



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

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

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*from the*  
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**John Lightfoot**

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

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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 XI.  
CONTAINING  
HORÆ HEBRAICÆ ET TALMUDICÆ; OR,  
HEBREW AND TALMUDICAL EXERCITATIONS  
UPON THE  
GOSPELS OF ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK.

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TO  
HIS DEAR FRIENDS,  
THE  
STUDENTS OF CATHARINE-HALL,  
HEALTH.

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THOSE very arguments, which, first and chiefly, moved me to turn over the Talmudical writings, moved me also to this present work: so that, from the same reasons, whence that reading first proceeded, from them proceed also this fruit and benefit of it.

For, first, when all the books of the New Testament were written by Jews, and among Jews, and unto them;—and when all the discourses made there, were made in like manner by Jews, and to Jews, and among them;—I was always fully persuaded, as of a thing past all doubting, that that Testament could not but every where taste of, and retain, the Jews' style, idiom, form, and rule of speaking.

And hence, in the second place, I concluded, as assuredly, that, in the obscurer places of that Testament (which are very many) the best and most natural method of searching out the sense, is, to inquire how, and in what sense, those phrases and manners of speech were understood, according to

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 93.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 245.*

the vulgar and common dialect and opinion of that nation; and how they took them, by whom they were spoken, and by whom they were heard. For it is no matter, what we can beat out concerning those manners of speech on the anvil of our own conceit, but what they signified among them, in their ordinary sense and speech. And since this could be found out no other way, than by consulting Talmudic authors, who both speak in the vulgar dialect of the Jews, and also handle and reveal all Jewish matters; being induced by these reasons, I applied myself chiefly to the reading these books. I knew, indeed, well enough, that I must certainly wrestle with infinite difficulties, and such as were hardly to be overcome; yet, I undervalued them all, and armed myself with a firm purpose, that, if it were possible, I might arrive to a fuller and more deep knowledge and understanding of the style and dialect of the New Testament.

The ill report of those authors, whom all do so very much speak against, may, at first, discourage him, that sets upon the reading of their books. The Jews themselves stink in Marcellinus<sup>b</sup>; and their writings stink as much almost among all; and they labour under this, I know not what, singular misfortune, that, being not read, they displease; and that they are sufficiently reproached by those, that have read them;—but undergo much more infamy by those, that have not.

The almost unconquerable difficulty of the style, the frightful roughness of the language, and the amazing emptiness and sophistry of the matters

<sup>b</sup> Lib, xxii.

handled; do torture, vex, and tire him, that reads them. They do every where abound with trifles in that manner, as though they had no mind to be read; with obscurities and difficulties, as though they had no mind to be understood:—so that the reader hath need of patience all along, to enable him to bear both trifling in sense, and roughness in expression.

I, indeed, propounded three things to myself, while I turned them over, that I might, as much as I could, either undervalue those vexations of reading, or soften them, or recreate myself with them,—and that I might reap and enjoy fruit from them, if I could, and as much as I could.

I. I resolved with myself to observe those things, which seemed to yield some light to the Holy Scriptures, but especially either to the phrases, or sentences, or history, of the New Testament.

II. To set down such things in my note-books, which carried some mention of certain places in the land of Israel, or afforded<sup>d</sup> some light into the chorography of that land.

III. To note those things, which referred to the history of the Jews, whether ecclesiastical, or scholastic, or civil; or which referred to the Christian history, or the history of the rest of the world.

And now, after having viewed and observed the nature, art, matter, and marrow of these authors, with as much intention as we could, I cannot paint out, in little, a true and lively character of them better, than in these paradoxes and riddles:—There are no authors do more affright and vex the reader; and

<sup>c</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 94.

<sup>d</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 246.

yet there are none, who do more entice and delight him. In no writers, is greater or equal trifling; and yet in none, is greater or so great benefit. The doctrine of the gospel hath no more bitter enemies than they; and yet the text of the gospel hath no more plain interpreters. To say all in a word,—to the Jews their countrymen they recommend nothing but toys, and destruction, and poison; but Christians, by their skill and industry, may render them most usefully serviceable to their studies, and most eminently tending to the interpretation of the New Testament.

We here offer some specimen of this our reading and our choice, for the reader's sake, if so it may find acceptance with the reader. We know, how exposed to suspicion it is, to produce new things; how exposed to hatred the Talmudic writings are; how exposed to both, and to sharp censure also, to produce them in holy things. Therefore, this our more unusual manner of explaining Scripture cannot, upon that very account, but look for a more unusual censure, and become subject to a severer examination. But when the lot is cast, it is too late at this time to desire to avoid the sequel of it; and too much in vain in this place, to attempt a defence. If the work and book itself does not carry something with it, which may plead its cause, and obtain the reader's pardon and favour,—our oration, or begging epistle, will little avail to do it. The present work, therefore, is to be exposed, and delivered over, to its fate and fortune, whatsoever it be. Some there are, we hope, who will give it a milder and more gentle reception; for this very thing, dealing favourably and kindly with us,—that we have been intent upon

our studies,—that we have been intent upon the gospel,—and that we have endeavoured after truth: they will show us favour, that we followed after it,—and, if we have not attained it, they will pity us. But as for the wrinkled forehead, and the stern brow, we are prepared to bear them with all patience, being armed and satisfied with this inward patronage, that “we have endeavoured to profit.”

But this work, whatever it be, and whatever fortune it is like to meet with, we would dedicate to You, my very dear Catharine-Hall men, both as a debt, and as a desire. For by this most close bond and tie, wherewith we are united, to you is due all that we study, all that we can do; if so be that *all* is any thing at all. And when we desire to profit all (if we could) which becomes both a student and a Christian to do,—by that bond and your own merits, you are the very centre and rest of those desires and wishes. We are sufficiently conscious to ourselves, how little or nothing we can do either for the public benefit, or for yours: yet we would make a public profession, before all the world, of our desire and study; and, before you, of our inward and cordial affection.

Let this pledge, therefore, of our love and endearment be laid-up by you; and, while we endeavour to give others an account of our hours, let this give you an assurance of our affections. And may it last in Catharine-Hall, even to future ages, as a testimony of service, a monument of love, and a memorial both of me and you!

From my Study,  
The Calends of *June*, 1658.

HEBREW AND TALMUDICAL  
EXERCITATIONS

UPON

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

CHAP. I.

VER. 1: Βιβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. “The book of the generation of Jesus Christ.”] : עשרה יחסין עלו מבבל וגו' : “Ten<sup>b</sup> stocks came out of Babylon:” 1. כהני ‘Priests.’ 2. לוי ‘Levites.’ 3. ישראלי ‘Israelites.’ 4. חילילי ‘Common’ persons, as to the priesthood: such whose fathers, indeed, were sprung from priests, but their mothers unfit to be admitted to the priests’ marriage-bed. 5. גירי ‘Proselytes.’ 6. חרורי ‘Liberti,’ or servants set free. 7. מומרי ‘Nothi:’ such as were born in wedlock; but that which was unlawful. 8. נתני ‘Nethinims.’ 9. שתוקי ‘Bastards:’ such as came of a certain mother, but of an uncertain father. 10. אסופי “Such as were gathered up” out of the streets, whose fathers and mothers were uncertain.

A defiled generation indeed! and, therefore, brought up out of Babylon in this common sink, according to the opinion of the Hebrews, that the whole Jewish seed, still remaining there, might not be polluted by it. כי לא עלה עזרא מבבל עד : שעשא כסולת נקייה : “For Ezra went not up out of Babylon, until he had rendered it pure as flour.” They are the words of the Babylonian Gemara; which the Gloss explains thus; “He left not any there, that were illegitimate in any respect, but the priests and Levites only, and Israelites of a pure and undefiled stock. Therefore, he brought up with him these ten kinds of pedigrees, that these might not be mingled with those, when there remained now no more a Sanhedrim there, which might take care of that matter. Therefore, he brought them to Jerusalem, where care might<sup>c</sup> be taken by the San-

<sup>a</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 247.—English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 95.  
<sup>b</sup> Talm. in Kiddush. cap. 4. art. 1.      <sup>c</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 96.

hedrim fixed there, that the legitimate might not marry with the illegitimate.

Let us think of these things a little, while we are upon our entrance into the gospel-history:—

I. How great a cloud of obscurity could not but arise to the people concerning the original of Christ, even from the very return out of Babylon, when they either certainly saw, or certainly believed that they saw, a purer spring of Jewish blood there, than in the land of Israel itself!

II. How great a care ought there to be in the families of pure blood, to preserve themselves untouched and clean from this impure sink; and to lay-up among themselves genealogical scrolls from generation to generation, as faithful witnesses and lasting monuments of their legitimate stock and free blood!

Hear a complaint and a story in this case; “R. Jochanan<sup>d</sup> said, By the Temple, it is in our hand to discover, who are not of pure blood in the land of Israel: but what shall I do, when the chief men of this generation lie hid?” (that is, when they are not of pure blood, and yet we must not declare so much openly concerning them.) “He was of the same opinion with R. Isaac, who said, משפחות שונממעה נשמעה A family” (of the polluted blood) “that lies hid, let it lie hid. Abai also saith, We have learned this also by tradition, That there was a certain family called the family of Beth-zeripha, beyond Jordan, and a son of Zion removed it away.” (The Gloss is, Some eminent man, by a public proclamation, declared it impure.) “But he caused another, which was such” [that is, impure] “to come near. And there was another, which the wise men would not manifest.”

