somewhat obscure and defective." Whether these two gentlemen, or either of them, are yet alive, my country retirement and want of society gives me not opportunity to know: but if they be, I am confident such an entire respect they have to the memory of this

excellent man, that they will not be unwilling these their letters should be exposed to the public, or any thing else, that I have mentioned from them, that may any ways tend to the preserving his fame or honour. If it be said, That these matters are no news now, though they were then,— I answer, Probably divers things, here related, are not so common and ordinarily known, at least to many, but that they may be read with satisfaction. But the truth is, I produced them not so much to inform the world of news, as to discover some of the learned matters of the Doctor's correspondence.

### VIII.

#### *An account of his imperfect pieces.*

BESIDES the works of this our learned man, that saw the light, and of which we have spoken somewhat,—he had several other considerable things upon the anvil: which shew as well his abilities, as his inexhaustible and continual labour and industry. Of which, give me leave to give this catalogue.

#### *In Latin.*

I. *Historia Quadripartita. Chronica Universalis, Judaica, Romana, Ecclesiastica, De rebus gestis, Imperante familia Flaviana, Vespasiano, Tito, Domitiano.*—The 'Chronica' begins at the birth of Christ, and is digested under six columns, viz. The first contains the year of the world; the second, of Rome; the third, of the emperor; the fourth, of Christ; the fifth, 'Rerum Gestarum;' the sixth, of the consuls.

#### *Pars Secunda, viz. Judaica.*

#### CAP. I.

*Cineres Hierosolymorum, et vastatae terrae facies.*

#### CAP. II.

*Synedrion Magnum collocatur in Jabne.* This is sufficient to show the design of that Book.

II. *Computus Temporum Judaicorum—ab Urbis Excidio ad conscriptum Talmud Hierosolymitanum.*

III. Index aliqualis Talmudis Hierosolymitani.

IV. Disquisitio modesta de LXX. et de Græca Versione.

V. Discrepantiæ τῶν LXX. a textu Hebræo in Pentateucho.

VI. Σφάλματα τῶν LXX.—Giving an account of all the errors of all kinds at large.

VII. Hillel, a short discourse.

VIII. De Spiritu Prophetiæ.—A discourse occasioned from 1 Cor. chap. xiv.

IX. Concio ad Clerum, habita in Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ, Jan. 12, 165½, pro gradu Doctoratus.

X. Disputatio in publicis Comitiiis pro gradu Doctoratus.

XI. Orationes et Determinationes, cum Procancellariatu functus est.

XII. Ætates Rabbinorum.

XIII. Quædam de Israelitica sparsim collecta.

XIV. Annotationes in primum et quartum caput Geneseos.

XV. Memorabilia quædam sub Ezra, et Synagoga ejus Magna, chronologice disposita.

XVI. Correctiones et Observationes in Textum Samaritanum.

XVII.<sup>z</sup> Adversaria e Rabbinis collecta in Josuam, et in quædam Capita Exodi et Numerorum.

XVIII. The Minor Prophets in the Vulgar and LXX translations, compared with the Hebrew, and the various readings and additions taken notice of.

XIX. Divers other loose papers, concerning the Destruction of Jerusalem, situation of places in the Holy Land, Chronology, History, &c.

*In English.*

I. The Book of Chronicles of the Kings of France, and of the Kings of the House of Otoman the Turk. Written in Hebrew by Joseph the Priest, and translated in English by J. Lightfoot.

II. The Consent of the Four Evangelists. A Century.—Perfect.

<sup>z</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xxv.



III. A plain and easy Exposition of the Prophecy of Hosea.

IV. An Exposition upon the Old and New Testament, by way of Chronology and Harmony: with a Preface instructing how to understand the Scripture.

V. The Motions and Stations of Israel in their March out of Egypt.

VI. **אֲרָץ יִשְׂרָאֵל** Things appropriated by the Jews' Traditions to the Land of Israel.

VII. Names of Places in the Holy Land explained out of the Rabbins, set down by way of Alphabet.

VIII. Of the Creation. A Chapter.

IX. A Discourse upon John xiii. 27. 30.

X. History beginning from the Fall of Jerusalem.

XI. Historical Passages in the first Year of Trajan's reign.

XII. A Table of the Years from the Birth of Christ to the Fall of Jerusalem.

XIII. The Jewish, Christian, Roman History, Anno Christi XXXVI.

XIV. The Chronology and History of Diocletian, Constantine, and Constantius.

Indeed, some of these were only notes and memoranda for his own private use; but several of them undoubtedly were intended to have seen the light at one time or other, but that he found the press so loath to receive things of that nature, and so he cast them by, some only begun, and, as it were, in design; all of them imperfect, but one.

## IX.

### *Encomiums given him by learned men.*

ALL these labours of his, published and unpublished, and those deep notions in the way of his learning, that he communicated by letters or in conversation, raised high and venerable opinions of him, amongst the best and most knowing men. It would be endless to recount, what large testimonials and commendations they have given him. Some we have read already. Let us hear a few more. "Your name (saith Dr. Castell) is indeed a sweet odour, poured out into all nations, who are all bound to pray heartily for you, your health, welfare, prosperity, longevity."

And again, “*Nemini notus, quin te humani generis æstimet delicias; nemini ignotus, cui non absconditus maximus sub coelo Thesaurus.*” And if you will, once more, in another letter: “Chaldea, whose ancient glory and multiplicity of sciences are, by the wheels of nature in the long decurse of time, rolled into Munden. Which you, Sir, a right Trismegistus, for Christian, Jewish, and Ethnic literature, will make to after ages, more illustrious than either Babylon, or Athens were of old.” Another, namely Mr. Samuel Clark, speaks thus; “Your own great worth is sufficient to preserve your memory verdant with me, or any other, that hath any sense of learning or goodness.” Mr. Bernard does violence to the Doctor’s modesty in these words: “I know yourself and Doctor Pocock to be the very pillars of sacred learning, like the monuments of Seth, in a corrupt and vain age. God add, I beseech him, yet to your years and health, so advantageous to his church.” And for foreigners, besides what we have heard from them already, take the value they had for him, by the words of one of them, named before, viz. Johannes Henricus Ottho: he was a learned young man of Bern, who it seems had travelled into France and other places for his improvement, and at last came into England; and being at Oxon, sends a letter to our doctor; wherein apologizing for his address, he tells him, “That the fame of his piety and singular learning had so spread itself over the world, that there was no scholar, who loved him not in his mind, and was not ambitious of his friendship: *Plurimi sunt qui nondum meruerunt a te cognosci, qui tamen inter alias gentes famam nominis tui exceperunt, et post præclarorum scriptorum tuorum lectionem, in cultum tui venerabundi iverunt.*” But especially (he assures him) all studious of Hebrew do applaud him. And instanceth in Turretinus<sup>a</sup> junior at Geneva; Justellus, Tormentinus, Tevenottus, Capellanus, Ferrandus, at Paris; Toignard, at Orleans: “not to speak any thing” (saith he) “of mine own country and Germany also, whose names this letter would scarcely contain.” Abundance more I might produce, both of our own countrymen and strangers; but he stands not in need *συστατικαῖς*, ‘of letters of commendation.’

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xxvi.

## X.

*Concerning his love to, and endeavours of promoting,  
oriental learning.*

THERE was no man under the sun, whom our Author more revered and honoured, than Buxtorf, professor of divinity and Hebrew in Basil: and the reason was, because, next to his piety, he had been so instrumental, by his published labours, in furthering the knowledge of Jewish learning: to which, from his youth, the Doctor had a strong, and almost natural inclination; and it continued with him to the end of his life. When Dr. Buxtorf had writ a letter to him by the hands of one, who had formerly been his scholar, our good man received both letter and bearer with the highest resentments of joy and complacency, for the sake of the reverend professor. And when he had signified in a letter to our Doctor, that, by reason of age and infirmities growing upon him, and finding himself greatly to decline in strength of body and mind, he must lay aside all thought of publishing any thing more; this our Doctor took heavily to heart, and lamented in a letter he sent him. For by him he acknowledged himself to have arrived to what skill he had in his rabbinical learning; and from the grateful sense he had of this, arose a vast love and reverence for him. “*Placet (saith he) Honoratissimo Domino, de peritia mea in Talmudicis loqui, quæ si qua est (quam scio quam sit exigua) tota tibi ipsi referenda est, et incomparabili Parenti tuo, &c.* It pleaseth you, most honoured Sir, to speak of my skill in the Talmudists, which if it be any (and how small it is I well know), is wholly owing to you, and to your incomparable Father. Ploughing with your oxen (using your Lexicons), I have sowed; and if any crop comes of it, it is yours. And what Christian is there, I pray, who reads over the Talmudic writings, that owes not the same tribute? So much is the whole Christian world indebted to the great name of Buxtorf.” And then he professes to him, he could not read it without tears, when he told him, that, by reason of the weaknesses and indispositions of old age, he must promise the world no more of his writings.—This was in the latter end of the year 1663. And indeed the death of that

learned professor happened not long after, namely, in the beginning of September the year after. For whom the magistrates of Basil had such a great esteem, that before the father's death, they chose his very young son to succeed him in the Hebrew professorship; as, in his other of divinity, Dr. Zwinger (descended of that famous man of his name), was also elected. And as one of the last respects Dr. Lightfoot could pay the memory of that great man, he wrote an epicedium upon him, and got Sir Thomas Browne to write another in some of the Oriental languages; and so also did Dr. Castell; which were sent to the friends of the deceased. And when, not long after, the young professor came into England, he received a most kind and obliging reception from our Doctor as well for his father, as for his own sake.

It was his love of this learning, and his great desires to see it more studied, that made him so great a friend to Dr. Castell, under his "ruinating and destructive undertaking," as he himself truly called it; and under that which was the bitterest pill of all for him to swallow, namely, the scornful reproaches of his pains, that he met with from some, as if they were of little or no use. This had quite broke his almost broken heart, had not our worthy man continually upheld him, encouraged him, by money, subscriptions, counsel, comfort. So that, that the work was ever finished was owing, in a great measure (sub bono Deo), to Dr. Lightfoot, and a few more men in the world of that tendency of learning. "But the truth is (saith he), one Dr. Lightfoot is more to me than ten thousand such censors. Besides some few others amongst ourselves, I have a Golius, a Buxtorf, a Hottinger, a Ludolfo, &c. in foreign parts, that, both by their letters, and in print, have not only sufficiently, but too amply and abundantly for me to communicate, expressed their over high esteem of that, which finds but a prophet's reward here in its own country."

He highly admired Mr. Broughton and Mr. Selden, men deeply studied in this kind of learning, calling them a "matchless pair;" and never mentioned them without honour; undervaluing himself to nothing, as often as he had occasion to speak of them, or such as they.

And for the better setting afoot these studies, upon the

death of the learned Golius, Hebrew professor beyond seas, who had an excellent collection of Rabbinical and Oriental books, vast were the pains and diligence, which he, and Dr. Castell, and some others, used for<sup>b</sup> the purchasing of them for the enriching the library of Cambridge, or some other public one here in England. Though, I think, they succeeded not, those books being afterward sold at a public auction in Holland.

He could not patiently hear the ancient records of the Rabbins too much aspersed, as proceeding, most commonly, from ignorance of their admirable use in explaining the Holy Scripture. When Rutherford, in the assembly of divines, had said, that there was no news of somewhat in controversy, but in the Rabbins (it was of a 'cup,' in the institution of the Passover), seeming to speak contemptibly of them; Dr. Lightfoot replied, "That there are divers things, in the New Testament, which we must be beholden to the Rabbins for the understanding of; or else we know not what to make of them."

So much did he delight in any scholar, that took in hand the study of those eastern languages, that in case any were minded to ingratiate himself into Dr. Lightfoot's affection, —next to piety and religion, he could not take a readier course to do it, than bending his studies that way. And very officious he was to assist such with his directions; labouring to bring young beginners into an affection and liking to that learning, and facilitating the crabbedness of it to them, as much as he could. I know some now alive, that have had the experience of what I say.

## XI.

### *His kindness and affection to Catharine-Hall.*

As he truly loved learning, so he had an entire favour to the universities, where it was fostered and promoted. This appeared in that public and open joy and triumph that he expressed in his oration, when vice-chancellor of Cambridge, which was Anno 1655, at the opening of the commencement. For when, in those unjust and violent times, wherein so much malice was exercised against religion, no wonder its handmaid, learning, was designed for ruin: no-

<sup>b</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xxvii.

thing, then, was talked of so much, and so much intended, and almost come to a final resolution, as the seizing the possessions and revenues of the university, and turning out the scholars to shift for themselves. But by God's gracious overruling providence, this feral design took not place. Upon which our vice-chancellor made a long harangue, expressive of wonderful joy and thankfulness: "Non fingere nobis, idque moestis animis tremulisque non potuimus, qualis futura Anglia erutis oculis, &c. We could not but imagine, and that with sad and trembling hearts, what England would have been, her eyes, viz. The universities, and clergy, being put out: what Cambridge would have been without Cambridge: what a spectre of a dead university, what a skeleton of empty colleges, what a funeral of the muses, and a carcass of deceased literature," &c. and after breaks forth into thanks to Almighty God for their happy deliverance. And then taketh occasion hence to expatiate learnedly, in his Rabbinical way, of the antiquity, use, and necessity, of universities. "Academias primum fundavit ipse Deus, &c. God was the first founder of universities, of equal age with his law and visible church, and not to die but with them," &c. as he elegantly and learnedly goes on.

Thus his good will spread itself over the whole universities, but it was more peculiar to two colleges in that of Cambridge, unto which he was particularly related,—viz. Christ's college, where he had first been bred, and Catharine-hall, over which, for many years, he presided. And this kindness he showed by dedicating a book to each. That to Catharine-hall, is before the first 'Horæ Hebraicæ' he published:—wherein, by giving them account of his first falling upon Jewish studies, and the excellent method he used in perusing the Rabbins, he, like a careful master, directs their studies; and, in the close, he professeth his dedication proceeded from that real respect and endearment he had to them, and that he designed his book as an eternal memorial of it. What else sounded those kind words, which he used in his letters to foreigners concerning his college, styling the students thereof, "Catharinenses mei?" And Doctor Castell, who knew as much of his mind as any, there being a great friendship between them, speaking to him concerning the college, calls it,

“Your delighted-in Catharine-hall.” It is true he was, at first, put in master there by the powers, that then were; but, upon the happy settlement of these kingdoms upon their old and true foundation of monarchy, and the restitution of the king,—our Doctor, knowing the right of that place belonged to another,—namely, to Dr. Spurstow, voluntary, and freely, went and resigned it up to him: but, upon his refusal to return back again and take that charge, he applied to the king, who graciously bestowed his letters upon him, to confirm and settle him in that mastership: and, upon his coming down with those letters, the fellows of the college rode out<sup>c</sup> some miles to meet him, and to receive him with that ceremony, as if he had been a new master of Catharine-hall.

A small college, indeed, it was, and illy built; but yet was so blessed by God, that it could boast of many famous and excellent divines and prelates of the church of England, and other very worthy men, formerly members of it; and was usually stored with such numbers of students, that they could hardly be contained within the walls of the college. For the honour, therefore, of it, as well as its necessary enlargement, this our master, and the fellows, resolved to pull down, at least, some part of it, and to build it with more decency, capacity, and advantage. Towards which, as every fellow presently laid down twenty pounds, so our Doctor gave a very liberal and generous contribution; and, moreover, was instrumental, by his interest with his friends, to procure good benefactions, for the same use, from others. But he died soon after the work was begun. So that the good progress that is since made in that chargeable work, is owing, in the first place, to the indefatigable pains of the reverend and very worthy John Eachard, D. D. present master, and those very many generous persons in London, and elsewhere, whose love of learning and favour to him have excited them freely to contribute thereunto. But to return to Dr. Lightfoot:—who, besides the former contribution, had before been a benefactor to his college, by redeeming a piece of land to it; and, therefore, is always mentioned at the commemoration of the benefactors.

It was not his want of affection to his college, that made him reside not much there; but, partly, because he

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xxviii.

thought himself most bound to be chiefly among his flock, of whose souls he had the care: and, partly, because in the country was most retirement, a thing, that, for the sake of his studies, he greatly affected to the last. Which were not ungrateful to his old age, but rather an ease and a pleasure to it. “*Stuendo solor senectutem,*” was a saying of his to a learned man.

## XII.

### *His patrons and friends.*

HIS great learning and excellent qualities reconciled him friends and admirers among those of his own rank and degree, and made him a favourite to men of eminency and honour. Besides those I have already mentioned, he was dear to, and highly valued by, his grace, the most reverend father in God, Gilbert, late lord archbishop of Canterbury: through whose mediation, his parsonage of Great Munden and his mastership of Catharine-hall were confirmed to him by the king. Which he acknowledged in two epistles, before two of his Hebrew and Talmudic Exercitations. The right honourable Sir Orlando Bridgman, sometime lord keeper of the great seal, a learned and good man, took a pleasure in his learning; and when he was judge, and went the circuits, he always desired, and frequently procured, Dr. Lightfoot to preach at the assizes, at Hertford, whom, for his learned and unusual notions, he delighted to hear. He was one of his great encouragers to proceed in his Hebrew and Talmudical explanations of the New Testament, “*Consilio, auxilio, patrocinio, munificentia,*—by his counsel, aid, patronage, and bounty;” as he speaks himself, in his Epistle Dedicatory, before the *Horæ* upon St. John. The right honourable and right learned Sir William Morice, knight, one of the principal secretaries of state, deserves to be mentioned in the next place; who, unasked, unsought to, was very serviceable to our author, in procuring the king’s favour, and his letters patent for him. The sense of which (for none so sensible of kindnesses) made him think himself obliged to put his name before one of his books. He was, also, endeared to two personages of Hertfordshire, of great honour and integrity, viz. Sir Tho. Brograve, baronet, and Sir Henry Cæsar, knight.



The former of these was doubly related to the Doctor, viz. in affinity, and in the course of his studies, being learned in the Jewish literature: as appears by a design he and the Doctor had of going to Dr. Castell's library, to peruse some books of his of that nature. To which Dr. Castell, in a letter, gives them free leave, telling them, "That his Cabalistic and Rabbinic books were most of them at Higham Gobyon: where his study doors should stand wide open, to give Sir Thomas and him entrance; every book they found there, was most truly at the service of them both, to take and use at their pleasure." The intercourse between Sir Thomas and the Doctor was very frequent, both by letters and visits, the distance not being so great (only two miles), but that they might walk the one to the other on foot: which they often did, out of that great endearedness that was between them, and for conferring together in the things of their studies. A friend of mine has heard the Doctor tell, more than once, how, upon occasion of some discourse between them, about such a subject, Sir Thomas departed from him, and presently penned a discourse about the<sup>d</sup> university of Athens, and brought it to him; which the Doctor after lent out to some one, that had desired it, but could not call to mind to whom; so that that learned piece was stifled, and irrecoverably gone. And I have great cause to suspect, that this which happened to the writing of the Doctor's friend, happened, also, otherwhiles to himself. In whose hands soever any of his books or writings lie concealed, to say no worse of them, they deserved not the friendship of so worthy a man.

His friendship to Sir Henry Cæsar appeared in the several visits he gave him in his sickness, the small-pox, which, I think, was mortal to him. Though he was very fearful for his own family,—yet his singular love and respect to Sir Henry made him not to prefer that consideration to his service in such a time. Whose early death he very much lamented.

But his first and ancient friend, master and patron (as he used to call him, and that in many just regards), we must not, we cannot, forget: for he never forgot him to his dying day, and scarcely ever spake of him but with a transport of affection: I mean Sir Rowland Cotton, of Shrop-

<sup>d</sup> *English-folio edition*, vol. 1. p. xxix.

shire; who gave him the presentation of Ashley in Staffordshire, and was the great instrument of putting him upon the study of the Rabbins; and being himself very learned in them, was his tutor, as well as his patron. "With much care, tenderness, and condescension, did he guide and lead on my studies" (as he publicly declares in an epistle to Mr. William Cotton, his nephew and his heir), "in the same way, that he himself had been trained by that choice and incomparable oracle of learning, Mr. Hugh Broughton." And in the same epistle, he professeth, "he always esteemed it one of the choicest advantages that ever accrued to him, that it was his hap and happiness, at his first setting out into the study of Scriptures and Divinity, to be settled in his house, and to come under his tutorage and instruction." Undoubtedly, Sir Rowland had perceived a good spirit and an excellent genius, in young Mr. Lightfoot; and that he wanted nothing but counsel and direction, and somebody to recommend a good method of study to him, to make him a great scholar: and this made that worthy person undertake him himself; as foreseeing what he would afterward prove, in case his studies were well regulated at first. This kindness he ever remembered: which let him speak for himself. "He" (meaning Sir Rowland) "laid such doubled and redoubled obligations upon me by the tender affection, respect, and favour, that he showed towards me,—as have left so indelible an impression upon my heart, of honour to his dear name, and observance to his house of Bellaport, that length of time may not wear it out, nor distance of place ever cause me to forget it." As a commentary upon which words, I might mention the care and regard he ever had to the family of the Cottons. And I do remember, that when I was a student of Catharine-hall, there was one who was a Cotton, and an heir of that family, was likewise a student, and admitted there by the Doctor's means: over whom he had a more especial eye; and frequently had him sent for into his lodgings, to eat with him, and confer with him, and to show kindness to him for Jonathan's (I mean his great uncle's) sake. And out of respect to that dear name, he caused one of his sons to be called Cottonus. Nay, he loved the very name of Bellaport, the seat of Sir Rowland. And I have a letter, which Sir Rowland wrote, anno 1629,

in answer to his epistle dedicatory to him before his first book, that he published. This beloved letter the Doctor preserved unto his dying day, as a kind of sacred relic: upon which was wrote, with his own hand, "Sir Rowland Cotton's letter."

And for a conclusion of our discourse of Sir Rowland Cotton, whom we have spoke so largely of (and of whom Dr. Lightfoot could never talk enough), hear the conclusion of his funeral sermon upon him, prepared, though not preached,<sup>e</sup> upon what occasion I know not. "That blessed soul, that is now with God, in the night of its departure, laid the burden of this present work upon me, in these words, 'You are my old acquaintance; do me the last office of a friend, make my funeral sermon, but praise me not.' A hard task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me; when I, who, of all men, this day have the greatest cause to mourn for his loss that is departed, should, of all men, this day be allowed the least liberty of mourning, because of this present work. And a strange task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me, when I must make to you all a funeral sermon, and yet must tell to no one of you for whom it is made. For if I do but call him Sir Rowland Cotton, I commend him. It was not a time to say so then, but now I dare say it over again; a hard task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me, when I must have much cause of tears for his death, and yet not be allowed to weep; and such reason of remembrance of his life, and yet be denied to praise. I obey, blest soul, I obey: but I am full, I cannot hold: dispense with me something, for I cannot hold. It is for your sake, worthy audience, that I must hold tears, lest they should hinder my speech. Be pleased to give me liberty of speech, in recompense of my restrained tears. And it is for thy sake, blest soul, that I must withhold commendation, lest I should break thy command: give me liberty of indignation against that command in<sup>f</sup> recompense of my restraint from thy commendation. 'Meus, tuus, noster, imò Christi,' as Jerome, of Nepotianus: so we of him, whose departure we now commemorate: 'My Sir Rowland Cotton, yours, the country's, nay, Christ's,' hath forsaken us: and because Christ's, therefore he hath forsaken us, to go to him, whose he wholly was."

<sup>e</sup> Present edition, vol. 6. p. 196.

<sup>f</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xxx.

“ Oh! that my head were waters, or rather words, for only that manner of mourning; and my tongue a fountain of tears, for only that instrument of weeping is allowed me now: that I might weep day and night, not for him that is gone; for he is gone where he always was, and where he would be: but for myself, but for you, but for the country. It is not my ambition, but my sorrow, that I claim the first place, and to be first served in this heavy dole of lamentation. For I have lost, I cannot tell you what: my noble patron, my best friend, my father, my ———, myself I should lose, if I should but begin to tell what he was to me. Why should I speak more? For should I speak myself away, I could never speak enough. Oh! my father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof; how thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women! ‘ And is it nothing to you, O ye that sit by? Behold, and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.’ He it was, that first laid the foundation of my poor studies, and always watered them with his discourse and encouragement: and now the Lord hath taken my master from my head. He it was, under whose branches I sheltered, when any storm was up: and now my tree of defence is cut down. He it was, that was my oracle, both for things of this life, and of a better: and now my prophet is not any more. He it was, that was all things to me that man could be; but now can be nothing to me, but sorrow. And ‘ is this nothing to you, O all ye, that sit by?’ Yes, the cup is gone among you also, and a great man is fallen in your Israel. Hath not the magistracy, hath not the gentry, hath not the country, lost such a man as was ———. But you must speak out the rest: for his command stops my mouth. You of the magistracy know, how he had wisdom in a high degree, as was his calling; and withal care and conscience answerable to his wisdom, to discharge his calling. And you may commend this rarity in him; I dare not. You of the gentry know, that he was a prime flower in your garland; that he spake a true gentleman in all his actions, in his comportment, in his attendance, in his talk, once for all, in his hospitality, even to admiration: and you may commend him; I dare not,” &c. A sensible strain

110 PRELIMINARY MATTER TO VOL. I. [APPENDIX TO  
of rhetoric! which passion and inward sorrow had as large  
a share in dictating, as art.

### XIII.

#### *His relations.*

HAVING expatiated thus largely in our notices of this man, that we may omit nothing that is material, we will now begin to consider him in his more private and personal capacity. His reverend father had five sons, whereof our John was the second. His eldest was Thomas, the only of all his sons bred to a secular employment, being a tradesman. The third, Peter, a very ingenious man, and practised physic in Uttoxeter; and beside his art, he was of great usefulness in that country, and often in commissions for ending of differences. He also had intended to have writ the life of his brother, Dr. John Lightfoot, but was prevented by death. The next was Josiah, who succeeded his brother, Dr. Lightfoot, in his living of Ashley; the only of the brothers now living. The youngest was Samuel, a minister also, but long since deceased. And as it was his honour, that he was derived of an honest and gentle stock by both father and mother; so it was a part of his happiness, that God blessed him with a posterity. He was twice married, and both times into families of worship. His first wife was Joyce, the daughter of ——— Crompton, of Staffordshire, esquire, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a good name and estate. Her mother was an Aston, of the family of the Lord Aston, of Tixal, but before they were Papists. This their daughter was the youngest, if I mistake not, of nine sisters; all the rest that lived, having been married into worshipful families there. In the church of Stone, in that county, where the Doctor sometime was minister, there remains the portraiture of them all, with three sons, and their father and mother, in brass. She was first wedded to Mr. Copwood, a gentleman of a good estate in that county: by whom she had two sons and one daughter. The sons since died; but the daughter is now living, and married there, and inherits the estate. The relict of this gentleman the Doctor became acquainted withal, when he lived in Sir R.

Cotton's family: and, not long after, married her, himself being yet young; by whom he had issue four sons and two daughters. To one of which the<sup>s</sup> Lady Cotton was god-mother. His eldest son was John, who was chaplain to the late right reverend father in God, Brian, Lord Bishop of Chester, the famous undertaker of the Polyglot: by whom this Mr. Lightfoot was much esteemed; but died soon after his lord and patron, and lies buried in the cathedral church aforesaid. He had six daughters; all now deceased, but two, who live at Chester. Anastasius was his second son, who had also these additions to that name,—viz. Cottonus, Jacksonus, in memory of Sir Rowland Cotton, and Sir John Jackson, two dear friends of the Doctor's. This was also a clergyman, incumbent of Thundridg, in Hertfordshire; and died there; leaving one son still living. The third son was Athanasius, brought up a tradesman in London; deceased also. And his fourth son, Thomas, died young. His daughters were, Joyce, now the worthy consort of Mr. John Duckfield, rector of Aspeden, in Hertfordshire (whom I must not name, but with an addition of respect for communicating to me most of the papers and original MSS. and letters of Dr. Lightfoot, and others, that I have made use of, both in these relations, and in the published sermons). And Sarah, now a widow, formerly married to one Mr. Colclough, a gentleman of Staffordshire, deceased.

This pious matron and discreet wife, the Doctor buried, in the year 1656, in his church of Munden; after he had lived well near thirty years with her. Afterward he took to wife Ann, the relict of Mr. Austin Brograve, uncle to Sir Thomas, before spoken of. By her he had no issue. Whom he likewise survived. She died also at Munden, and was buried there.

His pious father, Thomas Lightfoot, hath a great but a true character, given of him in the account of the Doctor's life. I shall only add the inscription upon his monument, as it now is in the church of Uttoxeter; a copy whereof, Mr. Michael Edge, the present or late minister there, communicated to us; composed, as it seems, by his learned son, Peter Lightfoot, physician, lately deceased.

M. S.

Huc oculos et lacrymas, O Viator,  
 Qui veteri studes veritati, pietati, charitati,  
 Huc; ubi teipsum es olim celaturus.

## THOMAS LIGHTFOOTE

Verbi Divini per annos 56 fidelissimus Minister,  
 Ecclesiæ hujus, per annos 36, vigilantissimus Pastor,  
 Vir antiquorum morum, et primævæ sanctitatis,  
 Coruscantis zeli, doctrinæ, virtutis, exempli.  
 Vir verum exscribens virum; Pastor pastorem.  
 Sudore semper squallidus, at formosus, pastorali,  
 Salutem suam anhelans semper et aliorum.

Gloriam magni Pastoris ambiendo indefessus,  
 Annis satur tandem et bonis operibus,  
 Confectus studendo, docendo, faciendo, patiando,  
 Onustus spoliis de Satana triumphatis,  
 Idemque improborum odiis beatè oneratus,  
 Hic suaviter in Christo obdormit;  
 Abstergis lacrymis et sudoribus,  
 Et vivacissimus resurrecturus.

Unaque ELIZABETH, tori consors et pietatis,  
 Digno conjuge conjux digna.

Obiit ille Julii 21, 1653. Ætat. 81.

Obiit illa Januarii 24, 1636. Ætat. 71.

And let me add as a coronis, an epitaph, which the same Mr. Thomas Lightfoot had prepared for himself, and which was found in his study after his decease:—which I adjoin, to let the world see somewhat as well of the pious and heavenly breathing mind, as the scholarship of that man, from whom our doctor was derived.

THOMAS<sup>h</sup> LIGHTFOOT

*Olim superstes, nunc defunctus, alloquitur amicos suos, qui  
 in vivis sunt.*

En mea tam multis puppis quassata procellis,  
 Nunc tandem portum, fracta, quietis habet.

<sup>h</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xxxii.

Nil scopulos ultra, bibulas nil curat arenas,  
 Istius aut mundi quæ mare monstra parit.  
 Namque mare est mundus, puppis vaga corpus obumbrat,  
 Atque animam signat navita quisque suam.  
 Portum quem petimus, coelum est: sed et aura salutis,  
 Quæ navim impellit, Spiritus ille Dei est.  
 Solvite felices igitur, portumquetenete,  
 Post ærumnosi turbida damna maris.  
 Sed non ante datur portum contingere, quàm sit  
 Fracta per undosum vestra carina mare.

## XIV.

*His last sickness and death.*

AND now we are arrived at the last scene of this great and good man's life. In the latter end of the year 1675, that year, when colds were so rife and so mortal,—our Doctor, going to his residence at Ely, fell into one of these colds: which he complaining of, was persuaded to eat a red herring, and to drink two or three glasses of claret. The former he easily did; but the latter he was more difficultly drawn to, having always used to drink nothing but small beer, or water. This little wine, according to the judgment of his physician, cast him into a fever, or, at least, heightened it. The disease much affected his head, so that he lay dozing and slumbering, saying but little: only, when any asked him, how he did, he would devoutly say, "In the hands of a good God;" which he repeated often. His behaviour, all the time of his sickness, was with exceeding much meekness, patience, and silence, speaking much with God and himself, but little, as I said, to others. When Dr. Calamy, then a fellow of Catharine-hall, went to Ely to visit him, he found him in this condition, using very few words; when he asked him, if he had made his will, and settled his secular affairs, he answered, he had; and told him where his will was. His physicians were, Dr. Gosnald, of Cambridge, and Dr. Hicks, of Ely. Dr. Mapletoft, the reverend dean, and Dr. Womock, a prebend there, now lord bishop of St. David's, were his chief visitants, who performed the offices of the church with him. Thus he lay near a fortnight, and then rendered up his pious and virtuous soul into the hands of



his good God, in a good old age, being seventy-four years old within some few months: and yet might have lived much longer, if one may gather conjectures of the length of men's lives, by their healthfulness and vivacity. Besides his years, his works, and the excellent service he did in his generation, would have bespoke him an old man indeed. In which regard, none was freer from that which Seneca makes the great reproach of old age, viz. when there is nothing to compute age by, but years. "Nihil turpius est," saith he, "quam grandis natu senex, qui nullum aliud habet argumentum, quo se probet diu vixisse, præter ætatem." His body was brought from Ely to his beloved Munden, where he had been minister near two-and-thirty years, and was there buried. Mr. Gervase Fulwood, formerly a fellow of Catharine-hall, and who had long known him, preached his funeral sermon. He was interred, greatly beloved and greatly lamented by all that knew him, and especially his parishioners, who took their last leave of him with many sighs and tears.

## XV<sup>i</sup>.

### *His temper and spirit, piety and virtues.*

AND thus having gone through the most remarkable stages of his life and labours in an historical way; let us now stop a little, and, by way of reflection, look back upon the man, the subject of this long discourse, and take some notice of his temper, course, and manner of life. He was of a comely person, and a full and sizeable proportion, of a mild and somewhat ruddy countenance, and a most strong and hale constitution; good signatures of his mind. Easy of access, grave, but yet affable and courteous in his deportment, and of a sweet, obliging, innocent, and communicative conversation. And though he was plain and unaffected, yet there appeared somewhat of a becoming gentility in his behaviour. When he light into company of ingenious and good men, he was free and discursive; but if he happened to be present, where rude, idle, or debauched talk was,—he was silent, and most uneasy; and would take his leave as soon as he could. He was very temperate and abstemious in his diet, 'the noblest

part of physic,' as Queen Elizabeth used to call it: his food was plain and coarse. Wine he altogether abstained from, and likewise from beer and ale abroad, drinking only water; except he were at home, where he had his beer brewed for him, which was very small; and that he delighted in, drinking it also very new. He ate seldom above once a-day, namely, a dinner on the week days, and a supper on Sundays. Whereby he redeemed the more time for his studies, and preserved himself in such a constant good plight of health. He was of a genius more curious than ordinary, affecting an inquiry into hidden things, and to tread unbeaten ways: as may be sufficiently judged by the studies that he followed. He seemed to be inquisitive into the nature of spirits, and concerning the apparitions of deceased persons. There was a long account of the appearance of a spirit in Driffeild, a town in Yorkshire, which was sent to Dr. Burton, when fellow of Magdalen College in Cambridge, by a friend of his, formerly his collegian, he receiving the relation from the woman herself, to whom this spirit often appeared. This letter, Dr. Burton communicated to our Doctor, who transcribed it with his own hand, though it filled almost a sheet of paper, as not only pleasing his curiosity, and satisfying him of the truth of apparitions, but also surprising him by the various and strange discourse, that that spirit used: too long here to be repeated. He was of a very meek and tender spirit, easily discouraged, often melting into tears. I have been told, that being to give a public admonition to a lad of his college, for being guilty of some high misdemeanors; the college bell being rung, and the students met together in the hall, the master gave the scholar his admonition with much gravity, and with as much compassion, tears being observed to stand in his eyes while he did it. This soft disposition made him easily discouraged. I know not to what better to attribute that passage, whereby the world had almost been deprived of his excellent tract of the Temple: which was this (as he himself tells it), that going that very morning that he began his Description of the Temple, to see a piece of land, but a mile off from his house, which he had been owner of many years, but never saw, he chose not to take direction, and so to go alone by himself for meditation's sake: but, in fine, missed his way, and lost himself.

Here his heart (he said) took him to task, and called him *fool*, so studiously to search into things remote, and that so little concerned his interest, and so neglective of what was near him in place, and that so particularly concerned him: and a *fool* again, to go about to describe to others places and buildings, that lay so many hundred miles off, as from hence to Canaan, and under so many hundred years' ruins; and yet not able to know or find the way to a field of his own, that lay so near. And this so far prevailed upon him, that it put him upon a resolution to lay by that work; and so he did for some time, till afterward his bookish mind made him take it in hand again. So easily, and upon such little accidents, are generous spirits sometimes daunted. No man was more sensible of favours than he, and none more apt to pass by injuries; being of a calm, settled, and undisturbed spirit.

He was also wary and discreet in his purposes, duly weighing circumstances, and piercing into the consequences of things. This appeared in the arguments he made use of against certain city ministers, many years ago, more zealous, than wise,—and some of them assembly-men, who earnestly advised to lay aside the celebration of Christmas-day; when besides reasons taken from religion,—as, that the thing was in itself lawful, and that our Saviour preached at the feast of dedication, which had a human original;—he urged the inconveniences of it in point of prudence; as, That it would bring an odium upon the assembly; That it would certainly breed a tumult: and, That it would be safer to let such things alone to authority, than for them to meddle in. Which bespake him to be a well-advised man, as well as one not affecting novelties. And another thing<sup>k</sup> shewed his acuteness as well as his prudence: That it being moved in the assembly, that when any went out of the assembly before all rose, he should solemnly make his obeisance (that the better notice, I suppose, should be taken of such as went out) this being even ready to pass, our Doctor desired, “That they might not leave it upon their records to posterity, that this assembly had need to take order for common reverence and civility.” Upon which it was laid by, and the order reversed.

But his spiritual endowments, as he was a minister and

<sup>k</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xxxiv.

a Christian, rendered him more illustrious, than all his natural and acquired. These made him beloved of God,—as the others, valued and admired of men. He took a good course, at first, for the better preparing himself for the ministry. For, after his departure from Cambridge, having spent two or three years in the country, where he made an entrance into his Hebrew studies, he resolves to come up to London, to take the opportunity of the divinity-library there : thereby to furnish himself with a good stock of reading and learning, proper to the holy employment he had undertaken, before he engaged himself farther in it. Here he lay for some years close and private, and read over the fathers, and many other books tending to the furthering his divinity-studies. He preached then indeed but seldom, or not at all,—his business now being something else. But when some, who had a mind to have themselves eased by his labour, charged this upon him, as a crime of idleness ; to clear himself of that imputation, he published his first book, to let the world see he was not idle, though he preached not. He never cared to be accused of idleness : and his own conscience cleared him of that (as he tells us before that book) ; though he confessed, “ That he was not so hasty, as many be, to intrude himself where there is no necessity.” But when he had taken the charge of souls upon him, in all the parts of the ministerial function, he was very diligent : a constant preacher, resorting to his parish church, which stood a mile distant, every Sunday, winter and summer, wet and dry, unless abroad, or hindered by sickness. He failed not to visit the sick, whensoever sent for, compassionating their condition, and administering wholesome counsels and comforts to them. He was a great enemy to schism and faction, and uncharitable separation from the church ; and did use to press communion, both in his sermons and ordinary discourses. And it may not be amiss, to mention the notable argument he used to manage in the behalf of holding communion with the national church ; which was, our Lord’s example. This he often and convincingly urged in this case : and particularly, but some few months before his death, in one of his ordinary sermons, he had these words, “ Let me ask them” (meaning the neglecters of the public worship), “ do they think, that our Saviour ever let sabbath-day pass, in all his time, while here,

but he was present, at the public service, either in the Temple or in the synagogue?" Look the gospel through, and see by the current of the story there, whether ever he absented himself from the public congregation on the sabbath-day. Read that Luke iv. 16 (to spare more); 'He came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and, as his custom was, went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and stood up for to read.' It was his custom to go to the synagogue, to the public service and congregation on the sabbath-day, and he never failed of it. And he stood up for to read in his own town-synagogue, as owning himself a member of that congregation. For it is not recorded, that he read in any synagogue beside. It was his custom to go to the public congregation on the sabbath-day: it is these men's custom not to come there:—he never absented himself from the public meeting; these men account it religion to absent themselves ever. Is our public service more corrupt than theirs was then? If it be, let them shew it. If it be not, let them give a reason, why they go so directly contrary to our Saviour's own practice." Generally, his sermons were very plain, as preached to a country auditory,—and practical, recommending, above all things, piety and a good life: and, if he chanced to fall upon controversial points in the course of his sermons, he would strive, in a few words, to pass over the controversy,—and, while he was upon it, to render it as useful and serviceable to pious ends, as he could. His sermons always carried a sweet and easy strain with them; a rhetoric peculiar to himself, notably raising attention, and making a quick impression upon the affections. Insomuch, as he seldom failed of a great auditory; having scarce one in his parish, that absented from his ministry. And another qualification he had of a good clergyman, and that was, his charity; which was free and large. His house was a continual hospital; none went away thence unrelieved; which was so well known, that he had a more than common charge at his door. For such was his compassionate spirit, that all sorts of comers, pretending need, partook of his liberality: and he would frequently bring poor people within doors to his fire, to warm them, as well as feed and clothe them. Besides, he used, in the winter seasons, to find work for the poor of his parish, as spinning, &c. Whereby at once industry and labour might be

encouraged, and poverty succoured. And his secret charities are supposed considerable. For he had 300*l.* per annum; and no charge, nor visible expense, and yet spent all.

Take<sup>1</sup> him in his more private capacity, he was a truly pious and devout Christian towards God. This was his friend Dr. Castell's character of him: "I know no man under heaven, whose vicinity would make my life more patiently tolerated, than to be near one, who hath in him so much of heaven, as you have." On the Lord's days, abroad as well as at home, he always forbore eating or drinking, till the evening-service were over, that he might be the more intent upon his devotions and meditations in private, and the freer from dulness and drowsiness in public,—a thing so unbecoming the worship of God. Whosoever he returned home from a journey, it was his manner, to pass through his house, to his retirements, without saluting or speaking to any body, unless they came in his way, till he had performed his private devotions. For his food, whatsoever it was, he was always very thankful to God; never complaining of any thing at his table; but ever expressing a thankfulness for whatever was set before him, besides his usual blessing before and after meals. He was, indeed, *τετράγωνος ἄνθρωπος*, 'a universal good man,' which reconciled him a reverence wheresoever he came: but for some particular virtues he deserved

——Monstrari et dici hic est,

to be taken notice of and admired.—I will instance only in his profound meekness and humility: a man so learned, of such great abilities beyond most men, and yet so void of all conceit of himself, so mean, so little, so nothing at all in his own eyes; that one would wonder to hear the expressions that he useth of himself. In his Epistle to Christ's college, you have him in this strain: "Cum repeto quantum sine numero, &c. When I recollect what a number (almost without number) of learned and eminent men, Christ's college hath fostered and brought up, I call myself dunce and blockhead, to come from so learned a bosom, and from among so learned a society, so unlearned, so mean, and obscure, and still so to remain. Oh! dull creature, that I have been and am, in and after so many and

<sup>1</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. xxxv.

so great advantages and examples of learning. I rejoice and triumph, dearest nurse, in the multitude of thy sons, who either have been or now are, an honour and an ornament to thee. But I am deeply sensible, how void of learning, how ignorant, how nothing I am: I most freely confess, and lament it;" and so he goes on, in an elegant strain of rhetoric, to undervalue himself: and subscribes himself, "Indignissimus hominum, The most unworthy of men." Oh! how becoming was so great learning, veiled under so much modesty. And, in another Epistle to the Reader (that you may see, this was not a single transient fit of humility, but his constant tenor), he styles himself, "The least of men and of capacities, who am nothing, and less than nothing, in comparison of many thousands." And again, "Heu! quam ego, cum Doctos cogito, in oculis meis non sordesco solum, sed et nihilesco." And, lastly, in respect of his published labours, this is the sense he had of them, and of their author: "Being most ready ever to submit to others, and to acknowledge mine own infirmities, and owning nothing in myself, but sin, weaknesses, and strong desires to serve the public:"—as he writes in the conclusion of his Epistle before the Second Part of the Harmony. And this humble spirit, methinks, I have well reserved to the conclusion of my discourse upon our Doctor, being the very crown of all his other virtues and accomplishments. And in this he had outstripped his master's master, I mean, Mr. Hugh Broughton, a man greatly learned, but as greatly conceited, impatient of contradiction, and apt to despise others; which qualities our Doctor never knew.

## XVI.

### *Some apology for our Author: and the conclusion.*

HAVING said all this,—I know nothing else needful to be done, but to dispel some mists that may darken his name, and leave Dr. Lightfoot's memory as fair and unblemished, as may be, to posterity: and so we will gently draw the curtains about his hearse, and take our leave of the reader and him at once. I plainly see, there are two things, that some will be apt to charge upon him. The one is, certain peculiar opinions that he espoused: and the other, that he seemed to be too much carried away with the

late evil times. I do not pretend, wholly to excuse and justify him in these things, but only to lessen and mollify the charge. Consider then, that he was but a man, and so subject to human slips and frailties as well as others: and that even such who have enjoyed the greatest fame, either for learning or goodness, have, for the most part, had some abatement in their coat of arms. "Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura." And those great endowments that were in him, and that eminent service he did the church and commonwealth of learning, may justly merit his pardon for any faults, which either his ignorance or infirmity betrayed him into.

As<sup>m</sup> for his peculiar opinions; such as the utter and everlasting rejection of the Jews,—his different judgment about the four monarchies,—his interpretation of some things in the Revelations, and some others, that may be observed in his writings, and in his disputes in the Assembly of Divines,—there is this, that may be apologized for them;—that, if they were not true, yet they were innocent, such as made no breach either upon the church's peace, or the analogy of faith: two things, that he was ever most tender of: "Innocua, ut spero, proponens semper; Propounding, I hope, such things as are always harmless;"—as he speaks in his Epistle before the Horæ upon St. John. And before another; "I hope it will not give offence upon this account,—that, if I am mistaken, I mistake only in historical matters, as most things are, that create difficulty here (viz. The Epistle to the Corinthians), where there is no fear of infringing the analogy of faith, or the doctrine of the church." And so long as these are preserved safe, it seems allowable, especially for learned men, offering fair probabilities, to "abound in their own sense."

He was, indeed, a member of the Assembly of Divines, and long after that (I think) one of those, who, at the beginning of the king's joyful return, were appointed to confer with the episcopal divines at the Savoy: whereby it appears, that he bended sometime towards Puritanism. It was, indeed, his unhappiness, as well as of many other pious well meaning men, to live in those times of temptation; whereinto if they fell, it was because they were not politicians enough to see the bad consequences of those



smooth and fair pretences. I may plead for him, that it was his credulity, not his malice, or any evil design, that made him err. He was carried away with their dissimulation (and there was an apostle once was so); and that the more easily, being a man of an innocent and unsuspecting nature, especially when such goodly things as religion and reformation were so much boasted. And, I make no doubt, he afterward was convinced, how he had been trepanned; and saw his error, as appeared sufficiently, by his ready compliance with the laws and orders of the established church, upon the happy Restoration: and encouraging his sons, also, to the same, who were both conformable men of the clergy. He never was a bigot, or a busy officious man, always rather passive than active, unless in the Assembly. And then generally those matters, wherein he stirred, were such points, as in which the very locks of the Presbyterians' strength lay, which he, for the most part, opposed. And certainly when we consider, how he thwarted their *πρῶτα ψεύδαρα*, their chief principles; arguing against lay elders, standing for general admittance to the sacrament, for forms of prayers, and many such-like,—the Presbyterians could never reckon him truly theirs; and I am apt to think, they wished him more than once out of their Assembly. Indeed he was then rather a man at large by himself, that followed his own studies, than followed any party of men, and promoted true goodness, as far as in him lay. In those times, he particularly made these three or four things his main drift, viz. To beat down enthusiasm, which, he plainly saw, tended to the enervating the authority of the Holy Scriptures; to maintain the honour of learning and a regular clergy; and to show the necessity of keeping up public communion with the national church: whereby unquestionably he did excellent service to the church in those evil days. He had an excellent faculty in wresting out of the hands of schismatics those weapons, that they most confided in. For this I might show his way of dealing with Enthusiasts, Anabaptists, &c. But I will instance only in those, that would justify their separation, from the word *saints* in Scripture, supposing that thereby were meant persons truly and inwardly holy. The ignorance of the latitude of this word was then the cause of many bitter contentions, and wild

opinions, nay, and of no small danger to all that were not *saints* in their account. To this purpose, he speaks in a Latin sermon, preached at Ely, at an episcopal visitation held there by the right reverend father in God, Benjamin, late Lord Bishop of Ely: "Nec periculosius aut terribilius sonuit olim Shibboleth Gileaditarum, &c. That the Shibboleth of the Gileadites anciently sounded not more dangerously, than the title of *saints* of late." Whereas, as he shews in that sermon, and used to urge in the late times, That by *saints* is meant nothing but *Christians*, in opposition to *heathens*, or unbelievers. And that the apostle, in that phrase, speaks with the common notion of the Jewish nation; to which בקדושה "in holiness," signifies no more than "within the profession of the Jewish religion;" and לא בקדושה "not in holiness," signifies as much as "in heathenism."

But it is time to make an end: though, I am sensible, all that hath been said, is far short of what might have been, concerning a man of his figure in the learned world; and what should, if farther accounts of him had come to hand from such his learned friends and acquaintance, as could or would have imparted them. But what hath been written, is sufficient to give a draught of him: which however defective it may be, it hath this advantage, that it is a true one; these notices being taken partly from such persons, who well knew him, or were related to him; and partly collected out of his printed epistles; but chiefly out of abundance of other letters, loose papers, note-books, and other MSS.<sup>n</sup> in my hands. Which course is now become the most fashionable, as it is indeed the best way of writing historical matters. "Epistolaris Historia est optima Historia," as Cardinal Baronius used to say. I have had no temptation to write any thing 'favore aut odio;' having no other aim in this undertaking, but to represent our author fairly and truly to such, as shall be disposed to read him, or know him. And I chose to digest it in this method, as most proper for it, being a hasty rhapsody of remainders of things, worthy to be remembered concerning this excellent man, and which were omitted in the Account of his Life. The method, I know, is not so correct and exact, as it might have been; and as it should, if more

<sup>n</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xxxvii.

time and leisure had been allowed. If any would know our author better, let him have recourse unto his books: there he shall have Dr. Lightfoot speaking for himself; and giving his own character in every page: there he may read and see learning, diligence, accuracy, candour, humility, a love of peace, and an earnest scrutiny after truth, and a great zeal for God and religion, shining every where.

And now, upon the whole, shall we retire from reading this long relation without reaping any benefit thereby, farther than to have heard some news? Then we have, in effect, but lost our time. Great examples are great arguments to provoke to imitation. If we desire the esteem he had left behind him among good men, let us take the course he did, and try to arrive at his virtue and learning; and if we would attain to that, let us use his tools; I mean, industry, study, constancy, and especially modesty, and a sense of our own ignorance. Without which last, if any one hath attained to any considerable degree of knowledge, thousands have failed thereof for the want of it. This was Seneca's judgment; "*Puto multos potuisse ad sapientiam pervenire, nisi putassent se pervenisse*: That many might have arrived to wisdom, had they not vainly thought that they had already done it." Finally if we are any thing ourselves, or have any advantages communicated to us from the gifts and endowments of others, as all is ultimately to be resolved into the grace and goodness of God, so let us not forget to give him all the praise and glory.

J. STRYPE.

*Ad° Autorem.*

ETSI jam tristem glacies incarcerat annum,  
 Excidit et rigida penna caduca manu;  
 Ipse licet stupeat concretus pyxidis humor,  
 Durus et in nigras perneget ire notas;  
 (Immo etiam resoluta focus prodire tremiscit  
 Pallens conspecta lacryma nigra nive);  
 Quamvis Musarum stangent in marmora fontes,  
 Fluminis obliti, vena nec ulla fluat:  
 Attamen huic dextræ, veteri ne desit amico,  
 Quod negat undarum vena, dabit silicis.  
 Gratulor ergo tibi, Lightfoote, volumine justo  
 Quod libros donet postuma cura tuos.  
 (Nam quasi præsentem nunc te compellat amice  
 Musa memor, palpi suspicione procul.)  
 Tu Rabbitorum percurris singula, sordes  
 Edoctus planta transiliisse levi.  
 Dumque tuas longis redimis de noctibus Horas,  
 Concinnas nobis ex Oriente diem.  
 Abstulerat quondam Legis gens invida clavem, ac  
 In Talmude suo postea condiderat.  
 Hanc tu, ruspando, reperisti; hac plurima pandis,  
 Et reseras nobis, quæ latuere diu.  
 Sic clavam Alcidæ extorques, ensemque Goliæ,  
 Cum spoliis Phariis das modo sacra Deo.  
 Sic olim, Paulus quam scripsit, Epistola cunctas  
 Exhibuit nobis Gamalielis opes.

W. D.

**JOHANNES<sup>p</sup> LIGHTFOOT, S. T. P.**

Agro Staffordiensis oriundus,  
 Ecclesiæ Magnæ Mundoniæ in agro Hertfordiensis Rector,  
 Aulæ S. Catharinæ apud Cantabrigienses Præfectus,  
 Et Eliensis Canonicus.  
 Eruditione omnifaria, præsertim Orientali,  
 Instructissimus.

Qui Thalmudicam doctrinam miro judicii acumine tractavit,  
 Et Rabbinicæ literaturæ venam exhibuit  
 (Quod rarum) sine scoriis.  
 S. Scripturis obscurioribus lucem dedit, confusis harmoniam.  
 In Chronologiæ *δυσνοήτοις* eruendis Conjector felicissimus.  
 Et Hebraicæ veritatis Vindex strenuus.

Intimus Templi Hierosolymitani Mystes;  
 Qui secretiora adyta penetravit, sacra ordinavit.  
 Atria mensus est  
 Calamo vere Angelico.

Terram Canaaniticam,  
 Injuria temporis magna parte deperditam,  
 Face requirens Thalmudica,  
 Sibi ipsi, et Orbi restituit.

Qui bonas literas optimis ornavit moribus,  
 Suavitate singulari, candore summo, humilitate eximia:  
 Amicis maximum reliquit sui desiderium,  
 Omnibus exemplum.

Senectute vegeta  
 Studendo, scribendo, concionando lubenter impensa,  
 Deposuit tandem quicquid erat mortale.  
 Horis vero Hebraice et Thalmudice impensis  
 Nomen suum reliquit  
 Æternitati Sacrum.

<sup>p</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xxxix.*

TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

**HENRY,**

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

MY LORD,

THIS second volume of Dr. Lightfoot's Works, the effect of great learning, and as great industry, being brought to a conclusion, it seemed to want nothing to make it complete, and to recommend it to the world, but some great name to stand before it. And since the choice of this laid in me, the poor instrument employed in preparing these labours for the press, I could fix upon none so proper, so suitable, as your Lordship, upon two accounts. The one is, mine own private obligations unto your Lordship, being my very reverend diocesan, under whose paternal care I live, and discharge my ministerial function, in peace, and from whom I have received favour and countenance; and, lastly, to whom I ought to account for the spending of my time,—as I find, in some ancient injunctions of our church, the inferior clergy were bound to do. The other, is the book itself; which contains some of the last and best labours of a man, of as great worth and abilities, as fame: in all the pages of whose writings appear lively strokes of learning, religion, and a love of the church's peace and prosperity. Of which most sacred things, your Lordship is so known and eminent a patron.

Pardon me then, my most honoured Lord, that I have presumed to grace this piece with your venerable name: and vouchsafe to take these pious and learned labours under your Honour's favour. And if there shall be any thing found herein, that will not bear the censure of your Lordship's severer eye, whether it be the publisher's, or the author's, error, I do earnestly recommend both to your Lordship's great candour and charity.

I cannot take my leave without my prayers for your Lordship, that God would prosper your pensive thoughts and weighty cares, for retrieving the distressed condition of our poor church, occasioned, in a great measure, by contentious and unpeaceable spirits: spirits, that, even from the very first times of the Reformation, have been undermining its welfare, and exercising the skill and patience of its earliest bishops. Insomuch, that it was long since the judgment of one of your Lordship's predecessors<sup>a</sup>, in the see of London, and one that had been charged with too much favour and gentleness towards them, that severity was necessarily to be used. For thus he writes, in a letter (which I have seen) to a great minister of state, Anno 1569: "Mine opinion is, that all the heads of this unhappy faction should be, with all expedition, severely punished, to the example of others, as people fanatical and incurable." And the same New Reformers (as they were then termed) created so much affliction to the church, that it made another<sup>r</sup> very reverend prelate of this see quite weary of his bishopric, and drew this complaint from him, in a letter dated 1573: "I may not, in conscience I cannot, flee from the afflicted

church: otherwise I would labour out of hand, to deliver myself of this intolerable and most grievous burden." I make no doubt, but your Lordship, being in the same place, and having to do with men of the same temper, feels the same burden. God Almighty strengthen and encourage, succeed and bless, you, in all the wise methods you use, in the government of your church and clergy.

But I forbear any farther to interrupt your precious hours, only recommending my pains to your Lordship's acceptance, and myself to your blessing, being,

My Lord,

One of the meanest of your clergy,

And your Lordship's most humble

And dutiful son and servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

*Low-Leighton, May 14, 1684.*



THE  
P R E F A C E.

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I AM not insensible this *Second Volume* may lie under some prejudice, as translations and posthumous pieces usually do; which have not the last polishing of the author's own hand, nor his consent to make them public. Therefore, to prevent any too hasty censures, and to give this book the advantage of a fair light, and thereby to justify what hath been done in sending it abroad to bear its fellow company, is the chief design of this Preface. And here I am to account for two things, according to the two parts that this volume consists of. The former is the translation of the *Horæ Hebraicæ*: and the second, the publishing of the *Sermons*.

L. For the former, it cannot be denied, that a translation labours under the same disadvantage, that the copy of a good picture doth, which seldom reacheth to the truth and perfection of the original. And it needs not be said, that among those fatal things, such as, epitomies, wilful interpolations, ignorant and careless transcriptions, and the like,—whereby the books of the ancients, especially ecclesiastical writers, have suffered no small damages,—unskilful translations have contributed their share; damages rather to be deplored, than ever to be redressed. But as to the present translation, I have this to apologize for, if not to justify, it: that seeing these Latin pieces were the very ἀκμῆ, the last result and perfection of our author's long and elaborate Oriental studies, the very marrow and compendium of all his Rabbinical learning; and since that great knowledge he had attained in that way, is in these Latin Exercitations maturely, and, after many years' pensive thoughts, digested, and reduced to be admirably subservient to the evangelical doctrine, and by a peculiarly divine skill he hath made the Rabbies, more bitter enemies than whom the gospel never had, to be the best interpreters of

it;—it was thought pity, that his countrymen should be deprived of these his last and best labours; and seemed somewhat unjust, that strangers, and the learned only, should reap the benefit of them. Besides, it is to be considered, how much a right understanding of the Four Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the history of the great founder of our religion, and his holy institution, would contribute to the burying of unhappy differences, which have arisen, in a great measure, from mistaken interpretations of matters in those books, and to the furthering peace and unity among us; and how highly all, that call themselves Christians, are concerned to attain to the true sense and meaning of the Holy Scriptures, on which our faith and hope are built; and lastly, that these our author's labours administer such considerable help to us herein;—it was resolved that so small an impediment, as the Latin tongue, should not obstruct so great a good.

I hope there will be no occasion to accuse the translation for any defect of care, or faithfulness, or skill; but rather that it may merit some approbation upon all those accounts. The work of a translator chiefly consists in carrying along with him the sense of the author, and, as much as another language will allow, the very air of his expression; that he may be known, and discovered, though he wear the dress and habit of another nation. I trust, those who undertook this employment, will be found to have duly attended to both. I will not be so confident, as to vouch it so absolutely free of all mistake, as if the translators had been inspired by the author himself: it being morally impossible, in a work of that critical nature and considerable length, not to make a stumble or a slip. It will satisfy reasonable men, I hope, if the errors are but few, and the work be generally accompanied with a commendable diligence. The judicious reader will not like our pains the less, that we have not much regarded curious and smooth language. For none will look for a fine and florid style in a translator, who is bound-up to follow close his author; and considering that he that presumes to vary too freely from his words, it is a great venture, but he varies often from his sense too. And indeed affectation of soft words, and handsome periods, would have been a vice here; for it would have made the author look unlike himself, whose

style was generally rough and neglected, his mind being more taken up about sense, and inquiry after truth, than those things. And therefore, I hope, none will place this among the blemishes of the translation. If the words be easy and intelligible, and naturally expressive of the sense, the more plain and unaffected, the better.

I will advance a step farther, in behalf of this English translation: there are some things in it, that may give it the advantage, even of the Latin Exercitations themselves: namely, that they are all, with a diligent and careful eye, revised and corrected in abundance of places, besides what the *Errata* directed to. The *Addenda*, printed at the end of the Horæ upon St. Luke, and St. John, are here reduced to their proper places in the body of the book, excepting one passage only, which was neglected, I know not how, but now printed at the end of this preface. The annotations upon the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, ignorantly and carelessly thrust in among the Exercitations upon the Acts of the Apostles, are placed where they ought to stand. The quotations out of the Rabbins, and other authors, are every where cast out of the text into the margin (yet with references to direct to each allegation); that so the reading might be the more smooth, and continued without break or interruption. And whereas much Hebrew and Greek was frequently cited, and not seldom left in those more hidden languages without any interpretation (the author supposing his readers learned men, and able to understand those languages), in this edition, intended for the use of the more unlearned, those citations every where are translated, as well as the Latin text. Which was very necessary to be done, when the illustration of the matter, and sometimes the strength and sense of the whole sentence or subject treated of, depended upon those very phrases and sentences so translated. And for the better illustration of the author's elaborate searches after the true situation of Jerusalem, and many other towns and places of the Holy Land, almost wholly lost long since in their rubbish,—and, for the benefit of the studious,—we have procured two maps to be delineated exactly according to the author's judgment and conjectures, the one of the city of Jerusalem, and the other of the land of Canaan. To the latter of which, is adjoined a table of the

names of the towns and places (which are not a few), wherein the Doctor differed from the ordinary chorographers. Also, whereas in the "Chorographical Decad" before St. Mark, there were two small schemes, the one of the Asphaltites, and the other of the sea of Gennesaret, together with the countries adjacent, very coarsely described; inasmuch that our author is fain to apologize for one, that he was "extra limites," "out of his own bounds," when he did it; and for the other, that it was "rudis delineatio," "a rough and homely draught;"—both these are, in this edition, printed off from copper-plates, carefully and exactly cut, that they might be rendered the more graceful and acceptable to the beholders. And this shall be sufficient to have spoken of that, which makes up the first part of this volume.

II. We proceed to his pulpit discourses; never before now made public any more than in the auditories, where they were preached. Of which, that the reader may have a full and true account, I shall, first, give him the reason of publishing them: Secondly, what things in them may probably be obnoxious to exception or censure, I shall endeavour either to justify, or at least to make some fair apology for. Thirdly, for the satisfaction of the reader, and for the justification of myself, I will show, what course and method I have observed, and what care and diligence I have taken in them.

First, These sermons were thought fit to be sent abroad, partly, that as the world hath been made acquainted with his abilities, as a learned man, so it might not be ignorant of his parts, as he was a man in holy orders, and a preacher of the gospel; and partly, that the lovers of Dr. Lightfoot might not be deprived of so considerable a part of his labours: but chiefly, because, generally, his sermons had somewhat peculiar and extraordinary in them. For there appears a more than ordinary piercing, and inward search into the subjects, which are handled; notions and observations more curious, and unusual, and out of the common road; and abundance of difficult places of Scripture both of the Old and New Testament satisfactorily explained: and all these proceeding from the author's long and unwearied study of the Holy Scriptures, and his admirable dexterity and happiness in resolving knotty texts. It would

be endless to give instances: and better it is to leave this to the reader's own observation, as he goes along.

Secondly, Of the objections that will be made against these discourses, the most obvious is, that things, that were said before in some other parts of these works, are repeated here. But to this I answer, that scarcely one instance can be given, wherein the same matters are barely repeated again (unless it be 'en passant'), without some considerable addition, or improvement, or correction, or variety. It is true, many texts are here explained and treated of, that had been touched in the Exercitations, or some other of the writings; but with the great advantage of much light and illustration. For such things, as had been more briefly or obscurely handled before, the author takes liberty to pursue more freely and at large in his discourses. It was an iniquity of the press, that our author often complained of, that nothing would vend in those times, wherein he published his writings, but what was pamphlet, or small pieces. Hereupon he was forced, in whatever he published, to use great conciseness and brevity. Whereby, no question, he suppressed many notions, that, otherwise, might have been well worthy the public. And those things he did publish, contracted obscurity oftentimes by an affected, or rather forced, shortness. Against this evil, these sermons afford some remedy: for here he allows himself the liberty of expatiating and enlarging, as he seeth good. And if any man will take but the pains to compare any particular notions of his, formerly published, with the same, as they are managed in these sermons,—he will find them, not only illustrated, but improved also. To give an instance or two instead of more.

In an assize sermon, preached anno 1664, his discourse was upon some part of the history of the woman taken in adultery, John viii:—upon which, he hath some learned and ingenious Glosses in his Talmudic Exercitations upon the place. But, in that sermon, they receive much advantage by several things, there added: which, probably, through his study of brevity in compliance with the printer, he then omitted. As, 1. In that sermon, he furnisheth us with an argument, to persuade that this story is canonical, from that very thing, for which some were apt to reject it; viz. from that seemingly odd act of our Saviour, in stooping

down, and writing upon the pavement of the Temple: it being so agreeable to the practice prescribed, Numb. v., for trial of the wife suspected of adultery. "Nor had the thing," saith he there, "ever been disputed, if the story itself had been searched to the bottom; for then it would of itself have vindicated its own authority to be evangelical and divine." 2. Here also you have his conjecture (which you meet not with in the Exercitations), that this woman probably was taken in the adulterous act, in the very Temple itself; and his reason for that conjecture. And, 3. In his 'Exercitations' at ver. 3, he saith, There are some reasons, that do persuade, that these Scribes and Pharisees, that brought this woman to Christ, were elders of the Sanhedrim: but what these particular reasons were, he is silent in. But if we have recourse to that sermon, he will tell you there, what they are. Namely, 1. Because, Matt. xxiii. 2, the evangelist useth the expression of the "Scribes and Pharisees" for the Sanhedrim. And, 2. From those words of Christ to the woman, "Hath no man condemned thee?" Which seem to imply, that those that brought her, had power to judge and condemn her.

To give one instance more. In the "Handful of Gleanings upon Exodus," sect. xlix., he treats of the manner of giving forth the oracle of Urim and Thummim; and so he does also in his sermon upon Judg. xx. 27, 28; but with this variety: there, he relates it to be by an audible voice from the Lord, from off the propitiatory: and this being heard by the priest was told to the people. But here he corrects his former thoughts: telling us, it was by no heavenly voice; but that God presently inspired the high-priest with the spirit of prophecy: and by that he resolved the doubt and question put to God by the people. Which we may conclude to be his last and ripest thoughts in that matter. I need not particularize any other passages in these sermons, where notions, mentioned elsewhere in the author's books, are repeated with no small advantage. And where they are not so, they are either wholly left out, where it might be done, without making a chasm and break in the thread of the discourse; or, where it could not without that inconvenience, they are only mentioned briefly, and 'in transitu.'

Perhaps, some few passages may be censured as seem-

ing to reflect upon the doctrine or practice of our church. But to this I answer, That they only seem to do so. And if the reader will but calmly and deliberately view those passages again, he will find, that they may admit of a very fair construction ; and the most that they speak, is against placing the sum of religion in ceremonies and outward formalities, or the needless multiplying of them ; not against a sober and intelligent use of the rites of the church, as they are appointed to be used for the preserving decency and order, and promoting edification. And he is very severe, that will not overlook some things, and pass a favourable construction upon others, considering the times wherein our author lived, and what doctrines then prevailed, and carried away many good, though unwary, men, as with a strong, and scarcely to be resisted, torrent. And allowance may the more reasonably be given to some few things, seemingly obnoxious to censure, for the sake of many others : which do greatly inculcate peace and conformity, and the authority of the church, and decry separation from the national established church. I instance only in that excellent sermon, preached in the late unhappy times in a public audience, upon John x. 22 : where the argument of our Saviour's holding communion with the Jewish church in the public exercise of religion is so fully and incomparably managed ; that it was within these few years almost resolved to make it public by itself for the use and information of our dissenters : which, if read and considered by them with a candid and unprejudiced mind, would certainly set them clear of their scruples, and bring with them abundance of satisfaction into the bosom and communion of our church. And beside that, in his sermon upon Jude, ver. 12, he discourseth against praying by the Spirit, and enthusiastical pretences to revelation. In that upon Luke xi. 2, he argues, most excellently, for set forms of prayer, and particularly for the use of the Lord's Prayer, that was, at that time, ready to be quite justled out of God's worship. And it was observable at that time, that the Doctor ended both his prayers, both before and after that sermon, with the Lord's Prayer. In that sermon, speaking about casting away religious usages, because abused, he hath these remarkable words ; " Now I cannot but think, how wild it is, to reject a good

thing in itself, because another hath used it evilly. This is just as if a man should cut down vines to avoid drunkenness. How subject is he, that makes it all his religion to run from superstition, to run he knows not whither!" And again, in the same sermon; "I know not what reformers should more study, than to observe how near Christ complied with the things used in the Jewish religious practice and civil converse, that were lawful." Once more, in his discourse upon 1 Cor. xiv. 26, towards the conclusion, he propounds two things to be considered by them, who scrupled at the religious exercise of singing psalms, because it is no where commanded to sing after that manner, and with those circumstances, that we do. 1. "That there is no plain grounds, why to refrain,—but most plain, why to sing. 2. Where a duty is commanded, and a scruple ariseth from some circumstance, it is safer to go with the command, than from it." The reason I have selected these passages is, to show how our author stood affected to the church. And indeed by these, and many other expressions, that are scattered in his sermons, we may plainly see, that peaceableness, and keeping communion with the church was his great principle: and that his great aim, in the late times, was to keep up the honour of the public ordinances, and the public ministry in reputation; and to maintain the necessity of good works against Antinomianism, and the divine authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the necessity of human learning in the clergy against enthusiasm, then the great prevailing errors. And I make no doubt, that, by such means and doctrines as these, the blessing of God accompanying, our author did very good service to religion and truth then, and did educate and train up young students in the university, and other Christians, his auditors, into a readier and more cheerful conformity to our present church.

In a word, all his sermons breathe a true spirit of piety and inward goodness, and an entire desire to be instrumental to the right understanding of the Holy Scriptures for the propagation of God's glory, and the building up of Christians in real substantial piety, and true saving knowledge. And they carry a plain, easy, unaffected, strain of humble oratory, condescending to the meanest



capacity; and which hath something peculiar in it to raise attention, and to make a wonderful impression upon the affections; I mean, by offering frequently something new and surprising, and intermixing sudden apostrophes, and affectionate and close interrogations.

And now, in the last place, I must account for myself and for what I have done in publishing these discourses. Mr. John Duckfield, rector of Aspeden, in Hertfordshire, the author's son-in-law, and one of his executors (to whom the world is, in the first place, beholden for permitting them to be made public), kindly imparted to me the deceased learned man's scattered papers and MSS. and among the rest, his sermon-notes. From the love and honour I had to his memory and his learning, I diligently set myself to the perusal of them; and being not a little pleased with many of the notes, I resolved to select a few out of a great many: with a design to let them see the light with the other works of the Doctor, that were then reprinting: thinking it pity that the world should lose many excellent notions (as they seemed to me), and expositions of hard places of Scripture, that were dispersed up and down in those notes: and that, at least, some of his pains in the pulpit, as well as in his study, might be preserved to posterity. I have transcribed them as I found them; neither contracting, but where the same matters, that were in other sermons, were repeated, or in the closes of them, where the practical improvements were somewhat large and long: nor adding, unless in these cases; either where references were made to texts of Scripture, which I have writ out at large, a thing necessary for the clearer understanding of the tenor and contexture of the discourse; or where any Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, occurred, which I have translated for the benefit of vulgar readers. Indeed, in some few places, I have left the Hebrew words without any interpretation, as I found them, not well knowing what to make of them, either through mine own ignorance, or the author's mistake in his hasty writing. I was sometime in a hesitation, whether to leave them wholly out, or to insert them, as I found them writ in the MSS. The latter of which I resolved to do, that they might lie open to the conjecture of the more learned; and that nothing might be presented maimed, but as entire as might be. To give

one instance, in the sermon upon Luke xi. 2, not far from the end we meet with קרבת מינים, whether or no it be a mistake of the author's pen, for ברכת 'The curses against heretics;' which the Jews used to add to their prayers. Lastly, in some discourses written in very short notes, and with some 'et ceteras,' I have been forced to insert words, now and then, to supply and make the sense complete. This, I was sensible, was a very nice and tender point; and therefore I used not only all faithfulness and the best skill I had, but diligently consulted other notes, where the same notions were more fully set down, and have sometimes supplied myself from thence: but otherwise I have chosen rather to leave some places imperfect, than to fill up by mine own bare conjecture. The sermons of this sort are those generally, that bear the ancients date: but towards the latter end of his life, the notes were more fully and fairly written: the Doctor probably not daring then to trust to his memory so much as he had done in his younger days. The discourse upon Luke xi. 2, and that upon Matt. xxviii. 19, are of this kind. Which, however, I have used my best care and caution to copy so at least, as to render the main lines of the discourses clear: yet I am afraid the reader will want many things to make them speak out the full sense and meaning of the author. - Which indeed is a great pity; because they are of those sermons, that have some great strokes in them: and the fame of them is still fresh in the memory of many now alive, that heard them preached at St. Mary's in Cambridge. The latter of which, viz. that which treats of baptism, confirmed a late reverend and very learned divine of the church of England in the doctrine of infant baptism, who, as himself confessed, was not well reconciled to it. But, upon hearing those sermons (for they were two, though they stand now digested into one continued discourse), sent a letter expressive of great thanks to our author for them,—and acknowledged, that he had settled him more in the orthodox doctrine, than all his reading upon that subject ever before had; and earnestly desired the favour of a copy of them, which was accordingly sent him from the Doctor.

And here is a proper place to beg the reader's excuse, if he meet sometimes with gaps and breaks, and passages

that are not so perfect and full as it were to be wished : and to beseech him to pardon many things in these discourses ; as that some break off abruptly ; and that the style of others is so plain and homely, being transcribed out of his own rough papers, not polished and smoothed, reviewed and embellished for the sight of the public ; but intended only as his own private remembrancers, when he preached them.

As to the ranking and disposing them, I have not been very curious ; only placing the occasional sermons first ; and to each I have added the place, where they were delivered,—and the time, when. But, to the other, I have neither mentioned place nor date ; neither of which seeming much material. But if any be desirous to know,—they were preached either at Ely, where his dignity was, or at Munden, where his parsonage : most of them between the year 1660, many between 1670, and the time of his death. And so his maturest and ripest thoughts and judgment.

At the end of the sermon upon Matt. xxviii. 19, I have adjoined some few notes of another preached at Aspeden, seemingly out of its due place. The reason I did so was, because it treated of the same subject, and might, as an *ὑστέρωμα*, serve to make the former discourse complete ; and that what was omitted in the one, might be supplied from the other.

The MS. sermon upon 2 Sam. xix. 29, hath neither mention of place where, nor date when, preached. The reason, I suppose, was, because he either distrusted his own thoughts, or was loath to disclose them, when they ran counter to the general current of expositors. And so it is exposed to the reader's view.

In the sermon upon the prophet slain by a lion,—at the beginning, the author propounds several difficulties in and about this story, which he might be expected to have resolved : but he doth not in any of those notes, that have come to my hands ; though, probably, they were assailed by him in others ; but they cannot be retrieved. And so we must be thankful for what we have, and be contented in the want of the rest.

And that nothing might be wanting to render both parts of this book the more complete and useful, there are four distinct tables subjoined, compiled with commendable

pains and accuracy. And if the preparing these, and the maps, and some other things, hath somewhat retarded the publication hereof, the reader will, I trust, the more readily pardon it, seeing it hath been only to render the whole work the more complete and serviceable.

And thus I have given some account of this volume. It needs none to commend it: both the author and the design do sufficiently commend themselves: the author being a person of known worth and learning; and whose name is celebrated not only within the narrow limits of our own country, but also among foreigners; who have his works in so great value, that they are now printing them all, as I hear, in the Latin and in the French tongues: and the design great and noble, viz. To explain the Holy Scriptures, the great pandect of our faith and religion, and to promote truth and goodness.

And now nothing remains, but to beseech God to grant a good success to the labours of this reverend and learned man; that men's minds being freed from ignorance and prejudice, and instructed in a right understanding of the word of God, the blessed effects thereof may be piety and peace. That men may better know and practise their duty to God and their neighbour; to the church, in whose bosom they were born; and to their prince, under whose happy and peaceable influence they dwell.

JOHN STRYPE.

*Low-Leighton, Jan. 3, 1683.*



TO THE  
RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,  
**JOHN,**  
LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

---

MY LORD,

I PRESENT this book to your Lordship in this public and solemn manner, moved thereto by good reasons : knowing with what respect and honour you are wont to treat the memory of the reverend and pious man, the author, and the great esteem you express to have of his studies. To whom therefore the sight of these tracts, some Genuine Remains of that excellent divine, will not, I know, be unacceptable.

I was willing also this way to express my sense of your Lordship's obliging favours towards me, which you have been pleased to show, not only upon account of our ancient acquaintance, and equal standing in the university, but chiefly in respect of those studies I have of late addicted myself to ; which you (a known patron and furtherer of all good learning) have been always ready to assist and promote. You have, my Lord, afforded me the free use of your singular library, stored with so many and so choice manuscripts, together with such antique, and to the present generation, scarce-heard-of, books and treatises, when printing was but, as it were, in its infancy. And be-

sides, you have got me the sight of other valuable manuscripts. Whereby I must gratefully acknowledge the considerable improvements I have made in my searches into the historical affairs of this church, when it first began to reform abuses, and to vindicate itself from Rome, and as it happily proceeded under our two first protestant princes. Which must be more amply owned, in case any of my studies of this nature hereafter see the light.

I beseech your Lordship, therefore, to take in good part this my presumption, and to accept of the humble respects of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obliged servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

THE  
PREFACE,

RELATING TO

THE AUTHOR.



**S**INCE these genuine pieces of Dr. Lightfoot might be of good use to such as are studious of divine learning, I was unwilling they should lie any longer within private walls. For as he was one of the deepliest studied men in the learning of the Jews, whether you regard their language, phrases, customs, laws, times, worship, temple, or land, so he made it his main bent and business to render all that knowledge he had therein, useful; to contribute light to the sacred history, and to open the inspired writings of the Old and New Testament. In the doing whereof he had a happy faculty, by his dexterous application of his said learning: whereby many knots in Scripture have been untied; many difficulties explained; many abstruse questions satisfactorily discussed; many dislocations restored to their right places; and the chronicle and method of the books laid in their due and proper order.

This learned man's usefulness this way hath been so well known abroad, that there have been two or three impressions of his works there, since his death. In the last whereof finished at Franeker, Anno 1698, are added divers tracts of his remains. Which several of the learned there, and particularly Remfertus the professor, had earnestly desired of me, in order to the publishing of them, that no notions of so great a man might be lost. By which encouragement I have since, at my leisure, looked up together these farther remainders, that now appear. Which having carefully reviewed and considered, and finding them according to my poor judgment not less serviceable to the good ends the reverend author designed in what he pub-

\* Not in the English folio-edition.



lished himself, I resolved to prepare and give to the press also. These tracts are three. Concerning each of which, I shall say something, for the reader's satisfaction.

1. The first, viz. "The Rules<sup>a</sup> for a Student of Holy Scripture," was written complete and fair by the author's own hand. And surely it is one of the pithiest and plainest discourses, that ever I met with, of this nature; in so narrow a compass, and in so familiar a way, framed to instruct any ordinary reader that comes with an honest mind to read the Scriptures: whereby he may arrive not to some superficial knowledge in them, but be admitted, even into the depths and mysteries thereof. It was composed by him for the use of some person, who, intending to read the word of God with profit, had desired his counsel in his access thereto. Who this person was, I cannot assign; but conjecture it might be his son John, who was chaplain to Dr. Bryan Walton, late bishop of Chester, the great and chief undertaker of the Polyglott Bible; or Anastasius, his second son, who was a pious minister in Hertfordshire. Or for whomsoever else it was writ, the author designed it for some, that desired to be good textuists: as, in truth, all that take upon them holy orders, and to preach and teach religion, ought to be: the Holy Scriptures being the infallible ground of all divine truth; whence all sound doctrine is to be fetched. And, therefore, if they be not first well, or, at least, tolerably, understood by the preacher, he is likely both to deceive himself and those that hear him; and to teach falsehood and error: whereof hath sprung a great part of those schisms and wild opinions, that have created so much disturbance in the church. And, for the foresaid purpose, the writer of this tract doth these things: First, He directs to reduce the books of the Bible into a continued chronicle. Secondly, He sets down many cursory notes for the explanation of things and phrases not so obvious. Thirdly, He shows a method and course for a distinct reading of the Scripture, according to the historical order of time (which is not always observed by the sacred writers, for special reasons; whereby it comes to pass, that many chapters are dislocated), that so those holy books may be the more clearly apprehended and understood, and

<sup>a</sup> Present edition, vol. 2. p. 1.

read with more profit and benefit. And all laid down in a most plain and easy manner, as instruction to learners and beginners ought to be.

This discourse seems, indeed, to have been the ground-plot of that piece of the author's printed among his works, entitled, "A Chronicle of the Times of the Old Testament:" and of those other pieces of the Harmony and Chronicle of the New. But as they are larger, so this is more succinct, and may be used as a convenient manuduction into the other: having also much in it, whereof the others are silent:—so that they may serve all very well to illustrate and amplify one another. And I am confident, that, were this method of reading the Scripture, pointed to in this tract, and recommended by the author, but practised diligently with due application of mind, the sense of Scripture would shine out more clearly, and the remembrance of it be more firmly implanted in men's minds. Let the pious student of Scripture make the trial. And this I find is the judgment of other learned men. And particularly his, whose letter is lately printed at the end of Bishop Barlow's directions for the choice of books in the study of divinity: where he saith, that "he thinketh Dr. Lightfoot hath prescribed the best method of reading the Scriptures, by digesting the historical and prophetic books into the order of time." And I add, this will prove a better and more expedite way, to come to the understanding of those holy pages, than all that pains he recommends afterward, viz. Reading the text several times over, and observing the difficulties, trying the construction and signification of the words, to see what can be made of it, and consulting expositors: unless marking the order of time, and making use of the Jewish learning, accompany.

II. The next tract consists of "Meditations on some Points of Divinity, and Explanations of certain difficult Places of Scripture<sup>b</sup>." And these are nothing else but faithful collections out of a great number of his manuscript sermons, never yet printed. In these discourses, no small number of places of Scripture are explained by our author, offering such elucidations, as are out of the common road, and scarce before heard of, to the pleasing surprise, as well as instruction, of the reader. I remember, once waiting

<sup>b</sup> Present edition, vol. 1. p. 473.

upon the most Reverend Father in God, Archbishop Sancroft at Lambeth, he took occasion to talk with me about Dr. Lightfoot; for whose studies and learning he expressed a very great esteem; and inquiring after the papers he had left behind him, he told me it were pity but his Remains should see the light. And when I had hinted to him the Jewish or other good learning, and the excellent light into many texts of Scripture, which might be found in his Sermon-Notes, he expressed a great concern, that they should not be lost: and for the preserving of them, he advised and encouraged me to extract out of the same notes all such pieces of learning and expositions of holy writ; and where the sermons ran upon any learned argument, to abbreviate them, taking the pith and sum thereof, and disposing them in some such method as was used towards Mr. Mede's discourses; or to digest his interpretations of any part of God's word in some such method, as the annotations of Cameron were published in his prelections upon some select places of Scripture, and in his 'Myrothecium Evangelicum,' or such-like. I often afterward thought on this advice; and at length, as leisure served, endeavoured to attempt something that way in the method, that I now recommend it to the readers. Which I have digested into three decads. To which many other discourses of that nature might be joined. Let it be added, that these Diatribæ were some of the author's last thoughts, and the meditations of his maturest age; being the substance of what he preached but a few years before his death.

III. The third part of this book consists of Two Discourses<sup>c</sup> upon as many select articles of the Apostles' Creed. And great pity it is, his Exercitations upon all the rest of the articles cannot be retrieved: which by these two, and one more, viz. That of Christ's Descent into Hell, printed among his works, we may conclude to have been replenished with very good learning, and might have been of use to the world, and have imparted divers notions peculiar to the author's learning. I have been inquisitive after these, but cannot recover them. I conjecture they were embezzled at Ely, where he died.

As for the author himself, how well he merited of the learned Christian world, is well known. And his figure

<sup>c</sup> Present edition, vol. 1. p. 440.

hath been drawn in part in his life, set before his works. To which more might be added; not a few things remaining, worthy to be registered to the memory of so good and so learned a man. Let me detain the reader a little longer, while I take this occasion to revive the remembrance of him in some particulars. Dr. Lightfoot was a scholar, and a divine, and (which is to be preferred before both) he was a solid good Christian. We shall consider him a little,

I. As a scholar and a divine. Of whose scholarship and judgment in divers points of divinity, I shall hereafter give some instances, as they have occurred to me.

He was a member of that noted Assembly called together by the parliament, Anno 1643, to consult about religion: whereby he had opportunity offered of showing his great abilities. I have seen his own journal diligently kept, of the various debates among the learned in that Assembly; where he put down as well his own disputations, as other men's. Whence I am enabled to give several specimens both of his learning and of his opinions. And indeed he was of great use in this Assembly, in regard of his eminent skill in the Jewish and oriental learning. For these divines, in their inquiries into the primitive condition of the Christian church, and government thereof in the apostles' days, built much upon the scheme of the Jewish church; which, the first Christians being Jews, and bred up in that church, no question conformed themselves much to: and, therefore, these levelled at settling the like government in the English church. Lightfoot very often spake, and to good purpose, when things of that nature were under deliberation; and not seldom by this learning rectified mistakes among them, explained their difficulties, and sometimes put to silence great confidence. He spake likewise commonly, when places of Scripture were produced to stand for proof of such points of doctrine or discipline, as were under decision; our divine being very thoroughly studied in the Scriptures: whereby he often gave excellent interpretations of controverted places, sometimes misunderstood by most of the Assembly, who had propounded them to prove things, which, in truth, intended no such matter.

But I proceed to some particular instances of these things:

1. When some in the Assembly were for gathered

churches, which must consist only of saints, and produced a place for that purpose taken out of the Revelations; chap. xv. 3, "Thou King of saints" ('Αγιων), Dr. *Seaman* well objected against it; because the reading was doubtful, some copies reading Αιωνων instead of 'Αγιων, i. e. 'Thou King of ages,' or 'everlasting.' And *Lightfoot* backed him, by showing, that the Syrian and Arabic read to the same import דעלמא and דורר 'King of the world,' or 'ages.'

2. When a debate happened about the persons that should read the Scripture in public, and some were for the pastors doing it themselves; *Gouge* and *Marshall* seemed to be for some expert sober persons of the laity: but our Divine proved at large, that none in the synagogue read the law and the prophets, but public officers, and of the Levitical order. And that by these arguments: First, By their multitude of universities for the education of the Levites for such purposes, viz. forty-eight. Secondly, By their curiosity, that not a tittle of the law should be mistaken by those that read it.—But Mr. *Reyner* urged, that the Levites were not types of the pastors, but the priests were.—To this he answered, that the Levites in the Temple were one thing, and in the synagogues, another. For, that though these at the Temple were servants to the priests, yet, in their synagogues, they were their pastors.

3. He seemed not to allow of the ordination by presbyters only, disputing about that place that was urged chiefly in behalf of it, viz. 1 Tim. iv. 14, "With the laying-on of the hands of the presbytery." For after some had spoken dubiously of the place, as Mr. *Herrick*, who questioned whether it spake of the ordination; and whether these presbyters were preaching presbyters, or presbyters, or elders of the laity; and Mr. *Sympson*, who said that laying-on of hands was used in other things; *Lightfoot*, 1. Declared himself to be of *Selden's* mind, saying his interpretation must needs be right, and that it means סמיכת זקנים i. e. "Admission to be an elder." 2. That it would be hard to find a presbytery, that might lay their hands upon Timothy. This text cost a great deal of debate; but, at last, being put to the question, it was voted to pass. But our divine, and some others with him, gave their negative. Yet,

4. To show his judgment in extraordinary cases: when

the bishops (whose office was to ordain) were voted out of the house, and their jurisdiction laid aside; the assembly brought in this position concerning ordination,—That, in extraordinary cases, some things extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had. Divers spake largely upon this *pro* and *con*. *Lightfoot* was of this mind, showing, that even some positive laws of God gave place not only to necessity, but even to convenience: as the steps to Solomon's altar; and many candlesticks and tables in the Temple. But when as a proof of it, that place was produced, 2 Chron. xxix. 34, "The priests were too few, that they could not slay all the burnt-offerings; wherefore their brethren the Levites did help them:" and *Bathurst* spake to this place to prove it pregnant; and likewise out of Numb. xviii. 4—6, and Levit. i, would prove, that the Levites had nothing to do to slay the sacrifices;—*Lightfoot* gave answer to them, and so did *Coleman* and *Selden*, two others well skilled in Jewish learning; who showed the contrary. But being put to the vote, it was carried for a pregnant place. But *Lightfoot* here gave his negative.

5. Some of the Assembly called in question Matthias's equality with the rest of the apostles; and that he was rather a degree below them; because chosen by lot, and not immediately called by Christ: so one *Gibson*. To this, our divine gave this answer, That the lot did argue his immediate call; because the apostles could not ordain him for an apostle by imposition of their hands, but sought to the immediate imposition of Christ's hands by a lot.

6. When the Assembly came to examine, whether there were anciently in the church 'ruling elders' (and they, as it seems, of the laity), which some had laboured for the confirming of by certain places of Scripture; one of the Assembly, named *Baily*, began to speak; professing seriously, that till the last year he had lived convinced by Bishop *Bilson* of the 'Jus Divinum' of bishops; till conferring with a gentlewoman, who said to him that it was a wonder he could not see ground for presbyterial government, which all the reformed churches have; it struck him so, that he fell to study the reformed writers, Calvin, Beza, &c. and by them was convinced. And then after this preface (as though he had been thoroughly studied in this matter), he

fell upon the places of Scripture, and that with some vehemency and smartness, and would prove a 'ruling elder.' And Mr. *Rutherford*, one of the Scotch commissioners, backed him, to make way to bring in the Scotch discipline into the English church. *Gillespie*, another Scotch commissioner, said in behalf of his 'ruling elder,' that this practice of the reformed churches arose from a sure light. But this found considerable opposition in the assembly; and that by the learnedest men, as *Vines*, *Gataker*, and our divine, who began first; and after *Rutherford* had done, spake to this import: 1. That as for that place in 1 Tim. ver. 17, "Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in the word," &c; the apostle, it is true, meant hereby two sorts of officers; but that those were pastor and deacon; which he had spoken of before, as sufficient for the church, in 1 Tim. iii. 2. That Προεστῶτες (the word in another place urged for 'ruling elders'), both in the LXX translators, and in the Syriac, are 'Præsidentes,' and 'Præcedentes,' though not in government. 3. That ἀντιλήψεις, 'helps,' and κυβερνήσεις, 'governments,' 1 Cor. xii. 28, would enforce deaconry and ruling elders. Which words, when it was debated, whether they signified 'officers' or 'gifts;' and *Nye* and *Newcomen* averred, that κυβερνήσεις signified only the 'act of government;' *Lightfoot* stood up, and showed how the word was taken by the LXX: who used it in Prov. i. 5, and xi. 14, and divers other places in that book, to translate תחבולת, which imported not the 'act,' but the 'ability,' and 'gifts' fit to govern. And that the other word, 'helps,' meant nothing else, but 'helps' to interpret the language and sense of those, that spake with tongues;—as he showed might be collected by balancing the two verses in the place in hand together, viz. the 28th and 29th. Then spake Mr. *Vines* upon the same place, viz. 1 Cor. xii. 28: where he showed, that the apostle spake there of several things; and that those things were for the benefit of the church: and that they related to persons; for he had before spoke of χαρίσματα, 'gifts:' that it spake of several gifts in several persons: that κυβερνήσεις differed from διδάσκαλοι: that κυβερνήσεις signified without doubt a 'prefecture.' Yet grant all this, it was very questionable, whether this place proved a 'ruling elder.' For that

he conceived the government was in the hands of the 'preaching elder.' And then he fell to the backing of Lightfoot's interpretation; which he did fully.

Another day, they fell again upon the same debate about 'ruling elders;' when Mr. *Lightfoot* was again concerned. *Wilkinson* began thus,—If the place alleged hold out so clear a ground for the 'ruling elder;' how comes it to pass it was never seen before Calvin?—And for this he alleged *Dr. Sutcliff*; and related that Mr. Calvin having been expelled Geneva, and recalled, he desired four Helvetian churches to assist him; which they did: yet they themselves retained not this government. Mr. *Calamy*, who was for these 'ruling elders,' spake to it after this manner, viz. That there were elders of the people joined to the priests and Levites, 2 Chron. xix. 8, Acts iv. 5. He said the Jews had two sorts of consistories in every city; one in the gate, and another in the synagogue. And that their synagogues were appointed for correction of manners, as well as for prayers. And that they had ecclesiastical censures in them, John ix. 22; that the word 'cut off,' meant separation from the congregation, Exod. xii. 15. 19.—And that they had their 'rulers of the people' in the synagogue, he went about to prove, 1. Because the inferior judicatories were conformed to the greater. 2. Because they had their Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, 'rulers of the synagogue,' Acts xiii. 15. After Mr. *Calamy* had done, others laboured to confirm his discourse:—for, this being a prime point, great pains were taken to carry it. But *Lightfoot* then stood up to confute the former arguments, by showing, that the two Sanhedrims, and the two consistories in every city, were not owned by the Jewish authors. And for that, he alleged Maimonides at large; and proved three courts in Jerusalem; and yet no difference of one ecclesiastical, and the other civil. And by his skill in Jewish history made it out, that there was but one court or consistory in every city else. He granted, indeed, that there were elders in the Sanhedrim, that were not priests or Levites,—but withal they were civil magistrates, as it is in our parliament. Of this last saying, *Rutherford* took hold, and answered, That the parliament, if they had intended to judge ecclesiastical things in an ecclesiastical way, would not have convened this Assembly. To which *Lightfoot* replied divers



things; and there happened passages *pro* and *contra*. At length it was moved, that they might come to draw up in what they agreed. And Dr. *Burgess* tendered a proposition, which cost some exceptions and debates, viz. That the constitution and practice of the Jewish church, as a church, and not as Jewish, was to have some elders of the people joined with the priests, to judge in ecclesiastical matters. To which *Lightfoot* again objected, that it was too large. And that he could produce divers ecclesiastical matters, in which they did not judge; and that it would be hard to find, that they judged in any thing, but only about false doctrine.

At last it was put to the question, and our divine stood up and desired, that the vote might not be lost because of the scruple. And therefore prayed, that the proposition might pass agreeable to the last they made, viz. That, in the church of the Jews, there were elders of the people joined to the priests and Levites in the government of the church. Which middling way was very well liked: and so it was put to the question, and voted 'nemine contradicente.' And *Lightfoot*, by his prudent and learned management of this point, pleased all, unless it were perhaps the Scotch commissioners.

But this controversy came not so to a conclusion. For when some had held, That the civil elders in the Sanhedrim judged in all things, *Lightfoot* answered, That this was impossible in the point of leprosy; for that it was infectious for all Israel, but only the priests. And as for that place, Deut. xvii. 8, a place proposed to prove the proposition fixed upon (upon our said divine's motion, as was showed before), viz. That there were elders of the people joined with the priests and Levites in the government of the church, he showed them his judgment, That that place spake not of appeals, but of advisings; and not of judicature, but of direction. For that the judges of inferior cities were to go thither to inform themselves, if they stuck in any thing.

*Gillespie*, the Scotchman, laboured to prove two courts, from Deut. xvii. 12, about one going up from one court to another; that is, for appeals, as he urged from hence, "The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, that standeth to minister before

the Lord, or unto the judge; even that man shall die:" making the priest to hold one court,—and the judge, another. But *Selden*, *Gibson*, and *Lightfoot*, were against it. And thus *Selden*, "The Vulgar Latin, till within this forty years, read this place, 'Qui non obediverit sacerdoti, ex decreto Judicis morietur: i. e. He that shall not obey the priest, shall die by the decree of the judge.' And if that reading be right, here is no shadow of two courts. This place, he said, included all cases. And if, in any one of the inferior courts, the judge were at a stand, and those judges went to Jerusalem, and were resolved of the scruple, and went down again, and would not judge according to their resolution,—they were to die. And this was he which the Jewish writers call the *Rebellious Elder*." *Gibbon* proved, they (i. e. the judges of the inferior courts) handled ecclesiastical matters. And that because, 1. They had all matters: 2. All laws: 3. They handled the matter of jealousy. And for this he produced *Maimonides* at large. *Lightfoot* then signified, that he had yesterday hinted the sense, which *Mr. Selden* now gave. And that it was not in appeals, but in point of consultation, that the judge was to go up. To which *Herle* gave only this answer, "I should be sorry, if we should lose appeals in this place." But our divine besought this Assembly, that they might examine the text, before they fixed a sense upon it; and that it might be taken into consideration, whether this place speak of appeals or no: and affirmed, that it little afforded two Sanhedrims: for that the party was to consult with judge or priest, as the case required; and they two sitting together in the court. Which was urged in opposition to *Dr. Hoyle*, that endeavoured to prove two Sanhedrims, because the priest and the judge were named apart, and the priest first.

This debate held very long; and yet nothing was concluded: when at last *Lightfoot* proposed that they might hasten the material things, that tended to settlement; and to let these speculations alone till leisure, and to fall to action. Which seasonable admonition was hearkened to, and followed.

7. It became a doubt among some in the Assembly, whether those deacons, *Acts vi*, were the same with those, spoken of in *1 Tim. iii*. And when *Mr. Vines* had smartly

said, that some denied those in the *Acts* to be deacons, because they measured these by the deacons of their own times, and had been willing rather to deny these than their own;—*Lightfoot* spake substantially to this place; 1. That these were ministers, because it is said they were πλήρεις πνεύματος ἁγίου, i. e. “full of the Holy Ghost,” before they had imposition of hands. He added, 2. That these seven were appointed for the seven nations of the western dispersion; and we find none here for the eastern. 3. That the multitude of the church in that place were all from home. This he said to prove, that this was not a proper copy for future times. To which he subjoined, 4. That the collections and the deacons, mentioned in the Epistles, were for the relief of the church at Jerusalem. [And so no set officers appointed to be in every church.] *Coleman* said, That that place in Timothy showed the qualifications of a deacon, but not the perpetuity:—and of the same judgment, *Lightfoot* declared himself to be. But when the place came to be voted, it was voted affirmatively. “But my mind,” as he writes in his journal, “was not with it.”

8. A question arose in the Assembly upon excommunication; whether it were to be done in a presbytery, or in the presence of the whole church. And so the Independents would have it, proving it from 1 Cor. v. 4, Συναχθέντων ὑμῶν, “When ye are gathered together,” &c. *Lightfoot* answered this place thus, That the ‘Synaxis,’ i. e. ‘the gathering together,’ here, was in regard, that there were heart-burnings among them: and so they triumphed one against another in this very act of the incestuous. Ergo, he commands them, that they should convene in affection and in place: and being so met, they should do it.—And, after two or three debates upon this case of the incestuous person, *Lightfoot* again, That this case of the Corinthians was such, as cannot be among us: for they were hedged in with the heathen; and the apostle plainly tells us, that there was an iniquity among them more than the heathenish, ver. 1, ἥτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, “such as is not among the heathen.” Therefore, if he would have the whole church to come together, and to cast out this member, for the vindication of the whole church, it is a singular example, and cannot be paralleled among us.

Still this text of St. Paul, divers days after, was canvassing. Then our divine again; 1. That the phrase here used, συναχθέντων, differing from that cited, 1 Cor. xi. 20, συνερχομένων ὑμῶν, “when ye come together;” and xiv. 26, ὅταν συνέρχησθε, “when ye are come together” (the words being different), gives cause to suspect, that he means a difference in them. 2. That Ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν, i. e. “From the midst of you,” is used by all the Jewish courts for taking away a wicked man, Deut. xiii. &c; yet all the people might not need to be present at the censure. 3. That Paul writ indeed to all the church in Corinth; but every one must take out the lesson, as it concerned him. As the king of Syria writes to the king of Israel to heal Naaman; whereas Elisha was to have and take his share in the letter that concerned him.

9. Farther, several in the Assembly offered that place, 1 Cor. v. 2, for excommunication, and for excluding from the communion; where that incestuous person is directed by St. Paul to be “taken away from among them.” But this place, *Lightfoot's* judgment was, concerned not at all excommunication. Of whose mind, also, was *Whitaker*: who showed, that the place did not prove a cutting-off from the eucharist; and that Ὁλεθρος σαρκός, i. e. “The destruction of the flesh,” was not taken for excommunication: and that ‘Traditio Satanæ,’ i. e. ‘Delivering over to Satan,’ seemed to be extraordinary. And that sorrow, which this bred in the guilty person, and in the whole church, was most extraordinary. Many of the Greeks thought it *pain*. This gave occasion to a dispute, that held all the day:—but, notwithstanding, that place was carried for a proof of excommunication. But *Lightfoot* gave his denial.

Neither did he like the other place, brought for excommunication, viz. Matt. xviii. 17; “If he shall neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican.” Which after *Colman* (a man that was against all manner of excommunication) had opposed; and *Gataker* spake against the propriety of this place, *Lightfoot* conceived the place, 1. To speak of offence given from a member to his pastor. For from Mark ix. 35 (which place by comparing both carefully, appears to fall in with this of Matthew), it was plain, this speech of Christ was

only spoken to the twelve. 2. That it spake of *shaming* an offender, and not of *censuring*. For that the two or three ("take with thee two or three," ver. 16), not the church, had to do with the offender. 3. That the heathen and publicans had access 'ad sacra:' but the Jews abhorred their civil society. And this was "to be as a heathen man and a publican," to have no society with such: but "to be a publican" included not excommunication. Again, after *Herle* and *Reynolds* had spoke for this place to prove excommunication; our divine answered them, 1. With this question, —Are the 'two or three' here named witnesses, as they would have them? For it is plain, these must be admonishers. 2. He showed, that that text and speech of our Saviour was upon occasion of the disciples' quarrelling. Now how improper is it, when he is speaking of offence between brother and brother, to conclude what such a one shall be to the church, and not to the party offended. For so, saith he, you understand, "Let him be to *thee*, that is, to the *church*."—But, notwithstanding, this place was carried for excommunication.

10. When the dispute came on between the Independents, and the other party, about congregations, whether there were more than one in a city,—and the great inquiry was, What that church was, that was at Jerusalem?—whether one congregation only, or more;—and Dr. *Temple* doubted, whether there were many fixed congregations in that city, and it seemed to him there were not;—*Lightfoot* answered in many particulars. 1. That such a multitude of pastors, as were then at Jerusalem, could not suit with one congregation. 2. That there were divers languages, that understood not one another. Therefore there could not be but divers congregations. 3. That one part of the church had deacons, the other not: Vid. sect. 7. Therefore we must distinguish of their congregations. 4. In the twelfth of the Acts there were 'ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι, i. e. "many gathered together," ver. 12; and yet James and the brethren were not there.

*Burroughs* and *Lightfoot* had a controversy about the "five thousand added to the church," Acts iv; whether they were new converts,—which our divine averred,—and *Burroughs* denied. And when *Lightfoot* had done, *Palmer* backed him in it. *Burroughs* again questioned, whether

these five thousand, or the other, were of the church of Jerusalem? *Palmer* answered, that they were dwellers in Jerusalem, Acts ii. 5, κατοικοῦντες. *Lightfoot* answered, they came unbelievers thither, and being there, they sold their lands. *Goodwin* said from Mr. Mede, that they were not dwellers at Jerusalem: for that κατοικεῖν, Gen. xxvii, is “abiding only for a few days.” *Vines* held, that they were afterward abiding, having come up to the feast. *Lightfoot* answered, that they came not to the feast, but because they looked that the kingdom of God should shortly appear, Luke xix; therefore the ground was false. *Goodwin* said, This phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ being joined with ὁμοθυμαδὸν, i. e. ‘with one accord,’ importeth the same place, Acts ii. 1. *Lightfoot* answered, 1. That grant ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ to signify as he would have it, yet he must understand “secundum analogiam fidei et rationis,” as “all the men of Sodom met at Lot’s door:”—this could not be.—“The ark rested on the mountains of Ararat.” That could not be.—“Jephthah was buried in the cities of Gilead.” That could not be.—Therefore these and such-like places must be expounded ‘secundum rationem,’ i. e. ‘according to reason.’ 2. That the Lord’s supper was strange among the Jews, but baptism was not; [for *Goodwin* had said, they had the sacraments in the Temple: and what did the apostles care for affronting the ceremonies in the Temple?] 3. That Peter, Acts ii, preached not alone, and the rest stood by: nor did he preach alone, Acts iii.

Shall I be allowed to go on in my narrative of this controversy, which was one of the tightest, that happened in the assembly; and wherein our divine bore a great part? Perhaps it may not be unacceptable to hear their learning, *pro* and *con*. *Selden* (and any remainders of that great name are worthy preserving wheresoever we meet with them) first excepted at the expression of the Presbyterians, that they *could* not meet [they were so numerous] in one place; but that they *did* not meet, he said, were proper. But that they met together in Christian worship [in the Temple, as the Independents had said], it was not to be made good. For whereas it was said that they were προσκαρτεροῦντες ἐν ἱερῷ, i. e. “continuing in the Temple,”—this cannot be understood, they were there as Christians. For as yet it was not condescended to by the Jews, that the

Gentiles should come in, otherwise than as they came in to be Jews. They [Jews] had now divers sects, Scribes and Pharisees; and so were Christians now looked upon [i. e. as a sect of Jews]. And they may very well be understood by the Essenes. Now the Jews at Jerusalem, that became Christians, did believe, that, concerning the Jews in Judea, they must observe Moses's law and customs. And then it is no wonder, if they came constantly into the Temple. And here he justified *Lightfoot*, saying, that baptism was long before John. Now that they had particular congregations, he was very confident. For if they would keep up Moses's law (as they checked Paul, Acts xxi, for dissuading men to walk in Moses's law), then would they do as the Jews did. Now in Megil. fol. 73, it is said, that there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem; and wheresoever were ten households, any one whereof was not a piece of a synagogue, they were to be cast into a synagogue, or congregation: Maimon. in תפלת. And then it is most probable, that these Jewish Christians would cast themselves into several congregations. And this, he added, seemed to be hinted at, Acts ii. Their going to the Temple was Jewish; their breaking bread κατ' οἶκον, i. e. 'from house to house,' was Christian. In the Syriac Testament, 'breaking of bread' is expressly the eucharist; and κατ' οἶκον may mean 'Beth Cineseth,' i. e. 'the house of the synagogue;' and imported some house prepared for the purpose. Thus the learned *Selden*.

The same controversy came on again another day: then *Lightfoot* showed that the foresaid phrase of 'breaking bread from house to house,' was not, as some to evade the argument had asserted, meant of common meals. Which *Selden* backed: and excepted against our translation of κατ' οἶκον, and clearly understood it of כנסת, i. e. 'some synagogues or meeting places.' All things, he said, were now common among the Christians at Jerusalem, both κτήματα and ὑπάροξεις, i. e. 'mobilia' and 'immobilia.' And then, what was it to be at home? For none had a house. But the meaning is, that they met at the same time in public places.

*Calamy* enforced this farther from Acts xii. 5, where prayers are said to be made of the whole church for Peter: but the whole church was not met in one place: therefore

the church is not one congregation. *Lightfoot* seconded him, urging, that all the churches of Judea, in the places alleged, are called one church. For now it was Easter, ver. 4; and all the churches of Judea were here met; and yet called *one church*.

At length, for the proof of this, it was moved in the Assembly to consider *Lightfoot's* argument that he had propounded some days before, about the diversity of languages. And the Assembly agreed to it. This pinched the Independents. For *Bridge* would not have it fallen upon, unless the Assembly voted so to do: which it did accordingly. Divers spake to it, and there was a long debate upon it. Dr. *Temple* said, that those that spake with several tongues, were only Jews, and so understood the same language. *Woodcock* urged there must needs be but one language of all these people met together, Acts ii: for Peter preached but in one language to all the three thousand that were converted, Acts ii. 41,—and to the five thousand that heard them and believed, Acts iv. 4. Also *Vines* questioned, whether all the various nations, that were now come up to Jerusalem, Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, &c. understood not one language, and that the Hebrew. Here *Lightfoot* answered them both, to this tenor: 1. That the *ἑνδεκα*, i. e. 'the eleven,' stood forth as well as Peter; and the story fixed more especially upon Peter, because he was minister of the circumcision. 2. That, Acts iii, Peter's speech is set down; and yet, Acts iv. 1, it is said, *λαλούντων αὐτῶν*, 'they spake unto the people.' 3. That though some of these nations, and the Asian Jews, understood the Hebrew tongue, yet it was not so with the others, mentioned Acts ii. For the Asian Jews were the next door to Jerusalem in comparison, and some others there mentioned; and so might come every year to Jerusalem; but the others could not.

*Selden* also spake in answer to those, that asserted there was one common language that all understood. He said, there was not one language that was understood among them. As for their 'sacra,' it was not in much use of language. They might use their benedictions at the Temple in any language, that the people present understood, some things only excepted: as the words to the tried wife, and the blessing of the priests, Numb. vi, must



be in Hebrew. 2. Again the Hellenists, be they where they would, they, in the dispersion, used no doubt the Greek. It may be supposed, Philo himself did not understand Hebrew, as is observed by Drusius. 3. No judge might be admitted into the great Sanhedrim, unless he had seventy tongues, that is, many languages. 4. The 'Synagogæ Libertinorum, Cyreniorum,' &c. Acts vi, show diversity of nations. And there is as little doubt of diversity of languages. 5. That, in Acts vi, there is a plain and evident distinction of the Hellenists and Hebrews living asunder and severally, even in the time of having all things common.

11. Again, the Assembly had a great controversy with the congregational men about Paul and Barnabas, their coming from the church at Antioch to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, Acts xv, to know what was to be done with the believing Gentiles; since certain that came down from Judea thither, had taught, that it was needful to circumcise the brethren, and to keep Moses's law in point of salvation. Now by this application of Paul and Barnabas about this question to the apostles and elders here, in the name of the church at Antioch; an argument was raised, that that church submitted itself to be ordered and directed by the church and ministers, thus met at Jerusalem. But to evade this, *Goodwin*, in behalf of the congregational or independent party, moved to prove, that this meeting was for the government of Jerusalem only: for that there were some of the sect of the Pharisees there, that were of the same mind, ver. 5.—To him *Lightfoot* answered, that these churches would never have sent for determination in point of government for them, had they not known the presbytery constantly sitting at Jerusalem for acts of government of their own church. *Bridge* to this answered, that then it was no synod: and that they met for acts of government finally, to find out the truth, but not formally to exercise the acts of government. To this our divine replied, That the consequence did not hold, it was a presbytery before, ergo, no synod now. 2. That their meeting about those Pharisees in Jerusalem, ver. 5, that were of the same mind with them at Antioch, as *Goodwin* had said, did make this consequence, that then they met for the government of their own church. 3. That this did

infer their act of government formally, that Paul and Barnabas, ministers of the uncircumcision, came to Jerusalem to question about a business, which concerned the converted Gentiles. Now if it had been only to find out the truth,—Peter and James, ministers of the circumcision, had been most proper for to have determined this point with them. Why then should they covenant the elders, if not for an act of government?

12. When the Assembly was drawing up the order for the administration of the Lord's supper, there were these words used, "The bread and wine being set before him [the minister] in *platters*," the word *platter* was thought to be improper; and so it was altered, "The bread in comely and convenient vessels." But *Lightfoot* liked not this expression, but opposed it. And when they had used the word "*sanctification* of elements" (because they avoided the using of the word *consecrate*), *Lightfoot* scrupled at that word *sanctify*, as a Hebraism, as *consecrate* was accounted a *Romanism*: and therefore he offered the word *set apart*, as a medium. Hence arose a debate: but after a long time it was expressed, "He shall begin the act with sanctifying and blessing the elements."

13. When *Lightfoot* had discoursed learnedly about the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and for general admission to it; and explained the institution of it from the Passover; and that therefore, in Luke, there is mention made of two cups, as there was in the Passover; *Rutherford*, the Scots commissioner, that liked not our divine (who in truth spared not often to thwart the Scots labouring in this Assembly to bring in their discipline into this church of England), took upon him to prove against him, that there were not two cups meant by that evangelist, chap. xxii. but that it was an hysterosis: and that there was no mention of a cup in the institution of a Passover, and no news of that but in the Rabbins; speaking contemptibly, as it seemed, of that sort of learning. But *Lightfoot* answered, 1. That in all the evangelists, there is hardly an hysterosis in any one of them in so small a compass. And that it is hard to find any hysterosis in Luke at all, unless it be in one or two places. 2. That it is true, that wine was not mentioned in the institution of the Passover: for Israel was not in the land of wine. But when they came into the land of

wine, why might they not take wine to the Passover, as well as lay down some things that were circumstantial under the institution? Adding, that there were divers things in the New Testament, which we must be beholden to the Rabbins for the understanding of them; or else we should not know what to make of them.

14. When the matter of a synod lay before the Assembly, divers would have the members of a synod to consist of laity as well as the spirituality. The proposition ran, “pastors and teachers lawfully called, and (it was added by some) *other fitting persons*, are constituent members of a synod.” The Scots opposed this addition exceedingly; and so did *Palmer, Seaman*, and our divine. Those that were for it were *Marshall, Vines, Herle*, and the Independents, who grounded themselves upon Acts xv. 7. 13; where Peter and James call the council, “Men and brethren;” and ver. 22, “It pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men,” &c; the apostles and elders, pointing out the clergy; and ‘the whole church,’ the laity. Where *Lightfoot* gave this construction of the words Ἀδελφοὶ and ὅλη Ἐκκλησία: viz. by Ἀδελφοὶ, i. e. *brethren*, was meant the uncircumcised converts, as at ver. 1, and 23, they are understood. Now it is most like, that the uncircumcised churches would send their ministers, and not their laymen. And by Ἐκκλησία is not meant the ‘church,’ but that ‘meeting of the council.’ *Seaman* took at *Lightfoot*, and followed largely. *Herle* applauded the interpretation, but refused it, and gave some reasons why, viz. Because Ἐκκλησία, ver. 4, is not taken properly for ‘the church.’ And the men that brought the letters to the churches, could not be said to ‘send greeting,’ ver. 23; “The apostles, and elders, and brethren, *send greeting* unto the brethren, which are of the Gentiles.” To this *Lightfoot* answered, That the interpretation of Scripture, is from the scope of the place, as in the Hebrew word [that Ἐκκλησία translates] it is apparent. *Vines* denied his interpretation of Ἀδελφοὶ: for that James and Peter called all the company Ἄνδρες Ἀδελφοὶ, i. e. ‘men and brethren.’ But *Lightfoot* showed, that that was a common Hebraism: as in Gen. xiii. 8, אֲנִי וְאֶנְשֵׁי אֲנִי ‘We are men brethren.’

In fine, so well did our divine acquit himself in this Assembly, and such was the general opinion of his learning

and integrity, that when Much Munden in Hertfordshire was under sequestration, and Mr. *Sedgwick* moved that some one of the Assembly might be recommended to that place; *Lightfoot* was nominated, and it was ordered with universal consent, that he should be recommended to the committee for that purpose; which happened in Jan. 1643.

It is true, this learned man was noted for certain peculiar opinions, differing therein from such as were commonly received and believed; and thereupon was disliked by some. Nor will I deny it: but yet I must add, that they were such notions as were innocent, and did no harm; such as had no bad influence upon religion, nor tended in the least to the breach of the church's peace (which he ever held very sacred); nor lastly, such as abated the necessity of a virtuous and good life. And for evidence hereof I will mention some (if not the chief) of them.

First, That the Jews shall not be called, but are utterly rejected. And that the time of their utter rejection happened before the times of Christ; and that it so happened to them for their fond and impious traditions; rather than, as it is commonly asserted, after Christ, for their wickedness in murdering their Messiah, and persecuting the gospel, how grievous a crime soever that was. And that their last and only calling was in the times of Christ and his apostles; when some few of them, viz. *a remnant*, were brought in to the faith of Christ: but that neither then there was, nor ever shall be, any universal calling of them. And that that place in the Epistle to the Romans, chap. xi. 5, "At this present time there is a remnant," &c. was very unfit to prove this calling of the Jews to be either universal, or after a great many ages.

Secondly, His mean opinion of the Greek translation of the Bible by the Seventy; that it was hammered out by the Jews with more caution than conscience, more craft than sincerity; and that it was done out of political ends to themselves:—as that the Bible might be represented after that manner to the heathen, among whom the Jews dwelt, that they might have no occasion from any passages therein to revile, or cavil with them; and that the Jewish nation might live the more securely; concealing in the mean time, as much as they could, the mysteries and truths contained therein.

Thirdly, His opinion concerning the keys, that they were given to Peter alone: and this he openly held in the Assembly of divines: when a long debate happening, whether the keys were given to all the church, or to the apostles only; our divine stood up, and granted, that, in all ages, the learned held, that the keys meant the government of the church; but that, for his part, he held that the keys were only given to Peter, according as Christ spake only to him; "To *thee* will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven" [but mark in what sense he meant it]: that is, to open the gospel to the Gentiles; which was meant, he said, by the 'kingdom of heaven.' And that it was to this purpose Peter spake, Acts xv. 7, in an assembly of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem; "Ye know, how that, a good while ago, God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear," &c. ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων, that is, from this promise of Christ given to him. And,

Fourthly, He did not allow that 'binding and loosing' related to discipline, but to doctrine. And that because the phrases 'to bind' and 'to loose' were Jewish, and most frequent in their writers; and that it belonged only to the teachers among the Jews, to bind and to loose. And that when the Jews set any apart to be a preacher, they used these words, "Take thou liberty to teach what is bound, and what is loose." To which I might add,

Fifthly, His peculiar interpretation of those words of God to Cain, "If thou dost not well, *sin* lieth at the door." *Sin*, that is, not *punishment*, to take hold of thee, but a *sin-offering*, to make atonement for thee; and that that was the common acceptance of חַטָּאת i. e. *sin*, in the books of Moses:—and that God did not intend to terrify Cain by those words, but rather to keep him from despair.

These, and perhaps other notions and expositions of Scripture, however novel they seemed to be; yet as they were not without probability, so they never made any assaults upon fundamental doctrines, or true Christian holiness and peace.—And thus we have seen somewhat of his learning and divinity:—but that which made it the more valuable, was his integrity and goodness. Which opens to us a second scene of the man, and brings us to the consideration of him,

II. As a good Christian. And for the better evidencing

of this, I shall use the same method for the most part, as I have done before to show his learning; namely, by looking into his behaviour, while he sat a member of the Assembly of divines.

1. He was an earnest promoter of the peace of the church. And because the breaking of the communion of Christians by schisms and separations, and withdrawing from the national church into distinct churches, did effectually tend to kindle the fire of contention and uncharitableness, and to beget estrangements in the family of Christ, where love ought to be the great badge; therefore he always set himself to oppose those practices. And for this purpose he would often urge, how our great Master and Lord kept up constant communion with the Jewish church, whereof he was born a member, and came up duly to the Temple at the set feasts, and observed the church's rites and customs, however corrupt they were in many respects, and the officers and prime professors of it very degenerate and hypocritical. Which argument he hath managed well in his discourse upon the widow's mite in this book, as well as in other places of his printed sermons, extant in his works. To which I might add, that when, in his discourse upon one of the select articles of the Creed, now published, he had occasionally said, that it might so happen that a man might be excommunicate out of a true protestant church, and yet it were hard to doom such a one to perdition; he presently put in this caution, that "he spake not this to animate any to separate or withdraw from the visible church wherein we live:" adding withal his grief at the separations among us, "That, for such divisions of Reuben, there were great thoughts of heart." And it is remarkable, that, when once in the Assembly some began to move, whether the church of England were a true church, and the ministry of the church of England a true ministry; some would have waved it, lest it might have brought on the business of subscription to the orders of the church, which a great many of them had refused. But *Lightfoot* honestly said, that this was the question betwixt our Saviour and the woman of Samaria. And if she had directly asked him, whether the church of the Jews were the true church, he would doubtless directly have answered, It was:—for otherwise God had no church in the world.

And yet was the church of the Jews, at that time, in a worse condition than any of them could think the church of England then was.

2. He was no innovator. He sat indeed in the Assembly of divines, called together by the parliament, to consult upon matters of religion; and he came thither in the simplicity of his heart, contributing his service towards the correcting of supposed abuses in religion. But still he had a respect to the good laws of the church; and disliked and declared against many propositions brought in for reformation, and opposed several things attempted to be introduced, not only by Independents and Antinomians, but such as were for transcribing the model of the Scotch and Geneva discipline. In their settling a set form for religious worship (the parliament having laid aside the Common Prayer-book), Lightfoot had an eye to the former rubrics and canons. To give one instance hereof: When, in the directory for baptism, the giving ministers warning, when any children were to be baptized, was omitted, he moved that that might be taken order for; seeing that in our old rubric, said he, it is enjoined, that warning should be given the night before. And now he showed, there was more need, since the minister, by the directory, was to make an exhortation, and to give some instructions concerning baptism. Whereupon this clause was added, "Warning being given to the ministers the day before." Again, he utterly disliked the bringing-in a rank of women for officers in the church, viz. widows:—which some had urged, grounding themselves upon that of the apostle, "Let not a widow be taken into the number under sixty years old." Where *Lightfoot* showed, that for that very thing he could not be of that opinion: for that it was contrary to the Old Testament, where the officers of the Temple were to be dismissed at fifty years old. And when *Goodwin* answered, that the priests indeed were discharged of their service at those years, because of the burden of their service; as particularly, carrying of the ark, and the labour of sacrificing;—*Lightfoot* replied, that the ark was fixed after Solomon's time: so that there was no more occasion to carry that. Neither were the sacrifices any such burden; the courses of the priests were so full, as that no less than eighty opposed *Uzziah*. And he showed ~~it~~ from *Josephus*; and that

there were five thousand a-piece at least in each course; and that their service was but one week in half a year: and therefore they could not be overladen with work. Nevertheless when, after much debate, it was brought to the vote, whether widows were church-officers; it was voted in the affirmative: yet only by one voice, *Lightfoot* being then absent; which he calls in his journal, *his misfortune*; and adds, that the proposition was utterly against his mind, and far different from his judgment.

