



The Whole  
**Works** of Rev.  
**John**  
**Lightfoot**

*D.D., Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge*  
1602 - 1675

VOLUME 1  
*from the*  
1825 Edition in 13 Volumes

“The Whole Works of the Rev. John Lightfoot., D.D.” 1825 Edition in 13 volumes, is here reprinted by Hail & Fire, 2009.

Category: Religion, Christian, Protestant Reformed

**John Lightfoot**

1602 - 1675, D.D., Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

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Engraved by R. Cooper.

LIGHTFOOT.

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THE  
WHOLE WORKS  
OF THE LATE  
REV. JOHN LIGHTFOOT, D.D.

MASTER OF CATHARINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE:

EDITED THROUGHOUT

By THE REV. JOHN ROGERS PITMAN, A. M.

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IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES:  
ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAIT AND MAPS.

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VOLUME I.  
CONTAINING  
LIFE; PREFACES; LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS;  
INDEXES OF PLACES;  
SUBJECTS DISCUSSED; TALMUDIC AND GREEK WORDS;  
BATTLE WITH A WASP'S NEST, &c. &c.

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MDCCCXXV.

THE  
PREFACES 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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BY THE

REV. JOHN LIGHTFOOT, D.D.

MASTER OF CATHARINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

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Preacher at the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals.*

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MDCCCXXV.

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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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THE 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 unci 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.

JOHN 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.

Dr. 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 besit 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 hic antehac a duobus regibus fuerunt duo rectores, eximii nominis, meritorum non vulgarium, et quibus pares pepererunt 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 Dominiæ Margaretæ-Professor gravissimus doctissimusque. Huic fatis concedenti successi hic 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 regæ clementiæ derogare; est certæ ruinæ succumbere sub incerta suspitione. Forsan non indignatur rex clementissimus omnino; nam aquilæ 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. Exceptit supplicationem Pater Patriæ semper Augustus fronte serena, votis arrisit, donationem suam mihi indulsit, eam sigillo magno sanxit, et [quod aureis et immortalibus literis scriptum velim] cura sedula et quasi paterna sollicitè 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 voluimus, o carissima 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 deploras (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 magisve 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 diœcesanum: 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 excepit 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 forsân 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 nihilitatem 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, fiduciæ 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 anything 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 Rabbin 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 auspiciato 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. Altmg, 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.—"The esteem 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 impassioned 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;" "occursorily;" "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, Platarch, 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 accurationem in illis deprehendi, ut non potuerim non te magnificere, 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

\* Thus (by way of example), Dr. L.'s observation on St. Matthew xxvii. 16. fails in application, by his omitting to observe, that *ὁ υἱὸς ὁ σὸν* ought to be corrected into *ὁ υἱὸς ἡσων*. "This brings to my mind what Josephus relates to have been done in the besieging of the city, Σκοποὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων καθιζήμενοι προσημνούν, ἐπιτίταν σχασθῆν τὸ ὄργανον, καὶ ἡ πέτρα φέροντο, τῇ πατρὶν 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 בר, 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 Rabbinicisque 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. Aliquantenus progressus sum in Evangelio Lucæ, 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 explanation 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 acting 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 scrutinio et curiositate perquirere, atque investigare.—Dietet 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 eudere, 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, pleniorum, planiorum, certiorum 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. Esaiiah 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 להם חור, And they have not honour: ח, Cheth is in the name of Isaac, ואין להם חסד, And they have not mercy.

y, Ain is in the name of Jacob, וַאֲנִי לְיָקֹב, 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, לֹא יִרְבֶּה נָשִׁים, ‘ Heshall 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. Hoshaiā : 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), אַתְּ לֹא תִחַלְלוּ, You shall not profane my holy name. He that makes the ה a ה, destroys the world: for he makes this sense, אַתְּ לֹא תִחַלְלוּ, You shall not praise my holy name. It is written, כָּל הַנְּשָׁמָה תִּחְלַל הַיְי, 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, כָּל הַנְּשָׁמָה תִּחְלַל הַיְי, Let every thing that hath breath, profane the Lord. It is written, יִכְזְשׁוּ בִיהוָה, 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 אֵין קדוֹשׁ כִּדְהוּהוּ, 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 יְהוָה אֶחָד, 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. Chananiah 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. *Drunkness 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 ריוס 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 ך two hundred make one thousand four hundred. Seven times ם 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 ריוס 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 ט"ו '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

\* Allen's Modern Judaism.

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 Bashan, 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. Jochanansaith, 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 Shenj, 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 שְׁבִירִי. —"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 Messiah, 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; ‘Ἀφ’ 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 קרושים ‘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 שילוחים ‘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 Pharisaically 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 prophetae 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 ט 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 באסע, ‘ when the ark set forward ;’ and so is it also in the fifth verse of the next chapter, in the word כמותאנני, ‘ 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  $\eta$  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 *ממנו*, a blot:’ instead of *מאומנו* *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-denness 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) *משתדויתם 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  $\gamma$  and  $\phi$ ; for, whereas  $\gamma$  should properly be set before, according to the constant method of the Hebrew alphabet, it is not so here, but  $\phi$  set before, and  $\gamma$  after. The prophet, by this alteration of the letter  $\gamma$ , 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 לרריוש 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 memorabiliora 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, MDCLXXXIX 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.