III. When it especially lay upon the Sanhedrim, settled at Jerusalem, to preserve pure families, as much as in them lay, pure still; and when they prescribed canons of preserving the legitimation of the people (which you may see in those things, that follow at the place alleged), there was some necessity to lay-up public records of pedigrees with them: whence it might be known, what family was pure, and what defiled. Hence<sup>e</sup> that of Simon Ben Azzai deserves our notice: “I saw (saith he<sup>f</sup>) a genealogical scroll in Jerusalem, in which it was thus written,—N, a bastard of a strange

<sup>d</sup> Hieros. Kiddush. fol. 65. 3. Bab. ibid. fol. 71.

<sup>e</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 248.

<sup>f</sup> Bab. Jevamoth, fol. 49. 2.

wife." Observe, that even a bastard was written in their public books of genealogy, that he might be known to be a bastard, and that the purer families might take heed of the defilement of his seed. Let that also be noted: "They found a book of genealogy at Jerusalem, in which it was thus written,—Hillel was sprung from David. Ben Jatsaph from Asaph. Ben Tsitsith Hacceseth from Abner. Ben Cobisin from Achab," &c. And the records of the genealogies smell of those things which are mentioned in the text of the Misna, concerning 'wood-carrying':—"The<sup>b</sup> priests' and people's times of wood-carrying were nine: On the first day of the month Nisan, for the sons of Erach, the son of Judah: the twentieth day of Tammuz, for the sons of David, the son of Judah: the fifth day of Ab, for the sons of Parosh, the son of Judah: the seventh of the same month, for the sons of Jonadab, the son of Rechab: the tenth of the same, for the sons of Senaah, the son of Benjamin," &c.

It is, therefore, easy to guess, whence Matthew took the last fourteen generations of this genealogy, and Luke the first forty names of his: namely, from the genealogical scrolls, at that time well enough known, and laid-up in the public *κειμήλια*, 'repositories,' and in the private also. And it was necessary, indeed, in so noble and sublime a subject, and a thing that would be so much inquired into by the Jewish people, as the lineage of the Messiah would be,—that the evangelists should deliver a truth, not only that could not be gainsaid; but also, that might be proved and established from certain and undoubted rolls of ancestors.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ "Of *Jesus Christ*."] That the name of 'Jesus' is so often added to the name of 'Christ' in the New Testament, is not only, that thereby Christ might be pointed out for the 'Saviour,'—which the name 'Jesus' signifies; but also, that Jesus might be pointed out for true 'Christ:' against the unbelief of the Jews; who though they acknowledged a certain Messiah, or Christ, yet they stiffly denied that Jesus of Nazareth was he. This observation takes place in numberless places of the New Testament; Acts ii. 36, viii. 35; 1 Cor. xvi. 22; 1 John ii. 22, iv. 15, &c.

Υἱοῦ Δαβὶδ "The *Son of David*."] That is, "the true Messiah." For, by no more ordinary, and more proper name, did the Jewish nation point out the Messiah, than by בן דוד

<sup>a</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 68. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Taanith, cap. 4. hal. 5.

“The Son of David.” See Matt. xii. 23, xxi. 9, xxiii. 42; Luke xviii. 38; and every where in the Talmudic writings, but<sup>l</sup> especially, in Bab. Sanhedrim<sup>k</sup>: where it is also discussed, What kind of times those should be, when the Son of David should come.

The things which are devised by the Jews concerning Messiah Ben Joseph (which the Targum upon Cant. iv. 5 calls ‘Messiah Ben Ephraim’), are therefore devised, to comply with their giddiness and loss of judgment, in their opinion of the Messiah. For, since they despised the true Messiah, who came in the time fore-allotted by the prophets, and crucified him; they still expect I know not what chimerical one, concerning whom they have no certain opinion: whether he shall be one, or two; whether he shall arise from among the living, or from the dead; whether he shall come in the clouds of heaven, or sitting upon an ass, &c: they expect a “Son of David;” but they know not whom, they know not when.

Ver. 2: Ἰουδᾶν “*Judas.*”] In Hebrew, יהודה ‘Jehudah.’ Which word not only the Greeks, for want of the letter *h* in the middle of a word, but the Jews themselves, do contract into יודה ‘Judah:’ which occurs infinite times in the Jerusalem Talmud. The<sup>l</sup> same person, who is called ר’ יוסי בי ר’ יהודה “R. Jose Bi R. Jehudah,”—in the next line, is called יהודה ר’ יוסי בי ר’ יהודה “R. Jose Bi R. Judah.” So also Schabb<sup>m</sup>. And this is done elsewhere<sup>n</sup> in the very same line.

Ver. 5: Βοὕζ ἐκ τῆς Ραχάβ. “*Booz of Rachab.*”] So far the Jewish writers agree with Matthew, that they confess Rachab was married to some prince of Israel, but mistaking concerning the person; whether they do this out of ignorance, or wilfully, let themselves look to that. Concerning this matter, the Babylonian Gemara<sup>o</sup> hath these words:—“Eight prophets, and those priests, sprang from Rachab, and they are these; Neriah, Baruch, Seraiah, Maaseiah, Jeremiah, Hilkiyah, Hanameel, and Shallum. R. Judah saith, Huldah also was of the posterity of Rachab.” And a little after, “There is a tradition, that she, being made a proselytess, was married to Joshua:” which Kimchi also produceth in Josh. vi. Here the Gloss casts in a scruple: “It sounds somewhat harshly (saith

<sup>l</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2, p. 97.

<sup>k</sup> Demai, fol. 22. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Jom. tobb, fol. 62. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Fol. 97. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Fol. 4. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Megill. fol. 14. 2.

it), that Joshua married one, that was made a proselyte; when it was not lawful to contract marriage with the Canaanites, though they became proselytes. Therefore, we must say, that she was not of the seven nations of the Canaanites, but of some other nation, and sojourned there. But others say, That that prohibition took not place before the entrance into the promised land," &c.

Ver. 8: Ἰωρὰμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ὀζίας. "And Joram begat Ozias." The names of Ahazias, Joash, and Amazias, are struck out. See the history in the Books of the Kings, and 1 Chron. iii. 11, 12.

I. The promise, that "the throne of David should not be empty," passed over, after a manner, for some time into the family of Jehu, the overthrower of Joram's family. For when he had razed the house of Ahab, and had slain Ahaziah<sup>p</sup>, sprung, on the mother's side, of the family of Ahab; the Lord promiseth him, that his sons should reign unto the fourth generation, 2 Kings x. 30. Therefore, however, the mean time the throne of David was not empty,—and that Joash and Amazias sat during the space between,—yet their names are not unfitly omitted by our evangelist, both because they were sometimes not very unlike Joram in their manners; and because their kingdom was very much eclipsed by the kingdom of Israel, when Ahazias was slain by Jehu; and his cousin Amazias taken and basely subdued by his cousin Joash, 2 Chron. xxv. 23.

II. זרע רשעים נכרת "The seed of the wicked shall be cut off," Psal. xxxvii. 28. Let the studious reader observe, that in the original, in this very place, the letter ע Ain, which is the last letter of רשע 'wicked; and of זרע 'seed,' is cut off, and is not expressed; when, by the rule of acrostic verse (according to which this Psalm is composed), that letter ought to begin the next following verse.

III. "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c. For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation," Exod. xx. 5.

Joram<sup>q</sup> walked in the idolatrous ways of the kings of Israel, according to the manner of the family of Ahab, 2 Kings viii. 18. Which horrid violation of the second command God visits upon his posterity, according to the

<sup>p</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 249.

<sup>q</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 98.

threatening of that command; and, therefore, the names of his sons are dashed out unto the fourth generation.

IV. The Old Testament also stigmatizeth that idolatry of Joram in a way, not unlike this of the New; and shows that family unworthy to be numbered among David's progeny, 2 Chron. xxii. 2: בן ארבעים ושתים שנה אחזיהו "Ahazias, the son of two-and-forty years: that is, not of his age (for he was not above two-and-twenty, 2 Kings viii. 26), but of the duration of the family of Omri, of which stock Ahazias was, on the mother's side; as will sufficiently appear to him, that computes the years. A fatal thing surely! that the years of a king of Judah should be reckoned by the account of the house of Omri.

V. Let a genealogical style, not much different, be observed, 1 Chron. iv. 1; where Shobal, born in the fifth or sixth generation from Judah, is reckoned, as if he were an immediate son of Judah. Compare chap. ii. 50.

In the like manner, Ezra vii, in the genealogy of Ezra, five or six generations are erased.

Ver. 11: 'Ιωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν 'Ιεχονίαν' "*And Josias begat Jechonias.*" The sons of Josias were these: The first-born, Jochanan; the second, Joachim; the third, Zedekiah; the fourth, Shallum," 1 Chron. iii. 15. Who this Shallum was, the Jerusalem Talmudists<sup>r</sup> do dispute: "R. Jochanan saith, Jochanan and Jehoachaz were the same. And when it is written, 'Jochanan, the first-born,' it means this; That he was the first-born to the kingdom: that is, he first reigned. And R. Jochanan saith, Shallum and Zedekias are the same. And when it is written, Zedekias the third,—Shallum, the fourth; he was the third in birth, but he reigned fourth." The same things are produced in the tract Sotah<sup>s</sup>. But R. Kimchi<sup>t</sup> much righter: "Shallum (saith he) is Jechonias, who had two names, and was reckoned for the son of Josias, when he was his grandchild" (or the son of his son); "for the sons of sons are reputed for sons." Compare Jer. xxii. ver. 11 with 24; and the thing itself speaks it. And that which the Gemarists now quoted, say,—Zedekiah was also called Shallum, שבימי שלמה מלכות בית דוד "because in his days Shalmah, an end, was put to the kingdom of the family of David:" this also agrees very fitly to Jechonias, Jer. xxii. 28—30.

<sup>r</sup> Shekal. fol. 49. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Fol. 22. 3.

<sup>t</sup> In Jer. xxiv. and 1 Chron. iii.