3. He set himself especially against such, as made use of religion to supersede the duties of morality; and who, upon pretence of higher attainments in Christianity, overlooked truth, honesty, and righteousness. He could not bear such as made religion a pander to sin. And such sects there were, that showed their faces in his time. There were some, that had refined religion to that degree, that they went all upon illuminations, revelations, and spiritual raptures, and talked of nothing but of their being acted by the Spirit of God, and doing all by some mighty influences of that Spirit: poring so much upon these fancies, that they measured their own and others' religion, according as they were endued with these enthusiastical flights: in the mean time made little or no account of moral duties; and were much addicted to unpeaceableness, covetousness, fraud, lying, deceiving, slandering, and such-like.

There was one considerable sect that then appeared, and got much ground, which was known and distinguished by this doctrine, that 'Christians were not obliged by the moral law.' Against this party, great complaints were at length brought into the Assembly of divines; many of whom (among which was our divine) saw well to what a decay all true religion would soon come, if men of this opinion were tolerated. For (to show them a little to the present age), these were doctrines contained in the books or speeches of three of them, collected by Dr. Temple, and offered to the Assembly, as I find them in *Lightfoot's* journal:—

1. 'That the moral law is of no use at all to believers: no rule to walk by, nor to examine their lives by. And that believers are freed from the mandatory power of it.'



2. 'That it is as possible for Christ to sin, as for a child of God.'

3. 'That a child of God needs not, nay, ought not, to ask pardon for sin; and that it is no less than blasphemy to ask pardon for our sin. And one of them being told, that David asked forgiveness of sins, it was answered, It was his weakness.'

4. 'That God doth not chastise any of his for sin. Let believers sin as fast as they can, there is a fountain open for them to wash in. That not for the sin of God's people, but for swearers and drunkards the land is punished.'

5. 'That there ought to be no fasting days under the gospel; and men ought not to afflict their souls; no, not in a day of humiliation. And it being asked one of them, Whether he fasted in obedience to the civil command, he answered, That were to be the servants of men.'

6. 'That this doctrine is false, if you fast and pray, and humble yourselves unto God, then God will turn away his judgments. Yea, if you pray by the Spirit, you are not hereupon to expect deliverance from judgments.'

7. 'That when Abraham, in outward appearance, seemed to lie, in his distrust, lying, dissembling, and equivocating,—even then truly all his thoughts, words, and deeds, were perfectly holy and righteous from all spot of sin, in the sight of God.'

8. 'That if a man, by the Spirit, know himself to be in a state of grace, though he commit murder or drunkenness, yet God doth see no sin in him.'

*Lightfoot*, with divers others of the soberer sort in the Assembly, were hugely concerned at these men and their doctrines: because they well saw, and urged to the rest, how these opinions opened a gap to all manner of licentiousness; struck at the very obedience due to the civil magistrate; horribly scandalized all the doctrine of free grace and justification; endeavoured to blast all faithful ministers, calling them 'legal preachers:' and that this sect was the more dangerous, because their preachers crept into the favour of the soldiers. And it was observable, that when the definition of justification lay before the divines (having under their hand the consideration of the

homily of justification), *Palmer* moved, that to meet with the Antinomians, repentance might go into the definition of justification; but it would not pass. But a clause in the homily was thought good to be inserted, viz. "Which though it do not exclude repentance and conversion to God, &c, yet doth it not include them as parts of the works of justification." And this clause was voted affirmatively: but *Lightfoot*, thinking it not sufficient, showed, that the phrase "doth not exclude repentance," did not reach to meet with the Antinomians, and profane ones, who abused this doctrine. And therefore he tendered the word *required*; and that it should run, "though it do *require* repentance and conversion," &c. But it was feared, that word might be doubtful, and therefore they rather inclined to the former phrase, *not excluding*.

As he showed his zeal against this sect in the Assembly, so his doctrine in his sermons was to the same import. These words he spake in one of them with much earnestness; "I have observed, and cannot but observe again to you, how much is laid in Scripture upon our discharging of our duty towards our neighbour, upon dealing in truth, in righteousness, in charity, and integrity with men; as if this were the very *all* we had to do. The Jews say, that all the six hundred and thirteen commands of the law are summed up in those eleven, Psal. xv. Reckon up those eleven,—and how many of them refer to our upright and righteous dealing with our neighbour? 'Who shall abide in the Lord's tabernacle? Who shall dwell in his holy hill? He that works righteousness; and speaks truth to his neighbour; that takes not up a reproach against his neighbour; that keeps his oath, though to his own hurt; that takes not usury; that takes not reward against the innocent. He that doth these things, shall never be moved.' One would think, said he, the answer to this question, 'Who shall abide in the Lord's tabernacle?' should have been such a one as this, 'He that is devout and constant in prayer: he that is a constant hearer, and much in meditation of the word of God: he that is careful to keep the sabbath, and so to relate to the duties of the first table.' But ye see here, all refers to our dealing fairly, truly, uprightly, with our neighbour. And so Matt. xix. 18, 'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He

saith unto him, Which? Jesus saith, Thou shalt do no murder. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness,' &c. So that if you ask the way to Sion: if you inquire, Which way shall I go to the Lord's tabernacle, to dwell in his holy hill? Why, friend, you must begin at a perfect and good heart towards men; and so go along to a perfect and good heart towards God; and so to Sion. God calls for such duties towards our neighbour, as it were to set us to our absey and primer, to learn the first elements and lessons of religion."

Thus would he sometimes meet with the Antinomian, and pull down the high-flying religionists, that were above these low dispensations of morality, truth, justice, and upright dealing with men. These doctrines therefore and such-like, broached by men of unquiet spirits, he liked not; and especially when they led men away from that true heavenly-mindedness, meekness, and humility, which are the great laws of the gospel. This was one reason made him no friend to the millenary opinion; which taught men to look for an earthly paradise and reward in this world: for these that dreamt of Christ's personal monarchy here on earth, imagined themselves also to be some of those, that must reign with him, and had the best right to the possessions of this world: which was a doctrine that opened a door to violence, rapine, and all kind of injustice; to the high disparagement also of Christ's holy religion. On that account also he was no friend to it; but, as he had occasion, confuted it. Those that embraced this opinion, concluded that place in the Revelations, chap. xxi. 2, "I John saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned," &c, for a description of the times, when Christ should come and reign on earth. But our Divine showed no more to be meant by it, but the state under the gospel; and that the New Jerusalem there meant nothing, but the Christian church, as might be showed at large. "When the Old Jerusalem in Canaan (as he spake in one of his sermons) is destroyed, John sees a New Jerusalem: when the old church of the Jews is cast away, he sees a new church. And this church is said to 'come down from heaven.' A saint is heaven-born, and is heavenly, while he is here

upon earth : from heaven he comes, and to heaven he must return : he is born from above : ' adorned ' and dressed from heaven, and in a heavenly dress : and he is dressed for heaven." The Millenaries made use also of that expression of the apostle in the Acts, chap. iii. 21 ; that " the heavens must retain Christ, till the restitution of all things." Against whom thus he armed his auditors : " This encourageth the Millenary to dream of Christ's reigning here on earth a thousand years before the final end of the world ; and swords must then be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks : then a universal peace, concord, and tranquillity, is to be restored to the church,—and all the glorious things the prophets have spoken of, to come to pass, and be settled. But, as to that place, the Doctor showed, there were two manners of restoring things, viz. to their old estate, or to a new and better. The Millenary himself dreamt not of restoring to any former estate : and if it be meant of restoring to a new and better, that is done already, when Elias came, and restored all things," Matt. xvii. 11. And our divine showed, that this restoration, or restitution, signified no more but that all things in the prophets should be made good, or accomplished. This is learnedly treated of in the last discourse of the third decad. To which I refer the reader.

The Perfectionists, that pretended to live without sin, he saw wanted that humility and modesty, and constant dependance upon God's grace, that was necessary to the Christian state ; and therefore by no means approved of them neither : and endeavoured to arm his people against that doctrine. And what his thoughts were of it, may be seen in the first discourse of the third decad :—where to pull down the plumes of this vain-glorious generation, he showed, that a saint of God, in his imperfect condition, did exceed Adam himself in his unsinning condition in divers respects.

4. He was, in fine, one, that had a mighty concern for the honour of God and religion : that God might be served in spirit and truth. Which was the true cause that he was so serious, earnest, and diligent in the Assembly of those divines, that he was called to sit with. For, whatever by-ends they were convented for, and divers of them perhaps

drove at; yet his designs were only, what that assembly was given out to be called for; viz. The reforming of religion. And he never one day failed of being present at the Assembly from the first session thereof, but ever showed himself there to discharge this trust of religion, till Jan. 22, 1643 (that is, about five months), that being the first time he went down to Munden, to enter upon his living. It was from this principle that he was extremely concerned once, when certain blasphemous persons were brought before the judges, who sent to the Assembly to know their judgments in a point of blasphemy: which was, that one Jane Stretton had said, 'That Christ was a bastard:' and one John Hart, a soldier, said commonly, "Who made you? My lord of Essex. Who redeemed you? Sir William Waller. Who sanctified and preserved you? My lord of Warwick." The answer the Assembly returned, was, that they had horribly blasphemed, and desired exemplary punishment might be showed upon them. And besides, Lightfoot and one or two more moved, that, such an occasion being offered, they should present a request to the two Houses, that strict laws and penalties should be published against blasphemy, which did increase. And a committee was chosen for that purpose. And it was but a little after, that the Lord Pembroke, lord admiral, came into the Assembly, being sent from the House of Lords, to hasten them in settling the government of the church, for that opinions grew very many and blasphemous.

I might also add, that Mr. *Chambers*, one of the Assembly, related to them some blasphemies of one. "As on Gen. vi. 6, he said, that it was untrue, that God repented he made man: that the soul dieth with the body; and all things shall come to an end but God: that Christ came to live two-and-thirty years, and nothing else that he knew: that God loves any creature as well as man: that we are not to be saved by that Christ that suffered at Jerusalem, but by a Christ formed in us," &c. Whereupon it was ordered presently, that this should be brought to the Lords, and they desired to send to apprehend them.

It sprang from the same principle of his awful apprehension of God's honour, that, when the Assembly had finished the directory, and read it over, in order to the last

hand, Lightfoot observing, that the singing of the Psalms was quite left out, he moved again and again, that it might be put in, and that such a material part of divine worship should not be omitted. And at length it was done accordingly.

He had a great concern at the atheisticalness of the age, when men began to shake the very principles of religion, and strove to make themselves and others believe no existence of spirits, nor any being after death; the great curb to restrain the wicked excesses of evil men. To this I attribute the pains he took to transcribe, with his own hand, a notable relation of a spirit appearing in Driffield, in Yorkshire, that was sent to Mr. (after Dr.) Hezekiah Burton, then fellow of Magdalen college in Cambridge, by Mr. Moore, formerly fellow of the said college; and Mr. Blackwell, another minister (as it seems), who took the relation from the woman's own mouth, to whom the spirit often appeared. And seeing our divine took the pains to transcribe it for his own use, I may be pardoned, if I offer it here to the public from his manuscript.

“ I suppose you have heard the news of a spirit appearing to a woman [named *Isabel Billinger*] at Driffield, in this county [of York]. I had this relation, be it true or false, from the woman herself. It is too long to write it to you, as I did it from her; but the chief things are these: That she saith, A spirit did appear to her at several times, in several likenesses. After some of the first appearances, she found in a low room, as she swept it out, a piece of a stake; which she pulled up, and digged there, and found some teeth, collar, bones, and a skull broken. After this the spirit, upon her demanding, If it would have any thing, spake to her, and said, ‘ Fourteen years have I wandered in this place, suffering wrong three times: seven years I have to wander: one-and-twenty years is my time.’ Another time it appeared to her, and said, ‘ My life was taken from me in the chamber of this house by three women, Mary Burton, Alice Colson, and Ann Harrison, because of 23*l.* which I lent to Mary Burton three years before, and 1*l.* 3*s.* which they took out of my pocket, and three rings, two of gold, and one of silver, and other writings and bonds of the money; two of the rings were my grandmother's, and the silver one my own mother's. They took my life

betwixt eight and nine o'clock at night; and I received my grave betwixt twelve and one.'

“ It tells many particulars, she says (which I have writ), about the place where it did live; its father's name, and mother's, and other kindred. She said, it bade her make a fire, where she took up the stake, and let Mary Burton be there, who came of herself to the making of it. (She only of the three women is alive.) The woman says, she sat by the fire, till the people in the street said her child cried in the other room. But when she went, the child was asleep, and the spirit was standing within the door, where the child was; and said, ‘ Blessed be the time, when this fire was made, and blessed be they that gave consent to the fire-making. For the stake begins to be as warm at the root, as the heart of me was, when the stake was struck through it.’ Another time it said, ‘ Send Mary Burton to the jail, and I will be with her there.’ She says, she asked it, ‘ How it should do for witness, when she came before the judge of the assize;’ and it said, ‘ Thou shalt never want witness, as long as I can get either mile or miles.’ She says, it desired her to go to Mr. Crompton's, one of the justices, and desire him to send to the churches to pray for a wandering soul, and pray for prosperity of a spirit, that will discover the murder of itself the next assize: which was done fourteen years ago, passing a week before midsummer last. [She accordingly did this message to the said justice, and related her story to him.] She says, Mr. Crompton desired to see it in the day-time; but it said, He was not so good as his word, to send to the churches to get them to pray for a wandering soul, and so it would not be seen by him in the day, unless the dark were no danger to him. She says, when she would have touched it, it said, ‘ Thou needest not take hold of me, for I am not evil.’ She says, they bade her ask it, Where it had been all this while, and what it lived on: it said, ‘ I remain in the air,’ and the quarters and minutes are set down, how long it stays on the earth at a time, when it appears. And said moreover, ‘ I am sent from the Lord, to discover and disclose:’ and also said, ‘ I in my likeness will appear to divers; but have no power to speak to any, but to thee.’ She says, it saith that it shall enjoy the happy eternal; and that it had no power to speak, till the stake was taken up. She says, it appeared to her

the night before I was with her. There is a great deal more of the story; whereof some I heard there of her, and some since by others."—To this is subjoined

### THE RELATION OF MR. THOMAS BLACKWELL:

*Containing almost all that was in Mr. Moore's, word for word, and these particulars besides.*

“About Lammas last, 1662, it appeared twice, like a child of two years old, in white; the third time, like a young man of eighteen years old. The Saturday following, it appeared in green breeches, doublet, and coat, barefooted and bare-headed, with long flaxen hair, the upper part of the doublet unbuttoned, as she thought. She asked, ‘What art thou? What wantest thou? What wouldst thou have?’—Then it came nearer. She said, ‘If thou wouldst have aught, speak.’—It answered, ‘Fourteen years have I wandered in this place,’—&c. (as in the other letter), and vanished, and appeared again within a quarter of an hour, and said, ‘Be not thou afraid; I will never hurt thee; thou shalt never want’ [*witness* perhaps to be supplied], and vanished. About eight or nine o’clock, the said Saturday, it appeared in white; and said nothing, but moved to and fro, and went into the room where the bones were, and rattled them, and vanished. Tuesday, about eight or nine at night it appeared again, and said, ‘My life was taken from me betwixt eight and nine,’ &c. (as in the other letter.) After these things, Isabel Billinger, to whom it appeared, went to the justice, and related the story to him. He wished her, when it appeared again, to ask its name, and father’s, &c. and at the next appearing it answered, ‘That its name was Robert Elliot; his father’s name Jacob, his mother’s Rebecca, his sisters Jane and Katharine. That he lived at West-Ham, three miles from London.’ And at another time it told farther concerning his relations to this tenor; ‘My father was born at Chester, an upholster by trade, and came in his latter days to keep a hackney-coach in London. And that his sisters were both alive in London; the one at the Black Nag’s-head in Southwark, and the other at the Horse-shoe; that his mother’s name first was Mrs. Rebecca



Hutchinson, and they might find it in St. John's church register book in London.'

"The justice bade Isabel ask him, 'How he came to Mary Burton's house.' The spirit answered, 'That he came to Nusterton; and not finding her there, came to Driffield, and meeting with her, desired lodging at her house; and she being unwilling, he said, He thought he might have craved such a common favour from her for the money he had lent her. She said, 'Her house was unprovided of victuals.' He called for some ale, and drank, and told her he came for his money. She said, 'She had it not to give him.' He said, 'He would either have it tomorrow, or send for the bailiff, and distrain.' Upon that she uttered some vain oaths and idle words; and he called her *bloody quean*. Then she swore she could find in her heart to drink as freely of his blood, as she did of that cup of ale, and drank it immediately. The next time it appeared it told farther, 'That Mary Burton took the writings with her, and went to West-Ham, and demanded a rug, and a tankard, worth about——. That his sister Katharine being unwilling to deliver them, said, she had already given him more than came to his part. That Mary Burton said, She had got writings under his own hand, and that he had gotten a house for his life, and that now she was become a friend of his. That thereupon his sister delivered the rug and tankard to M. Burton; and that she sold them at London.' And having discovered this, he vanished.

"The next time she asked, What she should do for witness: and it answered, as in Mr. Moore's letter; and moreover bade Isabel desire the justice to take no bail of M. Burton, but send her to jail, and it would be there.

"Isabel asked, What the fire should be made of? It said, 'A bright fire of coals;' and so vanished. Isabel said, That M. Burton came that Saturday to her house, with the wife of Roger Baker of Driffield: and, upon her entrance, said to Isabel, 'Good woman, we are come to trouble your house. For I hear there is a great accident befel, and that a spirit appeared to you, and said, it was wounded here.' And she desired Isabel to tell whom it accused. Isabel not knowing that it was M. Burton, said, 'He accused one M. Burton, and Alice Colson, and Anne Harrison.' Then M. Burton asked, 'Where it said it was put to death?'

Isabel said, 'In the chamber of this house?' Then Mary said, 'Her name was M. Burton; and that there was a bed in that chamber, but none ever lay in it, but only the maid.' And clapping her hands together, said, 'She never dipped her hands in any man's blood.' The spirit said, 'That she knocked him on the head and no blood appeared.' Mary Burton stayed in the town all night. The next day being Sunday, the fire was made, &c. as in the former letter. M. Burton desired to see the spirit, but it said to Isabel, 'M. Burton, my great enemy, shall not see me till her last day.' Isabel told Mary what the spirit said: who said, 'She would sit no longer there to prate.'

"Isabel was first examined before Sir Thomas Remington and Mr. Crompton: and afterward her examination was taken again by Mr. Crompton. Afterward, it desired her to go to two other justices, that they might take the examination, and pointed with its hand eastward. Isabel told Mr. Crompton what it said: who told her, that it mattered not for her going; for he would acquaint Sir Thomas Bointon and Mr. Pierson with her examination. When she returned from Mr. Crompton, the spirit was standing on the farther side of the bed where the child lay, and said to her, 'Thou shalt go to the two justices.' Which when she told Mr. Crompton, he advised her to go; and she was examined before them.

"On the 11th or 12th of September, it appeared and spoke of other things; showing of some plot for betraying of King Charles: and of the time, viz. before Candlemas, unless the country-magistrates, and his loving friends, writ to him in secret. Also the person's name that should betray him. Upon which Mr. Crompton bade Isabel ask the spirit certain questions relating thereto.

"Sept. 28. It appeared at sunrise, and said, 'Thou told'st Mr. Crompton the town where Anne Harrison lived, was Redstone; but I told thee Barnstone.'

"Sept. 29. At eight o'clock it appeared, and the woman said 'In the name of the Father, &c. how camest thou to be so long down, and not to appear?' It answered, 'She said certain prayers over me, when they struck down the stake, that I could not appear.'

"Upon Thursday, about sunrise, it appeared. Isabel asked, 'What became of his horse?' It answered, 'My horse

was sold on Midsummer-day, at Beverly, to one Mr. Weldbread, that liveth in the south, for 5*l*.'

"Octob. 4. It appeared to several of the town of Driffield. But Isabel was not at home, and did not see it.

"It appeared in white all the time, like one of eighteen years old.

"Some gentlemen bade Isabel ask it, Where he should abide after seven years were expired? It said, 'I must enjoy the happy eternity; and in the mean time, the Lord is my governor.'

"Signed, THOMAS BLACKWELL."

It is pity the relation went no farther: for one would have been glad to have known, to what issue this business came; and whether this woman, accused by the spirit, ever came to her trial. The credit of this story depended not upon Isabel alone; for, it appears, the spectre was seen also by others; and the circumstances were such, as did mightily confirm evidence of her, to whom it chiefly revealed itself and its cause. And it appears, that Crompton the justice, a person, as it seems, of sobriety and good judgment, slighted her not, but advised her to put divers material demands to it. And the story seems also to have found good credit with our divine, as well as others, in that he thought fit to transcribe the whole relation, which I have here exemplified. And so I leave it.

I have one demonstration more of his piety to God; that he continued as long as he lived, constant and painful in the word and doctrine. And as he was an assiduous and excellent preacher, so his sermons ran very much upon a strain of urging holiness, and a pure and good life upon his auditors; in a plain, but nervous style, teaching them substantial virtue and goodness; seldom meddling with controversies, unless they were such, as tended to obstruct the necessity of a holy life, or to undermine the purity and humility required in the gospel, or enticed to a revolt from the Protestant religion.

Thus he showed them, that it was no such easy matter to be a Christian, but that it required long pains and diligence. "A change from sin to God is a continued act, and requires space and time to accomplish it. Our fall was in a moment; that change from our happiness to our

sinfulness and misery, was in an instant; but our changing back again requires time. A man may fall off from a high tower in a moment; but to recover his bruise, and to climb up thither again, is not so soon done." And because many were apt to defer their repentance by the example of the good thief, hoping to have their great work done in an instant, and to find such success as he did; therefore Dr. Lightfoot added; "That in all the Bible we have but one example of a short change, and that was the thief on the cross, who had his work of renewing done in an hour, or thereabouts. But it was at such a time as never was before, and never will be again: when the Son of God was undergoing his great change from life to death, and was purchasing the change of his people from death to life. If thou canst light on such a nick of time, which is impossible,—then thou mightest expect it possible, that this change should be wrought suddenly: otherwise expect it will take up no little time. We must distinguish of the first working of grace, and of the growth and increasing from thenceforward. That first work of grace doth indeed translate the person from one condition to another; but succession of time, and growing in grace, is required to transform him thoroughly from one temper to another. Again, the first work of grace doth indeed make a man capable of heaven; but more is required to make him fit for heaven."

He puzzled not his people with propounding to them nice and critical signs, to know whether they were in a state of grace, but showed the plain way to be satisfied therein. "Who is there, but, if he will well examine himself, may easily tell, whether he be in the ways of God or no? Let him but try his heart and actions, whether God in his word hath commanded, or allowed, such a heart, and such actions, as he carries and acts; or whether he hath forbade, and cried out against, them. Who, but his own heart, will easily tell him, that God never commanded or allowed him to lie and deceive, to be cross and contentious, to be proud and scornful, to be wanton and luxurious, to be envious and revengeful, to be worldly and covetous? And, therefore, if he carry such a heart, and if he practise such practices as these, he must needs conclude, that he is under God's blaming and complaint."

He checked those, that, though they were none of the best, yet entertained a confidence that they should do well, and bolstered out themselves with good hopes of their own condition; using these words to such; "That man that hath ever gone in a sinful worldly way, never minding any thing, but to satisfy his own mind and lust, and yet will not be driven out of hope, that he shall be saved as well as the best;—this is not hope, but drunkenness: as you may persuade a drunken man to very strange hopes. This is raving, rather than solid hoping. For true and right hope, wheresoever it comes, creeps out of fear, as poor Israel did out of their caves and dens, when the fear and danger of the enemy was past and over."—And again, "Hope never comes, but where fear hath been before. As the still voice to Elias came not, but after fire, earthquake, and tempest. The soul that will breed and bring forth a lively hope, must, like Rebekah, bring forth the rough, rugged Esau of fear, before it bring forth the smooth Jacob of hope. There is first the 'spirit of bondage unto fear,' before there comes the 'spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father.' A conscience, that was never troubled, startled, or molested, but blithe, debonair, and fearless, is not peace of conscience, the gift of God,—but deadness and stupidity of conscience, the spirit of slumber."

He gave men this wholesome admonition concerning the exercises of religious worship: "Prayer, confessing of sin, attending upon God's service, these are sacrifices that God requires; and they are sacrifices with which God is well pleased, if they be well done. But there is one thing more that God requires, and without which these are nothing,—and that is, that which the apostle speaks of, Rom. xii, at the beginning; for a man to offer himself 'a living sacrifice, acceptable to God, which is his reasonable service.' In other things, a man may deceive himself: he may think he prays well enough, when, it may be, his prayers are sin: that he confesses his sins well enough, when, it may be, he adds to his sin by his slightness of confession. But in offering a man's self to God, there can be no deceit, if he do but do it. In the other he may offer but words; let him offer himself, and there is substance. This is the sacrifice that God requires, Psal. xl. 6, 'Burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required. Then said

**I, Lo, I come to do thy will.' Do but observe the apostle's allegation of this Scripture, Heb. x. 5; 'Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not; but a body hast thou prepared me.' That is the sacrifice thou requirest; viz. 'My body,' myself to be offered to thee to do thy will."**

He frequently urged the obligation of keeping God's commandments against the Antinomians and others; and that from the apparent agreeableness of so doing to our reason; and that since we are reasonable creatures, we should live as such: "The very equity and justice of the duties of the moral law, is not only a bond upon us to keep them, but an apparent and plain reason, why they were given. What more reasonable thing in the world, than that we should love God and our neighbour; that we should do mercy, justice, piety, honesty, and the like? Do not these things of themselves speak all the equity and reason in the world? Is it not most agreeable to reason, that reasonable creatures should live after another manner, than unreasonable brute beasts do? God hath made us men; and must there be no distinction betwixt us and beasts? What is that that must difference us? What? merely this,—that we have reason, and understanding, and speech, which beasts have not. The Scripture, you know, calls men, that have these, by the names of beasts however. Herod is a fox, in the terming of our Saviour; and Nebuchadnezzar a lion, in the speech of Jeremy. False teachers are wolves, in the language of the apostle,—and the Scribes and Pharisees serpents, and a generation of vipers, in the denomination of our Saviour and the Baptist. These men had reason, and understanding, and speech, and knowledge, as well as other men; and they would have scorned to have been thought short of other men in these things. But it is living like reasonable creatures, and not like unreasonable brute beasts, that must distinguish us from brute beasts. If a man live like a dog, a swine, a fox, a wolf, though he can talk never so much sense and reason,—does his having the use of reason do him any good?—when he is neither good towards God, nor himself, nor other men, but lives and dies, as the apostle speaks, 'As natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed.' 2 Pet. ii. 12."

He would at other times press upon men, sobriety and obedience to God's laws, out of interest to themselves, as

tending to their own real safety and welfare so to do; an excellent argument to persuade, if well managed. To this purpose he spake once; "God's laws are the 'cords of a man,' and his commands are the 'bonds of love,' laid upon men by God for their own good, and without which it could not be well with them. Let me ask any one, that desires to be lawless, this question;—Wouldst thou that God should have nothing at all to do with thee? That God should leave thee in this wilderness, thou art walking in, to thyself, and say, 'I know thee not, I will have nothing to do with thee?'—'Nay, leave not all care of me,' wouldst thou say; 'withdraw not all providence from me. For then I shall have neither food nor raiment; I shall have neither comfort nor support; I shall have neither health, nor life,—if God disclaim me, and providence will have nothing to do with me.'—Why, friend, I may say, in some sense, his commandments are his providence, in which, and under which only, thou mayest have prosperity and safety. As Solomon once to Shimei, 'Stay in Jerusalem, and thou shalt be well; but know, that if ever thou go over the brook Cedron, thou art but a dead man.' Sinner,—keep within the bounds of God's commandments, and it will be well with thee, and God will be with thee: but transgress those bounds, and thou art got, where good providence dwells not. God and his good providence dwell, as I may say, within the verge and compass of his commandments; as, in Rev. iv. 3, he and his throne are encompassed with a rainbow, the sign of his covenant. Keep thou within the bounds and compass of his commandments; and thou art where God is, where mercy is, where good providence is. But get out of these bounds, transgress his commandments, thou art then where God is not, and where good providence and mercy have no habitation. Shimei is gone over the brook Cedron, and he is under Solomon's protection no more, but under the doom of death and danger."

He mightily preached up a conformity to the will of God, showing how this fitted, qualified, and disposed to the highest perfection of man's nature. Thus, speaking once of the saints in glory, he turned his speech to them after this manner: "O happy souls, you have attained now to that perfection, for which God created reasonable

creatures; viz. To be resolved wholly into the likeness of God, by having your wills resolved into his. And could this ever be done, unless the work were begun here? These blessed souls, while here, made it their work to do the will of God,—and still were striving, that their will might be agreeable to his will. And now they find, that what they did, was worth all their labour. And the more they did of his will, the more they were fitting for this happy condition. For do but consider, how keeping the commandments, and doing the will of God, does dress and prepare for the enjoyment of God. I might observe here, how the more a man keeps the commandments of God, the less guilt he contracts to himself, and the less bar there is between him and heaven. I might observe, that the more he keeps the commandments, the more comfort of conscience he gets to himself, and the more hope of reward in glory. Every good thing he does in doing the will of God, lays on a brick towards the building up his own hope and comfort of a blessed reward. But consider we only the thing under this notion, that the more a man keeps the commandments, the more he purifies himself, refines and fits himself for the embraces of God, and his enjoyment. No gross, corrupt, muddy, fleshly thing can unite to God. ‘Flesh and blood cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.’ For that is too gross and muddy, to come into that place of purity and holiness. No unclean thing must come into the new Jerusalem, but what is refined, purified, and holy.”

He taught what troops of evil attended obstinacy and wilfulness, and how it was a fatal impediment to all virtue, and ended in destruction. And thus he thought fit to express himself concerning it: “The will rebels against the law of God, against the laws of men; it rebels against conscience, and against reason; it rebels against God’s providence, and against man’s own good. ‘Ephraim is an untamed heifer, not used to the yoke;’ nor indeed will be. O how woful a changeling is that soul, where reason is changed into self-will, and self-will is all the reason that is there! As, God knows, it is the case of the greatest part of souls in the world. Men are eager to have their own wills; and that breeds the great blustering and confusion in the world; and finally the confusion of them-



selves. Self-will was the plague, that destroyed the angels; and is proved catching, and hath infected all mankind. And that is the very engine, whereby the devil works his end for man's ruin. Let him bring the disease to boil up to this height, 'I will have mine own will,' (and who almost in the world is otherwise minded?) and his turn is served sufficiently. Has ignorance killed her thousands? Wilfulness has her ten thousands. Has weakness undone any? Wilfulness even undoes all."

A close, base, selfish humour, and an unconcernedness how it fared with others, he set forth by these pathological expressions: "It is a cursed malady, that hath utterly banished all humanity, and respect to others, as the devil hath done. And if so be the wretch serve his own turn, all care is banished how it speed with others; the very temper of the devil, that will please himself in his mischief, and cares not what others suffer by his humour: a cursed malady, that hath eaten out that royal law, 'What ye would others should do to you, do ye also to them, and no otherwise.' And instead thereof, hath written there, 'Do any thing that may serve your own turn, and no matter how it speeds with others.'"

He showed, whence substantial comfort must be fetched for a soul, seeking peace to itself: "As the rains from the clouds, that water the earth, proceed from the earth by their evaporation and attraction by the sun; so the comfort that must refresh and water any man's conscience, must proceed from the conscience itself; that bearing witness, that the man does his duty the best that is in him. And now, how many can answer my question? What can thy conscience tell thee thou hast done, and dost, that can any ways commend thee to God for his favour? Thy wealth, thy strength, thy parts, O man, will not do it. Thy beauty, thy comeliness, thy dress, O woman, will not do it. What hast thou else to show to God for acceptance? Good works, and a good heart: these are the things that must recommend us to God. And what stock can we show of these? What can our hearts say to us in this case? Will it not be with the most upon examination, as with them in the Book of Job, 'That in the heat and desert come to look for water to refresh, and there is none? And they return ashamed, because there is none.' It is very well worth

our consideration, deeply and daily, whether our actions commend us, or condemn us, to God: whether they speak good for us, or evil. For if these commend us not to God, we have nothing else will do it, be our outward privileges ever so great."

He was for a great and awful distance, and profound reverence, to be observed by men towards God; and by no means liked that bold and free way, that some used with him. "The least sinful, the least guilty men, ever have borne the greatest reverence and humbleness before God; because they were most apprehensive of his gloriousness. How low did Abraham lie before God, when he was praying for Sodom? as low as dust and ashes. And could he lie lower? Gen. xviii. 27. 'Behold, I have taken upon me to speak unto my Lord, who am but dust and ashes.' And, 'Let not my Lord be angry, if I speak.' In the 4th and 5th of the Revelations, the four-and-twenty elders that are nigh unto God, and do encircle his throne, 'They cast down their crowns at his feet,' as he sits upon his throne, 'and fall themselves upon their faces,' to adore him. And can they fall lower? Nay, in Isa. vi, the seraphims, the angels that attend him, as with their wings they cover their feet, so with their wings they cover their faces, as not assuming boldness to look upon him. As Moses, when God proclaimed his name out of the burning bush, hid his face in his mantle, and durst not behold."—And again, "God requires to be sanctified of those, that draw near to him; and that they should come before him, and walk before him in sense and apprehension, what a glorious and dreadful God he is. The danger is, lest men should be too saucy with God. We are too ready to be too bold and daring against him. And therefore we can never have too high and dreading apprehensions of God, to keep down that proud flesh. Let it be our work, when we come to worship God in his appointments in public, or at home,—to work our hearts to as reverential and awful apprehensions of God, as we can. It will better our services, and no way hurt them. For men may come with holy boldness to him, for all such apprehensions of him. For they may remember his promise of grace, though they apprehend the dreadfulness of his glory."

He warned parents about the education of their chil-

dren, by propounding to them the consideration of the poor children, that were offered up to be scorched to death in the arms of Moloch. "Look upon those parents that could deliver up a poor child, their own child, to such horrid and exquisite torments. Do you count this a cruel thing in those parents? What come they short of this, that either for want of good education, or by evil education, do make their children the children of hell? Those parents that, either by carelessness to educate their children in the fear of God, or by giving them evil example by their own wicked courses, do accustom them to evil ways; how little do these come short of offering their children up to Satan, as those wicked wretches did theirs to Moloch? Parents, either father or mother, that by swearing, or cursing, or lying, teach their children to do the like; that, by breaking the sabbath, and neglecting to attend the public ministry, do give example to their children to do so too; that, by deceiving, base and unconscionable dealing, set a copy for their children to write after; or if they see them follow such courses as these, and do not labour to teach and train them better; do not these, as much as in them lies, devote their children to Satan, as those did to Moloch? Are these any more merciful to their children's souls, than those were to their children's bodies? For he that trains not up his child to God,—for whom does he train him up, but the devil? For is there any mean between? What complaint God taketh up against Israel about their giving up their children to Moloch, may he not take up against thousands in the world upon this account, 'Thou hast taken my children, and delivered them up, to make them pass through the fire?'—That is, 'the children which I have given thee, and which should have been mine.'"

He warned men against lying and false-speaking by the example of Ananias and Sapphira, that were struck dead for it. "Which he called a fearful judgment set up, as a pillar of salt, at the very entrance of the gospel into the world; that men might see, and hear, and fear, and not dare to lie under the gospel of truth; especially, not to the Spirit of truth. And if you look upon Ananias's doing, you see him deceiving and lying; and if you observe Peter's words, you may see he refers his lying and deceiving to their proper original; viz. that they both are the work of

the devil. 'Why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie; and filled thy heart to deceive, and keep back part of the price of the land?' That if you will trace his wickedness to the spring-head, his intent to deceive made him lie, and his base covetousness made him deceive; and the devil caused all."

He gave this rule concerning apparel, and for the avoiding pride in what men put on: "God allows men to wear good clothes according to their quality and degree; but if pride be there, it is beside his allowance. God allows us clothes to keep us warm: he allows us clothes to adorn our rank and quality; but if we lace and trim our wear with pride, there is a leprosy got into the warp and woof, that rots all. God appointed the Jews to wear fringes upon their garments, to make them still to be remembering the law: I am afraid, the fringing and finery of too many have a clean contrary effect: it doth but puff them up, and make them proud."—And again; "If any should ask, What clothes, and hair, and garb, may I wear? this may be a very direct and satisfactory answer: Wear what you think good, so it be without pride. And this I believe will shut out of doors, 1. Wearing a garb above one's rank and degree: for I question whether one can wear a garb above his rank, without pride. And, 2. Affecting foreign, and strange, and new-fangled fashions. For though it may be possible for a person to be in the fashion without pride, because he would not be hooted at for singularity; yet certainly it is hardly possible to affect new-fangled fashions, without pride. It is one thing to put on the fashion to avoid reproach; and another thing to dote upon fashions, and to make them bravery. He that makes his clothes his bravery, it is very suspicious he makes them his vain-glory: and he that dotes on the fashion, it is to be doubted he dotes on the pride of the fashion."

These instances are enough to show, what a plain but fruitful method of teaching and preaching Dr. Lightfoot took. But he also took care of his people's principles, to preserve them from warping from the national church (as hath been taken notice of before), and from the church, considered as Protestant. Of which I shall proceed to a few instances.

To arm his auditors against Popery, thus he taught

them: "Our histories tell us, That when Austin the monk came hither into Britain from the pope, as to settle religion; and when some of the British Christians consulted with a grave prudent man, whether they should close with him, and submit to his rules: 'Yes (saith he), if he be humble, do: but if he be proud, he is not of God.' Would you take a measure of true religion, no surer token than these two, humility and charity. They talk, they will prove the truth of their religion by antiquity, universality, and I know not what. Let them show it by the humility and mercifulness of it; and we shall desire no more. But I doubt that religion, that teacheth the merits of a man's works, is too proud against God to be the true religion; and that, that teacheth, that the pope is above all princes, is too proud against men. And I doubt that religion,—that stirs up men to murder princes, nobles, people, that will not be of that religion,—is not the true religion. I am sure, Christ and his apostles were never either of such pride or cruelty; but farther from these principles of Rome, than it is betwixt Rome and Jerusalem."

And as he warned them against Popery in general, so particularly, "Against a blind zeal, zeal without knowledge, or zeal in a wrong way. 'It is good always to be zealous in a good matter;' but mischievous to be zealous in a bad. There was a great deal of religious zeal, for those parents to offer their children to Moloch, to be burnt alive in his arms, in devotion to that God of theirs: but it was blind zeal, mad religion, distracted devotion. Their God was the devil. St. Paul in one place saith, that 'in zeal he persecuted the church:' but in another place he saith, 'He was exceeding mad against the church.' That zeal of his was mere *madness*. It was blind and mad, cared not whether it went, nor what it did. Rom. x, the Jew hath zeal, but without knowledge; and that made him so to set himself against the truth. You remember that, 'They that kill you, shall think they do God service.' It was great zeal, but as blind as a beetle. It runs upon it cares not what, as a blind man runs upon every post, and falls into every pit."

And against cruelty:—"The Papists plead stoutly, that theirs, and none but theirs, is the true religion. If that should be tried by this very touchstone, Is that, can that, be

true religion, that makes it religion to murder men? None of you, but have heard of the bloody days of queen Mary, and how many poor, innocent, holy men were then put to the fire, and there ended their lives;—and this, forsooth, done by the Papists, out of zeal for religion. Just such a religion as they were spurred by, that offered their children to Moloch. For compare the things together, and what can be liker? Those wretches out of that devotion and religion as they took on them, made their poor innocent children pass through the fire, a sacrifice to Moloch. These wretches, out of that devotion and religion as they took on them, made these poor innocent souls pass through the fire, a sacrifice to the pope. The cruelty much alike; the manner of the death they put them to, much alike. And were they not religious, think you, much alike? Such a sacrifice to their Moloch would they have offered of innocent ones, when they would have sent away our parliament out of the world in fire and gunpowder; and this forsooth out of zeal to religion. And so they maintain, it is lawful to excommunicate, depose, murder princes, out of zeal to religion. And so they made it lawful, nay, laudable, to murder so many innocent souls in that massacre in France.”

Against transubstantiation.—“I hope every one laughs at the doctrine of transubstantiation, that will fetch Christ from heaven at every sacrament: the master-piece of delusion. Satan shows here, how much delusion he can practise in the greatest ignorance. For a man, against sense and reason, philosophy and divinity, to believe a priest can call Christ out of heaven, and turn a piece of bread into his very body;—the strangest madness in the world! I see it, feel it, *bread*; and yet must believe it *flesh*. I know, it was made yesterday by the baker; yet now, I must believe it turned into my Creator. I know Christ is in heaven; and yet must believe that he is here on earth. The heathen were never more blind.”

And against the immoral doctrine of equivocation; whereof he thus vehemently expressed himself: “I cannot but admire the impudency, as well as abhor the wickedness, of the Jesuits’ doctrine of equivocation: a doctrine that hath put on a whore’s forehead, a brazen face, and the devil’s impudency itself, before men, as well as it hath clothed itself with horrid abominableness before God. It

is a doctrine, that teacheth men to lie, and yet will maintain they lie not. And by their doctrine there can be no lying, forswearing, or deceiving in the world, though they lie, forswear, and deceive never so deeply. A trick beyond the devil's: he turns truth into a lie: these can turn a lie into truth. A Popish priest or Jesuit is brought before a Protestant magistrate. He puts him to his oath; Are you a Popish priest or a Jesuit? They will swear *No* roundly, and make no bones of it; having this reserve in their mind, I am not a priest to you, or, I am not a priest of the English church; or, I am not a Jesuit to tell you, or be your confessor:—or some such lurking reserved thought in his mind. This man hath not told a lie, though he speaks not a word true: he hath not taken a false oath, though he hath sworn falsely. As the devil changeth himself into an angel of light, so these a lie into a truth. But as he is a liar still, and is most dangerous, when he seems a good angel, so is their lie, when they thus clothe it with the pretence of truth. ‘*Into their secret let not my soul come; and with their counsel, my glory, be not thou united.*’”

Finally, he showed them the preference of the Protestant religion, before that of the Papists: “This is the reason (saith he) that so many Protestants turn Papists (this he spake in the year 1674), because Popery opens an easier way to heaven, a thousand-fold, than the Protestant doth. Add to this, the viciousness of the times. And the more viciousness abounds, the more will such apostasy abound, according to the intimation of our Saviour, Matt. xxiv, ‘Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many (to God and his truth) shall wax cold.’ Men would fain enjoy their pleasures here, and yet go to heaven too: they would fain have their paradise here, and have paradise hereafter. This Popery helps them to, almost with a wet finger. Hath a man committed whoredom, adultery, been guilty of deceit, luxury, uncharitableness,—let him go and confess himself to a priest, and the priest absolves him; and those sins are gone, and there is no more danger of them. Or, Oh! for how many thousand sins, for how many thousand years, can the pope pardon him? How may pilgrimage to such a saint fetch him off? How may so many fastings, so many Ave Marias, so often lying in hair-cloth, so many masses, make all well, and out of danger? That it is as

easy almost with them to get to heaven, as for a man to do his ordinary day's work.

But the Protestant doctrine makes obtaining salvation a harder task, according to the truth of the Scripture. John vi, you read of divers, that went away from Christ, because they thought his doctrine a 'hard saying.' So doth the poor Protestant religion lose followers upon the same account. None is of poor Micaiah's side, because he speaks truth and home. But let Ahab have the four hundred false prophets; for they will be sure to make all well for him, let him do what he will. There are four hundred, and four hundred, false prophets in the popish cause, that will warrant the veriest Ahab, that ever was, heaven: if he have but money to fee them well, will pray him to heaven, sing him to heaven, pardon him to heaven; and he shall never see hell, and, it may be, not purgatory. It is easy to see, by this comparison, which is the truer and better religion of the two."

By these, and such like sound and sober discourses, he built up his people, committed to his charge, in truth and godliness. So that it is reported, he had not a Dissenter in his parish. The people of his flock honest, quiet, and industrious; his church constantly and conscientiously repaired to, every Lord's day, with due devotion.

And thus I have at length dispatched what I had to say, both of our author, and these *Remains* of his, which are now made public. And I, who have once more revived the memory of this great ornament of literature, and of our Church of England, shall, I hope, not only be pardoned, but merit some thanks from the piously learned, and sober-minded rank of men.

I had some inclination to have added a fourth tract of this author's, namely, 'A Chronicle of Events and Occurrences in the World, under the Kings of France and the Ottoman Emperor, made by one Joseph, a priest who lived about the times of Henry VIII:—being a fair translation out of Hebrew into English, done by the Doctor's own hand. Which he seemed to have taken all this pains about, because the history is interspersed with what befel Jerusalem after the destruction of it by Titus the emperor, and with the wars waged by divers kings and princes for the gaining and possession of that place, once so famous for being the



spot, of all the earth; appointed for God's holy Temple to be built on; and for the Son of God to converse, and die, and redeem the world in. And also because here is set forth, by the pen of a Jew himself, the state and condition of the Jews in the latter times; and particularly, the sad persecutions and calamities that befel them, by the just judgment of God, in these western parts of the world, as well as in other parts, by the German and French nations. Whereby might be seen some history of that desolate, forsaken people, and of the scourge of God upon them in successive generations, ever since they rejected and crucified their Messiah, and took the guilt of his blood upon themselves and their children. The state of which people from age to age, since the ruin of their commonwealth, our Doctor was very inquisitive after, and wished some learned pen would give the world a fair account of. But to prevent the swelling of this volume, it was thought convenient to omit this piece.

However for a taste, I cannot but remark to the reader, how that Jewish author sets forth the calamities and unmerciful destructions that befel that people in the year 1096: "That year, he writes, was a year of affliction to Jacob. For they were oppressed in the lands of the Christians in all places, whither they were scattered. For great and evil afflictions found them out, even such as are written in the law of Moses, and such as are not written in the book. For against them rose up these abominable people, the Germans, and Frenchmen, a nation strong of face, which respecteth not persons, nor spareth old nor young. Let us, say they, avenge the cause of our Christ upon the Jews that are among us, and cut them off from being a people; neither let the name of Israel be remembered any more: or let them change their glory, and become like to us. When the synagogues which were in Germany, heard this headlong rumour, their heart melted and became as water. Fear took hold of them, as sorrow a woman in travail. They lift up their hearts to the rocks: they appointed fastings: they put dust upon their heads, and girded with sackcloth. And they cried unto the Lord in their affliction, but he covered himself with a cloud, that their prayers should not pass." Then he proceeded to shew the massacres and spoils, committed upon the Jews in all or most of the cities and places, where

they had synagogues; as at Spire, Worms, Mentz, Cologne, Wabzlak, Meir, Trevir, Metz, Prague, and many other towns. And how their flights from place to place, and sometimes to the bishop's house, for their safety, could not secure them, but were pursued and slain with fire and sword." Whereupon he makes this conclusion. "Thus whithersoever they fled, the stone out of the wall cried after them to confound and destroy them: for God had given liberty to the destroyers to destroy in those evil days."

And one circumstance, in these miseries of the Jews, deserves to be more particularly observed; which, methinks, is a singular evidence of the judgment of God upon that people (who once called for Christ's blood upon them and theirs), that they were not only slaughtered by their enemies, but that no small numbers unnaturally perished by laying violent hands upon themselves, and their nearest relations: and this either to avoid being slain with the sword of their enemies,—or to expiate with their own blood any compliances, they had constrainedly made. Thus at Spire he mentioneth a woman, who took a knife and slew herself, refusing to be defiled, that is, to become a Christian. At Worms (where eight hundred souls were massacred in two days) many slew themselves, and each one his brother, and friend, and son, and daughter, bridegrooms, and brides: nay, the tender women slew their children 'with all their hearts' (saith the author), 'and all their souls;' and the children said, שמע ישראל, *i. e.* 'Hear, O Israel' [Which was the beginning of one of their prayers], when their soul poured itself into their mothers' bosom. The like was done at Mentz: and at Rincona two men escaped, who were forcibly defiled, one named Uri, and the other Isaac, the son of David Parnes; and his two daughters were with him, but they returned unto the Lord. And Isaac slew his daughters on the even of the feast of Weeks. His house also he set on fire. "And thus, saith this Jew, he offered a burnt offering unto the Lord. And he and Uri went into the congregation of the Lord [*i. e.* the synagogue set on fire it seems by the enemy] before the ark, and died there before the Lord, as the fire ascended. At Wabzlak they slew every one his fellow, lest the Christians should abuse them in the pools of water, which were round about the city. And one named Rab-

benu Samuel, who had one only son, this young man bared his neck, and the old man took a knife, and blessed over the slaughter, and slew him: and the young man answered Amen. And all that stood by, answered and said, 'Hear, O Israel.'" Much more to this purpose is related there of the deplorable state of that people at this time, which, he saith, he transcribed partly out of the Commentaries of Rabbi Eliezer.

I have but one thing more to add (and so shall conclude this tedious preface), which possibly may not be unacceptable to the lovers of Dr. Lightfoot, and his studies, to be informed of. That besides these tracts now offered to the public, the last year several other posthumous pieces of his were printed in Holland in Latin; being a new addition to his other works; as was hinted in the beginning. These were to the number of XXI. Consisting of, Some <sup>a</sup>Learned Thoughts of the Greek Translation of the Bible by the Seventy; An <sup>b</sup>Inlet into the Talmud, and a Summary of the remarkable matters contained in it by way of Index: Some <sup>c</sup>Remarks of the Places and Towns of the Holy Land: A <sup>d</sup>Tract of the Spirit of Prophecy, as it was among the Jews, and afterward ceased: Some <sup>e</sup>memorable Matters under Ezra, and that which was styled the Great Synagogue: A <sup>f</sup>history of the Jewish University at Japhne, that is, Joppa: Short <sup>g</sup>Talmudical Notes upon Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua: Some <sup>h</sup>Annotations to be inserted into his *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, in their proper places: A <sup>i</sup>Sermon in Latin preached at Ely at an Episcopal Visitation before Bishop Lany, in the year 1674; that is, the last year but one of the Doctor's life: Some <sup>k</sup>of his Exercises at the Commencement, anno 1655, when he was vice-chancellor of Cambridge. All these were written by him in Latin. The pieces following were in English, but translated into Latin; viz. A <sup>l</sup>short Tract of the Creation: The <sup>m</sup>Motions and stations of Israel through the Wilderness towards the Land of Canaan: A <sup>n</sup>short and plain exposition of some of the first chapters of Hosea: A <sup>o</sup>Dissertation, whether the Supper, in which

<sup>a</sup> Present edition, vol. 10, p. 419.    <sup>b</sup> Vol. 10. p. 473.    <sup>c</sup> Vol. 10. p. 367.  
<sup>d</sup> Vol. 3. p. 435.    <sup>e</sup> Vol. 10. p. 524.    <sup>e</sup> Vol. 3. p. 445.  
<sup>f</sup> Vol. 10. p. 532.    <sup>h</sup> Vol. 6. p. 85.    <sup>k</sup> Vol. 2. p. 411.  
<sup>l</sup> Vol. 2. p. 415.    <sup>m</sup> Vol. 2. p. 423.    <sup>n</sup> Vol. 3. p. 425.  
<sup>o</sup> Vol. 3. p. 431.

Judas received the Sop, were the Passover-supper: Another <sup>p</sup>Discourse, whether the Revelation was wrote by the apostle St. John, or some other John: An <sup>q</sup>Enumeration of the Promises of God, collected out of the Old Prophets, to be fulfilled to the Jews in the latter Days: An <sup>r</sup>inquiry into St. James's Liturgy: Some <sup>s</sup>Fragments of Roman and Christian History for the first four Centuries: Lastly, A Collection of Letters of learned men, and upon learned subjects, to Dr. Lightfoot; among which is a letter of the learned John Buxtorf, from Basil, to Dr. Lightfoot, and another from the Doctor to him.

And thus beseeching God to increase the number of such useful and good men, as this reverend divine was, I commend the reader and myself to God.

JOHN STRYPE.

<sup>q</sup> Present edition, vol. 10. p. 553.

<sup>r</sup> Vol. 8. p. 303.

## PRÆFATIO AD LECTOREM.

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**N**EQVE magnum aut multum est, amice lector, neque sane nihil, quod te volebam. Prolixe enim præfandi necessitatem excludere, quæ, sparsa passim per universum opus, vides præloquia. Et quiddam tamen superest, quod curam hanc et editionem proprie attingit. Quale omnino est illud, quod tardius opinione et desideriiis tuis in lucem prorepat. Id vero per typographum scito minime stetisse: sed fuerunt per idem tempus nonnulla alia, et ipsa suis curis digna, subjicienda prælo. Moræ etiam aliquid ab iis accessit, qui vertendo occupabantur, quique, pro mole et ratione operis varii fuerunt, et propter varias causas, subinde mutandi. Ea autem hic typographi sollicitudo viguit, ut, nulli prorsus rei parcens, viros reperiret diligentes et idoneos; quales, præter nostrates, et ex Anglia ipsa obtigerunt, harum rerum intelligentes, et qui cum Autore ipso consuetudine juncti vixerant. Præsto etiam fuere duo reverendi et doctissimi viri, D.D. Jos. Hill, et Rich. Kidder, ille in nostra urbe, hic Londini, qui pro se quisque sedulo operis dignitatem et nitorem plurimum promoverunt. Nec minor cura fuit in emendandis typhotetarum erratis: cui rei non modo homines habiles delecti sunt; sed ipse quoque typographus, quia quam emendatissimum hoc opus prodire voluit, si quid forte illos fugerat, sagaci oculo indagavit et sustulit: ea usus animi contentione, ut ne unam quidem pagellam, nisi ita lustratam, missam fecerit. Qua igitur re effectum est, ut pauci admodum codices, æque emaculati, in publico conspiciantur. Par diligentia adhibita fuit in restituendo, quod in S. Scripturæ locis erat erratum; cujus generis perquam ampla seges extitit. Consimili ratione, quæ ex Thalmude aliisque Judæorum monumentis descripta erant testimonia, vel relata ad loca aliena,—collata diligenter et correctæ invenies: commodante hic operam suam homine Judæo, in hoc litterarum genere probe exercitato. Insertæ præterea sunt

suis locis Chorographicæ Tabulæ, quas, diuturno legendi S. Scripturam et scripta Hebræorum usu vigili observatione, ipse Autor collegerat,—felicissimæ manus artificio (nosce, lector, et judica) expressæ. De chartæ typorumque insigni bonitate et elegantia, quæ et ipsa ad librorum commendationem faciunt plurimum, quia res manifesta est, nihil necesse est dicere; nisi quod et hinc perspici velim, nulli neque curæ neque sumptui, qui ad operis splendorem conferre aliquid poterat, esse parvum. Denique, ne quid desiderari possit omnino, additi sunt sub calcem Indices, quos vir quidam eruditus, argumenti utilitate et suavitate illectus, inter pervolvendum, plenos accuratosque collegerat atque digesserat. Quæ omnia ejusmodi sunt, ut confidere liceat, editione hac doctorum hominum votis satisfactum esse plenissime; ut, si quid moræ intercurrit, hac tot rerum ubertate abunde sit pensatum. Si quem vero male habeat, quod omissam hic videat Sermonum ad populum syllogen, quam extare jam publice constat; is responsum ferat, certo id consilio a typographo esse factum, inque eo obsequutum illum esse judicio doctorum aliquot in ipsa Anglia virorum. Cujus rei rationes equidem lectorem per se ipsum conjectare aut perspiciendo indagare malo, quam me hic aperte dicere. Contra autem lector sciat, editionem hanc auctam esse duobus integris, iisque utilissimis, opusculis, quæ nullibi hactenus edita prostant, genuinis Lightfooti fœtibus, ejusdemque cum reliquis illius scriptis genii et dignitatis; quæ cum hæere alicubi typographus didicisset, et a viris doctis in Anglia commendari sibi videret, non quievit, donec, ære multo comparata, reliquo corpori jungeret. In iis more suo, id est, doctissime, disserit de argumentis gravissimis, Anathemate Maran Atha, et Canone Scripturæ consignato, et quæ dum ista agit, ambabus scilicet munificus, præterea admiscet. Hoc itaque totum, quod felix faustumque sit, jam prodit in dias luminis auras. Bonis omnibus venturum gratissimum, dubium iis esse non potest, quibus perspectum est, quanto cum affectu illæ operis partes, quas autor ipse Latine ediderat, passim per Europam acceptæ fuerint. Neque immerito; quando ejusmodi esse hoc scripti genus viderunt et fassi sunt doctissimi quique viri, ut non, nisi a rari exempli et completæ cujusdam doctrinæ homine, proficisci queat. Non enim e medio petitas quæstiunculas quasdam, sed materias raras

minimèque obvias, neque minus utiles et necessarias sectatur: easque mascule aggreditur, nec, nisi bene subactas et dijudicatas, dimittit. Plurima passim eruit, quæ sic satis incognita erant, certe obscura; atque illa luce ea conspargit, iis fulcit rationibus, ut difficile sit manus non dare, certe non mirari vim ingenii, quam sitam in ipso comperimus plane singularem. Atque ejusmodi etiam res passim, ubi in obviis magisque tritis versatur, patrare conspicitur. Adeo ut certum mihi sit, si cui educere atque in ordinem redigere lubeat, quæ pleno horreo admetitur Lightfootus, latere in his libris thesaurum rerum sacrarum plenissimum. Mea enim istæc est ratio, rem theologiam his fere quatuor perfici, ut argumentum S. Scripturæ omne accurate teneatur;—rerum deinde series, secundum temporum locorumque distinctionem, probe digeratur;—expedita præterea adsit linguæ utriusque sacræ peritia;—comprehendatur denique historia, præsertim ecclesiæ, et speciatim Judaicæ, omniumque illorum rituum, qui, antiquissimis temporibus et Christi præcipue seculo, inter Judæos vigere. Ita vero in his omnibus se circumegit noster, ut haud temere inventurus sis, quem universis istis parem illi ferre audeas. Qua quidem in re me jam consentientes habere video non tantum qui sunt in Anglia viri docti, sed per cæteram Europam etiam alios permultos. Id certe omnium judicio in antiquitatibus Judæorum perrimandis præstitisse videtur, quod ante eum nemo. Quæ una res quanti facienda sit, nimirum is videt, qui quæ inde commoda viro theologo proveniant, non nescit. Mirum vero, quam facili manu ipse autor hujus solius facultatis subsidio res difficillimas enodet, omnemque obscuritatem, quæ, ex sola ignoratione rituum Judaicorum, plurimorum oculos obsederat, discutiat. Tantummodo legantur quæ super sanctis evangelistis est commentatus. Ego omnino ita judico, indolem linguæ qua LXX. Interpretes utuntur, et ritus Hebræorum feliciter cognitos habere, ad inveniendam genuinam Novi Testamenti mentem supra quam dici potest multum valere, et esse vice perpetui ejusdemque certissimi commentarii. Ex quibus omnibus æstimari potest, quid de pretio ac usu scripti hujus sit statuendum. Nimirum habebunt hic sacris studiis devoti adolescentes et SS. Min. Candidati, quibus adversaria sua, et sacros ad populum Dei sermones, utiliter et eleganter instruant ac

exornent. Habebunt viri docti, quibus suam doctrinam variis gravissimarum rerum lemmatis feliciter adaugeant. Habebunt denique Christiani quilibet, quibus vera et haud protrita rerum sacrarum expositio allubescit, ubi se utiliter occupent atque oblectent. Ipsa quinimo commentationis indoles sine fuce, sine fastu, quibus non profana modo, sed sacra etiam multorum scripta in lucem quotidie erumpunt, nescio quid grati et amabilis in legentium animos insinuat; tum dictio ipsa dilucida, facilis minimeque ambitiosa procurrit, dissimilis illorum, qui hac tantum parte vanis hominibus, ut pueris pavones, mirabiles esse student. Si quid autem subtilius austeriusque calamo subjiciendum fuit, quod in id genus argumento nimium quam frequenter evenire necesse fuit, suavi amœniorum mixtura omne tædium et fastidium discutit. Quæ omnia dum cogitando ruminor, experior me duci et trahi ad contemplationem imaginis et mentis doctissimi autoris, et intueri in ea virum aperte et candide probum, hilarem, alacrem, erectum, nihil laboris refugientem, et ad omnia parem; posthabita rerum aliarum cura, sapientiæ studiis unice deditum; quicquid eruditum, elegans, pium, et ad enucleandam mentem S. Scripturæ comparatum est, velut pretiosum thesaurum, exosculantem; contra autem quod vile et protritum, magis etiam quod falsum et absurdum est, cum fastidio aspernantem; quod vero cum Verbo Dei et sacra religione pugnat, ingenti cum odio aversantem. Qui vir cum fuisse videri auctor debeat, si quid et ipse alicubi aberrasse deprehenditur, non exagitare illum decet, ut mos est hodie permultis, qui, ut arietes petulci, obvios quosque, a nemine lacessiti, cornibus impetunt; mortuos etiam jugulare, velut rem præclaram, laudi sibi ducunt: atque inde auspicia speratæ gloriæ exordiuntur: rati, ut quidam aiebat, draconem non fieri, qui serpens ante non fuerit. Sed expendere potius ac admirari oportet ingentem viri doctrinam, industriam et candorem; tum scripti hujus agnoscere eximiam cum amœnitate junctam utilitatem; in quo, quemadmodum in lauta cœna, si non allubescit quippiam, laus tamen sua et gratia cæteris manet: deplorare denique communem hominum sortem, qua ne iis quidem, qui ad summa pervenisse visi sunt, a nævis suis liceat esse immunibus. Id ego te, lector, quisquis es, prorsus comperturum confido, sicubi errat Lightfootus noster, non nisi docte errare; sicut de magno



olim in ecclesia viro dictum scimus : quo ulterius in hac fragilitate ire, mortalium datum est nulli. Scribebam Roterodami VII. Idus Martii clo lō c LXXXVI.

JOH. TEXELIUS,

*Ecclesiastes Roterodamensis.*

# JOHANNES LEUSDEN

L. B. SALUTEM.

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**DE** ipsis hisce Operibus eorumque laudibus nihil dicam: nam ea omnia quæ dicenda erant, fuse in præfatione præcedente enarravit Reverendus et Clarissimus D. Johannes Texelius. Sed pauca addam, quæ hanc secundam editionem in specie concernunt.

Percurri utrumque Volumen, et accurate perspexi omnia Hebraica, quæ inibi occurrunt; neque temere dicam me ultra mille voces Hebraicas correxisse, et pristino nitore restituisse.

Etiam Textus Latinus in centenis locis est correctus, et quidem in plurimis locis, in quibus sensus a nullo, nisi difficillime, potuit intelligi.

Huic secundæ editioni additi sunt Tractatus viginti et unus, plane novi, antehac nunquam editi, quos Reverendus D<sup>us</sup>. D<sup>or</sup>. Stryp, fideliter servavit, et tradidit Typographis. Horum duodecim priores Tractatus sunt Latine ab Auctore conscripti, et ita hic exhibentur sine mutatione, sine additione, et sine ulla detractatione, prout ipse Auctor eos heredibus reliquit: sed novem ultimi Tractatus sunt ab ipso Auctore lingua Anglicana conscripti, et fideliter a Reverendo Pastore D. Bor translati.

Et quia molestum esset illis, qui præcedentem editionem sibi comparaverunt, hisce novis et hactenus ineditis viginti et uno Tractatibus carere,—ideo operam dedimus, ut omnes, qui præcedentem editionem possident, etiam hos Tractatus separatim possint comparare, et suæ priori editioni addere: ita ut et illi, qui primam editionem antea sibi compararunt, et hi, qui jam hanc secundam editionem sibi comparant, possideant integra Opera Celeberrimi Lightfooti; quod Typographi, negligentes suam propriam utilitatem, in gratiam quorumvis doctorum concesserunt.

Et ne quicquam in his Operibus posthumis desideraretur, Typographi curarunt (cum integra Opera habeant suos peculiare Indices), ut etiam hi viginti et unus Tractatus suos Indices immediate sequentes habeant.

## PRÆFATIO EDITORIS

DE HISCE

TRACTATIBUS MISCELLANEIS.

QUANDOQUIDEM a manu mea prodeunt hæ chartæ nunc primum impressæ, non abs re fore existimavi, si Lectorem ingenuum paucis interpellarem. Imprimis ac præcipue, fide hominis Christiani, studiosi nominis Lightfootiani, vera hæc ac germana docti illius Viri esse scripta, cujus nomen præ se ferunt, affirmo testorque. Cum enim non tam multis abhinc annis nova operum ejusdem reverendi Theologi, tam editorum, quam nondum ἐκδότων, cudenda foret impressio, omnes ejus pugillares, commentarios, sparsasque schedas mihi tradidit gener ejus D. Duckfieldus, Pastor Aspedenæ, in agro Hertfordiensi, doctus juxta ac fidelis; ut inde quicquid ad rem facere videretur, quo ea editio concinnatior et perfectior foret, exciperem. At quoniam eadem ut lectoribus Anglicanis inserviret, maxime designata fuit, non paucae exercitationes Latino sermone compositæ, luce alias dignissimæ, omissæ sunt. Et voluminibus plusculum tumescentibus, supprimi visum est quasdam etiam patria lingua scriptas. Mihi vero quidpiam studiorum tam docti Viri perditum iri pertæsum est, maxime cum sacrae literaturæ scientiam tantopere promoverent. Quapropter ex scriptis prælibatis volumen posthumum qualecunque apparare serio institui, tempore opportuno in publicum emittendum.

Hinc, primum quæ hisce chartis contenta sunt, cum iis contuli, quæ in libris impressis occurrunt; et, cæteris relictis, quæ aut nova, aut ad augenda explicandave quæcunque antea ab Auctore scripta sunt, selegi, selecta exscripsi, exscripta in distincta sua capita et classes disposui.

Quasdam quidem harum dissertationum mutilas, nec ad finem optatum perductas agnosco. Attamen cum quæ

extent, tot habuerunt in se utilia et egregia, ea, ejus defectus causa, omnino rejicere nolui; ne iis qui nostrum Lightfootium amant (quibus vel fragmenta et Ἀνάλεκτα tanti Viri in pretio ac æstimatione habebuntur) deesse viderer.

Præterea, scire velim Lectorem, horum nonnulla rev. Auctoris fuisse mentem in lucem edere. Qua causa nitide et eleganter ab eo ipso sunt descripta. Aliis vero occupationibus, aut morte ingruente, quo minus institutum hoc Reip. Literariæ tam proficuum perficere et consummare potuit, præventus fuit. Hujusce conditionis fuere Opuscula de LXX. Senum Interpretatione. Qua de justum librum edere serio instituit, a doctiss. Professore D. Johanne Buxtorfio, ut videtur, animatus.

Non ita longe ante ejus obitum accesserunt ei quidam bibliopolæ Londinenses, ut suas Anglicas in Genesin, Exodum, et cæteros Vet. Fœderis Libros olim editos, enarrationes velit revisere et ornare, obnixè rogantes, quoniam iterum imprimere instituerunt. Quod cum primum modeste declinavit Vir gravis, se et sua omnia depretians, ut indigna rursus mundo obtrudi (uti erat homo miræ humilitatis et modestiæ) quod autem ad illos, impensas fuisse ingentes, lucrum incertum (sed cum instarent); tandem seipsum illorum desiderio obsequentem fore pollicitus est. Hujus incepti specimen et prælibationem præbet portiuncula illa de *Creatione*, manu illius pulchre exarata. Et cum Viri literati et amici, ut in libros Vet. Testamenti Horas Hebraicas et Talmudicas scriberet (sicut et in Evangelia feliciter fecerat), sæpe eum interpellarent, annotationes, quæ hic se ostendunt in Libros Mosis et Josuæ, apparatus consilii hujus esse videntur.

Alterius classis tractatiunculas hic videre est, quæ ad quosdam ejus antea excusos pertinebant labores, sed ab eo suppressas; non quod eas judicaret luce indignas, sed ne codices mole sua nimium ingravescerent. Ea enim tempora (quando scil. bellis civilibus et anarchia languescebat Britannia nostra) literis et literatis non adeo facilia fuere: atque inde non nisi parvæ molis libros, tunc temporis, imprimere ausi sunt Typographi. Quo pacto evenit, auctorem nostrum plusquam par fuit, brevitati studuisse, multasque periodos, easque non levis momenti ab exemplaribus suis defalcare et subtrahere consuevisse. Quæ

periodi, seu potius sectiones integræ, jam dantur et restituantur.

Et hæc tandem est ratio eorum scriptorum (nam de Exercitiis Academicis et Epistolis doctorum Virorum nihil est opus dicere), quæ orbi literario impræsentiarum bona fide offero. Quibus in evulgandis, cum ultimam Auctoris manum necesse sit deesse, operam et oleum meum, quale quale sit, Lector æqui boni consulat.

JOANNES STRYP.

*Duroliti apud Trinobantes in Anglia.*  
vi. Calend. Oct. MDCXCVIII.

**GENERAL INDEX.**



# INDEX.

- AARON**, his birth and character, ii. 111. His fault for which he was debarred from the entrance into Canaan, 131.
- Abbreviatures*, used by the Jews and others, some examples, iv. 57.
- Abel and Cain*, were twins, born at the same time, ii. 337. Abel, what, x. 290.
- Abimelech*, the common title of the kings of the Philistines, as Pharaoh of the Egyptians, iv. 186.
- Abraham*, his birth, travels, and conquests, ii. 88, 89. The three persons in the Trinity in the shape of men, dine with him, 91. How he saw Christ's day, ib. He had a double title to Canaan, by promise and by victory, 339. And ate the first flesh that is mentioned to have been eaten in Scripture, 342. Several things of Abraham's history, viii. 417; and what he bought in the land of Canaan, 427. Abraham's bosom, a Jewish phrase for a happy state, xii. 159; and the ridiculous notion the Rhemists have upon it, 160. Son of Abraham by faith and nature, what, 184. Abraham's seed, the being of it much gloried in by the Jews, 321.
- Absalom* was a Nazarite, and for that reason, wore long hair, xii. 521.
- Abstinence* of the Baptist and Christ was for the honour and advancement of the gospel, which they were to preach, iv. 357.
- '*Acceptable year of the Lord*' put for the gospel-day, or age beginning with the ministry and baptism of John, iv. 245.
- Acceptance* with God, and coming to him, is only through Christ, vii. 246, &c.
- Accusation*, wicked and foolish, viii. 146.
- Actings* of God, extraordinary, are not men's ordinary rule, vii. 278.
- Adam* not created mortal, against the Socinians, vi. 31. Although at first holy, yet had not the spirit of revelation, 237. He had not the spirit of sanctification nor of prophecy, vii. 20. Before his fall he is compared with a believer sanctified, 25. The fall of Adam and the fall of angels compared together, 297. History is all wonder, 334. Adam and Eve believed, and obtained life, 354. A view of their story in nine particulars, 334, 335. The means of their believing, and their condition under believing, 335. Adam fell on the sixth day of the creation, viz. on the day he was created, 373. The proof of this, 374. He was created about nine o'clock in the morning, fell about noon. Christ was promised about three o'clock in the afternoon, 376, 377. A new crea-
- tion or redemption was performed on the day that Adam was created, 378. Adam's first sermon to his family, the matter of it supposed, 383.
- Adam's fall*, its nature, comparison, consequence, and reparation, iv. 66, 67.
- Adoption*, or sonship, as referring to God, how understood by the Jews, x. 233. xii. 255.
- Adulteress* was to be put to death, but yet her husband had a power to connive at her, if he took her not in the fact, iv. 178. How punished, xii. 315.
- Adultery*, how punished, iii. 112, 122. Practised (probably in the Temple Court of the Jews) in our Saviour's time, vi. 303. The story of the adulterous woman (recorded John, viii.) left out of some of the ancient Greek Testaments, and the first printed Syriack, and also some Latin translations, and the reason of this omission, 302, 303. Is so common among the Jews, that the custom of trying the adulterous woman by Bitter Water (mentioned Numb. v.) was omitted. The pretended reason for this omission, 305. 369. The only case in which Christ permitted a bill of divorce, xi. 121. 249. The divine laws concerning it, 249. How does the law of death for adultery, and that of divorce, consist together? 250.
- Aeneas*, a name found in the Jewish writers, iii. 201.
- Affairs* and times of men, how God knows and dates them, vii. 225.
- Affirmative* and negative, word or phrase, are used together commonly in Scripture for elegancy, iv. 382.
- Affliction* of the people of God, the duration of it is determined by the Lord, vii. 219, &c.
- Agapæ*, or love-feasts, the mere appendages to the Lord's Supper; also they were when strangers were entertained in each church, at the cost of the church, xii. 522. and feast of charity, what, iii. 275.
- Age* of man, shortened at the flood, building of Bahel, and in the wilderness, ii. 88. 129. The several abatements of it as to length; at what time these abatements were made, vi. 277.
- Ages* of the world, ii. 77. 87. It is very common in Scripture, in reckoning the ages of men and other things, to count the year which they are now passing, for a year of their age, be it never so lately begun, iv. 322, 323.
- Agrippa*, his original, succession to his brother-in-law uncle, his zeal to the Jewish



law, iii. 287. His miseries, viii. 172. 175. His case hopeful, 182. He is fully enlarged and crowned; and not long after slew James, and imprisoned Peter to please the Jews, for he was much their friend, 187, 188. 240. 276. His death miserable, 293, 294.

*Ahasuerus* the same with *Artaxerxes*, a greater prince than *Darius*, &c. ii. 317.

*Alabartha*, not the name of a man, but an office, viii. 173.

*Aleph* and *Ain*, the mystical Jewish doctors did not distinguish them, x. 161.

*Ain Socar*, x. 340.

*Alexander* the Conqueror had the prophecy of *Daniel* shewed to him, ix. 471. The occurrences of the Temple under *Alexander*, 470. 472.

*Allegations*, citations, or quotations, when taken out of the Old Testament by the New, are sometimes two places couched together, as if they were one; yet maketh it sure that the first is that very place which it taketh on it to cite, though the second be another, iv. 247.

*Allegory*, the Jews did usually turn the Scriptures into allegory, which did not only taint their own posterity, but also the church of Christ, iii. 404.

*Almanack*, or calendar, Jewish; with the festivals, attendance of the priest, and the lessons out of the Law and Prophets, iv. 135. 149.

*Alms*, not unclean though given by an heathen, viii. 214. Why taken for 'righteousness', xi. 131. The ordinary alms of the Jews is divided into three parts; what they put into the alms-dish for the poor of the world; what into the chest for the poor of the city only; what they left in the field ungathered. Whether a trumpet was sounded when they did their alms, 133, &c.

*Alms* given to the poor, of what nature they were to be, xii. 183.

*Alpha* and *Omega*, so Christ is called; a usual phrase in the Jewish writers, iii. 332.

*Alpheus* and *Cleopas*, the same man, iii. 171. He had four sons apostles, v. 222.

*Almon* and *Alemoth*, the same, x. 88.

*Altar*, the rings, and the laver thereof, described, x. 70. What it was to leave a gift before the altar, xi. 110. When, or at what time, the ashes were swept off it, xii. 418. The several offices belonging to it, 503. The zeal of the officers to serve at it, 504. The custom of fetching water at the fountain *Siloam*; and pouring it on the altar, what it signified, vi. 221. Altar put for the communion table, but in a wrong sense, vii. 243. Altar put for Christ, how, 245. Altar of incense, what, ii. 400. Of burnt-offering, what, ix. 288. The manner and way of burning up wood

for it, ii. 402. ix. 388. How so much burnt offerings could be offered on it in so small a time, ix. 202, 203. 390, 391. When the altar was whited, 406. Brazen altar put on the north side the altar, 407. Of what nature and use the horns of the altar were, iii. 98. 399.

*Amen*, the Jews used it as a solemn affirmation upon (or in) a sort of swearing, iv. 385. In the Old Testament it is used in a way of wishing or praying; Christ useth it by way of assertion or affirming, with the reasons, 428. 430. Why our Saviour useth it so often, ib. Christ often useth it double, John always, and why, ib.

*Amen*, verily, why so much used by Christ, xi. 98. Why used double and single, xii. 238. All used amen after prayer or thanksgiving, 545. But not in the Temple, for there they used another clause instead of it, vi. 427. 'Orphan amen', was when he that answered amen, knew not what he answered to, xii. 545.

*Amulets*, charms, mutterings, exorcism, what, xi. 300.

*Anabaptists* refuted, vi. 401. 403. 405. 413.

*Ananias*, the madness of his sin, his degree supposed to be higher than the vulgar, viii. 398. Two of the name, one famous, 483.

*Ananias* and *Sapphira*, their history, viii. 76. They were destroyed for despising the Spirit of the Messias, iii. 187. For affronting the Holy Ghost, iii. 188.

*Anathema*, sounds all one with *Cherem*, it is taken in a threefold sense, xii. 561; 562. To be anathema from Christ, what, vii. 317. *Anathema Maranatha*, what, iii. 248, 249.

*And*, often not a conjunctive particle, but only illustrating or explicatory, iv. 391. This conjunctive particle, and, is very often cut off by ellipses in Scripture, viii. 114.

*Andrew*, the apostle, called one of the first, yet ever put after the rest in the mentioning of them, v. 169. Had a suspension for a time in his attendance on Christ, 165. 169.

*Angels*, created with the heavens in probability, fell out of envy to man, ii. 73. Angels, for devils, or ministers, iii. 244. Angels was one of the titles of the ministers of the Jewish synagogue, as also of the gospel ministry afterward, iii. 333. 616, 617. Angels are called 'the heavenly host,' iv. 199. When the Scripture speaketh of the coming or going of angels or spirits, it generally meaneth after a visible, and an apparent manner, 378. The ministrations of angels, what, v. 239, 240. Angel, tutelar or guardian, viii. 288. Angels sometimes put on the shape of men, viii. 454. Angels, demons, and spirits,

distinguished among the Jews, 483. Angels, fall and punishment of, v. 349. Angels for 'prophets and ministers,' xii. 213. Angels foolishly denied by the Sadducees, vii. 291. viii. 492. The Jews called evilangels 'destroyers, or angels of death;' and good angels, 'ministering angels,' xii. 507. Angels put for 'devils,' xii. 483. Angels put for 'devils, ministers, and messengers,' 518. Angels fight for the church of God, vii. 45. The devil is called the 'angel of death' by the Jews, 139. Christ is called the Angel by Stephen (the proto-martyr), upon the account of his delivering the law on Mount Sinai; this proves him to be God, against the Arian and Socinian, 179. Angel, and angels for Christ, prophets, and ministers, 179. Why in some cases they are ranked with Christ and God, 261. Angels can will nothing but as God willeth, 262. The fall of angels and the fall of Adam compared together, 297. Angels in probability were created the first day with the heavens, 375. They fell not before man was created, ib.

*Anger or wrath of God*, this Christ did not undergo, but only the justice of God in his sufferings, vi. 18, &c.

*Annas*, supposed to have been the nasi or head of the Sanhedrim, when Christ was had before him, iv. 253. But he was indeed the sagan or vicegerent to the high-priest at that time, ix. 38.

*Anointing*, much in use among the Jews; our Saviour was three times anointed by Mary Magdalen, twice his feet, once at her conversion, and again, six days before the passover; a third time his head and body, two days before the passover, iii. 129, 130. Anointing the sick with oil was used by the Jews for a charm; by the Christians as physic, in order to a cure, the elders of the church being present, to pray for a blessing, and to instruct the sick, 316. Christ's anointing, was his setting apart for mediator and minister of the gospel, &c.; also his apparent instalment into that office, by the Holy Ghost, v. 129, 130. Anointing oil, how compounded, ix. 438. Anointing of bodies and heads among the Jews, had a threefold reason; used for superstition little differing from a magical design, xi. 149. The anointing mentioned in the Epistle of James, was for health, but opposed to the magical anointing of the Jews, 150. Anointing with oil, was a medicine to cure the sick, 398. Anointing with precious ointment, when and wherefore used, 427.

*Antichrist*, Paul looks upon the Jewish nation (so obstinate and unreasonable) as the antichrists, iii. 229. (See Man of Sin.) St. John tells of many antichrists; these were such as were apostates from the gospel, 330. Antichrist of the second

edition was much enlarged in Rome heathen, and especially papal, 340. At first, antichrist was the perverse Jews in their differing sects, partly unbelieving, and partly apostatizing, 404. Until the papal antichrist arose, which took up the like quantity of traditions, legends, false miracles, ceremonies, &c. and then the two parts made one entire antichrist, the first generation of the Jews in the apostles' time was antichrist; and the same spirit being still in the nation (or people) for any thing I know, they may be destroyed with the Romish antichrist, notwithstanding a remnant may be saved, 410. Antichrist and his dominion was offered to Christ, iv. 369. Antichrist, Rome heathen could not be antichrist, because the character of antichrist is apostasy, vii. 156. Antichrist is twofold, 121. How to discover the antichrist that was to be in after times, 122.

*Antigonus*, of Soco, president of the Sanhedrim, part of his history, ix. 343.

*Antiochus Epiphanes*, part of his history, ix. 474. 476. The bloodiest enemy that the people of the Jews, and their religion, ever had, x. 354.

*Antonia*, the tower, described, ix. 235. 237.

*Antoninus Philosophus*, (Marcus Aurelius, the emperor), supposed to have many discourses with the Jewish Rabbins, yea, to become a proselyte to them, iii. 395. Length of the Holy Land, out of, x. 254.

*Apion*, his original, his writing against the Jews, his end, viii. 244.

*Apocrypha*, the work of some Jews, ii. 9. Some observations thereon, ib. Ill placed by the Papists between the two Testaments, iv. 51.

*Apollinaris*, supposed Christ to have no human soul, confuted, iv. 124.

*Apostasy*, or, a falling away, upon the first planting of the gospel, iii. 232.

*Apostasy of the Jews*, caused chiefly by false teachers, vi. 232. The sad fruits of apostasy, vii. 83.

*Apostles*, were ordained by Christ in a mount near Capernaum, to found and carry on the gospel church, iii. 67. Their number; the ends of their appointment, ib. After they were ordained, they remained about a year with Christ as probationers, to see his works and learn his doctrine, 67. 90. One of the titles of the gospel ministers: they had the Spirit given them to heal diseases and cast out devils, some considerable time before they had it given them with commission to preach the gospel, 90. Why they were sent out, unfurnished as to money, &c. ib. Upon Christ's appearing to them at supper after his resurrection, they received the Holy Ghost, to give them a

power of life and death, distinct from what they had yet received, or were to receive on the day of Pentecost, 171, 172. Then they received a commission to go to all nations, whereas before they were confined to the Jews, 174. They were again filled with the Holy Ghost, so that now they had a power to bestow the same upon others, 187, 188. This power belonged only to the apostles, which they gave only to such as were to be ministers and preachers of the gospel, 194. Some of the apostles were ministers of the circumcision, and others of the uncircumcision; having agents under them to carry on that work, and to shew their agreement and harmony therein, 307. To three of them (viz. Peter, James, and John) Christ did shew himself in his greatest power, glory, and combat, above any of the others; and reasons why, v. 169. The apostles could not ordain apostles, as they did other men, by laying on of hands, but by lot, which was an immediate hand of Christ, viii. 38. Apostles were an order for ever unchangeable in the church, and so not predecessors to or patterns of bishops, as the popish writers plead, 125, 126. Had a power of inflicting death, and giving the Holy Ghost, xii. 427.

*Apparitions* of the souls of men (or spectra) after death believed by the Jews, vii. 293. xii. 213. Of Christ after his resurrection, were eight times; particularized, viii. 16. 18.

*Aqueducts*, x. 371.

*Arabic* interpreter, noted, x. 193.

*Architriclinus*, what he was, iv. 454.

*Areopagus*, a great court at Athens, where Paul converted Dionysius, one of the bench, iii. 226.

*Arius*, some account of, viii. 336—338.

*Ariel* and *Harel*, what they signify, and how they differ, ix. 402.

*Ark* of Noah, its dimensions being vastly large, together with partitions of it, the creatures in it were without enmity, &c. ii. 78. 338. Of the covenant, why so called, vi. 281, &c. Of the covenant, what, and how placed in the Temple, ix. 294, 295. The motions and stations of the ark, 458—463.

*Artaxerxes*, the same with *Ahasuerus*; a greater prince than *Darius*, &c. ii. 317.

*Arts*, Chaldean, and curious, what, vii. 175.

*Asaph*, a chief singer in the Temple, and his sons under him, ii. 194.

*Ashdod's* language, what, x. 336.

*Ashes*, the way and manner of sprinkling them, ix. 196. Ashes of the red cow, which were most purifying when sprinkled, what, x. 79.

*Asiarch*, was the setter forth of the games, xii. 552, 553.

*Asmodeus*, what sort of devil; he was the author of apostasy, xii. 111.

*Asmonean* family, where it began, ix. 32.

*Assembly* of Divines, journal of the, xiii.

*Assembly* of twenty-three, was held in the gate of Susan, x. 352.

*Asses*, white asses were for men of state and princes to ride, among the Israelites, ii. 157.

*Assyrian* monarchy, its rise, growth, and end, ii. 172, 273. *Assyrian* tongue, or language, not the original of the Old Testament, xii. 100.

*Assizes* are an assurance, and a fit representation of the last judgement, vi. 355. 379. 384.

*Astrologer*, wizard, or great mathematician; one that uses the Chaldean and curious arts; were much the same, iv. 215. One of which was *Thrasylus*, the intimate of *Tiberius*; a strange prediction of his, viii. 175, 176.

*Astyages*, the same with *Darius*, ii. 309.

*Atonement* or ransom for souls, how much, and for what end, vii. 128, &c. and at what time it was paid, 130. And why the poor therein was to give as much as the rich, 135. And why the poor in worldly matters gave more than the rich did in that which referred to God, ib. How the high-priest prepared himself (with the help of others) for the day of atonement, xii. 298.

*Attributes*, God acteth not of any of his attributes according to the utmost extent of their infiniteness, proved by many instances, vi. 269, 270.

*Ave Maria*, being used as a prayer, shews how senseless popery is, iv. 162.

*Aven*, a term blasphemously used of Christ, xii. 240.

*Avites* (the country) a part of the new Idumea, called sometimes *Hazerin*, sometimes *Shur*, x. 193.

*Augustus*, a title for one that worthily administered in the commonwealth, iv. 191.

*Ax*, as, 'the axe is laid to the root of the tree,' &c. after divers meanings, is to be understood of the judgments of God, iv. 265. 267.

*Baal*, changed in the names of men into *Bosheth*, which signifies shame, in detestation of idolatry, vii. 356.

*Baalath*, or *Baale*, what, x. 89.

*Babylon* put for *Rome*, vii. 1. Why *St. John* in the Revelation calls *Rome* so, rather than by its own proper name, 6. *Peter* wrote his epistle from *Babylon* in *Chaldea*, and not from *Rome*, as some would have, 7. *Peter* died there, 8. *Hebrews* in *Babylon* (and the adjacent countries) were supposed by the Jews to be vastly numerous, and of a purer and

more noble blood than those that went up from thence, xii. 568. They had three universities in Babylon; the ten tribes were placed in Assyria, and in Babylon, 569. Peter preached the gospel in Babylon, 573.

*Balaam* curseth Israel's first and last enemy; 'he went to his place,' signifies, he went to hell, ii. 133. What was his way, and wages, and what the way of his followers, vii. 79. Balaam is described by his parentage, and by his qualities, 79.

*Balaamites* impudently opposed the decree of the apostles, viii. 477.

*Baptism*, it was used in the days of Jacob, ii. 101. It was the way to admit heathens into the religion of the Jews, into another religion than their own, viz. the gospel religion, iii. 34, 38. iv. 153. Many generations before the times of Christ or the Baptist, this was used for the admission of proselytes into the church, both men, women, and children, iii. 38. iv. 245. 407. 411. Proved out of Jewish writers. This shews why there is so little reason given in the New Testament for the baptism of infants, because it was so ordinary in the Jewish church before Christ's time, iii. 38. iv. 407. 411. Proved out of Jewish writers. When the Sanhedrim sent some Pharisees to question John about the authority by which he baptized, they say not a word of baptism itself, that being no strange thing, but of long use amongst them, iii. 43. Whether it may be administered by private men, 54. Whether inconsistent with preaching, Paul saying, I came not to baptize, but to preach, ib. There were three forms of baptism—Of John, who baptized in the name of the Messias, then ready to come, he not knowing, for most of his course, that Jesus of Nazareth was he, 184; of the disciples, who baptized into the name of Jesus, such as believed Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messias, ib; of the disciples, again, among the heathen, who baptized them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, because there was no controversy about Jesus of Nazareth being the Messias among them, ib. Believing gave admission to whole households unto baptism, 225. Baptism not to be administered twice; none were re-baptized, 234, 235. Baptism was made a badge, or mark of safety from that approaching vengeance that was coming on the Jews and Jerusalem, both by the Baptist and Peter, 326. The term baptism is used to denote sharp sufferings, yea death itself, 126, 127. The difference of baptism under the law and under the gospel, iv. 256. Confession of sins was after, not before baptism, 259. It was vastly different

from circumcision, yet succeeded it; with the reasons of both, 277, &c. It was practised among the Jews, even from the first use of circumcision; proved from Scripture and Jewish writers, 276. 279. 408. 411. The baptism of John, and that since used in the Christian church, were not differing at all, except in the form of words, 281. Baptizing with the Holy Ghost, what, 282. Why Christ, who needed no cleansing, being purity itself, would be baptized: eight reasons, 291. Why John refused to admit Christ to baptism, 292. Whether women were baptized by John, answered affirmatively, 300. So Jacob admitted females into the church by baptism, 278. 300. 304. The time when Christ was baptized, the place where, and manner how, i. 304, 305. As soon as any were baptized, they used to come out of the water and pray, 306. The baptism of John tended to the manifesting of Christ, two ways especially, 416. Baptism is expressed by being born of water, v. 37. Why Christ did not baptize, 58. The apostles were baptized by John the Baptist; not by Jesus; so that his baptism and theirs were the same ib. What the manner of the baptizing of the Jews was before John Baptist came, 61. 66. How far the Baptist did imitate the Jews in their manner of baptizing, 64. Dipping in baptism not always practised in the beginning of the gospel, 65, 66. Baptism four times established, vi. 391. Why there is no particular precept in Scripture for infant-baptism, 405. 413. The difference between the primitive and the gospel institution of it, 398, &c. The several ends of baptism as a sacrament, 395. Three forms of it used for introduction, vi. 398. xi. 360. How John the Baptist did baptize in the name of the Messias coming, vi. 406. Why the apostles baptized at first in the name of Jesus only, ib. Baptism was no new thing in our Saviour's days, ib. Baptism, its vow whether obligatory to infants, 405. 412. Baptism belongs to children, they being part of their parents, vii. 164. 364. Baptism in the name of Jesus, only among the Jews, and why, viii. 382. Baptism, whence it came to pass that the baptism of John was so readily received, xi. 53. Baptism had been constantly used among the Jews; from the days of Jacob, and that for the same end for which we now use it, viz. as an entrance into the church, and not only of proselytes, but of all Israel, 55. The Jews baptized also young children (for the most part) with their parents, 56. So did John and the apostles, 58. 66. The manner and form which John used in baptism, 59. The use of witnesses at bap-

tism was only for them that had no parents to present them, 56. The baptism of proselytes, with its circumstances, 57. 66. The baptism of John compared with the baptism of the Jewish proselytes, and ours with them both, 61. 66. Among other things dipping is discoursed, 63. Dipping in baptism endeavoured to be laid aside, because it caused the women of Galilee to be barren, 64. Why sprinkling was used instead of dipping, *ib.* Infant-baptism argued for, 360. At first, baptism was in the name of Jesus, why, 364. Afterward in the name of the Trinity, why, *ib.* Baptism, without circumcision, gave a right to the passover, 434. Baptism taken for martyrdom, xii. 550.

*Barbarians*, the Greeks called all countries barbarians but their own, viii. 497.

*Barber*, an odd story of a barber cutting the throats of many Jews, xii. 522.

*Barchochebas* and *Cochebas*, the same with *Ben Coziba*; he called himself the Messiah, coined money with his own stamp, tortured the Christians to make them deny Christ, was at the head of a most desperate rebellion, and reigned two years and a half, iii. 391, 392.

*Barjesus*, commonly called *Elymas* (the same in sense with *Magus*) a magical Jew, who did with tricks and wonders go up and down, confronting the gospel, iii. 214. *Barjesus* and *Elymas* the same; the reason of the two names, and what they both signify, vii. 104. viii. 461. His wickedness, and method of perverting the ways of the Lord, vii. 104.

*Barranness*, or want of children, ascribed to the women throughout the Scripture, iv. 127. 154.

*Bartimæi*, (*Bartimeus*) may be rendered, 'a son of admiration, or of profit,' &c. xi. 412.

*Basilides*, a heretic sprung from among the Jews, iii. 403.

*Basons*, what they were, and of what use in the Temple, ix. 432.

*Batanea*, for *Bashan*, x. 166.

*Bath*, what sort of measure, iv. 450. 452. Of *Venus*, in *Acon*, x. 125.

*Bathings*, when used, and after what manner, ix. 106.

*Bath Kol*, a voice pretended to be from heaven, to magnify some of the Jewish doctors, or some of their sayings or determinations; but really was either a lie, or some of their magical tricks, iii. 132. 401. They affirm it supplied the place of *Urim* and *Thummim*, iv. 320, or voice from heaven, which the Jews pretended to upon the ceasing of the prophecies. *Urim* and *Thummim* were either Jewish fables or devilish witchcraft, xi. 79, &c. A story of *Bath Kol*, 181. *Bath Kol*, the daughter of thunder, 387. It

was used for a testimony from heaven, but was indeed performed by magic art, 402, &c.

*Baths*, warm baths of *Tiberias*, of good use, x. 142.

*Bathuseans* differed from other heretics among the Jews, yet harmonized with them to oppose the gospel and Christianity, iii. 403. Frequently mentioned in the Jewish writings, what they were, viii. 493.

*Battlements* were to be made on the tops of the Jewish houses, and why, ix. 257.

*Be Abidan*, a house, or temple, how used, xii. 561.

*Beating* was one sort of Jewish penalty inflicted upon malefactors, ix. 15. 17.

*Beasts*, at *Ephesus*, what, iii. 236.

*Beds*, men used to lie on them, to feast and dine, &c. iv. 437.

*Beelzebub* (or *Belzebub*, or *Belzebul*), a term taken from the Jewish writers; and what the thing, iii. 80. The right readings of it is *Beelzebul*, what? And why the chiefest of the devils, xi. 195. xii. 109.

*Beggars*, among the Jews, what form of words they used in begging, xii. 330.

*Beginning* and the end, as referring things to be debated or explained, what, xii. 319.

*Bekim*, x. 172.

*Believers*, this title sometimes includes children, iii. 185. Punished for sin, and how, or for what end, vii. 173. A title given to the first professors of the gospel, viii. 264.

*Believing*, gave admission for a whole household unto baptism, the head thereof being converted, iii. 225. *Believing* in Christ is excellently illustrated by being healed, and by looking on the brazen serpent, v. 53. *Believing* the gospel, how it was above what *John* the Baptist did propose, 159. Why *believing*, or faith, is set after repentance, *ib.*

*Bell*, a little bell in the Temple gave notice when the priests entered upon their services, xii. 16. Upon the hearing of which, the priests, Levites, and people got themselves into their distinct postures and places of service, *ib.*

*Benches*, of Judicature, their order among the Jews, xii. 484.

*Ben*, { *Cozba*, } A pseudo-Messias,  
          { *Coziba*, } owned by almost all the Jews, but destroyed by *Titus*, with all his followers, as also the Temple and city of *Jerusalem*, iii. 381. 383. 391, 392. The pseudo-Messiah of the Jews, the reason on which they rejected him, xii. 276.

*Ben Nezer*, was a thief or robber, that raised himself to a sort of a kingdom by taking of cities; it is also taken for that kingdom, x. 319.

*Ben Saida*, a blasphemous name given to our Saviour by the Jewish writers, iii. 78. 80.

*Ben Satda*, or *Stada*, a contumelious and blasphemous name given by the Jewish writers to Jesus Christ, whom they make a magician, and that he brought that art out of Egypt with him, xi. 196. 350, &c.

*Beor* and *Pethor* changed into *Bosor*; three things observed from it, vii. 7, 8. 79.

*Berenice*, niece and wife to Herod, and, after his death, more familiar with her brother Agrippa, and Titus Vespasian's son, than was for her credit, iii. 287, 288.

*Bernard's* letters to Lightfoot, xiii. 452.

*Beror Chel*, x. 171.

*Berurea*, the wife of Rabbi Meir, was a learned woman, xii. 275. Supposed by some to be that Samaritan woman which conversed with our Saviour, ib.

*Bethamara*, x. 309.

*Beth-din*, or the consistory of priests transacting business in the Temple, being the counsellors thereof, ix. 44.

*Bethesda's Pool*, in it men, not beasts, were washed, xii. 279, 280. It was made of a healing quality by the help of an angel, about the days of Christ's being on the earth, but how long before or after, we know not, 282.

*Bethesda*, what, v. 226. 235. Pool of Bethesda, whence it received its waters; whence it had its excellent virtues, 235. 237. x. 343.

*Beth-midrash*, or *beth-midrash*, was an upper room, like a divinity school or chapel, near akin to a synagogue; being the house of the rabbin, common for any use; here the disciples of the rabbins met; and the like afterward the disciples of the primitive church met in the house of some doctor or minister, viii. 363. xii. 560.

*Beth-midrash*, or the Jewish divinity school, where their doctors disputed of the more high and difficult matters of the law, iii. 236.

*Bezetha*, x. 52.

*Bible*, Hebrew, some would have the Hebrew Bible corrected by the Greek version, and contend that those interpreters were inspired, viii. 443. &c. The Hebrew Bible was ever read in the synagogues of the Hebrews, xii. 575. The Jews thought not so honourably of any version as they did of the Hebrew Bible, 577, &c.

*Bigamy* and polygamy forbidden, viii. 480.

*Bill* of divorce, its manner of giving, with a copy of such a bill, how confirmed, how it was delivered, xi. 118, &c. Christ permits not divorce, except in case of adultery, the only case in which Christ permitted a bill of divorce, 121.

*Binding* and loosing, a phrase most familiar among the Jewish writers, by which they understand their doctors' (or learned men's) teaching what was lawful and permitted, or unlawful and prohibited, iii. 99. In this sense Christ useth it, viz. doctrinally, to shew what was lawful and unlawful, 101. And so Peter practised, shewing it belonged to things and not to persons, viii. 220. Binding and loosing, a very usual phrase in the Jewish schools; spoken of things, not of persons; thirty instances out of the Jewish writers, xi. 226, &c. Reduced to the Gospel state, 230. Remitting of sins is quite another thing; this belongs to persons, that to doctrine, 230, 231.

*Birthdays*, the keeping of them was esteemed as a part of idolatrous worship, xi. 208.

*Birthright* had many precious things wrapped up in it, ii. 94.

*Bishops*, one of the titles of the gospel ministers, iii. 68. Not successors to the apostles, as the Popish writers hold, viii. 125. 128.

*Bitterwater*, for the trial of the adulteress, the way of using it, with the consequence, xii. 316.

*Blasphemer*, he was to be stoned, xii. 345.

*Blasphemy*, dreadful in Simon Magus, viii. 124.

*Blemishes* of the priests did not exclude them from the services of the Temple, for there were several things they might do there, ix. 309.

*Blessing* and cursing, how practised among the Jews, vii. 95.

*Blood*, the putting the blood upon the ear of him that was cleansed of a leprosy, the way and manner of doing it, vi. 219. The blood of the covenant put for 'the blood of Christ', vii. 233. The eating of it prohibited, &c. viii. 481. The not eating it, expounded by the Jews, iii. 222.

*Bloody issue*, what, iii. 87.

*Boanerges*, what, xi. 386.

*Bones* of all the patriarchs, as well as Joseph's, brought out of Egypt, and buried at Sichem, viii. 112. 114.

*Bonnell's* letters to Strype, xiii. 464.

*Book* of the wars of the Lord, what, ii. 133. iv. 114.

*Books* of Jasher, of Gad, of Iddo, of the wars of the Lord, are cited by the Old Testament as not disapproved, nor approved above human, iv. 114.

*Born* again, what, v. 15, 16. 26. 35, 36.

*Bowing* low at the going out of the Temple, what, ix. 125.

*Boiling* places within the Temple, what, and where placed, ix. 307. 310.

*Brass* piece of coin, what, xii. 185.

*Bread* frequently used by the Jews for 'doctrine', xii. 295.

*Breaking* of bread denotes both ordinary meals and receiving the sacrament, viii. 60. Was a phrase and custom much in use among the Jews, viii. 383. Whether it intended common bread, or sacramental bread among the primitive Christians, 384.

*Breast-plate* of the high-priest, what, ii. 405. ix. 24.

*Breches* of the high priest, what, ix. 22.

*Brethren* was a title given to the first professors of the gospel, viii. 264.

*Bride*, and the children of the bride-chamber, what their privilege and business, xi. 164.

*Bridegroom's* friend, what? v. 68.

*Bridge* of Jacob over Jordan, where, and why so called, x. 310, 311. There were two bridges at least over Jordan, besides other passages over it, 311.

*Bridges'* letters to Lightfoot, xiii. 447.

*Britain*, or England, some remarkable things referring to its ancient state, iii. 304, 305. The language of it near a thousand years ago, what, iy. 56.

*Brograve* to Lightfoot, xiii. 438.

*Brother* offending, how to be dealt with, iii. 107. Brother and neighbour, what the difference between, xi. 105.

*Brothers*, younger brothers; the lineage or descent of Christ was most of younger brothers, vi. 324.

*Buildings*, in the court wall, on the east and south side of the Temple, what, ix. 334.

*Burials*, places of, x. 179.

*Burials*, what music and mourning was used then, xi. 165, 166. How the Jews carried the corpse to their burials; little children were carried in their arms; all were buried out of the city, xii. 80.

*Buried*; criminals were buried in different places from other men, and had the stone, wood, sword, or rope, wherewith they were executed, buried with them, viii. 440.

*Burning*, one sort of capital punishment among the Jews, how performed, ix. 340.

*Burnt-offering*, or sacrifice, the matter and manner thereof in all its actions; as, bringing into the court, laying on of hands upon the head, killing of it, flaying it, sprinkling of the blood, lamb to be slain, the salting of the parts of the sacrifice before it was offered, how it was laid on the fire, ix. 71. 78. The altar of it, what, ix. 388. The description of it in Scripture is very concise, 389. How so many burnt offerings could be offered on this one altar in so small a time, 390.

*Burying-place* of Golgotha, what, iii. 164. How far their burying-places were distant from their cities, viii. 399. Were

either common, or noble and extraordinary; the common were public places, where the mixed multitudes were buried without the city. The extraordinary were hewn out in rocks in their own ground, with no little charge and art; they buried men of the same family all together; the whole described, with their manner of burying, x. 179, &c.

*Buxtorf's* letters to Lightfoot, xiii. 423.

*Cabala* of the Jews was their unwritten traditions, &c. iv. 260. 262.

*Cabalists*, what, v. 204, 205. iv. 18.

*Cadytis*, for Jerusalem, in Herodotus, x. 215.

*Cain* and Abel were twins, born at the same time, ii. 337. His description as to extraction and action after he slew his brother, vii. 342. His mark that God set upon him, what, 347. There was another besides him we read of in the beginning of Genesis; also the name of a town, x. 268.

*Cainan*, put into the genealogy by the seventy translators without ground from the Hebrew, xii. 54.

*Caleb's* taking of Kirjath Sepher, ii. 35.

*Calf*, golden, sin and punishment of the, v. 297. Israel's punishment for it, ii. 388.

*Called*, to be called a thing in Scripture is to be the thing so called, iv. 130.

*Calling* of the Gentiles, was a thing highly disgusted by the Jews, v. 139. It was a matter the Jews could never hear of with patience, 539. Why Christ gave a commission not before, but after his resurrection for the calling of them, vi. 392.

*Calling* of the Jews, how, iii. 408. Not so universal as some suppose, 409. 412. Expected by some not probable, and why, vi. 393, 394.

*Callirrhoe*, is Lasha, x. 201.

*Calvert's* letters to Lightfoot, xiii. 445.

*Canaan*, the earthly Canaan is not to be sought after, vii. 169. It was only a part of Canaan, x. 265. What, xi. 219.

*Candle*, a candle used for a person famous for light or knowledge, xii. 289.

*Candlestick* of gold, ii. 399.

*Canons* and cautions, x. 176.

*Canonical* book, ii. 9.

*Canticles*, in what part of the Old Testament to be read, ii. 41.

*Captain* of the Temple (that is, of the garrison which was there,) what he was, viii. 69. ix. 236.

*Captains* of the Temple, what, xii. 190.

*Caphar Acon*, what, x. 125.

*Caphar Chanan*, same as Chaniah, x. 329.

*Caphar Lodim*, x. 39.

*Caphar Salama*, x. 116.

*Castell's* letters to Lightfoot, xiii. 366.

*Castor and Pollux*, iii. 289. What and how pictured, and how fatal their feast to the Lacedemonians, viii. 499.

*Caves* and dens, vastly large and very numerous in the land of Israel; many of these were digged out of mountains and rocks by the gigantic Canaanites, for the use of war, x. 177, &c.

*Causes*, capital, the Sanhedrim lost the power of judging in capital causes by their own neglect, being so remiss to the Israelites, with the reason of it, xii. 406, &c.

*Cephas*, Peter's name, given him by Christ, which was after of common use, whether the same with Cepha; what it signifies, iv. 419. The reason of Christ's giving him this name, 423.

*Chabul*, what, x. 231.

*Chagigah*, the festival; this was the second part of the passover, being kept with joy, mirth, and sacrifices, ii. 444. When the time of bringing it, xii. 404. 419.

*Chafing* dishes, what they were, and of what use in the temple, ix. 433.

*Chains* of Peter, in which he lay in prison, are supposed by the Papists to have the virtue to work miracles, to diffuse grace, to provoke to holiness, to heal diseases, to affright the devil, and to defend Christians, viii. 287.

*Chains*, for the hands, used among the Jews, viii. 454.

*Chaldeans* took their denomination from the last letters of Arphaxad's name, ii. 90.

*Chaldee* language, from their return out of Babylon was the Jews' mother-tongue, xii. 278, &c.

*Chaldee* Paraphrast, addeth to the Hebrew text, xii. 437.

*Chaluch* was a woollen shirt next the skin, worn by the Jews, xii. 86.

*Chamber* of the counsellors and chief men, what, xi. 454.

*Chambers*, the chambers in Solomon's Temple, their height, breadth and evenness of them without, notwithstanding they were not of the same dimensions within, ix. 247. Overlaid with gold, 2 Chron. iii. 9. Over the Holy place, what, or whether any such thing, 292, 293. The treasury chambers, what, 318. Chambers and gates lying on the south side of the court of Israel, what, x. 66.

*Changers* of money, or money-changers, what, iii. 45. iv. 460.

*Chapiters* belonging to the pillars, what, ix. 267.

*Chargers*, what, and of what use in the Temple, ix. 432.

*Charity* towards our neighbour is the top of religion, and a most undoubted sign of love to God, xi. 251. St. Paul had three steps or degrees in his charity, vii. 328.

*Charming* was much used among the Jews, iii. 401.

*Charms*, mutterings, exorcisms, &c. were several sorts of enchantments practised by Jews, xi. 299, 300.

*Chazan*, that is, episcopus, or overseer, iii. 407.

*Chel*, what, and how put for the Temple, ix. 299. Was the second enclosure about the Temple, x. 62.

*Cherubims*, what number, of what resemblance, and where placed, ix. 293, 294.

*Chests*, in the treasury, where placed, and for what use, ix. 313. 317. The chest set in the gate of the house of the Lord, what, 375.

*Cheth* and He, Aleph and Ain, the mystical Jewish doctors did not distinguish them, x. 161.

*Chethib* and Keri, are the different readings of the Hebrew text, xi. 103.

*Chief* men and counsellors, their chambers, what, xi. 454.

*Chief* priests put for the Sanhedrim, many of them being priests, iii. 196. They were the heads of the families of the priests, or the chief of the twenty-four courses, iv. 221.

*Chijun*, or Remphan, or Rephan, what, &c. viii. 433.

*Child*, a child with two bodies from the navel upward, which acted as two children, and born at Emmaus, x. 302.

*Children*, how a holy seed, ii. 23. The infants of believers were brought to Christ to be received as disciples, which he did, declaring them to be such, and blessed them, 123. Came under the title of believers, when all things were in common, or else they must have famished, 185. When a master of a family was baptized, his children, though never so young, were baptized with him, as had been the custom among the Jews, and was in the time of the apostles unaltered, ib. What children are to be taught by their fathers, 227. They were sometimes named by the mother as soon as born, sometimes by the standers-by; but the father, at the circumcision, had the casting voice whether the name should be so or no, iv. 183. Children begot by or on angels, or devils, a nonsensical story, iv. 12. Why children were and are to be baptized, vi. 397. 402. 404. Why there is no particular precept in Scripture for their baptism, 405. 413. Children of the Jewish proselytes were baptized in the Jewish baptism, and why, 403. 412. Why children suffer for their parents' sins, the justice thereof, vii. 359. Good children (being part of their parents) are punished for their parents' sins, 364. Children for 'scholars or disciples,' viii. 69. Children were born and brought up in some courts (near the temple) under ground, to be made fitter to sprinkle the purifying water, x. 72, 73.



Little children admitted disciples by Christ, xi. 251. Among the Jews, when children were grown to twelve years of age, they were put close upon business, both secular and divine, xii. 41. Children born crooked, maimed, or defective, according to some sin of the parents, was the opinion of the Jews, 324. Children in the womb supposed by the Jews to be in a capacity to commit some sin, 327. Holy children, a term for such as are born of Christian parents, 493. Children of the bride-chamber, what their privilege and business, xi. 164.

*Chochebas*, and *Barchochebas*, the same with *Ben Coziba*, coined money with his own stamp, tortured the Christians to make them deny Christ; was at the head of a most desperate rebellion, iii. 391, 392. He reigned two years and a half, 392.

*Christ*, how Abraham saw his day, ii. 91. How Isaac typified him, 92. He gave the Ten Commandments, 118. He appeared weaponed, and was lord general in the wars of Canaan, 139. When he ceased to be Israel's captain and conductor, 147. Glorious things spoken of him, 251. His divinity shewed, and his fitness to be incarnate, iii. 20. He was born in *Tizri*, about the feast of the tabernacles, that is, about the close of September, at which time thirty years after, he was baptized, 25, 40. We have no history of him for nine or ten years, 29. When he was twelve years of age, and all the time of his ministry he disputed with, and proved his doctrine against, the most learned Sanhedrim, 33. He came in a double seasonableness—when learning was at the highest, and tradition had made the word of God of none effect, 33. iv. 224. His life, from twelve to twenty-nine, is passed over by all the evangelists in silence, they having a special eye at his ministry only, so has the angel *Gabriel*, Dan. ix. 24, 25, &c. iii. 33. Those years in which we hear nothing of him, he spent at *Nazareth*, in his father's trade of carpentry, which made the Jews stumble at him, looking for a messiah, *ib.* He appeared not till fully looked for; what things did intimate his coming, iii. 36. The time when he was born, and when he died, were both eminent, 40. He was circumcised into the Jewish church, and baptized into the church of the Gospel, *ib.* He was unknown to *John the Baptist*, and those whom *John* had baptized into faith in Christ, until Christ himself came to be baptized of *John*, 43. He was admitted at *Nazareth* (as a member of the synagogue) to be a *maphtir*, or public reader of the second lesson in the prophets, for that day, 50. His reading and inter-

preting the original Hebrew, shewed him to have a prophetic spirit, he not being educated in that language, *ib.* At his second passover he declares his authority and power before the Sanhedrim, that being a time of wonders, 64. He was a great priest, and a great prophet, when and how, 101, 102. He paid his church duties, 104. He was so poor, as to be put to work a miracle to get money, *ib.* He did not so fully and openly reveal himself to be the *Messias*, till he sent forth the seventy disciples, 109. He could not be apprehended without his own leave, 153. The Jews transgressed two of their own canons, in arraiguing and judging Christ on a holiday, and by night, 154. He was had before the Sanhedrim in *Caiphas's* house, *ib.* The wine offered him at his crucifixion, was to intoxicate him, 164. How bewailed when he went to execution, 165. The manner even of his friends' burying him shewed the small expectation they had of his resurrection, 168. His disciples, and *Mary Magdalen*, (notwithstanding their saving faith in him) neither of them believed his death, nor his resurrection, 170. His 'coming in clouds, in his kingdom, and in power and great glory,' all signify his plaguing the nation that crucified him, 336, 337. His birth was called 'the fulness of time,' iv. 97. He was born in the year of the world 3928, about the close of September, 112. He was not born at the latter end of December, but September, a month famous indeed, 196. The signs of his coming predicting his near approach, what, 271, 272. Why he would be baptized, that needed no cleansing, being purity itself, eight reasons, 291. Why *John* refused to admit him to baptism, 292. His ministry was just three years and a half, 301. Why he was tempted, 349. What were his temptations; and where and how tempted, 358. 378. In his temptations, his being hurried about by the devil does afford some material and profitable considerations, 364. He is shewed to be the Son of God, 359. 361. That he was the *Messias*, he easily convinced the mind by telling of secret things, 427. He was the seed of the woman, illustrated from *Luke's* genealogy, and Christ's calling himself the Son of man, 290. 331. 433. His union of two natures in one person, is plainly shewn, with what refers thereunto, v. 50. 52. How he could be said to be in heaven, whilst speaking with *Nicodemus* on earth, 51. The several properties of the two natures in Christ are sometimes indifferently applied to the whole person, 52. Believing in Christ for salvation excellently illustrated by being healed by looking on the brazen serpent, 54. He

is said to do what his servants do, 58. His anointing was his setting apart for mediator and minister of the gospel, and also his apparent installments into that office by the Spirit, 128. 130. His ministry had six parts in it, 130. 134. Why it was so long as four thousand years before Christ came to save sinners, 152. Why did Christ appear at that time of the world rather than any other, 153. The Jews had dreadful opinions about his coming, 180, 181. He healed all diseases by his touch, but cast out devils by his word, 184. The diseases he cured were of three kinds, 189. His doctrines were comprised under two heads, 190. He cured the leprosy when the priests could not, yet Christ was tender of their reputation, 196. He, as God, could do all things, but as Messias, nothing; but as delegated and assisted by the Father as son of God, he hath all power in himself; as Messias, he hath all power put into his hands by the Father, 247. He was set up by his Father as king and lord over all things, affirmed in many places in Scripture; he, as God-man, is head of all principality and power: five reasons given for it, 251, 252. Further evidence of his being the Messias, and how opposed therein by the Jews, 264. 268. His life, doctrine, and miracles, shewed him to be the Messias; so did the testimony of his Father, John the Baptist, and the Scriptures, &c. 268. 272. His descent into hell, the improper meaning as to what the church of Rome understands by it, vi. 3, &c. Where was the soul of Christ when separate from the body, 10. His victory and triumph over devils, what? 13. His kingdom began at his resurrection, ib. His descent into hell is supposed by some to be the torments he suffered on the cross, 17. He did not undergo the anger or wrath of God, but the justice of God in his sufferings, 20, &c. It was impossible Christ should suffer the torments of hell, or be in the case of the damned, 24. His expiring upon the cross, considered both in itself and in the manner of it, 32. His entrance into his public ministry, and the time of his death, and the several actions which he did about the time of each, &c. vi. 209, &c. He held communion with the national church of the Jews in the public exercise of their religion, proved by manifold instances, 216, &c. He was a member of the church of the Jews, proved, and under the obligation of the law, 217. Yea, he was under the obligation of the ceremonial law, and that in three respects, 218. His 'coming in glory and in the clouds', signified only his taking vengeance on the Jewish nation, 293. xi. 303. Christ's lineage or descent was most of younger brothers, 324. Why Christ was baptized, 398. Christ conformed to many things received and practised in the Jewish church and civil converse, in several instances, 423. 425. Christ sets himself against them that set themselves against religion, vii. 47. Christ sending his Gospel, bound the devil from his former abominable cheating, 62. He delivered the law on mount Sinai, and is called 'the angel', by Stephen (the proto-martyr), upon that account; this proves him to be God, against the Arian and Socinian, 179. He was sanctified by his own blood to the office of mediator, 233. Christ's blood called 'the blood of the Covenant', and why, ib. He suffered as much as God could put him to suffer short of his own wrath, 234. The wrath of God not inflicted upon Christ in his sufferings, ib. His victory over sin and Satan in his sufferings was by his holiness, not by his godhead, 236, 237. The obedience of Christ made his blood justifying and saving, 236. His obedience conquered Satan and satisfied God, ib. He died merely out of obedience, 238. Acceptance with God and coming to him is only through Christ, 246. Christ's obedience does not dissolve the obedience of a Christian, 251. What it is to be separate from Christ, 320. The church of the Jews was only a child under age till Christ came, 397. His resurrection and the history of it, as also his eight several apparitions after it, viii. 16. 18. The year of his ascension, 25. The age of the world at his resurrection, death, and ascension, ib. He was nailed to the cross at the same time of the day that our first parents fell, viz. at twelve o'clock, 45. At three o'clock he yielded up the ghost, then Adam received the promise, ib. There was a general expectation of his appearance, even when he did appear with the multitudes that then came to Jerusalem upon that account, both Jews and heathens (then expecting him), as is seen by their own writers, 52, 53. Christ's 'dew' is his quickening power, viii. 490. His resurrection shews him to be the Messias, ib. Some things out of the Jewish writers concerning the judging, condemning, and executing of him, ix. 168. About the time of Christ's death, the scarlet list on the scape-goat's head turned not white as usually; what against the Jews, 329. 'Christ' is added to Jesus, in numberless places in the New Testament, to shew that Christ was the true Saviour, and that Jesus was the true Messias, xi. 11. Jesus Christ is called 'the son of David,' in the New Testament; the Talmudic

writings also use the same term for the true Messiah, 12. Christ was born in the thirty-first year of Augustus Cæsar, 27, &c. in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Herod, 31. In the month of Tisri, answering our September, at the feast of tabernacles, 33. This month, Tisri, was ennobled before Christ's time, by many excellent things done in it, *ib.* He fulfilled the typical equity of the three great feasts, passover, pentecost, and tabernacles, 34. The Jewish writers seem to intimate the time of Christ's birth, 34, 35. There was a general expectation of him when he came, 36. Menahem, *i. e.* the comforter, is taken for Christ, 35. He conversed upon earth two-and-thirty years and a half, 78. Many miracles were done by him, 168. Ben Satda, a blasphemous name given by the Jewish writers to Jesus Christ; whom they make a magician, &c. 196. Signs of Christ's coming, what, from the doctrine of the Jews, 294, &c. His death, and the manner of it, in several things differed from the Jewish custom in putting persons to death, xi. 347. Christ had perfections and excellences which flowed from the hypostatical union of the two natures, and such also as flowed from the donation and anointing of the Holy Ghost, both mentioned, 425. Christ, or Messiah, and the Son of God, are convertible terms (against the Jews), xii. 287. Christ, in his agony and passion, exercised obedience and holiness (not the divine power) to bear up under the utmost that an enraged devil could do, 367. Whether God was then angry with him, is questioned, *ib.*

*Christian churches*, were modelled by our Saviour very near the platform of the Jewish synagogue worship, vi. 226. 426.

*Christian*, called by Suetonius, 'men of a new and evil superstition', or religion; so Tacitus calls their way 'a dangerous superstition', shewing how Nero persecuted them after Rome was fired, as if they had been guilty, to deliver himself from the just accusation of it, iii. 301, 302. There were yet Christians in Nero's household, 304. They were under Nero very bloodily and barbarously persecuted, so as to move the pity of their enemies, saith Tacitus, the Jews heightening that persecution against them, 317, 318. They were destroyed by Nero for a plot laid by himself against them, the heathens for real plotting against him; now grown endlessly cruel, 319. The disciples were first called 'Christians' at Antioch, viii. 263.

*Chronicles*, directions for reading the books of, ii. 41.

*Chronology* was very exact from the

creation to Christ's death, but less cared for after the New Testament history was finished, and why, viii. 162. The heathen chronology mistaken in numbering the Persian kings, ix. 471.

*Church*, dissertation on: the Holy Catholic, vi. 37. Church duties were paid by Christ, iii. 104. The church, a title given to the first professors of the gospel, viii. 264. Christian churches under the gospel were by Christ himself and his apostles modelled very like to the platform of the synagogues and synagogue worship under the law, proved in several instances, vi. 226. 426. The several ages and conditions of God's church from the beginning of the world, vi. 321, 322. Churches in the apostles' days had many ministers belonging to each, and the reason of this, vii. 32. Churches in houses, what, xii. 559.

*Church of the Jews*, it was only a child under age till Christ came, vii. 397. Wherein its childhood did consist, 398. Christ had a peculiar care of the Jewish church (though but too much corrupted) while it was to continue a church, and therefore sends the leper to shew himself to the priests, xi. 155.

*Circumcision*, when and where instituted, ii. 91. It was renewed at Israel's entering into Canaan, as a seal of the lease of the land, 139. It was instituted in Hebron, about the time of Easter, 341. It was not to be used under Christianity, because the Jews looked upon it as an admission into the covenant of works, iii. 283. It enervated justification by faith, *ib.* It obliged to the observance of the whole law, 284. The ends of its use, and how used among others besides the Israelites, iv. 36. 38. The reason of its institution, why it was not in the old world, nor for some considerable time after the flood: that is, why the church enjoyed it not of so long a time, iv. 275, 277. When it was to cease, 277. Circumcision and meats made the difference between Jew and Gentile; these being removed, let the Gentiles into the church, viii. 212. At it children received their names, xii. 27. Circumcision; as given by Moses, gives a right understanding of the nature of the sabbath, 303. Peter was a minister of the circumcision among the Hebrews, 458. An Israelite may be a true Israelite; or a priest a true priest, without circumcision, 495.

*Citation*, or quotation of Scripture; one place of Scripture citing another, doth sometimes change the words to fit the occasion, iv. 345.

*Cities*, what number of officers in cities, and what their places and employments, viii. 364. Cities of refuge, their number

and names, x 99. Cities of the Levites, the lands about them large, called their suburbs; these cities were cities of refuge and universities, 173. A 'great city' was such a one as had a synagogue in it, 175. Not any thing troublesome or stinking was to be near a city, 176. Cities, towns, and villages, how distinguished, xi. 381.

*Chittim*, the name of a man, and of Italy, and of part of Greece, iv. 14.

*City*. The city and temple of Jerusalem were destroyed, anno mundi, exactly four thousand, iv. 323. 'Holy city,' the common and ordinary name for Jerusalem, when even full of abomination and corruption. Separatists may think of this, 344. City, what, v. 195. City, the upper, x 47. Girdle of, x. 56. Memorable places of, x. 71.

*Clarke's letter to Lightfoot*, xiii. 401.

*Clean and unclean legal*, the doctrine of them, ii. 122. The priests could only pronounce, not make lepers clean, iii. 59.

*Cleansing*. What the leper was to do for his cleansing, xi. 155.

*Clemens Romanus*, concerning, viii. 324.

*Cleopas* was the same person with Alphaeus, iii. 171. He had four sons, all apostles, v. 222.

*Clerks of the Sanhedrim*, what their number, and what their business, ix. 338.

*Climax of the Tyrians*, what place, x. 126, 127.

*Cloak*; Paul's cloak denoted his Jewish habit, iii. 276.

*Cloister*, walks called porches, v. 227. 238. Cloister, Royal, what, ix. 239.