“*Scripsit 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 Rabbiniis 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 répond 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 embarrassez quand on leur demande pourquoi ils ne batisent point par immersion, selon l'institution du batême, mais comme on le pratique depuis quelques siecles dans l'Eglise Romaine. Lightfoot, qui étoit instruit de la veritable 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 obligez 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'Evangile 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'Ecriture. Il pretend 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 necessaire 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 appuyez 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 verité sur des faits éloignes et de pure curiosité; mais il en traite plusieurs qui sont necessaires, 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 accomode 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 sembleroit 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 Evangeliques 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 premières 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 réimprimé 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, Hæures Hebraïques et Talmudiques*, ils crurent 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 crurent 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. *Franequera*, 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 restituisse. 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 whoredoms, 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.

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\* 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  $\zeta$  for  $\eta$ , 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.

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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 xiii<sup>th</sup> 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.*

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

<sup>c</sup> Present edition, vol. 2. p. 213.

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

† Present edition, vol. 2. p. 255.

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-

rity. 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  $\psi\psi\text{ים}$ , 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>1</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>1</sup> Present edition, vol. 2. p. 136, 137.

in I 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 כָּאֵרוּ, "they pierced my hands and my feet:" but, in our present Hebrew copies, it is כָּאֵרֵי יְדֵי וְרַגְלֵי, "As a lion, my hands and my feet." That there is a defect in all these Hebrew copies, and that it was formerly written כָּאֵרוּ, "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 נֹדַתֵּן כָּאֵרֵיָא 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 כָּאֵרֵי, the letter (כ) is twice found in the Bible with the vowel (ֵ), but in two different significations; and that the other place is Isa. xxxviii. 13, שׂוֹיֵתִי עַד בֹּקֶר, 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 כָּאֵרֵי 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 צִעְדָה עָלַי שׁוֹר 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 מִצְמִיחֵי מִיִּמִּינִי, and, in the Seventy, *ῥίζες 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 תִּרְעֶם 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 תִּרְעֶם 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 אֵינָה, "where are," which St. Paul follows, 1 Cor. xvi. 55; not אֵינִי "I will be thy plagues, O death." Though the conjecture of the very learned Dr. Pocock<sup>a</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, אֵינָה "where," not אֵינִי "I will be." Nor, I doubt, is there one example of אֵינִי 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 אֵינִי 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, הֵיךָ to be written defectively with an apocope. Again, Amos ix. 12

<sup>a</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 יִרְשׁוּ, “they shall seek;” for אֹתִי, the article of the accusative case, אֹתִי, *me*; and for אֲדוֹמִים *Edom*, אֲדָמָה *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, בְּלָעַם 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 בְּלָעַם, as כְּנַעַן, with pathach, 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, יְהוֹנָתָן (to be pointed as יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ, יִרְמְיָהוּ, יְהוֹנָתָן, not יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ, יִרְמְיָהוּ, יְהוֹנָתָן as it is falsely in our Hebrew Bibles) &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 יְהוָה, יְהוָה, יְהוָה &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, *הַמַּאֲמִינִין לֹא יִדְוִישׁוּ*, which our English translateth, "He that believeth, will not make haste:" but the Seventy render it, *οὐ μὴ κατασχυνθήσεται*, and St. Paul, Rom. ix. 33, *οὐ κατασχυνθήσεται*, "shall not be ashamed:" and the Chaldee paraphrase *לֹא יִדְעוּעוּן* 'shall not be troubled,' or 'disturbed;' and the Syriac, *לֹא נִדְחֵל*, '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 *דוּשׁ*, 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 'concupio' 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

<sup>o</sup> Not. Miscel. ad Port. Mos. cap. 1.

*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  $\text{לָעֵר}$  in Hebrew is *ἐναντίοσημον*, 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, reproved and inveighed 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 enamoured of their ancestors, and doted on their posterity, that he made the world only for their sake; and thought himself still so obliged 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 ורוח 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. ר"א 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 *אזעפא* to this purpose, “That about the time of the Messiah, impudencé should abound,” &c; and then

a little after, *בן מנוול אב בת קמה באמה כלה בחמותה אויבי איש*, אנושי ביתו, “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 וגרגר* ‘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 אגרות 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 אגרות 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 ישכיל 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 אלהים מרחפת, "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 Messiah." 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; בן על חובנו "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; כלנו כענא 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,” בשביל אברהם 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 Fœd. cap. 14. I will here set down as little as may be of it, for brevity’s sake, with an observation or two. התחיל 'הק"בה מתנה עמו וכו' "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 ἄργον, 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 בשילה, 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," οὐκ 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; נותנת מלכות לו וממשלה וחזקת דין ומגלים לו רזי תורה ונעשה כמעין שאינו פוסק וכנהר מתגבר וחולך 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"עה 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 והוציא אסור מפני שהוא מזבחי המתים  
 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 hu-  
 man affairs of importance, but especially in religious  
 matters. We may learn thus much, and smile into the bar-  
 gain, 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 ודרש ואותו היום היה תקופת תמוז נתקשרו שמים בעבים  
 ונראה כמין קשת בענן והיו מלאכי השרת מתקבצים לשמוע כבני אדם  
 שמתקבצים במומושי חתן וכלה : 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 tradi-  
 tional 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 sol-  
 stice): presently the heavens were covered with clouds;  
 and there appeared a kind of a bow in a cloud, and the mi-  
 nistering 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, 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

\* 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 30B<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 *ἀγγελοι*, 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 קדישים 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>a</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 authenticity 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 (ס) in מְאוֹמָהּ which signifieth *something* (as all translations render it); and written it מְאוֹמָהּ 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>a</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"ש 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 מואום. But enough of this trifle. Such, also, is his conjecture, p. 129°, concerning the reason of the transposition of the Hebrew letters (ע) 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 (ע); whereas (ע) 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 (ע) 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 וְלִבְנֵינוּ "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

° Present edition, vol. 2. p. 298.

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].