Ver. 12: Ἰεχουίας ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλαθιήλ. “*Jechonias beget Salathiel.*”] That is, “a son of the kingdom,” or successor in that dignity of the house of David, whatsoever it was,—which was altogether withered in the rest of the sons of Josiah, but did somewhat flourish again in him, 2 Kings xxv. 27. And hence it is, that of all the posterity of Josiah, Jechonias only is named by St. Matthew.

Jechonias, in truth, was ἄτεκνος, without children, Jer. xxii. 30; and Salathiel, properly speaking, was the son of Neri, Luke iii. 27: but yet Jechonias is said to beget him; not that he was truly his father, but that the other was his successor; not, indeed, in his kingly dignity, for that was now perished,—but in that which now was the chief dignity among the Jews. So, 1 Chron. iii. 16, Zedekias is called the son, either of Joakim, whose brother, indeed, he was,—or of Jechonias, whose uncle he was; because he succeeded him in the kingly dignity.

The Lord had declared, and that not without an oath, that Jechonias should be ערירי “without children.” The Talmudists do so interpret ערירי: “R. Judan saith, All they, of whom it is said, ערירי יהיו יהו, These shall be ἄτεκνοι, without children; they shall have no children. And those, of whom it is said, ערירים ימותו They shall die without children; they bury their children.”

So Kimchi, also, upon the place: “The word ערירי (saith he) means this; That his sons shall die in his life, if he shall now have sons: but if he shall not now have sons, he never shall. But our Rabbins of blessed memory say, That he repented in prison. And they say moreover, Oh! how much doth repentance avail, which evacuates a penal edict! for it is said, ‘Write ye this man childless:’ but, he repenting, this edict turned to his good,” &c. “R. Jochanan saith, His carrying away expiated. For when it is said, ‘Write this man childless,’—after the carrying away, it is said, ‘The sons of Coniah, Assir his son, Shealtiel his son.’” These things are in Babyl. Sanhedrim<sup>w</sup>, where these words are added, אסיר בנו שעברתו אמו בבית האסורין “Assir his son, because his mother conceived him in the house Haasurin, [of bonds, or] in prison.”

But the words in the original are these, ובני יכניה אסר,

<sup>w</sup> Hieros. in Schabb. fol. 9. 3.

<sup>v</sup> Fol. 27. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 250.

<sup>x</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 99.

בני שאלתִיאל which are thus to be rendered; "Now the sons of Jechonias bound [or imprisoned] were Shealtiel his son." Which version both the accents and the order of the words confirm:—for Zakeph, hung over אסר, to which Munach beneath יכניה serves,—persuades, that it is a conjunct construction; to wit, that יכניה 'Jechoniah,' and אסר 'bound' should be joined together, that is, a substantive and an adjective. And the word בנו "his son," placed after שאלתִיאל 'Shealtiel,' not after אסר 'bound,' fixeth the genealogy in 'Salathiel,' not in אסר Assir at all.

Ver. 16: *Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἄνδρα Μαρίας.* "And Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary." משפחה : אמ אין קרויה משפחה: "The<sup>y</sup> mother's family is not to be called a family." Hence the reason may very easily be given, why Matthew brings down the generation to Joseph, Mary's husband; but Luke to Eli, Mary's father. These two frame the genealogy two ways, according to the double notion of the promise of Christ. For he is promised, as the 'seed of the woman,' and as the 'son of David;' that, as a man,—this, as a king. It was, therefore, needful, in setting down his genealogy, that satisfaction should be given concerning both. Therefore, Luke declareth him the promised seed of the woman, deducing his mother's stock, from whence man was born, from Adam;—Matthew exhibits his royal original, deriving his pedigree along through the royal family of David to Joseph, his (reputed) father.

Ver. 17: *Γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες* "Fourteen generations." Although all things do not square exactly in this threefold number of "fourteen generations," yet there is no reason, why this should be charged as a fault upon Matthew,—when, in the Jewish schools themselves, it obtained for a custom,—yea, almost for an axiom,—to reduce things and numbers to the very same, when they were near alike. The thing will be plain by an example or two, when a hundred almost might be produced.

Five calamitous things are ascribed to the same day, that is, to the ninth day of the month Ab. "For that day (say they<sup>2</sup>) it was decreed, That the people should not go into the promised land: the same day, the first Temple was laid waste, and the second also: the city Bitter was destroyed, and the city Jerusalem ploughed up." Not that

<sup>1</sup> Juclas. fol. 53. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Taanith, cap. 4. art. 6.

they believed all these things fell out precisely the same day of the month; but, as the Babylonian Gemara notes upon it, זכאי וחובה ליום הייב “ That they might reduce a fortunate thing to a holy day,—and an unfortunate, to an unlucky day.”

The Jerusalem Gemara<sup>a</sup>, in the same tract, examines the reason, why the daily prayers consist of the number of eighteen,—and, among other things, hath these words;—“ The daily prayers are eighteen, according to the number of the eighteen Psalms, from the beginning of the Book of Psalms to that Psalm, whose beginning is, ‘ The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble ’” [which Psalm, indeed, is the twentieth Psalm]. “ But if any object, That nineteen Psalms reach thither,—you may answer, The Psalm which begins, ‘ Why did the heathen rage,’ is not of them,” a distinct Psalm. Behold with what liberty they fit numbers to their own case.

Inquiry is made, whence the number of the thirty-nine more principal servile works, to be avoided on the sabbath-day, may be proved. Among other, we meet with these words; אלה הדברים דבר דברי דברים “ R. Chaninah<sup>b</sup> of Zippor saith, in the name of R. Abhu, אֵלֶּף ‘ Aleph’ denotes one, לָמֶד ‘ Lamed’ thirty, הָא ‘ He’ five, דָּבָר ‘ Dabar’ one, דְּבָרִים ‘ Debarim’ two. Hence are the forty works, save one, concerning which it is written in the law. The Rabbins of Cæsarea say, Not any thing is wanting out of his place: אֵלֶּף ‘ Aleph’ one, לָמֶד ‘ Lamed’ thirty, חֵת ‘ Cheth’ eight: our profound doctors do not distinguish between He and Cheth:” that they may fit numbers to their case; for אֵלֶּה ‘ these,’ they write אֵלֶּה, and change הָ He and חֵת Cheth at their pleasure.

“ R. Joshua Ben Levi saith<sup>c</sup>, In all my whole life I have not looked into the [*mystical*] book of Agada, but once; and then I looked into it, and found it thus written, A hundred and seventy-five sections of the law; where it is written, דָּבָר אָמַר צוֹה ‘ He spake, he said, he commanded,’ they are for the number of the years of our father Abraham.” And a little after; “ A hundred and forty-and-seven Psalms, which are written in the Book of the Psalms [*note this number*], are for the number of the years of our father Jacob. Whence this is hinted<sup>d</sup>, that all the praises, wherewith the Israelites

<sup>a</sup> Taanith, fol. 65. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Schabb. fol. 9. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. fol. 15. 3.

<sup>d</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 100.

praise God, are according to the years of Jacob. Those hundred and twenty-and-three times, wherein the Israelites answer Hallelujah, are according to the number of the years of Aaron," &c.

They do so very much delight in such kind of concerts, that they oftentimes screw up the strings beyond the due measure, and stretch them, till they crack. So that, if a Jew carps at thee, O divine Matthew, for the unevenness of thy fourteens,—out of their own schools and writings thou hast that, not only whereby thou mayest defend thyself, but retort upon them.

Ver. 18<sup>e</sup>: *Μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ* “*When as his mother was espoused.*”] No woman of Israel was married, unless she had been first espoused. “Before the giving of the law (saith Maimonides<sup>f</sup>), if the man and the woman had agreed about marriage, he brought her into his house, and privately married her. But after the giving of the law, the Israelites were commanded, that, if any were minded to take a woman for his wife, he should receive her, first, before witnesses; and thenceforth let her be to him a wife,—as it is written, *כִּי יִקַּח אִישׁ אִשָּׁה* ‘If any one take a wife.’ This *taking* is one of the affirmative precepts of the law, and is called ‘espousing.’” Of the manner and form of espousing, you may read, till you are weary, in that tractate, and in the Talmudic tract, Kiddushin.

*Πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς* “*Before they came together.*”] “In many places, the man espouseth the woman; but doth not bring her home to him, but after some space of time.” So the Gloss<sup>g</sup> upon Maimonides.

Distinction is made by the Jewish canons, and that justly and openly, between *ידור* ‘private society or discourse,’ between the espouser and the espoused, and *הכנסה* ‘the bringing’ of the espoused into the husband’s house. Of either of the two may those words be understood, *πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς*, “before they came together,”—or, rather, of them both. He had not only not brought her home to him, but he had no manner of society with her alone, beyond the canonical limits of discourse, that were allowed to unmarried persons; and yet she was found with child.

*Εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα* “*She was found with child.*”] Namely, after the space of three months from her concep-

<sup>e</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2, p. 251.    <sup>f</sup> *In אִשָּׁה cap. 1.*    <sup>g</sup> *Ad אִשָּׁה cap. 3.*

tion, when she was now returned home from her cousin Elisabeth. See Luke i. 56, and compare Gen. xxxviii. 24.

The masters of the traditions<sup>b</sup> assign this space, to discover a thing of that nature. "A woman (say they) who is either put away from her husband, or become a widow, neither marrieth, nor is espoused, but after ninety days: namely, that it may be known, whether she be big with child or no; and that distinction may be made between the offspring of the first husband, and of the second. In like manner, a husband and wife, being made proselytes, are parted from one another for ninety days, that judgment may be made between children begotten in holiness" (that is, within the true religion; see 1 Cor. vii. 14), "and children begotten out of holiness."