*Closets* for the butchering-instruments and for the priests' vestments, described, ix. 273.

*Cloud*; the cloud of glory was taken away at Moses's death, ii. 139. and appeared again at the sealing of the great prophet Christ, 378.

*Coast*; meaning of the word, x. 231.

*Coat of the first-born*, what, ix. 22. and coat of the high priest and of the ephod, what, 23.

*Cock-crowing*, at what time, xi. 339. Whether there were cocks at Jerusalem, being forbid by their canons, ib. The Jewish doctors distinguish cock-crowing into first, second, and third, xii. 380.

*Collections* were made by the Jews in foreign nations for the poor rabbins dwelling in Judea, xii. 555.

*Comforter*, was one of the titles of the Messiah, xii. 384.

'*Coming to Christ*' and 'believing in him,' how distinguished, vii. 246. 'Coming of Christ in the clouds, in his glory and in his kingdom,' are used for the day of his vengeance on the Jews, xii. 435. 'Coming of the Lord, and the end coming,' de-

note the near approach of vengeance on Jerusalem, iii. 314, 315. 320. 327. 336.

*Commandments*, } Commands of the  
or } second table chiefly  
*Commands*. } enjoined in the gos-  
pel, and why, vi. 272. 376. 377. God }  
} will not have his commands dallied and }  
} trifled withal, vii. 175. Why we are to }  
} keep the commands of God, 181. The }  
} commandments of the law were given for }  
} gospel ends, 183.

*Common or unclean*; what before the flood, and since, viii. 218.

*Communicating*, } with others; was

*Communion*, } sometimes in sacred

*Companying*, } things: in civil

things it was twofold, iii. 250. Christ had

communion with the national church of the

Jews, in the public exercise of their reli-

gion, proved by many instances, vi. 214.

and communion of the Jews, what, and

how made, xii. 508. Of saints, vi. 63.

*Community of goods* was not to level

estates, but to provide for the poor, iii.

187. How practised, and of what extent,

viii. 75.

*Confession of sins at John's baptism*

was after, not before, baptism, iv. 259.

*Confession of sins at the execution and*

*death of malefactors* (say the Jews) did

expiate for their sins, vii. 275.

*Confirmation*; imposition of hands by

the apostles (in all likelihood), was never

used for confirmation, viii. 127.

*Confusion of tongues*, into what number

of languages it was divided, iv. 40, 44.

*Confusion of languages* was the casting

off the Gentiles, and the confusion of

religion, viii. 376.

*Conjuring*. So skilful were the Jews

in conjuring, enchantments, and sorceries,

that they wrought great signs and won-

ders, and many villanies thereby, xi.

301.

*Conscience*, how to clear the state and

nature of it when it is doubting, some

heads for such an undertaking hinted, vi.

251. The great power of conscience, 308.

and conscience is an assurance given by

God of the last judgment, 355. 385.

*Consistories* that were of more note, out

of the Talmud, x. 171.

*Consistory of priests*, was called Beth-

din, which transacted business in the

temple, ix. 44.

*Consolation of Israel*, Christ's coming is

often signified by that term, iv. 202. It

was a usual oath among the Jews, 'Let me

see the consolation of Israel,' xii. 39.

*Constantius*, state of the empire under,

viii. 329. 341,

*Constantine*, birth, education, &c. of,

viii. 333. 340.

*Conversion* (repentance or reformation),

was one general and wonderful, ii.

165. viii. 68. Conversion of Nineveh, a very wonderful thing, iv. 35.
- Conviction* of conscience, the great power of it, vi. 308.
- Cor*, } what sort of measure, iv.  
*Corus*, } 449.
- Corban*, what, iii. 97. The gate Corban, where, and why so called, ix. 370. 373. Corban was the treasury; there was a corban of vessels or instruments, and a corban of money, x. 208. The corban chests, how these were employed to buy the daily sacrifice and offerings, 209. The corban chamber, 210. The corban chests and the treasury were in the court of the women, 212. Corban signifies a thing devoted and dedicated to sacred use, xi. 217. Corban, a gift, what, xi. 402.
- Corinth*, something described, iii. 226. Where seated, xii. 452.
- Cornelius*, a Roman captain, one that arrived at an admirable height of piety, though not so much as a proselyte, iii. 203. 206. Some things remarkable about his calling into the gospel, viii. 212.
- Cotton's letter to Lightfoot*, xiii. 347.
- Covenant* made with Israel, to which they were sworn, was ceremonial and judicial, containing fifty-seven precepts. They were not sworn to the ten commandments, ii. 386, 387. Covenant of grace, this was made with Adam (did belong to Jew and Gentile) both before the law and also after it, iii. 410. Covenant of grace: souls raised in the first and second resurrection by the virtue of this, but not alike, vii. 191. The tenor and virtue of this covenant distinguished, 163. Covenant, the blood of it put for 'the blood of Christ,' 233.
- Covetousness*, what it caused Balaam to do, what he got by it, and how many Israelites were destroyed by it, vii. 81, &c. The sad fruits of covetousness and apostasy, 83, 84. The strange consequences of it in a prince, viii. 229, 230. Called 'an evil eye,' ii. 151.
- Counsellors' chamber*, what, xi. 454.
- Council* of the chief priests; were of the seed of Aaron, of the scribes; were of the tribe of Levi, and of the elders; were of the people, who were mere laymen, iv. 223. Council of the Jews, of what authority in the time of Christ, of its place of residence, and what sort and number of men it was compounded of, xi. 309. 318. The council of the Jews transgressed many of their own canons in judging Jesus Christ, 342. Council used for Sanhedrims, 442.
- Courage* of the Jews, and their resolution admirable, viii. 100.
- Court* of the people, what, ii. 401, 402. Of the Gentiles among the Jewish writers, is ordinarily called 'the mountain of the house,' those that were unclean, might enter into this, x. 61. The gates of it, 62. Courts of the women, its dimensions, situation, gates and parts, 62. 64. Court of the Temple, its parts, its length and breadth, 69.
- Courts*, there were two courts of judges, consisting of twenty-three, in the Temple, besides the Sanhedrim, iv. 240. Courts of the Temple described, with their use, 458. 462. ix. 297, 298. Courts of women described, not called by that name in Scripture, 302, &c. x. 62. Court of the priests, 380. 388. Courts of judicature, there were three in the Temple, xii. 44.
- Coins*, Jewish, the value of several of them, ix. 317.
- Cow*, red cow, how the priest was to prepare himself in order to the burning of her, ix. 380. Ashes of, x. 373.
- Creation*, why mentioned in Scripture, before other subjects, ii. 411. General observations on the creation, 411. 414. Creation, three usual observations from it, ii. 333. Creation of man, was performed about nine o'clock in the morning, 335. This shews a God; the time and manner of the creation, with the divine improvement of the doctrine of it, iv. 62. 64. Creation new, the divers steps of it, 65, 66. God created all things in six days, and why not in a moment, vii. 372. The world was created in September, ib. A new creation or redemption was performed on the day Adam was created, 378. Creation and resurrection of Christ, whether the greater work, vii. 389.
- Creatures*, such creatures came in homage to the second Adam, as did not come to the first, v. 167. 'Creature, all creatures, or every creature,' a speech common among the Jews; by which is understood 'all men or all nations, but especially Gentiles,' xii. 457. 459. vii. 17.
- Creed* of the believing Jews, contained in ten articles, drawn out of the law of Moses, with a comment, ii. 383. 386. The apostles' creed was not made by the apostles, viii. 282. 284.
- Criminals*, the Sanhedrim gave to Jewish criminals a full hearing, even after sentence, if themselves or any other had any thing to say for them, viii. 438. They were buried in different places from other men, and had the stone, wood, sword, or rope, wherewith they were executed, buried with them, 440. Capital criminals, if Israelites, were not judged by the Sanhedrim, with the reasons why, xii. 406. 411.
- Cruelty* of the Jews, most barbarous and unparalleled; they murdered at one time, of Greeks and Romans, four hundred and sixty thousand men, eat their flesh, devoured their entrails, daubed them-

- selves with their blood, iii. 213. 391. And after this, multitudes of thousands of Jews were destroyed, viz. above four hundred thousand: Adrian walled a vineyard sixteen miles about with dead bodies, a man's height. The brains of three hundred children were found upon one stone, 393. Cruelty moves pity, iii. 317. Cruelty great, viii. 145. 150. 152. Cruelty of the Jews great, most barbarously destroying two hundred and twenty thousand Greeks and Romans at one time, feeding on their flesh, eating their bowels, besmearing themselves with their blood, and covering themselves with their skins, 460. They also, in Egypt and Cyprus, destroyed two hundred and forty thousand men in a most barbarous manner, 461. Cruelty or slaughter prodigious in the East Indies, vii. 316.
- Cubit*, there was one of five and another of six hands' breadth, ix. 216.
- Cup* of blessing, what, ix. 161. 163. That cup which Christ used, was mixed with water, xii. 528. In the sacrament is not only the sign of the blood of Christ, and a seal as a sacrament, but the very sanction of the New Testament, xii. 529.
- Curious* and Chaldean arts, what, viii. 175.
- Cursing* and blessing, how practised among the Jews, xi. 95. 96. Curses in the Old Testament the Jews applied to the Gentiles, not to themselves, xii. 259.
- Custom*, in a way of religion often carries it against truth, iv. 36. Custom of the Jews in praying, what, vi. 425. They said not Amen in the Temple, but in houses, and in synagogues, 427. What they said by way of response in the Temple, ib.
- Cutheans* were Israelites, and very exact in the Jewish worship, x. 109. 112.
- Cuthites* and their kingdom, what, x. 319, 320. Cuthites for the Samaritans and whence, 333, 334. How far their victuals were lawful to the Jews, xii. 265. What dealings the Jews might have, or not have with them; these Cuthites here spoken of were Samaritans, 266.
- Cutting off*, (meaning by the divine hand) there were thirty-six sorts of it, how distinguished from death by the hand of heaven, ix. 10. 13. 15, 16. For what it was to be done, a great penalty, 78, 79. 86. 89. 175. 'Cutting off,' in Scripture, doth not mean excommunication, but the divine vengeance, xi. 108.
- Cymbal* and tinkling cymbal, were two balls of brass, struck one against another, xii. 537.
- Cyrus*, was joined with Darius in conquest and government, ii. 309. He was a greater prince than Darius, 312.
- Damascus*, spoken to as the scene of Paul's conversion, viii. 452. Colour of its soil, x. 376.
- Damned*, it is impossible that Christ should suffer the torments of hell, or be in the case of the damned, vi. 24. The damned not tormented under ground, vi. 5.
- Dan*, why not named among the sealed of the twelve tribes, Rev. 7. vi. 277.
- Dancing* one way of expressing joy, xi. 209.
- Daniel*, his seventy weeks, what, ii. 312. How he came to escape when Nebuchadnezzar's image was set up, as say the Jews, viii. 402. His prophecy was read to Alexander the Great, ix. 471.
- Darius* and Cyrus, were joined in conquest and government, ii. 309. Darius and Astyages the same, ib. Darius, his history as referring to the Scripture, ix. 468, 469.
- Darkness*, at high noon when Christ was crucified, what, iii. 166.
- David* a glorious type of Christ, ii. 196. Put for the Messiah, viii. 470.
- Day*, the first natural day was thirty-six hours long, to that part of the world where Eden stood, ii. 334. Of the week, first, second, third, &c. is a phrase purely Judaical, iii. 171. The day begun from sun-setting among the Jews, yet they made midnight a distinctive period, so as that which was done before midnight, was looked upon as done the day before, v. 187. 188. Day of the Lord, Christ's coming in glory and in the clouds, signify only Christ's taking vengeance on the Jewish nation, xi. 303. xii. 433. The Son cometh was expressed to be the same, xi. 304. Day of judgement, and day of vengeance, put for Christ's coming with vengeance to judge the Jewish nation; there are six different ways of expressing it, 404.
- Days*; 'last days' often put for the days foregoing the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish state, not the world, iii. 184. Days of the week, how reckoned by the Jews, by the name of first and second and of the sabbath, xi. 357. The third day much taken notice of by the rabbins, xii. 209. Days of the Messiah and the world to come, sometimes distinguished, sometimes confounded, 461.
- Demons*, angels, and spirits, distinguished among the Jews, xii. 213.
- Deacons* (such as had charge of the poor), were of common use in all the Jewish synagogues, and thence translated into the Christian church, iii. 189. How the seven deacons came to be chosen, ib. Their several qualifications, 258. This office was to provide for, and take care of, the poor, viii. 106. There were three deacons or almoners, in the Jews' synagogues, xi. 89, &c.

*Dead*; minstrels used to play in a mournful tone over the dead, iii. 88. The Jews used to wash the bodies of their dead, viii. 211. What mourning was used for the dead, also what feasting and company xi. 166, 167. The dead live in another world, 273, 274. The Jews had an opinion that the dead did discourse one among another, and also with those that were alive, xii. 165. Mourning for the dead, the way and method of it; the Jews used to comfort the mourners both in the way and at home, 348, 349. The washing used after touching a dead body, what, 551. Praying for the dead, founded by the Rhemists, on that text, 1 John v. 16. refuted, vi. 333.

*Deaf and dumb*, unfit to sacrifice, &c. xii. 236. xii. 23.

*Death* of the patriarchs usually mentioned in Scripture by anticipation, ii. 94. Death sometimes called 'baptism,' iii. 126. What it is, vi. 32. Why do men die, *i. e.* why are they not removed soul and body into the other world without any more ado, ib. The difficulty of the soul and body's parting at death, 34. Death of sin; God stints the time of men's rising from it, which, slipped, is not to be retrieved, vii. 199, 200. Death second, a phrase used by the Jewish writers: death miserable, viii. 147. Four kinds of death were delivered into the hands of the Sanhedrim, 453. Deaths judicial, the manner of them amongst the Jews, ix. 340, 341. Death looks awakening and terrible upon the most moral and learned men, x. 35.

*Decarii*, were one sort of publicans, xii. 182.

*Dedication*, the feast of dedication is mentioned but once in all the Scriptures, and that only by bare naming of it in John x. 22. vi. 209, 210. The original institution of this feast of dedication collected out of the Talmud, Maimonides, Josephus, and the first book of Maccabees, 213. It was kept on the twenty-fifth day of the month Cisleu, or November, ib. Dedication, the strange custom of lighting up of candles therein used, 222. The feast thereof, ix. 191. The feast of it, why called by the name of lights, xii. 340.

*Defendant* and Plaintiff chose their judges, &c. among the Jews, xii. 486.

*Degree* and pomp of the world counter-vail nothing with God, vii. 143, 145.

*Deities* of the Egyptians, what, iv. 76.

*Demas*, his embracing the present world may denote his returning to his worldly employment, &c. for we find him the next year with Paul again, iii. 291, 300.

*Demoniacs*, why so many in Christ's time more than at other times, xi. 170.

*Denarius* and *Luz* were of the same value amongst the rabbins, xi. 398.

*Denial* of Christ by Peter was foretold by Christ at two distinct times, iii. 144, 145.

*Dens* and caves, vastly large and very numerous in the land of Israel; many of these were digged out of mountains and rocks by the gigantic Canaanites for the use of war, x. 178, 179.

*Departure* of Israel out of Egypt, laid calendar wise, ii. 23.

*Dependance* upon God for life and being is to be owned and acknowledged by all good Christians, vii. 130, 131.

*Descent* of Christ into hell, the improper meaning as to what the church of Rome understands by it, vi. 3, 16. His descent into hell is supposed to be the torments he suffered on the cross, 17.

*Desks*; the desks of the Levites described, ix. 380, 388.

*Destruction* of Jerusalem is frequently expressed in Scripture, as if it were the destruction of the whole world, xi. 303.

*Deuteronomy*, summary of, ii. 34.

*Devil*, how, when, and why, and how long let loose by Christ, vi. 65, 69. How he deceived the nations or heathen before the gospel, vii. 62. He is called 'the angel of death' by the Jews, 139. The end for which Christ bound the devil a thousand years, 187. The gospel was the chain with which he was bound, ib. The devil is denominated 'that wicked one,' why, 339. The sin of the devil, what it was, xi. 195, &c. How he is the 'prince of this world,' xii. 369.

*Devilishness*, how much thereof the devil can infuse into man's nature, with the reason of it, vii. 343, &c.

*Devils*, whence their original, ii. 73. The devil hath several ways of undoing men: the church, by persecution; the world, by delusion of oracles, idolatry, false miracles, &c. iii. 360. Three of his names, iv. 347. The devil hurrying Christ about in the time of his temptations affords some material and profitable considerations, 363. The souls of men are in a better state than devils, vii. 333. The sin of the devils is wretched beyond pardon, 337. Devils were cast out by one that did not follow Christ, how possible, xi. 406. Devils called 'angels,' how saints shall judge them, xii. 483. Angels put for devils, 518.

*Devout* man, a title for the first professors of the gospel, viii. 264.

*Dew* of Christ, is his quickening power, viii. 470.

*Dialect*, the dialect of the Galileans differed much from the dialect of the Jews, x. 159.

*Diana's* temple, what, iii. 251, 252.

*Didrachma*, tribute money; two things persuade that it was the half shekel, paid yearly in the temple, xi. 238.

*Diet*, a diet was thirty miles, x. 248.

*Dioclesian*, concerning, viii. 327. State of the empire under, viii. 329. Was once Diclot, the keeper of hogs, x. 149.

*Dionysius*, the Areopagite, one of the bench at Athens, converted by Paul, iii. 226.

*Dipping*, in baptism, not always practised in the beginning of the gospel, v. 65, 66. Dipping endeavoured to be laid aside, because it caused the women of Galilee to grow barren, xi. 64. Why sprinkling was used instead of dipping, 63.

*Disciple* and Singular, what, they are terms sometimes confounded and sometimes distinguished, xii. 119.

*Disciples*, why they could not cast out one evil spirit, iii. 102, 103. The seventy disciples sent forth by Christ to go and preach to those places where he himself was to come, because he intended now fully to reveal himself to be the Messiah, iii. 109, 110. Christ received young infants as disciples, declaring them to be such, and blessed them, 113. Disciples called 'children,' viii. 69. When or where first called Christians, 263. A title given to the first professors of the Gospel, 264. Disciples of Christ mentioned by the Talmudists, xi. 162. Why they were twelve, and for what end they were chosen, 169. Disciples, or learners, after the days of Rabban Gamaliel, did use to sit while they were instructed, xii. 44. They had power to ask the doctors any questions as they went along in their expositions and lectures, 45.

*Discipling* was not of persons already taught, but such as entered themselves that they might be taught, iii. 175.

*Discoursing*, the dead discoursing one among another, and also with those that were alive, was the opinion of the Jews, xii. 165.

*Diseases*, grievous, attributed usually by the Jews to evil spirits, xi. 237. Diseases were supposed by the Jews to be inflicted by the devil, xii. 134.

*Disputes*, the power and will of God being well understood and submitted to; take off abundance of carnal atheistical disputes, vii. 367, &c.

*Dissembler*, his character in Tiberius, viii. 89. In Cain, 188.

*Divinity* of the Jews, when Christ came into the world, was only to instruct in carnal rites, and heighten their spirits to carnal performances, &c.; but they knew nothing of regeneration, or the work of grace, v. 43, 44. The mystery of it not contrary to reason, how to be understood, vi. 353.

*Division*, faction, and schism, produced sad effects in the church of Corinth; some of them mentioned, iii. 239, 247. The Jews were generally divided among themselves, yet all oppose Christianity to the utmost, even when they themselves were in their greatest afflictions, iii. 400.

*Divorces*, what, among the Jews, xi. 116, &c. A bill of divorce, its manner of giving, with a copy of such a bill, how delivered, 119, &c. Christ permits not divorce except in the case of adultery, 121.

*Doctors*, one of the titles the Jews gave their learned men and scribes: also any that were ordained, were so called, &c. v. 25. 175. 208. Doctors of the law were of several sorts, 12. 94. What, 119, 120.

*Dogs* and swine were forbidden the Jews, with reasons thereof, xi. 161. Dogs put for 'Gentiles or heathens,' 220.

*Doing* by another is the same as if one do it by himself; for it is ordinary in Scripture to ascribe that as done by a man himself, that is done by another at his appointment, v. 58.

*Door*, through which none was to pass, what, ix. 279. The great door was ever opened before the morning sacrifice was killed, ib.

*Doors* of the holy place described, ix. 277. Doors and gates lying on the north side of the temple, what, x. 68.

*Dositheus*, or Dosthes, was a famous seducer of the Samaritans, x. 335. xii. 214.

*Doves*, how offered, ix. 92.

*Dowry*, in the donation of it the Galileans differed from the Jews, x. 158.

*Drachm*, what, xii. 185.

*Dreams*, intimating various events, ii. 103. None in the world more fond of dreams than the Jews; using art to make themselves dream, and nice rules of interpreting dreams, xi. 299, 300. Dreams, some were strange and odd, vii. 321.

*Dreamers*, and interpreters of dreams, were common among the Jews; even the most learned of them taught their scholars this sort of delusion, iii. 400.

*Drink*, the Jewish doctors say, that to drink a quart of wine makes one drunk; so much every one of them drank in their sacred feasts; judge then how soberly they carried it in those feasts, if they mingled not much water with their wine, x. 127. This is proved in Rabban Gamaliel.

*Drink-offering*, what, ix. 99. 102.

*Drinking* and eating used frequently in a metaphorical sense by the Jews, xii. 295. Drinking the blood and eating the flesh of Christ is of necessity metaphorical, ib.

*Drought* mingled with fire from heaven, ii. 235. Drought, or want of rain, great, 278.

*Drunk*. Vide Drink.



*Duckfield's* letters to *Strype*, xiii. 462. 468. 483.

*Dumb*; such persons were unfit to sacrifice, &c. xi. 236.

*Dust*; shaking dust off the feet, what, iii. 217. Dust that was to be put into the water of jealousy, whence to be taken, ix. 279. White dust for potter's clay, &c. x. 27. 337. Dust of the feet, what it was to shake it off, xi. 178.

*Dying*, called *Martyrdom*, for others to save their country, what, x. 261.

*Earth*, burning up, only denoted the destruction of Jerusalem, and that cursed nation, iii. 327. 'New earth and the new heaven,' denote the new state of church under the gospel, ib. Earth and heaven made by God, and wherefore he made them, vii. 369.

*Earthly* and heavenly things, what, as used by Christ, v. 47.

*Easter*, how old its celebration, iv. 456.

*Eating* and drinking, commonly used in a metaphorical sense, by the Jews, xii. 295. Eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ, must of necessity be metaphorically understood, xi. 295.

*Ecclesiastes*, where to be read, ii. 41. Meditation, explanatory on, v. 295.

*Edom*; by this term, the Hebrew writers commonly express the Romans, iii. 352. Edom rendered Romans, Edomites rendered Romans, x. 195.

*Edge's* letter to *Duckfield*, xiii. 460.

*Eglath Shelishijah*, meaning of, x. 332.

*Egypt* was full of Jews: there they had a temple and all their offices and ordinances, xi. 42. River of, x. 21.

*Egyptian* deities, what, iv. 76.

*Elder*, a title proper to St. John, xi. 388.

*Elders*, one of the titles of the Gospel ministers, iii. 68. They were ordained by imposition of hands, 212. They were of two sorts in every synagogue: one that ruled in civil affairs, another that laboured daily in the word and doctrine, 242: this should be imitated in the Christian churches, Christ and the apostles keeping close to the platform of the synagogue, 243. Their several qualifications, 258. Both Peter and John style themselves elders, intimating that the apostolic function must cease, but the ministerial abide, 331. Every synagogue had two elders; one that ruled, that was a student in divinity, another that was the minister of the congregation, called the angel of the church, and Chazan, or overseer, v. 119. Elders for seniors and senators of some of the tribes, viii. 72. Elders, ordained by whom and how, viii. 459. They were to judge in pecuniary affairs, 486. Elders, chief priests, and scribes, how distinguished, xii. 187.

*Eldest* son, a younger reckoned for eldest, iv. 99.

*Elect*, what it signified, and who they were, vii. 11. 12.

*Election* admits not of magis and minus, vii. 14.

*Elements* melting, and earth burning up, only denoted the destruction of Jerusalem and that cursed nation, iii. 237. Elements, used for Mosaic rites, xii. 434.

*Elias*, his history, ii. 216. What opinions the rabbins had of his first and second coming, with his estate after his first departure, and his frequent invisible coming as at every circumcision, &c. iv. 399, 401. What he shall do at his second visible coming, 403. Also multitudes of ancient and modern Christian writers have asserted, that before Christ's second coming, Enoch and Elias should come again visibly to destroy Antichrist, to convert the Jews, &c. confuted, 404. Elias, the frequent appearance of him we meet with in the writings of the Jews, were either stories or diabolical apparitions, xi. 81. His coming, how vain the expectation of it was among the Jews, the ends also of his expected coming, as they propose them, what, 233. They looked for his coming before the Messiah, 235. Elias put for John the Baptist, xii. 19. And Elijah put for John the Baptist, xii. 20.

*Elisha*, his history, ii. 224, 226.

*Elizabeth*, why she hid herself when with child, vii. 161.

*Eloim* denotes distinction of persons in the Trinity, iv. 120.

*Elymas* (which is the same in sense with Magus) was a magical Jew, who with tricks and wonders went up and down, confronting the gospel, iii. 214. Elymas and Barjesus, the reason of the two names for the same person, and what they both signify, vii. 104. viii. 461.

*Emblem* of the divine glory at the temple, mentioned in several scriptures, explained, xi. 440. 458. The moral of it, 448. 458.

*Emims*, what, x. 281.

*Emmanuel*. Nomen naturæ, iv. 179.

*Encoenia*, or the feast of dedication among the Jews, why called Lights. It was kept for eight days all over the land, xii. 340, &c.

*Enchantments*; some sort of heretics used enchantments, or sorceries, to cause men to follow them, x. 320, 321. There were hardly any people in the world that more used enchantment than the Jews, xi. 300, which consisted in amulets, charms, mutterings, and exorcism, ib. So skilful were they in conjurings, enchantments, and sorceries, that they wrought great signs and wonders, and many villanies by them, 300. Hence arose false Christs, 302

*End coming*, Matthew, xxiv. 14, and the coming of the Lord drawing nigh, and the Judge standing at the door; expressions only shewing destruction and vengeance upon Jerusalem drawing near, iii. 314, 315. 320. End of things, the heavens passing away, the elements melting, and the earth burning up, only denoted the destruction of Jerusalem and that cursed nation, 327. End of all things and of the world, put for the end of the Jewish state, vi. 293. End and beginning, as referring to things to be debated or explained, what, xii. 319.

*England*, some remarkable things referring to its ancient state, iii. 304. England (and these parts of the world) was planted by Javan's posterity, iv. 14. It was invaded by the Roman generals, and afterwards by their master, Claudius, the Emperor, An. Dom. 44, viii. 291, 292.

*Enmity*; why the Lord put enmity between man and devil, vii. 61.

*Enoch's* prophecy was some common tradition among the Jews, iii. 328. Many Christian writers hold that he and Elias should visibly come again to destroy Antichrist, and to convert the Jews before the second coming of Christ, iv. 404.

*Ephah*, what sort of measure, iv. 448. 452.

*Ephod* of the high-priest, what, ii. 404. ix. 23.

*Epicurus* was a term used among the Jews, for such as despised the doctors, iii. 231.

*Epiphany*, or the Wise men's coming to Christ on the thirteenth day after his birth, or within forty days, shewed to be improbable, and that they came not till about two years after his birth, iv. 206. 212.

*Episcopus*, an overseer, is a synagogue-term, so are most of his qualifications fetched thence, iii. 257. So the angel, or minister, in the synagogue, stood over those that read, to see that they read right, hence called Chaazn, that is, Episcopus, overseer, &c. 407. v. 118. 134.

*Epistle* from Laodicea, is an epistle from that church to Paul, iii. 300. Epistle to the Romans, when and where it was writ, by St. Paul, vi. 244.

*Equality* of men, how all men are equal in God's esteem, vii. 142, 143.

*Er* and Hezekiah were born when their fathers were very young, ii. 258.

*Eremit*, or Hermit, denotes a country-man more properly than one that lives in a desert, xi. 46. John the Baptist, in all probability, was no Eremit, xii. 29.

*Error* and ignorance do arise because men will not know and embrace the truth, vii. 300.

*Esau*, all hairy when born, like a kid, ii. 94.

*Eser*, but an additional title for the Assyrian monarchs, ii. 255.

*Espousal*, an espousal of a woman was performed by money, or writing, or lying with, xi. 20.

*Espoused*; no woman was married before espoused, xi. 18.

*Essenes*, though they differed from other heretics, yet they harmonized with the rest to oppose the gospel and christianity, iii. 403. Their original name, quality, and principles, iv. 259. 264. Their religion was not the national religion of the Jews, but a sect and an excrescence from it, vi. 216. They owned the immortality of the soul; but at the same time might deny the resurrection of the body, viii. 491. Who they were, x. 16. where they inhabited, 326.

*Etam*, the fountain, what, and of what use the stream, x. 348. 371.

*Evangelists*, in what order to be read, ii. 47, 58. One of the titles of the Gospel ministers, iii. 68.

*Eve*; her temptation, the tradition of the Jews concerning it, vi. 344. Adam and Eve believed, and obtained life, vii. 334.

*Evening*, what, xi. 212.

*Eucharist*, when it was instituted, xi. 332. the bread, ib. the wine, 333. Judas was present at the eucharist, 337. Receiving the eucharist unworthily, two dreadful things against it, xii. 531.

*Eunuch*, his conversion, and who he was, iii. 195.

*Europe*, in probability, is derived from choreph, which signifies winter, or cold, x. 363.

*Eustathius* on Dionysius, x. 327.

*Eutyches* and Valentinus averred Christ to have only a body in appearance, confuted, iv. 126.

*Excommunication* and reproof, what they were, with the difference between them, xii. 467. What the causes of excommunication, and how many sorts there were, 469. The Jewish method of proceeding against the excommunicated, with the reason thereof, 473. Whether the Jewish excommunication was esteemed a delivery up to Satan, ib.

*Execution* of malefactors among the Jews was attended by their bewailing, iii. 165. Where and how performed, xi. 340, 341.

*Exercises*, Lightfoot's academic, when vice-chancellor, v. 389.

*Exodus*, method of reading, with observations on the whole book, ii. 21. A handful of gleanings out of, 355. Talmudic observations on, x. 356.

*Exorcists*, vagabond Jews that went up and down to oppose the gospel with magical tricks, iii. 214. See Barjesus.

*Expiation* day, what service belonged

to it, the high priest was engaged in all the service of it, ix. 173. The scape-goat the principal business, besides other offerings, 174. It was a strict fasting day, 175.

*Extraordinary gifts of the Spirit* are in Scripture comprised under tongues and prophecies, vii. 34. *Extraordinary actings of God*, are not men's ordinary rule, vii. 278.

*Ezra*, the sacred writer, considered as president of the Sanhedrim, with the time of his death, ix. 342, 343. Some memorable matters under Ezra, and that each was styled the Great Synagogue, x. 524. Traditions, as to their first conception, are referred to the time of Ezra, xi. 71. In his days also was laid the foundations of Pharisaism and Sadducism, ib. In his days some denied the resurrection.

*Faction* (division and schism), producing sad effects in the church of Corinth, some of them mentioned, iii. 239. 248.

*Families of Jerusalem*, x. 374.

*Faith*, it makes improbable things to be accepted of God, ii. 155. Jewish and evangelical, what, iii. 121. Faith, why set after repentance, v. 159. Faith in Christ, all the holy men that lived before Christ, were saved by believing in him, proved, vi. 323. Faith, great in the thief on the cross, vii. 272. Faith put for a holy boldness, confidence, and magnanimity, xii. 535.

*Fall of man*, ii. 73, of Adam, iv. 66. of angels and Adam compared together, vii. 297.

*Family of the mother* not to be called a family, xi. 16.

*Fan of Christ* is the 'gospel, with the preaching and publishing thereof,' iv. 283.

*Farthings*, what sort of money, ix. 419.

*Fasted*; the Jews fasted on the second and fifth days in the week, whether imitated by Christians, viii. 458.

*Fasting and praying of Christ* wonderful, considering the time, place, his posture, he fasted nights as well as days, iv. 356, 357. Used in the synagogues, ix. 68. *Fasting-day*, the day of expiation, was a strict fasting-day, ix. 175.

*Fasts of the captives* were kept in several months, ii. 323. *Public fasts*, what, iii. 212. They were upon important occasions used by the Jews, ib. *Fasts of the Pharisees*, strange stories related of them, xi. 163. *Fasts of the Jews*, what they were, both in public and in private, xii. 176.

*Father and mother*, why to be honoured, vii. 399. *Father* was always obliged among the Jews to teach his son some honest art or trade, xi. 397.

*Fathers*, what to teach their children, iii. 227.

*Fearers of the Lord*, used for 'proselytes,' every one of them are blessed, viii. 465.

*Feast*; governor of the feast, who he was; called Architriclinus; he was not the same with the Symposiarchus, the governor or moderator of the heathen feasts, iv. 453. 'Governor of the feast,' understood of one whose place was to be chaplain there, xii. 246. *Feasts of charity*, or Agapæ, what, iii. 275. *Feast of dedication*, it is mentioned but once in all the Scripture, and that by bare naming of it in John x. 22. iv. 209. The original institution of it collected out of the Talmud, Maimonides, Josephus, and the first book of Maccabees, 213. The strange custom of lighting up candles therein used, 222. *Feast of Purim* was opposed by some of the Jews, xii. 343. *Feast of Tabernacles*, the actions attending it, iii. 110. The nature, occasion, and reasons of its institution, iv. 303. The strange rites and customs therein used, vi. 221. The joy and songs thereof, xi. 260. The preparations for it, and the parts of it, xii. 297, with the great joy that attended it, 299. The nicety of the Jews referring to the Feast of Tabernacles, 302. How and wherefore the eighth day of this feast was computed great by the Jews, 307. *Feast of weeks*, what, xi. 448.

*Feasting among the Jews* was performed upon beds, iv. 437.

*Feasts*; women were not bound to appear at the three solemn feasts of the Jews, yet they usually did, ix. 140. *Feasts Jewish*. The Jewish feasts were vexed with innumerable scruples about what and how to eat, and not to eat, xii. 511. *Feasts of Charity*, what they were, vi. 234.

*Feet*, anointed, of ordinary use among the Jews, iii. 130.

*Felix*, shewed to be an ill man, iii. 286, 287.

*Festivals*; John is the most punctual in giving an account of the festivals that intercurrent between Christ's entrance into his public ministry, and the time of his death, vi. 209. The festivals of the Passover, Pentecost, and of Tabernacles, were appointed by God for communion, as well as for religion, 220. Three principal ones, the Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles, all the men that were free, were to appear at them, ix. 125, 128. *Festivals, Jewish*, ii. 5.

*Fifth monarchy* is not the kingdom of Christ, but was the kingdom of the devil, vii. 52.

*Figs* ripened at different seasons, iii. 133. *Figs and fig-trees*, there were some wild and some cultivated: figs were ripe at different seasons, and therefore Christ might expect some of a former year,

though as to that year, the time was not come, xi. 264, 269.

*Fire put for the 'law of God,' and for 'indignation,'* xii. 463.

*First-born*, when and wherefore presented to the Lord, and when redeemed, xii. 37.

*First-fruits*, and first-fruit sheaf, the way of gathering and offering them, ix. 169. First-fruit sheaf, when and how reaped, x. 79, 80. The pomp of those that offered the first-fruits, was very great, 223, 224. When to be offered, xi. 185.

*Firstlings*, which were fit, which were unfit to be offered, ix. 358. Who had the approving of them, 359. Where they were to be killed, ib.

*Flaying* the burnt-offerings, the ceremonies of it, ix. 71.

*Flesh*, when first eaten, and why not the blood, ii. 85, 342. Flesh and blood is used as opposing 'men to God,' xi. 224.

*Flies* not infecting the Temple, what, ix. 390.

*Flittings* of the divine glory. Rabbi Jochanan's ten flittings of the divine glory, what, ix. 241. Also his ten flittings of the Sanhedrim, what, 242. With the reason thereof, ib.

*Flood* of Noah, its nature, time of beginning, and duration, ii. 79, 84.

*Floor* of Christ, by it is meant the 'church of Israel,' or the 'nation of the Jews' alone, iv. 284.

*Flux*, various medicines for a woman labouring under it, xi. 395, 396.

*Flying* in the air; Christ tempted to it, practised by Simon Magus, &c. iv. 373.

*Fondness*; the Jews are fond, and highly conceited of their own nation: a notable example of this fondness, vi. 371, 372. It hindered the execution of malefactors. 372, 373.

*Fool*; how came fool to be a more grievous word than *raca*, xi. 107.

*Forbearance* in sin is the greatest punishment, vii. 347—349.

*Forms* of Prayer were prescribed under the Old and New Testament, vi. 421, 422.

*Forms* of prayer defended, and objections answered, 422. An account of the Jewish forms from the Talmud, and other writers, 425, &c.

*Fornication* put for 'polygamy,' ii. 95. Fornication, why, or how put among things indifferent, viii. 479. There were two sorts of fornication of this nature, ib.

*Fortifications*, what meant by, x. 175.

*Foster-father*, taken for a natural father, xii. 43.

*Fountain*, Etam, the fountain what, and of what use its streams, x. 348.

*France* and Spain, what places the Jews understood for them, x. 291.

*Fraud*, pious fraud was one cause of the falsities of ecclesiastical history, vii. 5.

*Friend* of the bridegroom, what among the Jewish writers, v. 67, 68.

*Friendship* and conversation more inward, which a Jew was not to have with a heathen, what, xii. 477.

*Fruits*, first-fruits, the manner of bringing and presenting them, ix. 200. The first-fruit sheaf, where and how reaped, x. 79, 80. xii. 420. The pomp of those that offered it was very great, x. 223, 224. When to be offered, xi. 185.

*Fulness* of time, why so called; it denotes Christ's birth, which was anno mundi, 3928, &c. iv. 97.

*Gadarenes* and Gergasenes, the same people, iii. 84. Whether Jews or heathens, xi. 161. This region was included within that of the Gergasenes, 393.

*Gad* Javan in the Temple, what, x. 214.

*Gaius* in Greek, Caius in Latin; there were two of that name, iii. 269. What kind of host, 272, 329.

*Galileans* had some customs different from those of Judea; as, in writing the donation of the marriage-dowry, in working or not working on the passover eves: also, concerning the *trumah*, and the curses of the priests, &c. x. 158, 159.

*Gallio* was brother to Seneca, the famous court-philosopher; several things concerning him, iii. 229.

*Gamaliel*, he was long president of the Sanhedrim, and, for all his fairness, authorized a prayer against heretics, that is, the Christians, and their doctrine, commanding its constant use in the synagogues, iii. 188, 189. Gamaliel, Paul's master, was a man of great original and excellency, viii. 81. Something of his history, 392. Was president of the Sanhedrim, x. 34. Gamaliel (Rabban), there were three of that name presidents of the Sanhedrim; part of their history, ix. 345, 346.

*Gardens* were all without the city of Jerusalem; and why roses only excepted, xi. 340. xii. 397.

*Gardner's* epitaph on Lightfoot, xiii. 486.

*Garments* of the high priest described, ii. 403. ix. 22. 274. The rending of them. The nature and number of the garments of the priests, ix. 435. 438. The Jews think they were the same before the law, 435. What garments the high priest had, that other priests had not, 438. He was consecrated under the second Temple, by putting on the holy garments, 436, &c. Garments of the Jews, what, xii. 85. The zealots went with one of these single, 85. Talith, a mantle, &c. which was the outer garment. Chaluk, a woollen shirt, was worn next the skin, 86. These are called by Christ and the Baptist two coats, 86, 87.

*Garrisons* of the Romans were dispersed over the land of Israel. What they were, x. 257, 258.

*Gate* is a term under which very many things in religion are expressed, xi. 153. East gate, what. Upon it was pictured the resemblance of the city Shushan, and why. Upon which account, it (or part of it) was called by that name. It was also called the king's-gate, ix. 220. The gate of Shallecheth, or Coponius, what the names, and where situate, 226. The gate Parbar, what the word, where the place, 227. The horse gate, two of the name, where, 229. The north gate, Tedi, or Tadde, why so called, 233. The Beautiful gate of the Temple, what, 305. The upper gate of the Lord's house, where situate, 321. The New gate, where, ib. The gate of Nicanor, which, and why so called, ib. The upper gate of the Lord's house, how otherwise called, ib. 323. The gate Sur, what, and where situate, 327. The brazen gate, what. Its opening of its own accord, a sign of the destruction of Jerusalem, 328. Gate of Nicanor, or the east gate of the court of Israel, the reason of the name; what was done in it. The council of the twenty-three sat there, x. 65, 66. Gate of the Priests, what, x. 350. Of Shushan, whence the name. In it was held the assembly of the twenty-three, &c. 352. Water-gate, where situate, 349.

*Gates* of the city of Jerusalem, what, v. 235. Gates of Huldah, whence so called, ix. 224. Gates of Asuppim, where, and what, 231, 232. At which of the gates, guards were kept by night, 240, 241. The gates in the court wall on the east and south sides, what, 333. The gates Corban, where, and why so called, 370. Gates lying on the south side of the court of Israel, what, x. 66, 67.

*Gazith*, or the council-house, what it was, vi. 369. Gazith was the chamber or room where the Sanhedrim sat, being part common and part holy, ix. 337. Gazith was a famous council-room where the Sanhedrim sat. When they left that, they ceased to judge in capital causes, x. 353. Why called Gazith, xii. 414.

*Gideon* called Jerubbaal, and why, ii. 155.

*Gehenna*, a form taken from the Jewish writers, iv. 33.

*Gemara*, was one part of the Talmud, iv. 15.

*Gemarists*, they explain the Mishna, shewing the opinion of the ancients upon it, iii. 396.

*Gemini*, in the zodiac, put for Castor and Pollux, viii. 499.

*Genealogical* writings, or scrolls, shewing the true descent of families for many generations, were preserved among the Jews, xi. 9, 10.

*Genealogy*, generations are sometimes dashed out in the genealogical accounts, for good reasons, xi. 13, 14.

*General*, Christ was Lord-general in the wars of Canaan, ii. 139. When he ceased to be so, 147. General of an army once was a priest, 198.

*Genesis*, method of reading, with explanations and observations upon each chapter, ii. 10. &c. 333—349. Talmudic observations on, x. 532.

*Gentiles* brought into the gospel religion by the gift of tongues, iii. 183. They receive the Holy Ghost contrary to the Jewish opinion, 204. How called, 272. Their calling was a matter the Jews could never hear of with patience, v. 140. Calling of the Gentiles, 323. Why Christ gave a commission not before, but after his resurrection, for the calling of the Gentiles, vi. 392. Their raising from the death of sin is the first resurrection, vii. 190, 200. Some of them lost the opportunity, and would not be raised when the rest were, 199. The difference between them and the Jews went away, when Christ and the gospel came, viii. 219. They were called Greeks by the Jews, and why, viii. 496. Court of the Gentiles, x. 61. They were not to be helped or succoured by the Jews, xii. 103. The Gentiles did not only send gifts and sacrifices to the Temple, but also used to come thither to worship, 365.

*Gentile* world was subject to vanity of mind, xii. 439.

*Gergasenes* and Gadarenes, the same people, iii. 84. Their country was of broader extent and signification than the region of the Gadarenes, xi. 393.

*Gideon's* army, iv. 18.

*Gidem*, Sampson and Jephtha, their failings, what, vii. 151.

*Gift* of tongues, what, iii. 194. It was general upon all the disciples, viii. 375.

Gifts, spiritual and extraordinary, with the enjoyments of the Holy Ghost, only bestowed on ministers, vii. 31. Whether every one that had gifts, had all the gifts given him by the apostles, 32. Gift, to leave the, before the altar, what it was, xi. 110, 111. Gift put for a thing dedicated, devoted, or vowed away, 216, &c.

*Gifts*, prophetic gifts, what, iv. 351. They differed very far from the grace of sanctification, 352. These gifts had their limitations and restrictions in all men, excepting Christ, so that they could not always act alike, 353.

*Girdle* of the high priest, what, ix. 22. The Talmudic girdle of the land under the second Temple, what, x. 8. Girdle of the city, i. e. the hills, gates, and walls that went round it, 56, 60.

*Gizbarin*, receivers of tribute, the counsellors of the Temple, ix. 43.

*Glory*, ten flittings of the divine glory, what, ix. 241. The emblem of the divine glory, what, 440, 458. The moral, or

signification of this emblem, 448. 458. Glory of God, the cause of its removal from Jerusalem, ii. 292.

*Goat*; scape-goat, his choice, his sending away into the wilderness, with the manner of it, ix. 175. 179.

*God*: God speed, a usual salutation, iii. 331. It is necessary to think of him and converse with him. The heathens thought there was a God; and Plato, that he was only one, iv. 7. God acteth not any of his attributes according to the utmost extent of their infiniteness, proved by many instances, vi. 269, 270. Dependence upon God for life and being, is to be owned and acknowledged by all good Christians, vii. 130. 136. God requires some tribute of men for their preservation, 136. How God preserves all men alike, and yet not all alike, 148. God's extraordinary actings are for the magnifying of his own glory, 279. God made heaven and earth, and wherefore he made them, 367. Why he made the world, seeing he will spoil it in time, 370. He created all things in six days, and why not in a moment, 372. The names of God used among the Jews and Gentiles, what, viii. 11. God false, Caius the emperor creating himself a God, with the reasons, 198. He was little better than a devil, 203. He made his whore a goddess, ib.

*Godliness*, how sadly Satan cheats men, when they become enemies to it, vii. 76, 77.

*Gog*, understood of the Grecian empire, x. 353. Gog and Magog, what is meant by them, vii. 68. Gog and Magog, the title of the Syro-grecian monarchy, iii. 361. 365.

*Golden calf*, Israel's punishment for it, ii. 388. The Jews say the punishment of the sin of it descended to the following generations, viii. 431.

*Golgotha*, what, iii. 164.

*Good*, a thing good in itself is not utterly to be extinguished, because another used it ill, vi. 424.

*Goods*, the community of goods, or the having them in common by the primitive Christians, how practised, and of what extent, viii. 75.

*Goph*, or Guph, a place where the Jews did suppose that souls did pre-exist, xii. 325.

*Gospel*, the Gospel began with the ministry of John the Baptist, iii. 35. It was spread abroad by persecution, 192. At its first settling in the world, it was much confronted by magicians, 214. The Jews had three ways of opposing the gospel—by a prayer against heretics, ib.—by emissaries, whose business was to cry it down, and preach every where

against it—by the use of magic in doing strange things, exceeding many of them being skilled therein, ib. Women laboured to advance the gospel, though they did not preach, 225. See how they did it, 275. Extremely hindered and corrupted in its first planting by the Jews, 402. The Jewish writers stole something out of it, iv. 29. Gospel day, or age, began with the entrance of the preaching and ministry of John the Baptist. Sometimes styled 'the last day;' sometimes 'the acceptable year of the Lord;' sometimes 'the kingdom of God;' and sometimes 'a new heaven and a new earth,' iv. 244. Gospel, what, in four things Christ the author of it, 246. Gospel of Matthew was chiefly to the Jews. Of Luke to the Gentiles, 289, 290. What in the publications of John and of Christ, v. 159. Christ sending his gospel, bound the devil from his former abominable cheating, vii. 63. Why the gospel is called 'the truth,' 93. Its greatest enemies are those that had once professed it, 95. What instruments and machinations they use for the opposing of it, 96. Who are the great resisters of the gospel, 99. Why God permits wicked men to resist the gospel, 100. It was the chain which Christ tied the devil with, 187.

*Government*, necessity of, v. 317.

*Governor* of the feast, what, iv. 453.

*Governors*, both civil and sacred, were in every synagogue, iii. 242.

'*Grace* for grace,' largely explained, iv. 392. Common grace is God's ordinary way for working saving grace, vi. 240. The difference between common and sanctifying grace, vii. 23. Grace to mankind magnified, 337. Grace, saying grace before meat, if the Jews sat, then every one said grace for himself; if they did lye, then one said grace for all, xi. 327.

*Grandeur*, worldly grandeur and riches countervail nothing with God, vii. 142, &c.

*Grecians*, put for Hellenists, viii. 104. 165. 236.

*Greek*, in Greek was the New Testament written, because the Jews were to be rejected immediately, and the Gentiles to be called to the faith; and the Greek was the Gentile language, xi. 21. 27. Greek interpreters, their boldness in adding to the Scripture taken notice of, viii. 419. Sometimes they gave a sense of their own upon the Hebrew text, and very often used Greek words very different from the idiom of the Greeks, 445, 446. Greek tongue was the common language of the Jews in Christ's time, and the Septuagint their Bible, iii. 62. 310. All the world used the Old Testament in

Christ's time in the Greek tongue, unless such as had the Hebrew tongue, iv. 180. Why the Greek tongue was dispersed over most of the world in our Saviour's time, vii. 10. Greek tongue rejected by the Jews to their great disadvantage, viii. 407. Greek and Hebrew tongues both native to some Jews, 409. Greek translation of the fifth of Genesis, and full of false chronologies, iv. 68, 69. Greek version; some would have the Hebrew Bible corrected by the Greek version, and contend that these interpreters were inspired, viii. 443, &c. The Hebrew text added to by the Greek version, xii. 437. Greek version, in what value among the Jews. Is not an accurate pure version, even the Jews being judges, 585, 586. Objections answered, 587. Whence not the Greek version, but the Hebrew text, was read in synagogues of the Hellenists, ib. By what authors and counsels it might probably be, that the Greek version came forth, which obtains under the name of the Seventy, performed with more craft than conscience; why therefore did the apostles and evangelists use it? 588, 593.

Greeks and Hebrews, who properly so called, viii. 406, &c. The Gentiles were called 'Greeks' by the Jews, and why, 496. The Greeks call all countries but their own 'barbarians,' 497.

Ground; holy ground, the circuit of the wall encompassing it according to our English measure, what, ix. 217. Ezekiel's Holy ground is bounded and measured; Saint John's in the Revelation is not, and why, ib. The length and breadth of the gates encompassing the Holy ground, 219. All within the wall which encompassed the holy ground was called the Temple, 244.

Guards were kept by night within Jerusalem, ix. 240, 241.

Guilt (for sin) is not to be concluded from sufferings, ii. 111.

Guph, or Goph, a place where the Jews did suppose that souls did pre-exist, xii. 325.

Haak's letter to Lightfoot, xiii. 421.

H, not used in the middle and end of Greek words when changed into Greek, iv. 169.

Habdala Kidush, are words of blessing; the sabbath, iii. 56.

Hades, what in the opinion of the heathen world, vi. 26. If hades mean 'Paradise,' why should Christ pray against it? Hades denotes the state of souls departed, viii. 59.

Hadrian, reign of, viii. 326.

Hair; long hair, divers nations did wear long hair, xii. 520, &c. The Nazarites also wore long hair, among which number

Absalom was one, 521. Why the Nazarites let their hair grow long, ib. The Jews cut their hair very often, especially ever before a feast, ib.

Hallel, the lesser, or the Egyptian Hallel, was a hymn gathered out of the Psalms sung eighteen days and one night in the year, to commemorate the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, &c. ix. 142, 143. The greater Hallel sung at the passover, &c. what, 144. Hallel, the great Hallel, what, ii. 260. Hallel, the hymn that was sung at the passover, what, 435. The great Hallel and hymn that was sung at the close of every passover, whence taken, and how it was sung, xii. 139, &c. Hallel, a hymn or song made up of six psalms, 308.

Hallelujah is used among the Jewish writers, and in Scripture, iii. 358.

Hand-breadth was compounded of four fingers laid close, ix. 216. 'Hand of the Lord,' for his 'assistance; or gift of prophecy,' iv. 184.

Hands, the imposition of them, the use and ends thereof, iii. 194, 204, 212. The plunging and washing them, what, and how they differ, xi. 400. The laying of hands upon the sacrifice, what, and for what end, xii. 235.

Harel and Ariel, what they signify, and how they differ, ix. 402.

Harvests of the Jews, ii. 6.

Harvest, seed-time, ploughing, sowing, mowing, dressing of vines, and all the management of the gardens, grounds, fields, and vineyards, lay in the hands of the Fathers of the Traditions; so that the countryman did none of these things but by the traditional rule, x. 176, 177. Harvest and seed-time were early among the Jews, xi. 187, 188. When, xii. 277.

Hatred; we are to hate no man in the world, vii. 328.

Head; the head was not to be uncovered (even in the Temple) among the Jews at their prayers, ix. 124. Head covered, shewed humility, reverence, shame; and uncovered, confidence, not fearful, not ashamed, xii. 511, 512.

Heart, its hardness, what, xi. 248.

Hearts, tongues, and actions of men, can be, and are, overpowered by the Spirit of God, so as to serve the design of God's glory, vii. 308, 311.

Heathenism began at Babel, ii. 86. It is again advanced by the papacy, iii. 364. From whence it sprang, viii. 376.

Heathens, were cast off at the confusion of Babel, viii. 212. How the Jews esteem them, xi. 245.

Heaven, being put for 'God,' was of common use among the Jews, v. 28. What saints in heaven do, referring to saints or sinners on earth, vii. 261, 262.

Heaven and earth made by God, and wherefore he made them, 367, &c. Put for 'God,' very usual in the Jewish dialect, xi. 49.

Heavenly and earthly things, what were used by Christ, v. 47, 48.

'Heavens, new, and earth new,' denotes a new state of the church, under the gospel, as, Isa. lxxv. 17. iii. 327. Heavens opening after Christ's baptism, what, iv. 307. And how far seen or not seen, by those that stood by, 310. Heaven opened, put for the mighty things said and done in Christ's ministry, 431, 432.

Hebrew was not the Jews' mother-tongue in the time of the apostles, but the Syriac, xi. 21. 27. The Hebrew letter was the original letter of the law, xi. 100, &c. Whether the text be corrupted, 103, 104. Hebrew language put for the Chaldee language, xii. 279.

Hebrew bible, some would have it corrected by the Greek version, and contend that those interpreters were inspired, viii. 443. Hebrew bible read in the synagogues of the Hebrews, xii. 575. The Jews thought not so honourably of any version, as they did of the Hebrew bible, 577, &c.

Hebrew text, added to by the Greek version and Chaldee paraphrast, xii. 437.

Hebrew tongue was not the common language of the Jews in Christ's time, being then lost, and to be learned or not known, iii. 50. 62. Canaan spoke this language, before Joshua came there, iv. 42. It was the tongue of Adam, and the tongue of God. It began with the world and the Church. The letters of it. The whole tongue is contained in the Bible. Most of the eastern tongues use the Hebrew characters or letters. Is a lofty, graceful language, 46. 49. Of the vowels, 49. The vowels are as ancient as the letters, 50. Contained all the things of true religion. All other languages at Babel wanted them; from whence sprung heathenism, viii. 376. What language was the Hebrew tongue in the time of the apostles? 403, &c. The Syriac, or Armenian, under the second Temple, was that which went under the name of the Hebrew, 405. Both Hebrew and Greek tongues, were native to some Jews, 409. Hebrew tongue or language was used by the Jews in reading the Scripture, prayers, and preaching; and so it is supposed the Corinthian church did, though the common people of the one and the other did not understand it, xii. 538, &c.

Hebrews were Jews inhabiting India, iii. 189. Paul the author of the epistle to the Hebrews, 307. What part of the Jewish nation it was directed to, 308. It was writ in Greek, as was Matthew; not

in Hebrew, as some suppose; because Hebrew at that time was only understood by learned men; the Greek now was their vulgar tongue, 309, 310. Hebrews and Greeks, who properly so called, viii. 406. 411. Hebrews, or the land of the Hebrews, was so called from Heber, from the confusion of tongues, x. 262. Hebrews, or Jews, and Hellenists, distinguished; with the reason of the distinction, xii. 566. Hebrews in Babylon, and the adjacent countries, were supposed to be vastly numerous, and of a purer and more noble blood than those that went up from Babylon, 567, &c. They had three universities in Babylon. The ten tribes also were placed there and in Assyria, 569, &c.

Hell; Christ's descent into hell, the improper meaning as what the church of Rome understood by it, vi. 3—17. Some protestants hold his local descent into hell; but not as the Papists do, 4. Christ's descent into hell is supposed by some to be the torments he suffered on the cross, 17. It is impossible Christ should suffer the torments of hell, or be in the case of the damned, 24. What is the meaning of Christ's descent into hell, 25. Hell did once signify the same with Hades; now it is only used for the place of torment, ib. Called by the name of Gehinnom and Gehenna, why, xi. 106. The Jews say that there are eight doors of Gehenna, ib.

Helena, or, as some will have it, Selene of Tyrus, a sorceress, was Simon Magus. His whore supposed to be Jezebel, mentioned Rev. ii. 20. viii. 124. Helena, the queen of Adiabeni, was famous, and a great benefactor to the Jews, ix. 276. 434.

Hellenists were Jews, inhabiting other countries, dispersed among the Greeks, iii. 189. They were the greatest enemies to Paul, because he had been one of them, 200. Hellenists, Acts xi. 19, means not Jews, as it did Acts, vi. 1, but Heathens; their language being a mixture of Syrian and Greek, 206. Called Grecians in our translation. Whether they were Greeks that lived among Jews, or Jews that lived among Greeks; Greeks converted to the Jewish religion, or Jews that used the Greek tongue. The last seems to be the proper meaning, viii. 404. Hellenists, whether Jews or no, 406, &c. Hellenists were Jews that were scattered among the Greeks, and used their tongue, xii. 306. Hellenists and Hebrews, or Jews, distinguished, with the reason of the distinction, xii. 566.

Helps were such as accompanied the apostles, and baptized such as were converted by them, xii. 535.

Heman the psalmist, and Heman the



- chief singer, were two different men, ii. 194.
- Heresies*, the most desperate in the first ages of the Christian church sprung from the Jewish Talmudical writers, iii. 402. Heresies, why St. Paul says they must be. Whence is the unhappy necessity of them, vii. 284. 286. The immediate causes and originals of heresies, what, 286, 287. Popery, socinianism, and quakerism are great heresies, ib.
- Heretics*, what, iii. 401. Simon, Cerinthus, Menander, Ebion, Basilides, &c. sprung from amongst the Jews, 403.
- Hermon* the same, say some, with the Mountain of Snow, x. 128.
- Herod* signifies 'fear, trembling,' &c. iv. 127. His pedigree, advancement, character, and end, 212. His manner of death, and cruelty before it, 233. His dominion enlarged, x. 277. His manner of rise from a servant to a king, xi. 38.
- Herod the Great*, his pedigree or family. His numerous and strange marriages and wickednesses, v. 73. 77. He and Herodias lost all, and were banished into Lyons, in France, viii. 231, 232.
- Herodians*, what they were, v. 106. The rise of them, and what they were, xi. 271.
- Herodias* was married to Herod, while her former husband was alive, v. 75.
- Hezekiah* and Er, both born when their fathers were very young, ii. 258. His sickness, when, 267.
- High* places were synagogues, v. 112. They were lawful till the tabernacle was set up in Shilo: Built up to idols, and the same also to God, ix. 459.
- High* priest disowned by Paul, because Christ was the High priest; though he afterwards seems to own him, and why, iii. 286. The High priest represented Aaron, iv. 253. High priest and the president of the Sanhedrim compared together. The High priest shewed to be the greatest officer, viii. 450. His office descended to the first-born. He was installed by the Sanhedrim. His garments, coat, breeches, girdle, ephod, breast-plate, ix. 21, &c. His mitre, and the golden plate that was fastened on it. He was exceeding pompous, and his dignity high. An eminent type of Christ. His office was for life, 24, 25. The succession of the High-priest till the building of the Temple, 26. From the building of the Temple to the captivity, 27—29. Under the second Temple, 29. 36. High-priest, what garments he had, which the other priests had not, 438. He was consecrated under the second Temple by putting on the holy vestments, 439. Whether sometimes there were not two High priests, xii. 47. How he prepared himself (with the help of others) for the day of atonement, 298. High-priesthood lost from one family to another, when, vii. 157. High-priesthood and other priesthood only differed in two things, xii. 357. High-priest's office often possessed by unlearned men, and often bought, 399.
- Hillel's* and Shammai's scholars were in constant quarrel, iv. 383. Hillel, president of the Sanhedrim, one of the most eminent both for learning, rule, and children. Part of his history, ix. 344.
- Hin*, what sort of measure, iv. 452.
- Historian*, officiousness a great fault in a historian, vii. 3, &c.
- History*, fragments of Roman and Christian, during the four first centuries, viii. 305. History is put by itself, so is prophecy in the Scriptures, in chapters, as well as books, notwithstanding they were not so delivered, ii. 286. 307. History distant in time and place laid together, as the mentioning of the institution of the Sabbath, 74. iii. 60. v. 110. The death of Noah, ii. 86. Esau's going to Ismael before Jacob's vision at Bethel, 97. Jethro's history is anticipated, 117. Moses brings in his own exclusion out of Canaan, thirty-eight years before it was, 135. Aaron is said to die forty years before he did, 136. Taking of Laish is mentioned by anticipation before it was, 141. Thus historical accounts of time differ in Scripture, and yet upon good reasons, 143. Luke lays down John's imprisonment before Christ. Baptism by anticipation, that John's story might come altogether, iii. 48. Luke misseth a year in Christ's ministerial history, 50. Differing histories, said to be at that time, or in those days, do not always centre in the same point, but sometimes have a transition betwixt, of such things as were at a good distance of time asunder, 65. Several writers of Scriptures differ in telling the same story; as Matthew speaks of two possessed; Luke of one. Matthew speaks of two blind men begging, Mark but of one. Matthew speaks of both the thieves mocking Christ; Luke speaks but of one doing so, harmonized, 84. John saith that Mary Magdalen came to the sepulchre, while it was yet dark; Mark saith it was sunrising. Matthew and Mark mention but one angel; Luke speaks of two at the sepulchre, 168. Thomas was not present when Christ appeared (at the snpper of the apostles) after his resurrection; yet Mark saith he appeared to the eleven; so Luke, xxiv. 3, Peter and Cleopas found the eleven, and 1 Corinthians xv. 5. He was seen of the twelve; the title of the whole chorus being used, though all was not present, 172. The

**Holy Ghost useth to speak short in known stories, viii. 111.** He seldom useth to speak our stories to the full, 132. Ecclesiastical history very subject to fiction and fabulous stories, vii. 3. Four causes from whence these fictions proceed, 3. 5. Pious fraud is one cause of the falsities of this sort of history, 5.

*Hoboken's* letter to Lightfoot, xiii. 422.

**Holiness**; the Jews had a conceit, that a person of extraordinary holiness might do miracles, iii. 186. Holiness of places among the Jews, by their own reckoning, had several degrees, ix. 5. Holiness of a place, computed to the foundation when the superstructure was gone, xii. 268.

**Holy Ghost**, he only was to be given by the apostles, iii. 194. Why they gave only to such as were to be preachers and ministers, of which there were but two ends, ib. Holy Ghost called 'the seven spirits,' 333. It is received by the Gentiles, contrary to the Jewish opinion, 204. The being baptized with the Holy Ghost, what, iv. 281, 282. Why called Holy, 313. He had left the Jews for some time, but returned again at Christ's baptism, wherefore he did then return, 314, 315. Why he appeared in the shape of a dove, 317. Holy Ghost is put for prophetic gifts, those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit which were bestowed upon prophets, and prophetic men and women, 351. There was a difference of the fulness of the Holy Ghost, and the fulness which was in other men, 353. Holy Ghost was to be received after Christ's departure at Jerusalem, the reasons of it, viii. 22. The Holy Ghost was received, and the gift of tongues in likelihood, by all the rest of the hundred and twenty, as well as the apostles on the day of pentecost, 48, 49. What it is to belie the Holy Ghost as Ananias did, with its aggravating circumstances, 77. The Holy Ghost in his extraordinary gifts and tongues, could only be communicated by the apostles, 448. How he went away from the Jews, and when he returned, xii. 311.

**Holy ground.** See *Ground*.

**Holy place**; the Most Holy place, how it was to be mended, ix. 264. The doors of the Holy place described, 276. The Holy place itself described, 280, 297, with what was contained in it, and what it signified, 283. Holy seed, how children are so called, iii. 23.

*Homer*, what sort of measure, iv. 449.

**Honey**; wild honey. God gave the people of Israel a land flowing with milk and honey; honey, not from bees, but from palm and fig trees, vast quantities, x. 204, 205. Honey (from figs) fallen on the ground so thick as to be up to the ankles, 205, 260.

**Honour**, great, what, in Jair's thirty sons, ii. 157, and Abdon's fifty sons, &c. 161.

**Horns** of the altar, of what nature and use: Joab was doubly deceived in his laying hold of the horns of the altar, and why he did this, though he knew it would not save him, ix. 398.

**Hosannah**, what, xi. 259, 261. It was sung by the children in the temple, 263.

**Hosea's** prophecy, when delivered, ii. 260. Hosea, exposition of the four first chapters of, xi. 423.

**Host**, one that entertained travellers, and strangers near the synagogue, at the cost of the church, iii. 274. Host of heaven, put for 'angels,' iv. 199.

*House*, Mountain of the, x. 61.

*House* of Asuppim, what, ix. 230.

**Houses** of the Jews were all flat roofed, they had on the top large grates to let in light and air, with covers for them when they would keep out cold and foul weather, v. 219. Houses, among the Jews, were made with flat roofs and battlements, and why, ix. 257. The lower rooms entered by the door, the upper rooms on the outside, xi. 383.

**How**, in Scripture, is sometimes a strong asseveration or negation, and sometimes a question of ignorance, desiring information, iv. 130.

*Huldah*, gate of, x. 349.

**Human** inventions less dangerous to be brought into divine worship under the Jewish law than under the gospel, and why, vi. 219. Human learning is exceeding useful, nay, exceeding needful, to the expounding of Scripture, 210. two objections of those that deny this proposition, answered, 210, 211.

**Hunger** gave an occasion to the devil to tempt Eve and Christ, iv. 358.

**Husband** and wife, if the one was a heathen and the other a Christian, yet they were to cohabit, and why, iii. 247. The husband among the Jews had a power to connive at his wife guilty of adultery, if he took her not in the fact, iv. 178.

**Hymns** used at the passover, what, iii. 151. ix. 191. What hymns the Jews used, and when, ix. 141, 144.

**Hyperbole**, oft used in Scripture, iii. 135. viii. 54.

**Hyperbolus**, used for a litigious fellow, vii. 169.

**Hypocrisy** is hiding iniquity, with its punishment, xi. 286.

**Hyssop**, several sorts of it, and one with stalks like canes or reeds, xii. 418.

**Idolatry**, when it began, ii. 75. It began in Israel by a woman, 147. Idolatry set up by the Jews only before their captivity into Babylon, vi. 374. It is an

abominable and senseless wickedness, vii. 350, &c. How God is jealous against idolatry, 353, &c. Baal changed in the names of men into Bosheth, which signifies shame, in detestation of idolatry, 356.

*Idols*; things offered to idols, forbidden to be used for a time, what they were, iii. 221. Among the Jews, it was held religion to reproach idols, xi. 195. The most ignominious name given idols was Zebul, i. e. dung, or dunghill, ib. The worst idol or devil was the prince, 195, 196. Idols, how rendered by the lexicographers: they are figments of human mistake, xii. 500. Some Jews held that idols might be bowed unto, or worshipped, 501.

*If*, is sometimes a note of assurance, and not of doubting, iv. 358.

*Ignorance* and error, the common cause of them is, because men will not know and embrace the truth, vii. 300.

*Image of God in Adam*, what, vii. 26. Image of God upon man, not lost by sin, though the likeness of God be, 332. Image of jealousy, what, ix. 364.

*Images in the church of Rome* are idols, vii. 351. 353.

*Immurcalin*, were seven in number; they carried the keys of the gates of the court, and one could not open them without the rest, &c. ix. 42.

*Immortality*, whether an upright state be a state of, v. 401.

*Imposition of hands*, iii. 194. This way the Holy Ghost was sometimes given, 204. Imposition of hands in ordination, a fundamental point, as well as the doctrine of faith and repentance, proved from Hebrews, vi. 225. This way the apostles, in likelihood never used, but to ordain unto some office in the church, and not for confirmation, viii. 127.

*Imputation of parent's sin to posterity*, is real and rational, vii. 359, 360. Imputation of the sins or good deeds of the parents to the children, supposed by the Jews not to be in the days of the Messias, xii. 326.

*Incarnation*, is a mystery, high and deep, iv. 359.

*Incense burning*, what, ix. 115. The altar of incense, what, 288. The way of pounding and compounding it, 352, 353. The way of burning it, with the manner of the priests and Levites getting ready in order thereunto, xi. 15, 16.

*Indifferent things*, and such as were not sinful of themselves, (although of human invention, and used in the Jewish worship) did not cause our Saviour to leave that communion, nor to forsake the way of worship; but he joined therein, rather than he would give offence, vi. 218, 219.

*Infant baptism* argued for, xi. 362.

*Infants in the womb*, supposed by the Jews to be in a capacity to commit sin, xii. 327.

*Inspiration*, two degrees of it, viz. to prophesy, and to be penmen of divine writ; John had both these, iii. 334.

*Institution*, divine, defiled by corruption, but not extinguished, xi. 155.

*Intercalated month or year*, what, xi. 182. 265.

*Interpretation of the holy text*, the judgment of the Jews concerning a just interpretation, xii. 540.

*Interpreters in the synagogues* stood by the Readers of the law and prophets, to turn the words of the Hebrew text into the language understood by the people, at the same time commenting or preaching upon the words, xi. 87, 88. 90. xii. 437. Interpreters of the law, part of their work, what, 576.

*Invention*, human, less dangerous to be brought into divine worship under the Jewish law than under the gospel, and why, vi. 219. Invention of words or names very common in Scripture, ii. 220. 228. 288.

*Invisible things*, are the greatest things of our concernment, vii. 195.

*Isaac*, his birth; how he was a type of Christ, ii. 91, 92.

*Isaiah* is called the Evangelist, ii. 245. Isaiah the prophet, say the Jews, was cut in two by Manasses the king, xii. 371.

*Iscaiot*, a name given to Judas the traitor, whether given before or after his death? if after his death, it emphatically shews his miserable end, xi. 172. As a betrayer, he was to have no part in the world to come: his 'going to his place' intends his 'going to hell,' 172, 173.

'*Israelite indeed*,' what, iv. 426.

*Israel's affliction in Egypt*, with the reason of their suffering, iv. 71. Israel's camp, according to the Chaldee paraphrast, what, 72.

*Jacob born*, ii. 93. He shews himself stronger than three men, 97. He blesseth his sons, 348. Why God wrestled with him, and sought to kill him, vi. 276.

*Jambres and Jannes*, who, and whence the names, vi. 90, 91.

*James*, two of the name, apostles, v. 168. One was bishop of Jerusalem, viii. 101. James and Peterequal; the first, not bishop of Jerusalem; nor the second, prince of the apostles, 164. James, St., enquiry into his liturgy, x. 553.

*Jason* seems in another place to be called Secundus, iii. 274.

*Jasper*, (the first stone in the foundation of the wall of Jerusalem, from above), the stone of Benjamin, for Paul's sake, see how, iii. 367.

*Javan* is generally held to be Greece, the plantation of Japhet's posterity, iv. 13.

*Jealous God*, what it signifies, and why God is so called, vii. 351, &c. Jealous, jealousy, zeal and zealous, are comprehended under the same word in the Hebrew, what they are, vii. 354.

*Jealousy*, the law concerning it, ix. 197.

*Jechonias*, who, and what was said concerning him, xi. 15.

*Jehovah*, what, ii. 114. 133. A name not given to any creature. It signifieth three things, 365. It is severally given to every person in the Trinity. How it was unknown to the fathers, 366. Contracted into Jeho, or Jahu, was joined by the Jews into their own names as delightful, iv. 170.

*Jehu*, cistern of, x. 372.

*Jephtha*, did sacrifice his daughter, ii. 158. His sacrifice, whether real or supposed, iv. 24. Jephtha, Gideon, and Sampson, their failings, vii. 151. Jephtha's vow, how to be understood, whether he did or did not sacrifice his daughter, 151, &c.

*Jeremoth*, put for Absalom, ii. 208.

*Jeremy* was very young when he began to prophesy, he prophesied forty years, &c. ii. 274. Jeremy put for Zachary in the gospel is no fault, but a thing known and received by the Jews, xi. 345.

*Jerubbual*, a name of Gideon, and why, ii. 155.

*Jerubbosheth*, was so, and why, ii. 156.

'*Jerusalem* from above,' the phrase scriptural and rabbinical, iii. 366. Jerusalem was so destroyed, that travellers by could not see any sign that it had ever been inhabited, 383. It was called the Holy City, the common and ordinary name for it, even when full of abomination and corruption: separatists may think of this, iv. 344. The destruction and conflagration of Jerusalem was an assurance of the judgement to come, vi. 354. It was set forth in Scripture in terms seeming to mean the last judgement, ib. The last days of Jerusalem are characterized, in one regard, for the best, in another, for the worst of times, vii. 78. New Jerusalem, what it is not, and what it is, and where to be found, 112, &c. Signs, presaging the destruction of Jerusalem, ix. 328.

*Jesseans*, a name given to Christians by Epiphanius, but not to be found elsewhere, viii. 264.

*Jesu*, iv. 10.

*Jesus Christ*; the false logic of those who are for no rulers or magistrates over them but king Jesus, refuted, vi. 263. Why Jesus was more opposed than John the Baptist, with the reason of it, viii. 394. Christ is added to Jesus in numberless places of the New Testament, to

shew that Christ was the true Messiah, xi. 11. Jesus Christ is called the Son of David, a common term in the New Testament and Talmudic writings, for the true Messiah, 12. Jesus of Nazareth mentioned in the Talmud, xii. 200. Jesus the true Messiah; some testimonies of his being so, 456.

*Jethro's* history, right placed, ii. 126. His story misplaced, and why, 372.

*Jew*, a Jew was not to have an inward conversation or friendship with a Gentile, xii. 477.

*Jewish* dialects, language, learning, allusions, and references to their opinions, traditions, and customs, every where used by Paul, but especially in the epistle to the Hebrews, iii. 310. As also by John, in the Revelations, 331. Phrases taken from the Jewish writers are used in the New Testament, as 'gehenna, the world to come, maranatha, raca, Jannes, and Jambres, Beelzebub,' iv. 33. Their troubles in Alexandria, v. 194. 198. 233. 242. The Jewish nation was divided into the learned and unlearned; the men of breeding, and those that had none: this dichotomy is shewed out of the Jewish writers, 202. 219. In their own land, 236. They are again in favour, 277. Jewish affairs, viii. 99. 181. The Jewish state, the destruction of it described as if the whole frame of the world was to be dissolved, 433. Jewish nation, whether (as to the more general part of it) it was not rejected and blinded, before Christ came into the world, xii. 441.

*Jews*, a great number were all along in Egypt, iii. 28. Their language and style is much followed in the New Testament, 46. They had three ways of opposing the gospel: by a prayer against the heretics, by emissaries, whose business was to cry it down, and preach every where against it; by the use of magic, in doing strange things, exceeding many of them being skilled therein, 214. They generally every where opposed the gospel, 224, 234. Both within and without Judea, they were generally judged by their own magistracy, 242. They used to pray only for themselves, and their own nation, 260. In Babylon, in the days of St. Peter, they were grown to so great and distinct a nation (since the time of their captivity), that they had a prince of their own, and three universities, 321. About Christ's appearance, and especially some little after, they were the most unquiet and tumultuous nation under heaven, 324. Besides their common wickedness, they had four additions, monstrous and unparalleled, ib. They murdered, at one time, of Greeks and Romans four hundred and sixty thousand men, eating their flesh, de-

vouring their entrails, daubing themselves with their blood, and wearing their skins, 213. 391. After this, multitude of thousands of Jews were destroyed, four hundred thousand; Adrian walled a vineyard sixteen miles about with dead bodies a man's height; the brains of three hundred of their children were found upon one stone, 393. He destroyed fifty of their strongest garrisons, and nine hundred and eighty-five of their fairest towns: this was some time after the destruction of Jerusalem, 391. They had five hundred schools, and every one five hundred scholars; Rab Akibah had twenty-four thousand disciples, 393, 394. They were more mad of their traditions and carnal rites after the fall of Jerusalem than before, 399. They were generally divided among themselves, yet all of them opposed Christianity to the utmost, when they themselves were in their greatest afflictions, 400. They deeply engage themselves to stand by the Mishna and Talmud, 402. Several heretics sprang from among them, as Simon, Cerinthus, Menander, Ebion, Basilides, &c. 403. The Talmud of Babylon is their standard for rule and religion to this day, *ib.* Their miserable estate to this day doing on traditions; their own works for salvation; their being the children of God; that their Messias is to come; hating him that is already come up, 409. They make a part of the remaining Antichrist, and are to be destroyed with him, 410. There may be a calling of the Jews, but not so universal as some suppose, 408, 412. Jannes and Jambres, a form taken from the Jewish writers, *iv.* 33. In Galilee and Judea, they differed in many things, *iv.* 105. Jews put for 'Sanhedrim or rulers,' very common in the Evangelists, 228, 243. The Jews themselves expected that the Messias should reign amongst them a thousand years, *vi.* 257. They thought the law was to restrain and bind the outward action only, not regarding the inward thought, 342. Jews and Romanists, how they may be said to be yoke-fellows, 366. How they lost the power of judging malefactors, 368. They had a high conceit of their own nation, 371. They were highly severe and strict about little inconsiderable customs, but very remiss about things of great moment and necessity, 373, 374. They were rejected by God, not only for putting our Saviour to death, but before also, for their cursed traditions and crying wickedness, 375. The calling-in of the Jews (expected by some) is not probable, and why, 393, 394. The Jews were dispersed before our Saviour's time, *vii.* 8. They were cast off to a reprobate sense, before the

destruction of Jerusalem, 11. They crucified the Lord of life, out of the very principles of their traditional religion, 53. The Jews and the Jewish religion were very corrupt under the second temple, 120. The church of the Jews was only a child under age till Christ came, 397. Their admirable resolution and courage, *viii.* 100. How their historians differ, 101. Their commotions, 99, 154, 170, 270, 272. Vitellius becomes their friend, 156. The difference between the Jews and the Gentiles went away when Christ came, 219, 223. Their cruelty, 414, 415. It was very great, destroying two hundred and twenty thousand Greeks and Romans at one time, feeding on their flesh, eating their bowels, besmearing themselves with their blood, and covering themselves with their skins, 460, 461. They also in Egypt and Cyprus destroyed two hundred and forty thousand men in a most barbarous manner, 461. The Jews fasted on the second and fifth days in the week, whether imitated by Christians, 458. How far lawful or unlawful for them to eat of the victuals of the Samaritans, *xii.* 265. Their mother tongue was the Chaldee language, from their return out of Babylon, 279. They were permitted by the Romans (their governors) to live by their own laws and religion, 479, *vi.* 368. They were not to be beholden to the heathen, *xii.* 502. Jews and Hellenists distinguished, with the reason of the distinction, 566.

*Jezebel* mentioned *Apoc.* *ii.* 20, might possibly be one that was a whore to Simon Magus, *viii.* 124.

*Jezebelites* impudently oppose the decrees of the apostles, *viii.* 477, 478.

*Joab*, his self-deceit in laying hold of the horns of the altar, with the reason of it, *ix.* 398.

*Job* was contemporary with Israel in Egypt, *ii.* 109. He was a heathen man, yet so good, *iv.* 75. *Job*, the order of reading, *ii.* 21.

*Jochanan ben Zaccai* (Rabban) part of his history, *ix.* 346.

*Jod*, of its not passing away, or eternal duration, *xi.* 98, 99.

*John* the evangelist, his departure from Paul and Barnabas, at Perga; the occasion guessed at, *iii.* 215. He is called 'the beloved disciple,' &c. with the reason, *v.* 168. The same with *Jochanan*, frequent in the Old Testament, *iv.* 128. The most punctual of all the four evangelists, especially in giving an account of the festivals that intercurrent between Christ's entrance into his public ministry, and the time of his death, *vi.* 209. *John* the beloved disciple, was he to whom the Revelations were delivered, *vii.* 112.

*John the Baptist*, when he began to preach and baptize, iii. 35. How exceedingly people flocked to his ministry and baptism, 36. His ministry lasted three years, the half of which almost he lay in prison, 92. He was born at the same time and place, when and where circumcision was instituted, 91. How he received his commission for the ministry, and the institution of the sacrament of baptism, iv. 253. How he performed these, 255. Josephus, his testimony of him, v. 77. His excellent character, with what opinion the Jews (even the Sanhedrim) had of him at first, 266. 268. In all probability was no eremite, 203. xii. 29.

*Jonah*, where the book of, is to be taken in, ii. 41. Jonah the prophet was a man of wonders, as his history refers to Nineveh, iv. 34. Jonah, applied to Peter with emphasis, when the prophet Jonah and he are compared together, 418.

*Jordan*; Israel's passage through Jordan was very many miles, taking up about all the length of the river that was in Judea, iv. 305. 414. The waters thereof were opened twelve miles, when Israel passed through, x. 96. Little Jordan was from the spring of Jordan, to the lake Samochonitis; but from that lake (being a much larger stream) it was Jordan the Greater, 129. 206. Breadth of the land of Jordan, 249. The country beyond it, what, 291. Jordan had over it two bridges at least, besides other passages, 310, 311.

*Joseph* had the birth-right as Rachel's first-born, by Jacob's choice in his life, and gift at his death, ii. 97. 102. 105. His birthright in the division of Canaan, it served next after Judah's royalty, 141. Jose and Joseph are one and the same name, viii. 368.

*Josephus*, mistaken, x. 334.

*Joshua* did great things, ii. 142. Joshua was buried, x. 303. Joshua, the son of Pehriah, part of his history, ix. 344. Joshua, matters contained in the book of, ii. 34. Talmudic notes on, x. 542.

*Josi* or Joseph ben Joezer, part of his history, ix. 344.

*Jot*, of its not passing away, or eternal duration, xi. 98, 99.

*Iota* or one tittle of the law did not perish, iii. 405.

*Journey*; taking a journey in Scripture, be it whither it will, is commonly called 'going up and going down,' iv. 187. A sabbath-day's journey, what, iii. 132. viii. 26. 32. The length of it was one hundred cubits, or one mile, xii. 219.

*Joy*, wicked, in a strange instance in the gunpowder traitors, vii. 88. Joy in heaven over a sinner that is converted, what, vii. 258.

*Jubilee* year, what resemblance of Christ's redemption, v. 135. It was the jubilee year at Christ's birth, iii. 110.

*Juda*, for Jehuda, and why, xi. 12.

*Judah*, the son of Tabbai, part of his history, ix. 344. Rabbi Judah, part of his history, 346.

*Judaism* is the body of the Jew's religion, differing in itself, yet all contrary to Christianity, iii. 403. The twofold sense of the word, vi. 244. The Jews held this maxim, that if a Jew forsook his Judaism, he should have no part in the world to come, 319. Judaism and Nicolaitism were two errors on each hand the gospel, into which some of the primitive Christians did fall, 339.

*Judas*, twice told of betraying Christ, at two distinct suppers with Jesus; one, two days before the passover; the other at the passover, iii. 148. The traitor was with Christ at the sacrament, 149. xi. 337. He was carried by the devil into the air, there strangled, and then cast down to the earth, and there burst asunder, viii. 37. 366. xi. 343.

*Judas* the Galilean, a sectary, led people away under a pretence of liberty of conscience and of persons, against the Romans, viii. 85.

*Judas* Maccabeus, part of his history, ix. 475.

*Judges*, true order for reading the book of, ii. 35. Judges were not monarchs, but chief commanders and instructors in the way of God, and undertakers for them in danger; for the Sanhedrim bore the sway, ii. 151. There were two courts of Judges, consisting of twenty-three, in the Temple, besides the Sanhedrim, iv. 239, 240. Judges, what benches of them there were among the Jews, xii. 484.

*Judgment* might be unrighteous, when the judging was righteous, vi. 360. Judgment to him that is angry, what, xi. 107. 'The day of judgment' put for Christ's coming with vengeance to judge the Jewish nation; six different ways of expressing it, xi. 404. The last judgment proved, vi. 348. The objections of the Sadducees and atheists answered, 349, 350. Noah's flood was a prognostication and an assurance of the last judgment, 354. The destruction of Jerusalem is set forth in Scripture-terms, seeming to mean the last judgment, ib. The several and providential assurances that God hath given of the last judgment, 353. 355. The prosperity of wicked men is an argument of the last judgment, 355. Assizes are an assurance and a fit representation of the last judgment, 359. 379. 384. Conscience is an assurance given by God of the last judgment, 355. 385. The manner of giving the law is an assurance of the last judgment, ib.

*Judgments*; against sin, are just, iv. 20. Capital, always began on the defendant's side among the Jews, and not on the accuser's, xii. 102. Judgments were distinguished into pecuniary and capital among the Jews, 483.

*Judicial deaths*, the manner of them among the Jews, ix. 340.

*Julian the Apostate*, part of his character, or part of what he was and did, vii. 198.

*Just men*, distinguished by the Jews into two sorts, and to which of them they gave the preference, vii. 256.

*Justification*, as by faith in Christ, iii. 272. Justification is a great mystery in several respects, vi. 246, 247. What it is, 299, 300. Why we are justified by perfect justification, and not sanctified by perfect sanctification or holiness, answered, vii. 26.

*Kab*, what sort of measure, iv. 452.

*Kadesh Barnea*, why so called, ii. 129.

*Kalendar*, or almanack, Jewish, with their festivals, the attendance of the priests, and the lessons of the law and prophets, iv. 135, 148.

*Karaites*, the difference between them and those that are said to be without, ii. 391.

*Katholikim*, there were two of them, head-treasurers to the Temple, ix. 39.

*Kenite*, Salamean, or Salmean, the same, and what, x. 325.

*Kenites*, who, x. 268, 325.

*Keri and Cethib*, or the different readings of the Hebrew text, what, xi. 103, 104.

*Keys of the kingdom of heaven*, what, iii. 99. xi. 226.

*Kidush Habdala*, words of blessing the Sabbath, iii. 56.

*Kidron*, the brook, was a sort of sink, or common sewer to Jerusalem, xii. 396, 397.

*King*, how he was to read the law, ix. 192.

*Kingdom of Christ*, misunderstood, iii. 126. *Kingdom of God*, for the gospel day, or age, iv. 244. *Kingdom of God*, or heaven; what, in the gospel acceptation, v. 32. *Kingdom of heaven*, and its coming when the Messiah came, what, iii. 46. The kingdom of heaven signifies the preaching the gospel, also the preaching of it to the Gentiles, with their conversion, iv. 257. The kingdom of heaven and the New Jerusalem began, Anno Mundi 4000; just when the city and temple were destroyed, 325. The kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of God, one and the same in sense, v. 27. The kingdom of heaven, among the Jewish writers,

was taken for the height, zeal, and strictness of their devotion, joined with punctual ceremoniousness, and phylactery rites, 28. 'The kingdom of heaven,' in the language of the Jews, in the gospel, and some of their own writers, did signify the day of the Messiah, and the glorious times that would then be, 30, 33. Our Saviour and the disciples did use the same phrase, but did understand it of spiritual things, not worldly; the difference between them is shewed, 31. The kingdom of heaven far differently understood and used by the Jews, and by Christ, and what its 'being at hand,' 154, 162. 'The kingdom of heaven' is put for the receiving the Gentiles into favour and into the gospel, viii. 219. *Kingdom of heaven*, in Matthew, is called the kingdom of God in the other evangelists, xi. 48, 49. 'The kingdom of God coming in power,' is used for Christ's coming in his vengeance and power, to destroy the unbelieving and wicked nation of the Jews, 404. *Kingdom of God*, or of heaven, what in the gospel, and what among the Jews, xii. 172. *Kingdom of the world*, which Satan offered Christ, what, iv. 367, 373. *Kingdom to be restored to Israel*, i. e. a worldly kingdom, our great mistake, viii. 22. Articles against this opinion of the Jews, and Millenaries that concur with them in many things, 23.

*Kings*, directions for the methodical reading of the books of, ii. 40, 41. *Kings* were called by several names in several countries, iv. 186.

*Knee*, in what use in adoration, xi. 410.

*Know*, in Scripture, is used for 'own and acknowledge,' iv. 86. 'We know,' signifies that 'the thing is well known,' v. 25.

*Labourers*, a Jewish parable concerning them, xi. 254, 255.

*Lamb of God*, what, and why Christ was so called, iv. 416. *Lamb Pascal*, how prepared, iii. 148. Where the lambs were kept for sacrifice, ix. 367.

*Lamech's sin*, he complains of, was polygamy; and his slaying was by setting an ill example, ii. 238.

*Lamentations of Jeremy*, an elegant writing, ii. 298.

*Lamp*; 'ere the lamp of God went out,' what, ix. 284.

*Lamps used in the temple*, what, ix. 284.

*Language*; of Ashdod, what, x. 336. Hebrew language put for the Chaldee language, xii. 279. Language of the Jews much followed in the style of the New Testament, iii. 270, 271.

*Languages*; are not so many as there were nations at Babel, ii. 339. Languages of the two Testaments, are the

Old in Hebrew and Chaldee, the New in Greek, &c. iv. 52. Languages; the confusion of languages was the casting off of the Gentiles, and confusion of religion, viii. 376. The fathers of the Sanhedrim were to be skilled in many languages, xii. 357.

*Laodicea*; the epistle from Laodicea, is an epistle from that church to Paul, iii. 300.

*Last day*, called also sometimes 'the kingdom of God,' and sometimes 'a new heaven and a new earth,' iv. 244, 245.

*Last days*, in exceeding many places, both in the Old and New Testament, denotes the last days of Jerusalem and the Jewish state, not of the world, iii. 184. Last days and times, put for the times immediately preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of the Jewish state, xii. 434. vi. 292. Last days, what they generally signify in Scripture, vi. 292. 340. 354. 380. Last days of Jerusalem are characterized in one regard for the best, in another, for the worst of times, vii. 78. Last days of Jerusalem and the Jewish state, are named as the last days of the world, 91. 121.

*Latin translation*, renders ill 'righteousness' for 'alms,' iv. 59.

*Lavatory* of Bethany, what, x. 220.

*Laver*, for water, what, ii. 403. Laver described, x. 70. Laver, where it stood, and its size, ix. 418. The manner of washing in it, 422. Solomon's ten lavers, the Holy Ghost is very copious in their description, 423. Their fashion and use, 423, 424.

*Law*, the giving of, ii. 30. Christ was a member of the church of the Jews, proved, and under the obligation of the law, 217. The law was thought by the Jews to restrain and bind the outward action only, not regarding the inward thought, 342. The Jews read the books of the law and prophets only, in their synagogues; the rest they read not, 349. The Jews say there are six hundred and thirteen precepts in the law of Moses, 376. The manner of giving the law is an assurance of the last judgment, 385. Judaic and Mosaic law, how distinguished by the Jews, vii. 119, 120. Whether God shewed more mercy in giving the law, or in giving the gospel, 182. The commandments of the law were given for gospel ends, 183. The performing of the law, in one sense, is impossible; yet the keeping of it, in another, is possible, ib. Christ was to bring in a new law, but not to abolish the old, xi. 97. The text of the law was writ in the Hebrew, and not in the Assyrian letter, 100, 101. Law, written and oral, what, and how explained by the scribes and

doctors, xii. 96, &c. What the difference between coming to God in the law, and coming to God by the law, 382. Law used for the Scripture, i. e. Moses and the prophets too, both the former and the latter, 546. Women not allowed to read the law in the Jews' synagogues; though a child or a servant might, 548. Law, ceremonial, obliged as single men, or as members of the congregation and people of Israel: the passover, and other festivals, were of the later form, which made Christ observe them against separatists, iv. 457. Christ was under the obligation of the ceremonial law, and that in three respects, vi. 218. Ceremonial law, why instituted, 283. It was not the covenant of works, but the mode or manner of the administration of the covenant of grace, 282. Law, and going to law among unbelievers, what, and how vile, iii. 240. Law broken by Adam, was both the tables of the law, iv. 77. Law, moral and ceremonial, what they were, and how Christ is said to fulfil them, iv. 298, 299. They differ much from the gospel, both as to grace and truth, 352. Law, moral, obligeth under the covenant of grace, vi. 284. Law and the prophets, put for all the Old Testament, and how, iv. 424, 425. Law, given at Sinai, what, iv. 78. Why the law was published then and not before; of the place where it was given, and the manner, 79. Of the effects of the law, 80. Of the ten commandments, 83. Law, the Jews' tenet concerning the law, by which they reduce six hundred and thirteen precepts into one, which was 'living by faith,' and so witnesseth against themselves, because they were altogether for works, ii. 383. Supposed by the Jews to be new at Christ's coming; how far it was so, v. 160. Law, unwritten among the Jews, was their cabalah or traditions, v. 204. Law writ in Adam's heart, upon creation, what, vii. 379.

*Lawyers* were doctors of the law; they were of several sorts, xii. 94. 99. Lawyers, and teachers of the law, what, 119.

*Laying hands* upon the sacrifice, what, and for what end, xii. 235. Laying on of hands upon the head of the burnt-offering or sacrifice before offered, what, ix. 72.

*Lazar*, used for Eleazer, xii. 158.

*Lazarus*, his soul was in heaven those four days he was dead, vi. 28.

*Learned men* might, of necessity, teach the people among the Jews, because the Scriptures were in an unknown tongue to the common people, iii. 370. Learned men, at Christ's coming, had filled the nation by the tutoring of the two great doctors, Shammai and Hillel, iv. 225. The destruction and division of the learned



men of the Jewish nation, what, v. 202. 218.

*Learners*, or Disciples after the days of Rabban Gamaliel, did use to sit, while they were instructed, xii. 44. They had power to ask the doctors any questions as they went along in their expositions and lectures, 45.

*Learning* among the Jews at Christ's coming, was advanced to a mighty height by the labours of the presidents and vice-presidents of the Sanhedrim, iii. 32. Learning, Jewish, what, iv. 14. Human learning is exceeding useful, nay, exceeding needful, to the expounding of the Scriptures, vi. 210. Two objections of those that deny this proposition, answered, 210, 211.

*Leaven*, the, of the Jews; searching for it, with the prayer before they set upon that search, ix. 132, 133. Put for doctrine, and a naughty heart and affections, xi. 222.

*Lectures*; at them the gesture was, the teachers sat and the learners stood, xi. 203.

*Legends*, two or three of them Papal and Judaical, x. 316.

*Lepers*, the priests could only pronounce, not make them clean, nor give them leave to come into cities, &c. iii. 59. The atonement for their cleansing, what, 309. Their room for cleansings, where, ix. 199. How they were to dwell alone, xii. 170. 172.

*Leprosy*, laws of, ii. 31. Cured by Christ, when the priests could not, yet Christ was tender of their reputation, v. 196. Leprosy, and the doctrine of it under the law, points out very well the guilt and doctrine of sin, xi. 154. The custom of putting the blood upon the ear of him that was cleansed of a leprosy according to that command, Lev. xiv. 14. what, vi. 219.

*Leithech*, what sort of measure, iv. 450.

*Letters*, who first had the use of them, &c. iv. 44. 48.

*Levi*, one of the names of Matthew the apostle, v. 222.

*Levites* and priests, how distinguished, ii. 229. They were divided into porters and singers, what their business, ix. 52. 55. Levites, their desks where they sung, what, and whether pulpits or no, ix. 384. 388. The cities of the Levites, and the land about them was large, called their suburbs, being cities of refuge and universities; they and the priests were the settled ministry of the church of Israel; they always lived upon tithes when they studied in the universities, or preached in the synagogues, and attended on the Temple-service, x. 173, 174.

*Priests and Levites*, what was lawful and unlawful in them, xii. 21.

*Leviticus*, method of reading, with instruction concerning the ceremonies enjoined therein, ii. 31.

*Libertines*, were much spoken of in the Jewish writings, iii. 190. Libertines, were servants that had received their freedom; these were Jews; how they came to be servants, and how again to be free, viii. 413. Libertines put for free-born Jews, i. e. the sons of such as had obtained the Roman freedom, viii. 109.

*Liberty* of conscience and persons, was pretended to by Judas, the Galilean, viii. 83, 84.

*Lie*; the Jews used and loved to lie at their feasts, in what order they used that gesture, xi. 327, 328.

*Life*, what, iv. 121. Why life is called 'precious,' vii. 138. How tender God is of the life of man, 140. Why such an equal tribute is to be paid to God for the life of man, 141. Long life is a promise affixed to very many commands, and why, 400. How to reconcile the shortness of man's life with that promise, 401. Why God shortened man's life at the flood, at Babel, and at Sinai, even where he promised long life, 403. The length of the lives of the first inhabitants of the world considered, and the reason given, 403, 404. Long life to many proves a curse, 406. Long life in itself is a blessing, 405. 407. How it is a blessing when so full of sorrow, and upon that account men are made so weary of, 408. Life and death, under the cruel emperor Tiberius, were both miserable, viii. 147.

*Lifting* up of hands, the way of blessing the people, the manner of it, how performed, ix. 118.

*Light*, put personally for 'Christ,' and virtually for what flowed from him, iv. 122. Put for 'evening of the Sabbath,' xii. 206. Light within, what, and of what power to lead to heaven, vii. 299.

*Lightfoot's* letter to Buxtorf, xiii. 425. to 459: to Bernard, 454.

*Likeness* and image of God upon man, distinguished, vii. 331. Likeness of God upon man lost by sin, but not the image, 332.

*Lineage*, or descent of Christ, was most of younger brothers, vi. 324.

*Linen*, much thereof was used in the several garments of the priests, ix. 436.

*Linen* cloth, or a sindon, was a cloak made of linen, hung with fringe, xi. 438.

*Lives*, why Satan taketh not away our lives when he pleaseth, vii. 139.

*Loaves*, placed on the shew-bread table, the way of making them, their number, the manner of placing them, and what they signified, ix. 285. 287.

*Locusts*, many kinds of them, xi. 380.

*Lod*, where, and what, x. 260.

*Log*, what sort of measure, iv. 452.

*Long-sufferings* of God to wicked men, is sometimes not the goodness of God to them, vii. 349.

*Loosing* or binding, a very usual phrase in the Jewish schools, spoken of things, not of persons, xi. 226, &c. See binding and loosing.

*Lord's day*; the Jews say it was the first day in the week; why Christ changed the day from the seventh to the first, xi. 357. The Lord's day was not controverted, but every where celebrated in the primitive times, only some Jews (converted to the gospel) also kept the Jewish sabbath, xii. 556, 557.

*Lord's Prayer* was twice given forth by Christ, iii. 115. It may be picked out of the writings of the Jews, iv. 29. St. Cyprian's nicety about the last petition in the Lord's Prayer, ib. Was given twice by Christ, first in the mount, Matthew vi. and then at the feast of Tabernacles, a year and a half after, vi. 425. The agreeableness of it to the Jewish forms, ib. The reason why the doxology is added to it by St. Matthew, and omitted by St. Luke, 427.

*Loretto*, the legend of the Virgin Mary's house thither, x. 316.

*Lot*, the priest obtained by it to burn incense to the Temple, iv. 150.

*Lots*, how cast, where, and when, xii. 14. 16.

*Love*; it is our duty to love all men, the reason, vii. 128. We are to love our neighbour as ourselves, 329. Love-feasts, they were appendages to the Lord's Supper also; they were, when strangers were entertained in each church, at the cost of the church, &c. xii. 522, &c.

*Loving*, put for embracing, kissing, or being well pleased with, and pitying, xi. 411, 412.

*Lucan*, the poet, was Seneca's nephew; he basely betrayed, or rather falsely accused his own mother to death; Nero cut his veins also, and let him bleed to death, iii. 319.

*Lucius*, of Cyrene, supposed to be Luke, by a Latin name, iii. 211. 274.

*Lunatic*, deaf and dumb, xi. 236.

*Luz*, a little bone in a man's back, which the Jews speak of as the seed and principle of a future resurrection, xii. 352. vii. 197.

*Lysanias*, who he was, iv. 252.

*Macherus* is derived from Macvai, x. 165.

*Machpelah*, supposed to be Adam's burying-place, x. 99. 376.

*Magdalen* (Mary Magdalen), whence the name, xii. 83.

*Magi*, or Wise men, several authors give them a good character, but the Scripture ever a bad one, iv. 215. Who they were, 217.

*Magic*, common among the Jews, and that cheat ended not with Jerusalem; but multitudes of deceivers rose up, and by magic drew away the people, iii. 400.

*Magicians*, the same with wise men, wizards, &c. iv. 215, 216.

*Magistracy* instituted as an ordinance of Christ, and a gospel mercy, vi. 261. The usefulness of it to the church, 264. So overawed by a wicked people, as not to dare to execute justice, 369.

*Magistrates*, the false logic of those who are for no magistrates over them but king Jesus, refuted, vi. 263. Are to be obeyed in all lawful things, xi. 276.

*Magog* and Gog, what is meant by them, vii. 66. 68.

*Mahometism* and popery coming, the devil was let loose, vii. 64.

*Maids*, the day of the week on which they were married, and the ceremonies of their marriage, xii. 241, &c.

*Malefactors* (say the Jews) going to execution and making confession of their sins, that and their death did expiate for their sins, vii. 275. Their execution, where and how performed among the Jews, ix. 340, 341. At their death were used cruelly by the Jews, as an act of friendship, xii. 205.

*Males*, at what age they were to appear before the Lord, ix. 360.

*Mammon* of unrighteousness, what, xii. 152, &c.

*Man* was created by the Trinity, about nine o'clock in the morning, ii. 335. Man is a wonder, vii. 172. How much devilishness the devil can infuse man's nature with, the reasons of it, 343. 346. Man of sin or antichrist, the Jewish nation in the first, the Roman in the second place, and both conjoined, iii. 231, 232. The characters of 'the man of sin' do agree to the Jewish nation, ib. 233.

*Manacles* for the hands, used among the Jews, viii. 454.

*Manaen*, who, conjectured, iii. 211.

*Maphtir*, one sort of public reader in the synagogue, of which number Christ was one, iii. 50. He that read in the synagogues, was called Maphtir, and was to read one and twenty verses, xii. 65.

*Maps* of the gospel-topography are too officious, x. 230, 231.

*Mar*, or Mari, a title the Jews sometimes gave their rabbins, xii. 180.

*Maranatha*, a form taken from the Jewish writers, iv. 33. This, say very

many commentators, is the highest and heaviest form of excommunication; but it rather intimates the curse coming upon the Jews, xii. 563, &c.

*Maranatha*, discussion on, v. 417.

*Marches* of the Israelites, in their departure from Egypt, ii. 415.

*Marginal reading*, the original and end thereof, iv. 20.

*Mark*, was John Mark, nephew to Barnabas, he writ the gospel; there was but one of the name, iii. 323. Why he departed from Paul and Barnabas, xii. 457.

*Market*, what place in the Temple the Jews had turned into a market for sheep, oxen, &c. ix. 314.

*Maronite*, a Maronite, what, x. 358.

*Marriage* in the Judaic law was always binding, *i. e.* every one, before such an age, were to be married, iii. 247; but not so in the Christian law, not to be till a woman was espoused, xi. 18. Marriage of men, the time and reason of it, xii. 488. 490. The marriage bond, both among Jews and Gentiles (especially the Jews), was looked upon as a loose thing, 492. When to marry or not to marry, 498, 499.

*Marriages* of the Jews, fixed to a certain day of the week, iii. 44. They had feasts commanded, *ib.* Marriages were performed on different days for maids and widows, with the reason and ceremonies thereof, xii. 241, &c.

*Married*, what a reproach it is for a woman not to be married, vii. 154. A hundred and sixty priests married in Gophna, all in one night, x. 108. When a man was new married, where he dwelt, 228.

*Martyrdom*, dying (called martyrdom) for others, to save their country, x. 261.

*Mary*, assumption of, viii. 305. Mary, the mother of Jesus, not without sin, iii. 81. iv. 161. She was a widow when Christ died, iii. 166. She was very poor in her husband's days; near akin to the wife of Cleopas, iv. 440. She was reprehended by Jesus, 442. She was taken away by martyrdom, viii. 34. Vilified by the Talmudists, xii. 53. Mary, the sister of Lazarus, and Mary Magdalen, was the same person, iii. 76. Mary Magdalen, the same with Mary, the sister of Lazarus; why called Magdalen, xi. 354. xii. 360. Baronius also proves her to be the sister of Lazarus, xii. 363.

*Masorites*, their business was to secure the texts of the Old Testament from corruption, which they have done, quite beyond the quarrels of a daring Papist, iv. 20.

*Master* of a family, being baptized, his children were baptized with him, iii. 185.

*Matthew*, writ not his gospel in Hebrew as some suppose, because Hebrew at that

time, was only understood by learned men, the Greek then being the vulgar tongue, iii. 309. iv. 179. He writ it chiefly for the Jews; as Luke did his for the Gentiles, iv. 289, 290. The apostle called Levi, was the son of Alpheus or Cleopas; he had three brethren that were apostles as well as he, v. 221. Matthew writ his gospel in Greek; so did Paul his Epistle to the Hebrews, and not in Hebrew, as some have affirmed, because the Hebrew was altogether unknown to the common Jews, for it was not the Jews' mother-tongue in the time of the apostles, but the Syriac, xi. 21. 27.

*Meah*, what sort of coin, ix. 317.

*Measures*, Jewish, an homer—or cor—or corus—or lethech—bath and ephah—seah—hin—log—omer—kab, iv. 449. 451. The quantities or contents of all these measures, 453. Roman measures, two of them, 448. Measurements of the Jews, how or what they were, x. 247, &c. A *parsa* was four miles; a Talmudic mile consisted of seven furlongs and a half; a diet was thirty miles, 247, 248.

*Meat offerings* were of twelve sorts, ix. 98. For the making and managing of these, six general rules, 100. Meats forbidden and unclean, what, xi. 214. Meats and circumcision made the difference between Jew and Gentile; these being removed let the Gentiles into the church, viii. 212.

*Mediation* of Christ, the matter of it, what, viii. 247.

*Melchizedek*, all now acknowledge him for Shem, x. 263.

*Men*, their affairs and times, how God knows and dates them, vii. 223.

*Mene*, *tekel*, *upharsin*, the meaning of these words as written in Belshazzar's dining-room, vii. 109, 110.

*Mercy* of God, often wrested by men to their own destruction, vii. 277. Monuments of mercy were never set up in Scripture to be encouragements for presumption, *ib.*

*Messias* proved to be God, and Jesus to be the Messias, iii. 311. The Messias was to be blessed with six blessings, iv. 131. The word Messias, ever signifies Christ, and is so used abundantly among the Hebrew authors, 418. That Christ was the Messias, he easily convinced the mind by telling of secret things, 427. He could do nothing, but as delegated and assisted by the Father; as the Son of God, he hath all power put into his hand by the Father, v. 246. Christ shews that he was the Messias, and what work and authority belonged to him, 263. What appearances and effects the Jews looked for in the Messias, which they found not

in our Saviour Christ, vi. 365. It was the opinion of the Jews, that the Messias should reign a thousand years, vii. 63. The Messias, say the Jews, was not redeemed from sin, but from captivity and enemies, 275. He was, say they, to have an earthly, pompous, flourishing, kingdom, 276. What the Jews apprehended of his temporal reign, was in some things plain, in other things obscure, viii. 358. Messias not acknowledged by the Jews to be the genuine Son of God, 468. The Messias pointed at in the second Psalm, ib. David put for the Messias, 470. Messias, divers names of him produced by the Talmudists, xi. 159. The epoch of the Messias is stated from the resurrection of Christ, 179. His coming was predicted by the quarrels of the Jews, 180. At his coming the world was to be renewed, 253. He was acknowledged for the Son of God by the Jews, though not by nature; but by adoption, 354. Messias (who was God-Man) considered as he was, a servant and a messenger of the Father, and received his abilities of doing miracles, and of knowledge of evangelic mysteries, and other things beforehand from the anointing of the Spirit, 318. Messias or Christ, and the Son of God, are convertible terms against the Jews, xii. 24, 25. 285, 286. Messias supposed by the ancient Jewish rabbins to be begot, without carnal copulation, by the Spirit, 25, 26. The Jews expected their Messias to come when Christ did appear, 185. vii. 304, 305. They also expected, that, when the Messias came, he would lead them into the garden of Eden, where they should enjoy all manner of worldly pleasures in the highest degree, xii. 292. The fathers of the Sanhedrim had in all likelihood a strong suspicion, if not a knowledge, that Jesus was the Messias, 353, 354. The Jews expected when he came, to enjoy great worldly deliverances and blessings, 380.

*Methuselah*, the reason of his name and age, ii. 79.

*Metreta*, what kind of measure, iv. 448. 453.

*Micah*, who, and how he prophesied, ii. 249.

*Michael's* contending with the devil, what, iii. 328.

*Micra*, a treatise of the rabbins, containing the text of the Bible itself, its reading, and literal explication, xii. 96.

*Midnight* was a period of time so distinct among the Jews, that what was done then, was looked upon as done the day before, v. 187.

*Midrash*, a treatise of the rabbins, containing the mystical and allegorical explication of the Scriptures, xii. 96.

*Midwives*; the words of the Hebrew midwives were not a lie, but a glorious confession of their faith, ii. 357.

*Mieg's* letter to Lightfoot, xiii. 430.

*Mile*, a Talmudic mile was seven furlongs and a half, x. 248. xii. 348.

*Millenaries*, or fifth monarchists, their dangerous mistake of the twentieth chapter of the Revelations, refuted, vi. 225. Millenaries, refuted, v. 380. Millenaries concur with the Jews; articles against their opinions, viii. 23.

*Mind* of man, put for the understanding, also the bent and inclination of the soul, vii. 300.

*Mines* of iron and brass, were in several places in the land of Israel, x. 178.

*Ministers*, all the hundred and twenty ministers are dispersed, preaching, &c. only the twelve tarry at Jerusalem, to comfort and cherish the church there, iii. 192. Those ministers whom the apostles first ordained, were only fitted for their office by the Holy Ghost, with tongues and prophesying, 369. But after them (the writings of the Gospel finished) ministers were by study to be fitted for their ministry, ib. So were the priests and Levites accomplished, they be the standing ministers of the Jews; prophets and inspired men being only occasional teachers, but those the constant; for prophecy was sometimes long wanting, as under the second Temple, 370. There were many ministers in the apostles' days belonging to every church, with the reason of it, vii. 31, 32. Ministry in a mount near Capernaum. Christ ordaineth a ministry for the church of the Gospel, iii. 67. The number that entered into it, and three ends of their appointment, ib. Ministry of Christ had in it six parts, v. 130. 134. The priest and Levites were the settled ministry of the church of Israel; they always lived upon tithes when they studied in the universities, preached in the synagogues, and attended on the Temple service, x. 174.

*Minstrels* used to play in a mournful tone over the dead, iii. 88. Minstrels, among the Jews were used at burials, xi. 165, 166.

*Miracles*, four or five continued miracles attended Israel in the wilderness, and yet repined, ii. 130. They first began when Moses was in the wilderness, before he went into Egypt, ii. 358, 359. The Jews supposed that a man of extraordinary holiness might do miracles, iii. 186. Miracles of Christ, why he permitted them not to be discovered at Capernaum, iii. 88. Why not in Bethsaida, 98. How miracles were wrought in the name of Jesus, by one that was not a disciple, 106. To change the form of a creature is the greatest miracle, iv. 316. The first mi-

race Christ worketh, was at a marriage, with the reasons of it, 438. Mere miracles, or signs were never wrought by our Saviour, vi. 355. Miracles were wrought by the shadow of Peter, as it seemeth, viii. 79. Many done in one day by Christ, xi. 168. Miracles could not drive the Jews from their traditions, 403.

*Mirth*, or joy, wicked in a strange instance in the gunpowder traitors, vii. 88.

*Mishna*, is all the Jews' Cabala, or Traditional Law, in one volume, compiled by Rab. Judah, president of the Sanhedrim, about anno dom. 190 or 200, and one hundred and fifty years after Jerusalem was destroyed, iii. 396. The Jews deeply engage themselves to stand by this and the Talmuds, 402. It is one part of the Talmud, iv. 15. A treatise of the rabbins, containing the doctrine of traditions, and their explications, xii. 96.

*Mite*, what sort of money, xi. 419.

*Mitre*, and the golden plate that was fastened on it, what, ix. 24.

*Moloch*, what sort of idol, whence the name, where and how worshipped in the seven chapels, viii. 116. Molech, Milcham, Malcham, the same with Moloch, which was also called Baal, 117. Moloch represented the sun, and why it was an image of brass, having the face of a calf, &c. viii. 432.

*Moment* of time, what, out of the Jewish doctors, xii. 64.

*Monarchies*, the five monarchies were the Babylonian, the Mede-Persian, the Grecian, the Syro-grecian, and the Roman; which begun in the monarchy of the Cæsars, iii. 348. Monarchy, the fifth monarchy is not the kingdom of Christ, but the kingdom of the devil, vii. 52.

*Money*, the streets of Jerusalem were swept every day; and money found there in the time of feasts was all tenths or tithes, x. 216, 217. So also, what was found at any time, 217. Money, of silver and gold, both Roman and Jewish, with their value and stamps, what, xi. 417, 418. Money-changers, what, iii. 45. iv. 460. What they were, and why our Saviour overthrew their tables in the Temple, vii. 129. What from the Talmud and Maimonides, xi. 262, 263.

*Monster*, in a child with two bodies, from the navel upward it acted as two children, x. 302.

*Month*, in the year, which the most famous, iv. 196.

*Months*, Jewish, ii. 5.

*Moon* and sun being darkened, signifies the eclipsing the glory and prosperity of a kingdom or people, iii. 339. New moon, the strange laborious way the Jews had notice of its appearance, ix. 125, 126.

*Moral law*, what, iv. 299. The moral and ceremonial law differ much from the gospel, 352.

*Mortal*, Adam was not created mortal, against the Socinians, vi. 31.

*Morning sacrifice*, the killing of it, ix. 110.

*Moses*, how born; how a type of Christ, ii. 111, 112. How low before his ascending the government, 113. He sojourned where Mahomet rose, ib. Moses and Aaron, what their faults, that they were debarred entering into Canaan, 131. His birth was supernatural, 358. He was highly guilty of distrust or unbelief concerning Israel's coming out of Egypt, 114. 362, 363. He fasted three fasts, of forty days a-piece, 389. Why God sought to kill him, as we read Exod. iv. 24. vi. 276. Part of his history, viii. 429. Moses fasted forty days three times over, one after another, xii. 63.

*Mother's family* among the Jews is not to be called a family, xi. 16.

*Mountain*, put for 'imperial power,' iii. 339. What meant by 'removing mountains,' iii. 134.

*Mourners* for the dead, how the Jews used to comfort them, both in the way, and at home, x. 256. xii. 348, 349.

*Mourning*, what mourning was used for the dead, also what feasting and company, xi. 166. 168. The third day of mourning was a high day, xii. 353.

*Mulcts* for corporal wrongs, were several, xi. 127, &c.

*Murder* strangely punished, iv. 26. Was so common among the Jews that the beheading of an heifer (commanded Deut. xxi.) was left off by order of the Sanhedrim for fear of the murderers, vi. 369.

*Musicians* in the Temple, what sort of men, x. 301.

*Music*, divine among the Jews, what, ix. 64, 65. Music used at burials, what, xi. 166. Music used in the Temple, what, ix. 55. 65.

*Mustard stalk*, or tree, exceeding large, xi. 207.

*Mutterings*, a sort of enchantments used by the Jews, &c. xi. 300.

*Names* in Scripture are frequently changed, or inverted by the Holy Ghost, and by the people, &c. and why, ii. 209. 220. 22. Names given to children, how, when, and by whom, 288. iv. 183. Names or titles among the Egyptians had two distinguishing things to be observed in them, ii. 366, 367. Names changed in Scripture is frequent, and most commonly for the better, 419. How and why they were changed, 420, 421. Several names given to men in Scripture did arise from some singular quality, or action re-

ferring to them, 426. Names in Scripture phrase, denote men rather than women, viii. 35. Names were given children at their circumcision, so at the institution of circumcision; God changed the names of Abraham and Sarah, xii. 27. It was chiefly for the honour of some person whom the parents esteemed, that they gave their son his name; seldom was the son called by the name of the father, 27, 28. It was common in the Jewish nation for men to have two names, one a Jewish name used among the Jews, another a Gentile name used among the Heathen, 455.

*Name of God*, is put for God himself, iv. 123.

*Naming of children* sometimes was by the mother, as soon as born, sometimes by the standers by; but the father at the circumcision had the casting voice, whether the name should remain so or no, iv. 183.

*Nature of man* desperately corrupted, vii. 343, &c.

*Nazarene*, Christ was so called, to hint his separation and estrangement from other men, xi. 45.

*Nazarites*, where they offered, how durable or short their vow; if they cut their hair in the country, they were to bring it to the Temple at Jerusalem to burn, ix. 307. They were forbid the total use of wine, whether the law about the Nazarites had not the same reference to Adam, while he was under that prohibition in the state of innocency, xii. 18. Only two Nazarites were set apart by God, viz. Samson and the Baptist, three hundred at once made themselves Nazarites by their own voluntary vow, 23. They being forbid the use of wine, how could they keep the passover (&c.) in which wine was used, 19. They wore long hair; among whom Absalom was one, 520, 521. Why they let their hair grow long, 524.

*Nazaritism*, what and how the vow of it was sometimes laid aside, vii. 161, &c.

*Negation* sometimes is only of trial, when it seems to be of denial, as Gen. xix. 2. Matth. xv. 26. iv. 446.

*Negative* and affirmative, words are commonly used together in Scripture for elegancy, iv. 382.

*Neighbour*, who is such a one, iii. 114. Who is our neighbour, vii. 323. We are to love our neighbour as ourselves, what, 329. Neighbour and brother, what difference between them, xi. 105. Neighbour, the Jews denied any Gentile to be their neighbour, xii. 102.

*Nerva*, reign of, viii. 313.

*Nezer*, Ben, who, x. 319.

*Nero* the emperor, in his five first years did exceed the most for goodness, iii. 238.

But afterward he destroyed the Christians, for a plot laid by himself against them; the Heathens for real plotting against him, 319. In the close he grew endless cruel, ib.

*Nestorius* made two persons of the two natures, confuted, iv. 125.

*New creation*, new heaven and new earth, put for the times and state of things immediately following the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Jewish state, xii. 434.

*New* { Heaven, } what, iv. 245.  
 { Earth, }

*New Jerusalem*, and the kingdom of heaven begun, anno mundi 4000, just when the City and Temple were destroyed, iv. 324. The holy city, why called New, and why Holy City, vii. 112, &c. What it is not, and what it is, and where to be found, 115. 127.

*New Testament*; New Testament phrases and passages, the surest and safest way to understand them, viz. is not to frame a sense of our own, which we think fair and probable, but to observe how they were understood by them to whom they were uttered, vi. 227.

*Nicene council*, viii. 339.

*Nicodemus*, one of the great Sanhedrim, iii. 46. Supposed to be mentioned in some great story in the Talmud, v. 22. The reason of his name, and what he was; also called Bonai; he was exceeding rich, and yet his family fell to great poverty, xii. 252, 253.

*Nicolaitans*, what, viii. 108. That impure sect did not spring from Nicolas the deacon, but took the name from Nicola, viii. 412. They imprudently did oppose the decree of the apostles, 477. They were wicked heretics, persuading to eat things offered to idols, and to commit fornication, xii. 487, 488. Notwithstanding the affirmation of antiquity, they did not spring from Nicolas one of the seven deacons, 487.

*Nicolaitism* and Judaism were two errors on each hand the gospel, into which some primitive Christians did fall, vi. 339.

*Night*, for the study of the law was highly valued by the Jews, v. 24.

*Nineveh's conversion* was a very wonderful thing, iv. 34, 35.

*Ninth hour*, used for three o'clock in the afternoon, viii. 215.

*Noah's flood*, its nature, time of beginning and duration, ii. 80. 84. His drunkenness was some number of years after the flood, 86. Was a prognostication and assurance of the last judgment, vi. 354.

*Number twenty-six*, is something rare, ii. 133. Singular put for the plural, why; number, difference in it in Scripture, is no strange thing, 347.

*Numbers*, notes, and observations upon

each chapter of, ii. 32. Talmudic notes upon, x. 541. Numbers and things near alike are said to be the same, xi. 16.

*Nunship* or virginity, the vow of it among the Papists is accounted a devout and sacred thing, which is false and never to be proved by them, vii. 154, &c.

*Oaths* in the Jewish writings reduced to a promissory oath, xi. 122. A vain or rash oath, concerning which four things, and an oath concerning something left in trust, and a testimonial oath, what, 122, 123. The Jews only took care of the truth of the thing sworn, and not of the vanity of swearing; it was customary among them to swear by creatures, 123.

*Obadiah*, who he was, and when he prophesied, ii. 241.

*Obedience* of Christ, made his blood justifying and saving, vii. 236. It conquered Satan, and satisfied God, ib. Christ died merely out of obedience, 238. His obedience does not dissolve the obedience of a Christian, 252.

*Obeying* and believing are not to be separated, vii. 251.

*Obolus*, what, xii. 185.

*Offences*, there ought to be three causes of their punishing, iv. 171.

*Offending* brother, how to be dealt with, iii. 107.

*Offering*, any woman might come into the court through the Gate of the women when she brought an offering, ix. 71, 72.

*Offering* of water used at the feast of tabernacles, how performed, whence derived, and what the meaning of it, xii. 310.

*Offerings* were of several sorts, &c. ix. 71, 98. See burnt-offering, drink-offering, meat-offering, peace-offering, sin-offering, trespass-offering.

*Officers* in the sanctuary, their names and offices, ix. 334. In the Temple, and their offices, 352.

*Officiousness*, a great fault in an historian, vii. 3. 6. Unthanked, viii. 151.

*Old Testament*, how divided by the Jews, iii. 157. The Sadducees are said by some to refuse all the books of the Old Testament, except the five books of Moses, vi. 349. When any place of the Old Testament was cited by the Jews, they delivered it always in the very original words, viii. 475. How the Jews divided the writings of it, xii. 214, &c.

*Omer*, what sort of measure, iv. 451.

*Ophitæ Evia*, what, iv. 68.

*Opinions* and a scripture text distinguished, xii. 491, 492.

*Oracles*, silence of, viii. 322.

*Ordination* was first performed by Christ near Capernaum, iii. 67. Till Hillel's time a public teacher, having been ordained himself had authority,

and used to ordain his scholars as he saw them fit, but for honour to Hillel ordination was in time centred in the Sanhedrim, v. 121.

*Original* text of the Hebrew, whether corrupted or not, xi. 103, 104.

*Orphan* amen or psalm, what, xii. 545, 546.

*Oth's* letters to Lightfoot, xiii. 448.

*Outram's* letters to Lightfoot, xiii. 365.

*Outward* action, the Jews thought the law was to restrain and bind the outward action, only not regarding the inward thought, vi. 342.

*Overseers* (or presidents) over the times of service, the doors, the guards, the singers, the cymbal music, the lots, the birds, the seals (or tickets), the drink-offerings, the sick, the waters, the making of shew-bread, incense, the veil, and garments for the priests, what, ix. 19.