Ver. 19: Ἰωσήφ δὲ δίκαιος ὄν, &c. "But Joseph, being a just man," &c.] There is no need to rack the word δίκαιος, just, to fetch out thence the sense of gentleness or mercy, which many do:—for, construing the clauses of the verse separately, the sense will appear clear and soft enough. "Joseph, being a just man," could not, would not, endure an adulteress: "but yet not willing παραδειγματίσαι to make her a public example," being a merciful man, and loving his wife, "was minded to put her away privily."

Παραδειγματίσαι, "To make her a public example."] This doth not imply death, but rather public disgrace, לפריסמה "to make her public." For it may, not without reason, be inquired, whether she would have been brought to capital punishment, if it had been true, that she had conceived by adultery. For although there was a law promulged of punishing adultery with death, Lev. xx. 10, Deut<sup>i</sup>. xxii. 22,—and, in this case, she that was espoused, would be dealt withal after the same manner, as it was with her, who was become a wife; yet so far was that law modified, that I say not weakened, by the law of giving a bill of divorce, Deut. xxiv. 1, &c, that the husband might not only pardon his adulterous wife, and not compel her to appear before the Sanhedrim, but scarcely could, if he would, put her to death. For why otherwise was the bill of divorce indulged?

Joseph, therefore, endeavours to do nothing here, but what he might, with the full consent both of the law and

<sup>b</sup> Maim. in Gerushin, cap. 11. et Talm. in Jebammoth, cap. 4. et Chetuboth, cap. 5, largely.  
<sup>i</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 101.

nation. The adulteress might be put away; she that was espoused, could not be put away, without a bill of divorce; concerning which thus the Jewish laws<sup>j</sup>: "A woman is espoused three ways; by money, or by a writing, or by being lain with. And being thus espoused, though she were not yet married, nor conducted into the man's house, yet she is his wife. And if any shall lie with her beside him, he is to be punished with death by the Sanhedrim. And if he himself will put her away, he must have a bill of divorce."

Λάθρα ἀπολύσαι αὐτήν. "Put her away privily." Let the Talmudic tract 'Gittin' be looked upon, where they are treating of the manner of delivering a bill of divorce to a wife to be put away: among other things, it might be given privately, if the husband so pleased, either into the woman's hand or bosom, two witnesses only present.

Ver. 23: Ἴδου, ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει. "Behold, a virgin shall be with child." That the word *parthenos*, in the prophet, denotes an 'untouched virgin,' sufficiently appears from the sense of the place, Isa. vii. 14. King Ahaz there was afraid, lest the enemies, that were now upon him, might destroy Jerusalem, and utterly consume the house of David<sup>k</sup>. The Lord meets this fear by a signal and most remarkable promise,—namely, 'that sooner should a pure virgin bring forth a child, than the family of David perish.' And the promise yields a double comfort:—namely, of Christ hereafter, to be born of a virgin; and of their security from the imminent danger of the city and house of David. So that, although that prophecy, of a virgin's bringing forth a son, should not be fulfilled till many hundreds of years after,—yet, at that present time, when the prophecy was made, Ahaz had a certain and notable sign, that the house of David should be safe and secure from the danger, that hung over it. As much as if the prophet had said, "Be not so troubled, O Ahaz; does it not seem an impossible thing to thee, and that never will happen, that a pure virgin should become a mother? But I tell thee, a pure virgin shall bring forth a son, before the house of David perish."

Hear this, O unbelieving Jew! and show us now some remainders of the house of David: or confess this prophecy fulfilled in the Virgin's bringing forth: or deny that a sign was given, when a sign is given.

<sup>j</sup> Maimon. in *משעא* cap. 1.

<sup>k</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 252.

§ *In what Language Matthew wrote his Gospel.*

"Ὁ ἔστι μεθερμηνεύμενον" "Which is, being interpreted."] I. All confess, that the Syriac language was the mother-tongue to the Jewish nation dwelling in Judea: and that the Hebrew was not at all understood by the common people, may especially appear from two things:—

1. That, in the synagogues, when the law and the prophets were read in the original Hebrew, an interpreter was always present to the reader, who rendered, into the mother-tongue, that which was read, that it might be understood by the common people. Hence<sup>1</sup> those rules of the office of an interpreter, and of some places, which were not to be rendered into the mother-tongue.

2. That Jonathan, the son of Uzziel, a scholar of Hillel, about the time of Christ's birth, rendered all the prophets (that is, as the Jews number them, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the Books of the Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve lesser prophets) into the Chaldee language,—that is, into a language much more known to the people than the Hebrew, and more acceptable than the mother-tongue. For if it be asked, Why he translated them at all, and why he translated not rather into the mother-tongue, which was known to all?—and if it be objected concerning St. Matthew and St. Paul, that, writing to the Jews, one his Gospel, the other his Epistle (to the Hebrews<sup>m</sup>), they must have written in the Syriac tongue (if so be they wrote not in Hebrew), that they might be understood by all;—we answer,

First, It was not without reason, that the paraphrast Jonathan translated, out of the Hebrew original, into the Chaldee tongue, because this tongue was much more known and familiar to all the people, than the Hebrew. The holy text had need of an interpreter into a more known tongue, because it was now in a tongue not known at all to the vulgar. For none knew the Hebrew, but such as learned it by study. However, therefore, all the Jews, inhabiting the land of Canaan, did not so readily understand the Chaldee language, as the Syriac, which was their mother-language, —yet they much readilier understood that, than the Hebrew, which, to the unlearned, was not known at all. Hence it

<sup>1</sup> Bab. Megill. fol. 25, &c. Massech. Sopherim, cap. 11, 12, &c.

<sup>m</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 102.

was not without necessity, that the prophets were turned into the Chaldee language by Jonathan,—and the law, not much after, by Onkelos,—that they might a little be understood by the common people, by whom the Hebrew original was not understood at all. We<sup>n</sup> read, also, that the Book of Job had its Targum in the time of Gamaliel the elder,—that is, Paul's master.

Secondly, It is no impertinent question, Why Jonathan and Onkelos did not rather translate into the Syriac language, which was the mother-language to all the people, when both they themselves were in Judea, while they were employed about this work, and laboured in it for the use of the Jews that dwelt there? To which we give this double answer; 1. That, by turning it into the Chaldee language, they did a thing, which might be of use both to them, that dwelt in Judea, and in Babylon also. 2. The Syriac language was not so grateful unto the Jews, who used it for their mother-tongue,—as the Chaldee was, as being a language more neat and polite, and the mother-tongue to the brethren in Babylon, and which they that came up out of Babylon, carried thence with them into Judea. You may wonder, reader, when you hear that canon, which permits a single man “to say his prayers in any language, when he asks those things, that are needful for him, except only the Syriac. *יחיד שואל צרכיו אומר בכל לשון חוץ מלשון ארמון*: While<sup>o</sup> he asketh necessaries for himself, let him use any language but the Syriac.” But you will laugh, when you hear the reason: “Therefore, by all means, because the angels do not understand the Syriac language.”

Whether they distinguish the Syriac language here from the pure Chaldee, is not of great moment solicitously to inquire: we shall only produce these things of the Glosser upon Beracoth<sup>p</sup>, which make to our purpose:—“There are some (saith he) who say, that that prayer, which begins *קדיש*, is therefore to be made in the Syriac language, because it is a noble prayer, and that deserves the highest praise; and therefore it is framed in the Targumistical language, that the angels may not understand it, and envy it to us,” &c. And a little after; “It was the custom to recite that prayer *קדיש אחר הדרשה*, after sermon: and the common people were

<sup>n</sup> Hieros. Schabb. fol. 15. col. 3.

<sup>o</sup> פסקי הראש אשׁ i. e. R. Oshaiæ Rabbe. See Juchas. fol. 84. 1. in Beracoth, cap. 2, et Bab. Schab. fol. 12. 2. et Sotah, fol. 33. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Fol. 3. 1.

there present, who understood not the Hebrew language at all; and, therefore, they appointed it to be framed in the Targumistical language, that it might be understood<sup>q</sup> by all: for this is their tongue."

Mark, the Hebrew was altogether unknown to the common people: no wonder, therefore, if the evangelists and apostles wrote not in Hebrew, when there were none, who understood things so written, but learned men only.

That, also, must not be passed over, which, at first sight, seems to hint, that the Syriac language was not understood even by learned men. "Samuel the Little<sup>r</sup>, at the point of death, said, שמעון וישמעאל להרבא Simeon and Ismael to the sword; ושאר כל עמא לביזה and all the other people to the spoil: ועקין סגיאין דויין: ולא ידעו מה אמר And because he spoke these things in the Syriac language, they understood not what he had said." This story you have repeated in the Babylonian Gemara, where the words of the dying man are thus related; שמעון וישמעאל להרבא וחבריה לקשלא ושאר עמא: לביא ועקין סגיאין עתירין למיתין על עלמא: Let the Glosser<sup>s</sup> upon the place be the interpreter: "Simeon and Ismael to the sword [that is, Rabban Simeon the prince, and R. Ismael Ben Elisha the high-priest, were slain with the sword], and his fellows to slaughter [that is, R. Akibah and R. Chananiah Ben Teradion were slain by other deaths; namely, R. Akibah by iron teeth,—and R. Chananiah, by burning alive before idols]; and the other people for a prey; and very many calamities shall fall upon the world."

Now where it is said, "That they understood not what he said, because he spake in the Syrian tongue," we also do not easily understand. What! for the Jerusalem doctors not to understand the Chaldee language! For Samuel the Little died before the destruction of the city; and he spake of the death of Rabban Simeon, who perished in the siege of the city; and he spake these things, when some of the learnedest Rabbins were by: and yet, that they understood not these words, which even a smatterer in the oriental tongues would very easily understand!