*Oil* to anoint the sick, used by the primitive Christians as physick (not as a charm as the Jews used it), and the elders to be present to pray and instruct, iii. 315, 316. The anointing oil, how compounded, ix. 438, 439. This oil was not used in the second Temple, and therefore the high-priest was consecrated by putting on the holy vestments, 439. Oil, mount of, 82.

*Ointment* precious, how prized, xi. 429.

*Papacy*, even at its first beginning, helped to set up the Heathenism again, iii. 364. Papacy, it followeth James and Jambres and is the great resister of the truth of the gospel, vii. 96, 97. Papists, the improbability, ridiculousness, and irreligion of their holding that the patriarchs were in purgatory, vi. 5, &c.

*Parables*, why Christ spoke so much in them, iii. 82. Parables were the Jews most familiar rhetoric, xi. 204. Parables were used among the Jews because they would not see the light, 391, 392.

*Paradise* put for the state of the blessed, vii. 270. Paradise, what the Jews understood by being in paradise, xii. 203, 204.

*Paras* was the space of fifteen days, immediately before the passover, pentecost, or the feast of tabernacles, viii. 357.

*Parbar*, the gate, where situate, ix. 227.

*Pardon* is to be obtained by repentance, iv. 21. Pardon and salvation, it is the greatest difficulty to make men fit and capable for them, vii. 278. What are the sure grounds of hope, for salvation and pardon, 279, 280. Pardon is the gift of God as well as repentance, 280.

*Parents*, why the children suffer for the parents' sins, the justice thereof, vii. 359, &c. This only designs corporal or external punishment, 363. It was the opinion of the Jews that children born crooked,

maimed or defective, was according to some sin of the parents, xii. 324.

*Parsa*, a *parsa* was four miles, x. 247.

*Paschal* lamb, how prepared, iii. 148.

*Paschal* supper, the whole method and order of it in eight particulars, xi. 329. How wine came to be there, and what quantity they drank, 333, 334.

*Pashur*, there were two of the name, ii. 281.

*Passage* of Israel through Jordan took up twelve miles, which was about all the length of the river that was in Judea, iv. 305. 414.

*Passover*, when instituted, ii. 116. Several particulars concerning it, 374, 375. The killing the passover, with the hymn that was sung in the mean while, iii. 152. ix. 140. It was a full representation of Christ's passion, it gives good instructions for the Lord's Supper, iv. 38. The Jews find thirteen precepts about keeping the passover, 39. The manner of the celebration of it, ix. 128. The difference and parallel between the passover in Egypt and the passover in succeeding ages, 129. The manner of the choosing the lamb, 131. The passages of the afternoon of the passover day, what, 134. The time of killing the passover, 136. The paschal societies, 139. Women were not bound to appear at the passover, but yet they usually did, with the reasons, 140. The manner or method of eating it, at evening, sitting, they began with thanksgiving, then with a cup of wine (and they were to drink four of them), their bread was unleavened, they also used five kinds of herbs, lettuce, endive, succory, beets, horehound, ix. 146. 166. They washed their hands several times, 152, 153. 158. The lamb roasted was set whole on the table; they began with other meat, they used a thick sauce, 154. 156. They gave thanks when they began on every differing part, 146. 166. Then the cup of blessing, 161. The fourth cup of wine, then they finish with prayers and praises, 164, 165.

*Passover* (or paschal-lamb), how made ready, in five particulars, xi. 325, 326. Whether Christ kept his passover the day before the Jews, *i. e.* on the fourteenth, not the fifteenth day of the month, 430. 444. The difference between the first month and the second, 435. Preparation of the passover, what, 444. 451. After the lamb was eaten, every Israelite was bound within that seven days solemnity, First to appear before the Lord in the court, and that with a sacrifice; this was called the appearance, 444. Secondly, to solemn joy and mirth, and that also with sacrifices; this was called *Chagigah*. The festival, 445, &c. Whether was it

lawful to depart from Jerusalem till the seven days of the passover were ended, xii. 42. How the passover was prepared for many days before it actually began, 290. Passovers, four intervened between Christ's entrance into public ministry and the time of his death, with the several actions which he did, about the time of each, vi. 209, 210. Passover week, the rites and solemnity of the first day, xi. 166. 168. The second day, 168. 170.

*Pastors*, one of the titles of the gospel ministers, iii. 68.

*Patriarchs*, whether their souls were in purgatory, vi. 5. All their bones were brought out of Egypt, and buried at Sichem, viii. 112, 113. Where they were buried, 423.

*Paul* and Saul, his Roman and Hebrew name, and why, viii. 462. vii. 103. He wisheth himself accursed for his brethren the Israelites, a strange wish, what the meaning of it, vii. 312. Why Paul thus wished, 320, 325. He always calls himself by his Roman or Gentile name, after he became the apostle of the Gentiles, xii. 456. He was not a Baptist among the Gentiles, as John was among the Jews, 459. Paul's conversion, &c. wonderful, iii. 195. 199. Paul's greatest enemies were the Hellenists, because he had been one of them, iii. 200. He had a trade and wrought with his hands after he was an apostle, 227. He is inferior to none in wickedness except that it was not final, and inferior to none in holiness; his rare history and life with all his travels and affairs, viii. 130. 141.

*Peace* outward or prosperity in the things of this world is no sign of peace with God, vi. 249. It is sometimes a sign of God's enmity, proved, 250. Peace with God doth not necessarily infer peace of conscience, vi. 250, 251. Peace was universal, when Christ first appeared in the world, iv. 191. Peace-offering of rejoicing, what, ix. 167.

*Penalties* inflicted upon unclean persons found in the Temple, what, ix. 13. 17. Penalties capital, the Jews had four sorts of them, stoning, burning, slaying with the sword, and slaughtering, 339.

*Penitent*, most of the Jews held that the penitent were to be preferred before the perfectly just, xii. 148. But others of them the contrary, 149. Penitents, comfort for them drawn out of the Scripture genealogy, ii. 115.

*Pentateuch*, Samaritan, x. 337.

*Pentecost*, called *עצרת* which in Scripture was a holy day and but one; therefore the Jews appropriate the word to the feast of pentecost, viii. 369. Several other things about pentecost, 371, &c.

*Pentecost* feast, was a return or offering



of the harvest of the Jews, called 'the feast of harvest,' Exod. xxiii. The solemnity thereof, how performed, it lasted eight days, iii. 186. The time and nature of the feast, it was called a Sabbath, be it what day of the week it would, viii. 40. That day of Pentecost, on which the Holy Ghost was given, was the Lord's day, 43.

*Penny* of silver, gold, Roman, or Jewish, what, xi. 417, 418. 429. A Roman penny was seven-pence half-penny, two of them maketh half a shekel, vii. 128, 129.

*People of God*; the duration of their affliction is appointed by the Lord, vii. 219. 227.

*Persecution* spreads the gospel, iii. 192. viii. 121. Persecution against the Christians under Nero, was very bloody and barbarous, so as to move the pity of their enemies, saith Tacitus, the Jews heightening that persecution against them, iii. 317.

*Persecution* the first recorded should have been that of the Jews, xi. 297.

*Persian* kings, and the time of their government considered, ii. 314. 316.

*Persian* monarchy, the state and fate of the Temple under it, ix. 466. 472.

*Persons*, the distinction of persons in the Trinity, what, iv. 119. Persons, change of persons in grammatical construction is usual in the Hebrew rhetoric and eloquence, iv. 248.

*Peter* was never at Rome, the probability of this opinion shewn, vii. 1, &c. From whence that contrary opinion did proceed, v. 6. He wrote his epistle from Babylon in Chaldea, and not from Rome, as some would have it, 7. Pethor and Beor being changed into Bösor shews Peter was not at Rome, but at Babylon, 78. 80, and x. 391. Peter spent his last days, and in all likelihood died in Chaldea, and not at Rome, viii. 80. Peter a minister of the circumcision among the Hebrews, xii. 458. And why he therein outshone James and John, the two other ministers of circumcision, ib. Peter preached the gospel in Babylon, 573, 574. Peter's denial of Christ was foretold by Christ at two distinct times, iii. 144. His improbability of being at Rome, 276. He was minister of the circumcision, and Paul minister of the uncircumcision; they had then interchanged agents, to shew their agreement and harmony to those with whom they had to do, 307. Peter, why called Cephas, iv. 419. He had a suspension for a time in his attendance on Christ, v. 165. He was ever first named in the catalogue of the apostles, and why, 168. He was ever a chief speaker as concerning the church in

Judea, being for the circumcision, viii. 34. His shadow wrought miracles, as it seemeth, 76. He and James were equal, the first not prince of the apostles; nor the second, bishop of Jerusalem, 164. Whether it is probable he was bishop of Rome at all, answered negatively, 273. 279. How he was guarded in prison, and delivered by an angel, 287.

*Phœnix*, one seen in Egypt, A. D. 35. viii. 154.

*Pharaoh*, a common name or title of the Egyptian kings, as Abimelech of the Philistines, iv. 186.

*Pharisees*, their doctrine and practices, what, iii. 138. Though they differed from other heretics, yet they harmonized with them to oppose the gospel and Christianity, 403. Their original names, qualities, and principles, iv. 259, 260. They were most ceremoniously devoted to unwritten traditions; they were separatists of the nation, though they did not separate from public assemblies, but in matters referring to higher acts of holiness, pretending to higher degrees of holiness than all the rest, v. 212. 216. The Talmud doth characterize them, 215. The religion of the Pharisees was not the national religion of the Jews; but a sect and excrescence from it, vi. 216. The difference between Pharisees and Sadducees, in matters of religion, was great, vii. 282. Though they differed among themselves greatly, yet they easily harmonized to oppose Christianity, 283. Their trouble and fainting confidence when they came to die, was great, x. 35. They were a sort of separatists; there were of them women as well as men, who under the veil of sanctity and devotion, practised all manner of wickedness, xi. 68. The lowest rank of Pharisees were illiterate Plebeians; the collegians or associates of the Wise men, were the highest sort, they wore the most splendid cloak of religion, 69, 70. There were seven sects of Pharisees, 72, 73. Strange stories related of their feasts, 163. Pharisees and Scribes laboured among the people for respect, and by respect for gain; which they did, first, as doctors of the law, instilling into their disciples and the common people this notion, that a Wise man, that was one of themselves, was to be respected above all mortal men, 281. Secondly, under a pretence of mighty devotion, especially long prayers, ib. Pharisees and Scribes are terms sometimes confounded, and sometimes distinguished, xii. 118. By Pharisees, in the evangelist St. John, are generally to be understood the Sanhedrim, 330.

*Philo the Jew*, what he was, in life and writings, viii. 245. 248.

*Philosophy* was an eminent part of Solomon's wisdom, ii. 200. Not only Moses was great in human learning and philosophy, but also Heman, Ethan, Chalcot, and Dardan, ib. He wrote books of philosophy which are lost, 203.

*Phrases*, two phrases of the same nature use to heighten the sense, iv. 181.

*Phylacteries*, what, ii. 138. How necessary, v. 28. What they were, who used them, when they were rehearsed, ix. 112. Phylacteries wore parchment labels, having writ in them several places of the law, fastened to the forehead and left arm, constantly worn with great devotion, xi. 277.

*Pictures* of Christ, what against the Papists, iii. 87.

*Pillars*, the two pillars in Solomon's Temple described, ix. 267. Their height, ib. The place where they stood, and the signification of their names, 272, 273.

*Pity* is moved by cruelty, iii. 317.

*Place*; the Most Holy place, what, ii. 396. The Most Holy place, the description of it, with what was contained therein, ix. 264. 276. 280. 297.

*Plagues* of Egypt, ii. 115.

*Plaintiff* and defendant, chose their judges, &c. among the Jews, xii. 486.

*Pleasures*: The Jews expected when the Messiah came, that he would lead them into the garden of Eden, where they should enjoy all manner of worldly pleasures in the highest degree, xii. 292.

*Pliny*, corrected, x. 22. 252, 253.

*Ploughed* grounds, x. 176.

*Plutarch*, mention of, viii. 320.

*Polygamy*; its original, ii. 75. It is called fornication or whoredom, 95. Polygamy was the sin of Lamech, 338. It was lawful among the Jews, viii. 479, 480. Both it and bigamy are forbidden, 480.

*Pollux* and *Castor*, what, how pictured, how fatal their feast to the Lacedemonians, viii. 499.

*Pomegranates*, there were ninety-six on a side, others say there were two hundred in all, ix. 270.

*Pomp* and degree of the world countervails nothing with God, vii. 142, &c.

*Pondion*, what sort of coin, ix. 317.

*Ponditho* is a hollow girdle or belt, in which the Jews put their money, xi. 175.

*Pontius* was a common prænomen among the Romans, iv. 242.

*Pontius Pilate*, his character, iv. 250. His malicious and stirring spirit, always smart and furious upon the Jews, viii. 100. 154. 170. He falling into disgrace and misery, ends his days with his own hands, 172.

*Popery* and Mahometism coming, the devil was let loose, vii. 64. Popery, sooinianism, and quakerism, are great heresies, 286, 287.

*Porch* of the Temple described, ix. 264, 265. The steps to it. It was supposed to be the place whither Satan brought Christ in his temptation, 265. The things in the porch, as a vine, candlestick, and two tables, described, with their use.

*Porches* were cloister-walks, v. 227. 238. Bethesda's pool had five of them, according to the quinque-lateral form, 238.

*Poole's*, (Matth.) letter to Lightfoot, xiii. 439.

*Porters*; their distribution and office, their attendance was on doors, gates, guards, &c. ix. 52. 54.

*Possessed* of the devil, so often mentioned in the gospel, what they were, v. 177. Christ only did dispossess them, they were of two sorts, 177, 178. To be bodily possessed was the saddest earthly misery could befall a man, 179.

*Poverty* extreme, especially of one whose foregoing estate was pompous, xi. 430.

*Pound*, what, xii. 185.

*Power* and will of God, being well understood and submitted to, take off abundance of carnal atheistical disputes, vii. 367, 368.

*Prayer*; 'the Lord's Prayer,' is a form to be used totidem verbis, vi. 227, 423. 427. Prayer is a duty for all men, and the reason of it given, 418. Objections answered and more reasons given, 420. Forms of prayer are prescribed in the Old and New Testament, 421, 422. Forms of prayer defended and objections answered, 422. What posture the Jews used in it, xi. 137. In what places they used or loved to pray, 137, 138. What sort of prayers they used, 139. Repetition of the same words in prayer, how practised, condemned by Christ, 140. The Jews had a great number of prayers daily, they used eighteen, and they had some that comprised the whole, which were compendiums fitted for weak memories, 141, 142. Which Christ imitated in that prayer he gave his disciples, which we call the Lord's Prayer, for it is a compendium of all prayers, 142. These compendiums were not to hinder stated prayers, ib. Christ intended no other in his prayer, 143. The Lord's prayer illustrated out of the Jewish writings, 144. 148. It was twice given by Christ, first in the mount, Matth. vi. and then at the feast of tabernacles a year and half after, 147. vi. 425. The objections of those that will not use it so, 423, 424. This prayer is compared with the ten com-

mandments, 424. An account of the Jewish forms from the Talmud and other writers, 425. The agreeableness of it to the Jewish forms, *ib.* The reason why the doxology is added to it by St. Matthew, and omitted by St. Luke, 427. What kind of prayer the Baptist taught his disciples, xii. 105, &c. Prayers are to be made for all and not as the Jews only for themselves, and their own nation, iii. 260. Hypocritical prayers reproved by Christ, iv. 70. Daily prayers of the Jews were eighteen in number, what they were, viii. 467, 468. Prayers were made after the phylacteries in the morning, ix. 116. Prayers were sometimes performed with great silence in the Temple, xi. 94. Prayers of the Jews consisted in benedictions and doxologies, xii. 106. Private prayers, in what part of the Temple they were performed, 177, 178. Praying was immediately performed after baptism; they who were baptized coming out of the water, presently addressed themselves to prayer, iv. 306. Praying for the dead founded by the Rhemists on that text 1 John v. 16. refuted, vi. 332, 333.

*Preachers* in the synagogue, were priests and Levites, or any other learned men, as well as they, some of which had been proselytes and mechanics; but these were first usually, though not always ordained, v. 120.

*Preaching*, whether inconsistent with baptizing, Paul saying that he came not to baptize, but to preach the gospel, iii. 54. Preaching in a mount, why used by Christ, iii. 140. Preaching among the Jews, was performed sitting, v. 136. Preaching was one part of prophecy, singing psalms and foretelling things from divine revelation, were the two others, xii. 542, 543.

*Precepts*; there were, say the Jews, six hundred and thirteen precepts in the law of Moses, vi. 376.

*Predictions*, strange, viii. 176.

*Pre-existence* of souls, some of the Jews held it, xii. 326. vi. 22.

*Preparation* of the Sabbath, what, xi. 451. 459.

*Presbyters* and elders were to judge in pecuniary affairs, xii. 486.

*Preservation* of God, how he preserves all men alike, and yet not all alike, vii. 148.

*Presidents* or overseers, over the times of service, the doors, the guards, the singers, the cymbal music, the lots, the birds, the seals (or tickets), the drink-offerings, the sick, the waters, the making of the shew-bread, incense, veil, and the garments for the priests, what, ix. 19. 21. *Presidents* of the Sanhedrim, their names

and something of their history, from the time of the captivity, 342.

*Presumption* monuments of; mercies were never set up in Scripture to be encouragements to presumption, vii. 277.

*Priest*; Christ was a great priest when, and how, iii. 101, 102. The priest who was to burn the red cow, was to be put apart seven days, and where the place, ix. 380.

*Priestess*, one born of the lineage of priests; of these the priests commonly took themselves wives, xii. 12.

*Priesthood*, why changed from one house to another, ii. 160. It was valued by the Jews above all other things, even above the commandments of God, v. 42. Priesthood and high-priesthood only differing in two things, xii. 357.

*Priests*, those that had blemishes, ate of the holy things, and served in the wood-room, by searching if any of the wood for sacrifices was worm-eaten, ix. 309. Their court and desks described, 380. 388. What their garments, before and after the law, 435. Priests married gentlemen's daughters, x. 89. One hundred sixty priests were married in Gophna all in one night, 108. Priests were the settled ministry of the church of Israel, they always lived upon tithes, when they studied in the university, preached in the synagogues, and attended on the Temple service, 174. They were called; first, Plebeian priests, for priests were not made but born so; some of them were poor, yet being of Aaron's seed, though unlearned, they had their courses at the altar; secondly, idiots or private, because still of a lower order; thirdly, worthier being (besides the high-priest) heads of the courses—heads of families—presidents over offices—and such as were members of the chief Sanhedrim, xi. 39, 40. Priests' gate, x. 349. The marriage of the priests was a thing of great concern, on purpose to keep them uncorrupt, xii. 12. Priests and Levites, what was lawful and unlawful in them, 18, 19. Priests were examined by the great council, whether they had any blemishes; which if they had, they were sent away arrayed in black, 30. Chief priests, elders, and scribes, how distinguished, 187. Priests and Levites, how distinguished, ii. 230. There was a Consistory of them in the Temple to take care of the affairs thereof, and no further to act, iii. 196. They which were so busy in the Acts of the Apostles against Christianity, were of the Sanhedrim, 197. Their courses in which they were to attend on the Temple-service, iv. 134. 148. They were exceeding many, 150. Some of them were a guard to a king, *ib.* They were put for heads of the families of the priests, or chief of the 24 courses,

&c. 221. They entered their office at the age of thirty years, 322. They could not cure the leprosy, but Christ did, yet he was tender of their reputation, v. 196. Their several ranks, ix. 17, 18. These were the consistory of priests, 18. There were 24 courses of them, at what age they entered, the manner of their instalments, 44. 46. How cast into 24 courses, 48. According to their division so were their degree, how they served, 50; 51.

*Prince* of this world, the devil, how so called, xii. 369. 370.

*Princes*, put for the great men of the Sanhedrim, ix. 243.

*Prodigality*, what, viii. 227.

*Prodigies* very many before a great destruction of Rome and of Jerusalem, and persecution of the primitive Christians, iii. 304. 317. 375.

*Profane* or unpolluted, and unclean, distinguished, xi. 214, 215.

*Profaneness*, what, viii. 250.

*Professors* of the gospel were called "disciples, believers, the church, devout men, brethren," and among the unbelieving Jews, in scorn 'the sect of the Nazarites,' at last 'Christians,' viii. 264. Essenes were no Christians, notwithstanding some affirm it, ib.

*Promises* of God to the Jews, to be fulfilled in the latter days, ii. 444. Promises given to Israel in the law are most generally, and most apparently, temporal promises, vii. 392. Scarcely any spiritual much less any eternal promises, in the law of Moses, ib. In the books of Moses they were all for earthly things as they belonged to the Jews, ib. The gospel state, happy in the better promises, 394. Why God gave them such promises, 395. There were spiritual promises before the law, ib. God intended spiritual things, under temporal promises, ib. Why God did not speak out spiritual and eternal things, but only obscurely hinted them in such temporal promises, 396, 397.

*Prophecy*, on the spirit of, iii. 433. Prophecy and tongues, it is put by itself in the Scriptures in chapters, as well as books, notwithstanding they were not so delivered, ii. 286. Had been in the church ever since the fall of Adam; miracles but since Moses was in the wilderness, 359, 360. Both ceased after the days of Zachary and Malachi, 360. Were the gifts of the Holy Ghost, iii. 194. Why they were given, ib. Prophecy and inspiration ceased when the Scriptures were finished, 370. It had long ceased before John the Baptist's time, but began to revive with him, iv. 188. Prophecy expired at the fall of Jerusalem, vi. 240. Prophecy was one of the extra-

ordinary gifts of the Spirit, vii. 33. Prophecy, revelation, and Urim and Thummim were gone from the Jews for four hundred years before Christ came, 294. 305. Prophecy was sometimes performed by ill men, as Caiaphas and Balaam, 303. 308. Prophecy from the death of Moses to the rising of Samuel was very rare, viii. 67. Prophecy comprehends the singing of psalms, to preach, and foretell something from divine revelation, xii. 542, 543. From the death of the later prophets, the Holy Spirit, and the spirit of prophecy ceased from Israel, 575.

*Prophesying*, what it was in St. Paul's time, vii. 34, 35.

*Prophet*; prophets, one of the titles of the gospel-ministers, iii. 68. Christ was a great prophet, when and how, 101. Prophets and teachers were distinct functions, yet sometimes went together, 210. The scrutiny or judging of a prophet belonged only to the Sanhedrim, 288. How to know their original, iv. 19. 'The law and the prophets' put for all the Old Testament, and how, 424, 425. Any one that came in the spirit of a prophet had permission to preach, but all such were tried whether true or false: hence it was that our Saviour and Paul, &c. had liberty to preach in every synagogue, v. 122. Prophets were not the standing ministry of the church, neither under the law, nor under the gospel; but occasionally and of necessity, vi. 211. 242. The books of the law and prophets only were read by the Jews in their synagogues, the rest they read not, 349. The four last prophets, viz. Ezra, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, are all said to die in one year, ix. 471. Schools of the prophets were little universities or colleges of students; their governor some venerable prophet inspired with the Holy Spirit, to give forth divine revelations, &c. x. 174. Prophets, how divided by the Jews, xii. 67, 68. How unrolled, and distant places put together, 68, 69. Prophets put for prophetic books of Scripture, 167. From the days of Zachary and Malachi, the Jews expected no prophets till the coming of the Messiah, 234.

*Prophetical* books, in what order to be read, ii. 43.

*Proselyte*, what, xi. 282.

*Proselytes* were admitted into the Jewish church by baptism, iii. 38. 'Fearers of the Lord' are used for proselytes, every one of them are blessed, viii. 465.

*Prosperity*, or peace, outward in the things of the world, is no sign of peace with God, vi. 249. It is sometimes a sign of God's enmity, proved from Ecclesiastes, v. 13. and from Mal. ii. 2., 250.

The prosperity of wicked men is an argument of the last judgment and future state, 355. Prosperity of the wicked did once occasion both weeping and laughing, viii. 500.

*Protestant church and religion*, where they were before Luther's time, vii. 124.

*Proverbs of Solomon*, mentioned in Prov, xxv. 1. were found in the Temple, in an old manuscript, ii. 259. Proverbs, in what order the book of, to be read, 40.

*Providence of God*, much seen in bringing good out of evil, ii. 153. Not a rule for men to go by, but his word, vii. 278.

*Psalms of degrees*, why so called, ii. 268. The book of Psalms harmonized with the five books of Moses, iv. 61. The Jews have a rule that every Psalm that bears not the name of the author in the title, is to be reputed of his making, who was last named in the title before; but the Holy Ghost seems to intimate that David was the author of all those that have no author mentioned in the title, viii. 74. Psalms, in what order to be read, and some notes concerning, ii. 38, 39. Psalms, singing of Psalms in Christian congregations is a great and heavenly work, vii. 36. The primitive Christians sang David's Psalms in their public congregation, ib. The singing whereof is a duty incumbent upon Christians, 36, 44. Our Saviour, the apostles, and the primitive church practised it, 38, 44. Psalms put for the hagiographa, xi. 345. Singing of Psalms was one part of prophecy, xii. 542.

*Ptolemy* is in something amended, x. 251.

*Publican*, what his business, xi. 163. *Publican Heathen*, what, 244, 245.

*Publicans*, what they were, iii. 86. Their office at first was creditable, but afterwards disgraceful, iv. 269. There were two sorts of them, v. 222. Publicans were odious to the Jews, xi. 130. They were several degrees, xii. 182, 183.

*Public prayer*, what, ix. 112.

*Pulpit of wood*, in the middle of the Temple, where the minister of the congregation stood, iii. 28. There was one also, in the court of the women, ix. 178. Pulpits, what, ix. 384, 385.

*Punishing offences* ought to have three causes, iv. 171.

*Purgatory*, the doctrine of it, vi. 4. The improbability, ridiculousness, and irreligion of the Papists holding that the patriarchs were in it, 5, &c.

*Purification days*, of a woman after child-bearing, when accomplished, xii. 36,

37. *Purification after touching a dead body*, what, 551.

*Purifyings* were of four sorts in the days of Christ, v. 66. Some were performed in a longer, and others in a shorter time, xii. 358.

*Purifying water*, children were born and brought up, in some courts under ground, to be made fitter to sprinkle the purifying water, x. 73.

*Purim*; 'the feast of purim,' opposed by some of the Jews, xii. 343.

*Putting away for divorcing*, what, xi. 117. *Putting away a husband by the wife*, &c. among the Jews, what, with the form thereof, xii. 492.

*Pythons*, what, xi. 170.

*Quakerism*, Popery, and Socinianism, are great heresies, vii. 286, 287.

*Quadrans*, רביעית what sort of measure, iv. 452.

*Quotations* (allegations or citations) when taken out of the Old Testament by the New, are sometimes two places couched together, as if they were one, yet maketh it sure that the first is always that very place which it taketh upon it to quote, though the second be another, iv. 247, 248. One place of Scripture quoting (or citing) another doth sometimes change the words to fit the occasion.

*Rab, Rabban, Rabbi*, titles given the learned Jews, came but in use a little before the birth of Christ, what they denote, iv. 383. Rabban was the highest title the Jews gave to their doctors, 200. Rabbi was the distinctive title of a man ordained, with which he was styled when he became a doctor or a judge, v. 25. What it intends as applied to the Baptist, and to Christ, ib. Rabbi a haughty title not common till the times of Hillel, which in later times was much affected, xi. 278, 279.

*Rabbins of Tiberias*, were mad with Pharisaism, bewitched with traditions, blind, guileful, doting and magical, and such a like work is the Jerusalem Talmud which they made there; it is not possible to suppose that these men pointed the Bible, it savours of the work of the Holy Spirit, x. 150, 151.

*Rachab*, supposed to marry Joshua, famous among the Jewish writers, xi. 12.

*Rain*, the want of it often threatened as a judgment, ii. 278. Former and latter, what, xii. 71.

*Rainbow*, a double sign, natural and sacramental, ii. 86.

*Raka*, a phrase of the Jewish writers, out of the New Testament, iv. 27, 33. Raka a word used by one that despiseth another in the highest scorn, xi. 106.

- Ranges*, near the Temple, what, ix. 327.
- Ransom* or atonement for souls, how much and for what end, vii. 128. 130. 136, 137. At what time it was paid, 131. Why the poor therein was to give as much as the rich, 130. And why the poor in worldly matters gave more than the rich did, in those that referred to God, 135, &c.
- Ravens* (which brought bread and flesh morning and evening to Elias) are supposed to be the people of Orbo, x. 245.
- Ravished*; St. Austin's determination about chaste matrons and virgins ravished by the enemy when they broke into the city, what, vi. 343.
- Readers*, } of the law and prophets,  
*Reading*, } how ordained in the Jews' synagogues; what portion was read, and what number of readers, v. 123, 124. He that read, began always with prayer, the angel or minister of the church always looked over him that read, whence he was called episcopus or overseer; an interpreter stood by him that read, to tell the people the meaning, 124. Any one, a boy or servant, might be called upon by the minister of the congregation to read, 126. He that read, might skip from passage to passage, *i. e.* from one text to another, for illustration of the matter he read upon, 127, 128. 134.
- Readers* of the law, part of their work, xii. 576.
- Reaping* put for 'cutting off with destruction,' iii. 351.
- Reason*, the mysteries of divinity not contrary to it, how to be understood, vi. 353.
- Rebels*, beating, what, ix. 15.
- Records*, the Scripture often leaves men's names out of certain records, because of some evil in them.
- Red cow*, the manner of the priest's burning her, ix. 194. How the priest was to prepare himself for the burning her, 380.
- Redemption* universal, not rightly grounded upon John i. 29. iv. 383. Redemption of Christ was represented by the jubilee year, v. 135. Redemption or new creation was performed on the day Adam was created, vii. 376, 377.
- Red Sea*, whence the name, with a strange story about Jonah's, whale, iv. 27.
- Reformation*, how performed, ii. 212. Why it did not remove God's wrath in Josiah's time, 276. Reformation (on conversion) was once general and wonderful, viii. 68.
- Refuge*; 'cities of refuge,' their number and names, x. 99, 100.
- Regeneration*, or the work of grace, a thing not known by the Jews, v. 43. What kind of regeneration the Jews thought to be necessary to proselytism, xii. 256.
- Region* round about Jordan, what, x. 205, &c.
- Registers*; 'public registers,' were reserved in captivity, iv. 172. Registers or scribes of the Sanhedrim were two, the one sat on the right, the other on the left hand, one wrote the votes of those that quitted, the other of those that condemned, xi. 387.
- Religion* is the heart of a state, ii. 124. The state or national religion in the time of Christ, was traditions rather than Scriptures, v. 204. The religion of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Esseans, was not the national religion of the Jews, but sects and excrescences from it, vi. 216. Christ sets himself against them, that set themselves against religion, vii. 47. The principles of the traditional religion of the Jews made them crucify the Lord of Life, 71. What religion the devil had most reason to hate, 75. And which the best, and what it is, 76. Which is the true religion? A difficult question, two marks of it, 74. 76. The Jewish religion was very corrupt under the second Temple, 120. The Romish religion comes very near to Judaism, 122. Whether a man may be saved in that faith, that is in the religion of Rome, doubted, 125. Some maintain that a man may be saved in any religion or opinion, so he live but honestly towards men, and devoutly towards God, 284.
- Rempham* or Rephan, what, viii. 433, 434.
- Remphan* and the star thereof, what, viii. 118.
- Renting* of the garments, when used, iii. 155.
- Renting* of clothes, what, xi. 341.
- Repentance* and conversion, once came generally upon all the people of Israel, ii. 165. It was first preached upon the commencing of the gospel, and why, and what it was, v. 154. 163. It is the way to pardon, 421.
- Repentance* not to be put off till death, vii. 176. There is nothing more desirable to God, Christ, and angels, than the repentance of a sinner, 263. What it is that moves God, Christ, and angels to desire this, 265. Repentance is the gift of God, as well as pardon, 280. The rule to arrive at repentance is to take God's time as well as way, *ib.* Repentance a doctrine highly fit for the Jews, when it was preached to them by John the Baptist; the schools of the Pharisees did ill define repentance, xi. 46, 47. The Jews supposed the Redeemer was to

come at a time when repentance was to be, 48.

*Repetition* of the same words in prayer, how practised, condemned by Christ, xi. 140.

*Repining*, frequent in Israel under miracles of mercy, ii. 130.

*Reproof* and excommunication, what they were, with the difference between them, xii. 467, 468.

*Resolution* and courage of the Jews, viii. 100. Resolution admirable, ib.

*Resurrection*; this was denied by the Sadducees, v. 210. It was the opinion of the Jews that there should be a resurrection in the days of the Messiah, v. 255. Resurrection is spiritual and corporal, both which Christ performed, 256. Whether there shall be an audible voice of Christ at the general resurrection, 263. Resurrection of Christ, how it argues and gives assurance of the last judgment, vi. 356. Christ, resurrection, and the creation, whether the greater work, vii. 389. The history of it, as also of his several apparitions after it, viii. 16. 18. Resurrection of Christ shews him to be the Messiah, 469. The epoch of the Messiah is stated from the resurrection of Christ, xi. 179. Resurrection of the dead, and last judgment proved, vi. 347. The objections of the Sadducees and Atheists, answered, 349. Resurrection of the last day demonstrated against the Sadducees and Atheists, vii. 191, &c. Denied by the Sadducees, 290. It is proved out of the Talmud, viii. 490. Resurrection of the dead was in the days of Ezra denied by some, xi. 75. How it is proved out of the Old Testament by Rabban Gamaliel, xi. 272. How the Sadducees came to deny the resurrection from the dead, 274. The Jews looked for the resurrection from the dead, 287. 294. Proved out of the law, 546. Resurrection of the saints expected even by the Jews at the beginning of the kingdom of the Messiah, xi. 353.

*Revelation*, prophecy, Urim and Thummim, were gone from the Jews for four hundred years before Christ came, vii. 294. 304, 305. Seven manner of ways did God use to reveal himself, viii. 216. Revelations, whether St. John be the author of the book of, iii. 431. Revelation, no new, to be expected, v. 455. Revelations pretended to by Theudas, viii. 82.

*Revenge* (and vain-glory) strange, viii. 146.

*Riches*; 'worldly riches' and grandeur, countervail nothing with God, vii. 142, &c.

*Righteousness* by faith in Christ, iii. 271. What that righteousness was, which

Christ saith to the Baptist, 'It becometh us to fulfil,' iv. 296. Why alms are taken for righteousness, xi. 131. Righteousness inherent and justifying, xii. 391, &c.

*Rings* of the altar, what; and for what use, x. 70, 71.

*Robbers* were very numerous among the Jews, and did strange mischiefs; how there came to be so many of them, x. 278. xi. 350.

*Rock*, for 'Christ,' not 'Peter,' xi. 225.

*Roman eagle* used in the wars was not flying colours, like ours, but a golden eagle, medal-wise, &c. iii. 252.

*Roman empire*, when it began, xii. 30, 31. When and how it was measured, 32. When and how taxed, 33.

*Romanists* and Jews, how they may be said to be yokefellows, vi. 366.

*Romans* (in Philippi, a Roman city), Paul's preaching to them is ushered in with some remarks, iii. 224. The Epistle to the Romans, when and where it was written by St. Paul, vi. 244. The Romans are brought in by the Jewish writers, owning themselves, and boasting of their being the children of Esau, or Edom, and shew that Esau ought to rule over Jacob, viii. 476. Romans, there were garrisons of them dispersed over the land of Israel, what they were, 257.

*Roman state* and dominion, in the time of Christ; was very pompous, iv. 367. Roman story, several parts of it, viii. 86. 141. 178. 193. 224. 249. 251. 263. 290.

*Rome* characterized and deciphered, and shewn to be the head of that dominion Satan boasts of as his own, in his offer to Christ, iv. 367, 368. Eight conclusions drawn hence, 369. Rome guilty of our Saviour's death as much as Jerusalem, vi. 363. It is also guilty of apostasy, 367. Part of the character of Rome at this time, as referring to England, vii. 49. The proper name of Rome, say Roman historians, is a secret, 50. The tutelar deity of it also unknown, ib. Rome is the devil's seat, his deputy and vicegerent, 51. Rome commissioned by the devil to fight against Christ, his religion, and people, 52. When first and last spoken of in Scripture, 55, 56. Rome heathen could not be antichrist, because the character of antichrist is apostasy, 56. Rome papal hath exceeded Rome heathen, 57. Rome is ever spoken of in Scripture with a black and dismal character, 118. Rome, and the religion thereof, comes very near to Judaism, 122. Whether a man can be saved in the faith, that is, in the religion of Rome, doubted, 125. Rome compared with the old Jerusalem state, 120. Its state from its first original to the death of Christ; its

different manner of government, viii. 86.  
99. Rome is put for Edom, x. 195.

*Room*; an upper room was an usual place to determine matters of learning and religion in, iii. 181. The wood-room, what the priests did there, ix. 309. The draw-well room described, 350. The description of it, 355.

'*Root of the trees*' variously accepted, iv. 266.

*Rule*; God's extraordinary actings are not men's ordinary rule, vii. 279.

*Rulers*; there were both civil and sacred rulers in every synagogue, iii. 242. The false logic of those who are for no rulers over them but king Jesus, refuted, vi. 263. Rulers, what, viii. 72.

*Ruth*, books of, where to be read, ii. 37.

*Sabbath*, its institution, and celebration by Adam, ii. 74. It was neglected in Egypt, 117. Differing reasons for its ordination. Additions to it, 136. The seventh day is not bounded with the same limits that the other six are, because, under the gospel, it was to have a new beginning and end, 336. Sabbath, ceremonial and moral, what, 387, 388. How the Jews observed it, and what were the words of blessing it, iii. 56, 65. The Jewish writers shew plainly, that their Sabbath was from sunset to sunset, 56, 57. v. 183. Second after the first, what, iii. 65. Sabbath-day's journey, what space it was, 131. Why Christ enjoined the man he healed on the Sabbath, to carry his bed on that day, being against the express letter of the law, answered, v. 241. This was the first apparent sign towards the shaking and alteration of the Sabbath; Christ shews thereby that he was greater than the Sabbath, and had a power over it, 243, 244. The institution of the Sabbath, and how God rested on it, vii. 377, 378. Resting on it hath four ends: moral, to rest from labours; commemorative, to remember God's creating the world; evangelical, referring to Christ; and typical, to signify eternal rest, 380. It was given to the Jews at Sinai, to distinguish them from all other people, 384. Its antiquity, &c. ib. It was not always the seventh day, for Pentecost was so called, whatsoever day of the week it was on, viii. 40. There was, on the Sabbath, an additional sacrifice of the day, ix. 65. What songs and music were then used, ib. Sabbath day's journey, what, x. 218, 219. Sabbath, when it ended, xi. 157, 158. Sabbath, from the second first, what, 185. Sabbath to the Jews was a day of junkets and delicious feasting, 187. The Jews ate nothing on the Sabbath till the morning-prayers of the synagogue were done,

188. What worldly things were not to be done on it, 189, 192. xii. 285. And what worldly things might be done on it xi. 190, &c. xii. 284. The care of the Sabbath lay upon Adam under a double law, xi. 191. The preparation of the Sabbath, what, 451. Second Sabbath after the first, what, xii. 76. The Jews used to get much and excellent victuals on that day, for the honour of the day, 142. The Jews allowed all necessary things to be done on that day, as, to heal the sick, &c. 143; to save beasts in danger, 144. The night before the Sabbath, candles were lighted up in honour of it; and the evening of the Sabbath was called 'Light,' 205, 206. The length of the Sabbath-day's journey at first was twelve miles, with the reason afterwards it was confined to two thousand cubits, or one mile, 218, 219. viii. 360, 362. x. 218. Circumcision, as given by Moses, gives a right understanding of the nature of the Sabbath, xii. 303. Sabbath, Christian; the Jews say that the Christian Sabbath was the first day of the week; why Christ changed it from the seventh to the first, vii. 338. xi. 357, 358. It was not controverted, but every where celebrated in the primitive times; only some Jews, converted to the gospel, kept also the Jewish Sabbath, xii. 556, 557.

*Sabbatic river*, said to rest on the Sabbath-day, suspected, x. 236, 237.

*Sacramental blood* (as it may be called) of the Old and New Testament, and the very blood of Christ, harmonized, xii. 528, 529.

*Sacrament* of baptism carries an obligation with it, and a child is capable of being so obliged, iii. 284. Sacrament of the supper of our Lord is not to be received in the height of heats and contestations, iii. 244. Sacrament of the supper, receiving unworthily, two dreadful things against it, xii. 531.

*Sacraments*, both baptism, or entering into the church, and breaking bread and giving wine after the passover, were in use long before Christ's time, but he instituted them sacraments, laying aside circumcision and the passover, iv. 409, &c. Sacraments are visible marks of distinction, proved, vi. 397. They have several ends, 398. They are perpetual, 399. They are seals of the life of faith, ib. How they answer circumcision and the passover, 401. Sacraments of the Jews, viz. circumcision and the passover; they were both with blood, &c. iv. 36. Sacraments of the passover and the supper were very much alike, but circumcision and baptism were vastly different; the reasons why, iv. 274, 275.

*Sacrifice*, its practice among Jews and



heathens, as old as Adam, iv. 23, 24. Jephthah's sacrifice, whether real or supposed; the special end of sacrifice, 24, 25.

*Sacrifices*, what were used on the Sabbath-day, ix. 65; and on other days of the week, ib. Some were to be slain on the north, others on the south side of the altar, some also elsewhere, 359. Sacrifices (and offerings) how they became paid, and when was their time to be presented and offered, ix. 102, 103. Sacrifices spiritual, every Christian hath three spiritual sacrifices to offer to God, vii. 244. The altar on which these sacrifices are to be offered, 245.

*Sacrificing* was once done by one that was no priest, ii. 165.

*Sadducees*, though they differed from other heretics, yet they harmonized with the rest to oppose Christianity and the gospel, iii. 403. Their original names, qualities, and principles, iv. 259, 263. They were fierce against the Pharisees; they denied the resurrection, v. 210. They denied all traditions which (as they pretended) they could not prove from the law of Moses, 211. The religion of the Sadducees was not the national religion of the Jews, but a sect and excrescence from it, vi. 216. They held nothing for a fundamental article of faith, but what might be grounded on the five books of Moses, 350. The resurrection of the last day demonstrated against the Sadducees and atheists, vii. 191. The difference between the Sadducees and Pharisees in matters of religion was very great, 282. Though the Sadducees and Pharisees greatly differed betwixt themselves, yet they easily harmonized to oppose Christianity, 283. The Sadducees held several heretical opinions about some main articles of faith, 285, 286. The Sadducees considered in their persons (or original) and opinions, 287, 295. They denied the resurrection; what, therefore, was their religion, and to what end, viii. 486. They take their heterodoxy and denomination (say some) from Sadoc, 486, 487. At first they denied the immortality of the soul, and so, by consequence, the resurrection, 490. Whence this denial sprung, ix. 343. Sadducees, their original, whence they came to deny the resurrection, xi. 71, 76. They did not utterly deny all the Old Testament, except the five books of Moses, but the five books were only what they would stand by for the confirmation of matters of faith, vi. 349, xii. 274.

*Sadduceism*, the foundation of it laid in the days of Ezra, xi. 71.

*Sadoc*, said to be the first founder of Sadduceism, whether he denied the resur-

rection, or all the Scripture except Moses, viii. 486, 487.

*Safety* from danger; baptism was the badge of it in the days of the Baptist and St. Peter, iii. 326.

*Sagan* was vice high-priest, iii. 384. He was vicegerent to the high-priest, ix. 36. What he was, and under what notion he came into this office, 37, 38. Sagan was not so much the vice high-priest, as one set over the priest, therefore called 'the sagan of the priests;' he was the same with the ruler of the temple, xii. 47, 48. Because his dignity was higher, and independent, therefore he was sometimes called high-priest, 48. Sagan was the same with the 'prefect or ruler;' he was to be a learned man, 398.

*Saints* in glory have not the spirit, vii. 21. Saints in heaven, what they do, referring to saints or sinners on earth, 261. 'Saints judging the world,' expounded against the fifth monarchists, xii. 480. Not referred to the last judgment, but to Christian magistrates and judges in the world, 482.

*Salamean*, or Salmean, or Kenite, the same, and what, x. 325, 326.

*Salem*, the first name for Jerusalem, which was compounded of Jireh and Salem, and why; under what latitude, how holy above other cities, x. 44, 47.

*Salt*, the place for it in the Temple, and what great quantities were used in the worship there, ix. 376.

*Salting* with fire and with salt, the custom and the meaning of the phrase, xi. 407, 408.

*Salvation* and pardon, what the sure ground of hope of them is, vii. 927.

*Salutaries*, some companies and wings of the Roman army; being so called, in likelihood, gave the title of 'healthful' to some countries, x. 197, 198.

*Salutations* were not performed by the Jews at some times, xii. 91, 92.

*Saluting* of women was rarely used among the Jews, xii. 24.

*Samaritanism* generally was a mongrel Judaism, iii. 193. Samaritanism, what, x. 110.

*Samaritans*, though they differed from other heretics, yet they harmonized with the rest to oppose Christianity and the gospel, iii. 403. The reason of the great feud between the Samaritans and the Jews, v. 90, 94. Samaritans rejected the Temple at Jerusalem, and why, xii. 268, 269. How they rejected all the Old Testament but the five books of Moses; whether they were not acquainted with the rest, and owned them in some cases, 271, 272.

*Samaritan* text follows the Greek version, viii. 489. Samaritan version, or

Pentateuch, three things in it containing matter of notice, and a fourth of suspicion, x. 337.

*Samosatenus* denied the godhead of Christ, confuted, v. 229.

*Samson*, what were his failings, vii. 151.

*Samuel*, directions for reading the Books of, ii.

*Sanctuary*; the sanctuary being pitched just in the middle of the camp of Israel, shews that religion is the heart of a state, ii. 124. What officers were there employed, and what their business, ix. 334.

*Sanctification*, Adam had not the spirit of sanctification, nor of prophecy, vii. 20. Why we are justified by perfect justification, and yet not sanctified by perfect sanctification and holiness, answered, 26.

*Sanda* and shoes not the same, against Beza and Erasmus, xi. 176, 177.

*Sanhedrim*, when first chosen, was endowed with the Spirit of God, ii. 128. This was the great council, and bare the rule in its place in the times of the judges, 144. Its fate at Mizpeh, 166. It had one in it that was chief, 200. 293. The Sanhedrim was slain by Herod the Great, iii. 20. It revived again (*viz.* the seventy judges), and beside this, at the same time, there were two more of twenty-three judges, 30. The right Sanhedrim continued many years after the destruction of the city, *ib.* Hillel was president in the Sanhedrim forty years; Menahem, and after him Shammai, were vice-presidents. These men were famous for learning, and breeding of learned men; they advanced learning to a mighty height, 31. Nicodemus, who came to Christ, was one of the judges of the Great Sanhedrim, 46. Christ, at his second passover, declares his authority and power before the Sanhedrim, that being a time of wonders, 63, 64. The Sanhedrim was in Caiaphas's house when Christ was brought before him, 154. The Sanhedrim again question Jesus, in their own council-chamber, then condemn him, and deliver him to the secular power, 156. Gamaliel, Paul's master, was long president of the Sanhedrim, 188. Many of the Sanhedrim were priests, 196. Annas, Caiaphas, John, Alexander, Gamaliel, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, &c. were all members of the Sanhedrim, 197. It had power over the Jews even in foreign lands, but rather declarative and persuasive than imperious, 198. Also, it sat sometimes at Lydda, on the other side Joppa, where were most famous schools, 201. The Sanhedrim called 'the chief priests,' and why, 196, 197. It sat long at Jabneh, at first by the grant of Cæsar, upon the petition of the vice-president of it, who was all along Cæsar's friend. Its members named, 201.

388. The Less Sanhedrim was of twenty-three judges, invested with civil power, 242. That Sanhedrim which was first in the Wilderness, was inspired with divine gifts, the members of all the following Sanhedrims were only qualified by education, study, and acquired parts, 369. It continued in lustre after Jerusalem was destroyed, 387. Afterwards it was at several other places, till its end: see on from 387—398. The Sanhedrim, or great council, was made up of chief priests of the seed of Aaron, of scribes of the tribe of Levi, and of elders of the people, being mere laymen, iv. 223. It sat in the Temple, and had two heads, the first called the Prince, the second the Father of the Court; all the rest of the seventy-two sat as these two might see them, 239, 240. The scrutiny and judging of a prophet only belonged to the Sanhedrim, 398. The Sanhedrim is commonly called 'Jews' in the Evangelists, v. 228. 243. The doctors of the Sanhedrim were most acute, diligent, and curious searchers of the Scriptures, yet proud of it, thinking that the very external study thereof would accomplish their salvation, 271. Why they departed out of the council-house before the destruction of Jerusalem, vi. 369. 378. The Sanhedrim was esteemed a bloody court, if they put one man to death in seventy years, 372. The Sanhedrim removed from the room Gazeth to the Tabernacle, and from the Tabernacle into Jerusalem, forty years before the destruction of that city, with the reason of it, viii. 391. The high-priest and president of the Sanhedrim compared together, and the high-priest shewed to be the greater office, 450. Whether the decrees of the Sanhedrim were of authority among the Jews in countries abroad, *ib.* It had four kinds of death in its power; what they were, 453. The ten fittings of it, what, ix. 241, 242. Also the reasons thereof, 241. How many Sanhedrims; how many members in each; how chosen; and where they sat, 330. Their constitution, sitting, power, and qualifications, 337, 338. The room where they sat, with the quality of it, 337. What clerks belonged unto the Sanhedrim, and what their office, 339. The Sanhedrim might judge the king, *ib.* 344. The names and part of the history of the presidents thereof, from the time of the captivity, 342. The Jewish Sanhedrim consisted of priests, Levites, and Israelites, xi. 39. Sanhedrim, the Lesser and Greater, their time of sitting, the number that made a council, 442, 443. It was against the Sanhedrim's own rule to seek for witnesses against Christ, 442. The whole Sanhedrim was sometimes

comprehended under the name of 'Pharisees,' xii. 330. The Sanhedrim lost the power of judging in capital causes by their own neglect, being so remiss to the Israelites, with the reasons of it, 406. 412. The fathers of the Sanhedrim were to be skilled in many languages, 537.

*Sarah* was Abraham's brother's daughter, viii. 420.

*Satan*, why he was let loose, vii. 63. How, when, why, and how long let loose by Christ, 64. 69. He did much mischief those thousand years he was bound, 68. His great work is to deceive, 69. His masterpiece is to cheat men in matters of religion, 70. 77. How he deceived the world under heathenism and under the gospel, 106. The reason why Satan taketh not away our lives when he pleaseth, 139.

*Satum*, what sort of measure, iv. 452.

*Saved*, it is possible to die for sin, and by a divine judgment, and yet be saved, vii. 172, 173.

*Saviour*; Rome was guilty of our Saviour's death as much as Jerusalem, proved, vi. 363.

*Saul* and Paul, his Hebrew and Roman name, and why he had two names, viii. 462.

*Saying* is often used for what is contained in writing, iv. 183.

*Scape-goat*, his choice, his sending away into the Wilderness, with the manner of it, ix. 176. 179. About the time of the death of Christ, the scarlet list on the head of the scape-goat did not turn white, as usually, 329. What kind of man went with him into the Wilderness, x. 75. How he was sent out, and whither from Jerusalem, 104, 105.

*Scarecrow* on the top of the Temple, what, wherefore set there, and whether any such thing or no, xi. 258.

*Scholars* (or disciples) were called children, viii. 69. 'Scholars of the wise men,' what, xi. 70.

*School*; every town where there was not a school, the men thereof stood excommunicate, v. 42.

*Schools*; the Jews had five hundred schools, and in every one five hundred scholars; R. Akibah had twenty-four thousand disciples that frequented his schools, iii. 393, 394. There were many schools in several places besides; any where where the Sanhedrim had sat, was a school after their departing, 396. But after the writing the Talmud of Jerusalem, we hear little more mention of the Jewish schools any where but at Babylon in Egypt, that bearing all the renown, 398. 'Schools of divinity'; the Sanhedrim was the school of the nation in its sessions, as well as judicatory, v. 43. 'Schools of the prophets,' were little universities or

colleges of students, their governor being some venerable prophet inspired with the Holy Spirit, to give forth divine revelations, &c. x. 74. 174.

*Schism* produces sad effects in the church of Christ, some of them mentioned, iii. 239. 246.

*Scribes*, their doctrine and practices, iii. 138. Scribes used for every one that was learned and employed their time in writing referring to the law, xi. 40, 41. Scribes of the people were members of the Sanhedrim, 41. The Scribes and Pharisees laboured among the people for respect, and by respect, for gain; which they did as—First, doctors of the law, instilling into the people this notion; that a Wise Man (that was, one of themselves) was to be respected above all mortal men, 281. Secondly, under a pretence of mighty devotion, especially long prayers, 281, 282. Scribes or registers of the Sanhedrim were two, the one sat on the right, the other on the left hand, one wrote the votes of those that acquitted, the other of those that condemned, 387. 'Scribe' was a general title given to all the learned part of the Jewish nation, xii. 94. The first original of the word, what, ib. The doctors of the Sanhedrim, but not members of it, like our judges in the house of Lords, 95. Scribes and Pharisees are terms sometimes confounded, and sometimes distinguished, 118, 119. Scribes, chief priests and elders; how distinguished, 187.

*Scribes* and doctors who they were, v. 207, 208. Scribes, rulers, and elders, viii. 72.

*Scripture*: its own language, one help of explaining it, ii. 1. To lay books and chapters in due order, a help for explaining Scripture, ib. The primitive Jews did turn the Scripture into allegory, which did sadly taint the church of Christ, iii. 404. Not corrupted by the Jews; neither was it possible for them to do it, to the prejudice of Christianity, for several reasons, 405. Scripture affecteth to speak short in relating of stories that were well known before, iv. 175. The Scriptures seem to misquote, yea, even to cross or deny another, which shews their majesty, iv. 248. 346, 347. It was very much advanced by the very first word Christ spoke, when he entered on his ministry, 362. In the Scripture things are sometimes said to be done in act, which were only visions, as Jer. xiii. Ezek. iv. 363. It doth sometimes title things not as they were really in themselves, but as they were in men's apprehensions, or to men's purposes, 382. God speaks so in the Scripture as may best suit the capacity of the hearers, v. 46

Human learning is exceeding useful, nay exceeding needful to the expounding of the Scripture, vi. 210. Wherein the difficulty of Scripture lies, 210. 213. 335. vii. 208. 213. 219. Its difficulty consists in several passages, in the same words, when they may be taken in two senses, directly contrary one to another, 212. 335, 336. vii. 218. Not one tittle of the Scripture idle, vii. 80. The Scripture because of its style and difficulty requireth all serious and sober study, 206. Passages in the Scripture of the New Testament, directly contrary to the Old, how to be solved, 210, 211. The reckoning of numbers even in the Old Testament, are sometimes different from itself, reconciled, 211. The difficulty of the Scriptures is not to the discredit, but to the glory and majesty thereof, 213, 214. So that the writings of the Jews thereupon, fly all in an higher region than the writings of the Christians, viii. 245. 248. Scripture, in it (say the Rabbins) there is no first and last, *i. e.* the order of the story does not necessarily determine the time of it, 420. The Scripture-text was usually varied or inverted by the reader or the preacher in the pulpit, or the schools among the Jews, with the reason thereof, 435. The Scripture-text, when read to them that understood not the language, it was ever interpreted into the mother-tongue, 464, 465. When any place of the Old Testament was cited by the Jews, they delivered it always in the very original words, 475. A Scripture text and an opinion distinguished, xii. 491. It is not unusual in Scripture, when the same story is cited in two places, to bring in some difference either in things, men, or years, and that from the highest reason, 506.

*Sectaries*; such were Theudas and Judas the Galilean, viii. 82, 83. Such also were the Therapeutæ, 266.

*Sects*, warping from the state religion of the Jews, were Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, these were sectaries and schismatics, v. 209.

*Seed of Abraham*, was a thing the carnal Jews much boasted of, v. 35. To be of the seed of Abraham, the Jews supposed, was sufficient to fit them for the kingdom of heaven, xii. 255. Being of the seed of Abraham, was much gloried in by the Jews, 321. Seed of the woman, Christ was the seed of the woman; illustrated from St. Luke's genealogy, and Christ calling himself the 'Son of Man,' iv. 290. 331. 433.

*Seed-time and harvest*, plowing, sowing, mowing, dressing of the vines, and all the management of the gardens, grounds, fields, and vineyards lay in the hands of the Fathers of the Traditions, so

that the country men did none of these things, but by the traditional rule, x. 176, 177. Seed-time and harvest, was early among the Jews, xi. 187, 188.

*Seeing* a thing, in Scripture doth frequently signify to 'be in it,' or 'partake of it,' v. 17.

*Selaa*, what sort of coin, ix. 317.

*Shem*, taken to be Melchizedec, ii. 90.

*Seneca* it is possible saw Paul, iii. 290.

*Separate*, what it is to be separate from Christ, vii. 320.

*Separatists*, are to observe the practice of-Christ, iv. 10. and 457. v. 123. Christ constantly went to the public, he was no separatist, v. 123. The Pharisees were separatists, v. 212, &c.

*September* was a very famous month, iii. 25. 40. iv. 196.

*Septuagint bible*; was commonly in the hands of the Jews in Christ's time, the Hebrew not being understood, iii. 62.

*Septuagint interpreters* are guilty of thousands of miscarriages, constantly varying and putting in men and places at their own pleasure, iv. 30. Their translation is too highly esteemed by some, and why, 32. The Septuagint or Greek interpreters, their boldness in adding to the Scripture; general observations on the Septuagint, x. 419—452. Taken notice of, viii. 419, &c. The differing members of the Septuagint translators render the same word in differing places, in a different way, 422. Septuagint translation, hath in it many errors, xii. 55. 62.

*Sepulchres* were decked by the Jews, iii. 138, 139. Sepulchres of the Jews described, with the whole manner of burying, x. 179, &c. Their distance from cities were two thousand cubits, 257. The whitening of them what, xi. 285.

*Sermons*, Lightfoot's, general table of subjects and texts of, vii. 418.

*Serpent* lift up in the wilderness, what the Jews write referring to it, v. 53. Believing in Christ for salvation excellently illustrated by being healed by looking on the brazen serpent, 54.

*Servant* denoted by unloosing the shoe latchet, iii. 43.

'*Servants of Christ*,' what is done by them, is said to be done by Christ himself, v. 58. Servants that were Jews, how they came to be servants, and how again to be made free, called 'Libertines,' viii. 413, 414. Servants, how bought, and how employed, xi. 78.

*Service* in the Temple performed at the ninth hour, what, iii. 186. Service in the Temple morning and evening, the manner and management of it, ix. 105, 106. It used to begin with bathings, 106. The officers employed therein cast lots for every man's task, 107. They cleanse and dress the burnt-offering altar, 108.

Thirteen particular services belonging to particular men, 109. The killing the morning sacrifices, the dressing the lamps and altars, 110. Parcels of the Temple-service, as the king's reading the law, 192. The priest's burning of the red cow, 193. The trial of the suspected wife, 197. The atoning of a cleansed leper, 198. The manner of bringing and presenting their first-fruits, and wood for the altar, 200. 202. Seventh day, why not bounded with the same limits that the rest are, ii. 336.

*Seventy*, or the Greek translation, all the world used the Old Testament in Christ's time in the Greek tongue, unless such as had learned the Hebrew tongue, iv. 180. The Seventy translation, when, where, and how begun; it had many errors in it, wilfully done by the translators, with the reasons why, and how; therefore the cause is shewed, why it is made use of in the New Testament, even in some of those untrue translations, and the reason is good, 326. 330.

*Seventy* interpreters noted, x. 222. 233. *Seventy* (or the Greek), interpreters in their rendering the text sometimes favour the Jewish traditions, and sometimes the common interpretation of the nation, xii. 423. A comparison of the history of the *Seventy* interpreters, as it is in Josephus, and as it is in the Talmudists, 579, 580. They changed thirteen places in the law, 581, 582. In what value the version of the *Seventy* seems to have been among the Jews, illustrated by examples, 583, &c. They translated the Old Testament so as to favour the manners, traditions, ordinances, and state of the Jewish nation, ib. It is not an accurate pure version, even the Jews being judges, 586. Objections answered, 587, 588. Whence not the Greek version, but the Hebrew text, was read in the synagogues of the Hellenists, 587. By what authors and councils it might probably be, that the Greek version came forth, which obtains under the name of the *Seventy*, performed with more craft than conscience: why therefore did the apostles and evangelists use it, 588. 593.

*Seventy* weeks of Daniel, what, ii. 312.

*Sextarius*, what sort of Roman measure, iv. 451.

*Shadow* of Peter wrought miracles, as it seemeth, viii. 79.

*Shaking* dust off the feet, what, iii. 217.

*Shammai's* and *Hillel's* scholars were in constant quarrel, vi. 383.

*Sheaf*, first-fruit sheaf, where and how reaped, x. 79. 108. When to be offered, xi. 185. The manner of reaping it, xii. 420, 421.

*Sheep-gate* or *Probatika*, was not near the Temple, contrary to the Jewish opinion, x. 343.

*Shekel*; the reason of the gift of half a shekel, as used in the Temple, vii. 129, 130. Why the half-shekel was to be paid at the age of twenty years, and not before, 132. When, and where the half-shekel (mentioned Exod. xxx. 13.) was to be paid, 313. The receivers of it began to sit yearly twenty days before the passover, 314. *Shekel*, what, ix. 317. Of what parts and value it was, xi. 398. vii. 128.

*Shalahh*, the pool, x. 345.

*Shepherd*; Christ a great Shepherd, described, xii. 333, &c.

*Shew-bread* table, what, ii. 398. ix. 285. with the manner of placing the loaves thereon, and what it signified, 285, 286. Where it was prepared, 368.

*Shezor*, a town in Upper Galilee, x. 157.

*Shibta*, what, iii. 117.

*Shihin*, not far from Tsippor, x. 155.

*Shoe-latchet*, the unloosing it denoted a servant, iii. 43.

*Shoes* and sandals, not the same, against Beza and Erasmus, xi. 176.

*Shops* or *Tabernae*, where things were sold for the Temple, where situate, x. 352.

*Shosbenuth* or *Shosbenim*, what, xii. 243, 244.

*Shushan*, gate of, x. 352.

*Sichem* and *Sychar*, the same, v. 81. 87. The reason why it was called *Sychar*, 88. x. 340.

*Signs* of Christ's coming predicting his near approach, what, iv. 271. Why the Jews were importunate for signs, v. 346. Mere signs or miracles were never wrought by our Saviour, vi. 355. Signs presaging Jerusalem's destruction, ix. 328. Signs are for a fit generation, xi. 199. Signs of the heaven and air, and of the coming of the Messiah, what, xi. 221, 222. Signs of Christ's coming, what, from the doctrine of the Jews, 295, 296.

*Silas*, it may be, was called *Tertius*, iii. 274.

*Siloam*, the same with *Gihon*; it was a famous fountain, whose waters were said to have extraordinary virtues, v. 235. *Siloam*, a sweet fountain without Jerusalem, and ran to each end of it, ix. 225. *Siloam*, a sweet and large fountain, where situate, and which way it emptied itself, x. 54, 55. 345, &c. *Siloam*, taken for part of Jerusalem, xii. 132.

*Silver*; thirty pieces of silver, for which Christ was sold, was the price of a servant, weighing three hundred and eighty-four barley-corns, iii. 146.

*Simeon* and *Simon*, the same name much used, iv. 418. Rabbi *Simeon*, supposed to be the *Simeon* mentioned Luke, ii. ix. 345. *Rabban Simeon*, three

of the name, presidents of the Sanhedrim, part of their history, *ib.*

*Simon Magus*, part of his history, iii. 193. He was baptized and a great heretic; he had a whore-sorceress; his strange blasphemies, viii. 124. Who he gave out himself to be, and what the Samaritans accounted him, 442, 443.

*Simon*, who was called Niger, who conjectured, iii. 210.

*Sin*; judgments against it, ii. 235. Punishment of, v. 293. What to think of saints dying with some sin unrepented of, vi. 8, 9. How a man may know whether it be pardoned to him, 288, 289. Deadly sin, what it is, 331. Sin is the more desperately deadly, by how much it is the more desperately wilful, 342. Sin of the devil, what it was, 343. Sin against the Holy Ghost, why more grievous than that against the Son, 408. Believers punished for sin, against the opinion of the Antinomians, vii. 173. God stunts the time of men's rising from the death of sin, which is not to be retrieved, 199, 200. Sin unto death and sin against the Holy Ghost, how distinguished, 230. Sin of the devils, wretched, being beyond pardon, 337. God's letting men go on uninterrupted in their sin, is the greatest punishment they can have here, 348. Sin is not to be remitted after death, xi. 198.

*Sin-offering* for sins ignorantly committed, what, ix. 78. The distinction of their sin-offering, 80, 81. The sin-offerings of particular persons, what, 83, 84. Several particulars for the further knowledge of the sin-offering, 84.

*Sinai* and Horeb the same, ii. 381.

*Sindon* was a cloak made with linen, and hung with fringes, xi. 438, &c.

*Singers*, and Temple music, what, ix. 55. Singers were divided into courses, their music vocal and instrumental, *ib.*

*Singular* and disciple, what. They are terms sometimes confounded, and sometimes distinguished, xii. 118. Singular number put for the plural, iv. 181.

*Sink* of uncleanness, what, ix. 214, 215.

*Sinners*, such as were great, are often mentioned in Scripture-genealogies of the church for comfort to those that are penitent, ii. 115. Sinners, on the long successes of, v. 289. There is nothing more desirable to God, Christ, and angels, than the repentance of a sinner, vii. 264. What it is that moves God, Christ, and angels to desire this, 265. Sins of wicked men are set down in Scripture, that we may avoid them, vii. 339.

'*Sit*,' or '*walk*,' when used in a borrowed sense in Scripture, do indifferently signify '*to be or to continue*,' v. 146.

*Sitting*, was the posture of the teachers of the people among the Jews, the people standing round about them, iii. 112. v. 136. Sitting at the sacrament and meat, how used among the Jews, ix. 146. Sitting, after the days of Rabban Gamaliel, was the posture of learning, xii. 44. Sitting at table, what, the manner among the Jews, 377.

*Sixth* hour was twelve o'clock, or high-noon. The Jews used to pray evening, morning, and at noon; so did the apostles after converts to the gospel, viii. 215.

*Slaughter*; at one time, five hundred thousand, the greatest ever recorded in history, ii. 209. Slaughter or cruelty, prodigious in the East Indies, vii. 316.

'*Sleep*,' put for '*death*,' used hundreds of times among the Talmudists, xi. 168.

*Smelling*; '*judging by smelling*,' supposed by the Jews to be one qualification of the Messiah; for want of which, Ben-Cozibah was destroyed by the Jews, xii. 276.

*So*, how used, v. 82.

*Socinianism* and Quakerism are great heresies, vii. 286, 287.

*Socoh* in Josh. xv. 35. what, x. 107.

*Sodomites*, besides the men of Sodom, ii. 212.

*Soldiers*, their duties, iv. 270.

*Solomon* was but twelve years old when he made choice of wisdom above all, ii. 198. He exceeded all kings upon earth, in wisdom, power, peace, and magnificence, 202.

*Solomon's Porch*, what, and where, x. 349, 350. vi. 210.

'*Son*,' variously used, v. 219. What the son is bound to do for the father, xi. 216. The word son is to be added to every race in Christ's genealogy, xii. 52. '*Son of Abraham*' by faith and nature, what, xii. 184. '*Son of David*,' a common term in the New Testament and Talmudic writings, for the true Messiah, xi. 11, 12. '*Son of God*,' in Scripture, only applicable to Christ. In the plural number, it belongs to saints, iv. 359. Christ called the '*Son of God*,' 427. The Messiah, acknowledged to be the Son of God, by the Jews, though not by nature, but by adoption xi. 354. He is put for the Messiah frequently, 425. Son of God and Messiah, or Christ, are convertible terms, against the Jews, xii. 24, 25. 287. '*Son of Man*,' is a Chaldean phrase, iv. 13. Christ so called often, but only by himself, to shew his humanity and his being the second Adam, 290. 331. 432. Others called by that name, why, 433. A title given to Christ, what, v. 258. As opposed to the Son of David, what, 261. Why this term is attributed to Christ, xi. 223. The Son coming in glory and in

the clouds, signify only Christ's taking vengeance on the Jewish nation, 346.

*Songs* and music was used on the Sabbath, and at other times, ix. 63. 66.

*Sons of God*, in Gen. vi. and Job i. what, iv. 12. Sons of the envious woman, what, x. 108.

*Sorceresses*; women of Israel were generally sorceresses, xi. 302.

*Sorrows of the Messiah*, what, xi. 423.

*Sosipater* in all probability was Sopater of Berea, iii. 274.

*Soul*. Where was the soul of Christ when separate from the body, vi. 10. The soul of Lazarus was in heaven those four days he was dead, 28. His soul was like the souls of other men, in its infusion, existence, and acting in the body, 29. The soul is imprisoned and restrained in its actings, whilst it is in the body, vi. 329. How the soul contemplates God, 379. Soul, put for life and person, 128. Soul of man (not the body) bears the image and resemblance of God, and how, 296, 297. Whether the souls of men are alike, 298. The pre-existence of souls, some hold it, vi. 29. Whether all souls are equal, 30. What doth a soul instantly after it hath left the body, 34. Souls in the other world are fixed in their place and condition, ib. The soul doth neither sleep nor die, when out of the body, 35. How to judge of the true quality and worth of souls, vii. 147. Souls of other men should be dear to us as well as our own, 322, &c. Souls of men in a better state than devils; and whether all souls be in a savable condition, 332, 333.

'*South Country*,' used for 'Judea,' x. 28, 29.

*Space*; the utmost space within the great wall, was commonly called the first Temple, ix. 301.

*Spain* and France, what places the Jews understood for them, x. 291.

*Speaking*, among the Jews used to be with all possible shortness, especially where the thing was plain, viii. 423. 'Speaking with tongues,' what is meant by it, vii. 34. Spectra or the apparitions of the souls of men after death, believed by the Jews, 293.

*Spirit*; being 'born of it,' what, v. 37. 41. In Scripture it is compared to fire and water; the reasons, 95. 'Spirit of God,' is often used in the Scriptures for the Holy Ghost; but even in the Hebrew, the Spirit of Elohim plural, to shew his descent from the Father and the Son, against the Greek church, iv. 313. The false pretenders to the Spirit, how they may be discovered, vi. 235. Spirit of revelation, not necessarily inferred or begotten by any degree of holiness whatever; the truth of this proved at large,

236. The spirit of holiness and the spirit of revelation, how they differed, ib. The spirit of sanctification, how to know whether a man hath it or no, 237. What it is to have the Spirit, vii. 20. The several conditions of having the Spirit, ib. Adam had not the spirit of sanctification nor of prophecy, ib. Saints in glory have not the Spirit, 21. How the Spirit worketh by the word: the having of it implies not perfection, 24. The Spirit never leaves them that have it, 27. To have the Spirit, implies not the gift of prophecy, 28. The difference between the spirit of sanctification and prophecy, ib. The enthusiasts, about every one having the Spirit, and the ground of it, refuted, 31. The spirit of prophecy and revelation, and the spirit of grace and holiness, are greatly differing, 308. The Spirit of God can, and does overpower the hearts, tongues, and actions of men, so as to serve the design of God's glory, ib. &c. Spirit of prophecy and the Holy Spirit ceased from Israel, from the death of the later prophets, xii. 575.

*Spirits*; seven spirits put for the Holy Ghost, a common speech among the Jews, iii. 333. The Sadducees denied the being of spirits, vii. 291. 295. Spirits and angels, how distinguished, 292. Spirits unclean, what, xi. 170. Spirits, evil and unclean, the Jews supposed the first inflicted diseases, the second haunted burying places, xii. 134. Spirits, angels, and demons, distinguished among the Jews, 213.

*Spittle* was accounted wholesome by the Jews for sore eyes, xii. 328.

*Standing* was the posture of the Jewish people when they heard their teachers, iii. 112.

*Star*, what it was the Wise men saw, where it was they saw it, and how, upon the sight of it, they could conclude that it related to a King of the Jews, iv. 219.

*Stationary-men* were Israelites that did attend the Temple offerings and service; these stood to be a representative congregation, &c. ix. 66. Stationary-men, what, xii. 11.

*Stations* of the Israelites in their departure from Egypt, ii. 415.

*Stephen*, his accusation before the Sanhedrim; the heads of his vindication, iii. 190.

*Style* of the Jews much followed in the New Testament, iii. 46.

*Stocks* in the house of the Lord, what, and of what use, ix. 363.

*Stoned*, what criminals were to be stoned, with the manner of it, iii. 190.

*Stoning*; the whole proceeding of it among the Jews, viii. 438, &c. tal punishment, how used among the

**Jews**, ix. 340. Stoning, and other executions, were without the city, and why, xi. 346, 347. How performed, 416.

*Strabo's* description of the sea-coast of Judea, x. 22.

*Strangers*; which was that part of the Temple into which strangers might not come, ix. 301.

*Strangled* things; about not eating them, what, iii. 222. What the meaning of the apostolic prohibition concerning them, viii. 481, 482.

*Strangling*, a capital punishment among the Jews; how performed, ix. 340.

*Streets*, some were memorable in Jerusalem, x. 71, 72.

*Stripes*; whipping or scourging upon the censure of the judges, and the receiving forty, or thirty-nine stripes, what, ix. 13, 14. What number malefactors were to be beaten with, and what kind of scourge, xii. 129, 130.

*Strype's* letter to Kidder, xiii. 480.

*Study*: ministers were to be fitted for their ministry by study, so were the priests and Levites accomplished; prophets and inspired men were only occasional teachers, but those the constant; for prophecy was but sometimes, and now and then long wanting, as under the second Temple; and the people could only be taught by learned men, because then the Scriptures were in an unknown tongue to the common people, iii. 370.

*Subterraneous* places, as mines and caves, were in the land of Israel, x. 177, 178.

*Sufferings* sometimes called baptism, iii. 126.

*Sun* and moon being darkened, signifies the eclipsing the glory and prosperity of a kingdom or a people, iii. 339.

*Sun-setting* began and ended the day among the Jews.

*Supper*, last, of Christ, iii. 425.

*Suppers* of Christ, several, iii. 142, 143. The supper in which Satan entered into Judas was two days before the passover-day came, 144, 147.

*Shushan*, the palace portrayed on the east gate, and why, ix. 220.

*Swearing* by the Temple, the custom of the Jews, iii. 138. Swearing, among the Jewish doctors little set by, unless it amounted to forswearing, xi. 121, &c.

*Swine* hated by the Jews, loved by the Romans, iii. 85.

*Sycophants* were, at the first, good officers, but afterwards the term became a reproach, iv. 243.

*Synagogue*; in every great town the Jews had a synagogue and a divinity school, iii. 236. In the synagogue were had prayers, reading, and plain sermons; in the divinity-school were the high dog-

matical and controversial points about their law, ib. Every synagogue had civil as well as sacred governors and rulers, who judged and sentenced in worldly matters; and that both within and without Judea, 242: so that the Jews were generally judged by their own magistrates, ib. *Episcopus* (an overseer) is a synagogue-officer's term, so are most of his qualifications fetched thence, mentioned in the 1 Tim., 257. There were four hundred and sixty synagogues, others say more, in Jerusalem, 385. The land was full of synagogues, which were frequented every Sabbath-day, and the second and fifth days of the week, 398. The antiquity and divine institution of synagogues, v. 112, 122. High places were synagogues, 112. It is the idolatry, rather than the places, rebuked in Scripture, 113. There were very many synagogues, 116.

*Synagogue* or *Synagogues*; whether lawful to alienate a synagogue from a sacred to a common use, viii. 415. Synagogue of the Alexandrians, what, x. 74, 75. There were in Jerusalem four hundred and sixty synagogues, or four hundred and eighty, as say others, 74. viii. 416. A synagogue was only formed where there were ten learned men, of which number three bore the magistracy; the next was the public minister of it, called the angel, or bishop; then three deacons, or almoners; the eighth man was the interpreter; the two last less known, xi. 87, 91. Synagogue days were the seventh, second, and fifth in every week. Synagogues were anciently builded in fields, but following times brought them into cities, and built them higher than the rest of the houses: every one was to frequent them at the stated times of prayer, 91. On the Sabbath, the minister in the synagogue called out any seven whom he pleased, to read the law: there was also prayer, catechising, and sermons; in the afternoon, a divinity lecture, 92, 94. The synagogue-minister, or bishop of the synagogue, and ruler, how differing, 165. In every synagogue there were three magistrates, who judged of matters of contest arising within the place, 179. There was a synagogue in the Temple, xii. 44. In the synagogue they read standing up, 64. He that read, was appointed by the ruler of the synagogue, and called *Maphtir*, and was to read one-and-twenty verses, 65. Christ read and expounded, as was usual, in that synagogue, of which he was a member, ib. The minister of the synagogue kept the sacred books, and brought them out to be read when the company was met together, 67. A synagogue might be made



of a dwelling-house. A heathen might build a synagogue, 80.

*Synagogue-days*, or times of meeting; there were three every week, viz. the second and the fifth days of the week, as well as the Sabbath, besides holy days, iii. 216. v. 117.

*Synagogue-officers*, how they sat in their synagogues, v. 118.

*Syria*—exceeding numerous inhabited by the Jews, and in divers things privileged with Canaan; some questions, whether, after David's conquest of it, it was not a part of Canaan, iii. 59. From thence had Israel their greatest afflictions, iv. 192. It comprehended all the country of the Jews, both within and without Jordan, by which we see the heathens as well as the Jews came to Christ, v. 191. See *Syria*, in Chorographical Index.

*Syriac*, or Aramean language, under the second Temple, was that which went under the name of the Hebrew, viii. 405. Syriac interpreter on *Ænon*, x. 327.

*Syrian* language, was the common speech of the Jews, iv. 179, 180.

*Syrophænicium*, what, xi. 220.

*Tabernacle*, and types of it, ii. 28. Its form, idea, representation, dimensions, silver foundation, walls, and juncture, 390. The curtains of it, 394. Of the Most Holy place, 396. The table of shewbread, 398. Tabernacle of the Levitical priesthood; why those that serve there, have no right to eat at the altar that Christians have, vii. 255. The motions and stations of the ark and tabernacle, ix. 458. 463. High places were lawful till the tabernacle was set up in Shilo, 459. How long it abode there, *ib.* The removal of it from Shilo to Nob, thence to Gibeon, was by divine warrant, 460, 461.

*Tabernacles*, the feast thereof, iii. 110. Feast of tabernacles, the nature, occasion, and reason of its institution, iv. 303. The manner of the celebration thereof, ix. 180. 190. There was more rejoicing in this feast than any other, 180. The variety of sacrifices then used, 180, 181. The palm and willow branches, 182, 183. The pomicitron apples, 184. The pouring out of water, with their rejoicing, and rubrick of every day's service, 185. 190. The feast of tabernacles; the preparation for it, and the parts of it, xii. 297. 299. How and wherefore the eighth day was computed great by the Jews, 307, 308.

*Tabernæ*, or shops, where things were sold for the Temple, where situate, x. 352.

*Tabitha* is of eternal memory in Acts, 9, and in the pages of the Talmudists, x. 40. Every maid servant of Rabban Gamaliel was called אַמָּא טַבִּיְתָא, *i. e.*

Mother Tabitha, *ib.* Talitha Kumi, what it signifies, *ib.* xi. 397.

*Table* gesture, or the manner of the Jews' sitting there, with the form of the table, xii. 377, 378.

*Table* of money-changers, in the Temple, which our Saviour overthrew, what, vii. 129.

*Table*, second; the commands of the second table chiefly enjoined in the gospel, and why, vi. 272, 273.

*Tables*; the two tables, the golden and the marble, in the porch, described, ix. 276. The shewbread table, with the manner of placing the loaves upon it, 285, 286.

*Talent*, what, xii. 185.

*Talith*, was a cloak which the Jews used to wear, made of linen, xi. 440. xii. 85, 86.

*Talmud* of Jerusalem, was compiled by R. Jochanan, president of the Sanhedrim, about A. C. 230, iii. 397. The Jews deeply engage themselves to stand by the Talmud and Mishna, 402. The Talmud of Babylon is their standard for rule and religion to this day, *ib.* This was signed and published about A. C. 500. The Talmuds are most upon disputes, 404. The Talmud hath two parts, the Mishna and Gemara; it is the Jew's council of Trent; it is the sum of their doctors' conceits and descants upon the law; much of it is mere human traditions, yet, *ubi bene, nemo melius*, iv. 15. There is the Talmud of Jerusalem and Babylon; the chief end of both, as they say, is to explain the Old Testament; how they do it, an instance or two, 16. Talmud of Jerusalem, (and it may be the Talmudic Mishna,) was written at Tiberias, x. 148. The Jerusalem Talmud is like them that made it, 150, 151. An inlet into the Talmud, and a summary of the principal matters contained in it, x. 468—523.

*Talmudic* girdle, x. 8.

*Talmudists*; from these men's allegorizing of the Scripture sprang the most desperate heresies in the first age of the Christian church, iii. 402.

*Tammuz*, what it was, ix. 366.

*Tarshish* was the name of a man, of a pearl, and of a town, iv. 14.

*Taxing* under the Romans, was a being enrolled, owning their dominion, and paying some tribute, iv. 187. 192, 193.

*Teachers* was one of the titles of the gospel ministers, iii. 68. Teachers among the Jews used to sit when they taught the people, 112. Teachers and prophets distinct functions, yet sometimes went together, 210. Teachers of the law were of four sorts: such as taught children in private schools to read the law; preachers in the synagogues; teachers in the divinity

schools; and the Sanhedrim, which was the school of the nation, in its sessions, as well as judicatory, v. 42. Teachers used to sit down when they had done reading while they taught, viii. 465. Teachers of the law and lawyers, what, xii. 119, 120.

*Teaching* was even by the Jewish doctors sometimes performed out of the synagogues in streets and ways, xii. 74.

*Tedi* or *Tadde*, the north gate; *Tedi* or *Tadde*, why so called, ix. 233.

*Temple*. There was a Temple in Egypt, at Alexandria, where there were a vast number of Jews, iii. 28. The Jews used to swear by it, 138. Temple of Diana, 151, 152. At Jerusalem, which was utterly destroyed, when and how, 381. The second Temple wanted five things which were in the first, iv. 153. Temple (and city) of Jerusalem destroyed, A. M. exactly 4000, 323, 324. In some places the Temple was exceeding high, 366. Its courts described as the courts of the women, Israel, and the Gentiles, &c. 458. Into the outer court came not only proselyted heathens, but mourners, lepers, and excommunicate persons, 459. In this court it was that Christ found a market to sell cattle for sacrifice and offerings for those that came from afar, 460. Here also were the money-changers, 460, 461. The Jews were obliged, how far off soever, always to pray with their faces towards the Temple, 466. The manner of the Jews worshipping there, ix. 119. None went into it with a staff, shoes on, scrip or purse, nor money tied in the purse, 120, 121. Nor spit there, nor used any irreverent gesture, nor made it a thoroughfare; but every one goes to his place with all gravity, and so demeans himself, 122. None might at any time sit there, but always stand at their prayers; they might there pray with their heads uncovered, 124. At their departure bowing low before the Lord, even falling on the ground, then out they went backward because they might not turn their backs on the altar, 125. The description of the Temple and city in Ezekiel was a prediction, and so far literally true as that they should be, but not that they should be so large; the Holy Ghost thereby, also, signifying the enlarging of the spiritual Jerusalem, ix. 217. All within the wall that encompassed the holy ground, was called the Temple, 244. The dimensions of Solomon's Temple, and of that built after the captivity, 244—252. How the outmost wall came to be even, and juttet not over when each story of the chambers was a cubit wider than that under it, 247. Five things wanting in the second Temple that were in the first, and what, 248. The Children

of the Captivity took Ezekiel's Temple for a pattern, as to form, not as to dimension, 251. The measure and platform of the Temple as it stood in our Saviour's days, 252. The breadth, chambers, and stairs of the Temple, 258. The scarecrow on the top of the Temple, what, and wherefore set there, ib. The porch of the Temple described with the steps up to it; it is supposed to be the place whither Satan brought Christ in his temptation, 264, 265. The two pillars in Solomon's Temple described, 267. The place where they stood, and the signification of their names, 272, 273. How many rails used about the Temple, and where, 279. The courts of the Temple described, 297. Put for the Inner Court or Chel, 299. The outmost space within the great wall was commonly called the first Temple, 301. Which was that part of the Temple into which strangers might not come, 300. Put for the Court of the Women, 302. The treasuries of the Temple were twofold, viz. treasure-chest and treasure-chamber, yet both called Corban, 313. What place in the Temple the Jews had turned into a market for sheep, oxen, &c. 315. The officers of the Temple and their offices, 352. Flies did not infest the Temple, 390. The Temple and altar, when whited, 406. The state and fate of the first Temple, 463. How long it stood, 466. The Temple built by Zerobabel, and that by Herod usually reckoned but one, ib. The occurrences of the Temple under the Persian monarchy, 466. 470. The state of it under Alexander, 470. The occurrences of it between Alexander's time and the Romans, 473. 479. The state of the Temple under the Romans, 479. Temple of Jerusalem, ten wonders referring to it, x. 46. Its breadth and length, 71. In easing nature within the view of the Temple, though at a great distance, immodest parts were to be turned the contrary way, 86. Some hints of the condition of the second Temple, x. 353. 357. There was a constant market in the Temple, and shops for that end, xi. 261. How long it was in building by Solomon, Zerobabel, and especially by Herod, xii. 247, &c. How much the second Temple came behind the first, 249. There were three Temples, one at Jerusalem, another on Mount Gerizim, and a third in Egypt, 269, 270. The second Temple at Jerusalem wanted the Divine Presence, the ark, the Cherubims, the Urim and Thummim, and the Spirit of Prophecy, 271.

*Temptation*; the method the devil used in tempting Christ, xi. 82, &c.

*Tempting*, or temptations of Christ,

- what, where, and how, iv. 358, 377. Why he was tempted, 349.
- Ten*; the nation of the Jews delighted mightily in the number ten, xi. 305.
- Ten Commandments* given by Christ, ii. 118. How they are the word of God, &c. iv. 83.
- Ten Tribes*; they were placed in Assyria and Babylon, xii. 570. The seats, cities, and countries of the ten tribes were well known to the Talmudists, and much more so in the times of the apostles, 572.
- Terah*, Abraham's father, his place of residence, religion, and time of death, wrong computed by the Rabbins, viii. 419, 420.
- Tertius* it may be was Silas, iii. 274.
- Testament*, New, rules for reading, ii. 43. Testament, Old Testament, how divided by the Jews, iii. 157. The New Testament revealeth, the Old it requires study to unfold it, rather than Revelation, and why, vi. 212. The New Testament phrases and passages, the surest and safest way to understand them is not by framing a sense of our own, which we think fair and probable, but by observing how they were understood by them to whom they were uttered, vi. 226, &c.
- Tetrarch*, or Tetrarchy, what, iv. 250.
- Text* of Scripture not corrupted by the Jews, neither possible for them to do it to the prejudice of Christianity, for several reasons, iii. 405. Text of Scripture usually varied or inverted by the reader or preacher in the pulpit, or schools among the Jews, with the reason thereof, viii. 435. When read to them that understood not the language, it was interpreted into the mother tongue, 464, 465.
- Thanks* before meat, the manner of it, xi. 221.
- Thieves* of Israel were esteemed by the Jewish doctors to be people of God, so not punished, xii. 408.
- Theophilus*, who, and what it signifies, iv. 115.
- Therapeutæ* not Christians, but Jewish sectaries, viii. 266.
- Thessalonians*; Pau wrote first to them both the epistles, from Corinth, not Athens, iii. 229, 230. The first epistle to them was writ the first of all the epistles, vii. 11.
- Theudas*, a sectary; led people away upon pretence of new lights and revelations, pretended to do rare miracles, viii. 82.
- Thirty* pieces of silver, for which Christ was sold, was the price of a servant, weighing 384 barley corns in silver, iii. 146.
- Thorndike's* letter to Lightfoot, xiii. 443.
- Thousand* years; the Jews counted the days of the Messias a thousand years, which they call the brave world to succeed, iii. 361, 362. The opinion of the Millanaries concerning it, refuted by shewing that the thousand years which they expect, are already expired, vi. 255, &c. vii. 62, 63. The Jews themselves expected that the Messias should reign amongst them a thousand years, 257.
- Trussyllus*, a great mathematician, astrologer, or wizard; his strange predictions, viii. 175.
- Three* years and half, a renowned number, viii. 165. Three years and a half often made use of to express things affective and sorrowful, x. 354.
- Throue* of Christ, put for his judgment in his entrance upon his evangelical government, xi. 253, 254.
- Tiberias*; Talmudic Mishna, and the Jerusalem Talmud, was written there, x. 148. The rabbins of Tiberias, what, 150, 151.
- Tiberius*, was incomparable evil, unworthy and cruel, viii. 89, &c. And a beastly bloody man, 92.
- Time*; 'at that time' doth not always centre stories in the same point of time, iii. 65.
- Times* and affairs of men; how God knows and dates them, vii. 224.
- Timothy*, part of his character and his fitness for the gospel ministry, iii. 224.
- Tisri*, answering part of September, a famous month, iii. 25. Tisri was ennobled before Christ's time, by many excellent things done in it, xi. 33. This month is drawn down from its beginning to the feast of tabernacles, xii. 297, 299.
- Tithes*, the greatest part of them were paid to the priests and Levites, and their forty-eight universities, while they were studying there to fit them for the ministry in the synagogues; into which being placed they were all maintained by tithes, iii. 259.
- Tithing* mint, &c. what, iii. 138.
- Titles* of the Gospel ministers, what, iii. 68.
- Tongue*, or Tongues; the gift of tongues a necessary means to bring the Gentiles into religion again; they were the gift of the Holy Ghost, 194. Why they were given, ib. Speaking with them was in order to understand the original text, and to expound it to men of different languages, 204. The confusion of tongues; into what number they were divided. The Hebrew tongue was the tongue of Adam, and the tongue of God; it began with the world and the church. The whole tongue is contained in the Bible;

most of the eastern tongues use the characters or letters of its language, iv. 46. 48. The Chaldee, Syrian, the Arabian and the Latin tongues, how changed, 54, 55. The Britain tongue near a thousand years ago, what, 56. The mother tongue; when the text of Scripture was read to them that understood not the language, it was interpreted into the mother tongue, viii. 464, 465.

*Tongues*, and speaking with tongues, what is meant thereby, vii. 33, 34. Tongues was one of the two extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, ib. The gift of them was generally upon all the disciples, viii. 374. The Holy Ghost, in his extraordinary gifts and tongues, could only be communicated by the apostles, 444.

*Towns* were fortified places, x. 175. Towns, cities, and villages, distinguished, xi. 381, 382.

*Trade*; Paul was taught to make tents of skins for soldiers, before set to his studies, which was common among the Jews, iii. 227.

*Tradition* managed all among the Scribes and Pharisees, even all the common things of seed-time, harvest, and vintage, x. 176, 177.

*Traditions*; Christ came when traditions were at the highest, iii. 33. Traditions of the Jewish elders, some of them set down, 96. The Jews were more mad of their traditions and carnal rites after the fall of Jerusalem than before, 399. The hands through which the Jews say they passed, iv. 261. v. 205. The Jews said they were an unwritten law, called Cabala, given to Moses at Sinai, and delivered to succeeding generations by word of mouth, v. 204. They were as much esteemed and desired by the Jews, when they returned from their captivity, as idolatry was before, vi. 374. They were more destructive to the Jews than idolatry was, ib. How they deceived the Jews to their own destruction, vii. 107, 108. The traditions of Rome and of Old Jerusalem, of what symmetry or likeness and effect they are, 120. Traditions unwritten, divine, by Christ; apostolical, by the apostles; ecclesiastical old customs, that have obtained the force of laws: this popish doctrine is shewed to be nonsensical and false, viii. 285. Traditions were valued by the Jews above the word of God, xi. 212. They were valued above miracles, 403.

*Traditionarians* refer the first conception of their traditions to the times of Ezra, xi. 71.

*Trujan*, reign of, viii. 314—7.

*Transfiguration* of Christ, iii. 101.

*Translation* of the Seventy; when, where, and how begun; hath many errors

in it, wilfully done by the translators, with the reasons why, and how, iv. 326. 330. Therefore the cause is shewn why it is made use of in the New Testament, even in some of those untrue translations, and the reason is good, ib.

*Transmigration* (or μεταμύχωσης) of souls, also their pre-existence, were the opinion of the Jews, xii. 325, 326.

*Transubstantiation* is against one of the laws given to Noah, ii. 84, 85. It is condemned, 339. Not believed; how punished, vii. 73.

*Treading* the wine-press, used to signify great slaughter, iii. 352.

*Treasuries* of the Temple, how distinguished, ix. 232. Twofold, viz. treasury-chest, and treasury-chamber, yet both called Corban, ix. 313. Two treasury-chests, and for what, ib. Eleven treasury-chests, and for what, 315. Treasury-chambers, where they were, and when emptied, 318.

*Treasury*, called Corban, what, x. 208. Where it was, 212.

*Tree*, in Paradise, which was forbidden to Adam, what, xii. 18.

*Trespass-offering*, doubted and undoubted, suspensive and apparent, ix. 86. This and the sin-offering were akin in some things, 87. For what sort of offenders, 89. The disposing thereof, 90.

*Tribes*; two of the Jewish tribes were dispersed before our Saviour's time, and the other ten not; the reason of this, vii. 9. Disposition of the tribes, x. 121. The ten tribes were placed in Assyria and Babylon, xii. 570. The seats, cities, and countries of the ten tribes were well known to the Talmudists, and much more so in the times of the apostles, 572.

*Tribute*, paying to Cæsar, cleared and illustrated, iii. 137. God requires some tribute of men for their preservation, vii. 136.

*Tribute-money*, what two things persuade that it was the half-shekel, paid yearly in the temple, xi. 238.

*Trinity*; the three persons in the Trinity, in the shape of three men, dine with Abraham in Hebron, ii. 91. The second and third go to Sodom, the first tarries with Abraham, to whom Abraham petitions for Sodom, 91. And eat the first flesh that is mentioned to be eaten in Scripture, 342. Trinity, how expressed from, iv. 11. Trinity of persons in the Godhead demonstrated at the first creation, at the confusion of tongues, at Christ's baptism, at the gift of tongues, and many other instances of a Trinity, 316. The Trinity proved from the Scripture, vi. 405. This doctrine was intimated by the Holy Ghost in expressing the most great actions in Scripture, ib.

The doctrine of it by degrees grew up to a full maturity, xi. 365.

*Truma*, how the Galileans and Jews differed about it, x. 158, 159.

*Trumpet*; whether a trumpet was sounded, when the Jews did their alms, xi. 133, &c.

*Trumpets*, how sounded, ix. 57. The feasts thereof, 191.

*Truth* overcome by custom, iv. 36. Why the gospel is so called, vii. 93. Who are the great resisters of it, 97. 99. Why God permits wicked men to resist the truth, 100. The cause of ignorance and error is, because men will not know and embrace the truth, 300. Truth is to be laboured after and kept, 301. How to know it among the various opinions that are abroad, 302.

*Tryphon*, the Jew, antagonist to Justin Martyr, might well be R. Tarphon, much mentioned in the Talmuds, iii. 393.

*Tsippor*, x. 152. 154.

*Turks* were the posterity of Ishmael, say some, or the Jews, carried captive into the northern parts of the world, ii. 96.

*Twenty-six*, a rare number, ii. 133.

*Twenty-three*, assembly of the, x. 352.

*Twilight*, distinguished among the rabbins into four parts, which will easily reconcile the four phrases of the four evangelists, about the resurrection of Christ, xi. 455, 456.

*Tythes*; the priests and Levites always lived upon tythes, when they studied in the universities, preached in the synagogues, and attended on the Temple service, x. 174. Out of what, tythes were paid, xi. 284.

*Tything* of lambs, how performed by the Jews, xii. 337.

*U*; the Syriac tongue affects the letter V. in the first syllable of words, viii. 475.

*Uncircumcised*; many among the Jews, both priests and people, were uncircumcised, xii. 495.

*Unclean*, with a touch, what, xi. 154. Of all uncleanness, leprosy was the greatest, ib. Meats unclean, what, 214, 215. Unclean and profane or polluted, distinguished, ib.

*Unclean* and clean, the doctrine of them, ii. 122. Unclean, such as were so, how kept from the Temple, ix. 8. Four sorts of penalties were doomed upon unclean persons found in the Temple, x. 13. 15.

*Uncleanness*, legal, did contain a great deal of the doctrine of sin, ii. 122.

*Ungodly* men, death and doom of, v. 335.

*Unity* of essence in the Godhead, iv. 119.

*Universities*, such were the cities of the priests and Levites, ii. 141. Tithes, the greatest part of them were paid to priests and Levites in their forty-eight universities, while they were studying there to fit them for the ministry in the synagogue, iii. 259. The cities of the Levites were universities, the priests were maintained there by tythes, x. 174.

*Unlearned* and learned was a usual division of the Jewish nation or people, v. 203. 216.

*Unlearned* men, how they may know the truth among various and different opinions, vii. 301.

*Unregenerate* men, whether all alike, may be said to be of the devil, vii. 342.

*Until*, signifies either concluding or excluding, vii. 190.

*Unwritten* law of the Jews, with their Cabala, or traditions, v. 204. The hands through which this passed, iv. 261. v. 204, 205.

*Upper* room was a usual place to determine matters of learning and religion in, iii. 181.

*Urim* and Thummim, what, ii. 406. The Jews supposed the loss thereof to be supplied by their Bath Kol, or a voice from heaven, iv. 320. What they were, and the manner of the inquiry by them, vi. 278, 279. Urim and Thummim, prophecy, and revelation were gone from the Jews for four hundred years before Christ came, vii. 294. 304, 305. Urim and Thummim, xi. 385.

*Usury*; what in old Rome, and how managed, viii. 144.

*Vail*, with which women (Christian women) were covered, was not for a sign of subjection to their husbands, xii. 515, &c.

*Vailing* in the worship of God, how used, and how abused, iii. 243, 244. Vailing or covering the head, why used by the Jews in prayers and fasts, &c. xii. 511, &c.

*Vails*, how many used about the Temple, and where, ix. 280. The vails that divided the holy and most holy place, were two, yet accounted but one, and why, 291.

*Valentius* and Eutyches averred Christ to have a body only in appearance, confuted, iv. 126.

*Valuation* of persons, in reference to redemption of vows, what, ii. 123.

*Vanity*, the Gentile world was subject to vanity of mind, xii. 349.

*Veil* of the Temple, what, xi. 352, 353.

*Velleius Paterculus*, his high commen-

dations, with a good deal of his life and writings, viii. 141, 143.

*Vengeance*; 'the day of vengeance' put for Christ's coming with vengeance to judge the Jewish nation, six differing ways of expressing it, xi. 404.

*Venus*; 'bath of Venus' in Acon, x. 125.

*Version*; the Jews thought not so honourably of any version as they did of the Hebrew Bible, xii. 577, 578.

*Vespasian*, reign of, viii. 309.

*Vessels*; the number and fashion of the vessels of the sanctuary, ix. 433.

*Vestments*, 'the priest's vestments' described, ix. 274. The Jews think the priests' vestments before the law, were the same as under the law, 435. What vestments the high-priests had, that the other priests had not, 438. The high-priests under the second Temple were consecrated by putting on the holy vestments, 439.

*Village*, what, v. 195. A village was where there was no synagogue, x. 175.

*Villages*, cities and towns, distinguished, xi. 381.

*Vine*; whether that tree in Paradise which was forbidden to Adam, xii. 18. The golden vine in the porch described, with its use, ix. 275.

*Vinegar* was the common drink of the Roman soldiers, xii. 201.

*Vipers*, the worst of serpents, iv. 263, 264.

*Virgin Mary*, was not so filled with grace as to be without sin, iv. 162. She did not vow virginity, 163.

*Virginity* signified by three words in the Hebrew, iv. 179.

*Virgins*; St. Austin's determination about chaste matrons and virgins, ravished by the enemy, when they broke into city, what, vi. 343.

*Voice* is attributed to things without life, v. 18. Voice from heaven, what, and how, instead of the Urim and Thummim, iv. 320.

*Vow*; 'Jephthah's vow,' how to be understood, ii. 159. Whether he did, or did not sacrifice his daughter, vii. 157, 158. Very great care, prudence, and piety should be used in making a vow, 158. The vow in baptism whether obligatory to infants, 164.

*Vowels* how used, and to what language, iv. 49. Vowels to the Hebrew from the first writing it, 50.

*Vows*; the valuation of persons in reference to redemption of vows, ii. 123. Vows difficult to be kept, the casuist rabbins did easily absolve, viii. 495. Vows of consecration and obligation, or prohibition, what, xi. 217.

*Walk or sit*, when used in a borrowed sense in Scripture, do indifferently signify, to be or to continue, v. 146.

*Wall*; 'the circuit of the wall' encompassing the holy ground, according to our English measure, what, ix. 217. The height and breadth of the gates in the wall encompassing the holy ground, 219. The wall over the east-gate, lower than the rest, and why, 218. All within the wall encompassing the holy ground was called 'the first Temple,' 244.

*Walton's* (Bp.) letter to Lightfoot, xiii. 348.

*Wantonness*, unchristian, v. 305.

*Washing*; four sorts in the days of Christ, v. 66. Washing, put for purification, exceeding curiously performed, iii. 297. Washing of dead bodies, a custom among the Jews, viii. 210. Washing of hands, tables, cups, and platters, what, and how performed among the Jews, iv. 446. Washing of hands, this was a great mystery of Pharisaism, and abounded with niceties, xi. 213, &c. Washing and plunging their hands, what, and how they differed, 400, 401. Washing of hands, of how great esteem among the Jews, xii. 113. Washing of cups and platters, what, 114, 115. Washing after touching a dead body, what, 551.

*Watch* in the night divided by four, of three hours a-piece, iv. 198.

*Watches* in the night were three, xi. 212.

*Water*; being born of it, what at large, v. 37, 41. The custom of fetching water at the fountain Siloam and pouring it on the altar, what, vi. 222. Water-gate described, ix. 350, 351. Where situate, x. 349. Water-offering used at the feast of tabernacles, how performed, whence derived, and what the meaning of it, xii. 309, 310. Water purifying, how curious the Jews were in performing, x. 73.

*Watering* of the city, x. 370.

*Waters*; 'living waters,' what the phrase alludes to, ix. 350.

*Ways*, in the land of Israel, their breadth, x. 255, 256.

*Wedding*; to go to a wedding, was reckoned among the works of mercy, xi. 306.

*Week*, the days thereof, how reckoned by the Jews, by the name of first and second of the Sabbath, and so on, xi. 357.

'*We know*,' signifies that the thing is well and openly known, v. 25.

*Well*; 'the draw-well room' described, ix. 350, 351.

*Whale*: Jonas's whale, iv. 27.

*Whipping* or scourging upon the censure of the Judges, viz. the receiving of forty or thirty-nine stripes, what, ix. 13, 14.

*Whoredom* put for 'polygamy,' ii. 95. Whoredom great and abominable, viii. 290. 293. Whoredom strangely committed under pretence of burial, x. 256.

*Wicked*: their prosperity did once occasion both weeping and laughing, viii. 500. Wicked men's sins are set down in Scripture that we may avoid them, vii. 339. Their wicked actions shew they be of the devil, 342. Wicked men long suffered of God is sometimes not the goodness of God to them, 349. Wicked one: 'that wicked one,' put for the devil; and why he is so called, vii. 339, &c.

*Widow*; where she dwelt in her widowhood, x. 228. Widow, gadding about, what, and what wickedness such run upon, xi. 67, 68.

*Widows*, what sort of them provided for, iii. 259. Widows marrying again, v. 303.

*Wife* suspected, her trial and her offering how performed, ix. 197, 198.

*Wild beasts*; why God did not drive them out of Canaan, as well as he did the Canaanites, vii. 169. 'Wood' devoured is put for 'wild beasts' devoured, 169. England happy in wanting wild-beasts, 170.

*Wilderness* sometimes signifies fields or country in opposition to the city; sometimes a champain country, where the ground was not distinguished by fences; sometimes the deserts, xi. 46. x. 198. 200. Wilderness of Judah and of Judea, distinguished, x. 200. A scheme of the wilderness of Judah or Idumea adjacent, 200, 201. The wilderness of Judea where John the Baptist was, what; it was full of inhabitants, 202. 204.

*Will* and power of God being well understood and submitted to, take off carnal Atheistical disputes, vii. 367, 368.

*Wine*; that which was offered Christ at his crucifixion, was to intoxicate him, iii. 164. Wine, the Jewish doctors say, that to drink a quart of wine makes one drunk; and so much every one of them drank in their sacred feasts; judge then how soberly they carried it in those feasts, if they mingled not much water with their wine, x. 127. Wine and myrrh, used to be given to those that were to die, to make them insensible, xi. 348.

*Wisdom*, chosen by Solomon above all things at twelve years of age, ii. 198. It is often taken in Scripture for 'religion,' iv. 156. Wisdom fourfold, what, xii. 461.

*Wise men*, their coming to Christ on the thirteenth day after his birth or within forty days, shewed to be improbable, and that they came not till about two years after his birth, iv. 206. 212. Wise men or magi, several authors give them a good

character, but the Scripture ever a bad, 215. Who they were, 217. Wise men from the east, what their names, and what their country, xi. 37. Wise men; they were in likelihood doctors and scribes in the Sanhedrim, but were not members of it; like our judges in the house of Lords, xii. 95.

*Wish*; Paul wisheth himself 'accursed for his brethren the Israelites;' a strange wish, what the meaning of it, vii. 312, 313. 319.

*Witches*; a famous story of eighty witches, at Ascalon, x. 32, 33.

*Without*; 'those that are without,' i. e. the Gentiles, iii. 46.

*Witness* (or testimony), was of three sorts, vain, standing, and of the words of them that agreed, xi. 441. 449.

*Witnesses*; what the meaning of the prophecy, concerning the two witnesses, iv. 405. Witnesses laying down their clothes, &c. what the meaning of the phrase, ix. 340. Witnesses, 'false witnesses,' what, xi. 340, 341. They were to suffer the same things which their perjury designed to have brought upon others, 341.

*Wizard*, the same with magician, wise man, &c. iv. 216. viii. 175.

*Women*; a woman began idolatry in Israel, ii. 147. They had some office at the tabernacle and sanctuary, 163. They laboured to advance the gospel, though they did not preach, iii. 225. To them is ascribed barrenness throughout the Scripture, iv. 127. See how, 275. What a reproach it was for women not to be married, vii. 154. They were not bound to appear at the three solemn feasts of the Jews, yet they usually did, ix. 140. The Court of the women described, 302, and x. 62. It is not called by that name in Scripture, ib. They might come into the court through the Gate of the women, when they brought offerings, 370. Women as well as men, under the veil of sanctity and devotion, practised all manner of wickedness, xi. 68. Women were exempt from very many rites in the Jewish religion, which the men were obliged to, ib. The women in Israel were generally sorceresses, 302. Whether women had any offices in the Temple, xii. 41. There were women of ill name among the Jews, and several sorts of them, 81. Women labouring in the Lord, and being servants of the church, what, 524.

*Wonder*; Man is a wonder, vii. 172.

'Wood devoured,' put for 'wild beasts devoured,' vii. 169. Priests that had blemishes, searched the wood for sacrifices, to see if it were not worm-eaten, ix. 309. The wood-room described, 355.

*Word*: what kind of Word Christ is, iv. 115. why he is so called, from Scrip-

ture and antiquity, 117, 118. How the Spirit worketh by the word, vii. 24. 'The Word of the Lord,' doth frequently occur amongst the Targumists, xii. 229, 230. Word of God, variously understood, iv. 362. Word of God, not his Providence, is the rule for men to go by, vii. 278.

*Words* inverted, frequent in Scripture, ii. 220. 228. 288.

*Working*, or not working, on the Passover-eyes; the Galileans differed from the Jews about it, x. 158. Working with the hands; thus Paul did, when out of money and in a strange place, iii. 227.

*World*: the world, *i. e.* the Gentiles, iii. 46. 'Old and new world' doth generally signify in Scripture the 'old law, and new gospel,' proved, vi. 293. The original of the world strangely misapprehended by some heathen philosophers, vii. 367. Why God made the world, seeing he will mar it in time, 370. The world was created in September, 372, &c. How the Jews divided it, x. 5. 'World' put for 'Gentiles,' *ib.* 'World to come;' this was a phrase in common use, to oppose the heresy of the Sadducees, who denied immortality. It always signified the times of the Messias, xi. 199. 294, 295. The world was to be renewed at the coming of the Messias, 253. How taken by the Jewish schools, xii. 258. 'Saints judging the world,' expounded against the Fifth Monarchists, xii. 480. 'World to come, Maranatha, Raca, Jannes and Jambres, Beelzebub,' are phrases taken from the Jews, iv. 33.

*Worms*; to be devoured by worms, was reckoned an accursed thing, only befalling men of the greatest impiety, viii. 456.

*Worship* of the Jews in the Temple, was sacrificing, washing, purifying, &c. and worship in the synagogues, was reading, preaching, hearing, and praying. Christ did abolish the worship used at the Temple, which was ceremonial, but not that at the synagogue, which was moral, vi. 226.

*Worthies* of David, ii. 177.

*Worthington's* lett. to Lightfoot, xiii. 431.

*Wrath*; Christ did not undergo the

wrath and anger of God, but the justice of God, in his sufferings, vi. 19, &c. With the wrath of the devil, he had indeed to deal, 21.

*Writings*, the oldest in the world is Psalms 88 and 89, penned before Moses was born, ii. 356. Writings of the Jews upon Scriptures, fly all in a higher region than the writings of the Christians, viii. 246. As see a taste out of the writings of Philo Judeus, 246. 248.

*Year*; the beginning of the year from the Creation, was in September, ii. 373. But, just before Israel came out of Egypt, the beginning was changed into March, and why, 373, 374. vii. 373. 386. Year of Christ our Lord: the proper reckoning of every year ought to be from September to September, viii. 102. Year, Jewish, ii. 4. Had a double beginning, 5.

*Years*; it is very common in Scripture, in reckoning of the years either of man or beasts, to account the year they are now passing, for a year of their age, be it never so newly or lately begun, iv. 322. 'Three years and a half' often made use of to express things afflictive and sorrowful, x. 354.

'*You*,' put for 'some of you,' or 'posterity,' iv. 283.

*Zacharias* the priest, whether of the course of Abia, iii. 21. He was not a high-priest, iv. 151. The story of his blood shed between the Temple and the altar, what, out of the Talmud, vi. 386. Zacharias the son of Barachias, who he was, ix. 416.; that he was Zacharias the son of Jehoiada, made to appear by several arguments and objections answered, xi. 288. 293.

'*Zeal*,' or 'zealous,' and 'jealousy,' or 'jealous,' are comprehended under the same word in the Hebrew; what they are, vii. 354.

*Zealots*: such men, when persecutors did the most mischief, xii. 390.

*Zebedee*, what became of him, v. 170.

*Zuz* and Denarius (a penny) were of the same value among the Rabbins, xi. 398. 417. It was the fourth part of shekel of silver, 398.

*Zuzims*, what, x. 281, 282.



# CHOROGRAPHICAL TABLE,

OF THE  
SEVERAL PLACES CONTAINED AND DESCRIBED

IN  
DR. LIGHTFOOT'S WORKS.

BY JOHN WILLIAMS.\*

**T**HE Jewish writers divide the world into 'the Land of Israel,' and 'Without land,' x. 5.

The land of Israel, first called 'the land of the Hebrews,' then Canaan and Palestine, &c. may be considered as to its length and breadth, x. 264.

The length of it is said in Scripture to be from Dan to Beersheba, and from the entering in of Hamath, north, to the Sea of the Plain, or Dead Sea, south, ii. 232.

The Jews do reckon it from the mountains of Amana (or the upper Tarnegola, which is at the neck of Anti-Libanus), to the river of Egypt, x. 9. 128. 362.

Others do measure it by the coast; and, if Phœnicia be included, then from Sidon to Rhinocorura, or the river of Egypt, is two hundred and thirty-two miles, according to Antoninus: but if Phœnicia be excluded, then from the south bounds of that to Rhinocorura are one hundred and eighty-nine miles, according to Pliny, x. 23. 254, 255.

The breadth of the land within Jordan is not always the same; since the seas bounding on all sides, here the Mediterranean, there those of Sodom, Gennesaret, and Samochonitis, with the river Jordan, cannot but make the space very unequal by their various windings: but if we take the measure of it from the bay of Gaza to the shore of the Dead Sea, it is upward of fifty miles; and if we extend it also beyond Jordan, then from Gaza to Petra, the metropolis of Moab, is one hundred and ten miles, as may be computed from Ptolemy and Pliny, x. 251—253.

The Jews do say, that the land of Israel contained a square of four hundred parsæ (a parsæ is four miles), which make one thousand six hundred miles, x. 247, 248.

And they have a tradition (and not amiss) that the utmost bounds of the land of Israel (including the land beyond Jordan) was within three days' journey of Jerusalem, x. 249.

Sometimes the land of Israel is bounded with Euphrates, east (as indeed the holy Scriptures do), and contiguous with Mesopotamia, the river only between, x. 285.

## *The several Divisions of the Land.*

It was anciently divided according to the people and nations that inhabited it, viz. the Canaanites, Perizzites, &c. x. 267: xi. 219.

When first possessed by the children of Israel, it was parted among the twelve tribes; and upon the division of the ten tribes, they were known by the two names of 'Judah and Israel.' But after their return from Babylon, it was divided by the Jews into Judea, Galilee, and the Land beyond Jordan (or Perœa) excluding Samaria. To which, if we add Idumea, then was Palestine divided into five countries, viz. Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and the Country beyond Jordan, x. 10, 11. 127.

There was also an imperial division of it; viz. 1. Into Palestine, more espe-

\* A learned friend of Strype's.—The table is enlarged in the present edition.

cially so called, the head of which was Cæsarea. 2. Palestine the second, the head of which was Jerusalem. And, 3. Palestine, called Salutaris, or the Healthful, which it is likely was the same with Idumea the Less, the head of which may be supposed to be Gaza, Ascalon, or Eleutheropolis, x. 195, &c.

*Abel, Abila*, are one and the same; the Hebrew *Abel* being, according to the Greek termination, *Abila*, or *Abella*. There were many places of that name, x. 289, 290.

*Abila Lysania*, so called, because it had been a city in the tetrarchy of Lysanias, was in Cælo-Syria, and had longit. 68. 40. lat. 33. 40. according to Ptolemy, x. 289.

*Abilene*, was a province in Syria, and so called from the city of *Abila*. This word soundeth so near to the word *Havilah*, Gen. x. 7, that it may well be supposed to have descended from it, and the name of the place from that son of Cush, that, with his brethren, planted in Arabia, or thereabout, iv. 252, 253. x. 289.

*Abel-beth-maachah*, a town in the Upper Galilee, not far from Dan or Cæsarea, v. 143. x. 289, 290.

*Abel-meholah*, (in Manasseh on this side Jordan, 1 Kings iv. 12. ten miles from Bethshan, where dwelt Elisha the prophet, Hieron.) x. 289.

*Abel-shittim*, where the Israelites pitched their tents immediately before [and not, as in the English, after] they passed the river Jordan. This place Josephus calls *Abila*, and saith is in Peræa, three-score furlongs, or seven miles and half from Jordan; and, say the Jews, from Beth-Jeshimoth twelve miles, x. 97. 289.

*Acharabon*, a rock in the Upper Galilee. Josephus, x. 119.

*Achor Valley*, so called from *Achan*, who is called *Achar*, 1 Chron. 27. because he troubled Israel, Josh. vii. The maps of Canaan do most of them lay this valley and *Sichem* at a great distance; but if it be observed, it is not improbable that the valley runs betwixt *Gerizim* and *Ebal*. Josephus speaks of the Great Valley of *Samaria*, v. 86.

*Achzib*. See *Chezib*.

*Achzib* (it and *Chezib* changed into *Ecdippa*), the name of a place, x. 126.

*Acon*, is a city of Galilee, where there was a bath of *Venus*, x. 124.

*Akra*, the mount, was within Jerusalem, ix. 214; some buildings in, x. 52.

*Acrabatena, Acrabatta*, a mountainous region, north of *Samaria*, and, say the Jews, a day's journey from Jerusalem, x. 36. 104. 109. 250.

*Adam*, a city in Peræa over against Jericho, a little removed from Jordan, was the centre where the waters of Jordan parted, and the station of the ark, Psal. lxxxviii. 60. It was twelve miles, say the Jews, from *Zaretan*. (See *Zaretan*.) ii. 139. x. 167.

*Adiabene*, the same with *Habor*, 2 Kings xvii. 6. (say the Talmudists) a country of noted fame in Assyria, and so called from the river *Adiab*, xii. 571, 572.

*Adida*. There were several places of that name, as *Adida* in the valley. *Adida* in the mountain, under which lay the plains of *Judea*. *Adida* in *Galilee*, before the great plain, perhaps the same with *Adida* in *Sephel*. *Adida* not far from Jordan, as we have it in Josephus, x. 260.

*Ador*, a city of *Idumea*. Joseph. x. 11.

*Adullam Cave*, whither David betook himself when he escaped from *Gath*, and where he composed the one hundred and forty-second psalm, [it was in the tribe of *Judah*. Hieron.] ii. 270. x. 379.

*Enon*, what place and where situate, v. 59, 60. x. 326. (See *Enon*.)

*Ethiopia*, one in *Arabia*, another in *Africa*, viii. 128. See *Enon*.

*Ai*, } in the tribe of *Benjamin*, on  
*Hai*, } the east of *Bethel*, Gen. xii. 8.  
Josh. viii. 9, &c. and not far from *Bethaven*, x. 43.

*Aiath*, within the jurisdiction of *Judah*, and in the tribe *Benjamin*, lying betwixt *Samaria* and *Jerusalem*, Isa. x. ii. 256.

*Aila*, } in the utmost borders of Pa-  
*Elath*, } lestine, joined to the South  
Desert and the Red Sea, whence men sail out of *Egypt* into *India*, and thence into *Egypt*, where was the Roman legion called *Decima*, saith St. Hieron. and was under the disposition of the duke of *Palestine*, saith the *Notitia*; but it should rather seem that it was *Elath* in the south of *Judah*, the other being far distant, where there was a duke of *Arabia*, in which *Elath* at the Red Sea was, as well as of *Palestine*, x. 250.

*Alexandria*, or *Amon-Min-No* (a city in *Egypt*, at the *Canopic* mouth of the river *Nilus*), where was in after-ages a vast number of the Jews, where they had many *Synagogues*, with a cathedral, in which were seventy stalls, as they report, and afterward a temple built by *Onias*. It is probable, that *Joseph* and *Mary* came hither with our Saviour, iii. 28. xi. 42, 43. viii. 451.

*Alsadamus*, a hill, under which lived the *Trachonite-Arabians*. Joseph. x. 284.

*Amalek*, near the wilderness of *Zin*, betwixt *Edom* and *Egypt*, ii. 117. 181.

*Amanah* (see *Hor* and *Kirmion*), a mountain and a river, x. 128.

*Ammaus.* (See *Chammath.*) x. 141.

*Ammon*, a country east of Jordan, the chief city of which was Rabbah, ii. 183.

*Amorites Mountain*, Deut. i. 19, 20. took its beginning from Kadesh-Barnea, the southern border of the land of Israel, and ran forward into Judea beyond Hebron, the name only changed into the Hill-country of Judea. So much mistaken are Adrichomius and others, that bring it almost from the Red Sea, x. 26, 27.

*Ampeloessa*, a city near to Libanus, and a Decapolitan. Plin. x. 238.

*Anthedon*, a town betwixt Rhinocorura and Gaza, Plin. x. 23.

*Anti-Libanus.* See *Libanus.*

*Antioch.* There are two cities of that name; the one in Pisidia, a province of the Lesser Asia, otherwise called Cæsa-rea; the other in Syria, once the head of the Syro-Grecian empire, afterward the seat of the Roman governor. There the disciples of Christ were first called 'Christians.' Of old it was called Ham-math, but afterward Antioch, from Antiochus, as bloody a persecutor of the church and truth as ever Israel had, iii. 205—207. viii. 464.

*Antipatris*, Acts xxiii. 31. is called by some Caphar-salama, and by Josephus, Caphar-zaba; but when rebuilt by Herod, was named Antipatris, in memory of his father Antipater. It was situated in the best plain of his kingdom, rich in springs and woods, and was from Joppa one hundred and fifty furlongs, that is, eighteen miles, in the way from Jerusalem to the west part of Galilee, and far from the place that is usually assigned to it in the maps, which is in the middle of Samaria. The Jews oppose Antipatris and Gebath, that is, east and west, as the Sacred Writings do Dan and Beersheba, north and south. Ptolemy makes it to be long. 66. 20. lat. 32. 0. x. 116. 300. 354.

*Antonia*, the tower, ix. 235. 237.

*Apamia.* There were, say the Jews, two Apamias; one the Upper, and another the Lower. In one were Jews of pure blood; in the other, not; and between them was the space of four thousand paces. Apamia, saith Pliny, was in Cælo-Syria, and had the river Marsyas running betwixt. It was otherwise called Sepham, and was the utmost coast of the land of Israel, north and north-east, x. 266. 320. 337. xii. 570.

*Apamia Sea*, is said by the Jews to be one of the seven seas that compass the land of Israel, and which, the Talmudists say, is the sea of Chamats, making Chamats and Apamia convertible, but that is a mistake. See *Chamats*. x. 13. 131. 266.

*Aphék*, (there are three cities of that name in Scripture, one in the tribe of Aser, Josh. xix. 30. the other in Judah, 1 Sam. iv. 1, &c. the third in Syria, 1 Kings xx. 30.) the wall of which last fell upon the Syrians, and killed twenty-seven thousand, ii. 219.

*Appii Forum*, a place in Italy about fifty miles from Rome, and in the way thence to Rhegium, iii. 289.

*Ar*, a city in Moab, situated upon the river Arnon, ii. 133.

*Arabia*, is of large extent, reaching from Euphrates to Egypt, and is divided into three parts, viz. Arabia Deserta, Petræa, and Felix. Arabia Deserta is full east of Judea, and the inhabitants thereof are in Scripture constantly called, Men of the east, Gen. xxv. 6. Judges vi. 3, &c. Petræa, so called from the city Petra, or the rockiness of it, reaches from thence to Egypt, dividing Judea from Egypt, saith Pliny. Felix is contained betwixt the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and is divided from Petræa by the Black Mountains. Ptolemy, iv. 218. x. 21. 329, 330. xi. 427.

*Arad.* See *Ascalon*. x. 31.

*Aram.* See *Syria.*

*Ararat*, (mountains in Armenia. Hieron.) upon one of which the ark rested, ii. 83.