Therefore, perhaps, you may beat out the sense of the matter from the words of the author of Juchasin<sup>t</sup>, who saith,

<sup>q</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 253.

<sup>r</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 11. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Hieros. Sotah, fol. 24. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Juchas. fol. 21. 1.

“He prophesied in the Syriac language,” *התנבא בלשון ארמי*. But now, when prophecies were spoken only in the Hebrew language, however they understood<sup>t</sup> the sense of the words, yet they reputed it not for a prophecy, because it was not uttered in the language, that was proper for prophetic predictions. But we tarry not here. That which we would have, is this,—that Matthew wrote not in Hebrew (which is proved sufficiently by what is spoken before), if so be we suppose him to have written in a language, vulgarly known and understood,—which, certainly, we ought to suppose: not that he, nor the other writers of the New Testament, writ in the Syriac language, unless we suppose them to have written in the ungrateful language of an ungrateful nation, which, certainly, we ought not to suppose. For when the Jewish people were now to be cast off, and to be doomed to eternal cursing, it was very improper, certainly, to extol their language, whether it were the Syriac mother-tongue, or the Chaldee, its cousin language, unto that degree of honour,—that it should be the original language of the New Testament. Improper, certainly, it was, to write the gospel in their tongue, who, above all the inhabitants of the world, most despised and opposed it.

II. Since, therefore, the Gentiles were to be called to the faith, and to embrace the gospel by the preaching of it, the New Testament was writ very congruously in the Gentile language, and in that, which, among the Gentile languages, was the most noble,—viz. the Greek. Let us see, what the Jews say of this language, envious enough against all languages besides their own.

“Rabban Simeon” Ben Gamaliel saith, Even concerning the holy books, the wise men permitted not, that they should be writ in any other language, than Greek. R. Abhu saith, that R. Jochanan said, The tradition is according to Rabban Simeon: that R. Jochanan said, moreover, Whence is that of Rabban Simeon proved? From thence, that the Scripture saith, ‘The Lord shall persuade Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Sem:’ the words of Japhet shall be in the tents of Sem:” and a little after, *יפת אלהים ליפת*, “God shall persuade Japhet; i. e. *יפירתו של יפת ידה באהלי שם*. The grace of Japhet shall be in the tents of Sem.” Where the Gloss speaks thus; “The grace of Japhet’ is the Greek

<sup>t</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 103.

<sup>u</sup> Megillah, fol. 9. 2.

language; the fairest of those tongues, which belong to the sons of Japhet."

"Rabban Simeon<sup>v</sup> Ben Gamaliel saith, Even concerning the sacred books, they permitted not, that they should be written in any other language than Greek. They searched seriously, and found, שאין התורה יכולה להתרגם כל צורכה אלא, that the law could not be translated according to what was needful for it, but in Greek." You have this latter clause cut off in *Massecheth Sopherim*<sup>w</sup>, where this story also is added: "The five elders wrote the law in Greek for Ptolemy the king: and that day was bitter to Israel, as the day wherein the golden calf was made, because the law could not be translated according to what was needful for it." This story of the 'five interpreters' of the law, is worthy of consideration, which you find seldom mentioned, or scarce any where else. The tradition next following after this, in the place cited, recites the story of the Seventy. Look it.

When, therefore, the common use of the Hebrew language had perished, and when the mother Syriac or Chaldee tongue of a cursed nation, could not be blessed,—our very enemies being judges, no other language could be found, which might be fit to write the (new) divine law, besides the Greek tongue. That this language was scattered, and in use<sup>x</sup> among all the eastern nations almost, and was, in a manner, the mother-tongue,—and that it was planted every where by the conquests of Alexander, and the empire of the Greeks,—we need not many words to prove; since it is every where to be seen in the historians. The Jews do well near acknowledge it for their mother-tongue even in Judea.

"R. Jochanan<sup>y</sup> of Beth Gubrin said, There are four noble languages, which the world useth; the mother-tongue, for singing; the Roman, for war; the Syriac, for mourning; and the Hebrew, for elocution: and there are some who say, the Assyrian for writing." What is that which he calls the mother-tongue? It is very easily answered,—the Greek, from those encomiums added to it, mentioned before: and that may more confidently be affirmed from the words of Midras Tillin<sup>z</sup>, respecting this saying of R. Jochanan, and mentioning the Greek language by name. "R. Jochanan said, There

<sup>v</sup> Hieros. Megill. fol. 71. 3.

<sup>w</sup> Cap. 1. artic. 7.

<sup>x</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 254. <sup>y</sup> Hieros. Megill. in the place above, col. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Midr. Till. fol. 25. 4.

are three languages; the Roman, for war; the Greek, for speech; the Assyrian, for prayer." To this also belongs that, that occurs once and again in Bab. Megillah<sup>a</sup>, בלעו יוני "In the Greek mother-tongue." You have an instance of the thing<sup>b</sup>: "R. Levi, coming to Cæsarea, heard some קדיין שמוע אלניסתין reciting the phylacteries in the Hellenistical language." This is worthy to be marked. At Cæsarea flourished the famous schools of the Rabbins. רבנין דקיסרין "The Rabbins of Cæsarea" are mentioned in both Talmuds most frequently, and with great praise,—but especially in that of Jerusalem. But yet among these, the Greek is used as the mother-tongue, and that in reciting the phylacteries,—which, you may well think, above all other things, in Judea were to be said in Hebrew.

In that very Cæsarea, Jerome mentions the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, to be laid-up in the library of Pamphilus, in these words: "Matthew, who was also called Levi, from a publican made an apostle, first of all in Judea composed the gospel of Christ in Hebrew letters and words, for their sakes, who were of the circumcision and believed. Which gospel, who he was that afterward translated it into Greek, it is not sufficiently known. Moreover, that very Hebrew gospel is reserved to this day in the library at Cæsarea, which Pamphilus, the martyr, with much care, collected. I also had leave given me by the Nazarenes, who use this book in Berea, a city of Syria, to write it out."

It is not at all to be doubted, that this gospel was found in Hebrew; but that which deceived the good man, was not the very hand-writing of Matthew, nor, indeed, did Matthew write the Gospel in that language; but it was turned by somebody out of the original Greek into Hebrew, that so, if possible, the learned Jews might read it. For since they had little kindness for foreign books, that is, heathen books, or such as were written in a language different from their own, which might be illustrated from various canons, concerning this matter; some person converted to the gospel, excited with a good zeal, seems to have translated this Gospel of St. Matthew out of the Greek original, into the Hebrew language, that learned men among the Jews, who as yet believed not, might perhaps read it, being now published in

<sup>a</sup> Fol. 18. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Sotah, fol. 21. 2

<sup>c</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 104.

their language: which was rejected by them, while it remained in a foreign speech. Thus, I suppose, this Gospel was written in Greek by St. Matthew, for the sake of those, that believed in Judea,—and turned into Hebrew by somebody else, for the sake of those, that did not believe.

The same is to be resolved concerning the original language of the Epistle to the Hebrews. That Epistle was written to the Jews inhabiting Judea, to whom the Syriac was the mother-tongue; but yet it was writ in Greek, for the reasons above named. For the same reasons, also, the same apostle writ in Greek to the Romans, although in that church there were Romans, to whom it might seem more agreeable to have written in Latin; and there were Jews, to whom it might seem more proper to have written in Syriac.

CHAP. II.

*A Calculation of the Times, when Christ was born.*

VER. 1: Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος. “*Now when Jesus was born.*”] We thus lay down a scheme of the times, when Christ was born:—

I. He was born in the year of the world 3928.

For from the creation of the world to the deluge, are commonly reckoned 1656 years.

From the deluge to Abraham’s promise, are 427 years. This being supposed, that Abraham was born the 130th year of Terah: which must be supposed.

From the promise given, to the going out of Egypt, 430 years, Exod. xii. 40, Gal. iii. 17.

From the going out of Egypt, to the laying the foundations of the Temple, are 480 years, 1 Kings vi. 1.

The Temple was building 7 years, 1 Kings vi. 38. Casting up, therefore, all these together, viz.

1656
427
430
480
7
—

The sum of years amounts to 3000

And it is clear, the building of the Temple was finished and completed in the year of the world 3000.

The Temple was finished in the eleventh year of Solomon, 1 Kings vi. 38 : and thence to the revolting of the ten tribes, in the first year of Rehoboam, were 30 years. Therefore, that revolt was in the year of the world 3030.

From<sup>d</sup> the revolt of the ten tribes to the destruction of Jerusalem under Zedekiah were three hundred and ninety years : which appears sufficiently from the chronical computation of the parallel times of the kings of Judah and Israel : and which is implied by Ezekiel, iv. 4—6: "Thou<sup>e</sup> shalt sleep upon thy left side, and shalt put the iniquities of the house of Israel upon it, &c. according to the number of the days, three hundred and ninety days. And when thou shalt have accomplished them, thou shalt sleep upon thy right side the second time, and shalt take upon thee the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days. Concerning the computation of these years, it is doubted, whether those forty years are to be numbered together within the three hundred and ninety years, or by themselves, as following after those three hundred and ninety years. We, not without cause, embrace the former opinion, and suppose those forty years to be included within the sum of the three hundred and ninety ; but mentioned by themselves particularly, for a particular reason. For by the space of forty years before the destruction of the city by the Chaldeans, did Jeremiah prophesy daily, namely, from the third year of Josias to the sacking of the city : whom the people not hearkening to, they are marked for that peculiar iniquity with this note.

Therefore, these three hundred and ninety years being added to the year of the world, 3030, when the ten tribes fell off from the house of David, the age of the world, when Jerusalem perished, arose to the year 3420.