*Arbel*, a city of Galilee, betwixt Tsipporis and Tiberias. It is also the name of a valley, perhaps, adjoining thereunto. Joseph. vi. 281. x. 157. 163.

*Arca*, a town in the midland Phœnicia, that gave name to a tetrarchy, saith Pliny, at Libanus. Borchard saith, that the strong hold Arachus, built by Aracheus, son of Canaan, is on, or rather between, the borders of Libanus, and Anti-Libanus. From hence were the people called Arkites, x. 234. 238. 266.

*Argob.* See *Trachone.*

*Arimathea.* See *Ramah.*

*Arnon*, was a river, or several streams, that divided the land of Israel from Moab. It was a watery country, ii. 133. x. 330.

*Arvadites*, a people in the north part of Canaan, seated in Arad and Antarad; called by Jonathan, 'Lutasites,' perhaps from Latavin, a place in Phœnicia, mentioned in the Notitia, x. 265.

*Arumah*, a city, of which there is frequent mention in the Talmudical writers, distant from Caphar Shichin four thousand cubits, and not far from Caphar Hananiah, x. 120.

*Asamon*, a mountain in the middle of Galilee, over against Tsippor. Joseph. x. 155.

*Ascalon*, Gerar, or Arad, stood in the country that was from thence called Gerariku, and was in the tribe of Judah

(though possessed by the Philistines). It was from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, or sixty-five miles; from Azotus twenty-four or twenty-five miles; from Gaza ten (saith Mr. Sandys), or as Antoninus, sixteen miles; from the river of Egypt fifty-four miles; from Eleutheropolis twenty-four miles; from Jamnia twenty miles; a place now of no note, but once was venerable; it bears a great affinity with Arad and Gerar; famous story of eighty witches. It was a place, say the Jews, much given to poisoning; and south from thence was accounted Ethnick land, ii. 146. x. 10. 30—32. 254, 255. viii. 450. There was also another Ascalon, called the New, which was built by Ezra, and was four Parsæ, or sixteen miles from the Old, and sixteen nearer Jerusalem than the Old, saith Benjam. Tudelensis, x. 31. 254, 255.

*Asher* tribe, was in Galilee, and did extend itself from north to south, even from Carmel to Sidon and Lebanon, and lay betwixt Naphtali (running along with it in length) and the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, or the Great Sea. It abounded in corn and metallic mines, ii. 106. iv. 203. x. 122. 124. 178.

*Ashteroth-Karnaim*, (called in the Samaritan copy Aphinith Karaniah) was in the kingdom of Bashan, the larger region being called Ashteroth and Karnaim is added in a distinguishing sense, Deut. i. 4. The Jews say, Ashteroth Karnaim were two great mountains, with a valley between; by reason of the height of which, the sun never shone upon the valley, x. 281, 282.

*Asphaltites*, extent of it, x. 15. the coasts of it, 16 201. map of, x. 200.

*Assyria*, or *Kir*, (divided from Mesopotamia by the river Tigris) is improperly made the first of the four monarchies, ii. 264. 273.

*Athens*, the metropolis of Attica, where was a famous university, a synagogue of the Jews, and the great court of Areopagus, iii. 226.

*Athone*, in Joseph. A city belonging to Aretas the Arabian king, and seems to be the same with Thoana in Ptolemy, which he placeth in Long. 67, 30. Lat. 30, 30. x. 333.

*Atolin*, or *Hatolin*, famous in the Gemarists for the best wine, x. 104.

*Avites Region*, called in Scripture Hazerim, Deut. ii. 23. and sometimes Shur, and, in the eastern interpreters, Raphia: this country lay betwixt the river of Egypt and Gaza, forty-four miles, and was part of New Idumea, x. 10. 193, 194.

*Aulon*, a city of Moab. Joseph. x. 242.

*Auranitis*, or *Abranitis*, is in the ex-

treme parts of the land north, and is so called from the mountain Hauran, there situated also. See *Hauran*. x. 277, 278. 285, &c.

*Azem*, a town whose houses were in Judah, but the fields in Dan, x. 89.

*Azotus*, or *Ashdod*, (was taken from Judah and given to Dan: Bonfrer.) it was two hundred and seventy furlongs, or thirty-four miles from Gaza, twenty-four miles from Ascalon, and two miles from Jamnia: probably the language there spoken was Arabic, ii. 262. x. 31. 336. viii. 450.

*Baale*. See *Kiriath Jearim*.

*Baal-Shalishah*, 1 Sam. ix. 4. The Targum reads it, 'the Land of the South;' the reason of which is given by the Gemarists, because there was no country throughout the land of Israel, where the fruits of the earth were so forward as in *Baal-Shalishah*. Now such a country they call *Southern Fields*. It was not far from Mount Tabor, x. 324.

*Babylon*, or *Babel*, so called from the confusion of tongues. It is also called, the Desert of the Sea, Isa. xxi. 1. and in the Samaritan version, *Lilak*. It is in Scripture said to lie north of Canaan, and was situated on Euphrates, ii. 86. 270. 273.

*Babylon* was also, say the Jews, the name of a region that extended itself from the river Azek, or perhaps Azochis in Pliny, to the river Juani, or Joani, perhaps Cenania, in Amm. Marcellinus, and above Diglath, or Tigris, unto Bagdaal and Avana, and the lower Apamia, and unto Acra Tulbankana, or Thelbelkane, which Ptol. placeth, Long. 78, 30. Lat. 35. 30. Indeed, by 'Babylon' the Jews understand all those countries unto which the Babylonian captivity was carried, not only Chaldea, but Mesopotamia also and Assyria, and do say of them, "Whosoever dwells in Babylon, is as though he dwelt in the land of Israel, and is reputed as clean." There, and in Egypt, was in after-times the greatest number of Jews, and it had of them three famous academies, viz. Nehardea, Sora, and Pumbeditha, viii. 269, &c. 450. x. 285. xii. 566, 567. 569, 570.

*Bahurim*, called also Alemeth and Almon (both Bahurim and Alemeth, sound as much as 'young men'), was a Levitical town in the tribe of Benjamin, and close by Jordan, ii. 186. x. 88.

*Bambyce*, called also Hierapolis, and by the Syrians, Magog, in the tetrarchy of the Nazarins in Cælo-Syria, Plin. x. 320.

*Bamoth-Baal*, a city in the plain of Peræa, x. 165.

*Barchuim*, a place famous for wheat near Jerusalem, say the Jews, x. 104.

*Basan*, was first inhabited by the Re-phaim, and afterward was the kingdom of Og. The name was afterward changed into *Batanæa* (the Syrians changing S into T.) It formerly contained *Gamalis*, *Gaulonis*, *Batanæa* and *Trachonitis*; but afterward, it was more especially applied to the south part of it, and so it lay betwixt Galilee west, and *Trachonitis* east, extending itself in length from south toward the north, x. 282.

*Basan-Hill*, seated among pleasant fields, xii. 262.

*Batanea* for *Bashan*, x. 166.

*Beer*, or the Well, north of the river *Arnon*, where the seventy elders of the Sanhedrin, by Moses' appointment, brought forth waters by the stroke of their staves, Numb. xxi. 16. ii. 133.

*Beeroth*, of *Benejaakan*, the twenty-eighth mansion of the children of Israel in the wilderness, ii. 136, 137.

*Beeroth*, a city in Benjamin, Joseph. Josh. xviii. 25, probably the *Beere* mentioned by Mr. Biddulph (and not *Beersheba*, as was reported to him) ten miles from Jerusalem, and said to be the place where Christ's parents missed him in their journey, Luke ii. 34. xii. 263.

*Beersheba*, (or the Well of the Oath, Gen. xxi. 31. was the utmost point of the land south; from whence the phrase, 'From Dan to Beersheba:' it was first given to Judah, Joshua xv. 28. and afterward to Simeon, Joshua xix. 2. and was twenty miles from Hebron south: Hieron. Bonfrer.) There Abraham lived, consecrated a grove, and had an oracle. It is called in the *Notitia*, '*Berosaba*,' where was a Roman garrison, that had in it the Dalmatian horse of *Illyria*, ii. 92. 94. x. 10. 198.

*Beersabee*, a fortified town in the Nether Galilee, Joseph. x. 119.

*Bekin*, a place between *Jamnia* and *Lydda*, say the Jews, x. 39. 172.

*Belatah*, a village, the distance of a Sabbath-day's journey (or two thousand paces from *Shechem*, and where Joseph was buried, say the Jews, viii. 424.

*Beleus*, a very small river, called also *Pagida*, that flows out of the lake *Cendevia*, saith *Pliny*, and runs into the sea, (not two miles as the English, but) two furlongs from *Ptolemais*, saith *Joseph*. x. 124.

*Benjamin* tribe, was in length from the river *Jordan* to the sea, and in breadth from Jerusalem to *Bethel*. Its land was of the same nature with that of *Judah*, and had its mountainous part, its plain and vale, not only towards *Lydda*, and the Great Sea, but towards *Jericho* and *Jordan*, x. 22. 42.

*Bene Barak*, a place where sat a council of the Jews, and *Akiba* sometime lived; x. 173.

*Bereu*, a town in Macedonia situated on the river *Haliacmon*. There is also a city in Syria of that name, far north of *Damascus*, iii. 226. xi. 26.

*Beror Chel*, x. 171.

*Berytus*, a city betwixt *Byblus* and *Sidon*, and almost equally distant from both, where *Agrippa* built a theatre, and amphitheatre, baths, porches, and such like magnificences, viii. 294.

*Betar*, a city not mentioned in the Scriptures, but much among the Talmudic writings, called *Bitter*, or *Bither*, among the Christians, x. 101. 107.

*Bethesda*, what, v. 226. 235. Pool of Bethesda, whence it received its waters; whence it had its excellent virtues, 235. 237. x. 343. In it men, not beasts, were washed, xii. 279, 280. It was made of a healing quality by the help of an angel, about the days of Christ's being on earth, but how long before or after, we know not, 282.

*Beth-Gubrin*, what place, x. 243.

*Beth-horan*, though there were two places of this name in the Old Testament, yet we find but one under the second Temple; several histories referring to it; the way from Jerusalem to it, x. 41.

*Bethany*, called by the Rabbins '*Beth-Hene*,' fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem. It took its name from a tract of ground so called, which reached within eight furlongs of Jerusalem, and had its name *Beth-Hene*, or the place of Dates, from *Athene*, which signifies the dates of palm-trees, not come to ripeness; of which many were growing there, x. 77—79. 85. xii. 218. There was a lavatory, or a pool and collection of waters, where the people were wont to purify themselves. Travellers speak of a cistern near the town of *Bethany*, near which in a field is shewn the place, where *Martha* met our Lord, x. 220, 221.

*Bethabara*, John i. 28. where John first baptized, John x. 40. It is by some read *Bethamarah*, and *Bethania*, either as put for *Batanæa*, according to the Syriac idiom for *Bethshania*. It was called *Bethabarah*, because (as the word signifies) it was a Place of Passage, or because opposite to *Bethbarah* (a place on the other side *Jordan*.) It was out of the precincts of *Judea* in the *Scythopolitan* country (where the Jews dwelt amongst the *Syro-Grecians*), over against *Galilee*, and was a water distinct from *Jordan*, and removed somewhat from it, and above the passage from *Jericho*, iv. 382. 411. v. 59. x. 309, 310, 313.

*Bethbarah*, Judg. vii. 24. opposite to Bethabarah, near to mount Ephraim, and near unto which were the waters that the Ephraimites kept against the Midianites to stop their passage, x. 315.

*Betharabah*, a city in the wilderness of Judah, Josh. xv. 61. x. 326.

*Bethaven* in Benjamin, Josh. vii. 2. It was near unto Ai, and gave name to a wilderness adjoining thereunto, Josh. xviii. 12. x. 43.

*Beth-Baltin*, A hill in the utmost part of the land of Israel (taken in the largest sense) and not far from the bank of Euphrates, west, say the Jews; where they lifted up flaming torches to give notice of the new year, to them of the captivity, x. 285.

*Beth-baal-meon*, a city in the plain of Peræa, x. 165.

*Beth-Chadudo*, a place three miles from Jerusalem, at the first entrance into the desert, toward Beth-horon. x. 105.

*Beth-Cerem*, Nehem. iii. 14. Out of the valley of that name were fetched the stones for the altar, &c. say the Jews, x. 106.

*Bethel*, was in the land of Benjamin, and the utmost bound of it toward Ephraim; it was seated in a mountainous country, opposite to Jerusalem, in a right line north and south (and not as the maps, remote and aslope), first called Luz. It was afterward called Bethaven by way of reproach (as Jerusalem is called Sodom), because of Jeroboam's calves that were placed there, x. 42, 43. 357, 358.

*Beth-Haran*, a city in the valley of Peræa, x. 165.

*Beth-Horon*, there were two places of that name under the Old Testament, the upper, which was in Ephraim, Josh. xvi. 5. and the nether Josh. xviii. 13. in Benjamin, or the extreme part south of Ephraim: Bonfrer. This last is called by Josephus, Bethoro (and is the only Bethoron under the second Temple); and according to him, stood about an hundred furlongs, or twelve miles and a half, from Jerusalem, upon the public way thence to Cæsarea; at which place the passage was very rocky and narrow. Here the Canaanitish army perished, Josh. x. not by hail but stones, which lasted unto following ages. Here also, say the Jews, the army of Sennacherib fell, x. 41, 42. 299—301.

*Beth-jerach*, a castle near the lake of Gennesaret, and opposite to Sinnabris, x. 134.

*Beth-jeshimosh*, A place east of Jordan, near which the Israelites encamped, and twelve miles from Abel-shittim, x. 96.

*Bethlehem*, or Ephratah, Gen. xxxv. 19.

Ruth iv. 11. was in the tribe of Judah, thirty-five furlongs, or about four miles and a half, south from Jerusalem. It was called Bethlehem of Judea, to distinguish it from a town of that name in Zebulon, Josh. xix. 15. We read not any thing in the Jews concerning this city, besides what is produced out of the Old Testament; this only excepted, that the Jerusalem Gemarists confess, that the Messiah was born there before their times, iv. 204. 224, 225. x. 100, 101. 377.

*Beth-Maron*, a town in Asher near Gush-Halab, at the ascents of which was a way so narrow, that two could not walk abreast together; for there was a deep vale on each side, x. 358.

*Beth-meon*, or Beth-mein, called by Josephus 'Beth-maus,' was distant from Tiberias four furlongs. The maps place it too remote from thence, x. 145.

*Beth-Nimrah*, a city in the vale of Peræa, famous for waters, called the Waters of Nimrin, Isa. xv. 6. Josephus saith, there spring out near this place certain fountains of hot water, x. 165. 330.

*Beth-phage*, so called from the word Phagi, which denotes green figs, a fruit that place was famous for: it was not a town far upon Olivet (as the maps generally do shew), but a tract, which beginning at the foot of mount Olivet, ran forward for two thousand paces, where it joined to that of Bethany, and being so near Jerusalem, gave the name of Bethphage, to the uttermost part or street of it, within the wall, and was accounted as Jerusalem itself in respect of all privileges, iii. 131. x. 76, &c. 218, 219.

*Beth-Rimmah*, a place in the hilly country, probably of Ephraim, famous for excellent wine, x. 104.

*Beth-saida*, signifies 'the place of hunting,' and it seemeth to be so called, because it stood in a place where was store of deer, as Gen. xlix. 21. "Naphtali shall abound in venison;" and Bethsaida stood either in or very near that tribe. Our author at first thought it to be on that side the lake of Gennesareth; but in his after-writings, he placeth it east of the lake of Gennesareth, in Batanea and the lower Gaulonitis, at the beginning of the mountainous country and north of Hippos. Philip rebuilt it, and gave it the name 'Julia,' in honour to the emperor's daughter, iv. 424. x. 168, 169. 227, 228. xi. 210, 211.

*Bethsaida-Wilderness*, a little north of Bethsaida, and near a creek of the sea of Gennesareth, xi. 210, 211.

*Beth-shaaraim*: there the Sanhedrin sat before it removed to Tsippor. Here was

buried Rabbi Judah, the Holy, say the Jews, though he taught at Tsippor, x. 152. xi. 312.

*Bethshan*; of this there is frequent mention in Scripture, Josh. xvii. 11. Judg. i. 27. It was by the heathens called sometime Nysa, from Bacchus's nurse that was buried there, saith Pliny; and Scythopolis, because the Scythians planted there, or perhaps from Succoth. It was in the lot of Manasseh, and the furthest bounds of it northward. Jud. i. 27. It was situated below the lake of Gennesaret toward the Dead Sea, half a league from Jordan, near to Zartanah, 1 Kings iv. 12. and almost over against Succoth. And yet our author elsewhere placeth Tiberias there, and saith, that Bethshan was one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles from Tiberias, the whole lake being between them, which is an hundred furlongs in length, and there it is placed in the map. It is said, 2 Maccab. xii. 29. to be six hundred furlongs, or seventy-five miles, from Jerusalem. This was a noble city of the Syro-Græcians, and one of Decapolis, inhabited in later times by Gentiles for the most part. It was placed at the entrance into a great valley or plain, and so delightful, that the Jews say, "If Paradise be in the land of Israel, Beth-shean is the gate of it." Hereabout was a common passage over Jordan, from Manasseh, Samaria, and the lower Galilee, to Peræa. Scythopolis is also taken for the whole jurisdiction belonging to that city, which was not only within the confines of Manasseh, but extended itself beyond Jordan, even to Peræa, so that part of the country was on this side, and part on that, x. 119, 120. 140. 167. 237, &c. 312, 313.

*Beth-shemesh*, a city in the tribe of Issachar, and toward the utmost coast, north. Josh. xix. 22. [There were two others of that name; the one in Judah, 2 Kings xiv. 11. the other in Naphtali, Josh. xix. 38.] x. 324.

*Bezer*, in the tribe of Reuben, Josh. xx. 8. x. 166.

*Bezetha*, x. 52.

*Biram*, a great fountain, and one of the three that remained after the Deluge, say the Jews. x. 142.

*Biram*. See Beth-baltin.

*Bitter*, or Betar, called Beth-tar, or The House of Spies. It may be questioned whether it be the Betarus in Antoninus (between Cæsarea and Diospolis on the sea-coast), or Betaris in Josephus, which he placeth in the south of Judea. Eusebius calls it Betheka, and saith it was not far from Jerusalem, which Baronius boldly translateth Bethlehem. Bitter is

placed by the Jews in the valley Jadaim, and some of them say it was a mile, others forty miles from the sea. It is notorious amongst them for the vast destruction of the Jews there, fifty-two or fifty-five years after the destruction of the Temple, in the insurrection of Ben-Coziba or Ben-Cozba, iii. 352. 390—392. x. 101. 106. 255.

*Bochin*, a place near Bethel, and so called, because the people wept there, Judg. ii. 1. ii. 147.

*Bosor*, or Bosorra, a strong city in Gilead, 1 Mac. v. 26, 27. the bound of Trachonitis, in the confines of Peræa, x. 166. 284.

*Bozra* in Edom, Isa. lxxiii. 1. x. 166.

*Burial-places*, x. 179.

*Cadesh-Barnea*, was before called Rithmah, Numb. xxxiii. 18. compared with Numb. xii. 16. and xiii. 26. perhaps from the juniper-trees that grew there, as 1 Kings xix. 4. but afterwards it was named Cadesh, because the Lord was there sanctified upon the people that murmured upon the return of the spies, Num. xiii. 26. and xx. 13. and xxxii. 8. Deut. iii. 19. And Barnea, or the Wandering Son, because here was the decree made of their long wandering in the wilderness, by many stations till they came hither (and not to another Cadesh, as some would have it) again some thirty-seven or thirty-eight years after. It was also called Meribah, Numb. xxviii. 13. Ezek. xlvi. 19, &c. It was called by the Rabbins Rekam, and by the Arabians Cawatha, from Kawa, which signifies an outcry: and was situated in the desert of Zin and Paran, Numb. xii. 16. and xx. 1. in the very southern bounds of the land, Numb. xxxiv. 4. and near unto Edom, Numb. xx. 16. ii. 129—131. 135. x. 18, &c. 259.

*Cadcor*, town of, x. 390.

*Cadmonites*, originally Canaanites, and one of the ten (though not of the seven) nations the Jews say they are to possess; so called perhaps from Cadmon, a person of renown in the family, if not from their antiquity, or rather from their habitation eastward, which was about those parts that afterward belonged to the Moabites and Ammonites. x. 268, 269.

*Cadytis*, how Jerusalem, in Herodotus, x. 215.

*Caphor-Acon*, what, x. 125.

*Caphar Chittaia*, same with Ziddim. x. 145.

*Cæsarea-Palestina*, so named by Herod, in honour of Cæsar Augustus. It was otherwise called, the Tower of Strato, and perhaps was the Tower Sid in the

**Talmud.** It was situated betwixt Doron and Joppa, and was from Jerusalem six hundred furlongs, or seventy-five miles; from Sycaminum twenty miles; from Diospolis forty miles; from Jamnia fifty-two miles. Here the Roman proconsul resided, and it was inhabited by Jews (who had several schools there), heathens, and Samaritans. It was called Ekron by the Jews, by way of reproach, x. 8. 112, &c. 244. 254.

**Cæsarea Philippi** was first called Laish, or Leshem, and then Dan, (when subdued by the Danites, Judg. xviii. 29.) and by the Arabic interpreter Hazor, Josh. xi. 1. for of this Cæsarea is it to be understood, and not (as our author saith he formerly thought, x. 113) of Cæsarea-Strato. It was situated at the springs of Jordan the less, not far from Lebanon, within the jurisdiction of Tyre and Sidon, in the Midland Phœnicia, and was a Decapoltan city. Josephus saith it was also called Panias, from the place adjoining called by that name, to which perhaps the name 'Remphan' may relate, Acts vii. 43. because of the idolatry or calf that continued longer here than at Bethel. Eusebius saith, here was to be seen the statue of the woman cured by Christ of the bloody issue; but that cure was rather wrought at Capernaum, x. 131. 235. 244, 245. xi. 165. viii. 434.

**Cain;** there is a city Cain, placed in the maps not far from Carmel; and in the Dutch map of Doet, with the picture of one man shooting another, with this inscription, Cain was shot by Lamech, Gen. iv. a place obscure by the various opinions of interpreters; but Doet hath chosen the worst of all. x. 269.

**Callirrhoe.** (See *Lasha*.) x. 201.

**Cana;** there were several towns of this name, 1. In Asher, Josh. xix. 28. called by St. Jerome, Cana the Great, and may be called Cana of the Zidonians. 2. In the north part of the Lower Galilee, and dividing it from the Upper. This seems to be the same with Caphar-Hananiab. This our author once thought to be the Cana, John. ii. 1. But last of all, he supposed it to be, 3. Cana the Less, or of Galilee, to distinguish it from the other, which was situated where Jordan flows into the lake of Gennesareth, over against Julias Betharampta; and was, saith Josephus, a night's journey from Tiberias, and as far from Capernaum as the length of the lake. This was the abode of Nathanael, and of Simon, who probably was from hence called the Canaanite. 4. In the tribe of Ephraim, Josh. xvi. 8. xvii. 9. which was Cana of Ephraim. Disputable whether it should be put C or K, viii. 33. iv. 439, 440. x.

164, 165. 228. 321—323. xii. 431. See *Chorazin*.

**Canaanites;** the Scripture doth not call all the sons of Canaan by that name, as the Arvadites, &c. that inhabited Phœnicia, and a great part of Syria; but where their coasts end toward the south, there the Canaanites began, and they are sometimes reckoned as a particular nation, sometimes as including all the seven, Gen. x. 18, 19. Deut. vii. 1, &c. When particular, it respects that part of the northern part of Canaan which Canaan himself, with his first-born sons, Zidon and Heth, inhabited. Hence Jabin, king of Hazor, is called king of Canaan, Judg. iv. 2. that is, of the northern coast of the land of Canaan. But when it is a general name, it includes all from Sidon to Gerar and Gaza, Gen. x. 19. x. 262. 267. xi. 219, 220.

**Cunatha,** accounted a Decapoltan city by Pliny, v. 190.

**Capernaum,** perhaps the 'Capharnome' of Josephus. It is uncertain whether the name be derived from נעם or נחום; the former denotes 'pleasantness,' the latter 'comfort.' The oriental interpreters write it the latter way, Caphar Nachum. It was situated near to the sea of Gennesareth, in the country of Gennesaritis, Matt. xiv. 34, &c. and whereabouts the tribes of Zabulon and Naphtali met, Matt. iv. 3. between Taricha and Tiberias, and from the latter about two miles. This was the town of Christ's supposed father Joseph, and where he himself dwelt. Near to it was a fountain of the same name, and the custom-house where they gathered a tribute of those that passed over, and where Matthew was; and the mountain where Christ chose the twelve, made his sermon, Matt. v. and it is likely where he met his disciples after his resurrection, vol. i. Harm. N. T. S. S. 3. 272. iv. 417. 226. 319, 320. x. 147, 148. xi. 210. xii. 431.

There was another Capernaum, mentioned by Gul. Tyrius, that lay upon the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, not far from Tyre, x. 320.

**Caphar Achum,** not far without Jerusalem, x. 104.

**Caphar Hananiah,** or Caphar Hanan, was in the uppermost border that divided the Upper and Lower Galilee, and sixteen miles from Tsippor, and where the plenty of sycamines began. It may seem to be the same with Bethshan, or rather Cana of Galilee, it agreeing with it in its situation, x. 118. 120. 322.

**Caphar Lodim,** a village in the vale of Saron, between Lydda and the sea; and was so called, because some people of Lydda were always there. It was reckoned without the land, x. 39, 40.



*Caphar Salama*, x. 116.

*Caphar Shichin* was four thousand cubits distant from Arumah, and not far from Caphar Hananiah. There was a city Shichin destroyed for magical arts, x. 107. 120, 155.

*Caphar Sigana*, in a valley next to Beth-Rimmah, &c. noted for the best wine, x. 104.

*Caphar Karnaim*, was of the heathen jurisdiction, x. 243.

*Caphar Uthni*, from Caphar Hananiah, thirty-two miles; from Zippor sixteen miles, x. 120.

*Caphar Tebi*, what village, and whence the name, x. 40.

*Caphar Tsemach*, something observed about its name, x. 243.

*Cappadocia*, rendered by the vulgar 'Pelusium,' was Sin of old; but in the Talmudists Cappadocia, &c. x. 191.

*Cappadocians*, are those chiefly who are bounded southward with that part of Cilicia that is called Taurus, eastward by Annenia and Colchis, and other interjacent countries, saith Strabo. The Greek interpreters render Caphtorim by *Καππάδοκες*, Cappadocians, viii. 473. x. 233.

*Carchemish*, by Euphrates, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

*Caria*, a province of Asia the Less, nearer Greece than Lycaonia, viii. 473.

*Carmel*, rather a mountainous tract, than one mountain, containing almost the whole breadth of the land of Issachar, and part of Zabulon, but had one top more eminent than the rest, which had a town on it called Ecbatane, and where probably was the oracle Vespasian consulted. The foot of it was washed by the sea, x. 123.

*Casius* mountain, lies nearer Pelusium than the lake of Sirbon doth, and not, as the maps, farther from it. It is from Pelusium forty miles, from Ostracine twenty-six miles, from Sirbon twenty-eight miles. From hence the country near it was called Casiotis, which was the country of the Amalekites, x. 21. 192.

*Castara*, what place, and by whom inhabited, x. 359.

*Cælo-Syria*, or Cælo-Syria, had seventeen tetrarchies, saith Pliny. It was so called, because it was placed betwixt the mountains of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, for that was properly Cælo-Syria, saith Strabo: others, as Ptolemy, extend it much farther. See Bonfrer. iv. 252.

*Cendevia* flows at the root of Carmel, and out of that the river Belus. So Pliny. x. 123.

*Chabor*, 2 Kings xvii. 6. whither the ten tribes were carried. There is a river Chaborus in Mesopotamia, xii. 571.

*Chabul*, was a country in the northern part of Galilee, where the twenty cities were that Solomon gave to Hiram, king of Tyre, 1 Kings ix. 11. Chabul (say the Talmudists) signifies a land that bears not fruit, or that is dirty, and, in the Phœnician tongue, that which pleaseth not. The Seventy interpreters render it *ἔπειον* the bound or coast, taking the modern name instead of the old. It contained cities of a mixed jurisdiction, viz. 'forbidden,' as Nebo, &c. 'permitted' (that is, as to tithe) as Tsur, Tsezar, &c. x. 231, &c.

*Chabul*, a city destroyed for discord; say the Jews, x. 107.

*Chalamish*, what place, and by whom inhabited, x. 359.

*Chakrah*, a fortified town which belonged to Gush, and was near to Tsippor. x. 155.

*Chalcis*, a city or garrison built on a hill in the straits of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, x. 286. It was also the name of a kingdom thereabouts in Syria, which Agrippa succeeded his brother-in-law-uncle, Herod, in; for such relations did that incestuous family find out, iii. 287.

*Chaldeu* was reckoned to Mesopotamia. There be that suppose the Chasdim, or Chaldeans, were so called from the last letters of Arphaxad's name, *ךש*. ii. 90. viii. 110.

*Chammath*, in Josephus 'Ammaus,' so called by reason of the Chammi, or warm baths. It was so near to Tiberias (within a mile), that it was almost one city with it, and so near to the country of Gadara, that thence it took its name of 'Chammath of Gadara.' It was on both sides Jordan; one part upon the bank of Naphtali, or Tiberias; another, on that of Gadara, the bridge lying between. x. 141. 226. 312. xi. 210.

*Chammath of Pella*. See *Lasha*.

*Chamathi*. (See *Hamath*.) x. 141. 226. 383.

*Chanothah*, Canothah, the Upper and Lower, beyond Jordan in the borders, x. 170. 238.

*Chaphenatha*, 1 Mac. xii. 37. It may be thought to be some part of the outskirts of Jerusalem towards the east, and so called from the dates growing there. For Chephannioth is frequently used among the Talmudists for the dates of palm-trees, that never come to their full maturity, x. 360, 361.

*Chephar*, what place, and by whom inhabited, x. 359.

*Cherethim*, a Philistine nation, which by the Greek interpreters is rendered *Κρήτες*, Cretes, Ezek. xxv. 16, &c. and probably the Cretes, Acts ii. 11. were such, because St. Luke joins them with Arabians, x. 386.

*Cherith*, a brook where Elijah was con-

cealed, 1 Kings xvii. 3. It was west of Jordan, perhaps near Bethshan, x. 245, 246.

*Chezib* and *Achzib*, which at last passed 'into Ecdippa,' according to the manner of the Syrian dialect, which commonly changeth Zain into Daleth; it was north of Acon, and not far from the Scalæ Tyriorum. This divided the 'clean' of the land from 'unclean,' x. 126, 127.

*Chippar*, within twelve miles of Zippor, x. 359, 360.

*Chorazin*, Matt. xi. 21. Chorashin denotes 'woody places,' hence we suppose this place so called, because so seated; and such places the land of Naphtali was famous for above the other tribes, to which Gen. xlix. 21. refers, 'Naphtali is a hind let loose,' i. e. shall abound in venison. So that it is probable it was in Galilee; and what if Cana, and some small country adjacent, be concluded to be it? x. 169, 170.

*Cilicium*, a city in Moab, x. 242.

*City*, the Upper, x. 47. Girdle of, x. 56. Memorable places of, x. 71. See *Cities* and *City*, in the General Index.

*Climax* of the Tyrians, x. 126.

*Coast*, meaning of the word, x. 231.

*Corinth*, at first called Ephyra, stood in an isthmus of five miles, parting the Ægean and Ionian seas, and joining Greece and Peloponnesus, having in the Ægean the port Lechæum, which lay under the city, from whence they sailed for Italy; and in the Ionian the port Cenchrææ, distant from the city seventy furlongs. The city was in compass forty furlongs, iii. 226. xii. 452. 453.

*Crete*, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, of small compass, but the language of it reached all over Greece, viii. 55.

*Cush*, or Æthiopia, is sometimes taken for Arabia; so Moses's wife is called a Cushite, Numb. xii. 1. and Zerah, the Arabian also, 2 Chron. xiv. for Arabia was the land of Cush. And sometimes for Æthiopia in Africa, south of Egypt, whence the Eunuch came, Acts viii. 27. A name infamous amongst the Jews, Psal. vii. title. ii. 113. 128. 262. viii. 128. x. 334.

*Cuthites*, first came from Cutha to Samaria, 2 Kings xvii. 24. By this name the Jews called all the Samaritans, by way of reproach, probably thereby reproaching them with the odious name of Cushites. In their after-writings, they apply this name to Christians, x. 319, 320. 333, 334.

*Cyprus*, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, exceeding full of Jews, and where they, in an insurrection, having killed two hundred thousand people, were afterward not suffered to come. It was the native country of Barnabas, iii. 213.

*Cyrene*, a country in Africa, near

Lybia; and also a city. Strabo describes the country, lib. xvii. and Pliny the city, l. v. c. 5. viii. 414.

*Dalmanutha* may be so called, as the place of widowhood, or from Zalmon (Tsadi being changed into Daleth after the manner of the Syrians and Arabians). It was a little town within the bounds of Magdala, x. 225. 228, 229. 303.

*Damascus*, the chief city in Syria, and was watered by the rivers Chrysoroas, Abana, &c. It was in the days of Abraham, but not victorious till the time of David. It was afterward the head of Syria, and at last captivated by the Assyrian. In aftertimes it had many Jews in it: and was accounted by Pliny a Decapollitan city, ii. 272. iii. 199. v. 190. Colour of its soil, x. 376.

*Dan* tribe, was situated on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, and afterward sent a colony to Laish. In this tribe public idolatry began, therefore not named, Revel. vii. ii. 148.

*Dan* city. See *Cæsarea*.

*Daphne*, a region in the northern part near Lebanon, out of which Jordan ariseth. See Riblah, x. 129. 133.

*Debir*, a city in Judah, called at the first 'Kiriath-Sepher,' ii. 146.

*Decapolis*, the ten cities are by Borchardus placed in Galilee, and by Pliny all beyond Jordan in Syria, except Scythopolis. But they seem to be such as were within the bounds of the land, but inhabited by Gentiles. Such were Bethshan, Gadara, Hippos, Pella, Cæsarea Philippi, and probably Caphar-Tsemach, Beth-Gubrin, and Caphar Carnaim, v. 190, 191. x. 231. 237.

*Derbe*, Acts xiv. a city in Lycaonia, and coasted on Isauria, iii. 217.

*Dibon-gad*, in Moab, and the thirty-ninth mansion of the Israelites.

*Diaspolis*. See *Lydda*.

*Dimon* waters, Isa. xv. 9. in Moab. Quere whether Dimon be not the same with Dibon (Beth and Mem being alternatively used) that so it may agree more with דב blood, x. 330.

*Dor*, Doron in the tribe of Manasseh, bordering upon Galilee, between Cæsarea and Sycaminum, x. 114. 118. 313.

*Dothan*, Gen. xlviii. in the tribe of Zabulon, (see Bonfrer.) ii. 102.

*Dumah*, a country in Arabia, ii. 263.

*Ebal*, a mountain, on which the curses were read. It touched on Sychem (the metropolis of Samaria), and was opposite to Gerizim. It was a mountain, dry and barren. How far from Jordan, x. 109. 162. 338.

*Ecdippa*, formerly called *Chezib* and *Achzib*, the name of a place, x. 126, 127.

*Edar.* See *Migdal Eder.*

*Eden.* It is difficult to meet in the Samaritan version with any footstep of the names of the rivers of Eden, and the country which those rivers run into, except Cophin, which seems to agree something with Cophen mentioned by Pliny.

*Edom,* by this term the Hebrew writers commonly express the Romans, iii. 352. Edom rendered Romans, Edomites rendered Romans, x. 195. See *Idumæa* and *Seir.*

*Eglath-Selishijah,* translated, Isa. xv. 5. 'a heifer of three years old;' but why may it not be the name of a place, and so called 'a third Eglah' in respect of two others, much of the same sound; or else Dutchess or Noble Eglah as ע"ל"ג signifies a duke or tribune? There is mention of 'Ein Eglaim' in that country, Ezek. xlvi. 10. where Eglaim is in the dual number, and seems to intimate there were two Egels, with respect to which this of ours may be called 'a third.' The sound of the word *Necla* comes pretty near it, which Ptolemy placeth in Arabia Petraea, long. 67. 20. lat. 30. 15. which was fifteen miles from Zoar. This seems to be Agalla in Josephus, x. 332.

*Egypt* was full of Jews; there they had a temple, and all their offices and ordinances, xi. 42. River of, x. 21. See *Sihor.*

*Ekron,* was the most northern of the five lordships of the Philistines, Josh. xiii. 3. and was first given to Judah, Josh. xv. 45. but afterward taken from that and given to Dan, Josh. xix. 43. ii. 146.

*Elath,* south of Jerusalem, a day's journey. See *Aila.*

*Elath* or *Eloth,* a sea-town in the country of Edom, on the Red Sea, 2 Kings xiv. 22. and xvi. 6. ii. 233. 253.

*Eleutheria,* east of Joppa, and betwixt that and Lydda. It is mentioned in Gul. Tyrius, x. 300.

*Eleutheropolis,* a city often mentioned in St. Jerome; and from Jerusalem twenty miles, almost in the middle betwixt that and Ascalon, x. 197. 254.

*Eleutherus* river is by Ptolemy placed near Antarado, but by Borchardus between Tyre and Sarepta, the mouth of it three leagues from that, and about two from this, x. 293.

*Elim,* the fifth mansion of the Israelites after they came out of Egypt.

*Emmaus,* afterward called Nicopolis, and a Roman colony, was sixty furlongs or seven miles and a half west from Jerusalem, and in the way thence to the west part of Galilee. It might have its name from Ammath a channel of waters, being famous for such. And perhaps might be the same with those of Nephtoa (or Etam) which was also west of Jerusalem. Pto-

lemy placeth it, long. 65. 45. lat. 31. 45. which doth not well agree with the account of the evangelist, Luke xxiv. 13. and Josephus, iii. 170. x. 89. 297, 298.

*Emims,* the old inhabitants of Moab, ii. 89.

*Engannim* or *Anem,* 1 Chron. vi. 72. Josh. xxi. 29. now *Jenine,* signifies a fountain and gardens, and so the pleasantness of the place. It was in the tribe of Issachar, a Levitical city, twenty-two miles from Tabor, saith Biddulph, and in the way from Jerusalem to Galilee. Perhaps the same with Naim, by a transposition of letters, x. 296, 297. xii. 262.

*Engeddi,* a city in the wilderness of Judah, the same with Hazezon Tamar, and not yielding to Jericho for fruitfulness in palms (from whence its name, *Tamar* signifying a palm). It lay on the south (not on the north, as the maps place it) point of the Dead Sea, and not far from it, being the utmost bound of the land. It was in Idumæa the Less. Near to it was the wilderness of Engeddi, famous for its strong holds in the time of David, ii. 89. 171, 172. 221. x. 17. 200, 201. 326.

*Enon* or *Ænon,* signifies 'a place of springs, or waters,' which may be the reason why the LXX translate Middin, Josh. xv. 61. by *Enon,* as Middin is a place of waters. It is uncertain where it was, whether in Galilee, or the Wilderness of Judah (as Middin was) or in Peræa near Arnon. N.T.SS. iv. 304. x. 326, &c.

*Ephesus,* a famous city in the Lesser Asia, in which was the temple of Diana, one of the seven wondrous fabrics of the world. It was hundreds of years in building at the charge of all Asia, iii. 252, &c. 277.

*Ephraim* tribe extended itself in length from Jordan to Gezer, Josh. xvi. 3. by the Mediterranean sea, and in breadth from Bethel, and ends at the Great Plain; so Josephus, x. 313.

*Ephraim,* hill country, Jud. iv. 5. was a certain hilly place running out between Judea and the land of Ephraim, x. 43. 301.

*Ephraim,* a small city, John xi. 54. in the confines of the tribe of Ephraim, 2 Chron. xiii. 19. but in the tribe of Benjamin, in the wilderness of Bethaven, and near to that of Judea, in or near the way from Jerusalem to Jericho. It was seated in a fruitful valley, and famous for the best flour, x. 43. 103. 357.

*Esdrelon.* See *Great Plain.*

*Essenes.* See *Kenites.*

*Etam* fountain, say the Jews, is in the way betwixt Hebron and Jerusalem. But if it be the same with Nephtoa, Josh. xv. 9. then it lies not south as Hebron, but

west. The waters of this were not conveyed into the city but the Temple, and the overplus of what was used there, flowed thence into the valley that lay between the temple and Jerusalem, and emptied itself by the water-gate into Kidron, x. 348, 349. 371.

*Etham*, wilderness, the same with Shur, Num. xxxiii. 7, 8. Exod. xv. 22. The Red Sea so pointed into this wilderness, that it was on both sides of the point of the sea, ii. 117.

*Ethiopia*. See *Cush*.

*Euphrates*, often called the 'River' in Scripture, Ezra iv. 10, &c. divides Syria and Arabia from Mesopotamia, and then joining with Tigris falls into the Persian Gulf. It is called in the Samaritan version, 'Salmaah,' x. 337, 338.

*Ezion Gaber*, the thirty-second mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness. Thence the fleet set out for Ophir, ii. 130. 202.

*Gaash Hill*, where Joshua was buried, perhaps the same with that Galaad, Jud. vii. 3. (which is by the LXX rendered Gaash) and might it not be so called upon the account of the Pillar of Witness, Josh. xxiv. 26. that was built there a little from Sychem? x. 303, 304.

*Gabala*, a midland city of Phœnicia. Ptol. x. 234.

*Gabara*, *Geber*, or *Tarnegola* (these two signifying the same, viz. a cock), the Upper to distinguish it from another of that name, one of the three great cities of Galilee. It was seated beyond Casarea Philippi, and the utmost bound of the land north, x. 157, 158. 235. 362.

*Gad*, tribe, had Reuben on the south, Manasseh north, Jordan on the west, and Gilead mountains and Arabia east, ii. 134.

*Gadara*, or *Hippopodion*, the metropolis of Peræa, washed by the river Hieramax, from Tiberius sixty furlongs, and near to Gergesa. Two places of the name: it was first Gazara or Gezar. It was one of the cities of Decapolis and of heathen jurisdiction, and gave name to the country about it, x. 143. 239. 241. 383.

*Galilee*, contained Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Asher, with part of Dan, and Peræa. It was bounded north by Lebanon and Syria; on the west by Phœnicia; on the south by Samaria. It was divided into three parts, the Upper (so called because it abounded in mountains), which contained Asher and Naphtali, and was eminently called 'Galilee of the Gentiles,' and sometimes Gilgal, Deut. xi. 30. And secondly the Lower, which contained Zebulun and Issachar, and because it was champain, was called

the Great Field. And thirdly, the Vale, which is the border of Tiberias. Josephus saith, there were two hundred and four cities and towns in Galilee, that were more eminent and fortified, iii. 386. v. 144, 145. x. 118, &c. 137. 163. 279, 280. 318, 319. Galilee, although undervalued by the Jews, had been renowned for many achievements, v. 151. Bethshean, the beginning of Galilee, a most fruitful, pleasant place, x. 119; Caphar Hananiah, the middle of Galilee, 120; the disposition of tribes in it, 121; the west coast of Galilee, 122, and northern coast of Galilee, 128; sea of, 133; customs of, 158; dialect of, 159; whether the transjordanian country was ever called Galilee; whether Perea (properly so called) did not once go under the name of Galilee, 279; limits of, 380. The way from Galilee to Jerusalem described, xii. 261, &c.

*Gamala*, a fortified town in Batanæa, in the Lower Gaulonitis upon the lake of Gennesaret over against Tarichæa, and that gave the name to a region about it, x. 155. 169. 284.

*Gath Hopher*, a town in Zebulun, Josh. xix. 13. and from whence was Jonah the Prophet, 2 Kings xiv. 25. iv. 160.

*Gaulonitis*, the Upper and Nether, within Batanæa, so called from Golan, once the chief city of Bashan, x. 166. 284.

*Gaza*, or *Azza*, and, by Eustathius, Jone, in the tribe of Judah. There were two, the Old and the New; the former was destroyed by Alexander, and therefore called Desert. It was from the bay seven furlongs (which was, saith Ptol. in long. 65. 45. but more probably 65. 26.) from the river of Egypt forty-four miles; from Azotus thirty-four miles; from Ascalon ten (or sixteen) miles; from the Dead Sea fifty-five miles; from Petra in Arabia one hundred and ten miles, ii. 146. iii. 195. x. 30, 31. 193, 194. 251, &c. 327. 328.

*Gaza*, the New, was built nearer the bay, was called Maijuma, and afterwards Constantia, and named so by Constantine after the name of his sister, saith Eusebius; or as Sozomen, of his son Constantius, iii. 195.

*Gaza*, there was another in Ephraim, 1 Chron. vii. 28. viii. 446. A city and a mart, both famous, x. 30.

*Gedor*, a town in the mountainous part of Peræa, x. 165.

*Gema*, a city in the extreme parts of Samaria, next adjoining to Issachar; near to Nain, if not the same with it, x. 296.

*Gennesaret*, lake, Luke v. called Cinnereth, Num. xxxiv. 11. and the sea of

**Galilee**, John vi. and Tiberias, John xxi. is one of the seven seas that (the Jews say) compass the land. It is about six miles broad and sixteen long, saith Pliny; but Josephus twelve and a half, and Biddulph twenty-four in length, and in breadth fifteen. From the head of Jordan to the south part of it, was about forty miles; from Samochonitis, fifteen. It was within the tribe of Naphtali, and not out of it as the maps mistake. See the scheme of it, x. 226. In the middle of it was a famous whirlpool, called Miriama, v. 163, 164. x. 14. 121. 133, &c. It was so called from

**Gennesaritis**, a region near the lake, thirty furlongs in length, and in breadth twenty. A very pleasant and fruitful place, abounding in the gardens of great men. From whence it had its name, x. 146.

**Gerar** had an affinity to Ascalon, x. 30, 31; now called Gadara, 142, 143.

**Gergela**, a town very near Gadara, and so called either from the Gergasites, a people of Canaan; or from its clay soil, Gargishta signifying 'clay'. It gave name to the region so called, which comprehended in it the regions of Gadara, Hippo and Magdala, x. 143. xi. 392, 393.

**Gerizim**, the hill upon which the blessings were pronounced. It was near to Sychem, and had upon it springs and gardens. Upon this, the temple of the Samaritans was built in the time of Alexander the Great, forty years after the second temple, in opposition to that of Jerusalem, and flourished there about two hundred years, and at last was destroyed by Hyrcanus. Whether over against Gilgal or not, v. 92, 93. x. 109, 110. 162.

**Geshur**, was twofold, one in Syria, Josh. xiii. 13. near to Hermon, v. 11. Hither Absalom fled, 1 Sam. xiii. 8. The other near the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. ii. 183.

**Gezer**, on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, 1 Kings ix. 15. which, according 'the Syrian dialect' passed into Gadara. It was a Levitical city in the tribe of Ephraim, Josh xvi. 3. xxi. 21. x. 142. 313.

**Gibeah**, of Saul, it signifies 'Saul's hill'; it was about thirty furlongs from Jerusalem, near to Ramah, and had near it the Valley of Thorns, perhaps the valley under the rock Seneh, 1 Sam. xiv. 4. x. 87.

**Gibeon**, lay north of Jerusalem, in the way to the city Samaria; there was a great pool of waters, where perhaps Christ baptized, John iii. 22. There in Solomon's time, was the greatest synagogue, the tabernacle being brought thither, after Shiloh fell, ii. 198. v. 57.

**Gilead**, country lay beyond Jordan, and was divided into two parts; there was Mount Gilead called so from the heap of stones, set up for a witness betwixt Jacob and Laban, Gen. xxxi. iii. 154. 159. x. 303. 304.

**Gilgal**, Josh. iv. 19. It was in Benjamin, and fifty furlongs, or six miles and a quarter, from Jordan; ten furlongs east from Jericho. Sometimes Galilee is so called. x. 91. 97. 162. See *Galilee*.

**Giscala**, a town beyond Jordan, not far from Gadara, x. 164.

**Golan**, a city, whence is Gaulonitis, x. 166.

**Gophna**, the next Toparchy of eleven to Jerusalem. There was a city also of that name, betwixt Cæsarea and Jerusalem, and it is likely was in Judah, x. 107. 301.

**Gosan**, 2 Kings xvii. 6. a river in Media, whither the ten tribes were carried, called Ginzak by the Jews, is like Gauzanites in Ptol. xii. 572.

**Gush Chalab**, in the tribe of Asher famous for olives and oil, x. 85. 104. 358.

**Halac**, 2 Kings xvii. 6. a city whither the ten tribes were carried; the Jews call it Halvaoth, or Chalzon, perhaps for Chalvaon, which agrees with Alvanis, a city in Mesopotamia, that Ptolemy placeth in long. 74. 15. lat. 35. 20. xii. 571.

**Hamath**, was the utmost point of the land north, and is by some of the Jews understood to be Antioch, by others Epiphania. There were some kingdoms named from it, as Hamath-Zoba, &c. ii. 202. 232. x. 266.

**Haradah**, is the twenty-first mansion of Israel in the wilderness; *Hashmonah*, is the twenty-sixth mansion, ii. 130.

**Harosheth**, of the Gentiles, Judges iy. 2. hath its name from Chorashin, woody places, and was in Naphtali, x. 170.

**Hauran**, was one of the mountains on which were placed the signal fires, perhaps some part of Anti-Libanus; and might have its name either from the Syriac word Havar, which signifies 'white,' or from the Hebrew word Hpr, which signifies 'a cave,' being white with snow, and hollow with subterranean passages. However, it was situated in the extreme parts of the land toward the north, Ezek. xlvi. 16. x. 284, 285.

**Hazar**, is a frequent name in the south of Judah, as Hazar-addar, Hazar-gaddah, Hazar-Shua, Hazar-Susah, &c. and it signifies a plain or champain betwixt hills, x. 10.

**Hazar-Euan**, Numb. xxxiv. 9. In the Roman copy is 'Arsenain,' it was the ut-

most bound of the land toward Syria, x. 494.

*Haserim*, the region of the Avites; it was a part of New Idumea, x. 193.

*Hazeroth*, the twenty-fifth mansion of the Israelites, ii. 128.

*Hazor*, Josh. xi. 4. is called Nasor, 1 Mac. xi. 63. the metropolis of Canaan, that is, of the northern country, which is known by that name. It lay on the lake Samochonitis. See *Cæsarea Phil.* x. 133.

*Hazezon Tamar*. (See *Engeddi*.) Is *Engedi*, x. 201.

*Hebrews*, Acts vi. 1. were Jews dwelling in Judea, to whom the Hebrew, that is, the Syriac or Chaldee, was the mother tongue, iii. 189. 332. xii. 566.

*Hebron*, signifies 'consociation,' and it was so called perhaps from the pairs buried there; for here, they say, Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, were interred. It was in the hill-country of Judah, Josh. xxi. 11. south of Jerusalem, but a little toward the east, and might be seen from the towers of it, say the Jews. It was a city of refuge inhabited by the Levites, but the fields and villages belonged to Judah. It had several cities within its jurisdiction. Here John Baptist was born, and probably Christ conceived, ii. 175, 176. iii. 25. iv. 166, 167. 180. 255. x. 97, &c. 202. 376.

*Heliopolis*, a city in Cælo-Syria, Ptol. placeth it in long. 68. 40. lat. 33. 40. x. 289.

*Hellenists*, Acts vi. 1. are Jews dwelling in foreign parts among the Greeks, and whose mother-tongue was Greek, iii. 206. 332. xii. 566.

*Hermon*, or 'the mountain of snow,' at *Cæsarea Philippi*, and near the springs of Jordan, x. 128, 129. 331.

*Hermon*, the Less; Borchardus placeth it south of Tabor, which without question is from a misconstruction of Psal. lxxxix. 12. x. 294. 331.

*Herodium*, a castle upon a mountain in the extreme part of Peræa, south, toward Moab, near Machærus, built by Herod the Great, who was buried about eight furlongs from it. Here Herod Antipas entertained his lords, when Herodias danced before them. It was two hundred furlongs, or twenty-five miles, from Jericho, x. 277. 280. 328, 329.

*Heshbon*, a city in the mountainous part of Peræa, x. 165.

*Hieramiace*, or Jarmoc, a river, near to which stood Gadara beyond Jordan, x. 143.

*Hinnom*, valley of, x. 80.

*Hippo*, or Susitha, being of the same signification, in the land of Tob, and re-

gion of Gergesa. It was thirty furlongs, or about three miles from Tiberias; beyond Magdala, from Jordan, two miles, and betwixt that and Bethsaida. It was for the most part inhabited by Gentiles, x. 144, 145. 359. xi. 211. 393.

*Hittites* were the northern inhabitants of Canaan; and so the kings of Tyre and Sidon are called kings of the Hittites, 1 Kings x. 29. xi. 220.

*Hor*, the mountain where Aaron died, and the thirty-fourth mansion of the Israelites in the Wilderness; and the same with Moseroth, &c. ii. 132. 136, 137. From hence those that inhabited the land, afterward possessed by the Edomites, were called Horites, or Horims, Gen. xiv. 6. ii. 89. x. 269. 288. It is also another mountain in the northern coast of the land, Numb. xxxiv. 7, 8. so that which is inwards of it, is within the land; what is without it, is without the land. It was called by the Jews Amanah, by others Amanus, x. 9. 128. 361.

*Horeb* mountain, the same with Sinai, where the law was given. This gave name to the wilderness of Horeb, ii. 137. iv. 354.

*Hormah*, a city in the tribe of Simeon, ii. 146.

*Horonaim*, Jer. xlviii. 34. called by Josephus 'Horone,' a city in Moab betwixt Zoar and Eglah. Ptol. long. 67. 20. lat. 30. 30. x. 333.

*Jabesh-Gilead*, was in Manasseh beyond Jordan, six miles from Pella, upon a mountain, as they go to Gerasa, saith Jerome. Elijah came from hence, ii. 149. 166. 216.

*Jabneh*, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. called by the Gentiles Jamnia, by the change of Beth and Mem (not Jamnia, as Antoninus), and 'Ivelyn' afterward, was in Judea on the sea-coast, three leagues south from Joppa; two parsæ or eight miles from Azotus (as Benjamin), or as Antoninus two miles, from Diospolis twelve miles, and from Ascalon twenty miles. Here the Sanhedrim sat first after its removal from Jerusalem. Ptolemy placeth it, long. 65. 40. long. 32. 0. iii. 201. 388. x. 34. 255. 300. viii. 450.

*Jacob's Bridge*, over Jordan, between the lake Samochonitis and Gennesaret, in the way that leadeth to Damascus: so Biddulph. But it is probable it was lower, betwixt Succoth and Zartanah, x. 310—312.

*Jannia*, same as Jabneh, x. 34.

*Jamnith*, a town in the Upper Galilee, fortified by Josephus, x. 119.

*Japha*, a town in the Lower Galilee, fortified by him, x. 119.

*Ibleam*, in Manasseh, on this side Jor-

dan, Josh. xvii. 11. and not far from Megiddo, 2 Kings ix. 27. ii. 228.

*Iconium*, a city in Lycaonia, and the most famous of the fourteen cities that were in tetrarchy; near to it were two lakes, the greater, called Coralis, and the less, Trogitis, viii. 472.

*Ide*, otherwise called Enhydra, between Tyre and Sarepta, x. 123.

*Idumea*, or Edom, of old, lay between Amalek and Ammon, and the Red Sea, south, and is called Idumea the Great; but in process of time, especially after the captivity, it was enlarged, and took in all Simeon, and so up as far as Azotus, and part of Judea, as far as the Dead Sea, east, and almost to Hebron, north, which was called Judæo-Idumea; Idumea the New, or the Less, Mark iii. 8. ii. 181. 220. 253. x. 10, 11. 190, 191. 195. 200. 337. 398.

*Jenysus*, a town upon the borders of Arabia and Syria, saith Herodotus; but where that town was, is uncertain. The Talmudists mention Jenush among the towns, which, they say, are in the confines; but the situation doth not agree, x. 216.

*Jericho*, or 'the city of palm-trees,' the second to Jerusalem, was in the tribe of Benjamin, from Jerusalem about nineteen miles, and about eight or ten from Jordan; celebrated for rare schools, and a royal palace: the men of Jericho famed for six things, x. 93. 95. It was situated in a plain, but compassed with mountains like a theatre; it was famous for its balsam and waters, x. 90, &c. 203, 204.

*Jerusalem*, the city of, ix. 44. 215. The parts of, 47. The streets of Jerusalem were swept every day; and money, found there in the time of feasts, was called tenths or tithes; so also what was found at any time, x. 216. Some families of, 374. Jerusalem once called Salem, being compounded of Jireh and Salem, and why; under what latitude. It was holy above other cities; there were no gardens in it, &c. xi. 44. 46. The parts of Jerusalem, 47. 51. It had in it Acra Bezetha and Millo, 52. It had many hills in it, 47, 48. Memorable places in it were the several streets, the ascent to the Temple, some courts, pools, stones, &c. 71. 73. The reason of the destruction of Jerusalem, gathered out of the Jewish writers and out of the Scriptures, xii. 186. The destruction of Jerusalem, and the Jewish state is described as if the whole frame of the world was to be dissolved, xii. 433. vi. 290. See *Jerusalem*, in the preceding index, and the separate description of it.

*Jeshanah*, a neighbouring city to Tsippor, where the records of Tsippor were laid up, x. 154.

*Jezreel*, (seems to be in the tribe of Issachar, Josh. xix. 18.) In it was the palace of Ahab. It gave name to the valley of Jezreel, otherwise called Esdrelon, Judith i. 8. and the Great Plain, that ran far down, where was a river that discharged itself into Jordan. See *Great Plain*, ii. 229. x. 313, 314.

*Jiim*, a town whose houses were in Judah, but the fields in Dan, x. 89.

*Jion*, 1 Kings xv. 20. seems to be beyond Dan, the city, or in the extremest borders of the land on that side. The Alexandrian copy reads it 'Nain,' v. 143. x. 294.

*Ionian Sea*, reached from Egypt to Gaza, and was so called from the Iones that were seated in Egypt near to it, x. 327.

*Joppa*, *Japho*, Josh. xix. 46. Acts ix. 36. Jewish university at, iii. 44. A famous port-town, betwixt Cæsarea and Azotus, and from the former a day's journey and a half, viii. 221. x. 34.

*Jordan* ariseth in the region of Daphne, near to Lebanon, not out of two fountains; but one that is in a cave called Panium, and is called Jordan the Less, till it falls into the lake Samochonitis: thence forward it is called Jordan, and falling into the lake of Gennesareth, ends in the Dead Sea. To the utmost point of which, or the desert of Haran, from the head of the river, is about one hundred miles. In some places, it was not above twenty or thirty yards over, and had fords. In this river was Christ baptized, and probably where the waters were divided by Joshua, ii. 297. iv. 304, 305. 412, &c. x. 129—131. 205, &c. 249. 311. Israel's passage through Jordan was very many miles, taking up about all the length of the river that was in Judea, iv. 305. 414. The waters thereof were opened twelve miles when Israel passed through, x. 96.

*Jordan* region, lay betwixt Jordan and Jericho, and so on this side of the city and that, and also toward Jerusalem, x. 203.

*Jordan* transmarine, x. 310.

*Jotopata*, or Jodaphath, a town in the Lower Galilee, x. 119. 155. There was a valley of that name, x. 106.

*Ishmaelites*, near to the Midianites and Medanites, with whom they lived so promiscuously, that any of them did indifferently bear any of these names, Gen. xxxvii. 28. 36. ii. 102.

*Issachar* tribe, was the most southern part of Galilee, lying betwixt Zebulun north, and Manasseh south. Its length was southward the sea of Gennesareth, but not quite reaching to it, to Carmel, Kishon, and the Great Sea. Its breadth

north to south, from Manasseh to Mount Tabor, and with Zebulun, was about fifteen miles. Issachar, say the Jews, is like a strong or bony ass, Gen. xlix. 14. low before and behind, and high in the middle; and couches between two borders, that is, the valleys of Pisan and Jezreel, x. 121, 122. 295, 296. 317, 318. 324.

*Iturea*, the same with Auranitis in Josephus. It was so called either from Jetur, a son of Ishmael, Gen. xxv. 15. or from Hitturi, which signifies 'under-digging,' and so it sounds the same with 'Troglodytis,' the country of those that dwell in caves; the country being famous for caves: for which reason Pliny and Strabo speak of an Iturea in Cyrrhestica and Chalcis. It was beyond Jordan, and lay edging upon Arabia, but was in Syria, iv. 251, 252. x. 286, &c. 289.

*Judea*, as a division of the country, contained the tribes Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and Dan, and is ordinarily called 'the south,' by the Rabbins, in opposition to Galilee, iii. 386. x. 29. As a tribe, it was divided into the 'mountains, the plain, and the south,' Numb. xiii. 30, &c. The south lay toward Seir and Amalek, from the inlets into the land, at the utmost part of the Dead Sea, having the Philistines upon the west: this part reached to the rising of the mountains, not far below Hebron. The mountains, called in Scripture, 'the hill-country of Judah,' Josh. xxi. 11, &c. and by the Jews, the 'Mount Royal,' began about Hebron, and ran along northward to and beyond Jerusalem, having the plain or flat of Jordan skirting all along upon their east side, till Samaria and Galilee brought in another denomination. The plain joins to the mountainous country on the east, and though more level and low than that, yet hath its hills. To the plain eastwardly joins a valley, lower than the plain, which is the coast of Sodom, and at length that of Jordan. This tribe was incredibly populous, and had several privileges, as the intercalation of the year, &c. iv. 130. x. 21, 22. 26, 27. 45, 46. 197. Customs of, 158.

*Judah-Wilderness*, Josh. xv. 61. Psal. lxiii. title, was in Idumea the Less, or the wilderness of Engeddi.

*Judea-Wilderness*, for so they are to be distinguished, was betwixt Jericho and Jordan, and from Jericho onward toward Jerusalem, both of them comparatively desert, but both populous, and had many towns. Here John first taught, Matt. iii. 1, and Christ was tempted, whether two miles from Jericho at Quarantania, as it is pointed out by some, or farther southward along the banks of the Dead Sea,

as the more desert place, iv. 354, 355. x. 200. 203, 204. 326.

*Julias*, formerly Betharamphtha, built by Herod and called 'Julias,' in honour of the emperor's wife; it was in Peræa, near to Jordan, and at the influx of it into the lake Gennesareth. The maps have placed it farther off, x. 168. There were two cities of this name, one built by Herod, the other by Philip. See *Bethsaida*.

*Karchjim*, or Karuthim, a place of note among the Jews for the best wine, x. 104.

*Kedar*, a country in Arabia, Gen. xxv. 13. Isa. xxi. 13. 16, where the inhabitants lived in tents, Psal. cxv. 5: ii. 263.

*Khelathah*, the nineteenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

*Keila*, where David raised the siege of the Philistines; (it was in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 44.) It was, say the Jews, famous for figs, ii. 171. x. 104.

*Kenites*, were of two sorts. 1. The descendants of Canaan, who were, it is likely, so called from some Cain, a person of renown in that family. These were planted east of Jordan, Gen. xv. 19. Numb. xxiv. 21, whereabout Moab and Ammon were seated, ii. 329. 501. 2. There were of that name of the posterity of Jethro, father-in-law of Moses, so called from the country Kain, Numb. xxiv. 22, who came with Joshua and Israel into the land of Canaan, and first resided about Jericho, the city of palm-trees, Judges i. 16, and afterward removed into the south of Judah, upon the coasts of the Amalekites, and in Saul's time were mingled with them. These Kenites were the root of the Rechabites, Jer. xxxv. and 1 Chron. iii. 55. And from them came the Essenes (a people that live alone, and of all other nations most to be admired; they are without any women, &c. saith Pliny), who succeeded them in their habitation and austerity of life, residing on the western shore of the Dead Sea. These were called Salamæans (and so the Kenites are constantly translated by the Chaldee Paraphrast. There were some of the Kenites in Galilee, Judges iv. 17, ii. 146. iii. 405. x. 17. 325, 326.

*Kenizzites* were by original Canaanites, called so perhaps from one Kenaz of that family. They dwelt east of Jordan, whereabout afterward Moab and Ammon planted: and were one of the ten, though not of the seven, nations the Jews say they were to possess, x. 268, 269.

*Ketsarah*, a little city, fortified from the time of Joshua, that belonged to Tsippor, and was near to it, x. 154.

*Kibroth-hattaavah*, or the graves of



lust, Numb. xi. 34, the thirteenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness.

*Kiriath Arba*, x. 379.

*Kiriath-jearim*, 'the city of the woods,' Psal. cxxxii. 6, was formerly called Baale, 2 Sam. vi. 2, or Baalath, 1 Chron. xiii. 6, and was sometime reckoned to Judah, sometime to Dan, Josh. xv. 29, and xix. 44; that is, the houses were of Judah, and the fields of Dan, ii. 164, 165. x. 89.

*Kir-haraseth*, a city in Moab, 2 Kings iii. 25: iii. 223.

*Kirmion*, or *Amana*, a river in the way to Damascus, x. 128.

*Kishon*, a river that pours itself into the sea, not far from Carmel, on the south, 1 Kings xviii. 40, and not, as some place it, on the north, of it. It is called an 'ancient river,' Judges v. 21, or river of their antiquities, because in ancient times it was a water of much idolatry amongst them, ii. 154. x. 123.

*Kubi*, town of, x. 107.

*Lachish*, a city, in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 39, where Amaziah was slain, ii. 232.

*Lake of Gennesareth*, Galilee, Tiberias, and Cinnereth Sea, all one, v. 164. In the Old Testament, called the sea of Cinnereth, in the New also the sea of Galilee, and sea of Tiberias, x. 133.

*Lake of Samochonitis*, in Scripture, is the waters of Merom, &c. x. 132.

*Land of Israel*, how divided by the Jews, x. 5. The land possessed by those that came up out of Babylon, was divided into three parts, 7. Several great mysteries and offices confined to the land of Israel, ib. The Talmudic girdle of the land under the second Temple, what, 8. A great part of the land, viz. South Judea, was cut off under the second Temple, 10. Jewish Idumea, what part of the land, ib. The seven seas, according to the Talmudists, and the four rivers compassing the land, what, 12. A description of the sea-coasts thereof out of Pliny and Strabo, 22, &c. Towns on the limit of the land, 170. Land of Israel was the land of the Hebrews before it was the Canaanites'; the original title of it from the confusion of tongues, 262. Its breadth and length, 249. 256. 369.

*Laodicea*, Coloss. iv. 16, a city of Asia the Less, and in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, one of the seven churches, iii. 255. 300. 330. There was also a city of that name near Lebanon, x. 287.

*Lasha*, called also by the heathens Callirhoe, and by the Jews Chammath Pelæ, to distinguish it from Chammath Gadaræ, was on the north-east part of the

Dead Sea, as Sodom was on the south, Gen. x. 19. It was famous for its warm spring of a medicinal nature, x. 201. 226.

*Lebanon*, a large hilly country, and so called from Laban, 'to be white,' because of the snows that lie continually upon it; so Deut. xi. 24, &c. It is often translated by the Greek interpreters, Anti-Libanus; and is called sometimes by the Talmudists, Bala. There was upon it a forest, and there Solomon built him a summer-house, ii. 202. v. 61. x. 362.

*Lebba*, a sea-coast town in Galilee, near unto Carmel, from whence perhaps Judas was surnamed Lebbeus, Matt. x. 3: xi. 171, 172.

*Lemba*, a city of Moab, x. 242.

*Lesbos*, a pleasant island in the Ægean Sea, betwixt the promontory Assos, and the island Chios. It was otherwise called Mitylene, Acts xx. 14, from the chief city that was so named. Thither did Tiberius banish Junius Gallio, a friend of Sejanus, viii. 94.

*Libnah*, the seventeenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130. There was also of that name a city in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 42. 2 Chron. xxi. 10. It was a city of the Levites, Josh. xxi. 13: 224.

*Lod*, in the tribe of Benjamin, Neh. xi. 35. This is also another name for Lydda, x. 38. 260. See *Lydda*.

*Lodebar*, a city beyond Jordan, near Mahanaim, 2 Sam. xvii. 27, where lived Eliam, or Ammiel, the father of Bathsheba, 2 Sam. xi. 7. 1 Chron. iii. 5: ii. 182.

*Lot's Cave*; the maps shew it in Judea, at the northern coast of the Dead Sea; but it was near Zoar, in the land of Moab, x. 16. 200.

*Lycæonia*, Acts xiv. 6. a province of the Lesser Asia, bordering upon Galatia and Caria. There are hills that are plain, cold, and naked, and pastures for wild asses, which begin at Iconium, saith Strabo, viii. 472, 473.

*Lydda*, Acts ix. 35. 38. The authors of the maps have held Lod and Lydda for two towns; Lod not far from Jericho, and Lydda not far from the Mediterranean Sea; when there is no difference, unless that is Hebrew, this Greek: an error perhaps from Lod and Hadid, that are framed into one word Lodadi, by the Seventy interpreters, Ezra ii. 33. Neh. vii. 37. This was called by the Gentiles Diospolis, and by the Jews Lodicea. It wanted little of the bigness of a city, though a village, and of all places next Jabneh and Bitter, was most eminent for its schools, where R. Akibah sat president. It was seated in a plain, not in the tribe of Ephraim, as it is placed in

some maps, but in Judea, and was a day's journey west from Jerusalem, not far from Joppa; forty miles from Cæsarea, and thirty-two miles from Ascalon, saith Antoninus, and had, according to Ptolemy, long. 66. 0. lat. 32. 0. From Lydda to the sea was vale, and to Emmaus plain, iii. 201, 202. 396. x. 21, 22. 204. 250. 260, 261. 299, 300.

*Lystra*, a city of Lycaonia, Acts xiv. 8: viii. 473.

*Maachathites*, are by the Jews called Epicerites, Deut. iii. 14. Josh. xiii. 13, being, it is probable, so called in their time. Epicerus is, in Ptolemy, on the east of Jordan, long. 67. 0. lat. 31. 0. x. 279.

*Macedonia*, a country north of Greece, that had in it several cities of note; as Philippi, Thessalonica, Nicopolis, and Berea, &c. In the Notitia there is a distinction betwixt Macedonia, strictly so called, and Macedonia Salutaris, iii. 224. 226. 254. 260. viii. 137. x. 197.

*Macherus*, called in the Talmud, Macvar, a castle in the mountainous part of Peræa, and the south bound of it toward Arabia or Moab, near Arnon, and the shore of the Dead Sea. Here John the Baptist was imprisoned; and this was the bound betwixt Herod and his father-in-law Aretas, the Arabian king, whose daughter he put away, when he took Herodias, v. 60. 77. x. 165. 329, 330. xi. 209.

*Machir*, half Gilead, beyond Jordan, ii. 154.

*Machpelah*, the burying-place near Hebron, x. 99.

*Magdala*, sometimes called 'Magdala Gadara,' from its neighbourhood to Gadara, was a sabbath-day's journey, or two miles, from Chammath, one mile from Jordan and from Hippo. From hence perhaps was Mary called 'Magdalene,' if not from Magdal, that signifies 'folding' or 'curling hair,' x. 143, 144. 226. xi. 211. 354, 355.

*Magdalu*, a place where Pharaoh Necho obtained a victory over the Syrians, saith Herodotus, which seems to be the same with what is related, 2 Kings xxiii. 33, concerning his battle with Josiah in Megiddo, x. 216.

*Makeloth*, the two-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

*Manasseh* tribe, was half on this, half on the other side Jordan. That on this side, extended itself in length east and west from Jordan, to Dor on the Mediterranean Sea; in latitude from Ephraim to Bethshean, x. 313. Manasseh beyond Jordan, was the most northern of those that were there situated, ii. 134.

*Mansions* of the Israelites in the Wilderness, ii. 24.

*Marah*, the fifth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, where they murmured for want of water, ii. 117.

*Marissa*, a town in Idumea the Less: Josephus, x. 11.

*Masada*, in Hebrew, 'Matsada,' which implies 'fortification,' taken from 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. and 24. A castle built on a rock, in the wilderness of Judah or Engedi, near the Dead Sea, but not on the utmost north coast, as the maps, for it was the south bound of Judea. Here David composed that psalm, 1 Sam. xxiv. 1, and he calls the place, 'the rocks of the wild goats,' x. 200.

*Mearah* beside the Sidonians, Josh. xiii. 4. There were waters allowed by the Jews (probably of the same kind with those of Tiberias), x. 142.

*Medeba*, a city of Moab, Numb. xxi. 30. in the tribe of Reuben, x. 241, 242.

*Megiddo* Valley, where Josiah was slain, 2 Chron. xxxv. 22. This is alluded to, Zech. xii. 10. It was in Manasseh, Josh. xvii. 11. in the borders of Zabulon, near the river Kishon, Judges v. 19: ii. 279. See *Magdalu*.

*Melita*, now called Malta, an island in the Sicilian Sea, and in the middle betwixt that and the shore of Africa, being eighty-eight miles from Pachynus in Sicily, on the east, and eighty-four from Cemerina in the south, and one hundred and thirteen from Lilybæum, looking toward Africa. Ptolemy placeth it long. 38. 45. lat. 34. 40. Here St. Paul was shipwrecked, iii. 289. viii. 496.

*Mero*, a town in the Upper Galilee: Joseph. x. 10.

*Meroe*, is the chief city of the African Ethiopia, and seated in an island of the same name, and which is made by the river Nile westward, and the river Astabora eastward; from whence perhaps the eunuch came, Acts viii. 27, which may call to mind, Zeph. iii. 10: viii. 447.

*Merom-waters*. See *Samochonitis*.

*Meroz*, a town in Galilee that lay very near the place, where the battle was fought betwixt Israel and Sisera, ii. 154, 155.

*Mesopotamia*, or Aram Naharaim. Geographers distinguish betwixt Mesopotamia, and Babylon or Chaldea. So Ptolemy, Mesopotamia lieth south of the country of Babylon: and yet Babylon may be said in some measure to be in Mesopotamia, because it lay between Tigris and Euphrates, but especially in Scripture-language, for it was beyond the river. Chaldeans are therefore said to be of Mesopotamia; and Strabo saith, that Mesopotamia, with the country of Babylon, is contained in the great com-

pass from Euphrates to Tigris. The Mesopotamian or Chaldee language was spoken in Assyria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, Cælo-Syria, &c. ii. 150. viii. 54. 417, 418.

*Metheg Ammah*, or 'the bridle of Ammah,' 2 Sam. viii. 1, because there was a continual garrison of the Philistines in the hill Ammah, 2 Sam. ii. 25, which the Philistines of Gath used as a bridle to curb those parts, ii. 180.

*Michmash*, was eastward from Bethaven, 1 Sam. xiii. 5, and seemed to be upon the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin, Isa. x. 28: ii. 256.

*Middin*, a town in the wilderness of Juda, Josh. xv. 61. The Greek puts Ænon for Middin; Ænon being in signification, 'a place of springs;' and Middin, 'a place of those that draw waters.' So in the Hebrew we find Middin, Judges v. 10, which, if rendered 'Ye that dwell by Middin,' Kimchi will warrant it, who, in his notes upon the place, saith, 'Middin is a city mentioned in Joshua,' and it follows, ver. 11, 'among the places of drawing waters,' as explaining the other, x. 326.

*Midian* was twofold; the one south of Canaan toward the Red Sea, and near to Amalek, whither Moses fled, and where Jethro lived, Exod. ii. 11; the other was eastward, betwixt Moab and Syria, ii. 133, 134.

*Migdal Eder*, or 'the tower of the flock;' there was one of that name, Gen. xxxv. 21, about a mile from Bethlehem, and whereabouts, it hath been held, that the shepherds were, unto whom the angels appeared at the birth of our Saviour, Luke ii. 8. There was also another place of that name, spoken of in the Rabbins, situated on the south side of Jerusalem, and so near the city, that there was no town round about within that space, or betwixt that and the city, iv. 188. x. 221.

*Migdal Zababai*, or 'the town of dyers,' that was destroyed for fornication, say the Jews, x. 107.

*Migran*, a town in Benjamin, Isa. x. 28: ii. 256.

*Miletus*, Acts xx. 16, a port town to Ephesus, and near to it, iii. 295, 296.

*Millo*, in Jerusalem, what, x. 53, 54.

*Mithcah*, the five-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

*Mizaar*, or Mizar, Psal. xlii. 6, seems to be the hilly part of Zoar, whither Lot would have fled. Gen. xix. 20, O let me escape to this city, is it not Mizaar, or a little one? So that the hill Mizar, may be the same as if it had been said, the hilly part of the little hill Zoar. The reasons of which are two: 1. As Her-

mon was near the springs of Jordan, so the hilly part of Zoar lay hard by the extreme parts of Jordan in the Dead Sea; and the Psalmist seems to measure out Jordan from one end to the other.

2. As David betook himself towards Hermon in his flight from Absalom, so when flying from Saul, he betook himself to Zoar in the land of Moab, 1 Sam. xxii. 3, and so bewails his condition, as banished to the utmost countries north and south that Jordan washed, x. 331.

*Mizgah*, a place near Tiberias, of an unwholesome air, x. 230.

*Mizpeh*; there were several places of this name in Scripture. 1. One in Gad, called Ramath-Mizpeh, Josh. xiii. 26. 2. In the north part of Manasseh beyond Jordan, near Hermon, Josh. xi. 3. 8. 3. In Moab, 1 Sam. xxii. 3. 4. Not far from Jerusalem, in the confines, it is likely, of Judah and Benjamin, Josh. xv. 38. and xviii. 26. Here the Sanhedrim sat in the time of Samuel, and Saul was proclaimed king, 1 Sam. x. 17: ii. 166.

*Moab*, called Arabia of the Nomades, situated on the east of the Dead Sea, x. 329, 330.

*Modim*, 1 Macc. ii. 1, the sepulchre of the Maccabees, fifteen miles from Jerusalem, x. 248.

*Moriah*, within Jerusalem, what, ix. 213. Where situate; derivation of, 213, 214.

*Moseroth*, the seven-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, and the same place or country with Hor, Gudgodah, and Hor-hagidgad, ii. 130. 156, 137.

*Mount Acra*, Moriah, Sion, were within Jerusalem, ix. 213, 214. *Mount Olivet* faced Jerusalem, and was divided from it by the Valley of Tophet, &c. 221.

*Mount Gilead*, what, and whether not the hill Gaash, x. 303.

*Mount Hor*, called Amanah in the Jewish writers, x. 128.

*Mount Macvar*, Macherus is derived from it, what, x. 165.

*Mount Olivet*, why used by Christ to preach in, iii. 140. The Mount of Olives in the Rabbins commonly the Mount of Oil, whence the name, and what was done there, x. 82. It had shops in it, 220.

*Mount of Simeon*, what, x. 106.

*Mount Tabor*, what, and where situate, x. 317.

*Mount Zeboim*, was within the land, x. 107.

*Mountain of the Amorites*, what, x. 26.

*Mountain of Snow*, with some the same with Hermon, x. 128.

*Mountain of the Temple*, how large, ix. 215, 216. Its prospect, 221.

*Mountainous country*, what, x. 27.

*Mountains*; the Black Mountains run from the bay which is near Pharan to Judea; Ptolemy, x. 330.

*Mountain of Iron*, in the south in the Desert of Sin; another of that name was also in Peræa, x. 90. 178.

*Mountain*, where Christ was tempted, was probably beyond Jordan eastward, because his first appearing afterward was at Bethabara on that side, John i. 28. But whether Pisgah, Nebo, Horeb, or what else, is uncertain, iv. 367.

*Mount of Transfiguration*, not Tabor, but some mountain near Cæsarea-Philippi; perhaps that which, Josephus saith, was the highest, and hung over the very fountains of Jordan. It being improbable Christ should go from Cæsarea Philippi, where he was immediately before his transfiguration, through the length of almost whole Galilee, and from thence back again by a course to Capernaum, where he immediately afterwards was, xi. 405.

*Nabathæans* inhabited in and about the town Petra, in Arabia, Plin. With whom David had war, saith Josephus: x. 252. 287.

*Nain*, Luke vii. 11, so called, from the pleasantness of its situation, and probably as it is of the like signification, so was the same with Engannim. It was in the extreme borders of Issachar toward Samaria, opposite to Gema, the extreme of Samaria toward Issachar (if not the same with it) and in the way from Galilee to Jerusalem. It is two leagues from Nazareth, and not much above one from Tabor, saith Borchard, x. 294, 295. What Nain is in Josephus and the Rabbins, 206. 297.

*Naveh*, a town three miles from Chalamish, the former inhabited by the Jews, and the latter by the Gentiles of Moab and Ammon; it is uncertain where they were, x. 359.

*Nazareth*, see 2 Kings xvii. 9. the tower of Nozarim, which, if chorography would suffer, might be understood of this city, which was built like a watch-tower on the top of a steep hill, Luke iv. 29. Nazaret, in the Arabic tongue, signifieth 'help'; in the Hebrew, 'a branch,' by which name our Saviour is called, Isa. xi. i. It is in the Lower Gállilee, two leagues west from Tabor, in the bounds of Issachar and Zebulun; but within Zebulun, and sixteen miles from Capernaum, iv. 160, x. 317, &c.

*Nazarenes*, a tetrarchy in Cælo-Syria, near to Hierapolis, x. 320.

*Neapolis*. See *Sichem*, x. 109.

*Neardea*, a residence and university of the Jews in the country of Babylonia, viii. 270.

*Nebo*, a hill in the plains of Moab, from whence Moses had a prospect of Canaan, Deut. xxxiv. x. 201.

*Nephtali*, was in the Upper Galilee: its length was northward from Lebanon and the springs of Jordan; and southward, to the south part of the lake Gennesareth, which was about forty miles. Its breadth was east and west, having Asher and the coasts of Tyre betwixt it and the Great Sea. It abounded in venison, and there was the gospel first preached, ii. 106. x. 122. 136, 137.

*Neptoah*. See *Etam*.

*Netophah*, Jer. xl. 8. (in the tribe of Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 54, and ix. 16.) ii. 301.

*Nibshan*, a city in the wilderness of Judah, Josh. xv. 62. : x. 326.

*Nicanor*, gate of, x. 65.

*Nicopolis*, a city in Macedonia, Titus iii. 12. that bore the name and badge of the victory that Augustus obtained against Antony, iii. 261, 262. x. 298. See *Emmaus*.

*Nilus*, the great deity of the Egyptians, and the chief river of Egypt, but not the same with what the Scripture calls, The River of Egypt, ii. 115. x. 21. See *Sihor*.

*Nineveh*, the chief city of Assyria, prophesied against by Nahum and Jonah, some thirty or forty years before it fell, and was swallowed up by Babylon, ii. 266. 273.

*Nisibin*, There was a noted consistory of the Jews, x. 173.

*Noaran*, a place three miles from Jericho, x. 359.

*Nob*, Isa. x. 32. was a city in Benjamin, belonging to the priests, so near Jerusalem, that it might thence be seen. Here the tabernacle was, before it was translated to Gibeon, in both which it rested seven-and-fifty years, saith Maimon, ii. 169. x. 88.

*Nomades*, were Arabians that lived in Moab, x. 329.

*Oboth*, the seven-and-thirtieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 132.

*Og Wilderness*, was in Batanea, or Bashan the desert, where our Saviour fed five thousand with five barley loaves, &c. Josh. vi. 9. xii. 293.

*Olivet Mount*, faced Jerusalem, (viz. the part of the city so called), the Temple and Sion on the east, winding north, and was so called from the abundance of olives that were upon it, or rather a part of it. That part which was nearest Jerusalem being called Bethphage, from the figs that grew there; the next to that

Olivet, from the olives; and the farthest part Bethany, from the palms or dates. The foot of it was five furlongs from Jerusalem, saith Josephus. The top of it, Acts i. 12. called a Sabbath-day's journey, which was about eight furlongs, or a mile; and was the place, according to the later sense of our author, where the tracts of Bethphage and Bethany met. Here our Saviour ascended, and where he got upon the ass when he rode into Jerusalem: perhaps it is the same with 2 Sam. xv. 32, where David taking his leave of the ark and sanctuary, looked back and worshipped; which place is called by the Greek interpreters, Ross. On this mount was the red heifer burnt, Num. xix. 2. directly before the east-gate of the Temple, and from this to that was a bridge made: and upon it were two great cedars, under which, in shops, were all things sold for purification: on the top of the mount were the signal fires, to give notice of the new moon, and which by several places was signified to the captivity. On the right hand, as you stood in the east gate of the Temple, was the Mount of Corruption, in the face of the Temple. At the foot of it, towards the north, was Gethsemane, the place of oil-presses, ii. 185, iii. 152. 352. viii. 27, 28. x. 78, 79. 82—84. 218—220. xii. 218, &c. viii. 362.

*Ono*, was three miles from Lydda, and not, as the maps, near Jordan, not far from Jericho. It had a plain near it of the same name, Neh. vi. 2, &c. which was either the same with Saron, or a part of it. Betwixt this and Lydda, or near to them, was the Valley of Craftsmen, Nehem. xi. 35. : x. 39. 260.

*Ophir*, a place in the east part of the world, and for which they set out from Ezion Geber, a port town on the Red Sea, 1 Kings ix. 26. : 28. ii. 202.

*Opotos*, a city that is watered by the river Chrysorrhoeas, and which Pliny reckons amongst the Decapollitan, v. 190. x. 238.

*Orbo*, Ezek. xxvii. 27. a city in the borders of Bethshean, whereabouts Elijah was, when fed by the ravens, x. 245.

*Ornithon*, or The City of Birds, a little city betwixt Sarepta and Sidon, x. 23.

*Oronas*, a city in Moab, Joseph. x. 242.

*Orontes*, formerly called Typhon, a river springing between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, near Heliopolis; and so it should be raised higher in the map. It seems to derive its name from Hauran. x. 286. See *Hauran*. There was another Orontes near Seleucia Pieræ. See *Seleucia*.

*Ostracene*, was from Rhmocerura twen-

ty-four miles, from Cassium twenty-six miles. Antoninus. x. 255.

*Palæo-Biblis*, a city in the midland Phœnicia, x. 234.

*Palæ-Tyrus*, or old Tyrus, is thirty furlongs, or three miles three quarters beyond Tyre. It was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 295, 296.

*Palestine*, was in length, from the confines of Arabia south, to Phœnicia north, which began at Ptolemais, 139 miles, saith Pliny. Arabic was there the mother tongue, viii. 462. x. 23. 124.

*Palestine*, the Third, called 'Palestine the Healthful,' whence the name, x. 195, 197.

*Palmyra*. See *Tadmor*.

*Paltathah*, a place not far from Tiberias, x. 145.

*Paneas*, or Panium, and by the Rabbins, Pamias, is the place whence arose the springs of Jordan; which Josephus thus describes: "Near Panium is a most delightful cave in a mountain, &c. and under the cave rise the springs of the river Jordan." Sometimes the fountain itself is called by that name; and sometimes Cæsarea Philippi is called also Paneas. To this perhaps, Acts vii. 43. may have a respect, and Remphan may be no other than the calf of Phan or Pamias, which is the same with Dan. viii. 434. x. 129—131. See *Cæsarea Philippi*.

*Papath*, a place three miles from Tsipporis, x. 152.

*Paphos*, Acts xiii. 6. 13. was a city in the south-west angle of the island Cyprus; there was the old city and new, and both maritime places. Here was a temple of Venus, iii. 214, 215.

*Paran*, Numb. x. 12. and xii. 16. was the general name of the terrible wilderness, that lay on the south point of the land of Canaan. It was from Libanus one hundred miles, ii. 127, 128. x. 19.

*Parbar*, the gate, where situated, ix. 227.

*Pareccho*, a fortified town in the Nether Galilee, x. 119.

*Patmos*, an island in the Icarian Sea, of about thirty miles compass, where St. John had his visions, iii. 332.

*Pella*, a city of Moab, the farthest northern coast of Peræa, and the south coast of Trachonitis. It was a Decapollitan city, and rich in waters. It is commonly said the Christians fled thither, and by that means were not involved in the destruction of Jerusalem; but how that could be, when it was, as Josephus saith, one of the cities destroyed by the Jews, in revenge of the slaughter of twenty thousand of their nation in Cæsarea, must be left to the learned. If

they fled thither, it is probable it might be for sustenance; the destruction of Jerusalem being, say the Jews, in the seventh year, which was the year of release; when, on this side Jordan, they neither ploughed nor sowed, though they did on the other, iii. 326. x. 165. 238. 241, 242.

*Pelusium*, signifies 'muddy,' from *πηλός*; 'mud;' and so is the same with 'sin' and 'tin,' which among the Chaldees is 'mud.' So the Vulgar translates 'sin,' pelusium, Ezek. xv. 16. The Targums make it the same with Raamses, Exod. i. 11. This by the Talmudists is called Cappadocia, and by the Arabians Damiata. In the Samaritan, *Naphick*, for *Anpak* wrote over the gate. It was the bound of Egypt toward Arabia; and was from Mount Cassius forty miles, from Joppa one hundred and thirty-six, x. 24, 25. 191. 338. xii. 423.

*Pernelissus*, a city in Pisidia, viii. 465.

*Pentascinum*, half way between Pelusium and Cassium, and from each twenty miles, x. 255.

*Peræa*, signifies that part which is over a river, and is largely taken for the whole country beyond Jordan, inhabited by the two tribes and half; and so it went sometimes under the name of Galilee, and might be so called from Geliloth of Jordan, Josh. xxii. 11; sometimes the southern part of that only was so called, which contained the kingdom of Sihon or Reuben, and part of Gad: and then the length of it was from Machærus south, to Pella north, and the breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan. It was inhabited of old by the Zuzims, v. 144. x. 165. 242. 277, 279, &c.

*Perga*, Acts xiii. 13. a city in Pamphylia, and was situated betwixt the rivers Cestrus and Cataractes, being sixty furlongs distant from the former. There was a temple of Diana, iii. 215. viii. 463, 464.

*Perizzites*, so called from Perez, a person of note in the family of Canaan, from whom they descended, though not named amongst them, Gen. x. and was one of the seven nations of Canaan that were to be cut off, xi. 219. x. 267, 268.

*Persia*, is otherwise called Elam, Isa. xxii. 6: ii. 264.

*Petra*, or 'the Rock,' a city of the Nabatæans, and metropolis of Moab, little less than two miles in compass, situated in a valley, and encompassed with inaccessible mountains, a river running between, thirty-eight miles from the Dead Sea; from Gaza (not six hundred, as in Pliny) one hundred and ten miles, from the Persian Bay one hundred and twenty-

two miles. Its long. 66. 45. Ptol. x. 252, 253.

*Pharpar*, 2 Kings v. 12. a river near Damascus, which the Jews call Pigah, and is said to be one of the seven rivers that compass the land, x. 13.

*Phœnicia*, or Phœnicia, may be divided into three parts, the maritime Phœnicia, the south border of which was Ptolemais; the midland Phœnicia, which had cities, Arca, Paleo-biblus, Gabala, Cæsarea of Paneas; Syrophœnicia, which extended as far as Antioch, x. 25. 234, 235.

*Phœnician Sea*, reached as far as Joppa, x. 24, 25.

*Pheno*, a town in Palestine, x. 173.

*Philadelphia*; there were several cities of that name. 1. The metropolis of Ammon, formerly called Rabbah, was in the south of Peræa, in a fruitful country, and reckoned by Pliny, a Decapollitan city. 2. Philadelphia, one of the seven Churches of Asia, Rev. i. and iii. (and so was it likely that of Lydia, as being of greater note, rather than Cilicia. See *Bonfrer*. x. 165. 238.

*Philippi*, Acts xvi. 12, a city in Macedonia, where was a Roman colony, iii. 224.

*Philistines*; inhabited the sea-coast, and gave the name of Palestine to the country. They were long enemies to Israel, ii. 146. 160. See *Palestine*.

*Phrygia*, a province in the Lesser Asia, part of which was called Pacatiana, in which was Laodicea, and another part Salutaris, iii. 255. x. 197.

*Pimon*, [Punon] the six-and-thirtieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 132.

*Pirathon*, a town in Ephraim, where Abdon lived, Judg. xii. 13: ii. 161.

*Pisidia*, a province in the Lesser Asia; it had thirteen cities in it, amongst which was Antioch, viii. 464, 465.

*Pislan*, a valley in or near Issachar, x. 295.

*Pithom*. See *Tanis*.

*Plain*, The Great Plain, 1 Maccab. v. 52, was on both sides Jordan, and was on the west side in breadth from Bethshean to Ephraim; and in length from Bethshean to the Dead Sea: on the west side from Julias to Somorria; the bound of Arabia Petræa. It was one hundred and fifty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth. It was the same with the Great Plain of Esdrelon, Judith i. 8. and the Great Valley of Jezreel, 1 Kings iv. 12: x. 90. 135. 206. 312, 313. The Lower Galilee, is sometimes called the Great Plain. See *Galilee*.

*Pumbeditha*, a famous school of the Jews in the country of Babylon, x. 173. xii. 569.

*Pool, Lower Pool, Upper Pool, Kings's Pool, Pool of Siloam, Pool of Bethesda, Sheep-Pool, Pool of Shelahh, Pool of Solomon, what, x. 345. 349.*

*Pool of Bethesda, whence it received its waters; whence it had its excellent virtues, v. 235, 236. In it man, not beasts, were washed, xii. 280. It was made of an healing quality by the help of an angel, about the days of Christ's being on earth; but how long before or after, we know not, 282.*

*Probatia, or Sheep-gate, was not near the Temple, contrary to the common opinion, x. 343.*

*Ptolemais, or Acon, and by the Talmudists, Caphar Aco, is a sea-town of Galilee; and divided the Upper Galilee from the Lower, and the land of Israel from Phœnicia. It is seated in a plain, compassed with mountains, having on the east the mountainous part of Galilee, on the north the Scalæ Tyrionum, from which it was a hundred furlongs; on the south Carmel, from whence it is one hundred and twenty furlongs, x. 118. 124.*

*Puteoli, a famous mart-town in Italy, and a haven for ships, viii. 501.*

*Rabbah. See Philadelphia.*

*Rachel's sepulchre, south of Bethel and Migdal-Eder, and between Bethlehem and Ramah, iv. 232. x. 223.*

*Ragab, a place beyond Jordan, famous for oil, x. 104.*

*Rakkath; a fortified city from the time of Joshua, x. 138.*

*Ramah; there were many towns called by this name, because they were seated in some high place; but the more eminent were, 1. Ramah or Aramathea, called Ramathaim-Zophim, or Ramah of the Zophites, 1 Sam. i. 1. so called from the country of Zuph, in which it was, 1 Sam. ix. 5. in the hill-country of Ephraim, the birth-place of Samuel. 2. Ramah, if not the same, a frontier town upon the very skirt of Ephraim, towards Benjamin. 3. Ramah in Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 25. near to Gibeah of Saul, 1 Sam. xxii. vi. where Saul was anointed. It was not far from Bethlehem, though they were in different tribes, Matt. ii. 18. Hither Nebuzaradan brought the captives, Jerem. xl. 1. It was within sight of Jerusalem, being about thirty furlongs from it; and was called also Zophim, but for another reason, perhaps from the Zophim near Jerusalem, ii. 162. 166. 212. 298. 299. x. 87. 164.*

*Ramoth Gilead, a city of refuge in the tribe of Gad, and so in the country of Gilead, Deut. iv. 43. Josh. xx. 8. : ii. 218.*

*Raphana, a city towards Arabia, and by Pliny accounted a Decapolitan, v. 190. x. 238.*

*Red Sea; whence the name, with a strange story about Jonah's whale, iv. 27.*

*Refuge, cities of, x. 99, 100.*

*Rekam, what places denoted by, x. 18. 258. See Cadesh.*

*Rephaims, a people under Lebanon, Gen. xiv. 5. and xv. 20, called by the Samaritan, Aseans; and by the LXX, Titans, 2 Sam. v. 18. ii. 89. x. 270.*

*Rephaim Valley, 2 Sam. v. 18, not far from Jerusalem, ii. 177.*

*Reuben tribe, west of Jordan, north of Gad, and enclosed between the rivers Arnon and Jordan, ii. 134.*

*Rhegium, Acts xviii. 13, a port-town in Italy, opposite to Sicily, iii. 289.*

*Rhinocorura, x. 21. 193. See Sihor.*

*Riblah, in the land of Hamath, Jer. xxxix. 5, where Nebuchadnezzar passed judgment upon Zedekiah. It was the north-east border of the land, Num. xxxiv. 11. The Targumists render it Daphne, ii. 299. x. 129. See Daphne.*

*Rimmon rock, whither the six hundred Benjamites fled, Judg. xx. 47, called Hadad Rimmon, Zech. xii. 11. or 'the sad shout of Rimmon,' ii. 149.*

*Rimmon-parez, the sixteenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.*

*Rimmon Valley; there was a marble rock there, into which every one of the seven elders that intercalated the year there, fastened a nail: therefore it is called, 'the valley of nails,' say the Jews, x. 108.*

*Rissah, the eighteenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.*

*Rithmah. See Cadesh.*

*Rivers, the four, x. 12. 398.*

*Rome, is called Chittim in the Old Testament. It was built by Romulus, in the year of the world 3175, in the fifteenth year of Amaziah, king of Judah, that is, 785 years before our Saviour's death. It was the head of the fifth empire, and extended its dominion from Parthia to Britain, iii. 349. iv. 190. See Rome, in General Index.*

*Sabbatic river, saith Pliny, is in Judea; but Josephus saith, it is in the way to Antioch, between the cities Arca and Raphana. Josephus saith, it flows on the sabbath-days. Pliny and the Talmudists say, it is dry upon those days. The contrary relations of historians bring the truth of the story into suspicion, x. 236, 237.*

*Sabeans, east of Canaan, iv. 218.*

*Succæa, a country east of Batanea, x. 284.*

- Sagalassus*, a city in Pisidia, viii. 465.
- Salamean*, or *Salmean*, or *Kenite*, the same, and what, x. 325, 326.
- Salamis*, a fortified town in the Nether Galilee. There was also a city in the island of Cyprus of that name, Acts xiii. 5. It was a port-town, iii. 213.
- Salem*. See General Index.
- Salim*, John iii. 23, not near Sychem, as the maps place it, but a town in Galilee, and, it is likely, in Issachar, for so the Greek interpreter reads it, Josh. xix. 22. : v. 59, 60. x. 323, 324.
- Salmaah*, or *Sulma*, a town in Arabia Deserta, long. 78. 23. lat. 28. 30. near to Euphrates, and from which it is likely the Samaritan calls Euphrates by that name, x. 338.
- Salt*, city of Salt in the wilderness of Judah, Josh. xv. 62. : x. 326.
- Samoehonitis*, Lake, called also the Sibichæan Lake, from סבך *a bush*, because in the summer it was much dried, and grown over with thorns and bushes. It was otherwise called the Waters of Merom, Josh. xi. 5, and is said by the Jews to be one of the seven seas that compassed the land. It was thirty furlongs broad, and sixty long, and its marshes reached up to the country Daphne, x. 12. 132, 133.
- Samaria* was a city, under the first Temple, built upon a hill, and was in later times called Sebaste, in honour of Augustus, or from the temple built in honour of him. Under the second Temple, it gave name to a region that was in the middle betwixt Judea and Galilee, beginning from Ginæa, lying in the great plain, and ending at the toparchy of the Acrabateni. It contained the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, v. 87, &c. x. 109, &c. 121. viii. 441. Samaria had a temple and service resembling those at Jerusalem, iii. 193. In the days of Christ it was a country, not a city, for then there was no city of that name, but Sychem was the city, v. 81. 87. It is a country, not a city; and when the city Samaria is mentioned, it means the chief city of the country, which was Sychem, viii. 122. Samaria, under the first Temple, was a city; under the second, a country: called Sebaste, the religion thereof was Heathenism and Samaritanism, x. 109, 110. Samaria was planted with colonies two several times, 334, 335. geography of, x. 404.
- Sandalium*, two of that name; the Sandalium of Lydda, being near to that city; and the Emkean, so called from Caphar Imki, x. 261.
- Saphetta*, a University of the Jews, xii. 262.
- Sarepta*, or *Zarephath*, 1 Kings xvii. Obad. 20, was in Asher, belonging to Sidon, and betwixt that and Tyre, being from the former two leagues, and from the latter five. It was called Zarephath, as a conflagration for boiling metals, especially glass, ii. 242. x. 291—293.
- Saron*, Heb. Sharon, Acts ix. 35, the same with Ono in V. T. Nehem. vi. 2, &c. was a spacious and fertile vale or champain, betwixt Lydda and the sea, having several villages in it, and was famous for wine. It was so called from שרר *to let loose*, because of the cattle turned out there, iii. 202. v. 210. x. 39. v. 61. There was another Sharon beyond Jordan, inhabited about by Gileadites, by which it seems that it was a common name for all plains and champains whatsoever, viii. 210.
- Saracens*, so called from Saracon, the east, x. 268.
- Scala Tyriorum*, or, the Ladder of the Tyrians, a very high mountain, north of Ptolemais one hundred furlongs, x. 124, &c. 265.
- Scopo* and *Scopos*, the view called Zophim, what, x. 86.
- Scythopolis*, or *Bethshean*, x. 119. 239, 240. 312.
- Scythopolitan country*, what, x. 311, 312.
- Sea*, the Great Sea, Num. xxxiv. 4. or the Mediterranean, x. 9.
- Sea*, put for a multitude of people, iii. 339.
- Sea of Apamia*, what, upon conjecture, x. 131.
- Sea of Cinnereth*, in the Old Testament, is called in the New the Lake of Genesaret, also the sea of Galilee and the sea of Tiberias, x. 133, 134. Sea of Galilee, Tiberias, Cinnereth, and lake of Genesareth, were all one, v. 164. The molten or brazen sea described, ix. 428, 429. It contained two or three thousands baths, 429. Sea of Galilee, its length and breadth, xii. 262. Sea of Sodom, what and of what use, x. 14, 15.
- Seas*, the seven seas according to the Talmudists, and the four rivers compassing the land, what, x. 12. 397.
- Sebaste*, a brave city, built by Herod just where Samaria stood, may be the place called, in the New Testament, the city of Samaria, viii. 441. See *Samaria*.
- Secacah*, a city in the wilderness of Judah, Josh. xv. 61. : x. 326.
- Seir* mount, called Gablah [or Gebalah] by the Samaritans, betwixt Horeb and Cadesh, Deut. i. 2. : ii. 130. 136. iii. 298. It took its name from Seir, a branch of the Canaanites, x. 268. 337.
- Selame*, a town in Galilee, near Tabor, probably the same with Salim, mentioned by the LXX, Josh. xix. 22. : x. 324.



*Seleucia Pieria*, Acts xlii. 4. A port-town, and the first city of Syria towards Cilicia, long. 68. 36. lat. 55. 26. Not far from thence the river Orontes pours itself into the sea, iii. 213. viii. 272. 460.

*Selge*, a city in Pisidia, viii. 465.

*Seneh*, a rock near Gibeah in Benjamin, 1 Sam. xiv. 4. : x. 87. See *Gibeah*.

*Seph*, a fortified town in Upper Galilee. Josephus. x. 119.

*Sepharad*, Obad. 20. neither, as the Targum, 'Spain;' nor as St. Hieron. 'Bosphorus;' but rather 'Edom,' south, in opposition to Sarepta, north. x. 291, &c.

*Shamir*, in the hill-country of Ephraim, Judg. x. 1, may well be supposed to be Samaria, ii. 156.

*Shapher* mount, the twentieth mansion of the Israelites, ii. 130.

*Sharon*, valley of, x. 39.

*Shaveh*, valley of, x. 378.

*Sheba*, Luke xi. 31, a country of the Arabians (as some think) toward the south; and some of the Arabian countries have been called *Aliemim*, or *Southern*. See *Saba*.

*Shechem*, or *Sychem*, signifieth both a portion of ground, and the place where it lay, called, John iv. 5, *Sychar*, (either by way of reproach, as it signifies 'drunkards,' Isa. xxviii. 1, or as it signifies 'a sepulchre,' &c.) and *Nicopolis*. It was the metropolis of Samaria. Here the twelve patriarchs' bones were laid. It was in the tribe of Ephraim, in a valley between the mounts Gerizim and Ebal, being distant eight miles from Samaria, and twenty-seven from Engannim, ii. 99, 100. 142. v. 87, &c. viii. 112. x. 109. 338, &c.

*Shezor*, a town near Zephath in the Upper Galilee, x. 157.

*Shihin*, not far from Tsippor, x. 155.

*Shiloh*, so called, because of the 'peaceableness' of the land, when the tabernacle was set up there. It was otherwise called *Ephratah*, Psal. cxxxii. 6, and was in Ephraim, north of Bethel, and a little on one side from the way betwixt Bethel and *Sychem*. It was destroyed in the time of Hophni and Phineas, ii. 141. 163, 164. 298. x. 89.

*Shunem*, a town in the tribe of Issachar, Josh. xix. 18, where the woman lived whose son Elisha raised to life, iv. 160.

*Shur*. See *Etham* and *Haserim*.

*Shushan*, the royal city of Persia, ii. 311.

*Sicily*, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, near Italy, the chiefest city of which was *Syracuse*, iii. 289.

*Sicni Valley*. In a place of that name, was a university of the Jews, x. 106. 173.

*Sidon*, on the shore of the Great Sea, from Tyre five-and-twenty miles, from

Sarepta two leagues. It was famous for glass, and notorious for the idol Baal, ii. 216. x. 25, 26. 293, 294. 230.

*Siddim*, valley of, x. 378.

*Sigo*, a fortified town in the Nether Galilee: Josephus. x. 119.

*Sihor*, or *Sichor*, it signifies black. It was otherwise called 'Rhinocorura' by the LXX, or the River of Egypt, Josh. ziii. 3, &c. and was the south bound between Judea and Egypt. It was from Gaza four-and-forty miles, from Ascalon fifty-four miles, from Ostracene twenty-four miles, and not far from Sirbon, x. 10. 21. 193. 207. 255.

*Siloum*. See General Index.

*Simeon* tribe, was all in Idumea the Less. See the proportion between that and Judah, Josh. xxi. 16. x. 106. 194.

*Simeon* mount, very fruitful, perhaps the same with the land of Simeon, x. 106.

*Simonia*, a village in the confines of Galilee, x. 106.

*Sin*. See *Pelusium*.

*Sinai* mount, in the wilderness, where the law was given, ii. 117.

*Sinai* and *Horeb*, the same, ii. 381.

*Sinnabris*, a town thirty furlongs from Tiberias. There was also a tower of the same name, built at one end of a bridge near the lake Gennesareth, and opposite to Beth-Jerach, x. 134.

*Sion*. Mount Sion without Jerusalem, ix. 214. Sion was the upper city on the north part of Jerusalem, x. 47, &c. After the return from Babylon, it was constantly called "The Upper Town," 49.

*Sipporis*, or *Tsippor*. See *Zipporis*.

*Sirbo Lake*, or the Sandy Sea; the word signifies 'heat or burning,' is, like the lake of Sodom, bituminous, and perhaps for the same reason. It is one of the seven seas, that compassed the land of Israel, say the Jews. It was sixty-five miles from Pelusium, and eight-and-twenty miles from Casium, x. 10, &c. 21. 190, &c.

*Snow*, Mountain of, x. 128.

*Socoh*, Josh. xv. 35, in the Vale of Judah. Thence was Antigonus some time president of the Sanhedrim, x. 107.

*Sodom* City, stood not in the north (as it is usually placed in the maps) but the south part of the lake; for in Scripture it is set opposite to Gaza, Gen. x. 19, and was the east bound of the land, as Gaza was the west, x. 15. 201.

*Sodom* Sea, not so properly the salt as the bituminous sea; and *Asphaltites*, was the west bound of Judea, and from Jerusalem (not directly south, but bending toward the east) eight-and-thirty miles. It was in length, saith Josephus, sixty-two miles, in breadth eighteen; Pliny saith it

was in length more than one hundred miles, in its greatest breadth five-and-twenty, in its least six. It is likely Josephus did not comprehend within his measure the tongue of the sea, Josh. xv. 2. and describes the breadth as it generally was, x. 14, 15.

*Somorraha*, the south bound of the rock of Arabia, x. 90.

*South-Country*, used for Judea, x. 28, 9.

*Spain and France*, what places the Jews understood for them, x. 291.

*Stations of the Israelites in their departure from Egypt*, ii. 415.

*Subterraneous places*, x. 177.

*Syria*. See General Index.

*Strato's Tower*, what, x. 112, &c.

*Succoth*, so called from the booths Jacob built there, Gen. xxxiii. 17. was in the vale of Peræu, opposite to Zartanah, and perhaps might give the name of Scythopolis to Bethshean, which was near to Zartanah. There was the valley of Succoth, Psal. lx. 10. in Moab or Peræa, ii. 99. 180. x. 165. 313, 314. See *Bethshan*.

*Susitha*, anciently called Mazi, x. 144. 171. See *Hippo*.

*Sycaminum*, probably the Shikmonah in the Talmudists, a town on the sea-coast of Phœnicia, betwixt Doron and Carmel, and perhaps the same with Caphar Haniah, that divided between Upper and Nether Galilee, x. 118, &c.

*Sychar and Sychem*, the same, v. 81. 87. Sychar, the reason of the name, 88.

*Sychem*, the metropolis of Samaria, called Neapolis: the Jews, in scorn, called it Sychar, x. 109.

*Syria*, anciently called Aram, which was divided into several kingdoms; as Aram-Naharaim, Aram-Zobah, Arambeth-Rehob, &c. Psal. lx. title. 2 Sam. x. 8. And so Syria was of large extent, its breadth being from Selucia Pieriæ to Zeugma on Euphrates, five hundred and twenty-five miles; and did include in it all the country of the Jews, both within and without Jordan, Matt. iv. 24. as being within the jurisdiction of the Roman governor of Syria, and by the Jews was all of it accounted as Canaan, in respect of its privileges. It was divided, in the Notitia, into Syria on Euphrates, and Syria Salutaris, ii. 181. 272. v. 190, 191. viii. 460. x. 132. 191.

*Tabor* mount, called by Josephus, Itaburion, was thirty furlongs high. It lay, as it were, in the midst, betwixt the coasts of Samaria and Upper Galilee. Having on this side Issachar (of which it was the utmost bound north, Josh. xix. 22.) toward Samaria, and on that side Zabulun toward the aforesaid Galilee [and so is

misplaced in the map by mistake.] It was two leagues east from Nazareth, and about ten miles from Capernaum. The Tabor, usually shewn to travellers, agrees not with that of Josephus, x. 119. 294, 295. 317, 318. Tabor was not the mount where Christ was transfigured, xi. 405.

*Tabor Plain*, 1 Sam. x. 3. perhaps the Methbara of the Gemarists, x. 325.

*Tadmor*, 1 Kings ix. 18. It may be questioned, whether it be the same with Tamar or Engeddi. Josephus saith, the Greeks call it Palmyra, and so the Vulgar interpreters read it, x. 17. 233.

*Tahath*, the three-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

*Tamar and Engedi*, are the same, x. 17. See *Engedi*.

*Tanis*, said to be the Pithom, Exod. i. 11. by the Targum; from hence one mouth of Nilus is called Taniticum. It is derived from 'tin,' which among the Chaldees signifies 'mud,' x. 191.

*Tarah*, the four-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

*Tarichee*, a town in the Lower Galilee, south-west of the lake of Gennesareth, over against Gamala, and thirty furlongs from Tiberias, iii. 376. x. 119. 139, 140. 145. 196. 226

*Tarnegola* the Upper, called Gehar, or Gebara by the Rabbins, is above Cæsarea-Philippi, at the neck of Anti-Libanus, and is accounted by the Jews the bound of the Land, x. 157. 235. 362.

*Tarshish*, a city that was in the dominion of Nineveh, in the time of Jonah ii. 243.

*Tarsus*, a city in Cilicia, and a free town of the Romans. Here St. Paul was born; and here was a university, in which were scholars no whit inferior to Athens, viii. 130. 416.

*Taurus*, a mountain, where situated, x. 361.

*Tekoa*, in the tribe of Judah, south of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, being distant from the former twelve miles, from the latter six: Bonfrer. It was the birth-place of Amos, and famous for the best oil. There was a wilderness near to it, ii. 240. x. 104. 199.

*Telithon*, a city in Moab: Josephus. x. 242.

*Tetrarchy*, not a fourth part of a kingdom, for Syria had seventeen, &c. but rather a principality in the fourth rank of excellency in the Roman empire; as emperors, proconsuls, kings, tetrarchs, iv. 250. 251.

*Thebais* in Egypt, was famous for Myrobalanum: Pliny. xi. 427.

*Thessalonica*, a city in Macedonia, iii. 225, 226.

*Tiberias* city, in the Lower Galilee, a fortified city from the days of Joshua, formerly called Rakkath, Josh. xix. 35. but named Tiberias by Herod in honour of Tiberius; the situation ill placed in the maps. The ground of it was before a burying-place, but pleasant, having the lake of Gennesareth as a wall on one side; and a little from Jordan, being at the efflux of that from the lake, and not in the middle of the shore of the lake, as the maps. It grew to be the prime city of Galilee, and indeed of all Israel, having thirteen synagogues, and an academy. Here was collected the Talmud; and here was the tenth and last session of the Sanhedrim. It was from Scythopolis fifteen miles, from Hippo three, from Gadara six, from Tsiptoris eight or nine. It was famous for its medicinal waters, iii. 394, &c. x. 118, 119. 139, &c. 148. 226. 359.

*Tigris* river, where it riseth and runs slower, was called Diglitus; where swifter and lower, *Tigris*, xii. 570.

*Timnath*, or *Thamna*, one in Judea, and another of Samson in Dan. There was also a third, called *Timnath-Serah*, Josh. xxiv. 30. in mount Ephraim, where Joshua was buried, x. 202, 203.

*Tiphisah*, not far from Tirzah, where Menahem exercised great severity, 2 Kings xv. 16: ii. 246.

*Tirathaba*, a village near Gerizim, where the Jews met an impostor among the Samaritans (Simon Magus as like as any), that promised to shew them holy vessels, which Moses with his own hand had hid in Gerizim, viii. 171.

*Tirzah*, 1 Kings xiv. 17. perhaps the same with Shechem, ii. 209.

*Tophet*, the valley, why so called, ix. 221.

*Towns*, x. 175. xi. 381, 382.

*Toshab*, a city from whence Elijah was called the 'Tishbite,' as say the Targums, which is far fetched; perhaps rather from Toshbi, which denotes no other than a 'converter;' to which Malachi iv. 5. seems to have alluded, xii. 20.

*Tower of Antonia*, ix. 235.

*Tres-Tabernæ*, Acts xxviii. 15. in Italy, three and thirty miles from Rome, and betwixt that and Appii-Forum, iii. 289.

*Trachonitis*, was a province and tetrarchy, or rather part of a tetrarchy, in Syria, anciently called Argob or Regab, being north of Peræa and east of Batanea; and was so called, saith Tyrius, from 'dragons,' or 'secret lurking places,' which were so called, which this country did abound in, the inhabitants living upon robbery; or it might be so called

from 'Trachones,' which, saith Strabo, were two mountains beyond Damascus, and might be so called from the Hebrew word טרר which signifies 'weariness,' in regard of the difficulty of passing them, iv. 251, 252. x. 165, 166. 242. 277, 278. 283, 284. 288, 289.

*Troas*, Acts xx. 6. in Lesser Asia, and in the way from Ephesus to Macedonia, iii. 276.

*Troglodytes*, were a people that dwelt in caverns and holes, and were both of the north of the land of Israel and the south. Pliny saith, Troglodytis had excellent Myrobalanum, x. 288. xi. 427.

*Tsok*, was the rock from whence the goat Azazel was cast; it was near Beth-horon, twelve miles from Jerusalem, x. 104, 105.

*Tsiptor*, x. 152. 154. See *Ziptor*.

*Tyre*; there were divers towns called by the name of Tsur or Tyre, because built in a rocky place. As 1. The noble mart of Phœnicia, which had bounds with old Tyre, nineteen miles about, and extended its territories south as far as Ptolemais, and gave name to the Tyro-Sidonia, which reached as far as Cæsarea-Philippi and Chabul. 2. There was a Tyre which was between Arabia and Judea beyond Jordan; and Josephus joins Tyrians with Gadarenes, &c. 3. There was another in Chabul, x. 23, 24. 122. 250. 235. 254. 293.

*Tyrians* Ladder of, x. 126.

*Umanus*, a mountain, where situated, x. 361.

*Ur*, a city of the Chaldees, Gen. xi. 28: ii. 88.

*Usha*, or *Osha*, a city over against Sepbaraam, from which it was a double Sabbath-day's journey. Here the Sanhedrim sat, iii. 388, 389. 394. x. 155, 156. famed for decrees, and other things done there by the Jewish doctors, x. 155, 156. 390.

*Uz*, the country of Job, so called from Uz: the son of Nabor, Gen. xxii. 21, ii. 109.

*Valley of Salt*, near Edom, Psal. 60. Tit. ii. 281.

*Valley of Crafts-men*. x. 260. Of Hinnon, used historically in the Old Testament, metaphorically in the New; it was the common sink of Jerusalem; there was a constant fire to burn up the bones and filth of the city, 81.

*Valley of Jehoshaphat*, what, 82.

*Valley of Rimmon*, what, 108.

*Wilderness*. See General Index.

*Zabulon* tribe, was north of Issachar.

Its latitude was north and south, and contained about eight miles. Its length was east and west fromward the sea of Gennesareth, not including it, to Carmel and the Great Sea, ii. 106. x. 121. 136.

*Zalmon*, Judg. ix. 48. a mountain, or some tract in a mountain near Sychem, x. 229, 230. See *Dalmanutha*.

*Zalmonah*, the five-and-thirtieth mansion of the Israelites in the Wilderness. It signifies 'the place of the image,' because of the brazen serpent. It was called also *Maaleh Acrabbim*, or 'the coming up of scorpions,' Josh. xv. 3: ii. 132.

*Zarah*, a city of Moab: Josephus. x. 242.

*Zared Valley*, or Brook, between Ije-Abarim and Arnon, ii. 132.

*Zarephath*. (See *Sarepta*) x. 291. 293.

*Zaretan*, or *Zartanah* in Manasseh in the plain of Jordan, not far from Bethshean, and twelve miles from Adam, betwixt which the waters were divided, x. 167. viii. 361.

*Zeboim*, one of the cities destroyed with Sodom, south of Lasha and north of Adma, on the north point of the lake, x. 107. 201. There was a mountain also of that name, x. 107. xi. 265.

*Zedekiah's Dens* or *Caves*, not a few miles in measure, x. 179. 198. 288.

*Zemarites*, were Canaanites, and by the Targums are called *Chamatsi*, and they think them so called because they laboured in wool, x. 266.

*Zephath*, a town in Galilee, x. 157.

*Zer*, neighbour to *Ziddim*. See *Ziddim*.

*Zeriphin* gardens near Jerusalem, x. 108.

*Zeugma*, the east bound of Syria on Euphrates. See Syria.

*Ziddim*, Josh. xix. 35, otherwise called *Caphar-Chittai*, a fortified city not far from Tiberias or Magdala, x. 146.

*Ziglag*, in the south of Judah, 1 Sam. xxx. 1: ii. 173, 174.

*Zin Wilderness*, Num. xxxiv. 4, so called from the mountain *Zin*, or mountainous tract, as that was called from the groves of palms. It was part of the Wilderness of *Paran*, and the south bound of the land, it had in it metallic mines, ii. 117. x. 19. 178. 258.

*Ziph* desert in Judah, x. 199.

*Zipporis*, or *Tsippor*, so called, because situated on a hill, or *Kitron*, Judg. i. 29. the biggest city in Galilee, and for sixteen miles round pleasantly situated, encompassed with a land flowing with milk and honey, noted for warlike affairs, a university, many synagogues, and many famous doctors. It was from Tiberias twenty miles, from *Caphar-Uthni* and *Caphar-Haniah*, which were thirty miles asunder. It was the ninth place where the Sanhedrim sat, iii. 394, 395. x. 120. 152, &c. 360.

*Zoan*, Numb. xiii. 22, the best country of Egypt, x. 97. xi. 312.

*Zoar*, Gen. xix. 20, in Moab, long. 67. 20. lat. xxx. 30; four miles from Sodom, on the south end of the lake, and not on the north (as the maps), and fifteen miles from *Necla*, x. 15. 16. 201. 331.

*Zobah*. See *Syria*.

*Zuzims*, a people anciently in Ammon, ii. 89.

*Zophim*, the same with *Scopo* and *Scopus*, x. 86.

## THE DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM.

*Jerusalem*, was otherwise called *Salem*, Gen. xiv. 18. Psal. lxxvi. 2, and by *Herodotus*, *Cadytis*, probably from *Cadisha*, 'the holy' (the Syriac changing  $\psi$  into  $\tau$ ) the common name of it, *Isai*. lxxviii. 2, &c. and from *Ælius Adrianus*, *Ælia*. It was in compass fifty furlongs, or six miles and a quarter. The latitude according to the Jews was thirty-three, but according to *Ptolemy*, the longitude is sixty-six; the lat. 31. 40. It was from the sea of Sodom eight-and-thirty miles, from *Bethlehem* five-and-thirty furlongs, from *Jericho* about nineteen miles, from *Jordan* thirty, from *Neapolis* thirty, and

stood in the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, iv. 344, 345. x. 14, 15. 44, &c. 100, &c. 215—217. 250. 254. 300.

*The girdle* or compass of the city, *Nehem*. iii. x. 56, 57.

### South.

*Sheep-gate*, *Nehem*. iii. 1. *Josh*. v. 2, so called, because it was a market for sheep; it was a little from the east, the corner looking south, x. 56. 343.

*Fuller's-field*, south, near the wall, not far from the corner easterly; so called, from wood framed together where fullers

dried their cloth, or from a fuller's monument, of which Josephus writes, x. 84.

*Bethesda*. It signifies, 'the place of mercy,' just within the Sheep-gate, and the same with Solomon's Pool. It had cloistered walks, x. 56. 73. 345. v. 226. 227. 234.

*Meah, Hananeel*, towers beyond the Sheep-gate, Jer. xxxi. 38, x. 56.

*Fish-gate*, Zeph. i. 10. so called, from a fish-market there, rather than because the fish were carried through it, as many conjecture. It was south, x. 57.

*The Gate of Birds*, called the second gate, Zeph. i. 10. perhaps it was that which is called the old gate, Neh. iii. x. 57, 58.

*Ephraim-gate*, was next to the old gate, Neh. xii. 39. It was south, but a little from the corner west and south, 2 Kings xiv. 13. x. 60.

#### West.

*Corner-gate*, 2 Kings xiv. 13, four hundred cubits from that of Ephraim, 2 Chron. xxv. 23. x. 60.

*Siloam fountain*, the same with Gihon, 1 Kings i. 33. It was on the back of Acra without the city, not far from the corner that looked west and south, and ran in a contrary channel east and west. As it made to the east, it left the Fuller's Field upon the right, and saluted the Sheep-gate on the left, and so turning eastwards, fell into Bethesda. This pool which it thus emptied itself into, was called by divers names; as the Upper, and Solomon's, as also the Old Pool, Isa. xxii. 11, and the Pool of Shelahh, or Siloam, which gave name to all the buildings about it, as the Tower of Siloam, &c.