At that time there remained fifty years of the Babylonian captivity to be completed. For those remarkable seventy years took their beginning from the third year of Jehoiakim, Dan. i. 1, whose fourth year begins the Babylonian monarchy, Jer. xxv. 1. And, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, the Temple was destroyed, 2 Kings xxv. 8, when now the twentieth year of the captivity passed : and other fifty remained : which fifty being added to the year of the world 3420, a year fatal to the Temple, the years of the world amount, in the first year of Cyrus, unto 3470.

<sup>d</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 105.

<sup>e</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 255.

From the first of Cyrus to the death of Christ, are seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years, Dan. ix. 24. Add these to the three thousand four hundred and seventy, and you observe Christ crucified in the year of the world 3960. When, therefore, you have subtracted thirty-two years and a half, wherein Christ lived upon the earth, you will find him born in the year of the world 3928.

II. He was born in the one-and-thirtieth year of Augustus Cæsar, the computation of his monarchy beginning from the victory at Actium. Of which matter, thus Dion Cassius writes: *Τοιαύτη τις ἡ ναυμαχία αὐτῶν τῇ δευτέρῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον, &c.* "This<sup>f</sup> their sea-fight was on the second of September: and this I speak upon no other account (for I am not wont to do it), but because then Cæsar first obtained the whole power: so that the computation of the years of his monarchy must be precisely reckoned from that very day." We confirm this our computation, by drawing down a chronological table from this year of Augustus to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, when Christ, having now completed the nine-and-twentieth year of his age, and entering just upon his thirtieth, was baptized. Now this table, adding the consuls of every year, we thus frame:—

A. M.	A. U. C.	Augus- tus.	A. D.	CONSULS.
3928	754	31	1	Cæs. Aug. XIV. and L. Æmil. Paulus.
3929	755	32	2	Publius Vinicius and Pub. Alfenus Varus.
3930	756	33	3	L. Ælius Lamia, and M. Servilius.
3931	757	34	4	Sext. Æmilius Carus, and C. Sentius Saturninus.
3932	758	35	5	L. Valerius Messala, and Cn. Corn. Cinna Magn.
3933	759	36	6	M. Æmil. Lepidus, and L. Aruntius.
3934	760	37	7	A. Licin. Nerv. Silanus, and Q. Cæcil. Metell. Cret.
3935	761	38	8	Furius Camillus, and Sext. Nonius Quintilianus.
3936	762	39	9	Q. Sulpit. Camarin. and C. Poppæus Sabinus.

<sup>f</sup> Dion. Cass. lib. 51. in the beginning.

A. M.	A. U. C.	Augus- tus.	A. D.	CONSULS.
3937	763	40	10	Pub. Corn. Dolabella, and C. Junius Silanus.
3938	764	41	11	M. Æmil. Lepid. and T. Statilius Taurus.
3939	765	42	12	Germanicus Cæs. and C. Fonteius Capito.
3940	766	43	13	L. Munatius Plancus, and C. Silius Cæcina.
3941	767	44	14	Sext. Pomp. Sexti F. and Sext. Apuleius Sexti F.

Augustus Cæsar died the 19th day of August: on which day he had formerly entered upon the first consulship. He<sup>g</sup> lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days. He bore the empire alone, from the victory at Actium, forty-four years, wanting only thirteen days.

“Tiberius<sup>h</sup> held the empire in great slothfulness, with grievous cruelty, wicked covetousness, and filthy lust<sup>i</sup>.”

A. M.	A. U. C.	Tibe- rius.	A. D.	CONSULS.
3942	768	1	15	Drusus Cæs. and C. Norbanus Flaccus.
3943	769	2	16	C. Statil. Sisenna Taurus, and Scribonius Libo.
3944	770	3	17	C. Cæcil. Rufus, and L. Pomponianus Flaccus.
3945	771	4	18	Tiber. Cæs. Aug. III. and Germanicus Cæs. II.
3946	772	5	19	M. Julius Silanus, and L. Norban. Flac. vel Balbus.
3947	773	6	20	M. Valerius Messala, and M. Aurel. Cotta.
3948	774	7	21	Tiber. Cæs. Aug. IV. and Drusus Cæs. II.
3949	775	8	22	D. Haterius Agrippa, and C. Sulpitius Galba.
3950	776	9	23	C. Asinius Pollio, and C. Antistius Veter.
3951	777	10	24	Sext. Cornel. Cethegus, and Visellius Varro.

<sup>g</sup> Dion. Cass. lib. 56.

<sup>h</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 106.—Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 256.

<sup>i</sup> Eutrop. lib. 7.

A. M.	A. U. C.	Tibe- rius.	A. D.	CONSULS.
3952	778	11	25	M. Asinius Agrippa, and Cossus Cornel. Lentulus.
3953	779	12	26	Cn. Lentulus Getulicus, and C. Calvisius Sabinus.
3954	780	13	27	M. Licinius Crassus, and P. L. Calphurnius Piso.
3955	781	14	28	Appius Jul. Silanus, and P. Silvius Nerva.
3956	782	15	29	C. Rubellius Geminus, and C. Fusius Geminus.

In the early spring of this year, came John baptizing. In the month Tisri, Christ is baptized, when he had now accomplished the nine-and-twentieth year of his age, and had now newly entered upon his thirtieth. The thirtieth of Christ is to be reckoned with the sixteenth of Tiberius.

Of Augustus, now entering upon his one-and-thirtieth year, wherein Christ was born, Dion Cassius hath moreover these words: Πληρωθείσης δὲ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας, τὴν ἡγμονίαν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἐκβιασθεὶς δὴξεν ὑπεδέξατο, πρώτως τε καὶ ὀκνηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως. "Having now completed thrice ten years, being compelled, indeed, to it, he continued his government, and entered upon a fourth ten of years: being now more easy and slothful, by reason of age." In this very year, was the taxation under Cyrenius, of which Luke speaks, chap. ii. So that if it be asked, When the fifth monarchy of the Romans arose, after the dissolution of those four mentioned by Daniel,—an easy answer may be fetched from St. Luke, who relates, that, in that very year, wherein Christ was born, Augustus laid a tax upon the whole world.

III. Christ was born in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Herod: which we gather from the observation of these things:—1. Herod<sup>i</sup> reigned, from that time he was first declared king by the Romans, seven-and-thirty years. 2. Between the death of Herod, and the death of Augustus, there was this space of time:—

1. The<sup>j</sup> ten years current of the reign of Archelaus.

2. Coponius<sup>k</sup> succeeds him, banished to Vienna, in the presidentship of Judea.

<sup>i</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 10.

<sup>j</sup> Id. ibid. c. 15.

<sup>k</sup> Id. ibid. and lib. 18. c. 1.

3. Marcus Ambibuchus succeeds Coponius.

4. Annus Rufus<sup>1</sup> succeeds Ambibuchus, during whose presidentship Augustus dies.

Since, therefore, only fourteen years passed from the nativity of Christ to the death of Augustus, out of which sum when you shall have reckoned the ten years current of Archelaus, and the times of the three presidents, we must reckon that Christ was not born, but in the last years of Herod. Thus we conjecture :

In his thirty-fifth, Christ was born.

In his thirty-seventh, now newly begun, the wise men came : presently after this, was the slaying of the infants,—and, after a few months, the death of Herod.

IV. Christ was born about the twenty-seventh year of the presidentship of Hillel in the Sanhedrim.

The rise of the family of Hillel took its beginning at the decease of the Asmonean family (Herod, indeed, succeeded in the kingly government) ; a family sprung from Babylon, and, as was believed, of the stock of David. For<sup>m</sup> “ a book of genealogy was found at Jerusalem ” (which we mentioned before), “ in which it was written, that Hillel was sprung from the stock of David, by his wife, Abital.” Now Hillel went up out of Babylon to Jerusalem, to inquire of the wise men concerning some things, when now, after the death of Shemaia and Abtalion, the two sons of Betira held the chief seats. And when he, who had resorted thither to learn something, had taught them some things of the Passover rites, which they had forgot, they put him into the chair. You have the full story of it in the Jerusalem Talmud<sup>n</sup>. We mention it, chap. xxvi. 1.

Now Hillel went up to Jerusalem, and took the chair, a hundred years before the destruction of the city : *הילל ישמעון* “ Hillel<sup>o</sup> and<sup>p</sup> his son Simeon, and his son Gamaliel, and his son Simeon, bare the government, for a hundred years, before the laying waste of the Temple.” Of those hundred years if you take away two-and-thirty and a half of the life of Christ, and forty years (as it is commonly computed) coming between the death of Christ, and the destruction of the city, there remain<sup>q</sup> the twenty-seven years of Hillel before the birth of our Saviour.

<sup>1</sup> Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Pesachim, fol. 33. 1.

<sup>p</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 107.

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 68. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Bab. Schabb. fol. 15. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 257.

Hillel held the government forty years : so that his death happened about the twelfth or thirteenth year of Christ. His son also held it after him, and his grandsons, in a long succession, even to R. Judah the Holy. The splendour and pomp of this family of Hillel, had so obscured the rest of the families of David's stock, that perhaps they believed or expected the less, that the Messiah should spring from any of them. Yea, one in the Babylonian Gemara was almost persuaded, that "Rabbi Judah the Holy, of the Hillelian family, was the Messiah. רבנו דקדוש מן דיין כגון רבינו דקדוש Rabh<sup>r</sup> said, If Messiah be among the living, our Holy Rabbi is such : if among the dead, Daniel was he."

V. Christ was born in the month of Tisri; somewhat answering to our September. This we conclude, omitting other things, by computing backwards from his death. For if he died in his two-and-thirtieth year and a half, at the feast of the Passover, in the month Nisan, you must necessarily lay the time of his birth in the month Tisri. But that he died at that age, not to make any delay by mentioning more things, appears hence,—that he was baptized now beginning his thirtieth year, and that he lived after his baptism three years and a half; as the space of his public ministry is determined by the angel Gabriel, Dan. ix; "In the half of a week" (that is, three years and a half), "he shall make the sacrifice to cease," &c. But of this hereafter.

This month was ennobled in former times, 1. For the creation of the world. Weigh well Exod. xxiii. 15, Joel ii. 23. 2. For the nativity of the first fathers; which the Jews<sup>s</sup> assert not without reason. 3. For the repairing the tables of the law. For Moses, after the third fast of forty days, comes down from the mountain, a messenger of good things, the tenth day of this month, which was from hence appointed for the feast of Expiation to following ages. 4. For the dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 2. And, 5. For three solemn feasts,—namely, that of the Beginning of the Year, that of Expiation, and that of Tabernacles. From this month, also, was the beginning of the Jubilee.

VI. It is probable, Christ was born at the feast of Tabernacles.

1. So it ariseth exactly to three-and-thirty years and a half, when he died at the feast of the Passover.

<sup>r</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 98. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Hieros. Rosh Hashanah, fol. 56. 4.

2. He fulfilled the typical equity of the Passover and Pentecost, when, at the Passover, he offered himself for a pass-over,—at Pentecost, he bestowed the Holy Ghost from heaven, as at that time the law had been given from heaven. At that time, the first-fruits of the Spirit were given by him (Rom. viii. 23), when the first-fruits of corn had been wont to be given, Levit. xxiii. 17. It had been a wonder, if he had honoured the third solemnity,—namely, the feast of Tabernacles,—with no antitype.

3. The institution of the feast of Tabernacles agrees excellently with the time of Christ's birth. For when Moses went down from the mount on the tenth day of the month Tisri, declaring that God was appeased, that the people was pardoned, and that the building of the holy tabernacle was forthwith to be gone in hand with (hitherto hindered by, and because of, the golden calf), seeing that God now would dwell among them, and forsake them no more; the Israelites immediately pitch their tents, knowing they were not to depart from that place, before the divine tabernacle was finished, and they set upon this work with all their strength. Whence the tenth day of that month, wherein Moses came down, and brought this good news with him,—was appointed for the feast of Expiation; and the fifteenth day, and seven days after, for the feast of Tabernacles, in memory of their dwelling in tents in the wilderness, when God dwelt in the midst of them: which things with how aptly typical an aspect they respect the incarnation, when God dwelt among men in human flesh, is plain enough.

4. Weigh Zech. xiv. 16, 17: "And it shall come to pass, that every one, that is left of all the nations, which came against Jerusalem, shall even go up, from year to year, to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of Tabernacles. And it shall be, that whoso will not come up of all the families of the earth unto Jerusalem, to worship the King, the Lord of hosts,—even upon them shall be no more rain."

Ἐν Βηθλεέμ. "In Beth-lehem."] It will not be improper here to produce the Gemarists themselves, openly confessing, that the Messiah was born now a good while ago before their times. For so they write: "After<sup>t</sup> this, the children of Israel shall be converted, and shall inquire after the Lord their

<sup>t</sup> Hieros. Beracoth, fol. 5. 1.

A mystr of the Abg type

God, and David their king, Hos. iii. 5. Our Rabbins say, That is king Messias: if he<sup>u</sup> be among the living, his name is David; or if dead, David is his name. R. Tanchum said, Thus I prove it: 'He showeth mercy to David his Messiah' (Psal. xviii. 50). R. Josua Ben Levi saith, His name is צמח 'A branch' (Zech. iii. 8). R. Judan Bar Aibu saith, His name is Menahem [that is, παράκλητος, the comforter]. And that which happened to a certain Jew, as he was ploughing, and hearing the ox bellow, said to the Jew at plough, 'O Jew, loose thy oxen, and loose thy ploughs; for behold! the Temple is laid waste.' The ox bellowed the second time; the Arabian said to him, O Jew, Jew, yoke thy oxen, and fit thy ploughs, א"ל בר יודא יודא קטור תוריד וקטור קנאניך דהא יליד מלכא : משוּדא: for behold! King Messiah is born.' But, saith the Jew, 'What is his name?' 'Menahem,' saith he. 'And what is the name of his father?' 'Hezekiah,' saith the Arabian. To whom the Jew, 'But whence is he?' The other answered, 'From the palace of the king of Beth-lehem Judah.' Away he went, and sold his oxen, and his ploughs, and became a seller of infants' swaddling-clothes, going about from town to town. When he came to that city [Beth-lehem], all the women bought of him, but the mother of Menahem bought nothing. He heard the voice of the women saying, 'O thou mother of Menahem, thou mother of Menahem, carry thy son the things, that are here<sup>v</sup> sold.' But she replied, 'May the enemies of Israel be strangled, because, on the day that he was born, the Temple was laid waste!' To whom he said, 'But we hoped, that as it was laid waste at his feet, so at his feet it would be built again.' She saith, 'I have no money.' To whom he replied, 'But why should this be prejudicial to him? Carry him what you buy here; and if you have no money to-day, after some days I will come back and receive it.' After some days he returns to that city, and saith to her, 'How does the little infant?' And she said, 'From the time you saw me last, spirits and tempests came, and snatched him away out of my hands.' R. Bon saith, What need have we to learn from an Arabian? Is it not plainly written, 'And Lebanon shall fall before the powerful One?' (Isa. x. 34.)

David  
Tsemuch  
M'nahem

Abg

Abg

\* Elyah

<sup>u</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 108.

<sup>v</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 258.

\* See Vol 12 p 88

of Schamen ben Z

b. And what follows after? 'A branch shall come out of the root of Jesse'" (Isa. xi. 1).

The Babylonian doctors yield us a confession not very unlike the former: "R. Chaninah<sup>w</sup> saith, After four hundred years are past from the destruction of the Temple, if any one shall say to you, 'Take to thyself for one penny, a field worth a thousand pence,' do not take it." And again; "After four thousand two hundred thirty-and-one years from the creation of the world, if any shall say to you, 'Take for a penny a field worth a thousand pence,' take it not." The Gloss is, "For that is the time of redemption; and you shall be brought back to the holy mountain, to the inheritance of your fathers: why, therefore, should you mispend your penny?"

You may fetch the reason of this calculation, if you are at leisure, out of the tract Sanhedrim\*: "The tradition of the school of Elias, The world is to last six thousand years," &c. And a little after; "Elias said to Rabh Judah, 'The world shall last not less than eighty-five jubilees; and, in the last jubilee, shall the son of David come.' He saith to him, 'Whether in the beginning of it, or in the end?' He answered him, 'I know not.'—'Whether is this whole time to be finished first, or not?'—He answered him, 'I know not.'—But Rabh Asher asserts, that he answered thus, 'Until then expect him not, but from thence expect him.'" Hear your own countrymen, O Jew, how many centuries of years are past by and gone from the eighty-fifth jubilee of the world, that is, the year 4250, and yet the Messias of your expectation is not yet come. *12 of the world*

Daniel's weeks had so clearly defined the time of the true Messias's coming, that the minds of the whole nation were raised into the expectation of him. Hence it was doubted of the Baptist, whether he were not the Messias, Luke iii. 15. Hence it was, that the Jews are gathered together from all countries unto Jerusalem [Acts ii], expecting, and coming to see, because, at that time, the term of revealing the Messias, that had been prefixed by Daniel, was come. Hence it was, that there was so great a number of false Christs, Matt. xxiv. 5, &c, taking the occasion of their impostures hence, that now the time of that great expectation was at hand, and fulfilled: and in one word, "They thought the kingdom of God should presently appear;" Luke xix. 11.

\* Avodah Zarah, fol. 9. 2.

× Fol. 97.

But when those times of expectation were past, nor did such a Messias appear, as they expected (for when they saw the true Messias, they would not see him), they first broke out into various, and those wild, conjectures of the time; and at length all those conjectures coming to nothing, all ended in this curse (the just cause of their eternal blindness), תפח ריחן של מחשבי קצין "May their soul be confounded, who compute the times!"

Μάγοι ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν, ["Wise men from the east."] Μάγοι, 'Magi,' that is wizards, or such as practised ill arts: for in this sense alone this word occurs in holy writ.

"From the east:"—This more generally denotes as much as, 'Out of the land of the heathen,' in the same sense as 'the queen of the south' is taken, Matt. xii. 42; that is, 'a heathen queen.' Consider this passage in the Talmud, מרקם למזרח ורקם כמזרח מאשקלון לדרום ואשקלון כדרום מעכו לצפון ועכו כצפון "From Rekam to the east, and Rekam is as the east: from Ascalon to the south, and Ascalon is as the south: from Acon to the north, and Acon is as the north." These words R. Nissim<sup>2</sup> quotes from R. Judah, and illustrates it with this Gloss, "From Rekam to the farthest bounds of the land eastward, is heathen land; and Rekam itself is reckoned for the east of the world, and not for the land of Israel. So also from Ascalon onwards to the south is the heathen country, and Ascalon itself is reckoned for the south;" that is, for heathen land.

Those countries, where the sons of Abraham by his wife Keturah were dispersed, are more particularly called the 'eastern' countries, Gen. xxv. 6, Judg. vi. 3, and elsewhere often. And hence came these first-fruits of the Gentiles: whence it is not unlikely, that Jethro also came, the first proselyte to the law. And that which is spoken by the Gemara concerning the Arabian, the first pointer-out of the Messias born, is perhaps some shadow of this story of the magicians' coming out of Arabia, and who first publicly declared him to be born.