By another rivulet, the waters of Siloam ran west, and coasted along the Broad-wall, the Tower of Furnaces, the Valley-gate and Dung-gate; and after a while at the basis of Sion, or on the back of some small part of it, fell into the Lower or King's-pool, called Shelahh, Neh. iii. xv. This was without, though very near the wall of the city, and afterwards brought within it by Manasseh, ix. 225. x. 54, &c. 345, &c.

*Gareb-hill*, Jer. xxxi. 38. as Lyra not amiss, the same with Calvary from the south, and more to the west, x. 56, 57.

*Broad-wall*, Neh. xii. 39. Siloam ran by it, ix. 225.

*Tower of Furnaces*, next to the Broad-wall, ix. 225.

*Valley-gate*, Neh. iii. 13, on the west at the basis of Acra, Siloam ran by it, ix. 225. x. 58.

*Dung or Esquiline-gate*, Neh. iii. 14, a thousand cubits from the Valley-gate, x. 58.

*Fountain-gate*, Neh. iii. 15. another distinct from that of Siloam and the Dragon, x. 58.

*Steps* that led up to the city of David, west, a little beyond Siloam, and at the foot of Sion, x. 58. 343.

*Burying-places* of David.

*A Pool*.

*The House of the Strong*, Neh. iii. 16; not far from whence the wall turned north.

*Pompey's Tents*, on a mountain near the north, but on the west, x. 74.

*King's-gardens*, extended from the descent of Sion to the Pool Shelahh, and between the Fountain-gate and the King's Pool, were rivers drawn, that ran from Siloam into the King's Pool, x. 347.

*Etam-fountain* was westward four furlongs from the city, from whence was an aqueduct to the Temple, x. 67. v. 65. See *Etam*, in the general table.

#### North.

On the north side was no gate, but buildings within close to the wall, x. 58.

*Psephinus Tower*, built by Herod at the north-west corner, x. 58.

*Zophim*, or Scopus, a mountain north of Sion, from whence there was a prospect into the city, x. 86, 87.

*Herod's Sepulchre*, without the north-wall of the city, x. 74.

#### East.

*The Tower*, which lieth out, was in the very bending of the corner north and east, Neh. iii. 25. x. 58.

*Water-gate*, Neh. xii. 37, so called, because the waters that flowed from Etam into the Temple, descending into the valley betwixt the Temple and Acra; and perhaps those of Bethesda, constantly supplied by an aqueduct from Siloam, ran by this gate into the brook Kidron, ii. 58, 59. x. 84. 348, 349.

*Ophel*, was rather a building than a tower, south of the Water-gate and the Horse-gate, x. 57—59. 345.

*Horse-gate*, Neh. iii. 27, perhaps the same with the East-gate, Jer. xix. 2, was south of Ophel, and led into the valley of Hinnom, x. 59. 80, 81.

*Miphkad-gate*, the vulgar call it 'the Gate of Judgment,' nor far from the south-east corner, x. 59.

*Kidron Valley*, so called from the brook, which had its name from black-

ness, or 'Kedar,' dung, ran from the east, embracing Sion on the north, appearing then broader, xii. 396, 397.

*Hinnom Valley*, so called from sbrick-ing, or Tophet, so called because of the drums or tabors, was a great part of Kidron, largely so called, ran south, bending to the west; and both of them met at the Horse-gate, ii. 265, ix. 221. x. 59. 79, 80. 84.

*Camp of the Assyrians*, was betwixt Coath and the Horse-gate in the valley of Hinnom, which was called the valley of Carcases, Jer. xxxi. 40, because the Assyrians fell there, ix. 231. x. 73.

*Olivet*, Mount, faced Jerusalem and the Temple, and Sion upon the east, winding likewise northward, so as that it faced Sion also something upon the north. It is called the Mount of Corruption, 2 Kings xxiii. 13, because of Solomon's idolatry, ix. 221. See *Olivet*, in the general table.

*Aeldama*, if as now shewn, was in the Valley of Hinnom, or thereabout, viii. 367.

*Gardens* round, without the walls of Jerusalem, x. 84.

### The City Jerusalem.

*Jerusalem* was built upon two hills, Sion and Acra, confronting each other with a valley betwixt, in which the buildings of both did meet; over against which, east, was a third called Moriah, x. 47, 48.

*Sion*, or 'the upper city' (which was upon a higher hill than the lower), was the north part of Jerusalem, but winding west, so that part of it was west of the Temple. It reached not east so far as Acra, ix. 223.

*Bezetha*, where Sion fell short of the east, it was filled up with Bezetha, which was situated north over against Antonia, and divided from it by a deep ditch, x. 53, 54.

*Kainopolis*, or 'the new city,' did with Bezetha fill up the city east; it was lower than Bezetha. In this was a wool market, and a market of garments, and shops, x. 53, 54.

*Millo*, was a part of Sion, on the west side betwixt David's city and the Temple, which it was just west of, and where Jerusalem, particularly so called, and Sion met; it was replenished with buildings, and taken in as a part of the suburbs of Sion, but parted by a wall from it, in which was a gate, ix. 228, 229. x. 53, 54. 343.

*King's Stables* were west of Moriah, in Millo, before the gate Parbar, ix. 229.

### Buildings in Sion.

In it was the palace, court, and city of David, ix. 214.

*King's Court*, it was joined to the Hippick or Horse Tower, and Xystus on the inside, and to the northern wall without. It stood in the north-east corner, x. 49—51. 58, 59. To this the gate Shallecheth led, which was the most northern of the west gates of the Mountain of the House. And there was a causeway betwixt them, 1 Chron. xxvi. 6. (the valley being filled up betwixt for the passage) which was the most renowned ascent made by Solomon, for the better going up to the Temple, ix. 227, &c.

*Asmonean's House*, was in the farther part of the upper city, somewhat above the Xystus, x. 49.

*Xystus*, was an open gallery at the farthest end toward the east; a bridge led from thence to the Temple, and joined the Temple to Sion, x. 49.

*Court of the Prison*, was betwixt the corner of the wall, north-east, and the Water-gate, x. 50.

*Sparrow Pool*, just before Antonia, x. 73.

*Τυροποιῶν*, or 'the valley and street of Tyropœi cheesemongers' (the most noted street of the city), ran east and west betwixt Sion and Acra. The entrance into it probably was at the Horse-gate east, and so onward to the west, x. 54. 72.

*Acra*, bore upon it the lower town, properly called Jerusalem. It was naturally steep, and higher than Moriah, but was much levelled, and had the valley betwixt them filled up by the Asmoneans, that the Temple might overtop the buildings upon Acra, and that the coming from the city to the Temple might be more easy, ix. 223, &c. x. 48. 52.

*Archivum*, or 'repository for records.' In it were the Council-house, Siloam Tower, and Ophel, &c. x. 52.

*Moriah*, or 'the mountain of the Lord's house' was compassed by the city like a theatre, was in the second Temple, by several fillings up, made a perfect square of five hundred cubits on every side, and two thousand in the whole, and was enclosed in a wall, all within which was taken in for holy ground. It faced Olivet on the east, Jerusalem on the south, and Sion on the north, ix. 213, &c. x. 60. Moriah was part in one tribe, part in another; the most part of the courts in Judah; the altar, porch, Temple, and holy place, in Benjamin, ix. 214, &c. x. 44, 45. 52.

*Antonia*, 'the mountain of the house,

had some space in the north without the wall, and there stood the castle Antonia, joining to the west angle, and so was on the north-west part of Moriah. It was two furlongs in compass, and the rock it stood upon, was fifty cubits high, and steep, ix. 235—237.

*The Mountain of the House*, on the side it faced Jerusalem or Acra, had the gates called the gates of Huldah, in equal distance from the angles of the two walls east and west. To the west it had four gates, viz. Shallecheth, Parbar, Coponius,

&c. To the west the little gate Tedi; to the east, the gate Shushan, ix. 224.

*The Temple and Courts* were not just in the middle of the mount, ix. 244, &c.

*Temple Street*. The Temple was not on the wall, for there was a street betwixt that and the wall called the Temple Street, Ezra x. 9, and the East-street, 2 Chron. xxix. 4, which led through the Water-gate to Kidron, through which the priest went to burn the red heifer, and into which our Saviour came with Hosannahs, x. 71. 218.

# INDEX

OF

## TEXTS ILLUSTRATED.

[This Index, and the Appendix at page 319, are taken from the English folio edition: a *more copious* Index of Texts, unaccompanied by comment, has been drawn up for this Edition.—See p. 321.—ED.]

- | Chap.                        | GENESIS.   | Chap.        | EXODUS.  |
|------------------------------|--|--------------|--|
| i. 1, &c.                    | Some passages of the creation, ii. 71.   | i. 19.       | The midwives said unto Pharaoh, The Hebrew women are, &c. vii. 209.  |
| i. 2.                        | The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, viii. 375.  | i. 21.       | God, made them houses, ii. 109.  |
| iii. 15.                     | I will put enmity between thee and the woman, vii. 61. The seed of the woman shall bruise, &c. iv. 69.   | iii. 6.      | As quoted in Luke, xx. 37, cleared, ii. 358.   |
| iii. 21.                     | Unto Adam and his wife did the Lord make coats of skin, vii. 382.  | iv. 24.      | The Lord met Moses, and sought to kill him, vi. 276.   |
| iv. 7.                       | If thou dost not well, sin lies at the door, vi. 315, vii. 209.  | viii. 9.     | 'Glory over me,' what, ii. 367.  |
| v. 5. 8. 11. 14. 17. 20. 27. | And he died, ii. 82.   | viii. 19.    | This is the finger of God, vii. 209.   |
| vi. 2.                       | The sons of God, &c. ii. 78. iv. 12.   | xii. 6.      | Kill it between the two evenings, ix. 137.   |
| vi. 3.                       | My Spirit shall not always strive with man, vii. 309.  | xii. 35, 36. | Borrowing Egyptian jewels, though not to be restored, no sin, ii. 377.                                     |
| viii. 22.                    | Day and night shall no more cease, ii. 80, 81.   | xv. 25.      | The decree at Marah, what, ii. 378.  |
| x. 18.                       | The Canaanites were dispersed, x. 267.   | xvii. 16.    | The Lord will have war with Amalek, x. 192.  |
| x. 19.                       | The borders of the Canaanites, x. 267.   | xx. 5.       | Visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, vi. 403. unto the fourth generation, xi. 13.     |
| xi. 26.                      | ——— begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran, ii. 88.   | xxiii. 17.   | 'Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord;' at what age this was to be, ix. 360. |
| xiv. 5.                      | Chedorlaomer and the kings smote, &c. x. 281.  | xxviii. 30.  | Thou shalt put in the breast-plate of judgment, the Urim and Thummim, vi. 279.                             |
| xxii. 6. 9.                  | This was a type of what Christ did, iii. 164.  | xxx. 13.     | Half a shekel for redemption, iii. 104.  |
| xxxii. 2.                    | Mahanaim, iv. 60.  | xxxii. 27.   | Put every man his sword by his side, and slay, &c. vi. 306. vii. 358.                                      |
| xxxv. 2.                     | 'Be clean;' put for baptism, iv. 278.  | xxxiv. 14.   | The Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God, vii. 353.   |
| xxxvii. x.                   | 'I and thy mother;' whereas the mother was dead, iv. 233.  |              |  |
| xlvi. 27.                    | Children that were born to Joseph, &c. xii. 56. All the souls were threescore and ten, compared and reconciled with Acts vii. 14. Threescore and fifteen, viii. 421. Seventy souls, Acts, vii. 14. Seventy-five souls reconciled, iv. 328. |              |  |
| xlix. 17.                    | Dan shall be a serpent by the way, vii. 221.   |              |  |
| xlix. 22.                    | A fruitful bough by a well, v. 90, 91.   |              |  |
| xlix. 27.                    | Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf, understood of the altar, ix. 395.  |              |  |

### LEVITICUS.

- xiii. 46. He that is a leper, shall dwell alone, &c. xii. 170.
- xix. 17. Thou shalt not hate thy brother, &c. xi. 242.
- xxxiii. 10, 11. On the morrow of the Sabbath, the priest shall wave, &c. xi. 185. xii. 276.



- Chap. NUMBERS.
- v. 17. Dust that is in the floor of the Tabernacle, that was to be put into the waters of jealousy, whence taken, ix. 279.
- x. 35. Nun, the Hebrew letter, writ the wrong way, what, ii. 127.
- xiii. 24. Language of Ashdod, what, x. 336.
- xiv. 33, 34. Wander forty years, ii. 144.
- xv. 27, 28. If any soul, through ignorance, &c. but the soul that doth aught presumptuously, &c. vi. 336.
- xxii. 5. He sent messengers to Balaam, the son of Beor, to Pethor, reconciled with 2 Peter, ii. 15, Son of Bosor, vii. 8, 9.
- xxiv. 8. He shall eat up the nations, &c. iii. 47.
- xxiv. 24. Chittim, put for Italy, or Rome, iii. 349. Shall afflict Asshur-Eber. Accomplished, iii. 25. Ships shall come from the coast of Chittim, vii. 55.
- xxxiii. 49. They camped near Jordan from Beth Jeshimoth unto Abel Shittim, x. 96.
- xxxiii. 31, 32. They departed from Moseroth, &c. and Deut. x. 6, 7, 8, compared and reconciled, ii. 136.
- DEUTERONOMY.
- i. 26, 27, 34, 35, &c. The guilt of foregoing men laid upon these, ii. 135.
- ii. 23. Hazerim, x. 193.
- vii. 22. Thou must not consume the nations at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee, vii. 169.
- viii. 3. By every thing that cometh out of the mouth, iv. 347.
- ix. 21. I took your sin, the calf which you had made, vii. 357.
- x. 6, 7, 8. Took their journey from Beeroth, &c. and Numb. xxxiii. 31, 32, &c. compared and reconciled, ii. 136, 137.
- xi. 30. 'Gilgal,' what, x. 162, 163.
- xvi. 2. Thou shalt sacrifice the passover of thy flocks and of thine herds, xi. 447. xii. 404.
- xvi. 6. Sacrifice the Passover at even, vii. 8. Thou shalt turn in the morning and go unto thy tents, xii. 42.
- xvi. 16. They shall not appear before the Lord empty, xi. 445.
- xvii. 15. Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, iii. 137.
- xviii. 15. About 'the prophet that was to come,' iv. 405, 406.
- xviii. 18. 'A prophet,' for a succession of prophets, iii. 101.

- Chap.
- xxi. 23. His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, xi. 356.
- xxii. 8. When thou buildest a new house, thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, &c. ix. 257.
- xxiv. 4. Her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife, xii. 493.
- xxvii. 4. The Samaritan text upon this place, noted, x. 338.
- xxxii. 8. When the Most High divided the nations, &c. xii. 58.
- xxxii. 22. To the lowermost hell, &c. xi. 303.
- xxxii. 29. O that they were wise, that they understood this, &c. vii. 290.
- xxxiii. 25. Thy shoes shall be iron and brass, x. 178.

## JOSHUA.

- viii. 33. Stood over against Mount Gerizim, &c. xi. 96.
- xv. 1. Edom, rendered *אדום* Rome, x. 195.
- xviii. 12. Very many versions to be corrected, which render *ב* the sea, x. 41.
- xix. 33, 34. The outgoings of the border was to Jordan, x. 136.
- xix. 35. Rakkath, — Chammath, x. 138.
- xxiv. 19. Ye cannot serve the Lord, &c. vii. 211.

## JUDGES.

- iv. 5. Between Ramah and Bethel, in Mount Ephraim, x. 43.
- v. 8. They choose new gods, then was war in the gates.—Was there shield or spear seen among forty thousand in Israel, vi. 278.
- vii. 3. 'Let him return early from Mount Gilead,' a difficult place, x. 303.
- vii. 24. Beth-barah, what, x. 310, 311, 314, 315.
- x. 6, 7, 8. 'Eighteen years;' when the eighteen years began, ii. 158.

## RUTH.

- i. 1. It came to pass in the days, when the judges judged, &c. These words are inverted by the Jewish commentators, vi. 369.

## I. SAMUEL.

- iii. 3. Ere the lamp of God went out in the Temple of the Lord, ix. 284, 285.
- vii. 2. 'Twenty years;' when it was above forty years, viii. 67.
- xxii. 6. Saul abroad in Gibeah, under a tree in Ramah, x. 87.

## II. SAMUEL.

- ii. 8. Ishbosheth the son of Saul, vii. 35.

- Chap.  
 ix. 10. Bring the fruits, that thy master's son may have food to eat. Thy master's son shall always eat bread at my table,—reconciled, vii. 204.  
 xi. 21. The son of Jerubbesheth, vii. 356.  
 xiv. 8, 9, 10. The iniquity be on me, &c. ii. 184.  
 xviii. 8. The wood devoured more people, &c. vii. 169.  
 xx. 18. They shall surely ask counsel of Abel; and so they ended the matter, x. 290.  
 xxiv. 1. And the Lord moved David, and 1 Chron. xxi. 1, compared, ii. 190.  
 xxiv. 9. And there were in Israel eight hundred thousand, and 1 Chron. xxii. 5. reconciled, ii. 190.  
 xxiv. 13. Shall seven years' famine, and 1 Chron. xxiv. 12, reconciled, ii. 191.

I. KINGS.

- i. 1. David was decrepit, and on his bed, at Solomon's first crowning, but in the midst of his commanders, 1 Chron. xxiii. 1, at his second crowning, reconciled, ii. 192, 193.  
 iv. 12. And all Bethshan, x. 312.  
 vii. 15. Two pillars of brass of eighteen cubits high apiece; and Jer. lii. 21, reconciled with 2 Chron. iii. 15.: ii. 297. ix. 267, 268.  
 vii. 16. The height of one chapter was five cubits, &c. and 2 Kings, xvii. reconciled, ii. 297. ix. 268.  
 vii. 18. The chapters were above the pomegranates,—explained, ix. 269, 270.  
 vii. 19. And the chapters that were upon the top of the pillars were of lily-work, in the porch, four cubits, ix. 271.  
 vii. 20. The pomegranates were two hundred, in rows round about, and Jer. lii. 23, which says, that there were ninety and six pomegranates, on a side, reconciled,—ix. 270.  
 vii. 23. 26. The brazen sea contained two thousand baths; but in 2 Chron. iv. 5, it is said that it contained three thousand,—reconciled, ix. 429.  
 vii. 46. The plains of Jordan, x. 312.  
 viii. 64. The same day did Solomon hallo the middle of the court, that was before the house of the Lord, ix. 391.  
 ix. 13. The land of Cabul, x. 231.  
 ix. 18. Tadmor, what place, x. 17.  
 xiv. 20. xv. 25. Reconciled, iv. 104.  
 xv. 28. 33. 2 Chron. xvi. 1, reconciled, iv. 104.  
 xvi. 23. 29. Reconciled, iv. 105.  
 xvii. 1. xviii. 1. The years, and Luke, iv. 25, compared, reconciled, v. 138.

- Chap.  
 xxii. 51. Ahaziah began to reign in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, and 2 Kings, i. 17, he died in the second year of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat,—reconciled with 2 Kings, viii. 16. 2. Chron. xxi. 1. iv. 105, 106.

II. KINGS.

- i. 17. iii. 1. And xxii. 51, reconciled with viii. 16, and 2 Chron. xxi. 1. iv. 105, 106.  
 viii. 16. And 2 Chron. xxi. 1, reconciled with i. 7, and iii. 1, and xxii. 51. iv. 105, 106.  
 viii. 17. And 2 Chron. xxii. 1, 2, reconciled, iv. 106.  
 viii. 26. ix. 29. Reconciled, iv. 106, 107.  
 xi. 6. The gate Sur, where situate, ix. 325. 327.  
 xi. 8. Ranges, what, ix. 327.  
 xi. 16. She went by the way by which the horses came, into the king's house, distinguished from Neh. iii. 28, and Jer. xxxi. 40. ix. 229.  
 xii. 9. Took a chest, and set it beside the altar, 2 Chron. xxiv. 8. They made a chest, and set it without, reconciled, ix. 374.  
 xii. 13. Howbeit, there were not made vessels of gold, or vessels of silver, of the money, 2 Chron. xxiv. 14. They brought the rest of the money, whereof were made vessels of gold and silver, reconciled, ix. 374.  
 xv. 30. 33. Reconciled, iv. 108.  
 xv. 35. The higher gate of the Lord, what, ix. 321.  
 xv. 27. 33. In the two-and-fiftieth year of Ahaziah,—reconciled, iv. 108.  
 xvi. 14. And he brought the brazen altar which was before the Lord, and put it on the north side of the altar, ix. 407.  
 xxiii. 4. The priests of the second orders, xii. 48.  
 xxiv. 8, 9. Jehoiachim reigned three months; and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, compared and reconciled, ii. 288.  
 xxv. 5. Plains of Jericho, x. 90.  
 xxv. 17. And the height of one pillar was eighteen cubits; and 1 Kings vii. 15, and Jer. lii. 21, reconciled, ix. 267, 268. Of the height of the chapters, &c. reconciled with 1 Kings vii. 16, and Jer. lii. 22. ii. 297. ix. 268.

I. CHRONICLES.

- i. 36. The song of Eliphaz, &c. xii. 60.  
 vii. 20. Children of Ephraim, &c. viii. 422.  
 vii. 21. 'Born in the land,' i. e. in Egypt, ii. 107.

- Chap.  
xxi. 1. Compared with 2 Sam. xxiv. 1: ii. 190.  
xxi. 1. 5. 12. Satan; 1,100,000 men; three years' famine; compared and reconciled with 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. 9. 13. ii. 190, 191.  
xxiii. 1. When David was old, he made Solomon king; reconciled with 1 Kings, 1 ch. ii. 193.

## II. CHRONICLES.

- iii. 9. He overlaid the upper chambers with gold, ix. 292.  
iii. 15. Two pillars, thirty-five cubits high; reconciled with 2 Kings vii. 15, and xxv. 17. Jer. lii. 21. ii. 297. ix. 267.  
iv. 5. The brazen sea contained three thousand baths; but in 1 Kings vii. 23. 26, it is two thousand; reconciled, ix. 429.  
xvi. 1. In the six-and-thirtieth year, and 1 Kings, xiii. 28. 33, reconciled, iv. 104.  
xxi. 1. Reconciled with 2 Kings, i. 17, &c. iii. 1; and 1 Kings xxii. 5, 2 Kings viii. 16. iv. 105, 106.  
xxi. 20. xxii. 1. Ahaziah two years older than his father,—reconciled, iv. 106.  
xxii. 8, 9. About the death of Ahaziah; compared and reconciled with 2 Kings ix. 27. ii. 228, 229.  
xxiii. 5. Gate of the foundation, what, ix. 325. 327.  
xxiii. 15. Horse-gate, distinct from that mentioned Neh. iii. 28. Jer. xxxi. 29. ix. 229.  
xxiv. 8. 14. Made a chest, and set it at the gate of the house of the Lord; reconciled with 2 Kings xii. 9. ix. 374.  
xxvii. 3. He built the high-gate of the Lord's house, ix. 321.  
xxxv. iii. Put the holy ark in the house which Solomon, the son of David, did build, ix. 296.  
xxxvi. 9. 'Jehoiachim reigned three months and ten days;' compared and reconciled with 2 Kings xxiv. 8, 9. ii. 288.

## EZRA.

- ii. 9. And Neh. vii. 7 differ much, ii. 326.  
ii. 64. Reconciled with what goes before, iii. 52.  
vi. 4. With three rows of great stones, ix. 250.

## NEHEMIAH.

- iii. 28. The Horse-gate distinct from that mentioned 2 Kings xi. 11, 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. ix. 229.  
vii. And Ezra ii. differ much, ii. 326.

- Chap. ESTHER.  
ix. 21. Fourteenth and fifteenth day of the month Adar, &c. x. 175.

## JOB.

- i. Beginning several things, ii. 109.  
i. 6. And Gen. vi. 2. 'Sons of God,' what, iv. 12.  
xix. 25. I know that my Redeemer liveth, xii. 554.

## PSALMS.

- ii. 6, 7, &c. David and Christ designed, ii. 180.  
iv. The occasion and scope, ii. 188.  
ix. Penned upon the victory over Goliath, ii. 167.  
xxxiv. A most accurate acrostic, ii. 170.  
xxxvii. 28. The seed of the wicked shall be cut off, xi. 13.  
xlii. 6. The hill Mizaar, x. 331.  
xlii. xliii. Made on the banks of Jordan, when David fled from Absalom, ii. 186, 187.  
xlii. 22. We are killed all the day long, x. 355.  
xlviii. 2. Mount Sion on the north side; compared with Ezek. xl. 2. x. 48.  
xlix. 12. Man being in honour abideth not, &c. vii. 374.  
l. 16, 17. But to the wicked God said, What hast thou to do, &c. vii. 229.  
lvi. The occasion, ii. 169.  
lvi. 12. Thy vows, O Lord, are upon me, vii. 164.  
lviii. Penned upon David's not destroying Nabal, ii. 172.  
lx. When composed, ii. 181.  
lx. 6. Measuring the valley of Succoth, what, ii. 180.  
lxxviii. Made upon the removal of the ark, ii. 179.  
lxxviii. 20. He smote the rock, and the waters gushed out, xii. 422.  
49. He cast upon them the fierceness of his anger, &c. by sending evil angels among them, vi. 312.  
lxxxii. 6. 'I have said, Ye are gods;' ridiculously interpreted by the Jews, xii. 345.  
lxxxvii. 4. I will make mention of Rahab and of Babylon to them that know me, vii. 12.  
lxxxviii. lxxxix. The oldest writings the world hath penned under Israel's afflictions in Egypt, ii. 109.  
cii. 25. Thou, Lord, in the beginning, hast founded the earth, xii. 554.  
cv. 28. They rebelled not against his word, ii. 372.  
cviii. Made upon Abisha's victory of 18,000, ii. 181.

- Chap.  
 cx. 3. Thy people shall be a willing people in the day of thy power, vi. 357. viii. 383. 470.  
 cx. 9. He commanded his covenant for ever, vi. 281.  
 cxviii. 22. The stone which the builders rejected, viii. 393. The stone which the builders refused, viii. 73.  
 cxviii. 24. The day which the Lord hath made, xi. 358.  
 cxviii. 27. Bind the sacrifices with cords to the horns of the altar, ix. 398.  
 cxx, &c. 'Psalms of Degrees,' why so called, ii. 269.  
 cxxxii. 6. We heard of it in Ephrata, we found it in the fields of the wood, x. 89.  
 cxxxvi. The whole durableness of God's mercy; mentioned twenty-six times, and why, ii. 133.

## PROVERBS.

- vi. 26. The precious life, vii. 138.  
 xx. 25. It is a snare for a man to devour that which is holy, vii. 163.

## ECCLESIASTES.

- ii. 5. The Targumist upon it noted, x. 347.  
 v. 5. It is better that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay, vii. 163.  
 xii. 1. Remember thy creator, &c. iv. 316.  
 xii. 11. The words of the wise are as goads, xii. 338.

## ISAIAH.

- i. 10. Sodom put for Jerusalem, x. 43.  
 ii. 2. 'The last days' compared with Acts ii. 17; 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 1 Joh. ii. 18; 1 Cor. x. 11; 1 Pet. iv. 7; and interpreted of the end of the Jewish state, vi. 292, 293.  
 ii. 4. They shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, &c.; and Isa. xi. 6, reconciled with Matth. x. 34, 35; Luke, xii. 51, 52. vi. 229. 267. Neither shall they learn war, xii. 334.  
 iii. 16. Making a tinkling with their feet, xii. 361.  
 vi. 1. I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, xii. 372.  
 vii. 8. 'Within sixty-five years,' &c. this was fulfilled, when Samaria was planted with foreigners, ii. 244. 271.  
 vii. 14. A virgin shall conceive and bear a son, xi. 20.

- Chap.  
 viii. 6. Waters of Siloah that go softly, x. 54.  
 ix. 1. Fully explained, compared, and harmonized with Matt. iv. 15; iv. 142. 146. Nevertheless the dimness shall not be such, vii. 210. Land of Zebulun and of Naphtali, xi. 85.  
 x. 9. 11, &c. xiv. 28. Compared and reconciled, ii. 256.  
 x. 33, 34. The more ancient Jews understood it of the destruction of their state near the coming of Christ, iv. 266. 'Lebanon shall fall,' &c. xii. 355.  
 xi. 1. A rod out of the stem of Jesse, xii. 355.  
 xi. 4. 'Man of sin' taken from this place, He shall slay the wicked, iii. 231, 232.  
 xi. 9. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, and Isa. ii. 4. reconciled with Matt. x. 34, 35. Luke xii. 51, 52; vi. 229. 267.  
 xix. 23, 24, 25. Israel shall be third with Egypt and Assyria, vi. 216. vii. 7. 12.  
 xxi. 7. 9. Different chariots against Babel, ii. 309.  
 xxvi. 19. Thy dead men shall live; together with my dead body shall they arise, xii. 367. And compared with John v. 20. Ephes. ii. 1. vi. 357.  
 xxviii. 11, 12, 13. The accomplishment in Acts iii: 19. viii. 64.  
 xxviii. 16. I lay in Sion a foundation, a stone, &c. xi. 225.  
 xl. iii. 'Wilderness,' for heathen world, x. 202.  
 liii. 4. Surely he hath borne our griefs, &c.; reconciled with Matt. viii. 17. xi. 159.  
 liii. 4, 5. The ancient Jews say it speaks of Christ; reconciled to the gospel quotations, v. 185.  
 liii. 7. He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, viii. 447.  
 liii. 8. Who shall declare his generation, vi. 371.  
 liii. 10. It pleased the Lord to bruise him and put him to grief, vii. 235.  
 liv. 13. All thy children shall be taught of the Lord, vi. 257.  
 lv. 3. Hear, and your souls shall live, &c.; even the sure mercies of David, vii. 192.  
 lvi. 1. Keep judgment, and do justice, vi. 376. Bonnd—to captives, Luke, iv. 18, blind—bruised; compared and reconciled, v. 131. 135.  
 lxiii. 4. The day of vengeance is in my heart, &c. xi. 424.

Chap.

- lxiii. 8. Children that will not lie; compared with John, i. 47. xii. 238.  
 lxxv. 11. That prepare a table for that troop, x. 214.  
 lxxv. 13. Behold my servants shall eat, but they shall be hungry, xii. 293.  
 lxxv. 17. I create a new heaven and a new earth, vi. 294, xi. 303. xii. 434.  
 lxxv. 20. There shall be no more thence an infant of days, vi. 287.  
 lxxvi. 7, 8. Before she travailed, she brought forth; before her pain came, she was delivered, &c. xi. 302.  
 lxxvi. 20. They shall bring their brethren, &c. xi. 408.  
 lxxvi. 21. I will take of them for priests and Levites, saith the Lord, vi. 225.  
 lxxvi. 24. Their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, x. 81. xi. 407.

## JEREMIAH.

- ii. 31. See the Word of the Lord, vi. 398.  
 iv. 23. Earth without form, &c. xi. 303.  
 x. 11. The place is Chaldean language; and why, iii. 248.  
 xx. 2. Then Pashur smote Jeremiah the prophet, and put him in the stocks; in the house of the Lord, ix. 362, 363.  
 xxv. 10. Sound of millstone, and light of candle, put for the feast of circumcision, iv. 183.  
 xxvi. 10. The New-gate, what, ix. 321.  
 xxvi. 11, 12. Compared with Zech. i. 12.  
 xxix. 10. Seventy years will be shewed to differ, ii. 319, 320.  
 xxxi. 34. They shall teach no more every man his neighbour; for they shall all know me, vi. 286, 287.  
 xxxi. 40. The Horse-gate, distinct from that mentioned, 2 Kings, xi. 16. 2 Chron. xxxv. 15. ix. 229.  
 xxxv. 4. Which was by the chamber of the princes; what is meant by 'princes,' ix. 243.  
 xxxvi. 10. The New-gate, what, ix. 321.  
 xl. 1. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, ii. 302.  
 li. 36. 42. 'Sea,' for multitude of people, iii. 339.  
 lii. 21. The height of one pillar was eighteen cubits; reconciled with 2 Chron. iii. 15. ii. 297. ix. 267.  
 lii. 22. The chapter was five cubits; but 2 Kings, xxv. 17, it is said to be three cubits; reconciled, ii. 297.  
 lii. 23. There were ninety and six pome-

Chap.

- granates on a side; and 1 Kings, vii. 20. that says there were two hundred; reconciled, ix. 270.  
 lii. 28, 29. About the years of Nebuchadnezzar's captivating the Jews; a difficulty explained, ii. 299, 300.

## EZEKIEL.

- viii. 3. 5. Image of jealousy, what, ix. 364.  
 viii. 14. Weeping for Tammuz, ix. 365.  
 viii. 17. They put the branch to their nose, xii. 387.  
 xv. 2. What is the vine-tree more to me than any tree, &c. xii. 387.  
 xxvii. 17. Wheat of Mennith and Pannag, viii. 455.  
 xxxviii. 18. Concerning Gog, and the land of Magog, vii. 66. ii. 17.  
 xlii. 20. The square here is spiritual and mystical, ix. 217.  
 xliv. 2. This gate shall be shut, and no man shall enter in by it; what gate, ix. 279.  
 xlvi. 21, 22. In the four corners of the court; there were courts joined, ix. 306.  
 xlvi. 23. The new building was made with boiling-places, ix. 308.  
 xlvii. 1, &c. 'Living waters,' what the phrase alludes to, ix. 350.

## DANIEL.

- vii. 9. Thrones were cast down, &c. xi. 253.  
 vii. 10. The judgment was set, &c. xi. 253.  
 vii. 13, 14. Kingdom of heaven, xi. 49.  
 vii. 18. 26, 27. The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, &c. vi. 259. iii. 241.  
 vii. 24. The ten horns are ten kings that shall arise, vi. 213.  
 vii. 25. A time and times, and the dividing of times, vi. 213.  
 viii. 13. That certain saints, &c. vii. 223.  
 ix. 24. Seventy years, &c. xi. 53.  
 ix. 27. He shall confirm the covenant, &c. xi. 53.  
 xii. 2. A testimony for Christ's raising the dead at the general judgment, v. 262.  
 xii. 2. Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake, vi. 316.

## HOSEA.

- i. 2. Three Hoseas, ii. 236.  
 iii. 5. 'In the later days;' compared with Acts ii. 17.; 1 Tim. iv. 1.; 2 Tim. iii. 1.; 1 John ii. 18.; 1 Cor. x. 11.; 1 Pet. iv. 7.; and interpreted of 'the end of the Jewish state,' vi. 292, 293.

Chap.

- iv. 8. They eat up the sin of my people, vii. 209.  
 v. 1. Ye have been a snare; and a net, iv. 258.  
 v. 11. Ephraim is oppressed, &c.; because he willingly walked after the commandment, vi. 342.  
 viii. 12. I have written to him the great things of my law, &c. vii. 175.

AMOS.

- iii. 2. You have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities, vii. 174.  
 iv. 3. And ye shall go out at the breaches, viii. 435.  
 v. 18. 'Woe to you that desire the day of the Lord,' reconciled with chap. vi. 3. vi. 387.  
 v. 25. Have ye offered unto me, viii. 430.  
 v. 26. Moloch—Chum—Remphan—and Acts vii. 43. collated and harmonized, viii. 115.  
 v. 26. The tabernacle of Moloch, &c. compared and harmonized with Luke vii. 43. viii. 431. 434.  
 vi. 3. 'Woe to you that put the evil day far away,' reconciled with chap. v. 18.: vi. 387.

OBADIAH.

- ver. 3. Dwellest in the clefts of the rocks, iv. 264.  
 20. Zerephath, x. 291.

HAGGAI.

- ii. 9. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, xii. 251.

ZECHARIAH.

- i. 12. And Jer. xxv. 11, 12, &c. xxix. 10. seventy years shewed to differ, ii. 319, 320.  
 xi. 1, 2, 3. 6, 7, 8. 10. 14. Concerning the great Shepherd, xii. 333, 334.  
 xi. 7. Beauty and bands, iii. 117.  
 xi. 8. Three shepherds, &c. interpreted of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, vi. 217. 351.  
 xii. 11. Hadad Rimmon, *i. e.* 'The sad shout of Rimmon,' and why, ii. 149.  
 xiv. 4. Mount of Olives, cleave in the middle, iii. 135.  
 xiv. 16. Somewhat explained, iii. 132.  
 xiv. 16, 17. It shall come to pass, that every one that is left of all the nations, &c. xi. 34.

MALACHI.

- i. 2, 3. Was not Esau Jacob's brother, ii. 95.

Chap.

- iii. 1, 2, 3. Fulfilled by Christ, iii. 45. iv. 462.  
 iv. 5. Behold, I will send Elijah, xii. 19, &c.

MATTHEW.

- i. 17. 'Fourteen generations,' &c. thrice said, but squares not exactly, vindicated, xi. 16.  
 ii. 6. Bethlehem, in the land of Judea, Bethlehem Ephrata, Mic. v. 2. reconciled, iv. 224, &c.  
 ii. 6. 'Art not the least; though thou be little;' reconciled, iv. 227.  
 iii. 5. The region about Jordan, x. 90. x. 205.  
 iii. 7. Who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come, vi. 405.  
 iii. 11. I indeed baptize you, &c. and Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. harmonized, iv. 272, 273.  
 iv. 15. The land of Zebulun, &c. compared and harmonized with Isa. ix. 1. v. 142. 146.  
 iv. 15. Beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles, x. 279.  
 v. 22. Raca, what, iv. 27, 28.  
 vi. 1. What the Latin translation of it, iv. 59.  
 vi. 5. Jewish hypocritical prayer re-proved, iv. 70.  
 vi. 9. After this manner pray ye, vi. 423.  
 viii. 17. Himself took our infirmities, reconciled with Isa. liii. 4. xi. 159.  
 viii. 18 to 22. And Luke ix. 57 to 62.; Matthew speaks of two, Luke of three, that would follow Christ; whether the same story, iii. 83.  
 viii. 28. Two possessed with devils; and Luke viii. 27. reconciled, iii. 84.  
 viii. 28. The country of the Gergesenes, reconciled with Mark v. 1. x. 143.  
 x. 5. Into any city of the Samaritans do not enter, iii. 192.  
 x. 5. Go not into the way of the Gentiles, xi. 360.  
 x. 9, 10. No money in your purses, iv. 463. ix. 121.  
 x. 29, 30. The hairs of your head are numbered, vii. 226.  
 x. 34, 35. 'Think not that I am come to send peace on earth;' reconciled with Isa. ii. 4. & xi. 6. vi. 228. 267.  
 xi. 23. O, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, &c. iii. 88.  
 xii. 5. Priests in the Temple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless, ix. 145.  
 xii. 32. It shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come, vi. 335.

- Chap.  
xii. 40. 'Three days and three nights,' whereas it was but two nights, one whole day, and two small parts of two more; reconciled, iii. 169.
- xii. 43, 44, 45. 'When the unclean spirit is gone out of, &c. even so shall it be to this wicked generation;' meant of the apostasy of the Jews from Christianity, vi. 231. 338, 339.
- xv. 22. A woman of Canaan, reconciled with Mark vii. 26.: xi. 221.
- xv. 39. Coasts of Magdala, reconciled with Mark viii. 10.: x. 225.
- xvi. 28. Shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom, vi. 293. xii. 433.
- xviii. 12. 'Ninety-nine and one,' a Jewish speech, iii. 106.
- xviii. 17. Let him be to thee as a heathen or a publican, vi. 341.
- xviii. 18. 'Binding and loosing,' what, iii. 99.
- xix. 28. Ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel, vi. 259.
- xx. 1, &c. Labourers in the vineyard, iii. 123.
- xx. 30. Two blind men, &c. and Mark x. 46. reconciled, iii. 84.
- xxi. 12. Overthrew the money-changers, iii. 45.
- xxi. 14. Came to him in the Temple, ix. 301.
- xxi. 19. No figs, but leaves; why was the fig-tree cursed, when as it was not time for figs, x. 176. xi. 264. 269.
- xxi. 21. 'Remove mountains,' what, iii. 135.
- xxi. 38. The husbandmen, seeing the son, said among themselves, 'this is the heir, let us kill him,' &c. viii. 395.
- xxiii. 2. Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair, v. 208.
- xxiii. 2, 3. The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do, vi. 219. 304.
- xxiii. 2, 4, 7, 9, 19, 23, 27, 29. Illustrated from the Jewish writers, iii. 138, 139.
- xxiii. 35. Zacharias, son of Barachias, ix. 416.
- xxiv. 7. With what goes before and follows after, iii. 379.
- xxiv. 7, 8, 9. 'Nation shall rise against nation,' &c. reconciled with Luke xxi. 12.: iii. 319, 320.
- xxiv. 14. Then shall the end come, iii. 315.
- xxiv. 15. Abomination of Desolation, iii. 325.
- xxiv. 16. Flee into the mountains, iii. 326.
- Chap.  
xxiv. 22, 24. For the elect sake; deceive the very elect, vii. 11.
- xxiv. 29, 30. The sun shall be darkened, &c.; then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven, vi. 293. vii. 123.
- xxiv. 29, 30, 31. The terrible things mentioned here, and in the whole chapter, denote the destruction of Jerusalem; rejection and misery of the Jewish nation demonstrated, iii. 141.
- xxv. 33. He shall set the sheep on his right hand, &c. ix. 339.
- xxvi. 6. And John, xiii. 1, 2. The suppers here mentioned were the same, however otherwise interpreted, xi. 318. 323. 336.
- xxvi. 29. Until that day, when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom, viii. 469.
- xxvi. 34. This night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice, vi. 317.
- xxvi. 64. Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, ix. 338.
- xxvi. 73. Thou art a Galilean, for thy speech bewrayeth thee, x. 159.
- xxvii. 6. It is not lawful to put it into the treasury, ix. 372.
- xxvii. 7. They bought with them the Potters' Field, and Acts i. 18. reconciled, viii. 37.
- xxvii. 9. Quotes Jeremy for Zachary, whence some question the purity of the text, easily resolved, iii. 157.
- xxvii. 33, 34. Vinegar to drink, mingled with gall, reconciled with Mark xv. 23.: xi. 348. xii. 416.
- xxvii. 45. And Luke xxiii. 47. reconciled, iv. 359.
- xxvii. 48. Put it on a reed, reconciled with John xix. 29.: xii. 418.
- xxvii. 51. The vail of the Temple was rent in twain, ix. 291.
- xxvii. 53. An observation, iii. 167.
- xxviii. 1. In the end of the Sabbath, viii. 41.
- xxviii. 19. Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, vi. 391; &c.

## MARK.

- i. 8. I have baptized, and Matt. iii. 11. Luke iii. 16. harmonized, iv. 274. 280.
- i. 40. Beseeching him, and kneeling to him, xi. 410.
- iii. 28, 29. All sins shall be forgiven, &c. but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, hath never forgiveness, vi. 408.
- v. 1. The country of the Gadaraes, re-

Chap.

- concoiled with Matt. viii. 28.: x. 143.
- vii. 26. A Greek, a Syrophænician by nation, reconciled with Matt. xv. 22. xi. 219.
- viii. 10. Parts of Dalmanutha, reconciled with Matt. xv. 29.: x. 225.
- viii. 33. Get thee behind me, Satan, iv. 374.
- ix. 23. All things are possible to him that believeth, iii. 135.
- x. 21. Jesus looked upon him, and loved him, xii. 378.
- x. 46. One blind man begging, and Matt. xx. 30. reconciled, iii. 84.
- xi. 13. Jesus looked for figs: and cursed the tree for having none, and the time of figs was not yet come, iii. 133.
- xi. 13. The time of figs not yet: why then was the fig-tree cursed for having no figs upon it, xi. 264. 269.
- xi. 25. Stand praying, xi. 137.
- xii. 7. This is the heir, come, let us kill him, xii. 353.
- xii. 41. The treasury, x. 208.
- xiii. 32. But of that day and hour knoweth no man, not the angels, neither the Son, but the Father, xi. 423. 425.
- xv. 23. Wine mingled with myrrh, reconciled with Matt. xxvii. 34. xi. 348.
- xv. 25. It was the third hour, and John xix. 14. 16. reconciled, iii. 161. xi. 444, &c.
- xv. 43. Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, ix. 356.
- xvi. 15. To every creature, iii. 174. Go ye, and preach the gospel to every creature, vii. 15.

LUKE.

- i. 80. John was in the deserts, xi. 45.
- iii. 16. I baptize you with water; and Matt. iii. 11. and Mark i. 8. harmonized, iv. 270. 280. And John i. 25, 26, 27. shewn to be different, iv. 273.
- iii. 36. Canaan, who never was in being, harmonized, ii. 90.
- iv. 1. Full of the Holy Ghost, iv. 350.
- iv. 16. He went to the synagogue, and stood up for to read, vi. 223.
- iv. 18. 'He hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken hearted,' &c.; compared and reconciled with Isa. lxi. 1.: v. 130. 134.
- iv. 25. Heavens shut up for three years and six months, and 1 Kings xvii. 2, &c. xviii. 1. reconciled, v. 138.
- v. 1 to 12. About the calling of the apostles, reconciled with Matthew and Mark iii. 52, 53.

Chap.

- vi. 1. Second Sabbath after the first, iii. 65.
- viii. 2. Mary Magdalen, was Mary the sister of Lazarus, iii. 76.
- viii. 27. A certain man possessed, &c. and Matt. viii. 28. reconciled, iii. 84.
- viii. 56. Charged them that they should tell no man, why, iii. 73.
- ix. 1. He gave them power over devils, iii. 102.
- ix. 51. When the time was come, that he should be received up, xii. 301.
- ix. 57 to 62. Here are three that would follow Christ, Matthew (chap. viii. ver. 18 to 22.) speaks but of two, iii. 83.
- x. 18. Satan's falling from heaven, what, iii. 113.
- x. 29, 30. A neighbour; who, iii. 114.
- xi. 41. Give alms; and all things are clean, viii. 215.
- xii. 47, 48. He that knew his master's will and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes, vii. 182.
- xii. 51, 52. 'Suppose ye that I come to give peace on earth? I tell you Nay, but rather division,' reconciled with Isa. ii. 4. and xi. 6.: vi. 228. 266, &c.
- xiii. 33. A prophet cannot perish out of Jerusalem, iii. 120.
- xiv. 8. Sit not down in the highest room, &c. iii. 120.
- xvi. 20. The rich man and Lazarus, iii. 120.
- xvii. 11. He passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee, x. 280.
- xvii. 21. The kingdom of God is within you, xii. 52.
- xviii. 11. To stand praying, xi. 137.
- xviii. 12. The Pharisee fasted twice a week, xi. 163.
- xviii. 13. Standing and looking downward, iii. 121.
- xviii. 32, 33. The Son of Man shall be delivered to the Gentiles, &c. vii. 53.
- xx. 38. Not the God of the dead but of the living; for all live to him, vi. 383.
- xxi. 12. But before all these, shall they lay their hands on you, and Matt. xxiv. 7, 8, 9. reconciled, iii. 320.
- xxi. 18. Not a hair of your head perish, vii. 226.
- xxii. 30. That ye may sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel, vi. 259.
- xxii. 52. Captain of the Temple, what, ix. 236.
- xxii. 53. This is your hour and the power of darkness, vii. 235.
- xxiii. 39, &c. One of them railed on him,



## Chap.

- reconciled with Matt. xxvii. 44. :  
iii. 84.  
xxiii. 47. 'A righteous man;' Matt. xxvii.  
45. 'The Son of God,' reconciled,  
iv. 359.  
xxiv. 44. In the Psalms, xi. 345.

## JOHN.

- i. 1. 'The Word,' why Christ was so  
called, iv. 117.  
i. 4. In him was life, and that life was  
the light of men, vi. 325.  
i. 25, 26, 27. I baptize, &c. and Luke  
iii. 16. shewed to be differing, iv.  
273.  
i. 27. Unloosing the shoe-latchet, iii. 43.  
i. 33. How John could be said both to  
know, and not to know Jesus, iv.  
292, 293.  
ii. 15. Drove them all out of the Temple,  
ix. 301.  
iii. 22. Jesus baptized, and, iv. 2. he  
baptized not, reconciled, iii. 54.  
iv. 35. Say ye not there are four months,  
and then cometh harvest, &c. vii.  
13.  
v. 25. The dead shall hear the voice of  
the Son of God, and they that  
hear, shall live, vi. 258. 357.  
v. 28, 29. All that are in the grave, shall  
hear his voice and shall come  
forth, vii. 188.  
vii. 27. When Christ cometh, no man  
knoweth whence he is, xi. 44.  
vii. 37, 38. Jesus stood and cried, If any  
man thirst, let him come unto me  
and drink; he that believeth on  
me, out of his belly shall flow  
rivers of living water, vi. 222.  
vii. 39. The Holy Ghost was not yet, vii.  
294.  
viii. 3. &c. Woman taken in adultery,  
iii. 111.  
viii. 6. Jesus stooped down and wrote  
on the ground as though he heard  
them not, vi. 305.  
viii. 44. He was a murderer from the be-  
ginning, vii. 374.  
viii. 56. Abraham rejoiced to see my day,  
&c. ii. 91.  
ix. 27. Will ye be his disciples, iii. 117.  
x. 17, 18. I lay down my life, no man  
taketh it from me, that I may take  
it up again, vi. 33.  
xi. 39. He had been four days dead, iii.  
128.  
xi. 47, 48. This man doth many miracles;  
if we let him alone, &c. viii. 395.  
xi. 48. If we let him alone, all men will  
believe, &c. iv. 285.  
xi. 51. But being high-priest that year,  
he prophesied, vi. 280.  
xi. 54. A city called Ephraim, x. 104.  
xiii. 1, 2. And Matt. xxvi. 6.; the suppers

## Chap.

- here mentioned were the same,  
however otherwise interpreted, xi.  
318. 323. 336.  
xiii. 2. The supper there mentioned was  
not the Passover, ii. 376.  
xiii. 18, 26, 27. This concerning Judas was  
before Christ ate the Passover  
supper, iii. 144.  
xiii. 23, 28. Leaning in the bosom of  
Jesus, ix. 149.  
xiii. 38. The cock shall not crow, &c. xi.  
338.  
xiv. 30. The prince of this world cometh,  
and hath nothing in me, iv. 376.  
vii. 237  
xvi. 7. It is expedient that I go away from  
you; for if I go not away, the Com-  
forter, &c. vi. 408.  
xvi. 13. When he the Spirit of truth  
cometh, he will guide you into all  
truth, vi. 211.  
xvii. 24. Father, I will, xii. 78.  
xviii. 28. Misunderstood about the time  
of Christ's eating the Passover,  
iii. 148. ix. 136.  
xviii. 31. It is not lawful for us to put  
any man to death, vi. 305. 362,  
&c. xi. 309.  
xviii. 39. Release one at the Passover,  
xi. 444, &c.  
xix. 14. About the sixth hour; recon-  
ciled with Mark xv. 25.  
xix. 29. Put it upon hyssop; reconciled  
with Matt. xxvii. 48. xii. 416.  
xx. 22, 23. He breathed on them and  
said, Whose sins ye remit, &c. iii.  
188. 240.  
xxi. 22. Tarry till I come; viz. in venge-  
ance, vi. 293.

## THE ACTS.

- i. 18. Judas purchased the field, and  
Matt. xxvii. 7. reconciled, viii. 37.  
i. 25. Went to his place, ii. 133.  
ii. 17. 'It shall come to pass in the last  
days;' understood of the end of  
Jerusalem, not the world, vi. 241.  
ii. 20. Before the great and notable day  
of the Lord come, xii. 435.  
iii. 2. The Gate of the Temple which is  
called Beautiful, ix. 305.  
iii. 21. Times of restitution of all things,  
xi. 236.  
iv. 1. Captain of the Temple; what, ix.  
236.  
iv. 6. John suspected for Rabban Jocha-  
nan, x. 34.  
iv. 16, 17. That indeed a notable mira-  
cle is done by these men, but that  
it spread no further, &c. vii. 277.  
v. 37. Judas of Galilee, x. 279.  
vi. 9. Synagogue of the Alexandrians,  
and of the Libertines, x. 74, &c.  
vii. 7. Two quotations in one, iv. 247.

- Chap.  
 vii. 14. Threescore and fifteen souls; compared and reconciled with Gen. xlv. 27. : viii. 421. Seventy-five souls, Gen. xlv. 27. Seventy souls, reconciled, iv. 328. viii. 112.  
 vii. 16. The bones of the patriarchs, where buried, viii. 423.  
 vii. 30. When forty years were expired; concerning the age, &c. of Moses, viii. 428.  
 vii. 43. Moloch, Remphan, &c. and Amos, v. 26. collated and harmonized, viii. 115. 119.  
 vii. 58. The witnesses laid down their clothes, &c. ix. 340.  
 ix. 36. Tabitha much mentioned amongst the Talmudists, x. 40.  
 x. 34, 35. God is no respecter of persons, vii. 142.  
 xiii. 20. Four hundred and fifty years; reconciled with Judges iii. 8. 11. : ii. 143, 144.  
 xiii. 33. As it is written, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee, vi. 356.  
 xvi. 15. 33. Children baptized with their parents, iii. 185.  
 xviii. 7. Whose house joined hard to the synagogue, iii. 274.  
 xix. 2. We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost, vii. 294.  
 xix. 3. 5. About rebaptizing, iii. 234, 235.  
 xix. 8. 10. Two years three months; reconciled with chap. xx. ver. 31. iii. 237.  
 xix. 13. Calling over them the name of Jesus, xi. 150.  
 xix. 33, 34. Alexander, whom they drew out, &c. iii. 252.  
 xx. 31. Three years; reconciled with chap. xix. ver. 8. 10. : iii. 237.  
 xxi. 21. Teaching all the Jews to forsake Moses, &c. iii. 282.  
 xxi. 26, 27, 28. Concerning Paul's bringing Greeks into the Temple; what part of the Temple it was, ix. 312.  
 xxi. 27, 28. 30, 31. The fury of the Jews against Paul, iii. 284.  
 xxiii. 5. I wist not that he was the high-priest, iii. 286. vii. 306.  
 xxvi. 24. Thou art besides thyself, iii. 265.

ROMANS.

- i. 17. Righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith, vi. 246, 247. 272. 295. 300.  
 ii. 11. God is no respecter of persons, vii. 142.  
 iii. 19. Whatsoever the law saith, it saith to them which are under the law, xii. 259.

- Chap.  
 iv. 11. Sign of circumcision, the seal of the righteousness of faith, which he had, being yet uncircumcised, vi. 297. 399. 415. xi. 361.  
 vii. 5. The motions of sin which were by the law, did work, vi. 342.  
 viii. 15. 'Abba, father;' what, xii. 437.  
 viii. 19. 23. For the earnest expectation of the creature waited for the manifestation of the sons of God, &c. vi. 323. vii. 14, &c. xi. 458, 459.  
 ix. 14, 15. I will have mercy on whom I will, &c. harmonized with Mal. i. 2, 3. : ii. 95.  
 xi. 5. 'The elect, and the remnant according to the election of grace,' explained of the elect of the Jews, vii. 11. xii. 335.  
 xiii. 1. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, xi. 273.

I. CORINTHIANS.

- i. 17. Christ sent me not to baptize, iii. 54.  
 vi. 2. Saints shall judge the world, iii. 240. 'Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world;' explained of Christian magistracy, vi. 259, &c. 284.  
 vii. 12. But to the rest speak I, not the Lord, vi. 396.  
 vii. 14. How children were computed holy, iii. 23, 24.  
 vii. 36. If a man thinketh he behaveth himself unseemly towards his virgin, &c. vii. 160.  
 x. 4. They drank of the rock that followed them, ii. 381.  
 x. 11. 'Upon whom the ends of the world are come,' explained of the destruction of Jerusalem, &c. and the end of the Jewish state, vi. 293. 380.  
 xi. 10. The woman to have power on her head because of the angels, iii. 244.  
 xi. 19. There must be heresies among you, vii. 284.  
 xi. 21. Every one taketh before other his own supper, viii. 402.  
 xi. 25. 28. With the context, about the calling of the Jews, iii. 411, 412.  
 xi. 32. When we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we may not be condemned of the world, vii. 174.  
 xii. 3, 4. No man, speaking, by the spirit of God, can call Jesus 'accursed,' &c. iii. 245.  
 xiv. 4. He that speaketh an unknown tongue, edifieth himself, iii. 205.  
 xv. 29. 'Baptism,' for 'death and martyrdom,' iii. 126. viii. 210.  
 xv. 32. Fought with beasts, &c. iii. 236.  
 xvi. 9. Great and effectual door opened, iii. 239.

Chap.

xvi. 22. Anathema Maran-atha, iii. 248.

## II. CORINTHIANS.

- i. 8, 9. We were pressed out of measure, above strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life, &c. xii. 552.
- iv. 18. We look at things that are not seen, vii. 295.
- v. 21. He hath made him sin for us, vii. 209.
- viii. 18. 22. Who the two brethren were, iii. 262, 263.
- x. 10. For his letters are weighty, &c. iii. 264.
- xi. 24. Forty stripes save one, ix. 14.
- xi. 25. A day and a night in the deep, iii. 289.
- xii. 2. Whether in the body, I cannot tell, viii. 273.

## GALATIANS.

- iv. 6. Abba Father; what, xi. 438.
- iv. 26. Jerusalem from above, iii. 366.
- v. 2. If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing, iii. 283.

## EPHESIANS.

- i. 17. The spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Christ, vi. 211, 238.
- ii. 1. You hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and sins, vi. 258, 357.
- ii. 2. Prince of the power of the air, iv. 371, 372.
- iv. 9. Now that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first into the lower parts of the earth, vi. 4.
- iv. 23. Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, vii. 300.
- iv. 24. The man created in righteousness and true holiness, vii. 25.
- v. 18, 19. Be filled with the spirit, speaking to yourselves, in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, vii. 40.
- v. 26, 27. Without spot or wrinkle, iii. 297.
- v. 28. Men ought to love their wives as their own body, iii. 297.

## PHILIPPIANS.

- iii. 2. Dogs, concision, iii. 298.
- iii. 19. Whose God is their belly, iii. 66, xi. 187.
- iv. 3. Women labouring in the gospel, iii. 225.

## COLOSSIANS.

- i. 23. Preached to every creature, iii. 174.
- ii. 13. You being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh, vi. 258.

Chap.

iv. 16. Epistle from Laodicea, what, iii. 300.

## I. THESSALONIANS.

- iv. 13, 14. I would not have you ignorant concerning them that sleep, that ye sorrow not as others without hope, &c. vi. 319.

## II. THESSALONIANS.

- ii. 2. As that the day of Christ is at hand, xii. 435.
- ii. 3. The day of Christ shall not come, except there come a falling away first, xi. 297.
- ii. 4. Concerning obedience to magistrates, xi. 272.
- ii. 6, 7. What withholdeth; and he that letteth, will let, iii. 233.

## I. TIMOTHY.

- i. iv. 'Endless genealogies;' what, iii. 256.
- iii. 12. Let the deacons be, &c. iii. 258.
- iii. 13. Office of a deacon, xi. 89, 90.
- iii. 15. Ground and pillar of truth, iii. 260.
- iv. 1. 'In the latter time' interpreted of the end of the Jewish state, vi. 293.
- iv. 3. Forbidding to marry, viii. 478.
- iv. 8. 'Godliness hath the promise of this life, and that which is to come,' reconciled with Heb. xi. 36, 37. : vi. 249.
- v. 17. Let the elders be counted worthy of double honour, &c. iii. 258.

## II. TIMOTHY.

- i. 15. All in Asia are turned from me, iii. 333.
- iii. 1. 'In the latter days,' not for the end of the world, but of Jerusalem, vi. 293, 380.
- iii. 8, 9. Jannes and Jambres, iv. 33, xii. 61.
- iv. 10. Crescens to Galatia, iii. 292.
- iv. 13. Cloak, iii. 276.

## TITUS.

- iii. 9. Endless genealogies, iii. 256.

## HEBREWS.

- ii. 2. If the word spoken by angels, vii. 180.
- ii. 12. I will declare thy name unto my brethren, &c. vi. 218.
- ii. 13. And again, I will put my trust in him, *ibid.*
- vii. 3. Sem without father, &c. ii. 88.
- viii. 6. He is the mediator of a better covenant, established upon better promises, vii. 393.
- viii. 11. They shall teach no more every man his brother, saying, know the

Chap.

- Lord, for all shall know me, vi. 286.
- ix. 19. Moses—took blood—with water, xii. 421, 422.
- x. 26. If we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, vi. 337. vii. 13.
- x. 29. Blood of the covenant wherewith he (*i. e.* Jesus Christ) was sanctified, iii. 312.
- xi. 21. Blessed both the sons of Joseph, ii. 107.
- xi. 32. Gideon, Samson, Jephtha, vii. 151.
- xi. 40. That they without us should not be made perfect, vi. 323.
- xii. 11. Chastening—yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness, vii. 175.
- xii. 16. For his polygamy Esau is called a fornicator, ii. 95.
- xiii. 12. The place of execution without the city applied to Christ's sufferings, iii. 164.
- xiii. 20. Christ was raised from the dead by the blood of the covenant, vii. 240.

JAMES.

- v. 8, 9. Coming of the Lord draweth nigh; behold the judge standeth at the door, iii. 314, 315. vi. 378. xii. 435.
- v. 14. Anointing the sick with oil, iii. 315. Let the elders of the church pray for him that is sick, anointing him with oil, xi. 150. 398.
- v. 17. Elias; for the space of three years and six months, xii. 70, 71.

I. PETER.

- i. 2. 'Elect according to the foreknowledge of God;' for the elect of the Jews, vii. 11.
- ii. 10. Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God, vii. 11. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of God, for the Lord's sake, &c. xi. 272.
- iii. 19. 'Spirits in prison,' what, iii. 323. He went and preached unto the spirits in prison, xii. 204.
- iii. 21. Baptism doth now save us, iii. 322.
- iv. 7. 'The end of all things is at hand;' for the end of Jerusalem and the Jewish state, iii. 320. vi. 293. 380. xii. 434.
- iv. 17. The time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God, xi. 296.

Chap.

II. PETER.

- i. 14. I must shortly put off this tabernacle, iii. 326.
- ii. 1. Damnable Heresies, iii. 326.
- ii. 10. Despise government; speak evil of dignities, xi. 272.
- ii. 15. The way of Balaam, the son of Bosor, vii. 7.
- iii. 3. There shall come in 'the last days;' for the days immediately foregoing the destruction of Jerusalem, &c. vi. 292, 380.
- iii. 10. The heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, xii. 433.
- iii. 13. We look for new heavens and a new earth, xii. 435.
- iii. 16. In Paul's epistles there are some things hard to be understood, vii. 208. 214.

I. JOHN.

- ii. 16. Lust of the flesh, of the eye, and pride of life, ii. 336. The lust of the eyes, xi. 151.
- ii. 18. 'It is the last time;' for the end of the Jewish state, xii. 434.
- ii. 27. The anointing which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, vi. 287.
- v. 6. 8. Spirit, water, and blood, iv. 389.
- v. 16. There is a sin unto death; I do not say that he shall pray for it, vi. 331, &c.

JUDE.

- ver. 8. Filthy dreamers, iii, 401. vii. 321. Despise dominion, speak evil of dignities, xi. 272.
6. Michael the archangel, contending, &c. A story current among the Jews, iii. 328.
12. Feasts of charity, xii. 522.

REVELATIONS.

- i. 7. He cometh with clouds, &c. xii. 435.
- ii. 20. Who that Jezebel might be, viii. 124.
- iii. 17, 18. Because thou sayest I am rich, &c. and knowest not that thou art wretched, &c. vi. 420.
- vi. 12. 14. The sun became black as sackcloth of hair, &c. and the heavens departed as a scroll, &c. xii. 434.
- vii. 6. Manasseh for Moses, ii. 148.
- vii. 14. They have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, vi. 296.
- x. 6, 7. He sware by himself that liveth, &c. iii. 342.

## Chap.

- xi. 1, 2. The holy ground not bounded or measured, and why, ix. 218.
- xi. 8. The streets of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom, vi. 364.
- xiii. 2. The dragon gave his power, and seat, and great authority, unto the beast, vi. 363. vii. 49.
- xiii. 4. The dragon which gave his power unto the beast, xii. 411.
- xx. 3. Satan should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled, vi. 256. vii. 187.

## Chap.

- xx. 5. 'This is the first resurrection; spoken of the calling of the Gentiles, vi. 256. 356.
- xx. 7, 8. When the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go about to deceive the nations: interpreted as fulfilled in the depth of popery, vi. 258. Gog, an enemy to true religion, vii. 217.
- xxii. 12. Behold, I come quickly, xii. 435.

# AN APPENDIX

OF

## SOME PLACES OF SCRIPTURE, DIFFERENTLY READ FROM THE ORDINARY TRANSLATION.

- Chap. GENESIS.
- i. 2. The Spirit of God was carried upon the face of the waters, viii. 375.
- i. 14. Let there be light vats (or light vessels) in the firmament, vii. 298.
- iv. 1. Eve conceived and brought forth Cain, and said, I have possessed (or obtained) a man from the Lord, xii. 555.
- xliv. 15. Can make a very strict inquiry, ii. 104.

- EXODUS.
- xviii. 6. I, Jethro, thy father-in-law, 'come' to thee, not 'am come' to thee, ii. 380.

- DEUTERONOMY.
- viii. 3. By every thing that cometh out of the mouth, iv. 347.
- xxvii. 4. 'In mount Gerizim,' so read by the Samaritan version, xii. 268.
- xxxiii. 2. From his right hand went the fire of a law for them, vii. 176.
- xxxiii. 6. Not die the second death, ii. 137.

- JOSHUA.
- xv. 61, 62. Differently read by the Greek interpreters, x. 326.

- JUDGES.
- i. 8. And the children of Judah warred against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote it, ii. 145.
- iv. 5. The Chaldee reads, 'Deborah had white dust in the king's mountains,' x. 27.
- xvi. 3. He carried them to the top of a mountainous place which is before Hebron, x. 27.
- xxi. 19, &c. The daughters go over to the enemy, xii. 264.

- I. SAMUEL.
- vii. 2. *Then*, not *and*, ii. 165.

- II. KINGS.
- v. 17, 18. That when my master went, &c. xii. 73.

- Chap. v. 18. When my master hath gone, and hath bowed, ii. 225.
- vi. 23. Came no more as yet into the land, ii. 225.

- I. CHRONICLES.
- vii. 21. For the men of Gath who were born in the land, slew them; for they came, &c. ii. 107.
- xix. 7. 18. Thirty-two thousand men with chariots; seven thousand men with chariots, ii. 182.

- II. CHRONICLES.
- xxii. 2. Ahaziah was the son of the two-and-forty years, iv. 106.

- EZRA.
- vi. 3. Three houses of hewn stone, what, ix. 250.
- x. 15. Stood against this matter, ii. 324.

- JOB.
- i. 5. As the days of their feasting went about, ii. 110.
- xix. 25. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and he shall arise from the dust, another, &c. xii. 554.

- PSALMS.
- lii. Title, David came, ii. 171.
- lviii. 9. As he liveth, so the wrath, ii. 172.

- ECCLESIASTES.
- xii. 11. As nails fastened by those that gather the flock into the fold, xii. 338.

- ISAIAH.
- x. 32. How the Chaldee paraphrast, Kimchi and Jarchi, read it, x. 88.
- xi. 2. He shall make him quick of scent in the fear of the Lord, viii. 398.
- xi. 4. 'Wicked one,' for the Romans, iv. 190.

Chap.

xv. 5. A heifer of three years; a heifer in his third year; a great heifer of three years old, &c. x. 332.

## JEREMIAH.

xxxix. 3. Rab Mag, or the Great Mag, iv. 217.  
 xlviii. 34. The heifer being in the third year, x. 332.

## DANIEL.

ix. 27. With many in one week, and half that week, ii. 312. Even by the wing (or army) of abominations, making desolate, xi. 298.

## HOSEA.

xiii. 14. Where is thy revenge, O death, xii. 555.

## MARK.

i. 2. In Esaias, the prophet, xi. 377.

## LUKE.

i. 17. In the wisdom of the righteous, iv. 156, 157.  
 i. 58. Had magnified mercy, iv. 181.

## JOHN.

ii. 20. Forty and six years hath this Temple been in building, xii. 247.  
 v. 39. 'Ye search,' indicatively, v. 225. 229. 271. Ye search the Scriptures, xii. 289.

Chap.

xii. 3. Mary, which had anointed, iii. 124.  
 xii. 7. She hath kept it, iii. 129.

## ACTS.

i. 2. How to be pointed and read, viii. 14.  
 i. 4. Various rendered, viii. 20.  
 iii. 19. That the times of refreshing may come, viii. 388.  
 xiv. 24. Ordain elders, iii. 217.  
 xxi. 27. As the seven days were to have been accomplished, iii. 284.  
 xxiii. 5. I know not that there is a high-priest, vii. 306.

## ROMANS.

iv. 11. A seal of the righteousness of faith, which should hereafter be in uncircumcision, xii. 496.  
 vi. 17. You have obeyed from your heart that form of doctrine whereunto you were delivered, vii. 213.

## I. THESSALONIANS.

v. Postscript from Athens, but it was writ from Corinth, not from Athens, demonstrated, iii. 228.

## II. THESSALONIANS.

iii. Postscript not from Athens, but Corinth, iii. 230.

## TITUS.

i. 2. Which God hath promised before the times of the Jewish ages, xii. 508.

# GENERAL INDEX

OF

## TEXTS ILLUSTRATED.

Chap.	GENESIS.	Chap.	GENESIS.
i.	ii. 10. 78. 333. x. 532. xii. 11	xi.	7 . . . . . iv. 316
1	. . . . . xii. 229. 581	12, 13	. . . . . xii. 53
2	. . . . . i. 24. iii. 311. viii. 375	14, 15	. . . . . ii. 92
14	. . . . . vii. 298	17	. . . . . ii. 94
26	. . . . . iv. 316. vi. 28. vii. 331	26	. . . . . ii. 88
27	. . . . . vi. 145	xii.	. . . . . ii. 16. 89. 339
ii.	. . . . . ii. 12. x. 533	1	. . . . . viii. 110, 111
1	. . . . . iv. 199	6	. . . . . viii. 427
1—3	. . . . . ii. 74. iii. 56	xiii. xiv.	. . . . . ii. 17. 340
2	. . . . . xii. 586	xiii. 8	. . . . . viii. 109
4	. . . . . ii. 11	xiv. 5	. . . . . x. 281
14	. . . . . x. 337	13	. . . . . viii. 403
16	. . . . . vii. 379	14	. . . . . x. 337
21	. . . . . viii. 217	17	. . . . . x. 78
iii.	. . . . . ii. 12	xv.	. . . . . ii. 17. 89. 341
6	. . . . . iv. 346	2	. . . . . v. 146
15	. . . . . iv. 69. 185. v. 252. vi. 176.	3	. . . . . ii. 91
	. . . . . vii. 61. xii. 367	11	. . . . . iv. 30
17	. . . . . vi. 328	13	. . . . . viii. 111
18	. . . . . iii. 161	18	. . . . . x. 337
20	. . . . . iv. 121. vii. 335	xvi. 1	. . . . . ii. 90. 341. vi. 187
21	. . . . . vii. 335. 382	xvii—xxi.	. . . . . ii. 17. 91. 342
iv.	. . . . . ii. 12. 74. 337. x. 534	xvii. 4	. . . . . vi. 297
1	. . . . . vii. 335. 400. xii. 555	14	. . . . . vi. 403
7	. . . . . iv. 49. vi. 315. vii. 209	xviii. 12	. . . . . xii. 581
15	. . . . . vii. 347	25	. . . . . vi. 382
20, 21.	. . . . . xi. 437	xix. 1	. . . . . iv. 378
23, 24.	. . . . . vi. 313	20	. . . . . x. 331
25	. . . . . vii. 335	xx. 2	. . . . . x. 31
v.	. . . . . ii. 13. 76. 338. iv. 68	3	. . . . . viii. 215
3	. . . . . vii. 416	12	. . . . . viii. 420
5, 7, 8.	. . . . . ii. 13. 82. vi. 107	18	. . . . . xii. 583
29	. . . . . vii. 403	xxi. 17	. . . . . iv. 321
vi.	. . . . . ii. 14. 78. 338. iv. 12	33	. . . . . viii. 428
2	. . . . . ii. 78. iv. 12. 124	xxii.	. . . . . ii. 18. 92. 343
3	. . . . . vii. 309	4	. . . . . xii. 209
vii. viii.	. . . . . ii. 15. 338	6, 9	. . . . . iii. 164
viii. 1	. . . . . v. 18	7	. . . . . xi. 437
13, &c.	. . . . . ii. 84. v. 219	11	. . . . . iv. 321
22	. . . . . ii. 80, 81	13	. . . . . ix. 268
ix.	. . . . . ii. 15. 85. 338	xxiii.	. . . . . ii. 18. 92. 343
4	. . . . . viii. 481	xxiv.	. . . . . ii. 93
x. xi.	. . . . . ii. 15. 86. 339	49	. . . . . v. 18
x. 2	. . . . . xii. 53	xxv.	. . . . . ii. 343
9	. . . . . x. 337	1—7	. . . . . ii. 93
18, 19	. . . . . x. 269	6	. . . . . xi. 37
24	. . . . . iv. 326	7—10	. . . . . ii. 94
xi. 5	. . . . . iv. 315	11, 19, &c.	. . . . . ii. 343



GENESIS.		EXODUS.	
Chap.		Chap.	
xxv. 22	xii. 26	i.—xl.	ii. 22—30. 108—119
xxvi.	ii. 94. 344	i. 5	vii. 129. viii. 112
2	x. 337	11	xii. 55
xxvii—xxx.	ii. 19. 96. 344	19	ii. 357. vii. 209
xxvii. 54	xi. 437	21	ii. 109
xxviii. 12	viii. 215	ii. 2	ii. 358
xxx. 15	iv. 229	iii. 6	ib.
xxxi.	ii. 99. 345	8	v. 51
47	iv. 54. viii. 405	12	iv. 294
xxxii.	ii. 99. 345	22	v. 188
1, 2	iv. 60. 378. vii. 292	iv.	ii. 361
10	iii. 91	24	ii. 362. vi. 276
24	iv. 56. v. 313	vi. 3	ii. 365
xxxiii. 1—20	ii. 99. 345	23	vi. 276
17	x. 313	25	ii. 366
19	v. 59. 87. viii. 426, 427	viii. 9	ii. 367
xxxiv.	ii. 100. 345	13, 14	iv. 373
29	v. 86	19	ii. 368. vii. 209
xxxv. 1—28	ii. 100. 343	ix. 9	ii. 370
2	iv. 278. v. 86. vi. 135.	x. 21. 23	v. 339
	413. xi. 55		ii. 371
28, 29	ii. 104	xii. 1	ii. 373, 374
xxxvi.	ii. 100. 346	3. 6	ix. 131. 138
2	iv. 173. xii. 53	14	xi. 445
6	iv. 324	15	ix. 130
12	xii. 61	18, 19	ix. 135
xxxvii.	ii. 101. 346	35. 36	ii. 377
10	iv. 233	37	ii. 415, 416
xxxviii. 1	iii. 65	40	i. 12. viii. 111. xii. 586
1—5	ii. 100. 347	44	vi. 217
6—30	ii. 103	46	ix. 131
24	iii. 23	xiii. 3—16	ix. 113. xi. 277
xxxix.	ii. 20. 102. 347	20	ii. 417
2	xii. 230	xiv. 2. 22	ii. 417, 418
17	x. 264	8	xii. 512
xl.	ii. 103. 347	xv. 21	vii. 39
11, 13	xi. 333	25	ii. 378
xli. 13	viii. 217	22, 27	ii. 420
38	iv. 313	xvi. 1	ib.
xlii. 37	iv. 344	xvii. 1	ii. 421
18	xii. 209	16	x. 192
xliii. 44	iii. 245	xviii. 6	ii. 379, 380
xli.—xlviii. to ver. 13.	ii. 20. 104. 347	xix.	ii. 381
xlvi. 4	viii. 423	2	ii. 421
9	iv. 344	18	v. 51
20	viii. 421. xii. 55	4	iii. 347
27	iv. 328. xii. 56. viii. 112. 421	xx. 5	vi. 403. vii. 350. xi. 13
xvii. 13—31	ii. 105	11	vii. 367
9	vii. 402	12	vii. 391
xlviii.—l.	ii. 105	19	v. 254
xlviii. 18	xi. 437	22	iv. 321
22	v. 87	20	vi. 311
xlix.	ii. 348	xxi. 1	xii. 13
2	i. 12	2	viii. 413
10	iv. 272. viii. 442	22	xii. 550
17	vii. 221	xxiii. 2	xii. 540
21	v. 151	5	ix. 254
22	v. 89—91	17	ix. 360
26	xi. 45	20	iv. 396. v. 252. 373
27	ix. 395	xxiv. 1	xi. 384
l. 5	viii. 425	3	xii. 13
13	vii. 210	4	ii. 386
22	viii. 421	5	xi. 103. xii. 582
25	vii. 423	6	ix. 432

Chap.	EXODUS.	
xxiv. 10		xii. 541. 583
xxv.		x. 536
3		viii. 477
xxvi.		x. 537
xxvii. xxviii.		x. 538
xxvii. 10		xi. 101
xxviii. 15, 16		vi. 279
20		iv. 14
30		vi. 279
36		iv. 319. vi. 23
xxix. 39		ix. 138
40		iv. 450
xxx. 8		ix. 425
13		iii. 104
15		vii. 128
29		ix. 426
xxx. 3		iv. 313
xxxii.		x. 538
34		vii. 359
27		vi. 306. vii. 358
xxxiii. 14		iv. 248
xxxiv.		x. 541
6		iv. 317
14		vii. 353
23		vii. 399
28		vi. 281
xxxviii. 8		ix. 418. xii. 41

LEVITICUS.

i.—xxvii.		ii. 31. 120—123
i. 3		ix. 71
5		ix. 73
iii. 17		viii. 481
iv. 14		ix. 82
15		ix. 41
22, 27.		ix. 84
v. 1		v. 47
16		ix. 90
vi. 2, 3, 6		ib.
9		ix. 71
27		xii. 280
vii. 26		viii. 481
viii. 7		ix. 26
xii. 2		vii. 104
4		xii. 37
xiii. 12, 13		v. 196
46		xii. 170
xiv. 12		iv. 451. ix. 90
xvi. 6		ix. 175
xvii. 10		viii. 481
xviii. 16		v. 75
xix. 11		xii. 50
12		iv. 451
17		xi. 242
xx. 21		v. 75. ix. 90
xxiii. 2		xii. 456
3, 4		v. 113
7, 8		ix. 169
10, 11	ix. 169. xi. 185. xii. 276	
15		viii. 371
40	vi. 221. ix. 183. xii. 585	
42, 43		iv. 303
xxiv. 14		viii. 438
xxvii. 2		ix. 43

Chap.	LEVITICUS.	
xxvii. 14		ix. 43
NUMBERS.		
i.—xxxvi.		ii. 32, 33. 124—134
i.		ix. 41
ii.		iv. 72
v. 17		ix. 279
22		iv. 428
23		iii. 112
vi.		x. 541
3		xii. 18
12		ix. 90
17		ix. 100
24—26		iv. 316. ix. 193
vii. 11		ix. 41
vii. viii.		x. 542
ix. 10		x. 248
x.		ii. 25. x. 542
2		ix. 57
5, 6		ix. 58
35		ii. 127
x. xi.		iv. 19
xi. 12		iv. 381
34, 35		ii. 421
xii. 16		ii. 422
xiii. 24		x. 336
26		ii. 422
xiv. 27		v. 116
33, 34		ii. 144
xv. 24		ix. 82
27, 28		vi. 336
30		v. 336. xii. 512
38		xi. 127
xvi. 1, 2		ii. 106
15		xii. 586
33		xi. 107
46		viii. 430
xviii. 14		ix. 43
xx. 8, 10, 11		iv. 420
28		ix. 26
xxi. 10—12		v. 53
xxii. 5		vii. 8, 9
xxiv. 2		iv. 313
4		x. 178
8		iii. 47
17		iii. 265
24	iv. 368. iii. 25. 349. vii. 55	
		x. 262.
xxv. 13		ix. 26
xxvii. 16		vii. 292
xxviii. 7		xii. 18
26		ix. 171
xxx. 1		ii. 106
35		x. 329
xxxiii. 5, 6		ii. 416, 417
8—17		ii. 420—422
29		x. 96
31, 32		ii. 136
35, 36		x. 157
49		x. 96
xxxiv. 4		x. 9
8		x. 361
10		x. 132
11		x. 129. 337



Chap.	JUDGES.
v. 8	iv. 31. v. 318. vi. 278.
9	vii. 358
14	v. 114
20	v. 120
vi. 2	vii. 46
18	x. 179
33	xii. 323
vii. 3	viii. 61
24	x. 300. 303
ix. 2, &c.	iv. 313. x. 310. 314
x. 6—8	ii. 9
xi. 27	ii. 158
35. 37	xii. 323
36	ib.
39	xi. 437
xiii. 8	vii. 151
xiv. 20	vii. 223
xv. 18	v. 68
xvi. 3	ix. 347
xvii. 6	x. 27
xvii.—xxi.	v. 317
xix. 6	ii. 147—149
xx. 27, 28.	viii. 61
45. 47. xxi. 13	vi. 274. ix. 26
xxi. 19	iv. 420
	xii. 264

RUTH.

i.—iv.	ii. 37. 152
i. 1	vi. 369
16	ix. 339
18	v. 62
iii. 16	iv. 382
iv. 4	xii. 323

I. SAMUEL.

i.—xxxi.	ii. 38.
i. 1	ii. 162—174
3	ii. 162
3. 9	ix. 105
21	viii. 27
24	xii. 584
ii. 1, 2	ix. 360
13	iv. 249
14	xii. 13
22	ix. 100
35, 36	xii. 41
iii. 3	ix. 27
15	ix. 284, 285
iv. 16	ix. 459
18	ix. 27
v. 6	v. 219
vi. 19	viii. 467. xii. 424
vii. 1	ii. 18
2	viii. 114
ix. 4	x. 90
13	ii. 165. viii. 67
25	v. 60. x. 324
x. 5	v. 82
6. 9	ix. 257
12	vii. 34
xiv. 3	vii. 414
4	xi. 437
	ix. 27
	x. 87

Chap.	I. SAMUEL.
xvii. 28	xi. 46. xii. 436
55	xi. 224
xvii.—xix.	ii. 39
xviii. 2	ii. 162
13	viii. 165
21	x. 87
23	viii. 394
xix. 23, 24	vii. 34
xx.—xxvii.	ii. 40
xxi. 8	viii. 449
xxii. 1	x. 179
6	x. 87
20	ix. 27
xxiii. 14. 24.	iv. 254
28	iv. 420
xxiv. 3	x. 179
14	viii. 394
xxv. 1	xi. 81
29	v. 338
xxvi. 11, 12. 14	v. 58
xxviii. 13	vi. 26
xxx. 17	xii. 425

II. SAMUEL.

i.—xxiv.	ii. 40. 174—190
ii. 8	vii. 356
13	viii. 61
v. 4, 5	iv. 195
vi. 1	viii. 440
2	x. 89
12	ii. 179
vii. 14	iv. 163. 322. 360. 427
19	iv. 229
21	iv. 117
viii. 17	ix. 27
ix. 10	vii. 204
xi. 21	vii. 356
xiii. 3	v. 67
xiv. 8—10	ii. 184
xv. 7	ii. 6.
23	iii. 152
30	x. 82
36	ix. 27
xvi. 1	xii. 221
22	ix. 257
xvii. 14	iv. 382
xviii. 8	vii. 169
33	vi. 42
xix. 29	vii. 201
xx. 15	ix. 299
18	x. 290. xii. 55
xxi. 9	viii. 62
xxii. 32	xii. 237
xxiii. 20	ix. 402
xxiv. 1. 9	ii. 190
13	ii. 191

I. KINGS.

i.—vi.	ii. 40
i.	ii. 192
33	v. 236. x. 54. 344
36	iv. 428
ii. 1—12	ii. 196
7	v. 82. 250. xii. 264

Chap.	I. KINGS.
ii. 11	iii. 40. vii. 224
12—39	ii. 198
29	ix. 398
39—46	ii. 200
iii. 1, 2	ii. 200
3, &c.	ii. 198
4	ix. 390
iv. 12	x. 312, 313
13	x. 283
iv. v.	ii. 199
v. 11	viii. 455
17	ix. 337
vi.	ii. 201
1	viii. 466
31	ix. 289
36	ix. 250. 303
38	ix. 464
vii. 1—13	ii. 202
13—20	ii. 201. v. 58
15—17	ii. 297. iii. 15. ix. 267, 268
18. 20	ix. 269, 270
19	ix. 271
23. 26	ix. 429
27—37	ix. 427
39	ix. 423
42	ix. 270
46	x. 312
vii.—xxii.	ii. 41
viii.	ii. 201
7, 8	ix. 294
20	ix. 464
64	ix. 391
ix.	ii. 202
11, 12	x. 231
13	ib.
18	x. 17. 233
27	x. 13
x	ii. 204
12	ix. 327
27	x. 318
29	x. 292
xi. 1—41	ii. 204
15—21	ii. 181
41—43	ii. 205
xii. 1—25	ib.
2	iv. 31
25, &c.	ii. 207
30	viii. 434
xiii. xiv.	ii. 208
xiii. 4	v. 227
24	vii. 167
xiv. 20	iv. 104
xv. 1—9	ii. 209
5	vii. 202
9—16. 25—32	ii. 210
14	v. 376
16—23	ii. 212
25. 28. 33	iv. 104
27—30. 32—34	ii. 211
xvi.	v. 139
xvi.—xxi.	ii. 214—217
xvi. 23. 29	iv. 105
31, 32	viii. 117
xvii. 1	v. 138

Chap.	I. KINGS.
xviii. 1	v. 138
12	xii. 63
13	x. 179
19	viii. 117
26	xi. 140
29	viii. 216
xix. 10	v. 377
11, 12	xii. 35
14. 18	v. 41. xii. 443, 444
xxi. 23	ix. 299
xxii. 1—50	ii. 218
5	iv. 105, 106
41—43	ii. 216
50	ii. 224
51—53	ii. 214—217

## II. KINGS.

2	v. 218
i.	ii. 219
17	ii. 8. iv. 105, 106
i.—xiii.	ii. 41
ii. 1	xii. 584
ii. iii. ver. 6. to the end	ii. 221
ii. 12	xi. 437
16	xii. 63
iii. 1	iv. 105, 106
1—5	ii. 220
iv. 42	x. 324
iv.—viii. to ver. 25	ii. 224
v. 6	iv. 183
13	xi. 437
17, 18	iv. 312. xii. 73
vi. 21	xi. 437
23	ii. 225
25	iv. 451
vii. 2, 3	ix. 5
viii. 16, 17. 26	ii. 8. iv. 105. 106
25, to the end	ii. 226
26	vii. 211
46	v. 56
ix. 29	iv. 106, 107
ix. x.	ii. 228, 229
xi. 6. 8	ix. 323. 325. 327. 387
16	ix. 229
xi.—xiv. 1—27	ii. 228—233
xii. 2	v. 112
9. 13	ix. 374
xiv. 4	v. 112
29	ii. 232
23, to the end	ii. 233
xv. 1—4	ii. 233
4	v. 112
5—7. 23—29	ii. 247, 248
8—23	ii. 246
29	iv. 413
30, 31	ii. 8. 253
27. 30. 33	iv. 108
32, to the end	ii. 248
35	ix. 321
xvi. 1—5	ii. 250
10	ix. 29
6—17	ii. 253
14	ix. 407
17, 18	ii. 255. ix. 386

## Chap. II. KINGS.

xvi. 19, 20	ii. 259
xvii. 1, 2	ii. 255
3	ii. 258
4—24. xviii. 4—12	ii. 260
8	xii. 13
9	x. 223
24—41. xxi. 1—17	ii. 270. v. 90
xviii. 1—3	ii. 257
8	x. 223
13—37. xix. xx. 1—21	ii. 266—268
xxi. 17, to the end	ii. 272
xxii. 1	ii. 274
3, to the end	ii. 276
16	v. 58
xxiii. 1—29	ii. 276
4	viii. 118. xii. 48
8	viii. 114
11	ix. 227, 228
13	ix. 221
16	v. 223
29—37	ii. 279, 280
xxiv. 1	ii. 284
1—20	ii. 287—289
7	ii. 225
8, 9	ii. 288
xxv. 1, 2	ii. 294
2—20	ii. 297
5	x. 90
17	ii. 297. ix. 268
18	ix. 37. xii. 48
20—26	ii. 299—302
27—30	ii. 306

## I. CHRONICLES.

i. 5—24	ii. 86
32, 33.	ii. 93
34, to the end	ii. 101
36	xii. 60
ii. 7	v. 89
ii.—ix.	ii. 304
ii. 19	iv. 226
iii. 15	xi. 14
19	xii. 54
iv. 1	xi. 14
23	xii. 145
34, to the end	ii. 269
v.	ii. 248
vi. 5—7	ix. 27
10	ix. 28
60	x. 88
73	x. 297
vii. 20	viii. 422
21—23	ii. 107
28	viii. 446
ix. 11	ix. 28
18	ix. 220
31	xii. 584
x. xii. 19—22	ii. 40. 174
xi. 1—5	ii. 176
22	xii. 344
xii. 1—8	ii. 40. 173

## Chap. I. CHRONICLES.

xii. 8—19	ii. 170
23, to the end	ii. 178
32	v. 120
xiii. 1—4. xiv.	ii. 178
6	x. 89
5—14. xv. 1—15	ii. 179
xiv. 27	ii. 40
27	v. 125
xv. 15—29. & xvi.—xviii.	ii. 180
xvi. 7	vi. 422
xvii. 19	iv. 117
xix.	ii. 181
xx. 1—3. 5. 12.	ii. 40. 182. 190, 191
4, to the end	ii. 189
xxi. 25	ii. 190
25	viii. 426
xxii.—xxv	ii. 40. 192, 193
xxiii. 1	ii. 193
xxiv. 1	ix. 21
xxvi.—xxix. 30	ii. 40. 196
15. 17	ix. 229
16	ix. 226
18	ix. 227
xxviii. 11	ix. 245
xxix. 3	ix. 293
1—19	ix. 370

## II. CHRONICLES.

i. 1—17	ii. 40. 198, 199
5	ix. 389
ii.	ii. 198, 199
iii.	ix. 291
9	ix. 292
15	ii. 40. 297. ix. 267
16	ix. 270
iii.—viii.	ii. 201, 202
iv. 5	iv. 437. ix. 429
9	ix. 297
iv.—xxiv.	ii. 41
v. 3	ix. 464
8, 9	ix. 294
12	ix. 57
vii. 6	ibid
viii. 2	x. 232
18	x. 13
ix. 1—31	ii. 204, 205
x. xi. 1—5	ii. 205
xi. 5, to the end	ii. 207
6	ix. 347
xii.—xvi. 1—14	ii. 208. 215
xiii. 19	x. 357
20	ii. 8
xvi. 1	ii. 8. iv. 104
xvii.	ii. 216
xviii.	ii. 218
2	xii. 180. 378
xix. xx.	ii. 220
xx. 5	ix. 302
26	v. 61
xxi. 1. 20. xxii. 1	iv. 105, 106
1—4	ii. 8. 221
5, to the end	ii. 224
12	xii. 20









Chap.	ISAIAH.
xii. 13	v. 237. vi. 343
xiv. 12	xii. 93
28, to the end	ii. 259
xv. 5	x. 332
xv. xvi.	ii. 261
xvii. 6	ii. 252
	vii. 315
xviii.—xxii.	ii. 262, 263
xix. 23—25	vi. 216. vii. 7. 12
xxi. 7. 9	ii. 309
12	iii. 47
xxii. 14	vii. 190
xxiii.	ii. 269
xxiv. 13	xi. 105
23	ii. 444
xxiv.—xxvii.	ii. 264
xxv. 1	xii. 239
7	viii. 376
xxvi. 9	v. 322
11	v. 333. vi. 311
14	x. 270
19	v. 255, 256. vi. 357. vii. 390. viii. 470. xii. 272.
	367
20	xii. 50
xxvii. 12	ii. 444. x. 21. 193
xxviii.	ii. 253
1	v. 88. viii. 123. x. 109. 340
11—13	viii. 64
16	i. 15. xi. 225. xii. 311
xxix.—xxxi.	ii. 264
xxix. 1, 2	ix. 403
10	vi. 25. xii. 445
xxx. 14	v. 357
18, 19	iv. 154
26	ii. 444
29	vii. 200
33	vii. 310
xxxi. 9	xi. 107
xxxii.—xxxix.	ii. 265—268
xxxii. 2	v. 9
xxxiii. 7	ix. 402
14	v. 334. xi. 107
15	ii. 383. vi. 201
24	v. 220
xxxiv. 8	v. 291
xxxvii. 32	vii. 354
xxxviii. 1	iv. 382
2, 3	v. 314
6	v. 315
13	i. 11
xl. 3	iv. 406. x. 202
5	viii. 378
15	vii. 401
xl. xli. to the end	ii. 269
xl. 5	viii. 378
9	v. 31
10	v. 252
15	vii. 401
xlii. 1	iv. 322. v. 160. 252
1—4	v. 249. 251. 269
5	iv. 316
xliv. 28	v. 369
xlvi. 9	vii. 145

Chap.	ISAIAH.
xlvi. 23	viii. 378
xlvi. 23	iv. 229
xlvi. 6	v. 255
8	iv. 202
13	ii. 444
19—21	v. 160
lii. 7	iv. 202
9	i. 23
13	v. 252
liii. 1	viii. 17. xi. 159
4	v. 185. viii. 461
4, 5	i. 24. iv. 346. v. 185. viii. 461
7	viii. 447
8	vi. 371. xii. 546
10	vii. 235
11	v. 31
13	i. 22
liv. 5	v. 67. vi. 71
13	iii. 69. v. 161. vi. 153. 257. 286. xii. 294
lv. 3	v. 253. vii. 192. viii. 470
lvi. 1	vi. 201. 376. xii. 392
lvii. 16	xii. 326
19	xii. 148
lviii. 6	v. 134
13	iii. 66
lix. 16	v. 154
lx. 1, 2	ii. 444
4	vi. 153
8. 20	ii. 444
10	xi. 412
18	iv. 179
lxi. 1	iv. 313. v. 131. 135
16	xii. 239
lxii. 1—4	ii. 444
lxiii. 4	xi. 424
5	v. 153
8	xii. 238
9	vii. 387
15	vii. 354
lxiv. 1	iv. 309
4	vii. 257
lxv. 10	ii. 444
11	x. 214
13	xii. 293
15	v. 436. vi. 367. viii. 264
16	iv. 429
17	iii. 441. v. 33. vi. 294. vii. 113. xi. 303. xii. 434
20	vi. 229. 267. 287. vii. 398
lxvi. 7, 8	xi. 302. 421
13	iv. 202. viii. 378
17	viii. 61
20	xi. 408
21	vi. 225
24	x. 81. xi. 407
	JEREMIAH. ii. 274
i.	ii. 275
ii. 31	vi. 398
ii.—xii.	ii. 277
iii. 9	v. 351
14	vii. 316
16—18	ii. 444

Chap.	JEREMIAH.	Chap.	JEREMIAH.
iv. 7		ix. 268	x. 192
23	vi. 173. 291.	xi. 303	x. 332
v. 24		xii. 71	xlix. 34, to the end
31		xii. 550	ii. 290
vi. 12		viii. 61	l. li.
vii. 31, 32	ix. 221.	x. 81	ib.
viii. 6, &c.	v. 157		li. 36. 42
x. 11	iii. 248. vii. 369.	viii. 405	iii. 339
25		vi. 419	44
xi. 13		vii. 356	ii. 9
xiii. 12		vi. 258	lii. 1--3
17		v. 30	4, 5
xiii.—xx. and xxii. 1--24		ii. 280	5--28
xvii. 9		vi. 106	21
12		ix. 448	23
13		iii. 112	24
xix. 2	ix. 322. x. 80		26--29
xx. 2	ix. 262. 363		28
9	xii. 211		30
12	vii. 37		31--34
xxi.	ii. 294		ii. 306
xxii. 24, to the end	ii. 289		LAMENTATIONS. ii. 298
28--30	xi. 14	ii. 8	ix. 299. x. 63
xxiii. 5	xii. 28	14	xii. 145
6	xii. 392		EZEKIEL.
	ii. 289	i.	ix. 440
20	v. 255	i.—xxv.	ii. 291--294
28	iv. 286	i. 1	ii. 7
xxiv.	ii. 290	7	ix. 378
xxv.	ii. 284	24	xii. 35
10	iv. 183	ii. 1	iv. 433
xxvi. 10	ix. 321. 331	viii. 3. 5	ix. 364
xxvi. xxvii. 1--12	ii. 281	14	ix. 365
xxvii. 12, to the end	ii. 290	17	xii. 387
xxviii.—xxxi.	ib.	ix. 1	viii. 431
xxviii. 6.	iv. 428	3	ix. 436
xxix. 10	ii. 319, 320	x. 18	v. 294
xxx. 13	iv. 202	xi. 19	v. 44
34	ii. x.; vi. 229. 286, 287	xv. 2	xii. 387
38--40	ii. 444. x. 56	xvi. 7	xii. 28
39	v. 226	xviii. 23. 32	vi. 16
40	ix. 221. 229. v. 235	xx. 7, 8	vi. 41
xxxii. 27	vii. 310	57	xii. 230
xxxii. xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxvii.	ii. 295	xxi. 27	iv. 163
xxxii. 35	viii. 432	xxii. 14	vi. 311
xxxiv. 18	ii. 17	24	xii. 273
xxxv.	ii. 287	xxv. 16	x. 336
4	ix. 243. 331	xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.	ii. 296
10	iv. 183	xxvii. 7	viii. 455
xxxvi.	ii. 285, 286	27	x. 245
10	ix. 321. 331	xxix. 1--17	ii. 295
xxxviii.	ii. 296	17--21. xxx. 1--20	ii. 306
14		xxx. 15, 16	x. 191
xxxix. 2	ii. 294	20--26, and xxxi.	ii. 296
3	iv. 217	xxxii.—xlvi.	ii. 303--305
2--15	ii. 297	xxxiv. 12	v. 213
15--18	ii. 296	31	ii. 444
xl. 1	iv. 232	xxxvi. 22	vii. 9
1--9	ii. 298	25, 26	iv. 274. v. 45. vi. 399
7, to the end	ii. 301	35. 37, 38	ii. 444
xli--xlv.	ii. 301, 302	xxxvii. 1	iv. 343. v. 256
xlv. 1	ii. 302	2	xii. 287
xlv. xlvi. xlvi. xlix. 1--34	ii. 285	21. 25	ii. 444
xlvii.	ii. 294	12	v. 262
		xxxviii. 17	ii. 17. vii. 66
		39	vii. 66
		xl. 2	ix. 233. x. 48

Chap.	EZEKIEL.	
xl. 5		ix. 217
15		ix. 322
48		ix. 272
xlii. 13		ix. 91
20		ix. 217. 279
xliii. 3		viii. 217
14		ix. 298
15		ix. 401
16		ix. 393, 394
xlvi. 1, 2		ix. 331
21, 22		ix. 303, 306
23		ix. 308
xlvii. 1		ix. 350
8		x. 133
10		x. 332
16		x. 284
xlviii. 35		iv. 179

	DANIEL.	
i—iv.		x. 454
i. 1—18		ii. 284
20		iv. 216
18, to the end.		ii. 287
ii. 4		iv. 54. viii. 405
44		iv. 257. vi. 40
ii. iii. iv.		ii. 306
iii. 19		ix. 366
25		xii. 286
iv. 25		v. 28. xi. 49
26		vii. 225
v.		ii. 308
5		xii. 585
vi. 10		viii. 215
vii.		ii. 307
4, 5, &c.		iii. 25. xii. 571
8		x. 319
9, 10		iii. 335. xi. 253
13, 14, &c.		iv. 163. 257. v. 251.
		259. xi. 49
18, 26, 27		ii. 444. iii. 241.
		vi. 259
24, 25		vi. 213
viii. ix.		ii. 311
viii. 13		vii. 223
17		iv. 433
ix. 17		i. 25
21		ix. 102
24, 25		iii. 33. v. 180
24, 27		iii. 27. iv. 301. xi. 53
25, 26		iv. 418
25		v. 369. ix. 469
27		ii. 312. iv. 369. vi. 209.
		vii. 215. xi. 298. viii. 221
29		xii. 392
x. 1		ix. 467
21		vii. 45. xii. 97
x. xi. xii.		ii. 316
xi. 2		ix. 467
xii. 2		v. 255. 262. vi. 316
3		ii. 444
12, 13		vii. 217

	HOSEA.	
i.—xiv.		x. 455
i. 4		xi. 42

Chap.	HOSEA.	
i. 11		vi. 65
i. ii. iii. iv.		ii. 236
i. 7		iv. 343
1—11		ii. 423—426. 444
6, 8, 9		v. 143
ii. 1		v. 144
1—21		ii. 427—437. 444
15		ii. 140. v. 86
16, 17		ii. 444
20—23		v. 102
iii.		ii. 437—440
2		ii. 123
4		v. 99
5		iii. 441. vi. 292, 293. v. 95
iv. 1—5		ii. 440—443
8		vii. 209. ix. 86
15		x. 43
v. vi.		ii. 254
v. 1		iv. 258
5		ii. 3
11		vi. 342. xii. 153
vi. 2		v. 255, 256. xii. 209
vii.—xiv.		ii. 260
viii. 12		vii. 175
ix. 14		vi. 117
x. 9		v. 318. vi. 278
xiii. 14		xii. 555
2		xii. 444
14		i. 13
xiv. 2		vi. 423
8		ii. 444. v. 255

	JOEL.	
i.—iii.		ii. 239. x. 458
ii. 23		xii. 71
28		vi. 292
31		v. 430
iii. 17—20		ii. 444

	AMOS.	
i.—ix.		ii. 240. x. 458
i. 2		xii. 169
iii. 2		vii. 174
iv. 3		viii. 435
v. 9		v. 316
18		vi. 387
25		viii. 430
26		viii. 115. 431. 434
vi. 3		vi. 387
6		ii. 103
vii. 14		viii. 69
ix. 12		i. 13
13—15		ii. 444. v. 102

	OBADIAH.—	ii. 241. x. 461
Ver. 3		iv. 264
—15, 19, 20		ii. 444
—20		ix. 299. x. 291

	JONAH.	
i.—iv.		ii. 41. 243. x. 461
i.		iv. 21
3		iv. 14
ii. 2		xi. 107
5		iv. 27

Chap.	JONAH.		Chap.	ZECHARIAH.	
iii.	.	iv. 34	xij. 10	.	iv. 249
			11	ii. 149. xii. 338	
	MICAH.		xiii. 2, 3	.	ii. 444
i.—vii.	.	x. 461	xiv. 4	.	iii. 135
i. ii.	.	ii. 249	5	.	iv. 249
iii.—vii.	.	ii. 265	6, 7, 10, 20, 21	.	ii. 444
v. 2	.	i. 23. xi. 41	10	.	x. 56
3	.	viii. 52	16, 17	.	iii. 132. xi. 34
5	.	iv. 403. xii. 234	20	.	ix. 433
vi. 8	.	ii. 383. vi. 201			
	NAHUM.			MALACHI.	ii. 327
i.—iii.	.	ii. 266. x. 463	i.—iii.	.	x. 467
i. 2	.	vii. 353	i. 2, 3	.	ii. 95
			ii. 2	.	vi. 250
			7	.	vii. 180
	HABBAKKUK.		15	.	xi. 117
i.—iii.	.	ii. 271. x. 463	iii. 1, 2	iv. 239. v. 180. 275. 347.	
ii. 4	.	vi. 201		vii. 387. viii. 455	
iii. 2	.	ii. 359. xii. 230		iii. 45. iv. 462	
7	.	ii. 154	iv. 2	.	v. 237
	ZEPHANIAH.		4	.	ii. 24
i.—iii.	.	ii. 278. x. 464	5	.	xii. 19, &c.
i. 1	.	iv. 19	6	.	vi. 204
5	.	viii. 432			
ii. 1	.	vi. 103		JUDITH.	
5, 6	.	x. 336	i. 8	.	x. 313
iii. 9	.	vi. 81			
10	.	viii. 447		MATTHEW.	
	HAGGAI.		i.	.	ii. 48. iii. 23
i. ii.	.	ii. 321. x. 465	1	iv. 169. 173. xi. 9. 11	
i. 2, 4	.	v. 370	2	iv. 169. 173. xi. 12	
ii. 1—10	.	ii. 321	3	.	iv. 173
5	.	iv. 117	4	.	iv. 169
6	.	iii. 440	5	.	xi. 12
7	.	iv. 239	6, 7	.	iv. 169, 170
9	.	xii. 251	8	iv. 174. vii. 357. xi. 13	
10, to the end.	.	ii. 322	11	vi. 170. 174. xi. 14	
15	.	ix. 250	12	iv. 175, 176. xi. 15	
	ZECHARIAH.		13	.	iv. 176
i.—xiv.	.	x. 465	16, 17	iv. 170. 177. xi. 16	
i. 1—7	.	ii. 321	18	iv. 177. v. 221. xi. 18	
6	.	viii. 15	19	iv. 171. 178. xi. 19, 20	
7, to the end.	.	ii. 322	21	.	iv. 179
12	.	ii. 319, 320	23	.	iv. 179. xi. 20
17	.	iv. 202	25	.	iv. 180
ii.—viii.	.	ii. 322	ii.	ii. 48. iii. 26	
iii. 2	.	ix. 417	1	iv. 204. 212. 215. 217. xi. 27	
8	.	xii. 28	2	iv. 219. xi. 37	
iv.	.	v. 266	3	.	iv. 220
2	.	ix. 284	4	iv. 204. 221. 222. 224.	
14	.	x. 82		xi. 38, 39	
vi. 12	.	xii. 28	6	iv. 204. 224. 227. 229, 230	
14	.	ix. 275		xi. 41	
viii. 19	.	xii. 298	7	.	iv. 231
ix.—xiv.	.	ii. 324	8	.	iv. 205
ix. 1, 2	.	v. 191. viii. 452	9	.	xi. 42
xi. 1, 2, &c.	.	v. 319. xii. 333, 334	10	.	iv. 205
6	.	iii. 161	11	iv. 205. 231	
7	.	iii. 117	14	.	xi. 42
8	iii. 117. vi. 217. 351		15	.	iv. 231
12	.	i. 22	16	.	xi. 44
13	iii. 157. v. 128		18	iv. 205. 232	
			19	iv. 233	
			20	iv. 205. 234	
			22	iv. 234	
			23	iv. 235. 381. v. 38. xi. 44	

Chap.	MATTHEW.	Chap.	MATTHEW.
iii.		vi.	
	ii. 49. iii. 41	2	xi. 133
1	iii. 65. iv. 254. xi. 45	3	xi. 137
1—13	iii. 34	5	ib.
2	iv. 257. vi. 159. xi. 46. 48	7	xi. 139
4	iv. 240, 241. xi. 52	9	xi. 141. 144
5	x. 90. 205. xi. 52	10, 11	xi. 145
6	iv. 258. v. 65. xi. 53. 66	13	xi. 145, 146
7	iv. 259. 264. xi. 66. 76. 77. 205. 405	16, 17	xi. 149
9	iv. 264. v. 44. xi. 77	22, 23	xi. 150
10	iv. 241. 265, 266. xi. 77	25	i. 19
11	iv. 272. 279. v. 38. xi. 77	26	xi. 151
13, &c.	iii. 34. iv. 290	30	ib.
14	iv. 292—294	33	v. 33
15, 16	iv. 295, 296. 306, 307. 309. 312, 313. 319. v. 65. xi. 78	34	xi. 151
17	iv. 319—321. xi. 79	vii.	ii. 55. iii. 69
iv.		2	iv. 28. xi. 151
1	iv. 343. xi. 82	4	xi. 152
1—12	ii. 49. iii. 41	6	i. 75
3, 4	iv. 344. 358. 361, 362	7, 8	v. 95
5	iv. 344, 345. 363, 364. 367.	9	xi. 152
8	373. xi. 83, 84	12	ib.
9, 10	iv. 345, 346. 374	13	ib.
11	iv. 377	14	xi. 153
12	iii. 49	15	ib.
13	v. 141. xi. 84	16	ib.
13—17	iii. 51	29	ib.
13—22	ii. 51. iii. 52	viii.	1—14 ii. 55. iii. 69
15	v. 142. 144, 145. xi. 85, 86	1. 5—14	iii. 71
16	v. 146	2	xi. 154
17	v. 27. 152. 154	2—4	ii. 53. iii. 59
18	xi. 86	4	vi. 219. xi. 155
19	xi. 87	6	xi. 157
21	ib.	11	v. 32, 33
23	v. 189. xi. 87	12	v. 32. xi. 157
23—25	ii. 52. iii. 58	14—17	iii. 55
24	v. 190	16	xi. 157
v.		17	v. 185. xi. 159
	ii. 55. iii. 69	18	ii. 56. iii. 83. iv. 412
1	iii. 67	28	iii. 84. x. 143. xi. 160
3	v. 27. 130. xi. 95	30	xi. 161
4, 5	xi. 95	ix.	1 ii. 56. iii. 83
8, 9	xi. 97	2—10	ii. 53. iii. 60. v. 194
17	ib.	2	v. 219
18	xi. 97—99	5	v. 221
20	v. 32	9	v. 221. xi. 162
21	xi. 104	10—18	ii. 56. iii. 83
22	ii. ix. iv. 27, 28. xi. 104—106	10—27	iii. 86
23, 24	xi. 110	12, 13	v. 131
25	xi. 112	14—16	vii. 414
26	xi. 113	14	xi. 163
27	xi. 114	15	v. 68. xi. 164
28	xi. 115	18	xi. 165
30	ib.	18—38	ii. 57. v. 231
31	xi. 115. 118	20	xi. 165
32, 33	xi. 121	23	ib.
34	xi. 124	24	xi. 168
36	ib.	27—38	iii. 88, 89
37	xi. 125	33	xi. 168
38, 39	ib.	34	xi. 169
40, 41	xi. 127	37	iv. 28
43	xi. 129	x.	iii. 90
46	xi. 130	1	xi. 169
vi.		2	xi. 170, 171
	ii. 55. iii. 69	3	xi. 171
1	xi. 131. 133		

MATTHEW.		Chap.	MATTHEW.
x.	4 . . . . . xi. 172, 173	xiv. 1—13	iii. 91
	5 . . . . . iii. 192. x. 7. xi. 173. 360	2 . . . . .	xi. 207
	9 . . . . . iv. 463. ix. 121. xi. 175	4 . . . . .	xi. 208
	10 . . . . . iv. 463. ix. 121. x. 175, 176	6 . . . . .	ib.
	11 . . . . . xi. 178	7 . . . . .	xi. 209
	14 . . . . . ib.	10 . . . . .	ib.
	17 . . . . . ib.	13 . . . . . iii. 93. xi. 210	
	23 . . . . . xi. 179	17 . . . . .	xi. 211
	24 . . . . . xii. 388	20 . . . . .	ib.
	25 . . . . . xi. 179	22 . . . . .	ib.
	27 . . . . . xi. 94. 179, 180	23 . . . . .	xi. 212
	29, 30 . . . . . vii. 226	25 . . . . .	ib.
	34 . . . . . xi. 180	xv. . . . .	iii. 95
	34, 35 . . . . . i. 19. vi. 228. 267	2 . . . . .	xi. 212, 213
xi.	1 . . . . . iii. 90	3 . . . . . v. 33. 383. vi. 367	
	2—20 . . . . . ii. 55. iii. 73, 74	5 . . . . .	xi. 216
	3 . . . . . xi. 182	9 . . . . .	x. 225
	5 . . . . . v. 131	11 . . . . .	xi. 219
	11, 12 . . . . . v. 27	20 . . . . .	ib.
	12 . . . . . xi. 184	22 . . . . .	xi. 219—221
	19 . . . . . viii. 69	26 . . . . .	xi. 220
	21 . . . . . x. 169. xi. 185	36 . . . . .	xi. 321
	22 . . . . . xi. 185	39 . . . . .	x. 225
	23 . . . . . iii. 88	xvi. 1—3	iii. 95
	29 . . . . . xi. 185	3 . . . . .	xi. 221
xii.	1—15 . . . . . iii. 64	6 . . . . .	xi. 222
	1—46 . . . . . ii. 54, 55	13 . . . . .	iii. 98. xi. 223
	1 . . . . . xi. 185, 188	14 . . . . .	iii. 158. xi. 224
	2 . . . . . xi. 188	17 . . . . .	xi. 224
	3 . . . . . xi. 189, 190	18 . . . . .	vi. 40. xi. 225
	5 . . . . . ix. 145. xi. 191	19 . . . . .	xi. 226
	8 . . . . . xi. 191	28 . . . . .	iii. 441. v. 32. vi. 293.
	9 . . . . . v. 213		xii. 433
	10 . . . . . v. 227	xvii. 1—24	iii. 101
	11 . . . . . xi. 193	1 . . . . .	v. 169
	13 . . . . . v. 213	2 . . . . .	iv. 390. xi. 231
	15—22 . . . . . iii. 66	4 . . . . .	xi. 232
	16 . . . . . xi. 193	5 . . . . .	v. 249. 254. xi. 232
	20 . . . . . xi. 193, 194	10 . . . . .	xi. 233
	22—46 . . . . . iii. 78	11 . . . . .	v. 381. viii. 66. xi. 235
	24 . . . . . xi. 194	15 . . . . .	xi. 236
	25 . . . . . xi. 197	17 . . . . .	xi. 238
	27 . . . . . ib.	20 . . . . .	ib.
	28 . . . . . v. 182	21 . . . . .	ib.
	32 . . . . . v. 158. vi. 335. xi. 198, 199	24 . . . . .	ib.
	36 . . . . . i. 27	24—27	iii. 104. v. 342. vi. 219
	39 . . . . . v. 349. vi. 355. xi. 199, 200	xviii.	iii. 105
	40 . . . . . iii. 169. xi. 200	1 . . . . .	xi. 240
	43—45 . . . . . v. 443. vi. 231. 338, 339	6 . . . . .	xi. 241
	45 . . . . . vii. 339. xi. 202	10 . . . . .	xi. 242
	46—50 . . . . . ii. 56. iii. 81	12 . . . . .	iii. 106. xi. 242
xiii.	1—54 . . . . . ib.	15 . . . . .	xi. 242
	2, 3 . . . . . xi. 203	16 . . . . .	xi. 243, 244
	4, 5 . . . . . xi. 204	17 . . . . .	i. 157. v. 116. vi. 341, xi. 243, 244
	7, 8 . . . . . xi. 205	18 . . . . .	iii. 99. viii. 220. xi. 246
	11 . . . . . v. 27. 94	19 . . . . .	xi. 246, 247
	13 . . . . . xi. 205	20 . . . . .	i. 28. v. 116. vi. 341. xi. 247
	25 . . . . . xi. 206	21 . . . . .	xi. 247
	31 . . . . . v. 28	xix.	iii. 122, 123
	32 . . . . . xi. 206	1 . . . . .	xi. 247
	33 . . . . . v. 28. xi. 207	3 . . . . .	xi. 248
	52 . . . . . xi. 207	7 . . . . .	v. 368
	54—58 . . . . . ii. 57. iii. 89	8 . . . . .	xi. 248
xiv.	ii. 57		

Chap.	MATTHEW.
xix. 12, 13	xi. 251
14	v. 27
16	vi. 376. vii. 242
18	xi. 251
20	v. 44
21	xi. 252
23	v. 27
24	xi. 252
28	iii. 441. v. 33. vi. 259. xi. 253
	xii. 480
xx. 1	iii. 123. xi. 254, 255
2	xi. 255
8	ib.
13	xi. 256
17—19	iii. 125
20, &c.	iii. 126, 127
22	xi. 256
28	iv. 394
30	iii. 84
xxi. 1—17	iii. 130
1	xi. 257
2	xi. 258
5	ib.
8	ix. 184. xi. 259
9	v. 261. ix. 184. xi. 259
12	iii. 45. xi. 261—263
14	ix. 301
15	ix. 184. xi. 263
17—23	iii. 133
19	x. 176. xi. 264. 269
21	iii. 135, 136. xi. 269
23, &c.	iii. 135, 136
25	v. 28
31. 43	v. 30
33	xi. 270
34. 45	ii. 247
35	xi. 270
37	v. 252
38	xi. 270
40, 41. 43	v. 32, 33. 443
42	iv. 390. viii. 73
44	ix. 340. xi. 271
xxii. 9	iii. 136
	xi. 271
16	v. 106. xi. 271
20	xi. 271
23	v. 210. xi. 273
32	xi. 273
35	xi. 275
42	v. 261
xxiii. 2	iii. 136
	v. 208. xi. 276
3	v. 208. vi. 219. 304
4	iii. 138, 139. xi. 277
5	xi. 277, 278
7	xi. 278
9	iii. 138, 139. vii. 413
14	xi. 280
15	xi. 282
16	xi. 283
19	ix. 406
23	xi. 283
27	xi. 285
28	xi. 286

Chap.	MATTHEW.
xxiii. 29	xi. 287
33	ib.
34	iii. 68. v. 175. xi. 287
35	ix. 416. xi. 288
37	xi. 293
xxiv. 1	iii. 140
	xi. 293
2, 3	xi. 294
7	iii. 379. xi. 296
9	iii. 319, 320. xi. 296
12	xi. 297
14	iii. 315. xi. 298
15	iii. 325, 326. 386. xi. 298
20	xi. 298
22	iii. 214. 233. vii. 11. xi. 299
24	ib.
27	xi. 303
28	ib.
29	iii. 141. 439. 441. v. 264. 431. 453. vi. 65. 291. 293. vii. 123. xi. 304
30	xi. 304
31	ib.
33	vi. 381
34	xi. 305
36	ib.
37	ib.
xxv. 1	iii. 140
	xi. 305, 306
2	xi. 307
5	ib.
15	ib.
27	xi. 308
30	v. 340
33	ix. 339
xxvi. 1—14	iii. 142
3	xi. 308
5	v. 208
6	xi. 318. 323. 336
7	iii. 75. xi. 323
8	xi. 324
9	ib.
12	ib.
14—16	iii. 146
15	xi. 325
17	ib.
17—30	iii. 148
19	xi. 325
20	xi. 327
22	xi. 328
21—25	ix. 161
24	xi. 329
26	xi. 329. 332, 333
27	xi. 333
28—30	vii. 39
29	vi. 13. vii. 389. viii. 469
30	iii. 151
34	vi. 317. xi. 338
36	xi. 339
37	v. 169
49	xi. 340
60	ib.
64	ix. 338
65	xi. 341



Chap.	MATTHEW.
xxvi. 67	ix. 15
73	v. 106. x. 159
xxvii. 1	xi. 341, 342
5	viii. 37. xi. 343
6	ix. 372
7	viii. 37
9	xi. 344
15	vii. 307
16	xi. 345
19	xi. 346
26	ib.
29	ib.
31	ib.
33	xi. 348. xii. 416
34	ib.
35	xi. 349
38	ib.
39	xi. 350
45	iv. 359
46	xi. 350
47	xi. 351
48	xii. 418
51	ix. 291. xi. 351
52	xi. 353
53	iii. 167
54	xi. 354
56	xi. 354. 356
58	xi. 356
xxviii. 1	viii. 41. xi. 356, 357
2	xii. 283
9	xi. 359
1—16	iii. 168
18	v. 251. vi. 13. vii. 389
19	iv. 317. vi. 391. 414. viii. 223. xi. 360. 363
16, to the end	iii. 173, 174

	MARK.
i. 1—9	iii. 34
1	iv. 244. 246. v. 33. xi. 377
2	iv. 246, 247. 390. xi. 377
4	iv. 255, 256. vi. 135
6	x. 204. xi. 379, 380
8	iv. 274. 280
9—11	iii. 39
10	iv. 310
12	iii. 41. iv. 343
13	iii. 41. iv. 346, 347. 356. xi. 381
14—20	iii. 50—52
15	v. 27. 152. 154. vi. 159
21—40	iii. 55
22	v. 174
23	v. 176
24	v. 179. xi. 381
26	v. 182
32	v. 183
34	v. 184
35	v. 187
38	xi. 381
40	iii. 59. xi. 410
45	v. 197
ii. 1—15	iii. 60
1	xi. 377

Chap.	MARK.
ii. 2	xi. 377
4	iv. 114. v. 219
7	xi. 384
9	ib.
11	xii. 285
12	xi. 385
15—23	ii. 56. iii. 86
16	xi. 385
23, &c.	ii. 54. iii. 64
26	xi. 385
iii. 1—31	ii. 55. iii. 64
4	xi. 386
6	v. 106
7—19	iii. 66, 67
17	xi. 386
19—31	iii. 78
21	xi. 388
28, 29	vi. 408
31—35	ii. 56. iii. 81
iv. 1—35	ii. 56
1	iii. 81
4	xi. 389
5	xi. 390
7	ib.
11	ib.
35, &c.	xi. 390, 391
v. 1—21	iii. 83
1	ii. 56. iii. 83
9	x. 143. xi. 392
14	xi. 394
15	xi. 395
22, &c.	ib.
23	ii. 57. iii. 86
26	xi. 395
29	ib.
37	xi. 396
41	v. 169
43	xi. 396, 397
vi. 1—6	xi. 397
3	ii. 57
7—11	iii. 89
8	v. 120. xi. 397
13	ii. 90
14—30	xi. 397
20	xi. 398
21	iii. 91
26	v. 85
27	x. 280
30	v. 59
37	xi. 398
40	xi. 399
vii. 3	iii. 95
4	ix. 153. xi. 399
11	xi. 400, 401
19	xi. 402
24	ib.
viii. 1—22	x. 147. 230
10	iii. 95
12	x. 225
22, &c.	xi. 402
33	iii. 98
	iv. 374

Chap.	MARK.
ix. 1	iii. 98. xi. 404
2—33	iii. 101
2	xi. 405
23	iii. 135
33	iii. 105
38	xi. 406
41	ib.
43	xi. 407
49	v. 338. xi. 407, 408
x. 1—32	iii. 122, 123
1	xi. 409
14	v. 27
15	v. 31
17	iv. 414. xi. 410
21	xi. 411. xii. 378
32, &c.	iii. 125—127
46	iii. 84
xi. 1—11	iii. 130
2	x. 218
11—27	iii. 133
11	xi. 413
13	iii. 133. xi. 264. 269. 413
16	xi. 413
25	xi. 137
27, &c.	iii. 136
xii. 1—41	ib.
1	xi. 414, 415
2	xi. 415
4	xi. 416
7	xii. 353
10	xi. 416
16	ib.
22	v. 347
28	xi. 419
41	ix. 316. x. 208. xi. 419
41—44	iii. 140
42	xi. 419
xiii. 3	iii. 140
7	xi. 420
8	xi. 421
8	ib.
32	vii. 46. xi. 423—425
xiv. 1—10	iii. 142
3	xi. 427
5	xi. 429
7	xi. 430
10, 11	iii. 146
12	xi. 430. 435
12—26	iii. 148
15	viii. 363
18—21	ix. 161
26	iii. 151. xi. 435, 436
36	xi. 436
51	xi. 438
56	xi. 441
70	v. 106
xv. 1	xi. 442
6, 7	xi. 443
21	ib.
25	iii. 161. xi. 444
34	xi. 451
42	ib.
43	v. 154. ix. 356. xi. 454
xvi. 1, 2	xi. 455

Chap.	MARK.
xvi. 1—12	iii. 168
2	xi. 455
5	x. 181
12—14	iii. 170, 171
13	xi. 456
15	iii. 174. 272. vii. 14. 17.
	xi. 457
19	xi. 458
20	xi. 459
21—23	ib.

LUKE.

i.	MARK.
1—27	ii. 47, 48
1	iii. 19, 20
1	iv. 113, 114. xii. 5, 6
2	iv. 113, 114. xii. 6
3	iv. 113, 114. xii. 7
4	iv. 114
5	iv. 127. 132—134. xii. 8. 12, 13
6	iv. 127. 149. xii. 13
7	iv. 127
8	iv. 127. xii. 14
9	iv. 150, 151. xii. 14, 15
10	iv. 152. xii. 16
11	iv. 127. 153. xii. 17, 18
12	iv. 128
13	iv. 128. 154
14	iv. 128
15	iv. 128. viii. 443. xii. 18
16	iv. 154
17	iv. 128. 154—156. vi. 129
	xii. 19—21
18	iv. 128. 157. xii. 21
19	iv. 128. 15
20	iv. 128. 157. 381
21	xii. 22
22	iv. 129. 159
23	iv. 159
24	iv. 129. 159. xii. 25
25	iv. 129
26	iii. 35. iv. 129. 160. xii. 24
27	iv. 129. 160
28	iv. 161, 162
29	iv. 162. xii. 24
30	iv. 129
31	iv. 129. 163
32—34	iv. 130—163. xii. 24
35	iv. 130. 165, 166. xii. 25
36	iv. 130. 166. xii. 26
37	iv. 130
39	iv. 130. 166. x. 26. xii. 26
40	iv. 167
41	iv. 131. 167. xii. 26
42, 43	iv. 131
45	iv. 131. 168
46	iv. 131
48	iv. 168
49	iv. 131
50	iv. 132
51	iv. 132. 169
54	iv. 132
55	ib.
56	xii. 27
57	iii. 24. iv. 180

Chap.	LUKE.	Chap.	LUKE.
i.	58 . . . . . iv. 180	iii.	27. 31. 36 . . . iv. 325. xii. 53, 54
	59 . . . . . iv. 182, 183. xii. 27		38 . . . . . iv. 331
	63 . . . . . iv. 181. 183, 184	iv.	1 . . . . . iii. 41. iv. 343. 350. 354.
	64, 66 . . . . . iv. 181. 184		. . . . . xii. 62
	68, 69 . . . . . iv. 185		2 . . . . . iv. 347. 357. xii. 63
	70, 71 . . . . . iv. 181. 185		3, 4 . . . . . iv. 344
	72 . . . . . iv. 181		5 . . . . . xii. 64
	73, 74 . . . . . iv. 182	10, 11 . . . . . iv. 347	
	76, 77 . . . . . iv. 185. vii. 335	13 . . . . . iv. 375. xii. 368. 64	
	78 . . . . . iv. 182. 186. xii. 28	14 . . . . . iii. 50. v. 111	
	80 . . . . . iv. 186. xi. 45. xii. 29, 30	15 . . . . . v. 109. 111	
ii.	. . . . . ii. 48, 49	16 . . . . . v. 109. 122, 123. 343. vi. 223	
	1—40 . . . . . iii. 25	10 . . . . . v. 109. 127. xii. 67, 68	
	1 . . . . . iv. 186. 191. xii. 30, 31	18 . . . . . v. 109. 128—130	
	2 . . . . . iv. 187. 192. xii. 33	19—21 . . . . . v. 135—137	
	3 . . . . . iv. 193	23 . . . . . v. 105. 109. 137. xii. 69	
	4 . . . . . iv. 187. 194. xii. 33	25 . . . . . v. 138. vii. 225. xii. 69	
	5 . . . . . iv. 187	27 . . . . . xii. 72	
	7 . . . . . iv. 187. 194. 197. xii. 34	28 . . . . . v. 139	
	8 . . . . . iv. 187. 198. x. 342. xii. 34	29 . . . . . xii. 73	
	9 . . . . . iv. 198	31 . . . . . iii. 55	
	10 . . . . . iv. 187	33 . . . . . xii. 74	
	13 . . . . . iv. 187. 198. xii. 35	35 . . . . . v. 173	
	14 . . . . . ib.	v.	1 . . . . . v. 163. xii. 74
	15 . . . . . iv. 187		1—12 . . . . . ii. 51. iii. 52
	21 . . . . . iv. 200. xii. 35		3 . . . . . v. 165. 167
	22 . . . . . iv. 188. 200. xii. 36, 37		5 . . . . . xii. 74
	23 . . . . . iv. 188		6, 8 . . . . . v. 167
	24 . . . . . iv. 188. xii. 38		7 . . . . . xii. 74
	25 . . . . . iv. 188. 200. 202. v. 154.		10 . . . . . v. 168
	. . . . . xii. 38, 39. 384		12 . . . . . v. 194. xii. 74
	26 . . . . . iv. 189. 200		16 . . . . . v. 198
	35 . . . . . iv. 203. xii. 40		17 . . . . . v. 202. xii. 75
	36 . . . . . iv. 189. 200. xii. 40		12—29 . . . . . ii. 53. iii. 59, 60
	37 . . . . . iv. 204. ix. 244. xii. 41		27 . . . . . xii. 75
	38 . . . . . v. 154. xii. 384		29 . . . . . iii. 86
	39 . . . . . ii. 48. iii. 50		39 . . . . . xii. 75
	40 . . . . . iii. 30. iv. 235, 236	vi.	. . . . . ii. 54, 55
	41 . . . . . iv. 235—237		1—12 . . . . . iii. 64, 65
	42 . . . . . iv. 237. xii. 41		1 . . . . . viii. 42. xii. 76
	43 . . . . . iv. 238. xii. 42		6, 7 . . . . . v. 213
	44 . . . . . xii. 44		12—20 . . . . . iii. 67. v. 27
	46 . . . . . iv. 239. xii. 44, 45		10 . . . . . v. 31
	49 . . . . . iv. 235		12 . . . . . xii. 78
iii.	. . . . . ii. 49, 50. iii. 34. 39, 40. 48		20 . . . . . iii. 69
	1 . . . . . iv. 242. 249—252. viii. 91		24 . . . . . viii. 39. xi. 96
	2 . . . . . iv. 242. 253, 254. ix. 38. xii. 47		38 . . . . . xii. 78
	3 . . . . . v. 38		. . . . . ii. 54, 55
	4 . . . . . iv. 242	vii.	1—36 . . . . . iii. 71—73. v. 27
	5 . . . . . iv. 258. xii. 49		1 . . . . . ii. 52. v. 195
	10 . . . . . iv. 267. xii. 64		2 . . . . . xii. 79
	11 . . . . . iv. 243. 268, 269. xi. 176. xii. 50		5 . . . . . xii. 80
	12, 13 . . . . . iv. 269, 270. xii. 50		11 . . . . . x. 294
	14 . . . . . iv. 243. 270. xii. 50		12 . . . . . ix. 6. xii. 80, 81
	15 . . . . . iv. 271		14 . . . . . xii. 81
	16 . . . . . iv. 272. 274. 279—283		30 . . . . . v. 267
	17 . . . . . iv. 283. 287		36, &c. . . . . iii. 75
	18, 19 . . . . . v. 72, 73		37 . . . . . vi. 307. xii. 81
	20 . . . . . v. 76		38 . . . . . xii. 82
	21 . . . . . iv. 300. 306		47 . . . . . ib.
	22 . . . . . iv. 313—319. v. 51. xii. 51	viii.	1—3 . . . . . ii. 54, 55
	23 . . . . . ii. 124. iv. 322—324. viii. 210		2, 3 . . . . . iii. 76. v. 107
	. . . . . xii. 51, 52		2 . . . . . xii. 83
	25 . . . . . xii. 69		3 . . . . . xii. 84

Chap.	LUKE.	Chap.	LUKE.
viii. 4, &c.	iii. 81—86	xii. 19	xii. 126
10	v. 27	20	xii. 127
18	xii. 84	24	ib.
19—40	ii. 56	30	x. 5. xii. 128
27	iii. 84	37	xii. 129
41—49	v. 119	38	ib.
56	iii. 73	47	v. 366. vii. 182. xii. 129
ix. 1—18	ii. 57. iii. 90—93	49	xii. 130
1	iii. 102	51, 52	vi. 226. 328
3	xii. 84	xiii. 1	xii. 130. 132
8	xii. 87	1—23	iii. 113
27	v. 30	4	x. 347. xii. 132
28—46	iii. 101	7	xii. 133
30, 31	v. 196. xii. 88	8	ib.
33	vi. 422	11	ib.
46—51	iii. 105	14	v. 119
51	iii. 109. xii. 89. 301	15	xii. 135
52	xii. 89	16	v. 221
55	ib.	18—21	v. 28
60	xii. 90	23	iii. 119. xii. 136
57—63	iii. 83	32	xii. 137
x. 1—17	iii. 109	29	v. 32
1	xii. 90	33	iii. 120. ix. 168. xii. 137
3	xii. 91	35	xii. 137. 139
4	ib.	xiv. 1	xii. 142
8	xii. 93	3	xii. 143
17, &c.	iii. 113	5	ib.
18	xii. 93	8	iii. 120. xii. 144
18, 29, 30	ii. x. iii. 113, 114	15	xii. 292
23, 24	v. 95	18	xii. 144
25	xii. 93	23	xii. 145
26	iv. 247. xii. 99	34	ib.
27	xii. 100	xv. 1—7	v. 157. vii. 255
29	xii. 102	4	xii. 146
30	ix. 418. xii. 102, 103	7	ib.
31, 32	x. 94. xii. 103	8	xii. 150
33—35	xii. 104	11	ib.
38	xii. 105	13	ib.
xi. 1	iii. 113	21	v. 28. xi. 49
2	xii. 105	xvi. 1	xii. 150
4	vi. 417	3	xii. 151
14	xii. 108	6	ib.
15	v. 221	9	ib.
20	v. 34. xii. 109	11	xii. 156
31	xii. 111	12	ib.
33	xii. 112	16	v. 30. 33. xii. 156
36	xii. 113	19	xii. 157
38	ib.	20	ii. 424. iii. 120. xii. 158
39	xii. 114	22	v. 337. xii. 159
40	xii. 115	23	xii. 164
xi. 41	viii. 215. xii. 116	24	v. 339. xii. 165, 166
45	xii. 117	25	v. 219
46	xii. 121	26	v. 11. xii. 167
49	ib.	29	v. 463. xii. 167
51	xii. 122	31	xii. 168
52	xii. 123	xvii. 2	ib.
xii. 1	iii. 113	3	xii. 169
3	vii. 255. xii. 124	6	ib.
6	ib.	7	xii. 170
8	xii. 124, 125	11	x. 280. xii. 170
9	iv. 390	12	xii. 170
13	xii. 125	14	v. 197
	ib.	20	v. 31. xii. 172
		21	xi. 52

Chap.	LUKE.
xviii. 1	xii. 174
2	xii. 174, 175
5	xii. 175
7	ib.
9	v. 209
11	v. 44. xi. 137
12	v. 117. xi. 163. xii. 176
13	iii. 121. ix. 333. xii. 177, 178
15—31	iii. 123. xii. 179
18	v. 33
19	xii. 179
24	v. 27
31—34	iii. 125. xii. 180
32, 33	vii. 53
35, &c.	iii. 127
38	v. 261
xix. 1—29	iii. 127
2	xii. 181, 182
8	xii. 183, 184
11	v. 31. 154. vii. 305. xi. 36. xii. 185
13	xii. 185
27, 28	iv. 390
29, &c.	iii. 130
42	v. 300
44	xii. 186
xx.	iii. 136
1	xii. 187
30	vi. 383
37	ii. 358, 359
38	vi. 383
42	xii. 188
46	xii. 189
xxi.	iii. 140
3	v. 341
12	iii. 320
18	vii. 226
24	xii. 189
31, 32	v. 32
xxii.	iii. 146—151
1, 2	iii. 142
4	xii. 190
12	viii. 363
17	ix. 161
18	v. 32
19	xii. 192
21	xii. 194
26	ib.
30	vi. 259. xii. 480
31	xii. 195
32	ib.
36, 37	xii. 196
43	ib.
44	xii. 198
47	ib.
52	ix. 236
53	vii. 235. xii. 199
xxiii.	iii. 1
2	ix. 168. xii. 200
7	xii. 200
30	ib.
31	xii. 201
34	ib.
36	ib.

Chap.	LUKE.
xxiii. 39	iii. 84
42	xii. 202
43	v. 10. vii. 269. xii. 203
47	iv. 359
51	xii. 204
53	v. 31
54	iii. 55. xii. 205
56	xii. 207
xxiv. 1—13	iii. 168
3	x. 181
5	xii. 208
13	iii. 170, 171. xii. 208
15	xii. 209
18	viii. 33
21	v. 31. xii. 209
26	v. 33
27	vi. 201
30	xii. 210
32	xii. 211
34	ib.
35	viii. 60
37	vii. 293. xii. 213
44	v. 32. xi. 345. xii. 213
45	xii. 218
49	iii. 174
50	xii. 218

## JOHN.

i. 1—15	ii. 47. iii. 20. 43
1	iv. 115. 117. 119. 120. xii. 229
2	iv. 120
3	iv. 116. 120. vii. 21
4	iv. 121. vi. 325. xii. 230, 231
5	xii. 231
6	iv. 116. 122
7	iv. 122, 123
8	iv. 116
9	iv. 116. xii. 232
10	iv. 123
11	iv. 116. 123
12	iv. 116. 123. v. 323. xii. 232
13	iv. 124. xii. 232
14	iv. 117. 124—126. vi. 409. xii. 233
15	iii. 42. iv. 381. 388—390
16	iv. 390. xii. 233
17	iv. 394, 395
18	iv. 381. 396, 397. v. 49. 51. 254
19	iv. 381. 397. v. 268
20	iv. 382. 398. v. 268
21	iv. 382. 399—405. xii. 233
25	ii. 43. iv. 273. 407. xii. 234
26	iv. 382
28	iv. 382. 411
29	iv. 383. 415. ix. 83. xii. 235
31	iv. 416
33	iv. 292, 293
38	iv. 383. xii. 236
39	iv. 417. v. 165
40	iv. 417, 418
41	iv. 384. xii. 236
42	iv. 418, 419. 423. xii. 237
43	iv. 423
44	iv. 424. v. 182

Chap.	JOHN.
i.	
45	iv. 384. x. 316
46	iv. 385. 425. xii. 238
47	iv. 426. xii. 238
48	iv. 427
49	iv. 427. v. 33. xi. 354
51	iv. 385. 428. 430. 432. xii. 238. 240
ii.	
1	iii. 44, 45. iv. 435, 436. 438, 439, 440. xii. 241, 242, 243
2	iv. 436. x. 321
3	iv. 436. 441
4	iv. 442. 444
5	iv. 446
6	iv. 436, 437. 446, 447. xii. 244. 245
7	xii. 245
8	iv. 437. 453. xii. 246
12	iv. 437. 455
13	iv. 455, 456
14	iii. 44, 45. iv. 457. 460
15	iv. 462. ix. 301
16	iv. 463
18	iv. 464. xii. 246
19	iv. 465, 466. v. 349. xii. 246
20	iv. 438. 466. v. 368. xii. 247
21	xii. 249
22	iv. 467
23	ib.
24	iv. 468
iii.	
	iii. 46
1	v. 22. vii. 15. xii. 252
2	v. 24, 25. xii. 253, 254
3	v. 15. 17. 26, 27. xii. 7. 254
4	v. 17. 36. xii. 256
5	v. 36. vi. 397. xii. 256
6	v. 41
7	v. 17
8	v. 17, 18. 41
10	v. 42. xii. 257
11	v. 45
12	v. 47
13	v. 48. 50, 51
14	v. 53. xii. 257
15	v. 54
16	v. 55. x. 5
17	xii. 258
18	v. 55
19	viii. 388
20	v. 18
21	v. 18. 56, 57
22	iii. 54. v. 18. 57. vi. 407
23	v. 19. 58. x. 323. 330
25	v. 66. xii. 259
27	v. 28. 67. xi. 49. xii. 260
29	v. 67. xii. 260
30	v. 68
31	v. 69. xii. 7. 261
33	v. 70
34	v. 71
iv.	
	iii. 49. v. 26
1	v. 81
2	iii. 54
3	v. 81
4	v. 81. 87. xii. 261

Chap.	JOHN.
iv.	
5	v. 59, 81. 87. x. 333. xii. 263
6	v. 81. 89. xii. 264
8	xii. 265
9	v. 90. xii. 265
10	v. 94, 95
11	v. 82. xii. 267
14	i. 28. v. 96
15	v. 96
17	v. 97
18	v. 97. xii. 268
20	v. 98. xii. 268. 271
21	v. 98
23	v. 32. 99
24	v. 32. 100
25	v. 83. 100. xii. 271
27	v. 83. xii. 275
28	xii. 276
29	v. 33. 100. viii. 14. xii. 276
35	iii. 49. v. 21. 101. 325. vii. 13. xii. 277
36	v. 102
42	v. 104
44	v. 105
45	ib.
46	v. 106. 347. xii. 278
48	v. 346 iii. 62
v.	
1	v. 233. xii. 278
2	v. 226, 227. 234. x. 343. xii. 278, 279
3	v. 227
4	v. 239. xii. 281. 284
5	v. 240
6	v. 241. xii. 284
8	ib.
9	v. 227. xii. 286
13	v. 228
14	v. 242
15	v. 228. 243
17	v. 244. xii. 286
19	v. 246. vi. 409. xii. 287
20	v. 249, 250
21	v. 251
22	ib.
23	v. 252
24	v. 253
25	v. 255. vi. 258. 357. xii. 287
26	v. 257
27	v. 229. 258. xii. 288
28	v. 260. 262, 263. vii. 188
30	v. 264. xii. 289
31	v. 265
32	v. 266
35	v. 266. xii. 289
36	v. 268
37	v. 271
39	v. 225. 229. 271. vii. 207. xii. 289
41	v. 273
42	v. 274
43	v. 276
44	ib.
45	v. 277

Chap.	JOHN.	Chap.	JOHN.
vi.	ii. 57, 58. iii. 93, 94. vi. 221	ix.	27 . . . . . iii. 117
1	. . . . . iv. 412	28	. . . . . xii. 331
4	. . . . . xii. 289	31	. . . . . v. 26
9	. . . . . xii. 290	34	. . . . . xii. 332
12	. . . . . ib.	x.	. . . . . iii. 116
14, 15	. . . . . v. 33	1	. . . . . xii. 337, 338
24	. . . . . xii. 291	3	. . . . . xii. 338
27	. . . . . ib.	7	. . . . . ib.
28	. . . . . xii. 292	8	. . . . . ib.
31	. . . . . ib.	9	. . . . . xii. 339
32	. . . . . xii. 293	13	. . . . . ib.
39	. . . . . vii. 193. xii. 294	15	. . . . . xii. 340
45	. . . . . iv. 247. xii. 294	17, 18	. . . . . v. 249. 252. vi. 33
51	. . . . . v. 50. xii. 295	20	. . . . . v. 34
58	. . . . . v. 50	22	. . . . . xii. 340. 342
vii.	. . . . . vi. 221	22, 23	. . . . . vi. 209
1	. . . . . iii. 95	24	. . . . . xii. 344
2	. . . . . iii. 108—110. xii. 297	31	. . . . . xii. 345
4	. . . . . xii. 300	35	. . . . . ib.
8	. . . . . xii. 301	40	. . . . . xii. 346
14	. . . . . ib.	xi.	1—17 . . . . . iii. 124
15	. . . . . v. 126	1	. . . . . xii. 346
19	. . . . . v. 219. xii. 302	2	. . . . . xii. 347
21	. . . . . xii. 302	11	. . . . . xii. 348
27	. . . . . xi. 44. xii. 303	17	. . . . . iii. 128. vi. 33
28	. . . . . xii. 304	18	. . . . . xii. 348
31	. . . . . v. 34. 271	19	. . . . . ib.
35	. . . . . xii. 305	25	. . . . . xii. 352
37	. . . . . vi. 222. xii. 306	31	. . . . . ib.
38	. . . . . vi. 222. xii. 309	39	. . . . . iii. 128. xii. 352
39	. . . . . vii. 294. xii. 311	44	. . . . . xii. 353
48	. . . . . v. 273	48	. . . . . iv. 285. v. 34. 271. viii. 395.
49	. . . . . iii. xii; v. 217. xii. 312		. . . . . xii. 353
50	. . . . . v. 57	51	. . . . . iii. 437. vi. 280. vii. 303.
52	. . . . . xii. 312		. . . . . xii. 356
viii.	1 . . . . . xii. 313	54	. . . . . x. 104
3	. . . . . iii. 111. xii. 314	55	. . . . . xii. 358
5	. . . . . xii. 315	xii.	1—20 . . . . . iii. 129, 130
6	. . . . . vi. 305	2	. . . . . xii. 359
8	. . . . . xii. 315	3	. . . . . iii. 124, xii. 360—362
9	. . . . . vi. 101. 302. xii. 317	6	. . . . . xii. 362
12	. . . . . xii. 318	7	. . . . . iii. 77. 129. xii. 363
13	. . . . . ib.	12	. . . . . ix. 184
20	. . . . . ix. 303. 317. xii. 319	13	. . . . . ix. 184. xii. 364
25	. . . . . xii. 319	19	. . . . . xii. 364
26	. . . . . xii. 320	20	. . . . . iii. 132. xii. 364
28	. . . . . v. 54	24	. . . . . xii. 366
33	. . . . . xii. 321	28	. . . . . xii. 367
37	. . . . . ib.	31	. . . . . xii. 368
43	. . . . . vii. 340. 374. xii. 322	32, 33	. . . . . v. 54
44	. . . . . xii. 322	34	. . . . . xii. 370
48	. . . . . ib.	39	. . . . . vii. 199. xii. 371
56	. . . . . ii. 91	40	. . . . . vii. 199
57	. . . . . ix. 12. xii. 323	41	. . . . . xii. 372
58	. . . . . xii. 323	xiii.	1—27 . . . . . iii. 142
59	. . . . . xii. 324	1	. . . . . ii. 376. vii. 27. xi. 318. 323.
ix.	. . . . . iii. 116		. . . . . 326. xii. 372
2	. . . . . xii. 324	2	. . . . . xii. 373
6	. . . . . xii. 328	5	. . . . . xii. 374, 375
7	. . . . . v. 238. x. 346. xii. 329	13	. . . . . xii. 376
8	. . . . . xii. 330	18	. . . . . ii. 144
13	. . . . . ib.	21, 22	. . . . . iii. 148
16	. . . . . v. 34. 271	23	. . . . . v. 168. ix. 149. xii. 376
22	. . . . . i. 153. xii. 331	26	. . . . . iii. 144. xii. 378

Chap.	JOHN.	Chap.	JOHN.
xiii. 27	iii. 144. xii. 379	xix. 22	xii. 414
28	v. 168. ix. 149	23	xii. 415
30	iii. 146. 425. xii. 379	25	ib.
31	iii. 147	26	xii. 416
33	xii. 379	29	xii. 416. 418
38	xi. 338. xii. 380	31	xii. 418
xiv. 1	iii. 147	34	xii. 421
2	xii. 380	36, 37	xii. 423
3	vi. 317	39	v. 57
6	xii. 382	xx. 1	xii. 425
7	vii. 246. xii. 382	1—19	iii. 168
8	xii. 383, 384	5	x. 181. xii. 425
12	xii. 384	12	xii. 425
16	vi. 408	17	vi. 408. xii. 426
17	xii. 384	19, &c.	iii. 171, 172
26	xii. 385	22, 23	iii. 188. 240. vi. 334. xi. 230. xii. 426, 427
30	ib.	24	xii. 429
31	iv. 376. vii. 237. 412. xii. 385	25	xii. 430
xv. 1	xi. 320. xii. 385	26	ib.
3	iii. 151	29	ib.
4	xii. 386	xxi. 2	iii. 173
6	ib.	3	xii. 430
12	xii. 387	5	ib.
15	ib.	7	xii. 431
16	xii. 388	15	ix. 120
22	ib.	22	xii. 432
24	xii. 389	24	vi. 293. vii. 6. xii. 433
xvi. 2	ib.		xii. 436
7	v. 34		
8	iii. 151		
10	xii. 389, 390		
11	vi. 408		
12	xii. 391		
13	ib.		
16	xii. 394		
24	ib.		
xvii. 11, 13	v. 458. vi. 211. xii. 394		
24	xii. 395		
31	ib.		
xviii. 1	iii. 151. v. 202		
3	v. 11		
10	vi. 329. xii. 78		
13	vi. 362		
15	iii. 151		
18	xii. 396, 397		
19	xii. 397		
21	κ.		
28	xii. 398, 399		
31	xii. 400, 401		
36	xii. 402		
38	ix. 168		
xix. 2	xii. 403		
11	ii. 375. iii. 148. ix. 136.		
13	xii. 403		
15	v. 305. 362. xi. 309. xii. 406		
18	v. 31		
21	xii. 412		
28	iii. 151		
31	xii. 412		
36	v. 16. xii. 7		
38	xii. 412. 414		
	xi. 444. xii. 414		
	xii. 414		

## ACTS.

i.	iii. 181
1	viii. 13, 14. 353, 354
2	viii. 14. 354
3	viii. 16. 18. 355
4	v. 32. viii. 20. 22. 356
5	iv. 280. v. 58
6	v. 31. viii. 22. 356
8	viii. 24
9	viii. 25
12	viii. 26. 360
13	viii. 32, 33. 363
14	viii. 33, 34
15	viii. 34, 35. 364. 412
16	viii. 36
18	v. 337. viii. 37. 366, 367
19	viii. 37. 367
21	iii. 182. viii. 38
23	viii. 38, 39. 368
25	ii. 133. iii. 182. viii. 368
ii. 1	iii. 183. xi. 246
2	i. 159. viii. 40. 369. 374
3	viii. 375
3, 4, 5	viii. 376
9	viii. 51
11	viii. 54
13	x. 336
14	viii. 56. 376
15	viii. 57
17	viii. 58. 377
19	v. 459. vi. 173. 241. 292. viii. 58. 378
	viii. 379



Chap.	ACTS.	Chap.	ACTS.
ii. 20	iii. 440. vi. 173. viii. 58.	vi. 7	viii. 108
	xii. 435	9	viii. 109. 413—416. x. 74
23	viii. 379	15	viii. 109. 416
24	viii. 59. 380	vii.	iii. 189
27	vi. 3. 11. 27. viii. 59. 380	2	viii. 109, 110. 416
29	viii. 381	3	viii. 110. 418
34	ib.	4	iv. 381. viii. 419
38	iii. 184. vi. 395. viii. 59. 382	5, 6	viii. 111
41	i. 161. viii. 383	7	iv. 247. viii. 111
42	viii. 60. 380	8	v. 82
44	iii. 185. vi. 76. 396. viii. 61.	14	ii. 104. iv. 328. vii. 210. viii.
	385		112. 421
46	viii. 62	15, 16	xii. 61
iii.	iii. 186. xi. 246	16	iii. 122. vii. 210. viii. 112.
1	viii. 62. 385		423. 425
2	viii. 63. 386. ix. 305. x. 63	17	vii. 404
4, 5, 6	viii. 387	20	viii. 114
11	viii. 63. 387	21	v. 58
12	viii. 63	22	ii. 112. viii. 115
16	viii. 64	23	viii. 115. 428
17	viii. 64. 396	25	viii. 429
19	viii. 64. 388	42	v. 298. 301. viii. 429
20	viii. 65, 66	43	viii. 115. 430, 431. 433. 435
21	v. 380. viii. 66. xi. 236	51	viii. 436
22	v. 254	53	vii. 177. viii. 436
24	viii. 67. 390	56	viii. 437
25	viii. 69	58	viii. 438. 440. ix. 58. 340
iv.	iii. 186	60	viii. 440
1	viii. 69. 390. ix. 236	viii.	iii. 192
2, 4	viii. 70	1	viii. 120, 121. 264
5	viii. 72. 390	2	viii. 264. 440
6	viii. 392. x. 34	5	viii. 122. 441
7	viii. 72	6	viii. 123
8	ix. 243	9	viii. 442
11, 13	iv. 390. viii. 73. 393	13	viii. 123. 443
16, 17	vii. 277. viii. 394	16	viii. 423. 444
23	viii. 74	17	viii. 125
25	ib.	19	viii. 445
27	viii. 396	23	iv. 381
32, 33	vi. 76. viii. 75	24	viii. 445
36	viii. 76. 397	26, 27	viii. 128. 446
v.	iii. 187	30	viii. 428
1	viii. 76	32	viii. 447
2	viii. 398	33	viii. 129. 449
3	vi. 408. viii. 77. 399	34	v. 128
6	viii. 399	36	vi. 395
7	viii. 399, 400	38	v. 65
12	iii. 188	39	viii. 129. xii. 63
13	viii. 77. 400	40	viii. 450
14	viii. 264	43	viii. 115. 119
15	viii. 79. 400	58	ix. 340
20	viii. 80. 400	ix.	viii. 130
21	viii. 80	1—23	iii. 195
24	viii. 81	1	viii. 264
34	viii. 81. 401. ix. 345	2	viii. 450
36	viii. 82. 402	5	viii. 451
37	viii. 403. x. 279	7	viii. 451, 452
41	viii. 86	12	viii. 452
vi.	iii. 389	17, 18	v. 65
1	viii. 104, 105. 264. 403	23	iii. 200. viii. 161
2	viii. 106	26	viii. 162, 163. xii. 237
3	viii. 106. 411	27	viii. 163—165
5	viii. 108. 412	28, 29	iii. 200. viii. 165
6	viii. 412	32	viii. 206, 207. 209

Chap.	ACTS.
ix. 35	viii. 210
36	viii. 210. x. 40
37	viii. 210, 211
x. 1	iii. 200
2	viii. 214
3	iv. 59. viii. 214, 215
9	viii. 215
12	ib.
15	viii. 217
19	ib.
28	ix. 257
30	vi. 394. viii. 217, 218
34, 35	viii. 221
36	vii. 142
44	viii. 221
46	viii. 222
47, 48	iii. 204. vii. 34
xi. 1—19	v. 65. viii. 223
18	viii. 223
19	iii. 203
20	v. 328
22	iii. 205. viii. 235. 406. 409
26	viii. 235, 236
27	viii. 236
28	vi. 397. viii. 263
30	viii. 456
xii. 1—20	viii. 272
2	viii. 273
3	iii. 209. v. 76
5	viii. 281. 453
7	viii. 286
15	i. 160
17	viii. 454
20	ib.
20—24	viii. 289
21	viii. 289
23	viii. 455
xii. xiii.	iii. 207. v. 169. vii. 143
xiii. 1	v. 107. viii. 456, 457
1—14	iii. 210
2	viii. 458
3	viii. 459
4	viii. 460
6, 8	viii. 461
9, 10	vii. 102. viii. 25. 462
10, 12, 13	viii. 463
14	iii. 216. v. 42. viii. 464
15, 16, 18	viii. 464, 465
19, 20	ii. 38. 143, 144. viii. 466
22	v. 117
33	vi. 356. viii. 467, 468
34	vii. 192. viii. 470
36	v. 128
41, 42	viii. 471
47	viii. 389
xiv. 6	iii. 216, 217
11	viii. 472
24	viii. 473
xv. 2	iii. 217
7, 10	iii. 218
	vii. 32. viii. 473, 474
	i. 164. iv. 257. viii. 474.
	xii. 7. xi. 226

Chap.	ACTS.
xv. 16, 17	viii. 474
17	viii. 389
20	viii. 477. 479. 481
21	v. 42
22	viii. 369
xvi. 15, 33	iii. 224
30	iii. 185. vi. 403. 414
37	vii. 242
xvii. 17	viii. 462
21	iii. 225
31	iii. 226
xviii. 7	vi. 113
15	v. 259. vi. 346. 384
25	iii. 226
xix. 1—9	iii. 274
2	iii. 280
3, 5	ii. 359. v. 457. vi. 406. 409.
5	vii. 294
7	iii. 234, 235
8, 10, 21, 22	iv. 282. v. 438. vi. 407
9—21	vii. 32
13	iii. 237
23, 33, 34	iii. 236
xx. 1—3	iii. 214
6	iii. 251, 252
8	iii. 253
28	iii. 267
29, 30	viii. 363
31	v. 53
6. xxi. 1—17	vi. 340
xxi. 9	iii. 237
16	iii. 276
17	ix. 7
17, to the end	x. 63
21	xii. 7
22	iii. 277
24	iii. 282
26—28	ib.
27	vii. 30
31	xi. 230
xxii. xxiii. xxiv. 1—27	ix. 312
3	iii. 285
5	iii. 284
21, 22	vii. 15
xxiii. 2	iii. 285
5	v. 43. ix. 345
6, 7, 9	iii. 198
8	v. 327
9	viii. 483
11, 12	vii. 306. viii. 484.
31	xii. 357
xxiv. 27. xxv. xxvi.	v. 218
xxvi. 14	v. 210. vii. 282. viii. 486.
24	490. 492
xxvii. 1	viii. 494
xxviii. 1—30	viii. 495
2	x. 117
	iii. 287
	viii. 452
	iii. 265
	iii. 288
	viii. 495
	iii. 289
	viii. 496



**I. CORINTHIANS.**

Chap. viii. 10	.	.	.	xii. 501
11	.	.	.	xii. 502
ix. 1	.	.	.	iii. 248
3	.	viii. 126.	xii. 502, 503	
5	.	.	xii. 503	
13	.	.	v. 183	
21	.	.	xii. 503	
27	.	.	xii. 504	
x. 2	.	.	xii. 505	
4	.	.	ii. 24	
8	.	.	vi. 412. xii. 505	
10	.	.	ii. 381. xii. 422. 505	
11	.	.	xii. 506	
14. 16	.	.	xii. 507	
17	.	.	iii. 441. vi. 293. 380. xii. 508	
19	.	.	vi. 398. viii. 60. xii. 508	
21	.	.	vi. 66. xii. 509	
25	.	.	xii. 510	
xi. 4	.	.	ib.	
5	.	.	xii. 511	
6	.	.	ix. 125. xii. 511	
10	.	.	vii. 42. xii. 512. 515. 517	
14	.	.	xii. 517	
15	.	.	i. 29. iii. 244. vii. 179. xii. 518	
19	.	.	vii. 162. xii. 520	
20	.	.	iv. 394. xii. 522	
21	.	.	vii. 284	
23	.	.	i. 157	
25. 28	.	.	vi. 232. viii. 402. ix. 163.	
26	.	.	xii. 522. 526	
27—29	.	.	xii. 527	
32	.	.	iii. 411, 412. xii. 528, 529	
33	.	.	vi. 234. ix. 164. xii. 530	
xii. 3, 4	.	.	xii. 531	
8	.	.	vii. 174	
28	.	.	xii. 533	
xiii. 1	.	.	iii. 245. xii. 553	
xiv. 2	.	.	ib.	
3	.	.	i. 152. viii. 456	
4	.	.	ix. 61. xii. 536, 537	
5	.	.	xii. 538	
15	.	.	xii. 542	
16	.	.	iii. 205	
21	.	.	xii. 543	
22	.	.	xii. 544	
26	.	.	xii. 544, 545	
27. 29, 30	.	.	xii. 546	
35	.	.	iii. 184. vi. 415	
xv. 5, 6	.	.	vii. 29. xii. 547	
7, 8	.	.	xii. 547	
9	.	.	xii. 548	
20	.	.	iii. 246	
24, 25	.	.	iii. 172. xii. 548	
29	.	.	xii. 549	
31	.	.	iv. 394	
32	.	.	xii. 550	
36	.	.	v. 252	
44, 46	.	.	iii. 126. viii. 210. xii. 550	
45	.	.	xii. 552	
47	.	.	iii. 236. v. 307. xii. 552	
	.	.	xii. 553	
	.	.	vii. 417	
	.	.	xii. 553, 554	
	.	.	v. 50. xii. 555	

**I. CORINTHIANS.**

Chap. xv. 52	.	.	.	v. 263
55	.	.	.	xii. 555
xvi. 1	.	.	.	ib.
2	.	.	.	xii. 556. 558
5	.	.	.	xii. 558
8	.	.	.	xii. 559
9	.	.	.	iii. 239. xii. 559
10	.	.	.	xii. 559
19	.	.	.	ib.
22	.	.	.	iii. 248. v. 417. vii. 317.
55	.	.	.	xii. 561.
	.	.	.	i. 13

**II. CORINTHIANS.**

iii. 262—266	
i. 8, 9	xii. 552
iii. 5	v. 70
iii. ult.	v. 330
iv. 18	vii. 295
v. 4	ix. 436
13	iii. 265
16	v. 36
17	iii. 37. vi. 293. vii. 21. 414
19	v. 254. vi. 254
20	vi. 115
21	vii. 209. ix. 83
vi. 15	vi. 396
vii. 1	v. 365
12	iii. 240
viii. 18. 22	iii. 262, 263
x. 2	iii. 265
10	iii. 264
xi. 1	iii. 266
24	v. 367. ix. 14. xi. 179
25	iii. 289
26	xi. 46
xii. 2	viii. 216. 273
12	vii. 30
xiii. 11	ix. 117
14	iv. 316

**GALATIANS.**

iii. 292	
i. 18	iii. 219
ii. 1, 2	iii. 218
i. 9	v. 169, 170
ii. 19	vii. 180
27	ix. 436
iv. 3	v. 368
6	xi. 438
9	iii. 440. v. 15
21. v. 4	v. 44
v. 2	iii. 283
3	xi. 63

**EPHESIANS.**

iii. 296	
i. 3	vii. 394
6	v. 329
10	v. 15
17	v. 461. vi. 211. 238
19	v. 374. vi. 182
ii. 1	vi. 258. 357. xii. 287
2	iv. 371, 372. vi. 5
14	xii. 35
iv. 9	vi. 4
11	vi. 262. viii. 456

Chap.	EPHESIANS.	Chap.	I. TIMOTHY.
iv. 13	iii. 297. vi. 78	iii. 12	iii. 258
17	vii. 17	13	xi. 89, 90
19	vi. 251	15	iii. 260. ix. 341
23	vii. 300	iv. 1	iii. 441. vi. 231. 293
24	vii. 25. ix. 436	3	viii. 478
26	vi. 98	8	vi. 249. vii. 76
v. 4	v. 306	14	i. 150
18, 19	vii. 40	v. 11, 12	v. 303. 305
25—27	vi. 48	17	iii. 243. 258. v. 119. xi. 90
26, 27	iii. 297. v. 330	18	v. 173
29	iii. 297	vi. 5	v. 176
vi. 12	vi. 178. vii. 61. 340	16	v. 49
16	vii. 340		
	PHILIPPIANS.		II. TIMOTHY.
i. 27	iii. 298	i. 6	iii. 294
ii. 7, 8	v. 306	15	xii. 31
8, 9	vi. 29	ii. 19	iii. 333
iii. 2	v. 252. 258, 259. vi. 358	iii. 1	vi. 40
5	iii. 298. vi. 138	iii. 8, 9	iii. 441. vi. 293. 380
19	viii. 409	iv. 8	iv. 33. xii. 61. vii. 89
20	iii. 66. xi. 187	10	vi. 382
iv. 3	v. 51	13	iii. 291
	iii. 125	14	iii. 276
	COLOSSIANS.		TITUS.
i. 5, 23, 27	iii. 299	i. 2	iii. 260
16	v. 345	15	v. 291. 345. xii. 508
20	iv. 120	ii. 11	i. 80
23	vi. 254. xii. 35	iii. 5	v. 411
ii. 9	iii. 174. 272. vii. 17	9	v. 38
13	v. 251		iii. 256
14	vi. 258		PHILEMON.
16	v. 353		iii. 301
20	vii. 384		HEBREWS.
iii. 1	iii. 440	i. 2, 6	iii. 507
16	vii. 195	5	v. 251, 252
iv. 16	vii. 40	8, 9	iv. 163
	iii. 300	ii. 2	v. 249
	I. THESSALONIANS.	5	vii. 180
ii. 13	iii. 228	12, 13	iii. 38. vi. 293
14	vi. 56	14	v. 128. vi. 218
16	v. 452	iii. 12	vi. 13
iv. 13, 14	v. 328	iv. 3	v. 293
16	vi. 319	v. 7	vii. 383
v. 8	v. 263. vii. 46	vi. 2	v. 312
19	iii. 228	17—20	vi. 225. 354
	v. 545. ix. 438	vii. 3	v. 344
	vii. 309	25	ii. 88
	II. THESSALONIANS.	viii. 6	vii. 246
ii. 2	iii. 230	8, 9	vii. 393
3	iii. 440. xii. 435. vi. 92	11	v. 408
4	vi. 232. 266	ix. 8	vi. 286
6, 7	xi. 272	19	v. 407
iii. 6	iii. 233. v. 451	x. 19	xii. 421, 422
	iii. 230	26	ix. 292
	i. 77	29	v. 332. vi. 337. vii. 13. ix. 17
	I. TIMOTHY.	37	iii. 312. vii. 228
i. 4	iii. 254—260	xi. 4	v. 429. vi. 380
7	iii. 256	21	iv. 389
9	v. 45	32	ii. 107. 207
20	v. 321	40	vii. 151
ii. ult.	v. 179	xii. 2	vi. 79. 323
iii. 2	v. 342	11	iv. 394
7	viii. 480	16	vii. 175
	x. 5		ii. 95

Chap.	HEBREWS.	
xii. 23	.	xii. 147
26	.	iii. 440
xiii. 10	.	vii. 242
11	.	ix. 82
12	.	iii. 164
20	.	iii. 312. vii. 240

	JAMES.	
i. 17	.	iii. 314
21	.	v. 16. xii. 7
ii. 2	.	vi. 53. vii. 105
8	.	vii. 142
19	.	vi. 272. 376. vii. 329
iii. 2	.	v. 44. 273
17	.	v. 56
v. 8, 9	.	v. 16. xii. 7
9	.	iii. 314, 315. v. 430
14	.	vi. 293. 378. xii. 435
17	.	iii. 315. xi. 150. 398
	.	v. 138. xii. 70, 71

	I. PETER.	
i. 2	.	iii. 320
6	.	vii. 11
8	.	v. 452
3, 23	.	iii. 172
10—12	.	v. 16
17	.	i. 29. v. 409
18	.	v. 254
22	.	v. 383
ii. 10	.	vii. 251
iii. 10	.	vii. 11
13	.	iii. 440
15	.	xi. 272
19	.	v. 344
21	.	v. 4. iii. 323. xii. 204
24	.	iii. 39. 322. v. 10. xi. 77
iv. 7	.	v. 186
17	.	iii. 320. 441. vi. 293. 380
v. 13	.	xii. 434
	.	v. 317. xi. 296. vi. 380
	.	ii. 86. iii. 215. vii. 1

	II. PETER.	
i. 4	.	iii. 326
14	.	v. 325. vii. 25
19	.	iii. 326. v. 430
ii. 1	.	v. 273. 461. xi. 81
4	.	iii. 326
9	.	v. 350
10	.	vi. 384
15	.	xi. 272
iii. 1	.	vii. 7. 78
3	.	v. 335
6, 7	.	vii. 302
9	.	iii. 441. vi. 292. 380. vii. 91
10	.	vi. 354
13	.	v. 371
16	.	iii. 440. xii. 433. v. 263
	.	iii. 442. xii. 435. vi. 290
	.	vii. 208. 214

	I. JOHN.	
i. 8	.	iii. 329
ii. 2	.	vii. 25
16	.	v. 55. x. 5
18	.	ii. 336. xi. 151
	.	vi. 293. 366. vii. 229. xii. 434

Chap.	I. JOHN.	
ii. 27	.	vi. 287
iii. 8, 9	.	v. 56
12	.	vii. 339
v. 6, 8.	.	iv. 389
10	.	v. 70
16	.	v. 332. vi. 331. &c. vii. 230
18	.	v. 26

Ver. 7	II. JOHN.	
	.	iii. 329
	.	vi. 366

	III. JOHN.	
	.	iii. 329

	JUDE.	
Ver. 6, 11	.	iii. 328
8	.	iv. 378
9	.	iii. 401. vii. 321. xi. 272
12	.	iii. 328. vii. 179
	.	vi. 230. xii. 522

	REVELATION.	
	.	see iii. 431
i. 5, 6	.	v. 266
7	.	ix. 436
10	.	xii. 435
17, 18	.	viii. 216
13	.	v. 258. vi. 383
20	.	ix. 438
ii. 20	.	vii. 180
iii. 4	.	iii. 332
10	.	viii. 124
14	.	viii. 35. ix. 309. 436
17, 18	.	v. 317
20	.	xii. 239
iv. 4	.	vi. 420
11	.	vi. 311
11	.	ii. 29. ix. 440
iv. v. 6	.	viii. 126
9	.	vii. 370
9	.	iii. 334
vi. 6	.	ix. 284
9	.	vii. 42
6	.	iii. 335
9	.	xii. 200
12, 14.	.	xii. 160
vii. viii.	.	iii. 440. vi. 291. xii. 434
vii. 1	.	iii. 337. v. 318. vii. 356
6	.	v. 459
9, 10	.	ii. 148
14	.	ix. 184. 309. 436
viii. 1, 3	.	vi. 296
3	.	xii. 17
ix. 1	.	vi. 79
8	.	iii. 340
x. 6, 7	.	vii. 56
1, 2	.	v. 304
2	.	v. 342
4	.	iii. 342
8	.	iii. 343. v. 266
13	.	ix. 218
xii. 4	.	xii. 366
	.	ix. 284
	.	vi. 364. vii. 53
	.	viii. 35
	.	iii. 346
	.	v. 337

Chap.	REVELATION.	Chap.	REVELATION.
ix.	6 . . . . . vii. 217. 225	xix.	16 . . . . . v. 251
xiii.	2 . . . . . iii. 348	xx.	1—3 . . . . . vi. 15. 165. vii. 413
	2 . . . . . iii. 25. vi. 363. vii. 49.		2 . . . . . vii. 57
	4 . . . . . xii. 411		3 . . . . . vi. 256. vii. 187
	5 . . . . . vii. 218. 225		4 . . . . . vi. 255
xiv.	10 . . . . . iii. 350		4 . . . . . v. 257. 373, 374. vi. 256
	13 . . . . . v. 5		5, 6 . . . . . 356. vii. 187. xii. 288
	13 . . . . . v. 57		7, 8 . . . . . vi. 258. vii. 60. 217
xv.	3 . . . . . i. 150. vii. 41		11, 12 . . . . . vi. 383
	3 . . . . . iii. 353		14 . . . . . x. 15
xvi.	5 . . . . . iii. 354	xxi.	1 . . . . . ii. 29. iii. 366
xvii.	5 . . . . . vi. 46		1 . . . . . iii. 442
	9 . . . . . vii. 50		2 . . . . . vii. 112
xviii.	7 . . . . . v. 305		12. 14 . . . . . iii. 67. viii. 38. 126
xviii.	xix. 1—11 . . . . . iii. 358	xxii.	12 . . . . . xii. 435
xix.	10 . . . . . xii. 456		7. 12. 20 . . . . . v. 430
xix.	11, &c. ; xx . . . . . iii. 359. v. 252		16 . . . . . xi. 455
			19 . . . . . vi. 204
		xxii.	1 . . . . . iii. 368

# TABLE OF HEBREW WORDS,

WHICH ARE LESS OR MORE EXPLAINED OR ILLUSTRATED.

[The Table has been enlarged in the present Edition, by more than a thousand references.—Ed.]

- א sometimes wanting in words, and sometimes not, and why, iv. 173. Is frequently cut off from the beginning of several words, xii. 346.
- א in ויקרא, why writ less than the rest of the letters, ii. 120.
- אבא and אבי used of a 'natural' and of a 'civil father,' xi. 437.
- אבוב 'abub,' a pipe, or hautboy, or cornet, or some such loud wind music, ix. 58.
- אבות 'primitive work,' xi. 198.
- אבטינס 'abtnes,' ix. 350.
- אבוקות torches, xii. 397.
- אבלות, 'mourning for thirty days,' xi. 167.
- אבן הטועים 'the stone of things lost,' x. 72.
- אבנט 'the girdle' of the priest, ix. 22.
- אבר 'member' of a living beast, viii. 481.
- אברם that is, 'a high father,' why changed to אברהם that is, 'the father of a great multitude,' vi. 297.
- אברה cabalistic book, xii. 98.
- אדם 'men,' or 'Edom,' or 'Roman,' viii. 475, 476.
- אדרת שנוער 'Babylonian tapestry-work,' ix. 280.
- איבסמי 'they are sweetened,' viii. 377.
- איבסמי 'איבסמי' how to be read, ii. 145.
- אולי the 'fools,' for the 'mighty,' ii. 289.
- אולם a porch, ix. 83. 238.
- אומות the seven 'nations,' viii. 466.
- אומות עלם 'gentiles,' or, 'all other nations besides the Jews,' xii. 128.
- אומן 'a surgeon,' viii. 364.
- אומנין and פועלין 'artificers,' and 'labourers,' xii. 151.
- און 'Aven,' means the 'gospel,' but marks it with a scurrilous title, xii. 240.
- אונן 'he that had one dead in his family that day,' ix. 74.
- אונקלי 'a leathern garment,' or 'stomacher of the heart,' xii. 270.
- אונסותיות 'wages,' xii. 51.
- אוצרות 'treasures,' ix. 39.
- אור and אורחא 'evening of the Sabbath,' xii. 206.
- אורייתא נביאים כהובים 'division of the Old Testament into the Law, the Prophets, and the Holy Writings'; by abbreviation, אנ"ך, xii. 214.
- אשא 'Usha,' x. 156.
- אויב hyssop, xii. 418.
- אחרי בית הכפורת 'the guard behind the mercy-seat,' ix. 364.
- איגרת שבוקין 'letters of forsaking,' xi. 119.
- איל מיר 'the Nazarite's ram,' ix. 98.
- איסר 'an assar' is two semisses, xi. 113.
- איצטבא 'a bench,' ix. 385.
- איש חר בית 'The man of the mountain of the house;' what kind of officer, iv. 462. viii. 390. xii. 191.
- אישר 'God speed,' iii. 331. xi. 350.
- אכבד having ה wanting in it, say the Jewish writers, doth denote five things wanting in the second Temple, which were in the first, iv. 153.
- אלאימן 'right side,' xii. 421.
- אלכסנדריים 'synagogue of the Alexandrians,' viii. 415.
- אלפי 'thousands' and 'princes,' iv. 230.
- אל שדי 'the Almighty God,' ii. 114.
- אל תקרא 'do not read this,' &c. viii. 435.
- אמוריה or מדרגומניה 'interpreter,' xii. 124.
- אמוריים 'Amorites,' or Gentiles, viii. 479.
- אמימן 'Aminon,' for Amnon, ii. 183.
- אם מויד כרת a saying of the Jews concerning sin done wilfully, vi. 336.
- אמן יתומה 'the orphan Amen,' and אמן חטופה 'the snatched Amen,' &c. xii. 545.
- אמרכלין 'Amarcalin,' who, ix. 18. 41.
- אם שונג חטאה a saying of the Jews concerning sin done ignorantly, vi. 336.
- אמת 'truth,' supposed by the Jews to be the 'seal of God,' xii. 291.
- אמת ויציב 'emeth' and 'jatsib,' ix. 116.



- אמת 'ammath,' a channel of waters, x. 302.
- אנגריא 'angariate,' 'compel,' xi. 128.
- אנטיפותא 'deputy,' viii. 463.
- אנינות mourning for the dead, xi. 167.
- אנכי 'I,' rendered by ἐγώ. xii. 323.
- אנשי מעמד 'stationary men,' viii. 62. ix. 67.
- אנשי מעשה 'men of works,' or, 'perfectly just,' ix. 188. xii. 147.
- אסא א 'physician,' in the Chaldee tongue, ii. 215.
- אסופי 'such as were gathered up' out of the streets, whose fathers and mothers were uncertain, xi. 9.
- אסור ומותר and אסור 'unlawful and lawful,' viii. 217.
- אסור ומותר 'bound and loosed,' xi. 229.
- אסכרא 'Iscara,' 'strangulament,' 'angina,' 'the quinsy,' xi. 173.
- אסקורטיא 'iscortja,' a tanner's garment, xi. 172.
- אפוד 'ephod,' ii. 404. ix. 23.
- אפטרופוס 'epitropus,' or, 'foster-father,' xii. 51.
- אפונרת 'inner garment,' with pockets to hold money and necessaries, xi. 175.
- אפי or אפם 'nose, nostrils, anger,' xii. 387.
- אפיקומן 'last dishes used at meals,' ix. 159.
- אפיקורוסא 'Epicurism.' Epicurus is he that despiseth the words of God,' xii. 469.
- אפלה things prohibited 'to eat,' viii. 479.
- אראה בחמה 'so let me see the consolation [of Israel],' xii. 39.
- ארבלית 'the Arbelite bushel,' xi. 205.
- ארודי 'Arvadi,' the 'Arvadites.' Which word, in all versions almost, is read as 'Aradi,' the 'Aradites.' x. 265.
- אר'ל an abbreviation, iv. 57.
- ארץ צבי 'the land of a Kid,' x. 28.
- אשרי 'Assyrian' tongue, viii. 404. xi. 100.
- אזרית 'in the holy tongue,' viii. 409.
- אשיבנו לא 'I will not revoke it,' ii. 241.
- אשכחא and אשכחן 'we have found,' xii. 236.
- אשם 'trespass-offerings,' various sorts of, ix. 86—92.
- אשמודאי 'Asmodeus,' the king of the devils, xii. 111.
- אתרוג 'pomocitron apples, ix. 184.
- ב is in Hebrew very frequently put causally, iv. 343. ב and מ are alternately used, x. 309. 330. It is changed for פ in the Syriac, vii. 8.
- ב begins the history of creation, xi. 199.
- בא די 'David came,' ii. 171.
- באולם 'in the porch,' or, 'by the porch,' hath its special emphasis and intention, ix. 271.
- באכסדרה 'along the cloister,' ix. 381.
- באלא 'a grove,' x. 362.
- בבא בתרא 'Bava Bathra,' 'selling and buying,' analysis of the tract, x. 517.
- בבא מציעא 'Bava Mezia,' 'suits,' analysis of the tract, x. 517.
- בבא קמא 'Bava Kama,' 'injuries,' analysis of the tract, x. 517.
- בבית אבא 'in my father's school,' viii. 408.
- בבל 'Babel,' for a city and a country, vii. 8.
- בבל 'Babylon,' all those countries, unto which the Babylonian captivity was carried, and led away, xii. 566.
- בבדרכה 'in the common manner,' that is, 'by no violent death,' xii. 507.
- בד' של ב' 'the bench of three,' xii. 484.
- בהבקר 'wild fig-tree,' growing in a place or field, not belonging to any one in particular, but common to all, xi. 264.
- בהמה and חיה 'beasts tame and wild,' viii. 217.
- בריאא 'consolation,' viii. 39.
- אל בניה אלא בוניך 'not baneca, thy children,—but, boneca, thy builders,' xii. 295.
- ברצינא 'a candle,' used for a person famous for light or knowledge, xii. 289.
- בור 'an illiterate,' viii. 428. xi. 40. 69. xii. 94. 514.
- בוראין 'thy creators,' iv. 316. vii. 21.
- בחולו של מועד 'on a common day of the feast; viz. after the first day of the feast,' xii. 359.
- בחור 'chosen man,' viii. 440.
- בחתים 'in fetters,' viii. 454.
- בטלנין Batlanin, 'Men of leisure, studious of the law,' xi. 87.
- בי אבירן a temple, xii. 561.
- בין הערבים 'between the evenings,' viii. 216.
- בין השמשות 'Between the suns:' that space of time, between the setting of the sun, and the appearance of any star, xii. 207. xi. 158.
- בי רבנן 'Be Rabbanan,' or Beth Midrash,' xii. 560.
- בית גוברין Beth Gubrin, x. 243.
- בית גרמו 'The family of Garmu,' ix. 368.
- בית דאלמנותא Dalmanutha, x. 228.
- בית דלפה, ix. 156.
- בית האבן 'the house of stone,' ix. 194. 379.
- בית החליפות 'the place of knives,' x. 71.
- בית המוקד 'Beth Mokadh,' ix. 367.
- בית חדודו 'Beth Chadudo,' x. 105.
- בית מדרש 'the school,' or 'the church,' or 'a lecture of divinity,' xi. 94. xii. 560.
- בית מוקד 'Beth Mokadh,' 'the fire-room,' or 'the house of burning,' ix. 105.
- בית מעון 'Beth-Meon,' x. 145.
- בית צנון Beth Zenun, 'a place or region of cold,' x. 278.

- ביתר ' Betar,' x. 101.  
 ביעור what, x. 8.  
 ביעווא ' disputation,' viii. 473.  
 בירה the ' temple, x. 215. palace, xii. 34.  
 בית פני Bethphage, within Jerusalem, x. 76.  
 בית שאן the beginning of Galilee, x. 119. 239.  
 בכור לנחלה ' a first-born fit for inheritance,' and בכור לכהן ' a first-born fit for a priest,' xii. 37.  
 בלאטה ' Belata,' viii. 424.  
 בלבבכם ' in your hearts,' vi. 99.  
 בליאל son of ' Belial,' viii. 463.  
 בן possibly for a ' daughter,' and why, ii. 208.  
 בן ברית ' a son of the covenant,' vi. 400. xi. 105.  
 בני כיפה ' built archwise,' ix. 369.  
 בני צעירי for בנות צעירה ' my youngest son,' xii. 264.  
 בנות שוח ' Benoth Shuach,' a certain fig-tree which never wanted leaves, and never wanted figs, xi. 413.  
 בנות שקמה ' a fig mixed with a plane-tree,' xi. 266.  
 בני חופנה ' children of the bride-chamber,' distinguished from the Shoshbenin, xi. 164. xii. 244.  
 בני עליה ' sons of the upper room,' viii. 363.  
 בן מי; not, ' the son of whom,' but ' the son of what kind of man,' xi. 224.  
 בן נצר ' Ben Nezer,' x. 319.  
 בנסע נ written wrong way, ii. 127. xii. 214.  
 בעט ' to kick,' viii. 451.  
 בעל אוב ' the python,' or prophesying spirit, xii. 135.  
 בעל זבול ' Baal-zebul,' the Lord of Idolatry: xi. 196.  
 בעל דינין plaintiff and defendant, viii. 364.  
 בעלי תשובה ' men of repentance,' vii. 257.  
 בעיעה ' breaking bread,' viii. 384.  
 בקדושה ' in sanctitate,' vi. 86. 397.  
 בקעת רמון ' the valley of Rimmon,' x. 108.  
 בקשה Bakkashah, ' seeking:' xii. 107.  
 ברא דבויא what, viii. 397.  
 בראי ' a foreigner,' viii. 497.  
 ברבריא men of ' Barbary,' viii. 498.  
 בריות the creature, vii. 17. xi. 457. xii. 438.  
 ברור חיל ' Beror Chel,' a place, x. 171.  
 בריש גלי ' with an uncovered head;' that is, boldly, and impudently, xii. 512.  
 ברכת בפני עצמו ' the benediction of the day by itself;' or the ' royal blessing;' xii. 308.  
 ברכת השיר ' blessing of the song,' was a prayer or blessing, that they uttered after the Hallel, ix. 164.  
 ברכת חתנים the ' bridegroom's blessing,' xii. 246.  
 ברכת מינים a prayer against the heretics,' viii. 401.  
 בר סבא ' Barsabas,' viii. 368.  
 ברקאי ' It is light,' ix. 110. x. 98.  
 בתולה a virgin, iv. 179.  
 גב ' Gab,' surface, pavement, xii. 414.  
 גבאים exactors. xii. 182.  
 גדי יון ' Gad Javan,' x. 214.  
 גדי ' a kid,' ix. 20.  
 גדילים מעשה שרשרות ' wreaths of chain-work.' The word גדילים, in Dent. xxii. 12, signifies the ' fringes,' that they wore upon their garments for memorials of the law, ix. 269.  
 גדר Gadara, x. 142.  
 גוברין ' treasurers,' ix. 18. 43.  
 גויל and גוית and כפסין and לבינין that is, ' bricks, and half bricks, squared hewn stones, and rough or unhewn.' xii. 413.  
 גולל the ' grave-stone,' ' the cover,' or the ' uppermost board,' of the bier, xi. 167.  
 גולל את הספר ' rolling up the book,' xii. 68.  
 גומרין ' passing of judgment,' xi. 343.  
 גומרתא ' a Gumretha,' some very burning distemper, xii. 143.  
 גועתה Goathah: ' the calves' pool,' from גועה bellowing, x. 57.  
 גוף ' reposing of souls,' xii. 325.  
 גופנא ' Gophna' is derived from the vineyards, x. 108.  
 גוזרוא ' a balcony,' in Nathan and Maimonides, but כציצרה in the Talmud, ix. 311.  
 גוית the room ' gazith,' ix. 337.  
 גולה ' the captivity,' viii. 411.  
 גט פטורין ' an instrument of dismissal,' and איגרת שבוקין ' letters of forsaking,' &c. xi. 119.  
 גיא החרשים ' the valley of craftsmen,' x. 260.  
 גהינם ' gehinnon, hell,' or the place of the damned, x. 80. xi. 106.  
 גיטין gittin. analysis of the tract, ' bills of divorce,' x. 514.  
 גילגל Gilgal, x. 162.  
 גלוסקמא ' gloskema,' is the same with דלוסקמא Dloskema, ' a coffin.' xii. 362.  
 גליל Galilee, x. 118.  
 גמליאל Rabban ' Gamaliel,' viii. 401.  
 גם עליה ' even in going up,' viii. 423.  
 גנב in Talmudic language ' a thief and a robber.' xii. 338.  
 גן עדן ' the garden of Eden,' not understood of an earthly, but a heavenly paradise, xii. 160.  
 גרגשתא Gargushta, ' clay' or ' dirt,' xi. 160.  
 גר תושב ' a stranger-inhabitant,' xi. 105.  
 דאנה ' fear,' x. 552.

- דבריהם ' words of the scribes,' as opposed to the Scriptures, xii. 546.
- דבריק a ' word, the ' plague,' xii. 555.
- דוכן, Dukan, ' what, and of what use, ix. 384, 385.
- דומה ' Dumah' the angel, who is appointed over the dead, xii. 166.
- דוריו ' his ranks,' viii. 443.
- דיוּכְנִים Divachenus, ' x. 362.
- דיני ממונות ' pecuniary judgments,' and דיני נפשות ' capital judgments,' xii. 483.
- דיר some ' enclosure,' or pen, xii. 337.
- דייתיקי ' covenant,' x. 480 xii. 529.
- דם ' blood' of a living beast, viii. 482.
- דמאי ' tithes,' x. 489.
- דמאי Demai, ' tithes,' analysis of the tract, x. 489.
- דמרח רדאי ' he smelleth and judgeth,' viii. 398.
- דמך ' sleeping,' the Jews ordinarily used for ' dying,' when a fair and comfortable death, iii. 192. xi. 168.
- דמין and נומין differ much, xi. 343.
- דפני ' Daphne,' of Antioch, viii. 439.
- דקלין are loftier palm-trees, x. 259.
- דרום and דרומאי ' the southern Rabbins,' x. 197.
- דרום Judea ' the South,' in respect of Galilee, x. 28.
- דריש ' above,' v. 15.
- דרך גגין ' the way of the roof,' xi. 383.
- דרך הרבים ' a public way,' x. 255.
- דרך דחוקה ' a long way;' or fifteen miles, x. 248.
- דרשה denotes a more narrow search into the Scriptures, xii. 289. 460.
- ה wanting in אכבר, say the Jewish writers, denotes five things wanting in the second Temple, which were in the first, iv. 153. ה ' he,' being put for ח, destroys the world, xi. 99.
- האחרונים דברי ' words of a latter date,' ii. 190.
- הגדה ' declaration,' xii. 530.
- הגזין ' a kind of clean locusts,' xi. 380.
- הגריסי, reader, xii. 114.
- הדיוט ' idiot,' a word very usual among the Rabbins, what, viii. 74. xii. 486. 545.
- הדלק translated ' kindling,' &c. ix. 360.
- ההצין are the rest of the smaller trees, x. 250.
- הוריות Horaioth, ' judicial sentences,' analysis of the tract, x. 522.
- הטהרו ' mundate vos,' rendered, ' be clean,' Gen. xxxv. 2. vi. 413.
- היסבו means, that they sat down purposely to eat, and not for other business; and then one gave thanks for them all, ix. 147.
- הלל Hallel, ' the song that was sung while they were killing the passovers, ix. 141.
- המזכרים ' those that were to comfort the mourners,' xii. 319.
- המעמד ר' קבין ' a station, is as much as contains four cabs,' x. 256.
- הנאה things prohibited ' to use,' viii. 479.
- הנניה Ananias, viii. 483.
- הנשים הצבאות women that had some office at the tabernacle, ii. 163.
- השיבה ' sitting' at the table, and הסיבה ' lying' at the table, xi. 327.
- הסיתרו ' persuaded him,' encouraged him, used all mild and gentle words and actions towards him, xii. 378.
- הסכן ' accustom,' vi. 73.
- העולם הזה ' this world' is to be taken in that sense, as opposed to העולם הבא ' the world to come,' xii. 461.
- העלית ' pestles,' ix. 433.
- הליחני a most strange word, ii. 151, 152.
- העלם דבר ' the bullock for the thing hid,' ix. 81.
- הקדית ' to burn,' ' to corrupt any thing with too much salting,' x. 408.
- הקלקל a scornful word, ii. 132.
- הרג ' killing;' four kinds of, viii. 453.
- הראיה ' appearing,' viii. 391.
- חר גריזים ' on mount Gerizim,' x. 338.
- הרוגי בלוד ' the martyrs in Lydda,' x. 261.
- הר הבית ' the mountain of the house,' x. 61. ix. 213.
- הר המלך ' the king's mountain,' x. 27.
- הר המשחה ' the mount of oil,' x. 82.
- הר מצער ' the hill Mizaar,' x. 331.
- הר צבועים, ' Mount Zeboim,' x. 107.
- הר אפרים ' the hill-country,' ii. 162.
- הר המלך ' the mountainous country of Judah,' what, x. 26.
- הרכנת ראש ' the nodding of the head,' and רמית חרש ' the dumb man's making signs,' xii. 22.
- העמודים ' the pomegranates,' for העמודים ' the pillars,' ix. 269.
- השבת ' make answer,' vi. 102.
- השתארה ' falling prostrate,' ix. 125.
- התפלל that is, ' judging ourselves,' and החנה that is, ' depending upon grace,' why prayer is so called, vi. 110. 419.
- ו may be rendered either ' and,' or ' or,' vii. 152. ויקרא, hath א in it writ less than the rest of the letters, and why, ii. 120.
- ואעדה variously pointed, xi. 291.
- וינהו ' then they lamented,' ii. 165.
- ומי אביהם ' one that is their father,' ii. 166.
- וסכה ' Iscab,' the same with Sarah, viii. 420.
- זבול ' Zebul,' or ' dung,' xi. 195. xii. 110.

- זבחי חובה 'sacrifices of duty,' and זבחי נדבה 'voluntary sacrifices,' ix. 70.  
 זוממים 'false witnesses,' xi. 340.  
 זכה 'to be thought worthy,' viii. 86.  
 זכות העופות 'privilege of birds,' viii. 86.  
 זכר 'recollection,' viii. 35.  
 זכר why ז is larger than the other letters, vi. 203.  
 זמורה 'branch,' xii. 387.  
 זמנים the overseer concerning the times, ix. 19.  
 זעמטי 'the book Zaatuti,' xi. 103.  
 זקני כהונה 'elders of the priesthood,' ix. 19.  
 זרע 'the seed's time,' half Tisri, all Marchesvan, and half Chisleu. אפלא זרעא 'the lateward seed;' זרעא חדפא 'the early seed,' xii. 277.  
 ח 'cheth,' changed into ה 'he,' destroys the world, xi. 99.  
 חבורה 'a wound,' viii. 461.  
 חבלו 'pains of childbirth,' xi. 423.  
 חברים 'religious,' iii. 299, x. 472. 490. xi. 70.  
 חברותיה 'consorts,' viii. 418. ix. 139.  
 חבתין 'the daily meat-offering of the high-priest,' ix. 99.  
 חג 'rejoicing,' xi. 447. 'whole of,' xii. 373.  
 חגיגה the festival, viii. 445. xi. 446.  
 חגיגה 'Chagigah,' and שמחה 'rejoicing,' xi. 445. xii. 43.  
 חג יומא as also חגא זמנא 'on a certain time,' xii. 75.  
 חדל פקי 'the little table,' or the wooden side table, where wine and fruits were set, that were presently to be brought to table, xi. 401.  
 חיבה 'he was bound by duty,' xi. 249.  
 חורי פתחים 'those that beg from door to door,' xii. 330.  
 חלדה Huldah gate, viii. 386. ix. 224. x. 349.  
 חולים overseer of the 'sick,' ix. 20.  
 חום 'the great heat,' half Ab, all Elul, half Tisri, xii. 277.  
 חומשי 'quintanes' of the law, xii. 67.  
 חופה 'of the bride-chamber,' xi. 164.  
 חפר שיחין 'a digger of wells;' under whose peculiar care and charge was the provision of water for those that should come up to the feast, xii. 253.  
 חוקים and חוקות ordinances, xii. 13.  
 חורמני mountain of 'Horman,' viii. 436.  
 חורשין 'Chorashin' woody places, x. 169.  
 חושן 'the breastplate' of the priest, ix. 24.  
 חותמות overseer of the 'seals,' ix. 20.  
 חזן הכנסת 'chazan hacconeseth,' that is, 'the overseer of the congregation,' the minister of every synagogue was so called, vi. 226. xi. 88. 165. xii. 67.  
 חטאת taken for 'a sin-offering,' ii. 13; 75. vi. 336. ix. 78. x. 4.  
 חי 'lively,' ii. 172.  
 חייב or מחויב 'guilt' or 'debt,' xi. 105.  
 חי פרעה 'so let Pharaoh live,' ii. 347.  
 חכמים 'wise men,' viii. 495. xii. 460.  
 חכמה יונית 'Grecian wisdom,' xii. 461.  
 חל or חיל 'chel,' what, ix. 6. 299. 302. x. 62.  
 חילתא 'rushy' or 'sedgy,' x. 12.  
 חיצונים 'are men, who follow their own will, and not the judgment of the wise men,' xi. 391.  
 חיתורי 'hitture,' 'diggings,' x. 288.  
 חל time, viii. 386.  
 חלונות 'fenestræ, or 'windows;' because they were closets or boxes joining to the wall, ix. 274.  
 חלוק 'an inner garment,' xi. 441. xii. 86.  
 חלילי 'common' persons, as to the priesthood: such whose fathers, indeed, were sprung from priests, but their mothers unfit to be admitted to the priests' marriage-bed, xi. 9.  
 חלל 'profane' 'wounded' or 'dead,' xi. 274.  
 חלפי a name common among the Talmudists, xii. 208. 416.  
 חלשא 'chalsha,' that is, 'the weak,' xi. 164.  
 חם Cham, 'heat' or 'burning,' i. e. Africa, x. 363.  
 חמי טבריא 'the warm baths of Tiberias,' x. 141.  
 חמי לי 'look on me,' viii. 387, 388.  
 חמישית, variously interpreted, ix. 290.  
 חמר 'an ass,' transferred into חמד, 'desire,' xii. 386.  
 חמת 'Chanmath,' x. 141.  
 חמתי 'Hamathi,' the Hamathites, x. 266.  
 חנוני 'the shopkeeper,' xi. 308.  
 חנוכה 'dedication,' xii. 341.  
 חנויות shops, ix. 241.  
 חנק 'strangling,' viii. 453.  
 חסידים good and holy men, vii. 257. xi. 104. xii. 149. 300.  
 חקים and חקות translated by δικαιώματα most commonly, iv. 149.  
 חקלאי 'inhabitants of the villages,' xi. 395.  
 חקל דמא 'field of blood,' viii. 37. 367.  
 חרם 'cherem,' the same with 'anathema,' xii. 561, 562.  
 חרסית the gate, of a two-fold construction, and derivation, ix. 322.  
 חרוסת 'charoseth,' a dish of thick sauce, made of sweet and bitter things, ground, and pounded, and mingled together, as dates, figs, raisins, ix. 156.  
 חרף winter, xii. 344. 277.  
 חרש 'deaf and dumb,' xi. 236. xii. 23.  
 חשאים 'silent ones,' x. 208.  
 חשב 'girdle' of the ephod, ix. 23.  
 חבי 'Tebi,' name given to a village,

- from the kids' skipping up and down, x. 40.
- טבילת גרות 'baptism for proselytism' was distinct from טבילת נדה 'baptism [or washing] from uncleanness,' xi. 54.
- טבילת ים uncleanness, requiring washing, ix. 7.
- טדי 'Tedi,' or 'Taddé,' the north gate, ix. 233.
- טהרה 'purification,' v. 66. xi. 55.
- טובי העיר שבעה 'the seven good men of the city,' xi. 89.
- טור 'taur,' both in the Chaldee and Syriac, signifies a mountain, x. 361.
- טוב הוא 'born good,' or apt for prophesying, viii. 429.
- טור rendered by the word נדבך (Ezek. xlvi. 23), ix. 250.
- טלית 'coat,' xi. 127. xii. 86. 189.
- טמא 'unclean,' and פסול 'profane' or 'polluted,' the distinction between, xi. 214.
- טמא ידוע 'an uncleanness known of,' ix. 215.
- טני 'teni,' and כז 'coz,' two golden vessels, ix. 3.
- טרפה 'that which is torn of wild beasts,' viii. 483.
- טרקטין is the Greek word *Tápaξis*, 'partition-space,' ix. 289. xi. 352.
- י 'jod,' its eternal duration, whence, xi. 98.
- ישוע and יאסוס, 'Jesus,' viii. 461.
- יבמות 'jevamoth,' sisters-in-law; analysis of the tract, x. 510.
- יחיד and תלמיד, difference between, xii. 119.
- יחני 'Jannes,' vii. 90.
- יונית 'Greek,' viii. 408. 497. xii. 305.
- יושבין and מסובין 'sitting at meat,' ix. 147.
- יזבו signifies nothing else but 'blood,' xii. 422.
- יחיד 'private society or discourse' between the espouser and the espoused, and הכנסה 'the bringing' of the espoused into the husband's house, xi. 18.
- יין תרעלה 'the wine of horror,' xii. 446.
- יליד 'be born,' v. 17.
- ים 'the sea,' thus rendered by very many versions, but to be corrected, x. 41.
- ים המלח 'the sea of Sodom,' what, x. 14.
- Seven seas and four rivers compass the land of Israel. 1. ימא רבא the Great Sea, or the Mediterranean. 2. דטבריא the sea of Tiberias. 3. דמלחא the sea of Sodom. 4. דסמוכו the lake of Samocho. 5. דחולתא 6. דשליית 7. דאפמיא These four last are otherwise writ in the Jerusalem Talmud: to wit, thus, 4. דכובבו 5. דחילתא 6. דשליחת 7. דאפמיא In the Babylonian Talmud, thus: 4. ימה של סיבכו 5. ימה של חילת 6. ימה של חילתא 7. ימה ראפמיא x. 12.
- ימא דאפמיא, 'the sea of Apamia,' x. 13. 131.
- ימא דגניסר 'the sea of Genesar;' sometimes, דגניסור 'of Geneser,' x. 134.
- ימא דחולתא perhaps 'the sandy sea,' x. 12.
- ימי כניסה days of assembling. v. 117.
- יום נוצרי 'the christians,' or the 'christian day,' xi. 357.
- ימים טובים 'holy-days,' or 'good days,' the first and last days of the solemn festival weeks, ix. 168.
- ימים 'days,' for 'a year,' v. 138.
- יעבר 'he carried burdain from one side to the other,' ix. 290.
- יעלרי אמלול 'they shall ask after me, because they are carried away,' xii. 424.
- יראה signifies 'the inward affection of fear or reverence,' ix. 447.
- ישראל 'Israel,' and אומות העולם 'the nations of the world;' the Israelites, and the Gentiles, x. 5. xii. 258.
- יטיב 'he sat down' to teach, viii. 465. xii. 547.
- יתירא 'too much,' xii. 50.
- יפוסי כבול, 'a coast,' &c. x. 231.
- כבש 'ascent,' ix. 394.
- כהן הדיוט 'an ordinary priest,' ix. 18. xi. 40.
- כהן חבר וכהן עם הארץ 'a votary priest, and plebeian priest,' xi. 39.
- כהנת a 'priestess;' viz. one born in the lineage of priests, xii. 12.
- כהנים consistory of 'priests,' ix. 18.
- כרך coffin, x. 181.
- כולה עורב 'the scarecrow,' that keeps the ravens from flying upon the temple, ix. 258.
- כולי עלמא 'all the world,' i. e. a very great number, or multitude, xii. 258.
- כופין 'place where a dead body is laid,' xii. 425.
- כרשים may be the same with כוריים, the letter ש being changed into ת in the Syriac dialect, x. 334.
- כוריים 'Cuthites,' the Christians Samaritans, xii. 389.
- כותרת a 'chapter,' how rendered, ix. 268.
- כוס הבשורה 'cup of good news,' xii. 246.
- כוס דהלילא 'the cup of the Hallel,' ix. 164.
- כוס תרומה 'the cup of Trumah,' xii. 242.
- כוס הברכה 'cup of blessing,' ix. 162. xi. 355. xii. 508.
- כירן 'firm,' viii. 118. 433.
- כיר 'the laver,' ix. 418.
- כיר 'a curious wrought border,' ix. 253.
- כי כן קרבו אל, 'for so,' that is, in a great deal of kindness, 'they came to me,' xii. 264.
- כיר מניקיא 'manacles,' viii. 454.

כל הבריית 'all creatures,' used for 'all men,' or 'nations,' among the Jews, vii. 17. xii. 438.

כלי נללים may be understood 'marble vessels,' xii. 244.

נ 'nun,' is writ the wrong way, ii. 127.

כנור 'kinnor,' like our citterns or viols, stopped on the frets, and played on with a quill or bow, ix. 60.

כס-יה 'Cas-jah,' Casiotis, x. 193.

כפורים 'kephorim,' cleansing, ix. 432.

כפיית המטה 'the bending down of the beds,' xi. 167.

כפניות 'chephanioth,' the dates of palm-trees, that never come to their full maturity, x. 360.

כפר חיטייא 'Caphar Chittaia,' x. 145.

כפר חנניה 'Caphar Hananiah,' the middle of Galilee, x. 120.

כפר נחום 'Capharnachum,' x. 320.

כפר עמיקי 'Caphar Imiki,' x. 261.

כפר צמח 'Caphar Tsemach, x. 243.

כפר קרנים 'Caphar Karnaim,' x. 243.

כפר שלם 'Caphar Salama,' x. 116.

כפר טבי 'Caphar Tebi,' what, x. 40.

כפר לודים 'Caphar Lodim,' what, x. 59.

כפר שלם 'Caphar Salama,' what, x. 116.

כפרים } and עיירות are distinguished,

כרכים } x. 175. xi. 381.

כרי 'priests,' ii. 230.

כריעה 'bending of the knees,' ix. 125.

כרית 'I have digged,' or 'I have bought,' viii. 425.

כרמלית 'a place neither public nor private,' x. 47.

כרם רבעי 'the vineyard of four years,' that is, the fruit of a vineyard now of four years' growth, x. 36.

כרסון רמיו 'thrones were cast down,' an interpretation by many, but to be wondered at, xi. 253.

כרת 'cutting off,' ix. 10. xi. 108. xii. 466.

כשד the original of the name 'Chaldeans,' ii. 90.

כשרבריהם מכוונים 'of the words of them that agreed, or, fitted together,' xi. 441.

כשר denotes 'approved,' 'fit,' either thing or person; פסול, on the contrary, denotes 'not approved,' 'not fit,' xii. 505.

כתובות Chetuboth, 'contracts,' analysis of the tract, x. 512.

כתובים that is the 'Hagiographa,' or that 'third part of the Bible' which the Jews refused to read in their synagogues, vi. 349. xii. 168. 216.

כתונת 'the coat' of the priest, ix. 22.

כתופת 'pillars,' 'shoulders,' ix. 427.

Wherever we meet with a word, which ought to have the letter ל in the beginning of it,—if it have not, you must then put an ה in the end of it, xii. 273.

לא אשיבם 'I will not revoke it,' ii. 241.

לאולם 'for the porch,' ix. 272.

לאסור ולהתיר 'to bind and loose,' a Jewish phrase, iii. 100.

לבילר 'a libellary,' viii. 364.

לדרית strangely written, ii. 324.

להוריש 'drive them out,' ii. 147.

לוד for 'Lydda,' x. 36.

לודיות ובתלהמיות 'the water-pots of Lydda and Bethlehem,' xii. 245.

ליות מעשה מורד 'appendices made in a descending manner,' rendered by the Italian, our English, and some of the Rabbins, 'additions made of thin work,' ix. 426.

לשם 'lutas,' means 'robber,' x. 266.

לחם הפנים 'the bread of setting before,' the 'shew-bread,' ix. 285.

לולב 'willow-boughs,' ix. 182. xi. 259.

לית כותיה a note that it is not read so any where else, ix. 269.

לית לינא רשיא for, 'we have not liberty, power, or privilege, vi. 368.

למחרתם 'two nights and one day:' 'from the evening of this day to the evening of the next, and all that evening to the twilight of the following day,' xii. 427.

לסרבה has 'mem clausum,' ii. 252.

לנו ולבנינו 'pointed after an extraordinary manner,' ii. 137.

לנצח, in the titles of Psalms, 'in finem,' 'to the end,' xii. 175.

לעזר 'Lazar,' is, by contraction, used by the Talmudists for אלעזר 'Eleazar,' xii. 158.

לעיים 'for ships, and for men of the desert,' ii. 270.

לפרסמה 'to make her public,' xi. 19.

לקופה 'the poor's chest,' xi. 134.

למגדנא or לסרדיוט or לשוטור 'an executioner,' 'a whipper,' xi. 112.

לשון טורסי 'the language of Tursi,' x. 75.

לשון זהודית 'lingula coccinea,' the 'scarlet tongue,' 'scarlet list,' ix. 176.

לשכת בולושי 'the chamber of the counsellors,' x. 67.

לשכת הנולה 'the draw-well room,' ix. 346. x. 67.

לשכת המצורעים 'the chamber, or room, of the lepers,' whither the leper resorted after his cleansing in the country, or at his own house, ix. 199.

לשכת המדיחין 'the room of the washers,' ix. 377.

לשכת חשאי 'the treasury of the silent,' ix. 136.

לשכת מלאים 'the lamb room,' ix. 367.

לשכת עץ 'the wood-room,' ix. 355.

לשכה 'the corban chamber,' x. 210.

לשכת עשה הביתן 'the chamber of the pastry-man,' ix. 334.

לשכת פדהדרין 'the room parhedrin, ix. 355. xi. 454.

לשם נר 'under the notion, or in the name, of a proselyte; לשם משחרר 'under the notion, or in the name, of a libertine,' xii. 551.

לתת לכם אחרית ותקוה 'to give you an

- end and hope,' or expectation: that is, 'a hoped, or expected, end,' xii. 382.
- לחברות רשע to the superfluity of naughtiness, vii. 104.
- and ב are alternately used, x. 309. 330.
- מאי אני אומר 'what do I say,' is the same with, 'I do say this:' and so, מאי מקיים 'what do I decree or approve,' is the same with, 'this I do decree or approve:' so מאי אני רוצה 'what will I,' is the same with, 'this I will,' xii. 130.
- מאי קראת 'what readest thou?' when any person brought a text of Scripture for the proof of any thing, xii. 99.
- מאר 'strength,' 'mind,' xii. 100.
- מארות 'light-vessels,' vii. 298.
- מבעד יום 'while it is yet day:' that is, 'while the sun is not yet set,' xi. 158.
- מגדל נוצרים 'the Tower of the keepers,' x. 223.
- מגדליא 'Magdala,' x. 143.
- מגדלא 'a plaiting or curling of the hair,' xi. 354.
- מגדל עדר 'Migdal Eder,' x. 221.
- מגדף 'a blasphemer,' viii. 439.
- מגלת a book, v. 109.
- מגרופתא fire shovel, ix. 417.
- מגדפה 'migrephah,' vessel, or instrument, rung or struck upon, ix. 115.
- מגדל יהודה 'the wilderness of Judah,' x. 200.
- מדרש 'a divinity-school' in the mountain of the house, ix. 244.
- מדרש 'allegorical exposition,' xii. 96.
- מהו rendered by τίς; common in the schools, yea, used a thousand times by some of the Jewish writers, vii. 29. xii. 544.
- מהלאה לרמשק 'beyond Damascus,' viii. 435.
- מרכבי a wheel, ix. 420.
- מרכס גדול ומרכס קטון 'the greater and the lesser publican,' xii. 182.
- מרכסין 'the publicans,' xi. 130.
- מולמ 'circumcisions,' ii. 364.
- מומח 'a blot,' ii. 225.
- מומחין 'judgments,' xii. 484.
- מומחה 'skilful,' ix. 358.
- מומחין 'Mumchin,' 'the authorized bench,' xii. 484.
- מועד קטן 'Moed Katon,' the lesser solemnity,' ix. 169.
- מפקר and שמור difference between, xi. 246.
- מושב כוור a 'seat,' or 'settle,' for the laver to rest upon, ix. 425.
- מור 'mor' (which our English hath very properly translated 'myrrh'), the congealed blood of an Indian beast, ix. 438.
- מורם 'Muram,' that that was taken of the sacrifice, by the priests and for them, ix. 97.
- מועדים set festivals, or meetings, vi. 69. x. 504.
- מוחה 'death' by the hand of heaven, vi. 336. ix. 10.
- מוחר הקמורת 'the residue of the incense,' ix. 353.
- מוון 'meat,' distinguished from לחם 'bread,' xii. 431.
- מוחה, a small scroll of paper fixed to the posts, x. 66.
- מודין 'presumptuous,' viii. 478.
- מומרים 'psalms,' on any subject, vii. 41.
- מוחסי כפורים what, ix. 7.
- מוחלים 'the butchering knives of the Temple,' from חלפ 'cutting-off,' ix. 273.
- מטבילין the washing of their hands, 'dipping,' ix. 153.
- מחנות the three 'camps,' viii. 438.
- מיאונין how tolerated among the Jews, xii. 492.
- מיד 'out of hand,' xi. 390.
- מימרא 'word of the Lord,' xii. 229.
- מים חיים 'bubbling, or springing waters,' xii. 267.
- מכבי 'Maccabeus,' whence so called, ix. 321.
- מכות Maccoth, 'stripes,' analysis of the tract, x. 520.
- מכנסי בר linen breeches, ix. 22.
- מכות מרדות scourge of rebellion, viii. 361. ix. 10. 15.
- מלאכי 'angels,' various, vi. 90. vii. 436. xii. 507.
- מלות שניות duplication, iv. 346.
- מלט 'to escape,' viii. 496.
- מליח 'salt fish,' so rendered from the Aruch. xi. 211.
- מלככם 'your Moloch,' viii. 432.
- מלכות שמים 'the kingdom of heaven,' xi. 50.
- מלכות to be understood of the kingdom of Asa, &c. ii. 213.
- מלקות 'whipping,' ix. 10. 13.
- מלתראות beams of some choice wood (Buxtorfius translates it 'quercinæ,') ix. 260.
- ממון דשקר 'mammon of falsity,' or false mammon, xii. 153.
- ממנה 'ruler of the temple,' or overseer, ix. 19. xii. 48. 191.
- מומרי 'nothi:' such as were born in wedlock; but that which was unlawful, 'Nethinims,' ii. 9.
- ממקום 'from a place,' viii. 368.
- מנגרא 'the executioner of the Sanhedrim, whose office is to whip,' xi. 113.
- מנחה and נסך 'meat-offerings and drink-offerings,' ix. 98.
- מנחת המזבח 'the meat-offering baked in a pan,' ix. 99.
- מנחת המרחשת 'the meat-offering baked in a frying-pan,' ix. 99.
- מנחת חטא 'the sinner's meat-offering,' ix. 99.

- מנחת חנוך 'the meat-offering of initiation;' which every priest brought in his hand, at his first entrance into the office, ix. 99.
- מנחת מאפה הנור 'the meat-offering baked in the oven,' ix. 99.
- מנחת סלת 'the meat-offering of fine flour unbaked,' ix. 99.
- מנחת קנאות 'the jealousy meat-offering' of the suspected wife, Num. v. 15; this was of barley-meal, ix. 99.
- מנשבה 'he breathed,' viii. 375.
- מנשה for 'Moses,' Rev. vii. 6. ii. 148.
- מסם (המקב לים) 'the receivers of his tributes,' ix. 43.
- מסמס שני קונטרסין a semmissis is two farthings, xi. 113.
- מסעד 'prop or support,' ix. 327.
- מספוטמיה 'Mesopotamia,' viii. 417.
- מסתפקין *μαστωπεται*, xii. 266.
- מה a meah is worth two pondions, xi. 114.
- מעני 'the book Meoni,' ix. 103.
- מענים 'Mehunims,' ii. 220.
- מעניבה explained out of the Talmud, ix. 254, 255.
- מעיל 'coat of the ephod,' ix. 23.
- מעז 'epitome,' vi. 425. xi. 143. xii. 108.
- מעקה 'battlements,' lest any one should fall off, ix. 257.
- מערכה גדולה 'the great pile,' ix. 109.
- מערכה 'maarachah, or the hearth,' ix. 403.
- מעשי בראשית 'the works in the beginning,' vii. 374.
- מעשר various sorts of 'tithes, xii. 177.
- מעשרות mahseroth, 'tithing,' x. 504.
- מעטיר 'Maphür,' he that read in the prophets, xii. 65.
- מעלת for 'a woman bringing forth an abortive,' xii. 549.
- מצדה, Matsada, 'fortification,' x. 202.
- מצוה 'the wine of command,' xii. 19.
- מצוה 'the precept,' xi. 419.
- מצלחים used instead of 'timber,' ix. 59.
- מצנפת 'the mitre' of the priest, ix. 24.
- מקבל 'keeper of traditions,' viii. 450.
- מקטורן 'Mactoren,' rendered by the Gloss מנטל, a 'mantle:' by Aruch מעיל, a 'cloak;' by others, a 'hood,' xii. 85.
- מקלט, מקלט 'refuge, refuge,' x. 99.
- מקל שקד 'a rod of almonds,' ii. 276.
- מקרא 'text of the Bible,' xii. 96. 120.
- מקרא קדש 'a holy convocation,' rendered by the Seventy interpreters, 'called holy,' xii. 456.
- מרבי and 'Rabbi' and 'Mar,' titles amongst the doctors, xii. 376.
- מרובה בגדים 'the installed by the garments,' ix. 22. 439.
- מרון 'Beth Maron,' and 'Maronite,' x. 358.
- מרחץ בית היני 'the lavatory of Bethany,' x. 220.
- מראה של מרים 'to the fountain of Miriam,' in the sea of Tiberias, xii. 283.
- מרים בת ביינתוס story of 'Mary the daughter of Baithas,' xii. 347.
- מרתף the 'storehouse,' where they laid up their fruits, xii. 127.
- משוך 'uncircumcised,' xii. 495.
- משחררים 'libertines,' what they were, iii. 190. viii. 413.
- משומד an 'apostate,' xii. 195.
- משוררים overseer of the singers, ix. 19.
- משיח used infinitely among the Hebrew writers to signify 'Christ,' iv. 418.
- משיכלא משי כולא 'mashicala mashi culla, the greater vessel out of which all wash; maschilta mashia callatha, the lesser vessel in which the bride washes, and the better sort of the guests,' xii. 244.
- משמרות 'courses of priests,' xii. 8.
- משנה 'doctrine of traditions,' xii. 96.
- משתחרתם a strange-framed word, ii. 293.
- מת יוצא 'a dead corpse going out,' xii. 80.
- מת מצוה 'the dead of the precept;' him who had suffered death by the sentence of the Sanhedrim, or magistrate, xii. 205.
- מתנה 'a giving;' the disposal of the blood in sprinkling, ix. 76.
- נ is written the wrong way in some words, as in *בססע*, and *כמתאנים* &c. ii. 127. iv. 19. נ Nun, is inverted in two places in the Book of Numbers; the supposed reasons are laid down, xii. 214.
- נאמן used for one whose testimony may be taken, xii. 304.
- נבא to prophesy or exhort, viii. 397.
- נבל 'nebbel had twelve strings, which made twelve several notes,' ix. 60.
- נבלה 'that which dies of itself,' viii. 483.
- נדבר houses, ranks, or rows of stones or timber, ix. 250.
- נדה middah, 'purification,' analysis of the tract, x. 523.
- נדרי הקדש 'vows of consecration,' and נדרי איסור 'vows of obligation, or, of prohibition,' xi. 217.
- נדרים nedarim, 'vows,' analysis of the tract, x. 513.
- נדר סבטיון the 'Sabbatic river,' x. 236.
- נוטה למות 'next to death;' beyond which condition, on this side death, was only גוע 'one just expiring,' xii. 103.
- נופה 'reproof,' viii. 486. xii. 467.
- נוורר אחר 'estranged,' or 'turned backward,' vi. 420.
- נוזיר Nazir, 'Nazarene,' analysis of the tract, x. 514.



- נזיקין nezichin, 'fines and penalties,' x. 517.  
 נטילת ידים 'washing of the hands,' ix. 153.  
 נטילת ידים 'a washing of the hands,' and טבילת ידים 'a dipping of the hands,' xii. 113. xi. 400.  
 נטרפה דעת 'his knowledge is snatched away,' xi. 389.  
 נידוי 'simple excommunication,' xii. 471.  
 ניהיל 'it is easy,' xi. 384.  
 נכראל 'let us eat,' derivation of name Nicholas, viii. 412. xii. 487.  
 ניסים שבים 'the Talmudic girdle of the land,' what, x. 8.  
 ניסוך המים 'the pouring out of water,' x. 55.  
 ניפולין 'Neapolis,' (i. e. Sychar) of the Samaritans, xii. 273.  
 ניצוץ 'the gate and house Nitsots,' the house of stone vessels, ix. 378.  
 נישוך המים 'their pouring out of water, and the rubric of every day's service,' ix. 185.  
 נמרוד 'Nimrod,' viii. 418.  
 נסבם overseer of the drink-offerings, ix. 20.  
 נעילת שערות the overseer 'for shutting of the doors,' ix. 19.  
 ננים 'nain,' x. 295.  
 נערה signifies 'a virgin,' &c. iv. 179.  
 נפש variously interpreted, xi. 287.  
 נפל rendered by the Seventy, ἄκαιρος, 'an untimely birth,' xii. 549.  
 נפלי 'Naphli,' the Messiah, viii. 474.  
 נצר 'Nazarite,' ix. 307. xi. 44. 357. xii. 521.  
 נקדימון 'Nicodemus,' or, as it is elsewhere written, שנקדמה, xii. 252.  
 נר המערבי 'the western lamp,' ix. 284.  
 נשאתם 'ye shall bear,' viii. 430.  
 נשיר a quaint phrase, ii. 302.  
 נשים 'forgetting,' viii. 35.  
 נשים יולדות 'women after childbirth,' ix. 371.  
 נשיקות תפלות 'kisses of folly,' xii. 199.  
 נשיבי for נשיבי, xii. 234.  
 נבי 'the Sibbichæan sea,' סבך 'a bush,' x. 12.  
 סברא 'an opinion,' xi. 77. xii. 491.  
 סגן Sagan, ix. 37. xii. 48. 398.  
 סגירה 'a scrip,' and סדין 'a purse,' ix. 121.  
 סדר הנדה 'an orderly narration,' xii. 6.  
 סוטה sotah, 'adulterous woman,' analysis of the tract, x. 511.  
 סולמה דצור 'the ladder of Tyre,' x. 127.  
 סוסיתה 'susitha,' x. 144.  
 סורג 'soreg, the wall that enclosed the hill,' 'a wall curiously latticed, and made of wood,' ix. 300.  
 ים סוף 'Red Sea,' ii. 419.  
 סוף 'Suph,' in Moab, ii. 135.  
 סופרים 'the numberers,' xii. 94. 460.  
 סטרא 'Satda,' or 'Stada' an 'adulterous wife,' xi. 196.  
 סטרי, στρος, porticus, cloister-walks or rows, rather than porch, ix. 237. 247.  
 סידון 'sindon,' 'linen,' 'a cloak,' xi. 439.  
 סין 'sin' and טין 'tin,' among the Chaldees, 'is mud,' x. 191.  
 סיפא 'what is secondary, or of less weight,' xii. 319.  
 סכח 'Siccuth,' viii. 116. 431.  
 סלע 'selaa' three hundred eighty-and-four middling barley-corns: the selaa is four denarii, ix. 317. xi. 239. xii. 104.  
 סמאל מלאך מותא 'Samael, the angel of death,' xii. 369.  
 סנדל לדיקי 'the sandal of Lydda,' x. 261.  
 סנהדרין 'sanhedrim,' analysis of the tract, x. 518.  
 סיגורא 'Sinegora,' indignation, and advocate, x. 362.  
 סעודה 'eating, or a repast after food,' xi. 211.  
 סף vessels of the service, ix. 41.  
 ספרא 'a scholar,' vii. 34. xi. 40. xii. 543.  
 ספרד 'Sephared,' Spain, x. 291.  
 ספרים היעונים 'books that are without,' heathen books, xi. 391.  
 ספר כריתות 'a bill of cutting-off,' xi. 119.  
 ספר תירוכין 'a bill of expulsion,' xi. 119.  
 ספר ישר 'a directory,' ii. 133.  
 סקילה 'stoning,' viii. 453.  
 סרנים how the Chaldee and Rabbins explain it, ix. 427.  
 סרה 'serah' and חרס 'cheres' transposed, x. 303.  
 ע 'ain', is of no sound with some, x. 125. It is sometimes changed into ש, x. 132. It is twice cut off from the end of words, to shew the greater emphasis, xi. 13. Sometimes it is changed into ס by the Chaldeans, xii. 574.  
 עבודה 'avodah,' רצה 'retseh,' names of a prayer, ix. 117.  
 עבודה זרה 'avodah zarah,' idolatry, analysis of the tract, x. 520.  
 עברי 'Hebrew,' 'Passover,' viii. 403. 404. xi. 101. xii. 279.  
 עגלת שלישיה 'Eglath Shelishijah,' x. 332.  
 עדות בטילה 'a vain testimony,' xi. 441.  
 עדיית קיימת 'a standing testimony,' xi. 441.  
 ער קירות הספן 'to the walls of the covering: that is, up to the very walls of the floor over-head,' ix. 281.  
 עה 'on him is peace,' iv. 57.  
 עלות 'burnt-offerings,' ix. 71.  
 עלם הבא 'this world,' and עלם הזה 'the world to come,' xi. 199.

עולם and עלמא 'the world,' xii. 256.  
 עומדין בשורה 'those that stood in order about the mourners to comfort them,' xii. 81.  
 עומר 'the offering of the sheaf,' xii. 550.  
 עונת 'Onoth,' and ענה 'Onah,' } what; xi. 201.  
 עוי דבאלא 'the she-goats of Bala,' are in the gloss, עוי דלבנון 'the she-goats of Lebanon,' x. 362.  
 עורת נשים 'the court of the women,' x. 213.  
 עיטור 'the crowning,' xi. 335.  
 עין 'eye' for 'mind,' xi. 151.  
 עין סוכר 'the well of Sychar,' x. 340.  
 עין עיטם 'the fountain Etam,' x. 348.  
 עין יון 'Ænon,' v. 19.  
 עיר, which word is commonly rendered 'urbs,' or 'civitas,' 'a city,' and denoted generally fortified cities, and towns also not fortified, where synagogues were,' xi. 382.  
 עירובי communion, viii. 362. xi. 452. xii. 510.  
 עירות גדולות 'great cities,' in which was a synagogue, x. 175.  
 עירות and כפרים distinguished, xi. 381.  
 עיתור 'bittur,' 'wealth,' x. 287.  
 עכו 'Acon,' Ptolemais, x. 124.  
 עליות 'upper floor, or the roof of the Holy and Most Holy Places,' ix. 293.  
 עלימא 'a wise man,' vii. 104.  
 עלמה youth, virginity, iv. 179. xi. 20.  
 עלת 'the little vessel wherewithal they drew wine out of the tankard,' ix. 433.  
 עם ארץ 'the people of the earth,' in common phrase; opposed to לתלמידי החכמים 'the disciples of the wise men,' whom they call עם קדוש 'the holy people,' but the former they call the 'accursed,' xi. 69. xii. 912.  
 עמודים 'which Aruch interprets קצרים 'pillars low or shorty,' ix. 411.  
 ענים meek, humble, v. 130, 131.  
 עפינית קרניה 'Aphinith Karnaiyah,' instead of 'Ashtaroth-karnaim,' x. 282.  
 עפריים 'Ephraim,' the town, x. 103.  
 עצרת used by the Hebraising Jews for the feast of pentecost, viii. 369. ix. 171.  
 עצרת 'detained on a religious account,' viii. 449.  
 עקרבים 'scorpions,' ii. 132.  
 ערב 'evening,' signifies not only the declining part of the day, but the night also, xi. 212.  
 ערבא 'a promise, or a surety for the performance of the law,' xi. 34.  
 ערבו 'the city Orbo,' x. 245.  
 ערבת the 'highest heavens,' xii. 203.  
 ערבי פסח 'the passover,' ix. 134.  
 ערבים 'estimated persons or things,' ix. 43.  
 עריבה 'a small vessel,' x. 137.

ערידת 'nakedness,' viii. 480.  
 ערייר 'without children,' xi. 15.  
 ערל ישראל 'an uncircumcised Israelite,' and ערל כהן 'an uncircumcised priest,' xii. 495.  
 ערלה 'the uncircumcision of the tree when first planted,' xii. 386.  
 ערקבלין 'arkablin, a twig twined about,' xii. 364.  
 ערקי 'Arki,' the Arkites, x. 966.  
 עשה 'to do,' v. 18.  
 עשן 'smoke' pillaring, viii. 379.  
 עשש to be eaten up with some malady, &c. vii. 103.  
 עתיד לבא 'eternity, viii. 359.  
 פ This letter is sometimes changed into ב by the Jews using the Syriac language, vii. 8.  
 פאה 'a little portion,' xii. 291.  
 פאה 'peah,' analysis of the tract, x. 483.  
 פני phagi, 'green figs,' x. 78.  
 פוטימא 'potitha,' some creeping thing of the sea, xi. 129.  
 פוטליילוס Puteolus, viii. 501.  
 פוטרות 'a sweating garment,' viii. 387. ix. 120.  
 פונרתו 'ponditho is a hollow girdle [or, a hollow belt], in which they put up their money,' xi. 175.  
 פייס 'the casting of lots,' xii. 308.  
 פייסות the overseer of 'the lots,' ix. 19.  
 פיסתקא 'the mast of cedar,' the grain of a fruit, which is called גלגלנרא 'glans,' xi. 427.  
 פלוגתא 'dissension,' viii. 473.  
 פלמוני 'that certain saint,' &c. vii. 223.  
 פמיים Pamiyas, 'Paneas, the spring of Jordan,' x. 129.  
 פנדק 'a tavern or inn, in the Ismaelitic language, is called pandak,' xii. 104.  
 פנהם the chamber 'of Phinehas, the wardrobe man,' ix. 334.  
 פני 'open firmament,' ix. 295.  
 פסול 'not approved' opposed to 'approved,' x. 505.  
 פקח קוד supposed to be one, not two words, and the more emphatical for that, v. 132.  
 פקיר 'pakidh,' steward, xii. 151.  
 פקיעים 'ovals, oxen,' פקיעים 'ovals or wild gourds,' ix. 282. 451.  
 פרוה Parvah was a magician, xi. 376.  
 פרושה 'half a farthing,' xi. 113.  
 פרוץ בנדרים 'much in oaths,' xi. 124.  
 פרים משרפים 'the bullocks of the congregation for the matter of idolatry,' ix. 83.  
 פרנסין 'Pastores,' the chief magistrates of the Jews being so called, vi. 262. xi. 89. Deacons, viii. 418.  
 פרס 'Paras,' was the space of fifteen days before any of the Jews' feasts, viii. 357. xii. 290.  
 פרסאות or פרושה 'which never wanted leaves or figs,' xi. 269.

- פרסה 'a parsa' contains in it four miles, x. 247.
- פרק 'is where the arm is distinguished from the hand,' xi. 599.
- פרקים 'parts and pauses'; the Talmudics call קול להפסיק בנעימת פרוש pausings or intermissions in the vocal music,' xi. 64.
- פרקלט is in frequent use amongst the Jews to signify an 'advocate,' xii. 384.
- פרש 'Pharisee,' xi. 67. 73.
- פרשת המלך 'the lection of the king,' ix. 193.
- פרת 'fruitfulness,' ii. 349.
- בכור 'the first-born brother: the younger was called פשוט 'simple,' xii. 125.
- פושפ 'a little door in the midst of a great door,' xi. 153.
- פתמא 'sindon,' or linen, the same with טלית 'talith,' the upper coat,' xii. 415.
- פתח oftentimes signifies, 'he began:' to which is opposed חתם or סיים 'he ended,' xii. 123.
- פתח used for one that was teaching, xi. 275.
- פתור that is, 'Pethor,' mentioned Numb. xxii. 5. was changed into בשר 'Bosur,' mentioned 2 Pet. ii. 15.: vii. 7, 8.
- צבועין 'distained,' a species of hypocrite, xi. 286.
- צדיקים גמורים 'perfectly just men,' vii. 257. xii. 146.
- צדקה שני נבאי צדקה 'the two collectors of alms,' xi. 89.
- צדקה 'Righteousness,' commonly used and understood by the Jews for the 'giving of alms,' xi. 131. xii. 116.
- צדקנו Messiah, 'our righteousness,' viii. 437.
- צופים 'Zophim,' or 'Scopo;' the reason of the name, x. 86.
- צוק 'tsok,' a very steep and high promont, ix. 177. x. 105.
- צור 'Tyre,' x. 163.
- צין 'Zin,' x. 258.
- ציני 'smaller palms,' x. 259.
- ציפורי 'let him be banished to Cyprus,' xii. 183.
- ציץ 'golden plate' of the priest, ix. 24.
- צלצל overseer of the 'cymbal' music, ix. 19. 61. xii. 537.
- צמרי 'Zemari,' the 'Zemarites,' x. 266.
- צעיר to be of the neuter gender, iv. 228.
- צפורי 'Tsippor,' x. 152.
- צריפ 'Zariph,' and צריפה 'Zeripha,' a little cottage, x. 342.
- צריפין 'certain small cottages,' erected to watch in, xii. 35.
- צרפת 'France,' x. 291.
- קבר תהום 'a deep sepulchre,' and קבר מצרין 'a painted sepulchre,' ix. 215. xi. 285.
- קדושה holiness, xii. 494.
- קרה 'bowing of the head,' ix. 125.
- קדושין kiddushin, 'betrothings,' analysis of the tract, x. 515.
- קדיש 'a little prayer called by that name,' xii. 348.
- קדשי הקדשים 'the most holy sacrifices,' or קדשים קלים 'sacrifices of an inferior alloy,' ix. 70. 96.
- קרר 'dung,' xii. 396.
- קדש is rendered by 'Rekam,' why, x. 18. 'Ark,' ix. 295.
- קדשים, who, ii. 212.
- קול 'a voice,' v. 18.
- קולבון 'interest,' or 'profit,' ix. 314.
- קנעם used for 'a thing devoted,' xi. 218.
- קוצים 'thorns,' x. 12.
- קור 'mid-winter,' xii. 277. 344.
- קורא הגדה 'the rehearser of the office of the passover,' ix. 152.
- קרדייקוס the demon of drunkards, viii. 377. xi. 237.
- קרין not 'reading,' but 'repeating,' xii. 587.
- קשו 'fan yourselves,' vi. 103.
- קטב 'destruction,' and דבר 'the plague,' are joined together, Psal. xci. xii. 555.
- קלון seems to be the same with לון, and ק is redundant, xii. 101.
- קלות ראש 'the lightness of the head,' 'levity,' or 'irreverence,' xii. 517.
- קלפי box containing lots, ix. 175.
- קטורות of doubtful signification, and diversely interpreted, ix. 306. 310.
- קידושין betrothings, x. 515.
- קימות 'a fulfilling,' viii. 66.
- קינים overseer about 'birds,' ix. 19.
- קינים 'nests,' ix. 92.
- קיפנוס 'kiponus,' ix. 226.
- קידין שמע the usual expression for the recitation of their phylacteries, xii. 101.
- קמחית son of Kamith, ix. 35.
- קנאה 'zeal,' vii. 354.
- קנאין the 'Zealots,' xii. 390.
- קניטריכוס 'chondriacus,' hypochondriacal, xi. 160.
- קציע צואריא 'ye short-necked,' viii. 436.
- קציר 'the harvest,' half Nisan, all Jyar, and half Sivan. Half Sivan, all Tammuz, and half Ab, is קיץ 'the summer.' Half Ab, all Elul, and half Tisri, is חום 'the great heat,' xii. 277.
- קצרה 'concisely,' viii. 423.
- קרא 'a text,' xii. 491.
- קראת 'she shall call,' iv. 163.
- קרבן gate Corban, ix. 371.
- קרבן 'Corban,' a form of vowing, xi. 217.
- קרבן בפני עצמו 'a peculiar sacrifice,' xii. 308.
- קרבן עלה ויורד 'an offering rising or falling,' xii. 38.

עֵי קִרְבוֹ 'the offering of the poor,' xii. 38.

קִרְדִּיּוֹנְטָס 'Kordiontes,' קִנְטְרִיק 'Kontrik,' xi. 113.

קַרְחָה בַשְּׂדֵה 'baldness in a field:' that is, some places are left not sown, and some places, lying between, are, xi. 205.

קְרִיאַת הַנֶּבֶר 'the first cock-crowing,' the second, כְּשֵׁשָׁה, the third, כְּשֵׁשָׁל, xii. 380.

קְרִיאַת שֵׁמַע 'Keriath Shema,' 'the saying over of Shema,' ix. 114.

קַרְכַּפָּל 'carchaphal' is the skin of a head pulled off from a dead person, xi. 394.

קָרְנָי and יְרוּשָׁלַי are words opposed, as a 'countryman' and a 'citizen,' x. 47.

קָשִׁי 'it is hard,' xi. 384.

קַתְּלִיקִין 'Katholici,' who, ix. 18. 39.

רֵאִיָּה 'appearance,' xi. 444. xii. 43.

רֵאשׁ בֵּית אֵב 'chief of any family, ix. 18. xi. 40.

רֵאשׁ הַמְּשַׁמֵּר 'chief priest of every course,' ix. 18. xi. 40.

רֵאשִׁי הַפְּרָקִים the first clause of every psalm, xii. 140.

רַב a professor, iii. 299.

רֵבּוּבָה 'rebubah,' place for birds, unfit for offering, ix. 404.

רַבָּן Rabban, 'a high title, iv. 384.

רֵנַל בְּפִנֵי עֲצָמוֹ 'a feast by itself,' xii. 308.

רֵנַע 'a moment of time,' xii. 64.

רֵדִיד 'a woman's veil,' also 'power' and 'dominion,' iii. 244.

רֵחֵם שֶׁל חֲמוֹר 'an ass-mill,' xii. 168.

רֵחַ רָעָה 'an evil spirit,' and רֵחַ טוֹמָאָה 'an unclean spirit,' xii. 135.

רֵחָה 'on the open sides,' or 'towards the open air,' ix. 271.

רוּחַ of various signification, v. 17.

רוּחַ חֲקֹדֶשׁ 'spirit of holiness,' iv. 314.

רוֹמִי 'Rome,' mentioned by the rabbins, viii. 500.

רוֹס 'a flight shot,' xii. 348.

רִיגְשָׁה 'rigsha,' 'thunder' xi. 387.

רִישׁ 'furlong,' x. 248. xii. 348.

רִיקָה 'raca,' a word of scorn, xi. 106.

רִישָׁא and רִישָׁא the 'beginning, and the end,' what, xii. 319.

רִנָּה 'riannah,' signifies 'prayer;' תְּפִלָּה 'prayer with praise,' or 'doxology,' xii. 106.

רִפָּא 'Hercules, viii. 119.

רִפְּאִים 'rephaim,' x. 970.

רִפְּזִין 'weakness,' viii. 434.

רִצִּים 'men of the guard,' ii. 230.

רִקִּיקִין 'wafers,' ix. 99.

רִקְדָּה for דִּקְדָּה, xii. 424.

רִקֵּשׁ used for קִדֵּשׁ 'Cadesh,' by the eastern interpreters, why, x. 18.

רִשְׁתָּה 'a license,' viii. 413.

רִשְׁתָּה הַיָּד, and רִשְׁתָּה רַבִּים, difference betwixt a 'private place,' or what is any one's peculiar right, and a 'public place,' or what is of more public and common right, xii. 285. 490.

רָשָׁע עָרוֹם 'a wicked cunning fellow,' xii. 121.

שׁ is often changed by the Chaldeans into ע, x. 132, and into ת, x. 166. xii. 574.

שׁוֹבַח 'sing and praise,' vii. 34.

שְׁבוּעָה shevuoth, 'oaths, analysis of the tract, x. 520.

שְׁבוּעַת בְּטוּי 'a rash oath,' ix. 209.

שְׁבוּעַת בִּטְוִי 'a promissory oath,' xii. 122.

שְׁבוּעַת עֵדוּת 'a testimonial oath,' before a judge or magistrate, xi. 123.

שְׁבִיעַת פְּקֻדוֹן 'an oath concerning something left in trust,' xi. 122.

שְׁבוּעַת שׂוֹא 'a vain or a rash oath,' xi. 122.

שְׁבִיעִית 'sheviith,' seventh year, analysis of the tract, x. 496.

שְׁבַע טוֹבֵי הָעִיר 'seven good men of the city, viii. 412.

שְׁבַץ 'coat of mail, ix. 22.

שְׁבַצָּה 'Sebaste,' viii. 441.

שַׁבַּת 'Schabbath,' the Sabbath, analysis of the tract, x. 504.

שְׁגָוִין 'mistaken,' viii. 478.

שׁוֹמֵט a sort of a 'delirant' person, one not very well in his wits, xi. 160. xii. 116. 200.

שׁוֹטְרִים, executioners,' xi. 112.

שׁוֹלְחָנֵי 'exchangers,' xi. 308.

שׁוֹלְחַן גְּבוּיָה 'the table of the Most High,' 'the altar,' xii. 510.

שׁוֹמֵא 'a man of sores,' &c. vii. 104.

שׁוֹמֵא son of a 'name,' or swelling, viii. 461.

שׁוֹמְרֵי שׁוֹמְרֵי overseer of the 'guards,' ix. 19.

שׁוֹמְרָה is 'a high place where the vine-dresser stands to overlook the vineyard,' xi. 415.

שׁוֹפְרוֹת the 'corban chests,' or 'trumpets,' ix. 313. x. 209. xi. 262. xii. 178.

שׁוֹק שֶׁל בָּטָמִים 'the street of the butchers,' x. 72.

שׁוֹק שֶׁל צִמְרִים 'the street of those that dealt in wool, x. 72.

שׁוֹר 'an enemy,' or 'wall,' ii. 349. xii. 264.

שׁוֹרְבֵינָא what kind of 'friend' or 'companion' it signified among the Jews, xii. 243.

שׁוֹרְבִין what kind of 'friend,' v. 67, 68. xii. 243. 261.

שׁוֹשַׁן 'the gate of Shushan,' x. 352.

שׁוֹרְפִין 'companions,' xi. 169.

שׁוֹחִין 'inflamed scab,' ii. 370.

שׁוֹמֵפָה 'dipping the vessels in water,' xii. 115.

שׁוֹטְרָד the scroll (schedula) of contract, xii. 151.

שׁוֹבֵטָא 'a strange fish,' x. 13.

שׁוֹבֵטָא Shibta, the Jews say it was 'an evil spirit;' it may be it was nothing but 'convulsions,' the disease, iii. 103. xi. 215.

- שילח plainly and properly signifies 'Ἀπεσταλμένος; but שלח not so. xii. 330.
- שׂים שלום 'appoint peace,' &c. a third prayer, ix. 117.
- "שׂים some way at the foot of some mountainous place, the dividing line between the 'land of Israel,' and 'without the land,' x. 8.
- שׂיר בפני עצמו 'a song by itself,' xii. 308.
- שׂירים psalms, about which art is employed, vii. 41.
- שׂיתין 'slithin,' 'wild figs,' xi. 266.
- שׂינה 'the Divine presence,' this the Sanhedrim accounted to be always near the altar in the Temple: therefore they used to sit near it; and, while they continued there, durst not but do justice, vi. 378.
- שׂכיר 'hired by the day,' and שכיר שעת 'hired only for some hours, xi. 255.
- שׂכן רע 'a wicked neighbour,' absent from the synagogues, xii. 29.
- שׂלבים 'staves or bars set in rows, like the staves of a ladder,' ix. 425.
- שׂלח the pool Shelahh, and שׂלחה the pool Shiloahh, x. 345.
- שׂכר 'wine,' or any thing that will cause drunkenness, iv. 128. xii. 18. in several places does not denote 'extreme drunkenness,' xii. 526.
- שׂלח 'turning out of lepers,' ix. 5.
- שׂלוחי 'messengers,' xi. 169.
- שׂליח ציבור 'the angel' or 'messenger of the congregation:' so was the minister of every synagogue called, vi. 226. viii. 436. xi. 88.
- שׂליש 'duke,' or 'tribune,' x. 332.
- שׂלם 'peaceably,' ii. 99. 223.
- שׂלמא a 'Salmean,' or a 'Salamean,' used amongst the Targumists, instead of קיני a 'Kenite,' x. 324.
- שׂלמי שמחה 'sacrifices of peace,' or eucharistic offerings, sacrifices of 'joy and mirth,' xii. 404.
- שׂלש בדר"ש 'the bench of three,' xi. 88.
- שׂלמים 'peace offerings,' ix. 93—98.
- שׂמחה תורה 'the rejoicing of the law,' or 'for the law,' xii. 43. 319. 563.
- שׂמתי Shamothi, 'a scholar of Shammai,' xi. 102.
- שׂמתא 'Shammatha,' second excommunication, xii. 47.
- שׂלשים why the final ם is great, ii. 107.
- שׂמים death by the hand 'of heaven,' vi. 337.
- שׂנים years, in the plural, and not שׂנתים, in the dual, xii. 70.
- שׂער הקרבה 'the gate of offering;' or שׂער בכ רחם 'the gate of the firstlings,' ix. 357.
- שׂער המים 'the water-gate,' ix. 350.
- שׂעירי עבודה זרה 'the goats for idolatry,' and שׂעירי גשׂרפים 'the burned goats,' ix. 83.
- שׂרבח 'sirbon' 'implies burning,' x. 21.
- שׂרון a champaign pasture country; from שׂרה to send forth cattle, x. 39.
- שׂריר 'one that carrieth fire,' viii. 475.
- שׂר עלם 'the angel,' into whose hands the whole world is delivered, xii. 369.
- שׂרפה 'burning,' viii. 453.
- שׂרפרף 'the footstool' for the feet under the seat, xi. 401.
- שׂרוקי 'bastards:' such as came of a certain mother, but of an uncertain father, ii. 9.
- ת Tau, this letter is sometimes changed by the Jews using the Syriac into ש, vii. 8.
- תאלין 'are the rest of the greater trees,' x. 259.
- תאמים 'twins,' ii. 393.
- תבלת 'sky-colour,' ix. 23.
- "תה is not always 'one learned,' but 'one that gives himself to it;' contrary to עם הארץ, vi. 395.
- תרו 'without form,' vi. 173.
- תהלים 'psalms of praise,' vii. 41.
- תחבלות 'government,' xii. 536.
- תחשים badgers, ii. 396.
- תחום 'the border,' x. 235.
- תודוס 'Theudas,' viii. 402.
- תולדות the 'derivative' works, xi. 198.
- תומים with and without aleph, iv. 173.
- תורה 'the law,' distinguished from מצוה 'the precept,' xi. 419.
- תימא 'Thima,' the same with סימא 'Simai,' 'blind,'—from the use of ת Thau for ס Samech among the Chaldeans, xi. 413.
- תכריכין 'burying-clothes,' viii. 399.
- תלמיד 'a scholar,' xi. 70. xii. 119.
- תמחוי 'Tamchui' a certain vessel, in which bread and food was gathered לעניי עולם for the poor of the world, 'the alms'-basket,' xi. 134.
- תנין } crocodile, ii. 361. and תנינם }
- תעכסנה ברנליהן 'make a tinkling with their feet,' xii. 361.
- תענית הציבור 'fasts of the congregation,' and תענית היחיד 'fasts of this or that single person,' xii. 176.
- תענית הלום 'a fast for a dream,' xi. 163.
- תפל 'unsavory' and a 'fool,' xii. 145.
- תפלין 'tephillin,' two parchment labels, xi. 277.
- "תק was to be prayed in the plural number, though he that prayed, was alone by himself, vi. 426.
- תרומות trumoth, 'separation of priests,' analysis of the tract, x. 499.
- תרועה a 'tarantara,' ix. 58.
- תרכינים 'Tarquinius,' or 'Tarquinius,' whether they meant the emperor Trajan, or some other, xii. 342.
- תרמילו 'his purse,' xi. 175.
- תרנגולא עילא 'Tarnegola the upper,' x. 157.
- תרע קלקלחא 'the dung-port,' ix. 322.
- תר"ת 'tarantara,' ix. 61.
- תשלומין 'compensations,' viii. 371, xii. 302.

# TABLE OF GREEK WORDS

## EXPLAINED AND ILLUSTRATED.

[This table has been considerably enlarged in this edition. It was not necessary to multiply references, which may be easily found from the general "Index of Texts Illustrated:" see pp. 321—352.]

'ΑΓΑΑΑΙ'ΑΣΙΣ, 'inward and outward joy,' iv. 167.

'Αγγαρεύειν, to 'angariate,' xi. 27.

'Αγιοι, 'holy,' frequently taken for those that profess Christianity, xii. 493, 494.

'Αδης, among the Greeks, and 'inferi' among the Latins, do comprehend the estate both of the blessed, and of the damned, viii. 380. xii. 167. 204.

'Αδικεῖν, signifies 'to hurt,' and also 'to deal unjustly,' xii. 152.

Αἰών, 'age;' in the Scripture very ordinarily is the Jewish age, xii. 508. So by Συντέλεια τοῦ Αἰῶνος, is meant 'the end of the Jewish age,' or 'world,' xii. 129.

'Ακελδαμά, 'field of blood,' viii. 367.

'Ακουσίως, 'unwillingly,' used for 'ignorantly,' Numb. xv. 27. vi. 338.

'Αλείψασα, is to be rendered as noting 'an action past,' iii. 124.

'Αμαρτίαν ποιεῖν, doth signify 'a man's setting himself to do evil,' v. 57.

'Ανακεφαλαιοῦσθαι, 'to recapitulate,' v. 15.

'Αναπτύξας, that is, 'when he had unfolded the book,' v. 109.

'Ανατολή, 'branch,' 'bud,' 'spring;' used by the Seventy for πῶς, iv. 186. xii. 28.

'Αντελάβετο, how used by the Seventy, iv. 132.

'Αντί, doth sometimes denote the 'end' and 'intention of a thing,' iv. 393. xii. 233.

'Αντιλήψεις, 'helps,' such as assisted the apostles, xii. 535.

'Ανώγειον, 'any room above stairs,' viii. 32.

'Ανωθεν, 'from above,' signifies οὐρανόθεν, 'from heaven,' xii. 7. Variously rendered, v. 15, 16.

'Απέκτειναν, 'killed,' signifies a death by the sword, xi. 270.

'Απώγατο, 'strangled him,' viii. 366.

'Από, sometimes does not stand so much in the force of 're, again,' but it stands in opposition to ἀ 'privativa,' viii. 66.

'Αποκατάστασις, signifies 'a restitution to a former estate,' also 'a fulfilling or accomplishing,' viii. 66.

'Απολελυμένον, interpreted with reference to 'restraint,' iii. 304.

'Απολύσαι, 'to divorce,' &c. iv. 178.

'Από μέρους, 'severally,' xii. 336.

'Αρχεῖον, the 'Archivum,' what, x. 52.

'Αρχιερεὺς, whether to be rendered 'high-priest,' viii. 483. xi. 39.

'Αρχισυνάγωγος, who, v. 119. xi. 88. 165.

'Αρχιτερίκλιος, 'governor of the feast,' three words in one, iv. 437.

'Αρχων, 'magistrate,' xi. 112.

'Αρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ, Acts iv. 8, 'the great men of the Sanhedrim, ix. 243.

'Ασκαρίζειν, 'to stir in the womb,' iv. 131.

'Αχρι, 'until,' in what sense to be understood, xii. 189.

Αὐτός, sometimes signifies 'reciprocally himself,' iv. 313.

Βάλανος, what, and whence derived, xi. 427.

Βασιλικός, a 'royalist,' what the name, v. 106. who the man, ib.

Βηθαμαρὰ, Βηθανία, how possible to be put one for the other, x. 309.

Βοσῶρ, mentioned 2 Pet. ii. 15, illustrated, vii. 7.

Βουλευται, 'counsellors,' what, xi. 454.

Γενέσεως, 'history, family,' &c. iv. 169.

Γενήματα, including men of past and present age, iv. 263.

Γλωσσόκομον, a 'coffer,' or 'chest for money,' xii. 362.

Γραμματεὺς, γραφ, a 'scribe,' what, xii. 460.

- Δηήσεις, used for supplications, x. 106.  
 Διασπορά, illustrated, vii. 8.  
 Διά, force of, iv. 120.  
 Διαθήκη, 'testament,' xii. 529.  
 Δίδραγμα, 'didrachma, tribute-money,' to be understood of the half shekel, ii. 238. What the coin, when the time it was collected, iii. 104.  
 Δίκαιος, 'just,' 'gentle,' 'merciful,' xi. 19.  
 Δικαιώματα, what; how mistaken by the Vulgar, xii. 13. Not 'justifications,' but 'ordinances,' iv. 149.  
 Δύναμις, 'power,' very usually referred to miracles, not to discipline, xii. 476.  
 ὁ Δυνατός, 'the mighty one,' &c. iv. 131.  
 Δῶρον, a thing devoted to sacred use, xi. 216, 217. 'A gift,' known, and common among the Talmudists, xi. 402.
- ἘΑ, taken either as an adverb or verb, what it denotes, v. 180.  
 Ἐγώ εἰμι, sometimes is rendered from the single word כָּנָה, xii. 323.  
 Ἐδρσαν, 'beat,' what, ii. 270.  
 Εἰδωλόθυστα, not the same with Ἀλισθήματα τῶν εἰδώλων, iii. 222.  
 Εἶδωλον, an idol, xii. 500.  
 Εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον, namely, on 'the second and fifth days' of the week following, iii. 216.  
 Εἰς, doth often carry the sense of ἐν, iv. 381.  
 Ἐκαστος, 'every one,' limited, vii. 33.  
 Ἐκλεκτὴ and συνεκλεκτὴ, what, vii. 8.  
 Ἐκστασις, 'an ecstasy,' viii. 216.  
 Ἐκτρομα, 'an untimely birth,' used for לָבַד, xii. 549.  
 Ἐκουσίως, 'wilfully,' how to be interpreted, Heb. x. 26. vi. 338.  
 Ἐλιθώβλησαν, 'stoned,' what, xi. 270.  
 Ἐλληνες, in the writings of the apostles frequently denotes the Gentiles as well as the Greeks, xii. 305.  
 Ἐλληνισταί, Greeks using the Jews' language, viii. 104.  
 Ἐμπροσθεν, in the New Testament doth constantly refer to place, and not to time, iv. 390.  
 Ἐν, put causally, iv. 343.  
 Ἐνόντα, τὰ ἐνόντα, may signify 'that which is over and above,' or 'all that you have,' xii. 116.  
 Ἐξαρεῖτε, 'take away,' xii. 479.  
 Ἐξένευσεν, whence derived, v. 228.  
 Ἐξέστη, 'He is beside himself,' 'he is faint,' 'he is in a rapture,' &c. iii. 81.  
 Ἐξέστη, 'he is too much transported,' xi. 388, 389.  
 Ἐξόν, 'I may,' or 'let me,' viii. 381.  
 Ἐξουσία, 'privilege, dignity,' or 'license,' iv. 123. Farther opened, 372.  
 Ἐξω, οἱ ἔξω, 'those without,' in Jewish speech signified the 'Gentiles,' xi. 390.
- Ἐορτὴ, what it constantly signifies, iii. 144.  
 Ἐπέδλεψεν, imports 'a look of pity and compassion,' iv. 168.  
 Ἐπεχείρησαν, used for 'lawful undertaking,' iv. 113.  
 Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, variously used, viii. 61.  
 Ἐπιταγή, 'command,' answers הַצַּוָּה, xii. 490.  
 Ἐπίσκοπος, the name of the minister in the Synagogue, v. 119.  
 Ἐρευνᾶτε, John v. 29. 'ye search,' not imperatively, v. 229, 271.  
 Ἐρημος, imports the country, as well as the desert, ii. 45.  
 Ἐσκίετησε, a word of a high activity and motion, iv. 131.  
 Ἐσπαργάνωσεν, whence derived, and for what intent, iv. 187.  
 Ἐστηκεν, John i. 26. must be rendered in its preterperfect signification, iv. 310.  
 Τί ἐστὶ, 'what is it,' or 'what is to be done?' it answers קָמ, a word used a thousand times among the Jewish writers, vii. 30. xii. 544.  
 Ἐταράχθη, it expresseth Pharaoh and his servants' trouble upon their dreams, iv. 128.  
 Ἐτροποφόρησεν, what in the Seventy, viii. 463.  
 Ἐφημερία, by which the Seventy translate תַּבְשֵׁל, iv. 134.
- Ζηλωτής, 'a zealot,' xi. 172.
- Ἠγάπα, 'he loved him,' put for ἔπεισε, 'he persuaded him,' xii. 378.
- Θηριομαχία, 'fighting with wild beasts in a theatre,' iii. 236.
- Ἰδιώτης, a private man, of inferior rank, and unskilful, viii. 73. Put for 'men of no degree or quality,' mere 'vulgar persons,' viii. 393. 'Private persons,' 'members of the church,' distinguished from 'ministers,' very usual among the Rabbins, xii. 544, 545. Rendered 'unlearned,' 1 Cor. xiv. 16. vii. 31, 32.  
 Ἰῶτα καὶ κεραία, 'jot and tittle,' that they shall not perish in the law, ii. 98, &c.
- Καθεξῆς, 'in order,' referring to foregoing writers, or to following matter, iv. 113.  
 Καταξιῶσθαι, 'to be counted worthy,' viii. 86.  
 Καφασαλαμᾶ, for Antipatris, x. 116.  
 Κεραία, 'tittle,' the duration of the tittles of the Hebrew language, xi. 99, &c.  
 Κεφαλαίου, 'to reduce into sum,' xi. 416.  
 Κεχηρηματισμένον, used in two differing senses, iv. 189.  
 Κλίμαξ Τυρίαν, what place, x. 126.

Κλινος, from κλίνη, 'a bed,' because they used to eat sitting on beds, iv. 437.

Κοινωνία, 'communion,' among the Jews this was called *κοινωνία* 'mixing;' the manner and sense of which is shewed out of the Jewish writers, xii. 509.

Κόλασις, meaning of, iv. 171.

Κολλυβισταί, 'money-changers,' what they were, iv. 460—462. xi. 262.

Κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχετο τὸ κέρμα, what, iii. 45.

Κορβᾶν, meaning of, xi. 217.

Κόσμος, hath a peculiar propriety in sacred writ, which it hath not in profane authors, importing the 'nations, not Jewish,' xii. 128. Thus the Jewish schools also used it, 258.

Κράτιστε, refers to men of rank or degree, iv. 115.

Κρήτες, a Philistine nation, x. 336.

Κρητῆς, differs from ἀρχων, xi. 112.

Κτίσις, 'creature,' for the Gentile world, vii. 14. 16.

Κυβερνήσεις, intimates 'a deep and profound reach,' answering the word *πρόβλημα* 'prudent counsels,' xii. 535.

Κύμβαλον, a 'cymbal,' what kind of instrument, xii. 537.

Κῶμαι, Κωμοπόλεις, and Πόλεις, distinguished, xi. 381.

Κωφός, deaf and dumb, iv. 159.

Λαλία, 'manner of speaking,' xii. 322.

Λεπτα, 'mites,' xi. 113.

Λέγοντας, 'saying,' how rendered by many versions, xi. 456.

Λησταί, in Josephus will open the use of the word in the gospel, iii. 165.

Λιβερτῖνοι, 'libertines,' viii. 109. 413.

Λόγος, 'treatise,' viii. 13.

Λύτρωσις, denotes 'a price paid,' iv. 185.

Μάγοι, is always in Scripture taken in the worst sense, for 'such as use magical and unlawful arts,' iii. 27. iv. 204.

Μαθητεύσατε, signifies 'bring them in to learn, to be disciples, scholars,' vi. 395.

Μαμμώνα, 'mammon,' xii. 152.

Μαρτυρεῖ, may signify both 'bearing of witness,' and 'being martyred for the truth,' iv. 389.

Ματαιότης, denotes 'inward vanity and emptiness of mind,' xii. 439.

Μεθύει, 'is drunk,' may bear a favourable interpretation, xii. 526.

Μετάνοια, does very well express the sense of 'true repentance,' with respect to the Jews, xi. 47.

Μεταξὺ, is used for 'henceforward or hereafter,' viii. 471.

Μεταξὺ Σάββατον, 'the sabbath after,' or 'the week between the two sabbaths,' viii. 472.

Μετεμψύχωσις, or 'transmigration of souls,' that is, of holy souls into other

bodies; was the opinion of the Pharisees, xii. 325.

Μετρητής, what kind of measure, at large, iv. 448—453.

Μύλος ὄνικος, seems to be distinguished from a smaller sort of mills used by the Jews, xi. 241.

Ναοὺς Ἀργυροῦς, 'silver temples,' what, iii. 251.

Νεαγίας, 'strength,' viii. 440.

Νομικός, the 'lawyer,' was a doctor of traditions, xii. 119.

Νομοδιδάσκαλος, the 'teacher of the law,' was a more profound traditionary doctor of the law than the Νομικός was, &c. xii. 119.

Νουθεσία, what, iv. 171.

Ξεστῶν, 'pots,' what, and whence derived, xi. 401.

Ὅ, does not always point out a particular thing or person, iv. 405.

Ὅγκος, καὶ ἁμαρτία εὐπερίστατος, 'that weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset us;' what the meaning, referring to the Jews, to whom it was writ, vii. 10.

Οἱ ἔξω, 'those without,' in Jewish speech were the Gentiles, xi. 390.

Ὀῖνον, different from σίκερα, xii. 18.

Ὀλιγόπιστοι, 'men of little faith,' what, xi. 151.

Ὀμοθυμαδόν, 'conversing together with one accord;' why so often used in one place, viii. 50.

Ὀριον, a 'coast,' what, x. 231.

Ὀσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας, true holiness, and the holiness of truth, vii. 25.

Ὁψέ, 'all the night,' xi. 357.

Ὅτι, 'for,' how used, xii. 82.

Πάντα, for πολλά, viii. 14.

Παραδειγματίζειν, is said to be ever used in an ill sense, iv. 178.

Παραίνεσις, meaning of, iv. 171.

Παράκλητος, 'advocate, comforter:' the Jews expected their Messiah under this title, xii. 384.

Παράκλησις, whence derived, it signifies equally 'consolation' and 'exhortation,' viii. 397.

Παρέδοσαν, traditions of the highest form, yet nothing worth in comparison of Scripture, iv. 113.

Παρέδραν, or Προέδραν, an apartment into which the high-priest betook himself for some time before the day of atonement, xii. 298.

Πᾶσα κτίσις, in the Scripture, and the Jewish writers, is used for 'the Gentiles,' or the heathen world, xii. 438.

Πᾶση κτίσει, for 'to all men,' iii. 174.

Πεπληροφορημένα, signifies in Scripture style 'the certainty of things done,'



- and 'of the belief that they were so,' iv. 113.
- Πέραν, 'beyond' and not 'besides,' iv. 411, 412.
- Περίχωρος, 'round about,' xi. 52.
- Πέτρος, meaning of, iv. 419.
- Πιστικῶς, what, and whence derived, xi. 427.
- Πιστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν, Acts xvii. 31. diversely construed, vi. 347, 348.
- Πνεῦμα, 'the Holy Ghost, wind,' v. 17, 18.
- Πόλις, Κῶμαι, and Καμοσπόλις, are distinguished, xi. 381.
- Πονηρὸς, ὁ πονηρὸς, 'that wicked one;' why the devil is so called, vii. 339. For the Romans, iv. 190.
- Προεδρῶν, or Παρέδρων, an apartment, &c. See Παρέδρων.
- Προσφάγιον, 'meat,' xii. 431.
- Προφητεύειν, comprehends 'singing of psalms,' and 'preaching,' as well as 'revelation,' in order to 'prophecy,' xii. 542, 543.
- Πτερύγιον ἱεροῦ, in Matt. iv. 5. what, ix. 258. Wing of the Temple, ix. 265.
- Πυγμῆ, 'the fist,' how understood, xi. 400.
- Πύργος Στρατῶνος, 'the tower of Strato,' what, x. 112.
- Πυρῶσθαι, 'to burn;' a Jewish story upon it, xii. 490.
- Ῥαιφᾶν, 'a giant,' viii. 433.
- Σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον, 'the first sabbath after the second,' or 'the second sabbath after the first;' what, iii. 65. xi. 185.
- Σάββατον, Σάββατα, often used in both numbers, whence derived, v. 109.
- Σεβόμενοι, 'proselytes,' viii. 406.
- Σίκερα, from the Hebrew יַכַּשׁ, 'wine,' or any thing that makes one drunk, iv. 128.
- Σκληροκαρδία, 'obduration,' xi. 248.
- Σκοπῶς, 'Scopo,' 'the viewer,' what, x. 86.
- Σοφὸς, סוֹפִי, 'a wise man,' what, xii. 460.
- Στενὴ πύλη, seems to be the Greek rendering of שַׁבַּת much used among the Talmudists, xi. 153.
- Στοὰ, a porch, cloister walks, &c. v. 227. ix. 237—240.
- Στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, who, xii. 190.
- Συγγράομαι, 'to have dealings, to borrow for use,' &c. xii. 266, 267.
- Συζητητὴς, שַׁזְיָה or שַׁזְיָה, 'a disputer,' what, xii. 460.
- Συκοφαντεῖν, at first a creditable term, but afterward a term of disgrace, iv. 243.
- Συναλιζόμενος, not derived from ἀλῆ, but from ἀλλία, 'an assembly,' viii. 356.
- Συνανάμιξις, 'companying,' or 'mixing together,' put for a more intimate friendship or alliance, xii. 477.
- Σωμάτια πενήτηκοντα, 'fifty copies of the gospel,' what they were, vi. 303.
- Σωτηρία, salvation, or deliverance, iv. 181.
- Ταπεινώσις, the state of a low and poor condition, iv. 168.
- Τάραξις, what, ix. 289.
- Τελείωσις, setting a part to holy use, baptism and martyrdom, iv. 131.
- Τί ἐστι, 'what is it?' or 'what is to be done?' it answers תָּמָר, a word used exceedingly often in the Talmud and in Tanchum, vii. 29. xii. 546.
- Τραπεζῖτης, 'exchangers,' what, xi. 308.
- Τρῖκλινος, the 'dining-room,' and why so called, iv. 437.
- Ἰδοθεσία σώματος, or ψυχῆς, 'the adoption of the body,' or 'the adoption of the soul;' what, vii. 18.
- Υἱός, 'son,' put for Messiah very frequently, xi. 425.
- Ἰγμήσαντες, what, and how translated, vii. 39.
- Ἰπὲρ, for, ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, 'for the dead,' xii. 550.
- Ἰπερεῖον, 'upper room,' viii. 363.
- Φθορὰ, frequently denotes sinful corruption, xii. 440.
- Φίλος τοῦ Νυμφίου, translates רַב־שֵׁבִי שֹׁשֶׁבִיבִין, Shoshebin, any singular friend whatsoever, but peculiarly the special friend and attendant of a bridegroom, v. 67, 68.
- Φιμώθητι, 'be muzzled,' spoken of Satan, v. 173.
- Φῶτα, 'lights,' the Jewish feast of Dedication so called, and why, vi. 222.
- Χαίρετε, 'all hail,' xi. 359.
- Χάρις, 'grace,' how used, iv. 394.
- Χειροτονήσαντες, improperly rendered, iii. 217.
- Χιτῶν, or Χιτῶν, signifies 'the Upper Garment,' iv. 243.
- Χρόνος, for 'no more delay,' iii. 342.
- Ἐραίαν, 'beautiful,' whence derived, and what gate of the Temple was signified by it, viii. 386.
- Ὡσπερ, 'as,' properly requireth a 'so' to follow it, iii. 271.

A  
BATTLE WITH A WASP'S NEST;

OR,

A REPLY

TO

AN ANGRY AND RAILING PAMPHLET, WRITTEN BY MR. JOSEPH  
HEMING, CALLED 'JUDAS EXCOMMUNICATED ;'

OR,

'A VINDICATION OF THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS,' &c.

WHEREIN

HIS ARGUMENTS ARE ANSWERED, HIS ABUSES WHIPT AND STRIPT: THE  
QUESTION, 'WHETHER JUDAS RECEIVED THE SACRAMENT,' DEBATED,  
AND THE AFFIRMATIVE PROVED.

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BY PETER LIGHTFOOT.

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LONDON,

1649.

\* \* \* "I am in possession of a curious controversial tract  
by Lightfoot, under the name of his brother Peter,  
' *A Battell with a Wasp's Nest.*' London, 1649. 4to."  
ORME'S 'Bibliotheca Biblica,' page 292.

## TO THE READER.

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IN a pamphlet lately published by Mr. Joseph Heming (which he hath titled 'Judas Excommunicated; or, A Vindication of the Communion of Saints,' &c.), there is so much dirt and venom vomited by him, upon my name and repute, that by his casting, you may easily guess the foulness of his stomach:—and get out of his way, reader; for he cares not where he lets fly, if the disgorging fit do but once come upon him, which comes not seldom. He made this promise in an epistle which he intended to prefix unto this clamorous volume; but spared it, upon courtesy to me, as he pretendeth: "I am resolved now, God willing, if he retract not what he hath spoken, and that speedily, to give his reputation such a wound, that all godly men who love the truth, and speak the truth in sincerity, abominating lies, and such as speak them in hypocrisy; yea, those very ungodly ones, whose cause he pleads, shall loath it, as men do a rotten stinking carcass by the way-sides; neither shall all the friends he hath, or can possibly make, be ever able to salve it up." A very charitable and saintlike resolution, I can assure you: and how he hath endeavoured to make his word good by bad words, all along his libel, I need not go about to show; the thing itself speaks itself. You see the man's spirit and temper by his own confession. He pretends to argue and reason, but intends to bark and bite; he takes on him tenderness to the truth, which, it seems, if he stood not up for it, were utterly undone; whereas the bottom of his heart and resolution is, to fall upon my person, and wound my repute, and to serve his spleen upon me, under such a pretence. A man that begins to assume a Papal prerogative, and in time may prove as excellent a saint-maker, or devil-maker, as his pontifical Holiness of Rome himself: for please him, be his whiteboys, and do as he does, and say as he says,—you shall presently be a saint, and not an Egyptian dog must dare to open his mouth against it. But, do but cross him never so little in his opinion, or in his humour; and he will instantly make you a profane person, and a cast-away; and all the friends you have, can do you no good.

The occasion of all this heat and breaking out against me, was only this: he oftentimes in the pulpit (though I must tell you that I believe he is no more a lawful minister than myself), declaimed against the sacrament, calling it a "Communion of dogs and devils, and a rotten twopenny Communion" (so he calls the Lord's Prayer, "a carnal fleshly ordinance"), bragging to prove against all men, "that Judas did not receive the sacrament;" and telling the congregation, "That if they did believe that Judas did receive the sacrament, they might do as Judas did; that is, go and receive, and then go and hang themselves," &c. You cannot blame me, if such passages as these, seemed bitter to me, who as yet cannot be convinced by all that ever he hath spoken about it, but that Judas did receive the sacrament, as well as any other of the disciples. Hereupon I drew up short notes upon this point, for mine own settlement, and for some others' satisfaction, which notes I did neither send to him, nor intend for him: but, he getting them into his hands by some means or other, and disdaining that his oracularity and *ipse dixit* should be crossed, he falls to Shimei's manner of dispute, with railing and flinging dirt and stones, as a man transported with fury, passion, and scorn to be contradicted.

I am not solicitous to stand upon the vindication of mine own repute, which to wound, he hath, by his own confession, set himself to work, and made it his task:—if this be to be "a servant to all men in the Gospel of Jesus Christ," as he styleth himself to be, he that carries an\* accuser in his name may do as much. I refer my cause to God, who knoweth my heart and actions, and who will once judge between us: and besides the witness of mine own conscience, I dare appeal to all that know me, to give in testimony of my conversation; and to those that know me not, I do but refer it, to weigh with what scorn, spleen, pride, and virulency, Mr. Heming hath spoken against me what he hath spoken: and then let them judge whether so high boiling passions be not ready to foam out scum and scandal.

Whosoever hath bestowed the time and pains to read his discourse through, he doth easily perceive it to consist of these four parts: reasoning, railing, boasting, and impertinencies. The three last are his own proper invention, and let

\* Διάβολος.

him have the honour of them : but the first, that is, reasoning, or arguments, or answers, or call them what you will, about the matter in dispute between us, there is hardly one of them, but he hath shamelessly stolen it. Come hither, all ye proselytes and disciples of Mr. Heming, and see how he useth you. He makes you believe that this his great elaborate volume is his own study, and pains, and learning ; and I hope you do not a little admire him for it : he feeds you with these arguments to prove that Judas received not the sacrament, as if they were out of his own store ; whereas, they are almost every bit of them stolen goods ; and you, poor souls, are fed with such plundered provision. I suppose you will not take it well at his hands to be so served as he hath served you, when I tell you whence he had it. You would little think that Mr. Heming should feed you with the invention of a jure-divino Presbyterian Scot, and make you believe it is the dainty food of his own providing. Spit out for shame ; for these arguments, that you have so eagerly swallowed, digested, and been delighted with, came out of a jure-divino Presbyterian cupboard, were cooked and dished up by a jure-divino Presbyterian hand, and Mr. Heming got them away by the virtue of hocus pocus, and hath served them up for your diet, as his own cookery. Read but Mr. Gillespie, in his book called ‘ Aaron’s Rod Blossoming,’ from page 442 to page 469, and there you will see how this gentleman ruffles in clothes that are none of his own ; and makes you believe that he feeds you with venison, when it is but kid’s flesh purloined, and that from a Scot. Now fie upon it, that ever Mr. Heming should serve us thus.

The two sentences of Greek with which he hath flourished the front of his volume, he hath taken out of that book, pages 452 and 453, word for word. The second thing in his ninth page, the third thing in his tenth page, the first, second, third, and fourth things in his eleventh page, the third thing in his thirteenth page beginning thus, “ The original,” &c. ; and the first in the same page, beginning with “ Perhaps,” &c. ; in the fifteenth page, the first answer beginning, “ ’Tis true,” &c. the second beginning, “ ’Tis as true,” &c. and the second below beginning, “ If it had been said,” &c. ; the third beginning, “ Whereas he affirmeth,” &c. and from thence all whole till you come to the first thing in the sixteenth page, the fourth thing in the sixteenth page, and

the first thing in the last page; these are all taken out of that book of Mr. Gillespie's, as any one may see that will read that portion of it between those pages 442 and 469. Read it, ye saints, in and about Uttoxeter, and see how your great oracle serves you, and trust him another time. It is his own motion in his epistle to you, page 4, "Let me see my erratas, and I shall endeavour to correct and amend them." Shew him this his dealing, and tell him it is not fair to serve either you or Mr. Gillespie thus. For all the little affection that he beareth either to a Scot, or the Presbyterian judgment, and for all the great sincerity that he pretends to bear to you,—yet you see how he can make use of those, and make bold with you to serve his own turn.

It is certainly either a great itch that he hath to appear in public, or a great desire to scratch a public revenge out of me, that hath put him on to play such poor game as this, rather than to sit out; namely, that he will dish up other men's arguments, sippeted with his own boasting and railing, rather than not to be seen a man in print:—and so he must needs print, and he must needs print queries about Christmas-day, that he might be somebody, though the most part of them were filched out of Mr. Prynne's *Histriomastix* and the *Scripture Almanack*. But if there be such an itch in him, I would he would claw himself, and not make other men smart for his scrubbing. It is not any smart in my reputation that troubles me, though he thought to have lashed that to the flaying and salting (I have innocency is viper-proof); but it is a smart to me that I must be troubled to spend time and labour in answering stolen arguments, idle vapours, snarlings and barkings, and fond impertinencies of a man that cares not much what he says, so it be in print, that it may be talked of, and whose very element is mud and troubled waters. Were I such an one for senselessness and for impiety as he would make me, I were fitter to live among brute beasts than amongst men; or, rather, I were not fit to live upon the earth at all. But my witness is in heaven, and within me; what, my heart is: and my testimony is in the country where I have lived, where is, and hath been, my conversation; and let the few lines ensuing be the evidence whether I am mad and raging, as he would represent me. I see if Master Heming were the doomer of my final estate, that it would go but hardly with me; but I am to stand or

fall to mine own Master; into whose hands let me fall, for with him is mercy. However I am traduced by the most uncharitable censure of this man, to have "contra-conscientiously, upon a malignant design, and for the advancement of my Master's kingdom" (you can easily read what master his charity meaneth), taken up and maintained that opinion that I hold: yet the Lord God of Gods he knoweth, and I desire that Israel may know, that never any such thing entered, or got the least footing, in my thoughts: but what I hold and maintain, I do it according to the best light I can receive from Scripture,—according to the best dictates of my conscience upon that information,—and as in the sight of God, and as in dread and reverence of his divine word. Therefore it doth fret me as little, as it doth please him much, in all the reproaches he doth cast upon me; and if he can count it the part of a saint to use such language, I can very well account it the part of a Christian to undergo it. And I go not alone neither under that burden; for all that are not directly of his mind and practice, have share in the same reviling and censure with me.

I shall, for all his scorns, calumnies, uncharitableness, and virulency, leave him these places for an answer, Prov. xxx. 12, 13, 14.; Matt. v. 22. and vii. 1.; Luke xviii. 9.; Ephes. iv. 31, &c. And as for the cause that is between us, I shall most heartily lay the umpirage of it before any impartial and indifferent readers, when they shall have had the patience to hear what I can say for the things I hold, as they have seen what he hath spoken for himself.

PETER LIGHTFOOT.

Uttoxeter, August 14, 1649.



A  
BATTLE WITH A WASP'S NEST;

OR,

A REPLY TO AN ANGRY AND RAILING PAMPHLET, WRITTEN BY  
MR. JOSEPH HEMING, CALLED 'JUDAS EXCOMMUNICATED; OR,  
A VINDICATION OF THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS,' &c.

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His epistle, dedicated to the Saints of the Most High God in and about Uttoxeter, he beginneth thus :

“Precious Hearts, I confess I am engaged in low and fruitless controversies, against which I find a reluctancy in my spirit, because they tend not to edification so much as could be wished.”

*Answer.* I would gladly know what necessity hath engaged him in such controversies: I am sure it is as free and more necessary for him, to teach the sound and saving doctrines of salvation (if he had a calling thereto and were able), and would be more acceptable and profitable to those that hear them, than to trouble men's minds with empty and windy controversies, which only swell and puff up, but edify not. I am past doubting, and I dare say that all men that do seriously mind salvation, will be of the same mind with me, that teaching the doctrines of faith, repentance, self-denial, charity, mortification, and the like, is a thousand times a readier way, either to beget a saint, or to build him up, than puzzling men's thoughts with low disputes, and fruitless controversies, in which Mr. Heming spends so much time, and is so deeply engaged. I dare say these points never brought men to heaven. I question whether ever they forwarded any men so much as one step thitherward. Admit I were come up to Mr. Heming's opinion in these points as far as he would have me; that I would speak as bitterly against Judas's receiving of the sacrament and mixed communion as he doth; that I abhorred baptizing of infants; that I would be rebaptized; that I would cry out against singing of psalms in the public congregation; that I would hold or practise in these or such like things as these as

punctually and completely as he could desire; I pray you what were I nearer heaven for all this? what one hair's breadth had this stepped me forward towards God, or towards salvation? Might not publicans, harlots, Ahabs, Cains, and incarnate devils, do as much as all this, and be devils still? Why should Mr. Heming engage himself and insist so much upon such fruitless things as these, as he hath done; when it is as free and open before him to deal only with sound and saving doctrines? and it would be more comfortable for him so to do, upon his final account; and it would be more graceful to the hearers, in case Mr. Heming were able or idoneous thereunto.

I will appeal to all standers-by, of unbiassed and impartial judgment; yea, I durst appeal to Mr. Heming's own conscience, if unmuffled, or not altogether ignorant, Whether the insisting upon such doctrines as these, upon which he spends the most of his public discourses among us, tends not more to gain a party, than to save a soul. I would ask of him, What comfortable account doth he think to give, when he comes to give up his reckoning betwixt God and himself,—first, for taking upon him the profession of a minister, and then for neglecting to prosecute the wholesome doctrines that should save souls, so much as he doth, and declaiming almost only upon such windy and needless points as these, which only breed ill humours and disturbance in the minds of men, and divisions and heart-burnings in congregations, and tend not one jot or tittle to edification. And I would desire the Saints in and about Uttoxeter, that he meaneth, in the bowels of Christ and in the melting rendering of their own salvation, to think seriously with themselves upon their reckoning with God upon these points, Whether they think the zeal of infant-baptism, mixed communion, and such like punctilios, the bent upon which must needs cool zeal in better things,—can redound to their comfort, in the day of their account? Let me, by way of parable, lay before them two men, upon their death-beds, and reckoning with God upon their course and carriage in religion; one of them of the old light, as it is reputed, that is, in the old and good way in religion, in which all the holy men in England have walked since England knew the gospel; he hath this to say, from the bottom of his heart to God: 'Lord, thou knowest that I have ever desired to lie low in mine own

thoughts, and have reputed myself the chiefest of sinners; that I have loved and longed after the doctrines of salvation, that tended to the saving of my soul, and to the union in thy church; that I have prayed, heard, sung, received the sacrament with the congregation with a good heart; and that thy word hath been most welcome to me, though it hath crossed me in my dearest humour and opinion.' The other of them, of the new light, and strange doctrines that are now afoot, that were never heard of before; he hath this to say, upon his reckoning, for his comfort: 'Lord, thou knowest that I have accounted myself a saint, and despised others; that I have loved and been zealous for matters of question and dispute; that I have refrained the sacrament, and singing of psalms with the congregation, because of the profane in it; I have been an enemy to infant-baptism; and I have not cared for any minister, that was not directly of mine own opinion and judgment.' Let any one judge whether of these two is liker to come off with the greater comfort; and let any that know the way of Mr. Heming's teaching, judge, whether the greatest bent of his endeavour in it do tend to any higher comfort than the latter. Reader, however he talks of reluctancy in his spirit against such low controversies, it is his own free choice, and, for aught we can see, his delight, to be versed and zealous in them:—and there is no necessity or force upon him to urge him to it, that any of us can possibly conceive, unless it be because he is not skilled in more material points, or because he would make and maintain a party. And that he delights in these low controversies, for all his saying, it is enough to be collected out of his own words; who, though he calls them "fruitless," yet, within five lines after, he professeth that he "findeth daily that low things are most beneficial for believers of lowest attainments." God help those believers that find no greater benefit by any doctrine than by these low points. I can hardly believe that such are believers of St. Peter's old edition, that "desire the sincere milk of the word, and grow by it;" but of the new edition under some new light, that think to go to heaven some new-found way. Then he proceedeth thus:

"What I have done in this, is for their souls, who came out of Babylon, out of Egypt the other day."

*Answer.* Let Mr. Heming remember that passage, "Woe

unto him that calleth light darkness." What he meaneth by "Babylon" and "Egypt," is easy to pick out; namely, whosoever is not of his opinion and practice: and hence come those charitable and innocent expressions of his (as he calls them), "Mr. Lightfoot and his unholy communicants," page 4; "Mr. Lightfoot and his unholy crew," page 20; "his profane fellow-members," page 5, &c.

The reader, if he were of Mr. Heming's charity, and no higher, might be induced to think that poor Uttoxeter is the veriest Sodom and Gomorrah upon the earth; and that till he came thither, it had been led, and lived, in the deepest superstition and darkness that ever Babylon and Egypt did. It is not for me to speak what a ministry this town hath had, ever since before Mr. Heming was born: the relation I stand in to him that hath been their minister so long, does stop my mouth. But let all the counties hereabout, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, &c.; let any in England that ever heard of old Mr. Lightfoot, minister of Uttoxeter, what he hath been, and what his ministry and conversation hath been; nay, let Mr. Heming's own Saints be witnesses what his pains, doctrine, life, and ministry, hath been among them for above these thirty years:—if they have not dissembled, the day hath been, when some of them have acknowledged, and taken on them to think, that this town in a happy ministry hath gone in equal pace and degree with the most towns in England. And now the case is so altered, that till Mr. Heming came amongst them, poor Uttoxeter is said to have been in darkness, and in Babylon and Egypt; and he proved a Moses and a Zorobabel to bring it out.

I would argue with Mr. Heming about these "precious hearts that are come out of Babylon and Egypt but the other day." Some of them have pretended to holiness and preciseness in religion above other men, many years before Mr. Heming ever came here, or his name was known; and it may be they were then more really taken for Saints than they are now. They were either Saints then or they were not; if they were not, then they were hypocrites, for they took religiousness and sanctity upon them: if they were Saints, then there may be Saints in Babylon and Egypt, and in my communion: and I hope these ancient professors have not changed their charity, though they have changed their light, so, but that they think there are some that communicate with

me, that have always demeaned themselves in the evidence and demonstration of holiness, zeal, piety, charity, and of all other Christian accomplishments, in as full and constant a measure and course, as any of those that Mr. Heming hath brought out of Egypt and Babylon, and that have ever carried as visible marks of saints upon them, as any of these. But would you know what it is to come out of Babylon and Egypt, in Mr. Heming's sense? It is indeed to come out of your wits and your religion. It is to deny your baptism, your mother Church of England, and the way of religion in which all the holy men of England have walked till now. It is to cast off Parliament, Assembly, Directory, order, and all government in matters of religion. It is to withdraw from the communion, refrain from singing of psalms, vilify the Lord's Prayer, and infant-baptism. It is, in a word, to walk by a new light, newly lighted, and newly come forth; to say and do as Mr. Heming would have you; and he that doth these things, is as surely come out of Egypt, as ever did gipsies; and is as certainly a Saint, as it is certain the moon is made of green cheese.

*Mr. Heming.* "I never intended this answer of mine should have come to a public censure, had not Mr. Lightfoot and his unholy communicants, &c. dealt deceitfully."

*Answer.* The friar desired a pig's heart, and a capon's liver; but, good man, he would have neither pig nor capon die for him. Mr. Heming loves in his heart to be in print, for that makes him seem somebody; but he 'would not come to public censure,' for that may happen to speak contrary to his self-conceit and humour, and that is to him as the pangs of death. I will not question whether he intended his answer for the press or no; it may be it had been as good for him to have let it alone: but let me thank him for publishing his good word, which I and my fellow-communicants have from him all along. "Mr. Lightfoot and his unholy communicants dealt deceitfully." Nay, if I take you talking of dealing deceitfully, I will talk with you; for I have my tale to tell to that purpose too. You may observe, throughout his pamphlet, that still he holds it out as if I pleaded for mixed communion; which I meddled not withal, but only kept me to the question, whether Judas received the sacrament or no. But enter Machiavel: his subtlety thought that he could not pick enough out of my assertion, "that

Judas received the sacrament," to make me so sufficiently odious as he would have me: therefore he juggles this business into the dispute about mixed communion; and there he thought he should find railing stuff enough against me; and how excellently he has husbanded it, is abundantly visible. To do him a courtesy, I will avouch for mixed communion: and since he hath promised some elaborate piece in page 20, which will be about such a subject, I suppose I shall leave him a few queries to find him work.

1. Whether may not a man, with as much safety to his soul receive the sacrament with a scandalous person as with a hypocrite? *Affirmo.*

2. Whether is not a man rather to communicate with scandalous persons, if such company at the sacrament cannot be avoided, than to refrain or withdraw from the sacrament altogether? *Affirmo.*

3. Whether is there any such end, or any such thing, in the nature of the sacrament, as to distinguish one Christian from another? *Nego.*

4. Whether the "communion of saints" in Scripture sense, be not in the profession of Christian faith, as well as in the receiving of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper? *Affirmo.*

5. Whether the main ends of the sacrament of both Testaments be not the same? *Affirmo.*

6. Whether the sacraments, howsoever they be received, be not seals? *Affirmo.*

This half-dozen of points I would put out to Mr. Heming, to tagging; but let us have no boasting nor railing in the bargain: I would have my points tagged without tufts. If he can, from clear Scripture or reason, contradict what I hold, he will discover more skill than he hath shewed himself guilty of in all this dispute. But, if he cannot (but his logic can prove any thing), I could deduce such conclusions from these premises, that would make his opinion against mixed communion run so on snicksnarles, that with fingers and teeth and all, he would find enough to do to unknot it again, and make it run glib.

The greatest part of his epistle he spends in railing and reviling me, in as taunting and bitter terms as he can invent upon this score of mixed communion; which though I meddled not withal, yet he will needs persuade you that I hold

it, or else he were undone for railing matter. Will you hear some of his "innocent expressions," as he calls them? "I should superabundantly wrong him, if I should not rank him with the vilest in the kingdom; for with them he will have communion as a member of the same external visible body, by virtue of which relation, they are all his brethren and sisters; so that he hath his brother drunkard, brother thief, brother murderer, brother liar, &c.; sister whore, sister witch, &c.: yea, all that have been hanged at Tyburn, and all other gallows in England, ever since he was born and baptized into that fellowship he pleads for, have been his brethren and sisters," page 5. and 23. "And this I dare say I can prove against all the devils in hell," page 5.

'Angelus in penna—voce Gehenna.' Nay, take in "Pede latro" too, at Mr. Gillespie's request, who hath been so basely plundered.

Now a kingdom for a mouse-hole to run into, from the fury of this dreadful champion, that is ready to challenge even all, even all the devils in hell, into disputation. And certainly all the devils in hell, if they should dispute with him, could not give him worse language than he giveth me.

What jolly kindred hath he adopted me into? It is well he lived not in the days of Samuel, or David, or Esau, or Jeremy, or any of the holy men upon record in Scripture; for it is odds they might have heard as much from him, as I do, seeing they were admitted by the same circumcision into the same church, by which and into which every Israelite beside was admitted, were he good or bad. If it were any disgrace to them to have drunkards, murderers, liars, thieves, &c. circumcised as well as they, and of the same church that they were of, I shall very willingly bear the same disgrace with them. Take heed, Mr. Heming, that by your self-minted select communion, that you talk of, you make not yourself holier than these holy men.

After he hath raged and rambled a great while in his puff and passion, he comes at the last a little to himself; and begins, as he thinks, to talk reason, and he saith thus:

"Here is one thing that I would have you and all men to take special notice of, namely, that Mr. Lightfoot's communion diametrically opposeth

"1. The Scriptures, the plain letter, 1 Cor. v. 9, 10, 11.; 2 Cor. vi. 14—18.

"2. His creed, or at least this article of it, the Communion of Saints.

"3. The Covenant, by which we are bound to endeavour a reformation according to the Word of God, and the best reformed churches, who abhor such communions.

"4. The Directory, which saith, The ignorant and scandalous are not fit to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper; yea, the Common-Prayer Book itself, which shuts the door against, and keeps out open and notorious evil livers.

"5. And lastly, the principles, hopes, expectations, and joint endeavours, of all godly ministers."

*Answer.* Mr. Heming loves Creed and Covenant, and Directory, when they will serve his turn; but all the year after, he loves them as he loves me. But let us examine how my communion is contrary to all these, and to the Scripture, and to the other things that he hath named. My communion is to this purpose: 1. I desire the purity and due administration, and receiving of the sacrament, as well as Mr. Heming, or any of his disciples. 2. But I find no text in Scripture, that either warrants me to refrain the sacrament, because scandalous persons do receive it,—or that doth condemn me for receiving with such, all the while I endeavour to fit and approve mine own heart as becometh that ordinance. 3. Nor do I use, when I come about that work, to be so scrupulous in looking what others are, as I do desire to examine myself; and so I take the apostle's meaning to be, 1 Cor. xi. 29. Now, how this communion of mine should be so opposite to all that is called good or holy, as he censures it, it is far sooner said than proved. He saith it diametrically opposeth

1. "The Scriptures, the plain letter, 1 Cor. v. 9, 10, 11.; 2 Cor. vi. 14—17."

*Answer.* The plain letter in the former place is this: "I wrote unto you an epistle not to company with fornicators: yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then ye must needs go out of the world: but now I have written unto you, not to keep company if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one, no not to eat."

Now, in this plain letter, I would desire Mr. Heming to



tell me whether the holiest man in the church of Corinth, might not have his brother fornicator, his brother covetous, his brother idolater, &c. Let him construe me those words, "If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator," &c. 2. Let him shew me in all these words the least syllable that speaketh against my communion: yes, that he will do presently with a wet finger: "Not to company, not to eat with such a one." But I will deny that "not companying" meaneth in that sense, and that "not eating with," meaneth in that sense, but in a civil sense; and I will give him till this day month to prove the contrary: so little is the letter plain against me, unless you will take his gloss with it.

The plain letter in the second place is this: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? or what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth, with an infidel? and what agreement hath the Temple of God with idols? &c. wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate," &c. Now, let me make his argument for him out of these words.

If you may not marry with Heathen idolaters, you may not receive the sacrament with some Christians. But, &c. Ergo. Never doubt the truth of this syllogism; for it is in the mood and figure called "A baculo ad angulum." Who seeth not plainly, that the apostle speaketh here of open and professed idolatrous Heathens? and, from them to argue to Christians that profess the name of Christ, is such a kind of logic, that when Mr. Heming hath made it good, I will give him an answer. So little plain is the letter of either of these texts against me, that if you plough not with this heifer, ye find not the riddle.

2. He saith my communion opposeth my creed, or, at least, this article of it: "the communion of saints." He is deceived: it opposeth not my creed, nor the communion of saints as it meaneth in my creed; but it opposeth his creed, and the communion of saints that his new creed holdeth out. If this were the question before us, I could easily shew him how he straightens the word "communion" more, and applies the word "saints" otherwise than the Scripture doth, when it speaketh to that point, of the saints' communion. There may be saints found in Scripture sense, that

are neither of Mr. Heming's opinion, practice, nor canonizing; and there may be found a communion of saints in other things besides receiving of the sacrament. He makes a great business of it in pages 16, 17, as if I spoke blasphemy when I uttered these words: "For the fancy is to make a noise of only the saints receiving;" meaning the saints of his calendar and canonizing. But he calls heaven and earth to witness, and is ready to rend his clothes, and his hair, as if I called the communion of saints a fancy. No, Mr. Heming, I do not; it is one of the articles of my creed, and I believe it: but you must let me suppose withal, that you fancy such a communion of saints, and such saintship, as, when you have done all you can, you will never be able to prove it. And therefore, never make such ado as if I blasphemed, or knew not what I said; or it dropped from my pen before I was aware, and I know not what. I am ready to say it again and again, that you fancy a communion of saints you can never make good. And if this were the question between us, I could shew you that I rave not, but understand what I say, and that I am not ignorant what the Scripture and my creed meaneth by 'communion of saints.' If you should declaim, and rail, and rage, as you do, seven years by Uttoxeter clock, I must yet hold, that there may be a devil in your communion, and a saint in mine; and that all are not saints and devils that you hold so; and therefore you may save your labour, and spare your breath about this matter. I could tell you of some, that have carried as fair a shew as any saint in your calendar, and yet have been but painted sepulchres; and I could name some that have been called as bad as you call me (and that by those that took on them as much saintship as you do), which yet have been 'real Israelites, without guile.'

3. He saith, 'My communion diametrically opposeth the covenant and the platform of the best reformed churches,' if his do not more, I will lose my stake. These are against separation, gathering of churches, withdrawing from the communion of the public congregation; and so am I. They are against preaching without orders; and so am I. They are against all pernicious and damnable doctrines and opinions; and so am I. And these would have the sacrament kept as pure as possible; and so would I. If Mr. Heming's new-

lighted way be nearer the covenant, and the pattern of the best reformed churches, let him take all.

4. What he saith of my communion being "against whatsoever is called good and holy; and against the principles, hopes, expectations, and endeavours of all godly ministers," all is but to lay ink enough upon my opinion, that it may seem black to purpose. And when he hath all done, it is but an opinion that he himself puts upon me, and will make me to hold it whether I will or no; for I never meddled with him about mixed communion (as I said before), nor pleaded for it, but kept me to the question about Judas's receiving of the sacrament: and yet will he needs foist in this for the question; for without this, he thought he could not so handsomely abuse me. He confesseth it was his resolution to wound my reputation, that it should never be healed; and he hath taken up this rusty weapon, which he thinks will do it. I must fence for myself as well as I can. Have at him then with some of the language of the beast to begin with:

*Rumpatur, quisquis rumpitur invidiâ.*

And so let us to it, upon the proper quarrel and question that is between us.

My first assertion is this:

"That the sop which Judas received, and Satan with it, he received it not on the passover-night, but two nights before; and that he received it not at the passover-supper at Jerusalem, but at a common supper at Bethany."

Mr. Heming stateth the question first to be discussed in this assertion thus: "Now, here ariseth a great question between Mr. Lightfoot and myself, namely, which was the supper at Bethany, that mentioned John xii. 1—3, &c., or that John xiii. 1—3?"

"He saith, that in John xiii.: and upon that mistaken place, hath built his wood, hay, and stubble. Boys and girls, if ye can but read English, come forth and shame this great master in Israel: read both the chapters, and then tell him which speaks of the supper in Bethany. But I answer,

"That in John xii. was the supper at Bethany; and not that in John xiii."—

*Reply.* 'Conclamatum est.' I have lost the day already,

and never a stroke struck; and boys and girls must hoot me out of the field. But hark ye, my honest boys and girls of Uttoxeter; before ye fall a shouting, let me tell you a story:— There was once a poor woman fool (if my memory fail not, Seneca's wife kept her for her pastime at Rome), and she was suddenly struck blind, and lost her seeing. Now, all the world could not persuade her that she was blind; but she cried out that the house was dark, and thought rather that the day and the sun had lost their light, than she her sight. My lads, if you must shame any body for blind beetledness, it must be Mr. Heming, that calls you out; for he sees not what he should see in John xiii. and yet he cries out, the blindness is mine at John xii. The fault is in his eyes, but you cannot persuade him so; but that I have lost my sight.

How miserably low and lost am I in his esteem, when for my morals he holds me worse than any man; and for mine intellectuals, less than any reading boy. Though I know he thinks of me as bad as bad can be, I thank him for it: yet, truly, I did not think he had reputed me so very silly and senseless, as either not to see at all, that the supper in John xii. was at Bethany, or so little to observe it as to commit so gross a mistake as he would put upon me. Sir, certainly either you are mightily mistaken in me, or you would put a mighty fallacy upon the reader. Assure yourself I can spell and read the word Bethany in John xii. 1, as well as any boy or girl in all Uttoxeter parish; and I saw it as plain when I entered upon this dispute, as ever your eyes saw it in all your life. But you did not see Bethany in John xiii. 1—3, which I did, and that is the reason of all this vapouring: and hereupon, you either sillily or willingly, falsify our question; and so the poor boys and girls that are called out to shame me, will either shame themselves for shouting at they know not what, or rather shame you for vapouring at you know not what. Our question is not whether the supper, in John xii. or the supper in John xiii. were the supper at Bethany, but our question is, Whether that supper in John xiii. were not at Bethany, as well as that supper John xii. I assert it was; but Master Heming denies it.

Mr. Heming. "That in John xii. was the supper at Bethany, and not that in John xiii.; for in John xiii. Bethany is not so much as once named: but, in chap. xii. it is. As also in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv."

*Reply* I see the man cannot see one inch further into a millstone than there is a hole pecked in it before him : boys and girls might have given such a reason as this. Children, was the supper in John xiii. at Bethany ? No, forsooth, master, for Bethany is not once named there. But such a master in Israel as Mr. Heming, should have looked a little farther about him, before he had given his determination. Children, was the supper in John xiii. at Jerusalem ? No, forsooth, master ; for Jerusalem is not once named there. Yet Master Heming holds it was : and here he hath given me an argument against his own tenet. He says, that that supper in John xiii. was at Jerusalem, and that it was on the passover night ; and proves by that chapter, that Judas went out before the sacrament, and yet is there not the least mention of Jerusalem or the passover night, nor of the sacrament, in all that chapter. He allegeth this chapter of John as his chief ground to prove, that Judas did not receive the sacrament ; when there is not one word of the sacrament in all John's gospel.<sup>4</sup> He produceth this evangelist to judge of a matter (and that to gainsay the other three that aver it), who speaks not one word of the thing to be judged of. And yet when I say the supper in John xiii. was at Bethany, he thinks this a good reason to say No, because Bethany is not there named.

Before I come to shew that Bethany was the place of that supper,

I shall first shew that that supper was before the passover day ; and, secondly, that it was two days before the passover, and at Bethany ; although indeed the circumstance of the place be not so material to our dispute, as the circumstance of the time.

I say, therefore, that the supper in John xiii. was before the passover-day came. And that I prove from the plain words of John himself, in the first verse of that chapter. " Now, before the feast of the passover," &c. whereupon I argue thus :

*Argum.* 1. That supper that was before the feast of the passover, was not on the passover-day, but before it.

But that supper in John xiii. was before the feast of the passover, verse 1. Ergo, it was not on the passover day, but before it.

To this Mr. Heming giveth this answer, page 10.

“ In John xiii. 1, ‘ Now before the feast,’ &c. is not meant two days before; as he would have it: the words are, *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, meaning, immediately before, &c. as Luke xi. 38. *πρὸ τοῦ ἀπόστου*, the Pharisee wondered that he washed not before dinner; that is, immediately before dinner.”

*Reply.* Rarely critical! But I doubt, ‘ Animus est in patinis:’ by the feast of the passover, Mr. Heming understandeth the very passover meal; and so he sheweth his meaning in page 11, “ the sop was given” (saith he) “ at an ordinary or common supper, which Christ had the same night before he ate the passover.”

1. Let him but shew me from one end of the Bible to another, where the word *ἑορτῆ* signifies barely a meal, and I will lose my supper to-morrow night. When there is mention of the feast of tabernacles, the feast of dedication, the feast of pentecost, the feast of passover, &c. Mr. Heming, it seems, thinks of victuals stirring, and looks after his commons; but any man that is not a child in Scripture, knows that the expression means the whole space and solemnity of these times. He would make but a hungry exposition of the feast of expiation, which was a most strict fasting day.

2. If he had consulted Latin translators upon John xiii. 1, he would have found that they render it, ‘ *antè diem festum paschæ,*’ applying it to the day, and not to the meal.

3. Was not the feast of the passover begun, before any supper that day was stirring? I believe wiser men than either you or I will tell you, that the feast of the passover began as soon as ever the paschal lamb began to be slain.

And 4. Whereas he talks of a common supper, which they had the same night before they ate the passover; I deny it: for it was a holy supper of their peace-offerings, as I have learned by some better acquainted with Jewish customs, than I doubt either you or I shall be these two days. And, if it were, so, Judas communicated in this supper by your own confession, and that is something towards a cheese.

Mr. Heming. “ At that supper John xiii. Christ’s hour was come, verse 1. so that he was betrayed the very same night, as it is evident, comparing John xiii. 37, 38. with John xviii. 1—3.; and Matthew xxvi. 34. Mark xiv. 30. This discourse passed betwixt Christ and Peter, the very night in which he was betrayed.”

*Reply.* It is most true that Christ's hour was then come, for the design of his betraying was set on foot that night; but that he was betrayed that night, I deny, as evident as it is in his looking-glass that he would shew you. There is, indeed, in John xiii. 37, 38. a passage about the cock's crowing, that makes Mr. Heming think the matter is cock-sure on his side; whereas it may be but the crowing of his own brains, that tunes it into a construction to serve his turn, and not the sense and meaning of the place itself. The words of the evangelist are these: "Peter said unto him, Lord, why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thy sake. Jesus answered, 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."

For the understanding of these words, I would desire the reader to observe these two things:

1. That Christ, in Matthew, xxvi. 34. saith, "Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow," &c.; and Mark xiv. 30. "That this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice," &c.; for that was indeed the very night in which Peter did deny him. But here, in John xiii. 38. he doth not so determine the time, but saith only, "the cock shall not crow," &c.

2. That by these words, "The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice," he meaneth not, thou shalt deny me thrice before any cock crow; for he denied him but once before a cock crew, as is plain, Mark xiv. 68—70. but he meaneth, Thou shalt deny me thrice in the space of cock's-crowing, which space was the third part of the night, Mark, xiii. 35. And so Mark helpeth to understand it, when in him it is explained, "before the cock crow twice," &c. Mark, xiv. 33. This therefore helpeth Mr. Heming's cause never a jot; nor proveth it that that night, John, xiii. was the night that Peter denied Christ; for Christ might have said as much as he saith there, a twelvemonth before Peter denied him, and yet the sense very sound and current: 'Peter, art thou so confident and resolute? I tell thee that the time will come, when, in the time of cock's crowing, thou shalt deny me three times over.'

Now, whereas Mr. Heming would have you compare John xiii. 37, 38. with John xviii. 1—3. his meaning is to this purpose; That Christ having given Peter notice of his denial,

and spoken these words in chap. xiv. xv. xvi. and xvii. he presently goes over the brook Kedron, and there is apprehended: but he would make you leap over a stile by the way, and take no notice of it, and so you may chance break your shins. What makes he of that clause, John, xiv. 31. "Arise, let us go hence?" Let him tell me whether Christ went now. I know he will say, He rose from the table after the sacrament, and went out of doors towards Kedron, and spoke the passages in chap. xv. xvi. and xvii. as he walked along. In very good time, and a very likely business. But John, xviii. 1. saith, "When he had spoken these words, he went forth." Construe me that.

*Argum. 2.* A second argument that I use to prove that the supper in John xiii. was before the passover day, is from verses 27—29. of that chapter; where, when Judas had received the sop and Satan, and Jesus said to him, "What thou doest, do quickly;" some of the disciples thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast. Now, if they had things to buy against the feast, the feast was not yet come.

The answer that Master Heming returns to this argument is, first, thus: "Perhaps Christ did not eat the paschal lamb upon the same day the Jews did, &c. And then the feast the disciples dreamed of, might very well be the Jews' passover, kept a day after. I could speak more for proof of this from John xviii. 21. and xix. 14. than ever Mr. Lightfoot will be able to answer."

*Reply.* Perhaps the evangelists are not to be believed, because they speak contrary to Master Heming's humour; for they tell you, as plain as plain can be, that Christ did eat the paschal lamb upon the same day the Jews did. See Matthew, xxvi. 17.; Mark, xiv. 12.; Luke, xxvii. 7, 8. And yet he puts a "perhaps" upon it, to squeeze out something to his purpose. Sure the man did not know that the paschal lambs were slain by the priests at the altar, and the blood sprinkled there, and they slain, and the blood sprinkled in the name of a paschal; and sure he did not know how high a transgression it was reputed by the Jews to eat the passover on a wrong day: had he known, and weighed these things, perhaps he would find it a harder business for Christ to eat the passover a day before the Jews, than he dreamed of.



But why do I talk of such things as these to him, when he puts a perhaps upon so plain texts of the evangelist?

As for that tiring work that he would set me upon, out of John xviii. 28. and xi. 14, I will tell him this beforehand, that if I can make nothing of those places, I will deny mine own skill, judgment, and opinion, before I will deny the plain texts of the evangelists, as he doth. But I need not to eat mine assertion, for any thing that those places hold out against it.

He is but little acquainted with Scripture, or with the Jews' customs about the passover, that knows not that there were passover bullocks, and other peace-offerings, to be eaten in the week of the feast, as well as the lamb was upon its day, 2 Chron. xxx. 21. 24. ; and xxxv. 7, 8. And that these are called the passover as well as the lamb : Deut. xvi. 2. compared with Exodus xii. 15.

And to take up these texts, which in Master Heming's conception, will be everlasting tiring-irons to me, in John xviii. 28. "The Jews went not into Pilate's judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover:" that is, but that they might eat the solemn peace-offerings that were to be eaten at the passover, and which are called the passover; and that in chap. xix. 14. "It was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour:" that is, it was the day in which they prepared these paschal bullocks and peace-offerings for their holy diet along the days of the feast. What so great difficulty is there in these texts, and what incongruity is there in this exposition of them?

A second answer that Mr. Heming giveth to my argument is this (but I must tell you beforehand it is somewhat homely):

"Observe," saith he, "how he would daub over his own mistake, with the untempered mortar of the disciples' ignorance; what some of them thought, proceeded of ignorance," John xiii. 28, 29, &c. and a little after: "For the disciples' ignorance, and Mr. Lightfoot's grounded upon theirs, Christ had no more feasts."

*Reply.* Now, come out, good manners: he that useth the disciples so uncivilly, I may put off my hat and thank him, that he useth me no worse than he doth. I must tell the apostles and evangelists, that let them take heed what they say, and how they place their words; for if they speak but one

syllable awry from Mr. Heming's humour, he will tell them what they are before all the parish. And I pray you, Sir, what were the apostles ignorant of, that one may daub walls with their ignorance? Could they not tell whether the feast were come or no? That is the question that you and I are upon, out of the words in John xiii. 28, 29.: and if you say they were ignorant of that, you speak like Mr. Heming in state and majesty: and if they were ignorant of that, they were ignorant to the purpose. Come on, my boys and girls, when holidays were in fashion, could you tell when a holiday came? If you could, you were wiser than Mr. Heming holds the disciples were.

But, it may be, he will say, that he doth not mean they were ignorant of this, but of something else, as he saith, "They knew not that he was to be betrayed that night." Why, what is this to our question? The evangelist saith, "They thought Jesus had bidden Judas buy something against the feast." Hereupon I say, if it were "against the feast," the feast was not yet come. To this he gives this answer: "What some of them thought, proceeded of ignorance," for, "they knew not that he was to be betrayed." Is not this an answer as profound and direct in itself as it is well mannered towards the disciples? I say, still, the disciples thought Judas had been bidden to buy something 'against the feast,' ergo, the disciples knew that the feast was not yet come. Let him answer me this directly, and like a man that desireth to find out the truth.

A third argument that I give to prove, that the supper, John xiii. was before the passover day, and not on it, proves a pitfall to Mr. Heming, beyond my expectation; for I did not think he had been so blind, as to have been so caught. My words were these: "We know that the Lord's supper was given the passover day at night: viz. the first Sabbath of the feast." The meaning of my argument, I shall give by and by.

Now, Mr. Heming thinketh that I speak the savourest and bravest nonsense that ever did man. I shall give his censure in his words at length, and not in figures; for it is pity any of it should be lost.

"Whereas he saith," saith he, "that we know the Lord's supper was given on the passover day at night: viz. the first Sabbath of the feast, whereon the Jews ate the paschal

lamb; I am afraid he understandeth neither what he saith, nor whereof he affirmeth. But be it so; and then,

“1. How was Christ upon the cross on the preparation day, the day before the Sabbath, according to those Scriptures, Matthew xxvii. 62.; Mark xv. 42.; Luke xxiii. 54.; John xviii. 28. and xix. 14. 31. and 42. verses?”

“2. How could he rise the day after the Sabbath, namely, the first day of the week, Mark, xvi. 2.; Matthew, xxviii. 1. since he lay three days in the grave? Doth the man believe (think ye) that Christ ate the passover a day or two after he was dead? or that he did rise the next day after he had eaten it? ‘Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?’ What day thinks he Christ was betrayed and taken? or how long was it between his taking and crucifying? I wish the man be not found tardy here.”

*Reply.* You have your wish into your own bosom, and that with a witness. It is not I that am found tardy here, but yourself; so as that you will be ashamed of it when you see it. I warrant you, Mr. Heming and his disciples have had many a pleasant laughing and triumphing fit, over this poor sentence of mine; and have hugged one another in this advantage of nonsense, as he has set it out, no doubt most learnedly to them. Methinks I see him scratch the elbow, and hear him laugh hither. But I must put him in mind of Seneca’s wife’s fool again: he cries out I am blind, when the blindness is his own.

This great master in Israel never dreamed, in all his life, of any Sabbath, but only the ordinary weekly Sabbath; and from this ignorance comes all this laughter: but it seems I must be his teacher now, and inform him, that the first and last day in the passover week, was a Sabbatical day, or a Sabbath, and so was also the first and last day of the feast of Tabernacles, &c. Had he but well weighed Exod. xii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 7. and seriously consulted how the word “Sabbath” is to be understood in Lev. xxiii. 15, I am sure he would have gone a mile on my errand, before he would have given this censure upon those words of mine, for his own credit’s sake. Why do you not laugh now, Mr. Heming? I hope I have you here at a full check mate; and, I suppose, by this time you see, that the more you have triumphed over me here, the more shamefully you have discovered your own ignorance. Would you not give a gray groat now, with all your heart, that

these words of yours had never been born? Be wiser another time; you know not what an art I have of setting mouse-traps.

I say, therefore, again, that on the passover day at night, the first Sabbath, or first Sabbatical day of the feast, was entered; and hereupon I argue thus:—The disciples, when Judas had received the sop, and Jesus bade him, ‘quod facis, fac cito,’ thought that he bade him buy something. But if that were the passover night, the Sabbath was now entered; and buying any thing was neither lawful nor possible. Therefore, that was not on the passover night, but some night before: for it is senseless and groundless to think, that the disciples should think of Christ’s bidding him buy something, when nothing was possible to be bought.

Upon that text, therefore, John xiii. 29, “Some thought that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast,” I conclude,

1. That that was not at the passover supper, because then nothing could be bought, a Sabbatical day being entered. And, 2. That that was before the feast of the passover, because the disciples thought of buying something against the feast. If this my arguing be not direct, let him correct me; if it be, let him give me direct answers, if he can.

But, before I leave this text and argument, will you hear a piece of logic, that he venteth upon my arguing from it? “If from this Scripture” (saith he), “he will conclude that there was another feast, why may not I conclude, that Judas gave something to the poor?”

*Reply.* *Brains* and *stairs* are not better rhyme than this is reason. I know not what your logic may conclude; but another to conclude so, I must tell him, it is to take up more than comes to his share. If I had concluded from this Scripture, ‘that Judas bought something against the feast,’ you might have concluded in equity, that ‘Judas gave something to the poor;’ but when I conclude no more but this, that ‘there was a feast,’ your share of concluding comes to no more but this, that ‘there were some poor.’ And as properly as one may conclude, that ‘there were some poor,’ to whom something was to be given, from this, because they thought he bade give something to the poor; so as properly may it be concluded, that ‘the feast was to come,’ against which something was to be bought, from this, because they thought he bade him ‘buy something against the feast.’

A fourth argument I use to prove that the supper in John, xiii. at which the sop was given to Judas, was not on the passover day, but before, is this :

“The devil entered into Judas before the feast of the passover came.

“But the devil entered into Judas at the supper, in John xiii.

“Ergo, that supper, John xiii. was before the feast of the passover came.” The major is proved, Luke xxii. 3. “Satan entered into Judas,” &c. ; verse 7. “Then came the day of unleavened bread,” &c. By which it is apparent, that Satan was entered into Judas before the day of unleavened bread, or the passover day came : unless Mr. Heming will except at the evangelist’s order ; which if he do, let him give a good reason why, lest he shew himself too bold with the text, for his own turn.

To the force of this argument he answers nothing ; but, only because I said, ‘the devil entered into Judas at Bethany,’ he catches up the word Bethany, and keeps a coil with that ; but to the pith of the argument he saith nothing. Only in what answer he giveth to this argument, which indeed is to no purpose, let me challenge him upon one passage which is utterly shameless, and that is, when he saith, “The conspiracy is as clearly placed before the sop, as before the passover ;” but, ‘Dic quibus in terris, et Phyllida solus habeto.’ Let him but shew me where, and then I will say he speaks like a Scripture man ; but if he cannot, I must say it is extreme impudence and impiety to assert any such thing ; for he makes his fancy equal with the sacred text. There is not one syllable, letter, or tittle, in all the gospel, that Judas’s conspiracy was before the sop ; but there is as plain an evidence that his conspiracy was before the passover, as there is of any thing in the gospel ; and yet, because this gentleman hath fancied that the sop was given on the passover night, he dares to equal his fancy with the divine writ, and say, “The conspiracy is as clearly placed before the sop as before the passover :” that is, in his brains ; but no where else. Well fare a bold face in time of need.

Another argument, and wherewith I will clench up all, to prove the supper, John xiii. at which Judas received the sop, was before the passover day, is this : that “it is not probable, nor can be conceived, that Judas should receive the sop,

and so the devil with it, and go to the high priests and bargain with them, receive a band of men, John xviii. 3. and betray his Master, and all upon one night; for, besides the unlikelihood of it, the text is plain, that from the time of the receiving of the sop, he sought opportunity to betray him, Matthew xxvi. 16. or how he might conveniently, &c. Mark xiv. 11. Luke xxii. 6. And how improper it is to say, a man seeks conveniency, or opportunity, when he runs upon a thing, and doth it on a sudden, I refer to any one of common capacity."

Now, Mr. Heming gives this argument a threefold answer.

First, he saith, "'Tis probable all this might be done in one night: for Judas was not so far from the high priest; the band of men not so far to seek; the Devil, Judas, and the Jews, not so backward in driving on this damnable design, as he would insinuate. I myself have known in this betraying age, five times more than this amounts to, brought about in as short a night."

*Reply.* I cannot imagine, with all the skill I have, what that should be, that was five times more than the betraying of the Son of God. And I wonder how Mr. Heming came to know, that Judas was so near the high priest, and that the band of men was so ready at hand. There was an old wandering Jew talked and ballated of, betwixt twenty and thirty years ago; if one had had the luck to have met with him, he would have told the whole business. It seems Mr. Heming hath had the hap to meet with some of his intelligence, and that makes him so exact in this relation: but poor we, that go by the old light of the four evangelists, can see no such matter. Mr. Heming grants that Judas sat down with Christ on the passover night, and at the common supper with him; and he sticks not much to grant that he ate the paschal lamb with him. Well; Christ, after that, did but deliver the sacrament, sing a hymn, speak a few words to his disciples, go into the Mount of Olives, and there Judas was presently at hand to apprehend him. Now, how Judas in so short a time as this, should do all this business, get together the chief priests and captains, Luke xxii. 4. (it may be the wandering Jew said they supped all together this night), bargain with them, raise a band of men, get lanterns and torches all ready, &c. he must be of a quick belief, that believes such quickness.

A second answer that he gives is this :

“He (following the old trade) most shamefully abuseth Matthew xxvi. 16. ; Mark xiv. 11, when he saith, It is plain from those texts, that from the time of the receiving of the sop, Judas sought opportunity to betray Christ. Read the verses before and after, and then tell me, if you can see but the print or footsteps of any such thing. Is it not plain in those places, that from that time Christ reprov'd Judas for his covetous indignation, at the spending of the ointment, he sought opportunity, and from that reproof took occasion, to betray him? It is evident he sought how he might conveniently betray Christ before he received the sop.”

*Reply.* It is policy to cry Thief first. Be sure to tell me of abusing Scripture, loud enough, that nobody may hear me tell tales of you ; but, before I have done, I hope I shall have my tale heard too. Now, how much I abuse Matthew xxvi. 16. ; Mark xiv. 11, to the purpose mentioned, will appear in the discussion of our next question, about the supper at Bethany, upon which I shall instantly enter, when I have first challenged him upon two assertions, which he will never be able to make good, whilst his name is Mr. Heming, unless it be by some gospel of his own making. The first is this : “That Judas took occasion to betray Christ from his reprov'g of him for his covetous indignation at the spending of the ointment.” If Mr. H. have any other ground for this, but that he judgeth of another's impatience to be crossed in his humour, by his own, let him shew it ; and if he shew any solid ground for it, I will venture the burning of my cap.

The other is this : “That 'tis evident that he sought how he might conveniently betray Christ before he received the sop.” Where is it so evident? why, in his fancy, and by his new light ; but not by any one letter in all the gospels. If it were true that Judas received the sop on the passover night, as he fancieth, then he said something : but that I deny, and have alleged my arguments and reasons why I deny it ; the which I refer to any impartial and indifferent judgment.

Those that hold that Judas did not receive the sacrament, do lay this as the corner-stone of their opinion : “That Judas, upon the receiving of the sop, went out before the sacrament was administered.” Will you hear the words of Zanchius instead of many? ‘Etsi multi et magni viri hæc

docuerint et scripserint, ego tamen nullo modo concedo aut concedere possum : although many men of great esteem have taught and written' (that Judas received the sacrament), 'nevertheless I cannot, nor at all do, yield unto it.' And what is his reason? 'Quod apertè pugnat cum historia Johannis evangelistæ : Because it plainly thwarted the history of the evangelist John.' And how doth it so? 'Johannes, cap. xiii. ver. 30. apertè scribit Judam postquam accepisset offulam a Christo (in jusculo nimirum agni assi) intinctam, statim ἐὺδέως exivisse : Because John, in chap. xiii. ver. 30. writeth expressly, that Judas, after he had received the sop, dipped (namely in the sauce of the roasted lamb), went straightway forth.' *Zanch.* in quartum præcep.

Mr. Heming is of the very same opinion, and urge him with the authority of the other evangelists, that say that Judas sat down to the passover with the rest of the disciples. Yes, that is true, saith he; but before the sacrament, Christ gave him the sop, and he was gone. It seemeth exceeding strange to me, that this use should be made of this chapter of John xiii. who speaketh not one syllable of the sacrament, and which telleth plainly that that supper, at which the sop was given, was 'ante diem festum Paschæ,' as the best translators have rendered it, and that most truly.

It were enough, therefore, for the overthrowing of Mr. Heming's opinion, to prove only that that supper, in John xiii. was before the passover day: and we needed not look any further how many days or nights it was before; yet, that I may do him justice, and myself right in the maintaining of this my assertion, I yet go further, and aver, that

"That supper, in John xiii. was in Bethany."

For the proof of which I thus argue :

"Judas's conspiracy began from the devil's entering into him, which was when he received the sop, at the supper, in John xiii.

"But Judas's conspiracy began from Bethany.

"Therefore the devil's entering into him, when he received the sop at the supper, in John xiii. was at Bethany."

The major proposition, that Judas's conspiracy began from the devil's entering into him, is as clear in Luke xxii. 3, 4. as the sun at noon, "Then entered Satan into Judas Iscariot, being one of the number of the twelve: and he went his way, and communed with the chief priests and captains



how he might betray him unto them, and they were glad," &c.; and then, in verse 7, "Then came the day of unleavened bread," &c. Now, let all the world, nay his very boys and girls, judge upon this matter. Children, when did Judas begin his treason? Why, Satan entered into him, and then he went his way and communed with the high-priests, &c. What! was this before the passover day or no? Yes; it was before; for Satan entered into him, and he communed with the chief priests, &c. and then [the day of unleavened bread came afterward. Would not any boy or girl, that hath any capacity, and would not any man or woman that reads the Scripture conscientiously, and is led by the Scripture, and leads it not to his own opinion that he hath taken up, understand these words of Luke in this manner? Let Mr. H. give a satisfactory and convincing reason why they are not to be thus understood, and he may then crow and triumph; but, if he cannot, then doth he wrest the Scripture; and, having set down his own opinion, he will bring the Scripture to it, to speak for his purpose by hook or by crook. I urge the evangelist's words again: "Then Satan entered into Judas, and he went his way, and communed with the chief priests," &c.; and let Mr. Heming's own disciples be judges, whether this prove not, that Judas's conspiracy began from the devil's entering into him: and that the devil entered into him upon his receiving of the sop at the supper, in John xiii. they will not deny.

Now I need not to prove the minor, That "Judas's conspiracy began from Bethany;" for Mr. Heming doth grant it, when he saith, "Is it not plain from these places, Matthew xxvi. 16.; Mark xiv. 11. that from the time Christ reprov'd Judas for his covetous indignation at the spending of the ointment, he sought opportunity, and from that reproof took occasion to betray him?" page 12. And in page 13, he saith again, "Nothing else passed at the supper at Bethany concerning Judas, but Christ's rebuking him for his indignation at the spending of the alabaster-box of ointment."

My conclusion, therefore, is good, till Mr. H. can give a clear and satisfactory answer to the proof of my major, which I believe he will hardly do this week: that "the devil's entering into Judas, when he received the sop at the supper, in John xiii. was at Bethany."

All that Mr. H. says about this business, is this:

“ 1. Luke xxii. 3. speaks nothing at all of the supper at Bethany, nor of any thing done there.

“ 2. Though all the evangelists place the conspiracy before the passover, yet they place not the giving of the sop at Bethany. Read Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. John xii. and see if you can find any such thing there.”

*Reply.* So may I answer him again: ‘ John, xiii. speaks nothing of any supper at Jerusalem. Read the chapter through, and see if you can find any such word, or any mention of the sacrament there:’ and, I may as well argue, Read Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. John xii. and see if you can find any such thing as any sop given at all: Ergo, there was no sop given.—The man is at bo-peep; and where it will serve his turn, you must believe such a thing is there, though it be not written there; and, where it will not serve his turn, you must not believe it, because it is not written there: nay, sometimes you must not believe it, though it be written there. I shall take the places he refers you to, into handling by and by.

I yet go farther in my assertion, because I desire to deal in all plainness; and I say,

That supper at Bethany, from which Judas began his conspiracy, upon Satan’s entering into him, was two days before the passover. And for the proofs of this, I produce Matt. xxvi. 2.; Mark xiv. 1. where there is mention of two days before the passover; and presently after, of Christ’s being at meat in Bethany; and then of Judas’s going to the high-priests, &c.

Now, here Mr. Heming sheweth all his learning, and his sincere dealing with the Scripture, on a cluster. Will you hear a new-lighted commentary upon these texts, such a one as you do not hear every day, unless it be from him; and learn but this kind of way of expounding Scripture, and you may hold what you will, and bring the Scripture to maintain it. His words are these:

“ The following Scriptures, viz. Matthew xxvi. 2.; Mark xiv. 1. do not at all prove the supper at Bethany to have been just two days before the passover; but that, two days before the passover, the chief priests and scribes sought how they might take Christ by craft and subtlety, &c.: and at last concluded it must be on the feast day (viz. the feast of the passover), lest there should be an uproar, &c. Matt. xiv. 1, 2.

“The supper at Bethany is as likely to have been six days before the passover as two: ‘Then Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethany,’ &c. ‘There they made him a supper,’ John xii. 1. 2.”

*Reply.* You know what kind of reading of the Bible he made, that found a green bay horse, or mule, there; and truly this way of expounding is much like it: he that will go such a way, may find any thing he hath a mind to; but God help them that are led by such an expositor. Mr. Heming reads Mark xiv. 1—3. thus: “Two days before the feast of the passover, the chief priests sought to take Christ by craft; but they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar. And six days before the passover, Jesus being in Bethany, as he sat at meat,” &c. Now, I pray you, is this according to the gospel of Mark, or according to the gospel of Mr. Heming? If this be not shameless wresting of Scripture, I know not what is.

Here are two things that he would foist upon the evangelists, that I durst swear were never in their meanings. The first is, that he would persuade you that Matthew and Mark do change the proper order and time of their story; telling a story of two days before the passover first; and then telling a story of six days before the passover, after it. And the second is, that he would persuade you, that the supper at Bethany, in John xii. 1. and the supper at Bethany, in Matthew xxvi. 6. and Mark xiv. 3, was one and the same; and for this purpose he hath linked Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. and John xii. together four or five times in his discourse, as if the matter was past all doubting.

Let me talk with him a little about both these, particularly.

And first, about his persuading that Matthew’s and Mark’s order is here inverted, and the story of the supper at Bethany dislocated in them, I shall propose two or three things to him, which if he had considered of, or known before, it may be he would have been more cautious, for his credit’s sake, than thus blind Biard like, to venture he knows not, nor cares not on what.

1. Let him shew me but one dislocation, I say but one, from the beginning of Mark’s gospel, to this very place, and then I will grant that there might be some colour of dislocation here. If this grandee had studied the order of the evange-

lists, as well and seriously as some others have done, he durst not, for shame, have said thus much, especially of Mark, who is so exact and direct for his method, that I say it again, from the beginning of his gospel, to this very place, Mr. H. cannot shew one story, I say not one, which he can prove by any sound evidence or reason to be dislocated; no, nor from this place to the end of his gospel. It was luck in a bag then, that he that is so direct in all his gospel from end to end, as never to change one story out of its proper time and place, should do it here to serve Mr. Heming's turn so pat.

2. Mr. Heming makes no bones of making two evangelists of one and the same story; the like to which let him shew me again through all the gospels, and I will lay down the cudgels. I say it again, let him shew, through all the gospels, such another dislocation in two evangelists, of one and the same story, as he would make this to be in Matthew and Mark, and I will confess mine own ignorance, and applaud his skill. I believe there is but one example in all the evangelists, that two or more of them do misplace the same story; and that is not such a dislocation as this neither, as I shall shew him the difference, if he have ever the luck and skill to find it out.

3. Sure he never observed how direct Matthew and Mark are in reckoning the days of Christ's last week before the passover, from his riding in triumph to Jerusalem till the passover day came. As John tells, that six days before the passover he supped at Bethany, John xii. 1. so they go on, and tell, that on the next day, or five days before the passover, he rideth in triumph into Jerusalem, Matthew xxi. 1, 2, &c.; Mark xi. 1, 2. and at even goeth to Bethany, Matt. xxi. 17.; Mark xi. 11.

On the morrow, which was four days before the passover, he goes again from Bethany into Jerusalem, Mark xi. 11. 15, &c. and at night goeth the same way again, Mark xi. 19.

In the morning, which was three days before the passover, he goes again into Jerusalem, Mark xi. 20. 27, &c. and at even departs into the Mount of Olives, Mark xiii. 1. 3. xxiv. 1. 3.; Luke xxi. 37.

And thus are we come to the night that we are upon, namely, two nights before the passover. Where did Christ lodge this night? why, the evangelists tell you, in the Mount

of Olives. Where there? why, Matthew and Mark say, "After two days was the passover, and the scribes sought to take him," &c. "And he being at Bethany, at meat," &c.

Why should not any rational man rather take the method of both the evangelists here to be direct, since it is so direct all along hitherto, than to make a jump back again, no man alive can imagine to what purpose, but only to serve Mr. Heming's turn? It is apparent that Christ lodged two nights before the passover, in the Mount of Olives.

I suppose Mr. H. will not say he lay all night in the open fields; and I presume he cannot tell where else to lodge him, in the Mount of Olives, but at Bethany: and the evangelists say, "After two days was the passover," &c. "And Jesus being at meat in Bethany," &c. And yet Mr. H. will not suffer you to think that Christ supped this night at Bethany, but the two evangelists spake of six nights before the passover. How senseless is it to think, that when they have told you directly what Christ did the fifth, fourth, third day before the passover, and when they say moreover, it was "two days before the passover," they then should jump back again to six days before, and no man can imagine for what.

4. It is presumption to displace the evangelists' method without good and sound reason given for it. Let Mr. H. give but such a one, and I shall be silent.

As gross or more gross (put what substantive to it you think good) is his second asseveration, if he could persuade you to it; and that is, that that supper at Bethany, John xii. and that supper at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. were but one and the same, and at the same time; which you must believe upon the word of this great oracle, though there be these main and visible differences between them.

1. That supper in John xii. was six days before the passover.

That supper in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was but two, if you will believe the evangelists as they spake, and not make them speak as Mr. H. would have them.

2. The supper in John xii. was in the house of Lazarus.

The supper in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was in the house of Simon the leper.

3. At the supper, in John xii. Mary, a woman named, anointeth Christ's feet.

At the supper, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. a woman not named anoints his head.

4. At the supper, in John xii. Judas alone hath indignation at the expense of the ointment, verse 4.

At the supper, in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. the disciples had indignation at it, Matthew xxvi. 8.

Now, all these differences, which, to such a dull pate as mine, cannot choose but make these appear different suppers, Mr. Heming can reconcile as fast as a hen can crack nuts: for do but hear him crack.

“And lastly (saith he), though much more shall be added if there be occasion, if any man of common capacity will but compare John xii. from verse 1. to 8. with Matt. xxvi. 6. to verse 13. and Mark xiv. 3. to verse 9. he shall find they all speak of the same supper at Bethany. And for what John differs from the other two evangelists, in naming Martha and Lazarus, and in saying she anointed his feet, whereas the others say she poured it on his head; that shall be easily reconciled, whensoever Mr. Lightfoot pleases.”

It seems Mr. Heming hath a singular faculty of reconciling dead men; and I wish he have not a better, in setting living men together by the ears. I would he would let the evangelists alone, who are at a sacred peace among themselves, and that he would reconcile poor Uttoxeter, which is torn in pieces with dissensions, since he came amongst us. I know not whether Tenterton steeple was the cause of the stopping up of the haven two or three miles off it: this I know, that till Uttoxeter knew Mr. Heming, peace, amity, and charity, dwelt amongst us, in few towns more; but now, nothing but dissension, biting, and backbiting, in no town the like. If you be so good a reconciler, I pray begin at home: the evangelists need none of your day'smanship.

You would think it were silk or satin that this great reconciler makes all this ruffle in, when it is but poor buckram ignorance of the style of the gospels, that I may name nothing else. His skill in the gospels is so great, that if any two passages in them do but look one like another, they must of necessity be one and the same; and he can find one trick or other in his budget to make them so. I warrant you he would make a gallant stitching together of these differences, if I were pleased to desire it of him. He can tell you as directly how the house of Lazarus became the house of

Simon the leper, as if he had drawn the conveyance; and how anointing of Christ's head came to be anointing of his feet, as ever men brought head and heels together. This sure he learned from the wandering Jew too.

His squib is not out yet, but it cracks thus further :

“ I conclude against all he hath said or can say, yea against whatsoever all the friends he shall make in this controversy, can say for him,

“ 1. That there was no sop given in the supper at Bethany; let him find it me in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. John xii.

“ 2. That the discourse between Christ and his disciples about the traitor, passed that very night he ate the passover at Jerusalem, Matthew xxvi. 19—26.; Mark xiv. 16—22. and not at Bethany two days before. For had Judas been discovered at Bethany, how could the disciples (John as well as the rest) begin to be sorrowful (wondering to hear Christ say, One of you shall betray me, John xiii. 21, 22.), and inquire who it was, saying, ‘ Is it I, Is it I,’ two days after? Matthew xxvi. 22. Mark xiv. 19. Luke xxii. 23.

“ 3. That Christ washed not his disciples' feet at Bethany, but at the supper at Jerusalem, the same night he was betrayed, John xiii.

“ 4. That the sop was given at an ordinary or common supper, which Christ had the same night before he ate the passover,” &c.

*Reply.* “ I conclude against all he hath said or can say, yea against all the friends he can make in this controversy can say.”

That very word would make one start. What luck had I, that I was not acquainted with Don Quixote? he were the only fellow in the world to make up this challenge, for he was an old dog at fighting with windmills; and I know no friend that I have, that hath any heart upon such encounters. You have heard of little Jefferey, the dwarf, that challenged the great porter to fight with him, but it must be in the furnace-hole, or in an oven: you may make the application.

Let you and me alone with this business like a couple of wise men as we are; I have no friends that have any mind to be miscalled, or to fight with shadows.

1. You conclude that there was no sop given in the supper at Bethany; but I conclude there was.

You derive your conclusion from Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. and John xii. and your argument lieth thus, if I can see it:

If Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. and John xii. that speak of the supper at Bethany, speak not of giving of the sop, then there was no sop given at the supper at Bethany. But, ergo,

Make good the consequence, and the day is yours; but you will not make that good to-day.

My conclusion I derive from Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. John xiii. and I frame my argument thus:

The time and place whence Judas began his treason, was the time and place of Satan's entering into him with the sop: this is proved by the authority of Luke, xxii. 3, 4, "Then entered Satan into Judas, and he went and communed with the chief priests," &c., and of John xiii. 27.

But the supper at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was the time and place whence Judas began his treason. This Mr. H. granteth; therefore the supper at Bethany was the time and place, where Satan entered into Judas with the sop.

2. You conclude, "that the discourse between Christ and his disciples concerning the traitor, passed that very night that he ate the passover:" that is most true; but whereas you conclude withal, that the like discourse passed not at Bethany two days before: that is most false. And as for your reason, "had Judas been discovered at Bethany, how could the disciples, John as well as the rest, begin to be sorrowful," &c. I will tell you.

First, if the discovery of Judas at Bethany, was privately to John only, then your question, or reason, is answered; and I must put you to prove the contrary.

Secondly, though John knew it before, yet he loved not his Master so little, but he would be sorrowful too, to hear of his Master's betraying again, as well as they.

Thirdly, though the discovery at Bethany were openly to all, yet might they, two nights after, begin to be sorrowful, to hear of it again. He hath written that word "begin" in a different letter, as if he would have you to observe the emphasis of that word, as if they had never been sorrowful about that business before. But though they had heard of it two days before, might they not begin to be sorrowful about it again, when the discourse of it was renewed? The passover



supper was a meal of rejoicing; and, in the midst of that meal, for Christ to speak of his betraying, might it not damp their rejoicing, and make them begin to be sorrowful? And besides, I could tell of a propriety that 'to begin' hath in the gospel language, that, if he had observed, it may be he would not have pointed out the word for so emphatical. 'To begin' to do a thing, in gospel language doth often mean no more but to do a thing. 'They began to be sorrowful,' in Mark xiv. 19. is no more in Matthew xxvi. 22. than, 'they were sorrowful.'

Fourthly, at the passover supper, they ask not Who is it? but, they every one say, "Is it I?" The former question had been of doubting, as John xiii. 22.: the latter, of every one vindicating themselves, and asserting their integrity by that question.

Fifthly, Doth he make no difference between John's asking Christ alone, and all the disciples speaking to him? and no difference between Christ's saying, "He to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it," and "He that dippeth with me in the dish?"

If all the three evangelists had spoken in Luke's language, "The hand of him that betrays me, is with me on the table," and not mentioned dipping in the dish, I wonder where Mr. Heming's passover-night sop would have been found then? But, when Matthew and Mark speak of dipping in the dish, here is enough for him to make 'quidlibet è quolibet,' as he can do it most excellently.

3. He concludes, that Christ washed not his disciples' feet at Bethany, but at the supper at Jerusalem, the same night he was betrayed, John xiii.

This is written in a gospel of his own making (for it is not written in John xiii.), and so is his next conclusion, "That the sop was given at an ordinary common supper, which Christ had the same night, before he ate the passover." Let him find fair evidence for either of these in any of the four evangelists that we read, and I will say I never read them. Sure this man would make an excellent new gospel.

And now let me use his own style, and conclude too.

I conclude against all he hath said, or can say (but bear witness I challenge none of his friends),

1. That the supper in John xiii. at which Judas received the sop, was before the passover festival, verse 1 and 29.

2. That every night, for five or six nights together, before

the passover, Christ lodged in the Mount of Olives (and if Mr. Heming can tell where, but at Bethany, let him shew it), Matthew xxi. 17.; Mark xi. 19, and xiv. 1, 2.; Luke xxi. 37.

3. That two nights before the passover, he supped at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. 2. 6.

4. That from that supper Judas began his treason, Matt. xxvi. 14.

5. That he began his treason upon Satan's entering into him, Luke xxii. 3, 4.

6. That Satan entered into him upon his receiving of the sop, John xiii. 27.

Ergo, 7. That Judas received the sop at Bethany, two days before the passover.

Now, because Mr. Heming, according to his common charity, doth charge me for contra-conscientiously and wickedly wresting the Scripture, for the maintaining of this my conclusion, I shall desire the reader equally and impartially to judge between us, whether of us wrests these texts, that we have had to deal with about, he or I.

1. I say the supper, John xiii. was before the passover day, because the text saith, It was before the feast of the passover, verse 1. He saith, that supper, John xiii. was on the passover night, though the text doth say, It was before the feast of the passover. Whether of us do more wrest this Scripture?

2. I say, that when some of the disciples thought that Jesus bade Judas buy something against the feast, the disciples knew that the feast was coming, and it was not yet come. He saith, What the disciples thought, proceeded from their ignorance. Whether of us do more wrest and wrong this text and the disciples?

3. I say, that that supper at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was two days before the passover, because the evangelists do presently before speak of two days before the passover. He saith, That supper at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was six days before the passover, though the evangelists do presently before speak of two days before the passover. Whether of us do more wrest the Scripture here?

4. I say the method and order in that place of Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. is direct; and I take the stories without misplacing them. He saith, The method and order there is not direct; and he doth misplace the stories. Whether of us do offer the more violence to the evangelists?

5. I say, The supper in John xii. and the supper in Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. were two different suppers, because one is dated six days before the passover, and the other two; the one was in the house of Lazarus, the other in the house of Simon the leper; at the one, Christ's head is anointed; at the other, his feet. He saith, The supper in John xii. and the supper Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. is one and the same supper, though one be dated six days before the passover, and the other two; though the one were in the house of Lazarus,—and the other, in the house of Simon the leper; and, though at the one Christ's head were anointed,—and at the other, feet. Let all the world judge whether he or I do more wrest the Scripture.

My second assertion is this :

That Judas received the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

For the proof of which I produce Matthew xxvi. 20. ; Mark xiv. 17. where it is said, that "Jesus sat down with the twelve;" and he taxeth Judas for treason, Mark xiv. 13. Luke xxii. 21.

To this Mr. Heming saith, but what he had said before, 1. "It is true (saith he) he sat down at Jerusalem with the twelve, of whom Judas was one, in the common or ordinary supper. 2. It is as true that there (as Mr. Lightfoot doth most righteously affirm for the truth, to the deeper wounding of his cause) that there he taxed Judas for treason, gave him the sop, and discovered him; and not at Bethany two days before."

*Reply.* I thank you that you will once grant I speak truth, but you think it is for your own turn. But I pray you, how doth that that I affirm, wound my cause? I say Jesus taxed Judas of treason at the passover supper; and I say he taxed him of treason at the supper at Bethany, two nights before: what wound do I give to my cause by this? If you find any advantage by it, make use of it.

Well, he granteth Judas was at the common supper; but how missed he of the sacrament? Why, Mr. H. will tell you as directly as if he had been there, that he was taxed for treason, and the sop given him; and so he packed away before the sacrament was in hand. And thus he makes a story of his own head of the sop given at the passover supper, which he will never be able to prove, while his name is Mr. Heming. But the story of the evangelist, that determines the case, he slippeth over, and speaks not one word to it. I cite

Luke xxii. 21. to prove Judas present at the sacrament, and this Mr. H. saw was like enough to wound his cause, and therefore (I shall commend his wit another time) he answers it with grave silence, not speaking one word to it.

It is apparent, by Luke, that Judas was at table after the giving of the sacrament. Consider his words, Luke xxii. verse 19. "And he took bread and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body," &c.; verse 20, "Likewise the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you;" verse 21. "But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me, is with me on the table." What say you to this, Mr. Heming? Where was Judas now, I pray you, when his hand was on the table? Give me a direct and clear answer to evidence that he was not at table at the delivering of the sacramental cup, and I shall say you are an oracle indeed. But let me have your answer out of the gospel of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, and not out of a gospel of your own making. Can any thing be plainer for my assertion than this? "But behold:" spell me those two words, and let me see what you can make of them. I have heard him say, but it seems he had more wit than to speak it in print, that this is a *ὑστερον πρότερον*, or that here is a dislocation of story, or a change of the right order. Now, gramercy, daring at a dead lift. This was it that I suspected, that he would make a gospel of his own head; for what doth he other, that makes the evangelists speak what, and as his own list?

By taking this course to change the method and order of Scripture, when mine own list, and when it will serve my turn, I will prove to you any thing—That Cain killed Abel before Adam was created; that Christ was crucified after he rose again from the dead; that he was baptized before he was born; and any thing in the world whatsoever. I would eat my opinion, and bite my tongue, before I would make the evangelists my slaves to serve my opinion. Let all the world judge whether this is to be led by the Scripture, or to lead the Scripture whither you please.

1. Let Mr. H. begin at the beginning of Luke's gospel, and let him tell me how many dislocations he can find that Luke maketh of his own story, from one end of his gospel to another. I believe he will find but very few that he can say upon good ground, These passages are displaced; and that

this should be one of those very few, where there is so great probability of its direct order, as 'But, behold,' he must use a great many of words to make any reasonable man believe it.

2. Let him consider the conditions of the word *πλὴν*, and take it in all, or any of the senses it can be taken in, and see whether it will stretch to prove a *ὑστερον πρότερον*, or to be divided from what went before it. Sometimes it makes a conclusion, as *πλὴν οὔτε ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικὸς*, 'Veruntamen neque vir sine muliere,' I Cor. xi. 11. It is sometimes 'præterquam,' as *Πλὴν τοῦ πλοίου*, 'præterquam navis,' Acts xxvii. 22. Sometimes 'præter,' as *Πλὴν Ἀποστόλων*, 'præter apostolos,' Acts viii. 1. Sometimes 'sed' or 'verum,' as *Πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν*, 'sed væ vobis,' Luke vi. 14. Sometimes 'tamen,' as *Πλὴν τοῦτο γινώσκετε*, 'tamen hoc scitote,' Luke x. 11. And sometimes 'quinetiam,' as *Πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν*. Now, in all these acceptations, or in any of them, is it not ever made an inseparable companion, or in conjunction to something that went immediately before? And I am confident, Mr. H. would plead hard it doth so here, if it made but half so much to his purpose, as it makes against him.

I say again, Christ delivered the sacrament, Matthew xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 21. Luke xxii. 19. "And they all drank of it," Mark xiv. 23.

To this, Mr. Heming's answer is this :

"The text doth not say he delivered it to the twelve, but to all, namely, to all present; for Judas had gotten the sop, and was gone forth."

*Reply.* Readers, the evangelists alleged tell you, that Jesus sat down with the twelve, and they did eat; and as they were eating, he ordained the sacrament; and not a syllable of Judas's getting the sop, or going forth. But Mr. H. tells you so: it is a story of his putting in amongst those evangelists. Now, whether it be fitter to believe them or him, judge ye.

I would ask Mr. Heming this question:—Before the gospel of John was written (as he is held to have written the last), if Mr. Heming had read any of, or all, the three other relating the story of the passover, how would he have construed them then? Where would his sop, and Judas going forth have been found then? Does not he think that all that read them then, understood them as I do, and never dreamed of Judas receiving the sop and going out? and yet they

thought that they had the full story of the passover supper too. I dare allow Mr. Heming seven years' study to prove that John speaks one syllable of story of the passover supper. But, because he hath spoken of a supper and a sop, and Judas going forth, &c. therefore, he will have that the passover supper, though the evangelists do most plainly say it was before the passover feast.

He giveth a second answer as magistratical and withal as solid as this; and that is, "If it had been said, he gave it to the twelve, yet that would prove nothing; for, in 1 Cor. xv. 5. it is said, 'He (Christ) was seen of Cephas, and then of the twelve,' though he was seen only of the eleven, Matthew xxviii. 16, 17. Mark xvi. 14."

*Reply.* Readers, I must tell you again, that whatsoever the evangelists say, Mr. Heming must set their sense: though all the three had said, 'he gave the sacrament to the twelve,' yet you must say it was but to eleven; and, though they speak not a word of Judas's absence, yet Mr. Heming has told you he was gone; and that is enough for you to believe against three evangelists. The allegation out of 1 Cor. xv. 5. is profoundly applied. Paul says Christ was seen of the twelve; and yet you are to understand it but of eleven: true; for the story had abundantly and abundantly again, told before what was become of the twelfth, and how they were become but eleven; and the Corinthians knew the story well enough. But here, though the evangelists had said, 'he gave it to the twelve,' Mr. Heming will have you to understand it only of eleven, though none of the three spake a word before of the abating of the number, or what was become of the twelfth.

In the objection he frameth and answereth, "If Mr. Lightfoot shall be so vain as to say Matthias was then chosen in the room of Judas," &c. he doth but fight with his own shadow, and I will let them alone to deal it out: fight man, fight shadow, and part yourselves when you think good.

Mr. Heming. "Whereas he affirmeth that Christ gave the sacrament to Judas, I fear he doth him more injury, than ever he will be able to account for, at his tribunal."

*Reply.* Let Mr. Heming fear to make that so heinous a sin, which he hath no warrant to prove but his own fancy, that it is any sin at all.

I shall propose to him these two or three questions:

1. Is it any injury to Christ to say that he gave Judas the word, as well as to the other apostles; that is, made him a minister of it as well as they? or to say that Christ gave him the Spirit; that is, the power of miracles, and gifts of healing, as well as to them? I believe Mr. H. will hardly deny that he gave him the word and Spirit in this sense. I pray you, then, why is it so great an injury to Christ to say, 'he gave the sacrament to Judas,' more than to say 'he gave the word and Spirit to Judas?' I would gladly see wherein the difference lies; that to say, the one should be no sin, and say the other should be so heinous: shew me some reason why it should be a higher business for Christ to give the sacrament to Judas, than to make him a minister of the word and sacrament?

2. Did not Judas eat the passover with Christ? if not at this last supper, yet at some other time? I presume Mr. H. will not deny it: why, then tell me, why it should not be injury to Christ to say this as well as the other? Was not the passover a sacrament, as well as the Lord's Supper? Was not the paschal lamb the body of Christ in the same sense that the bread in the sacrament was? Shew me wherein lies the vast difference: that to say that Judas received the one sacrament with Christ, is an innocent truth; and to say that Judas received the other sacrament from Christ, is damnable impiety? Mr. H. in page 20, can, and doth, grant, that Judas received both passover and sacrament. Doth he injury to Christ in this concession or no?

Mr. Heming. "Did he not usually except Judas? 'Have not I chosen twelve, and one of you is a devil?' John vi. 70. 'Ye are clean, but not all,' John xiii. 10, 11. And again, verse 18, 'I speak not of you all, I know whom I have chosen,' &c."

*Reply.* No; he did not usually except Judas: in a few places indeed he doth it; but usually he doth it not. Let that be proved: you shall see more places than these by and by where he doth not.

Mr. Heming. "But to those he gave the sacrament, he saith, without exception,

"1. 'This is my body, which is given for you. This is the cup of the new testament, in my blood, which is shed for you,' Luke xxii. 19, 20. Surely Christ could not safely say so to Judas, whom he knew to be a devil eternally lost."

*Reply.* 1. But Christ might safely say so to the whole society, though Judas was there. As what say you to these speeches?

Matthew x. 20. "It is the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." Judas was in the company of them to whom this was spoken, verse 4, yet was not God his father.

Matthew xii. 46. "He stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren." Where was Judas, think you, now?

Matthew xiii. 16. "Blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear." Was Judas under this blessing, or was he absent at this time too?

Matthew xxiii. 8. "All ye are brethren." Verse 9. "One is your Father, which is in heaven." Had Judas the luck to be absent now also?

Luke xii. 4. "I say unto you, my friends;" verse 32. "Little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." Oh, Judas, where art thou now?

Matthew v. 13. "Ye are the salt of the earth. Ye are the light of the world."

Matthew v. 48. "Your Father which is in heaven;" chap. vi. 1. "Your heavenly Father;" verse 15. "Your Father;" verse 32. "Your heavenly Father," &c.

In these, and very many such speeches, which were generally spoken to the whole company of the disciples, Mr. Heming's logic will make this construction: that either Judas was not there (sure it was his luck alway to be with his bag at the market), or Christ did not safely speak those words. No doubt he would make an exceeding brave comment upon such places as these, if he were put to it.

Mr. Heming. "'I will not drink henceforth of the fruit, until that day I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom,' Matthew xxvi. 29. Had Christ meant Judas as well as the rest (as he must, had he been there, since he excepts him not), he had been foully mistaken; for he was never like to come there, understand the Father's kingdom how ye will."

*Reply.* Here Mr. Heming very gravely will teach Christ how to speak: and if he speaks not as his mind is, he will tell you he is foully mistaken. It was our Saviour's common way of oratory, to frame his words in his instructions, admonitions, exhortations, &c. as speaking to all present: when



the proper application of what was spoken, did not suit with every one that heard it, but only with such as stood in capacity of such a thing, as Matthew xxiii. 1. 8, 9. he saith to all the multitude present, "All ye are brethren, and one is your Father in heaven:" and yet every singular person in that multitude cannot be thought capable of the proper sense of these words.

But Mr. H. saith, In this speech in hand, Christ must mean Judas if he were present; though he used not such strictness in other speeches, yet here he must do it, or Mr. Heming will tell him his own.

Mr. Heming. "Luke xxii. 28—30. 'Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, and I appoint to you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed to me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' But,

"1. Judas had not continued with him in his temptations. Neither,

"2. Could Christ appoint to him any other kingdom, but that of wrath and darkness. Nor,

"3. Was he ever like to sit at Christ's table in his kingdom; much less sit on a throne in judgment of the twelve tribes, who is himself to be judged as a devil."

*Reply.* 1. These very words are spoken by Christ, in Matthew xix. 28. before ever sop or Satan came into Judas. Mr. Heming must prove that Judas was absent then also, or else this his argument is not worth a straw.

2. Observe what a proper exposition he makes: "You eleven shall sit on twelve thrones." An acute gloss I promise you; Eleven men lay in twelve beds.

Mr. Heming. "Matthew xxvi. 31. 'All ye shall be offended because of me this night.' This is the same *all*, to whom the sacrament was delivered. Let Mr. Lightfoot take heed how he traduce Christ himself, by affirming that Judas was one of the 'all' he administered the seal and spake these words to. And let him not think to evade any of these Scriptures, by saying Judas had received the sacrament and was gone forth, unless he be able to prove it."

*Reply.* Truly that is no hard task to do, to prove that Judas, having received the sacrament, was gone forth: what can be plainer than the text is for this, Matthew xxvi. 30, 31. "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into

the Mount of Olives. Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended," &c. And so Mark xiv. 26, 27. Mr. Heming winked at this text, and would not see what he might have done, and would not have others to see what is to be seen in it; but would persuade you these words were spoken by Christ, while he was still in the house, and at the table, the better to delude you with his argument. But the evangelists tell you plainly, that they were all gone forth, Christ, disciples and all: and then was Judas gone about his villany, to get together his men to surprise his Master.

It is apparent in Luke xxii. that Judas was at table after the delivering of the cup. Let Mr. Heming clear it that he did not receive the bread and the cup; and let him shew that Judas did not stay the singing of the psalm, as nice as he and his precious hearts make it to sing psalms in the congregation, because they will not sing with the profane. With all the skill all of them have, they will not evade it, but that Christ and the disciples sung the hymn, while Judas was with them. I say, therefore, according to the plain texts of the evangelists, that Judas received the sop, and Satan with it, before the feast day of the passover came: that before that day came, he had contrived with the chief priests for his Master's betraying; that on the passover night he was one of the twelve that sat down to supper; that he was there at the common supper, as Mr. H. calls it; that he was there at the paschal lamb, eating; at the sacrament delivering; at the singing of the hymn; and till all the Table rose and went out: and then he slipped aside, and gathered his cut-throats for the apprehending of his Master.

If I have not shewed this clearer from the text, and more free without wresting of the text, than Mr. H. shews the contrary, let me, in the eyes of all judicial and impartial men, bear the brand of so silly a fool as he would stamp upon me.

And whereas he would affright me with, "Let Mr. Lightfoot take heed how he traduce Christ himself, by affirming Judas was one of that 'all' he administered the seal and spake these words to,"

1. He might have done well to have given the evangelists this caution; for I speak but what they tell me. One of them tells me, that When Christ gave the cup Judas was at the table; and another tells, that He bade them all drink of

it; and what can I say less than I do? If I have forged one tittle of mine own head, let me hear of it.

And, 2. I pray you, what injury is it to Christ, to say He administered the seal to Judas? Shew me a reason why the seal might not be administered to him. I say it might; I say it may, to a person that is not a saint. Cry not out here, "Hear, O heavens," &c. but shew me a solid reason why it might not. I say again, It is no more traducing of Christ, to say he administered the seal to Judas, than it is traducing of Christ to say, he administered the word to Judas. And if Mr. Heming can prove the sacrament to be greater than the word, he may then say something against this my assertion; but till he can do that, he must give me leave to hold what I do.

And here hath Mr. Heming spent all his shot he had to spend about the controversy between us; namely, concerning the time of Judas' receiving the sop, and concerning his receiving of the sacrament. All the rest of his book he shoots powder, and he cares not how: one while he talks of the communion of saints, another while of gathering of churches, then of liberty of conscience, &c. which, as they are besides our question, so shall not I trouble myself with them.

But, before we part, let me again thank him for that favourable and Christian-like conclusion that he makes with me, as he made it his beginning, when he saith thus: "I should abundantly wrong him, if I should not rank him among the vilest in the kingdom; for, with them he will have communion, as a member of the same external visible body, by virtue whereof they are all his brethren and sisters; so that he hath his brother drunkard, brother thief, brother murderer, brother liar, &c.; sister whore, sister witch, &c.; yea, all that have been hanged at Tyburn, and all other gallows in England, ever since he was born and baptized into that fellowship he pleads for, have been his brethren and sisters: let him or any one else, upon good ground, deny it if he can."

*Reply.* Here is excellent language I promise you, and full of Christian meekness and charity: I could not but repeat it again. This gentleman calls God to record upon his soul, that he hath spoken nothing in bitterness and passion, page 7. And if this be his calm language, what do you

think he speaks, when he speaks in thunder? Sure his women saints dictated this language to him; for this is plain scolding, and not arguing. Whatsoever he disclaimeth of bitterness and passion, look his whole discourse through, and see what it breathed of throughout.

— He begins it with the title, “Precious Hearts.” A precious tongue would have done well in the bargain too. But you see how impatient the man is to be crossed: whosoever cannot hold, and speak, and practise point-blank according to his humour, must be ranked with all the whores, thieves, witches, murderers, and Tyburnians, in England.

If you be so free from bitterness and passion, take heed, I pray you, Mr. H. of pride, blind zeal, and self-prizing. You must needs think (if these blind you not) that others have studied the Scriptures as well as yourself, and understand reason, and know the concernment of their souls, and would gladly be saved as well as you: and that hold their tenets in religion from a good conscience, and would be as loath to deceive themselves in things of such weight as well as yourself. What reason or warrant have you to think that no man thinks right but he that thinks as you do? and none practiseth right, but according as you practise? and that none can walk to heaven but just in your steps? and when a man, from the bottom of his soul, thinks that Judas received the sacrament, and holds, that it is better to receive the sacrament with the congregation, though profane persons be there, than either to refrain from the sacrament, or separate from the congregation; what reason or warrant have you in the world thus to vilify him, and to rank him with so vile persons? I cannot hold the Communion of Saints to mean in your sense; I cannot think the sacrament was ordained only for visible and real saints; I cannot hold that it is to distinguish betwixt Christian and Christian; I cannot either relinquish the sacrament or the congregation: must I therefore be matched with all the thieves, whores, witches, and villains of the gallows? If this be meekness, charity, and Christianity, it is so by some new-found or new-made bible; for in that that I have always studied, this is held to be pride, rashness, passion, and uncharitableness. The man hath fancied a Communion of Saints, and a reservedness of the sacrament, which he will never be able to prove and because I

and others cannot be of the same groundless judgment, this is the charitable man's doom upon me.

Doubtless he would make a brave judge: but let not me nor any friend of mine come under his fingers. No more ado with him, but, 'Sirrah, do you think Judas received the sacrament? and, do you think mixed communion is lawful?'—'Yes, and it please you.'—'Then, take him jailor; for this is a companion, nay a brother, of all the rogues and thieves that ever were hanged at Tyburn, &c.' A smart judge I promise you: bless you out of his clutches.

I may not forget neither, before we part, to thank him for his good word, in page 11, where he saith, "Mr. Lightfoot hath gone against manifest light of truth, the whole current or stream of orthodox, godly, and learned expositors, common sense, &c. And to serve a malignant design, he wickedly and, it is to be feared, contra-conscientiously wrests and wrings in John xiii. &c."

*Reply.* Here is charity by lumps. I wonder in what school he learned it.

1. I pray you, what malignity is it to believe and to maintain, that Judas received the sacrament? Yes, there is this malignity in it: ye cross the impartial mind and opinion of Mr. Heming: for, else, there is nothing in it contrary either to Scripture, piety, charity, peace, honesty, or good manners.

2. I would fain know how this opinion is contrary to common sense. I would go a mile to hear him shew this. He saith, in page 1, "Many weak ones have stumbled at what Mr. Lightfoot hath spoken and written, though there be neither divinity nor reason in it." Excellent well grounded disciples I assure you, that stumble when there is neither stone nor straw in the way. He doth them but little credit, in telling they are so easily shaken by that is neither divinity nor sense. He should shew how it wanteth or contrarieth common sense. Come, let us hear it.

3. It were worth hearing whom he owns for orthodox expositors: Beza, Calvin, Pareus, Fulke, &c. Why, these were of the old light; I hope you scorn to call these men orthodox. No, says he, but I do not; I will call any men orthodox, as far as I think they will serve my turn: but, if I find them different in the least tittle from mine opinion, I shall tell them what they are.

4. Doth Mr. Lightfoot's opinion go against the whole current of orthodox, godly, and learned expositors? Zanchy saith, 'multi, et magni viri,' have taught and written agreeable to mine opinion. And if Mr. Gillespie were alive (whom you have so unworthily used, as to steal his arguments by whole-steal, and never to own him), he could name you a man of my opinion, whom he would confess a man orthodox, godly, and learned, and even a walking library of orthodox, godly, and learned expositors; and that is Mr. Prynne, a gentleman of that learning, that you would have but little pleasure to combat with in this controversy. If you were as well versed in what he hath written about this subject, as you are in Mr. Gillespie; you would find that you either wilfully speak you care not what, or sillily speak you know not what, when you say mine opinion is contrary to the whole current of orthodox, godly, and learned expositors.

5. Whether I have gone against the manifest light of truth, and whether I have wrested the Scriptures, I appeal, from your censure (for I am sure you will be partial in your own case), to the impartial Judge of your heart and mine, and to the impartial reader, who hath seen what hath passed between us.

6. And as for that unchristian and injurious censure, "that I had a malignant design, and that I have wickedly and contra-conscientiously wrested the Scriptures," I will say no more to it; but I pray God give you a better tongue and heart: and I will leave you that text in Rom. ii. 1. to study on, as far as passion and self-conceit will give you leave.

And now let us shake hands and part. I thank you for your kindness and good words, as much as it comes to. I wish you more charity, humility, wisdom, and moderation. I would advise you to study more, and print less: your stock is not so great as to be trusting too much abroad. You see what pains I have been at with you: I hope I shall have thanks from you for it.

A wisp or a cuck-stool, the reward of scolds, had been a fitter return for your railing, than patience and reason; but you see how I have waited on you with salt and spoons. I hope you will excuse me, if I find myself something to do another time: for, this I will promise you, and here is my

hand on it; that rail, rage, rave, call, miscall, print sense or nonsense, vent your own arguments, or arguments that you have stolen, vapour in what subject, or after what manner you will,—I am resolved to answer you with deep silence, and with Hezekiah's lesson, "Answer him not." You love not to appear in public so much, but I love it as little. You have forced me to this trouble, and to be thus troublesome to the reader. Say what you will, you shall bring me upon the stage in this manner no more.

# LETTERS.

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## LETTER I.

*Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.*

[This, and the following letter, ought to have been inserted at p. 470 of vol. xiii.]

WORTHY SIR,

I RECEIVED some while since a letter from Mr. Bonnell, and therein one enclosed from yourself to him; of which I deferred to give you an account to him presently, by misunderstanding something in Mr. Bonnell's letter, as if it would be time enough to send up the sermons, when one who was intended for Aspeden Hall, should come up in person to bring them, which will not be yet this fortnight. I am since apt to think that passage meant of something else, though of what, if not of them, I cannot certainly interpret; but having received yours of the 23d instant, I immediately set myself to peruse all the sermons I had; and have, by this next return, sent up another parcel to you, wherein that upon Ziba and Jephthah's daughter, and one upon Acts vii. 44., which is all I can find, and that but a little paper. Also, I have sent all that are upon Exodus xx. &c., with several others upon other subjects, some whereof I think you may have had before. I remember to have heard from the Dr. himself, concerning a sermon of his preached upon baptism, at St. Mary's, in Cambridge, the notes whereof were earnestly desired from him by Dr. Outram. Whether he writ them out again for him, or delivered the original notes, I cannot tell; but I have seen a letter of Dr. Outram's to him, of thanks for them, and professing a great deal of content and satisfaction in having them; which hath been the reason of my sending up all larger or shorter notes that I find upon that subject (unless that I have overlooked any); but I doubt that sermon may not be among them.

Sir, for your care and pains about the sermons, I must always acknowledge the great obligations you have laid



upon me; and shall be at a loss how to express my thankful sense of your kindness to the Dr.'s memory, in any suitable manner. I would I knew any thing in the Dr.'s library, that would be acceptable to you, which you might keep for his sake. The agreement you have made with Mr. Chiswell, I do readily consent to; and when you shall send down his form, I shall be as ready to subscribe to it. That you have bargained for them, *as they are*, I don't well understand; not conceiving that there should be so many perfect ones, and exactly writ, and with that plainness that a stranger to his hand should be able to transcribe them, or which should not need something to be done about them. One thing I expressed to Mr. Bonnell, that I much desired to know, how Mr. Parkhurst came by those two sermons; one whereof, I have made so much inquiry after; and the other, I know not what it is. Gladly would I find something to gratify Mr. Parkhurst with instead of them; but I cannot think what I should be likely to meet with. All the papers, whatsoever, of the Dr.'s, having been seen and perused by Mr. Kidder, and not any thing else but what you know, judged meet to be published; but I shall once more turn them over, to see what there is, and shall give you account accordingly. For particulars about his life, we yet expect whether we shall have any more than we have had from Staffordshire; and we shall know soon. For any thing of especial remark, in his latter days, I must confess I cannot think of any thing, besides his known public conversation, both in his personal and ministerial capacity. Touching his station at Ely, Dr. Womock, who was his very loving friend, and who greatly esteemed him, is that person, who, if living, may give the best account of him. And what he was at Cambridge, and particularly in the college, Dr. Eachard must be able to give a just information. And now, as I am writing, I think on't, Dr. Calamy, at London, may be as fit a person as any.

Sir, I have no more; but that my wife desires to have her best respects presented to you, which also receive from

Your very obliged friend and seryant,

J. DUCKFIELD.

Aspeden, May, 29, (82.)

## LETTER II.

*Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.*

[This, and the preceding letter, ought to have been inserted at p. 470 of vol. xiii.]

WORTHY SIR,

I HAVE received your last, with a form (included) of a bill of sale to Mr. Chiswell, which I have returned to you, signed, and sealed, and witnessed. Sir, I am not hasty for the money, but do wholly leave it to you, to take your own time, when you think fit to receive it, or call for it; only, if it be all one to Mr. Chiswell, when he pays it, daughter Joyce, who is the other executor with me, is now at this present with us, with her husband also (who is the first witness); and if the money should come any time this fortnight, they might take their part of it with them. But by this, I would not at all engage you any whit sooner to desire it of him, than you think meet yourself, and according to your own conveniences. And I know (no) other way for your sending it, but by our Buntingford carrier, James Lyon, who inns at the Swan, Bishopsgate-without: he comes in on Thursday mornings, and comes out again Fridays, in the afternoon; and, I think, will not easily be met with, but about the time of his coming in or out. When, at any time, you pay it to him, you may do it privately, and take his receipt, and that shall acquit you for any miscarriage. Sir, I have carefully perused all the sermons I have (whereof, I think, you have the bigger part; a greater part of those that are still with me, being but short notes), and can find no other upon Acts vii., but what I sent you this last sending. Here is also that account, which I have brought to me out of Staffordshire, of the Dr.'s life: a larger account (they say) hath been sent up another way, which is supposed to be delivered by him to whom it was sent (———'s wife is also here now, and so tells us, as she thinks, but knows not certainly), to Mr. Kidder. When you see him, pray be pleased to ask, whether he received it or no. Sir, I cannot but have a great sense of your kindness, and labour of love (so I must call it), in this concern of the Dr.'s sermons; and shall study some way to express myself,

Your very faithful and obliged friend and servant,

J. DUCKFIELD.

## LETTER III.

*Mr. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.*

[This letter should have been inserted at page 484, of vol. xiii.]

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of March 29th, this 2d of April, which falling out to be the carrier's day, without any farther deferring, I return you this. Concerning what I mentioned, your letter gives me as much satisfaction as I can wish, especially as to what relates to yourself. Touching what you desire to be informed in, I give you this account. The Dr.'s first wife was Joyce, the relict of one Mr. Copwood (a gentleman of a good estate in that county, viz. of Stafford, by whom she had two sons and one daughter, when the Dr. married her; the sons since died, after they were grown men; and the daughter is now living there, and married in that county, and inherits the estate), and the daughter of one Mr. Crompton (an esquire he was, but I cannot give you his prænomens), of the same county, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a good name and estate: her mother was an Aston, of the family of the Lord Aston, of Tixal, but before they were Papists. This their daughter, the Dr.'s wife, was (I think) the youngest of nine sisters; all the rest that lived, having been married into worshipful families there; and I have seen a monument of them all, and of three sons, with the portraiture of them in brass, with their father and mother, in the church of Stone, in that county. Her eldest brother, and his son, her nephew, were both justices of the peace; and the son a parliament-man, in the first long parliament; but both on that party. She died (as I remember) in the year 56, the latter end of the year, and was buried in Munden Church, in the chancel. His second wife was Anne, the relict of one Mr. Austin Brograve, uncle to Sir Thomas. She also died at Munden, and was buried there. By this last, the Dr. had no children; by his first, these sons, *John*, who was chaplain to the bishop of Chester, Dr. Brian Walton, and much esteemed by him, but died presently after the bishop, and was buried in the cathedral of Chester. *Anastasius*, his second son, who had also these additions to that name, "*Cottonus, Jacksonus*," in memory of those two dear friends of the Dr., Sir Rowland Cotton, and Sir John Jackson: this son was minister of Thundridge,

in Hertfordshire, and died there, leaving one son, who is now apprentice at London, but almost out of his time. His *third* son, *Athanasius*, brought up a tradesman, at London; but is dead, without issue. *Thomas*, his *fourth* son, who died young. His first son, John, had six daughters, who are all dead but two, who live now at Chester. His daughters were, *Joyce*, my dear wife; and *Sarah* (a widow now), in Staffordshire, married to one Colclough, a gentleman of that county. What money Dr. L. gave to the ~~new~~ building, at Catharine-hall, I cannot certify you: he kept it private to himself. I have heard of a sum, but I cannot say it upon certainty. Dr. Calamy (I suppose) can inform in that particular. But I am sure, by his assistance, he procured good sums from others; and I know of one hundred pounds, which by his only interest in the gentleman, altogether a stranger to the College, he obtained of him for them; for I received three score pounds of it myself, which was left unpaid when the Dr. died. His disease, of which he died, was a fever, of which he was sick almost a fortnight. He had there one Dr. Hicks (as I remember his name), of Ely, and Dr. Gosnall, of Cambridge, his physicians. His communication with his friends there, especially the dean, Dr. Mapletoft, and ~~one~~ Dr. Womock, a prebend, who were his chief visitants, I have heard nothing of. His behaviour, when I saw him, was with exceeding much meekness, patience, and silence; speaking much with God and himself, but little to others. He was brought from Ely to Munden, and buried there; Mr. Gervase Fulwood preaching at his funeral.

Thus, Sir, have I given you as particular information as I can, in the things you were pleased to inquire about: many of which, about his children and grand-children, I think, may not be much material nor pertinent to take notice of. Any thing in special about his friendship with Sir Henry Cæsar, or Sir Thomas Brograve, I cannot recount, but only in general, that they were very intimate friends. To the former, in his sickness, which was the small-pox, he gave several visits, though very fearful for his own family; but his singular love and respect to Sir Henry, constrained him not to prefer that consideration to his service to so dear a friend in such a time, whose death he very much lamented. The intercourse between Sir Thomas Brograve and him was frequent, both by letter, and often conferences, the distance

not being so great, only two miles, but that they might walk the one to the other on foot, which they often did, for the great endearedness between them, and for conferring together on the things of their studies. I have heard the Dr. tell; he hath told it to me once and again; how, upon occasion of some discourse between them, about such a subject, Sir Thomas departed from him, and presently penned a discourse about the university of Athens, and brought it to him; which the Dr. ~~had lent out to some one that had desired it, but could not call to mind to whom; so that it was irrecoverably gone.~~ As a testimony of their using to meet, and what use they made of it, I have put in this paper,\* which is the only one I can find of that kind, either from the one or the other.

Sir, I have been too long; and therefore must, of force, abruptly conclude, and subscribe,

Your very respectful friend and servant,

J. DUCKFIELD.

April 2, (84.)

\* Probably, letter LXII. See vol. xiii. p. 438.

END OF VOL. I.