Ver. 2: Εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστὴρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ. "For we have seen his star in the east." We, being in the east, have seen his star:"—that heavenly light, which, in that very night wherein the Saviour was born, shone round about the shepherds of Beth-lehem, perhaps was seen by these magicians,

<sup>1</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> In Gittin, cap. 1. art. 1.

being then a great distance off, resembling a star hanging over Judea; whence they might the more easily guess, that the happy sign belonged to the Jews.

Ver. 4<sup>a</sup>: Καὶ συναγαγὼν πάντας τοὺς Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ; “*And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together.*”] That is, he assembled the Sanhedrim. Herod is said, by very many authors, to have slain the Sanhedrim; but this is neither to be understood of the whole Sanhedrim; nor, if it were to be understood of the whole, would it denote the total subversion of the Sanhedrim. The Babylonian Gemarists do thus relate the story: “*Herod<sup>b</sup> was a servant of the Asmonean family. He cast his eyes upon a young maid [of that family]. On a certain day he heard the Bath Kol [a voice from heaven] saying, Whatsoever servant shall now rebel, shall prosper. He arose up against his masters, and slew them all.*” And a little after; “*Herod said, Who is there, that interprets these words, ‘Thou shalt set a king over thee out of the midst of thy brethren?’ (Deut. xvii. 15.) The Rabbins [interpreted the words]. He rose up and slew all the Rabbins, leaving only Bava Ben Buta, with whom he consulted.*”

Herod was to overcome two difficulties, that he might, with the peace and favour of the Jews, become their king. For, although he had been raised unto the kingdom by the Romans, nevertheless, that he might establish his throne, the people remaining quiet and accepting him, first it seemed necessary to him, that the Asmonean family should be removed out of the way, which, formerly governing the people, they had some affection and love for, and which still remaining, he suspected he could scarce be secure. Secondly, that law of setting no king over them, but of their brethren, debarred him, since he himself was of the stock of Edom. Therefore, he took away all those Rabbins, who, adhering stiffly to this law, opposed, what they could, his coming to the kingdom. “*But all the Rabbins indeed he slew not (saith the Gloss upon the place alleged); for the sons of Betira were left alive, who held the chair, when Hillel came out of Babylon.*”

Therefore, he slew not all the elders of the Sanhedrim, but those only, who, taking occasion from that law, opposed his access to the kingdom. Out of that slaughter the two

<sup>a</sup> Leuslen's edition, vol. 2. p. 259.

<sup>b</sup> Bava Bathra, fol. 3. 2.

sons of Betira escaped, who held the first places in the Sanhedrim, after the death of Shemaiah and Abtalion. Shammai also escaped, who, according as Josephus relates, foretold this slaughter. Hillel escaped likewise, if he were then present,—and Menahem, who certainly was there, and who thenceforth sat second in the chair. Bava Ben Buta escaped also, as the Gemara relates, who afterward persuaded Herod, that he should repair the Temple, to expiate this bloody impiety. And others escaped.

'Αρχιερείς' "The chief priests."] When the Sanhedrim consisted of priests, Levites, and Israelites (as Maimonides<sup>e</sup> teacheth), under the word 'Αρχιερείς, 'chief priests,' are comprehended the two former,—namely, whosoever of the clergy were members of the Sanhedrim; and under the "scribes of the people," are comprehended all those of the Sanhedrim, who were not of the clergy.

*hohen am ha arec*

Among<sup>d</sup> the priests were divers differences:—

I. Of the priests some were called כהני עם הארץ, as if you would say, "The Plebeian priests;" namely, such, who indeed were not of the common people, but wanted school education, and were not reckoned among the learned, nor among such, as were devoted to religion. For seeing the whole seed of Aaron was sacerdotal, and priests were not so much made, as born,—no wonder, if some ignorant and poor were found among them. Hence is that distinction, עניי ישראל ועניי כהנים מלקטין "The<sup>e</sup> poor Israelites and the poor priests are gatherers." כהן חבר וכהן עם הארץ "A Votary priest, and a Plebeian priest." And caution is given, שאין תרומה לכהן עם הארץ "That<sup>f</sup> the oblation be not given to a Plebeian priest." And the reason of it is added,—"Because whosoever giveth an oblation to a Plebeian priest, doth all one, as if he should give it to a lion,—of which it may be doubted, whether he will tread it under his feet, and eat it, or not. So it may be doubted of a Plebeian priest, whether he will eat it in cleanness or in uncleanness." However ignorant and illiterate these were, yet they had their courses at the altar according to their lot, being instructed, at that time, by certain rules, for the performing their office, appointed them by lot. You would stand amazed to read those things<sup>g</sup>, which are

<sup>e</sup> In Sanhedr. cap. 2.

<sup>d</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 110.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Trumoth, fol. 44. 1. & 2.

<sup>f</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 90. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Joma, cap. 1.

supposed concerning the ignorance and rudeness even of the high-priest himself.

II. There were others who were called *כהנים הדיוטות* "Idiot, or private, priests;" who although they both were learned, and performed the public office at the altar, yet were called 'Private,' because they were priests of a lower, and not of a worthier, order.

III. The worthier degree of priests was fourfold, besides the degree of the high-priest, and of the sagan, his substitute. For, 1. There were *ראש משמר* "the heads of the Ephemerics," or courses: in number, twenty-four. 2. There were *ראש בית אב* "the heads of the families" in every course. Of<sup>h</sup> both, see the Jerusalem Talmud. 3. *ממונים שהיו במקדש* "The presidents over the various offices in the Temple." Of them, see *Shekalim*<sup>i</sup>. 4. Any priests, or Levites, indeed (although not of these orders), that were chosen into the chief Sanhedrim. *Ἀρχιερείς*, 'chief priests,' therefore, here and elsewhere, where the discourse is of the Sanhedrim, were they, who, being of the priestly or Levitical stock, were chosen into that chief senate.

*Γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ* "The scribes of the people." *סופר* 'A scribe,' denotes more generally any man learned<sup>j</sup>, and is opposed to the word *בור* 'rude,' or clownish. "Two<sup>k</sup>, who ate together, are bound to give thanks each by themselves, *סופרים* *כששניהם* when both of them are scribes: But if one be a scribe, and the other ignorant [or a clown], let the scribe give thanks, and thence satisfaction is made for the duty of the ignorant," or unlearned person. So we read of *סופרי כותיים* "The<sup>l</sup> scribes of the Samaritans;" that is, the learned among the Samaritans: for among them there were no traditionarians.

More particularly, *סופרים* 'scribes,' denote such, who, being learned and of scholastic education, addicted themselves especially to handling the pen, and to writing. Such were the public notaries in the Sanhedrim, registrars in the synagogues, amanuenses, who employed themselves in transcribing the law, phylacteries, short sentences to be fixed upon the door-posts, bills of contracts, or divorce, &c. And in this sense *ספרא* 'a scribe,' and *תנא* 'a Talmudic

<sup>h</sup> Taanith, fol. 68. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Cap. 5.

<sup>j</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 260.

<sup>k</sup> Bab. Berac. fol. 45. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Bab. Sotah, fol. 33. 2.

doctor,' are sometimes opposed; although he was not תנא 'Tanna,' a Talmudic doctor, who was not ספרא 'Sophra,' a scribe, in the sense above mentioned. In<sup>m</sup> the Babylonian Talmud, it is disputed (a passage not unworthy our reading), what disagreement in calculation may be borne with between תנא 'an expounder' out of the chair, or the pulpits, and ספרא 'a writer,' of contracts, or bills of divorce, or a register, &c. in reckoning up the year of the Temple, of the Greek empire, &c. Concerning which matter, this, among other things, is concluded on, ספרא בצירא תנא תוספאה, that "a scribe computes more briefly,—a doctor, more largely." It will not repent one to read the place; nor that whole tract, called מסכת סופרים 'The tract of the scribes;' which dictates to the scribes of that sort, of which we are now speaking, concerning writing out the law, the phylacteries, &c.

But, above all others, the fathers of the traditions are called 'scribes' (who were, indeed, the elders of the Sanhedrim): which is clear enough in these, and such-like expressions: דברי סופרים חביבים מדברי תורה "The words of the scribes are more lovely, than the words of the law;" that is, traditions are better than the written law: זה מדברי סופרים "This is of the words of the scribes;" that is, 'this is from the traditionary decrees.'

These, therefore, whom Matthew calls 'the scribes of the people,' were those elders of the Sanhedrim, who were not sprung from the sacerdotal or Levitical stock, but of other tribes: the elders of the Sanhedrim, sprung of the blood of the priests, were the 'scribes of the clergy:' the rest were 'the scribes of the people.'

We<sup>n</sup> may, therefore, guess, and that no improbable conjecture, that, in this assembly, called together by Herod, these were present, among others:—1. Hillel, the president. 2. Shammai, vice-president. 3. The sons of Betira, Judah, and Joshua. 4. Bava Ben Buta. 5. Jonathan, the son of Uzziel, the Chaldee paraphrast. 6. Simeon, the son of Hillel.

Ver. 6: Οὐδ' αὐμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ. "Art not the least."] These words do not at all disagree with the words of the prophet, whence they are taken, Micah v. 2, צעיר להיות באלפי יהודה, which I thus render, "But thou, Beth-lehem Ephrata, it is a small thing that thou art" [or, art reckoned] "among the thou-

<sup>m</sup> Avodah Zarah, fol. 9. 1, &c.

<sup>n</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 111.

sands of Israel;" for thou art to be crowned with higher dignity; "for from thee shall go forth a ruler," &c. And in effect to this sense, unless I mistake, does the Chaldee paraphrast plainly render it, whom I suspect to be present at this very council, : כועיר דהיתא לארמנאח : "Thou art within a little, to become chief." See the same sense of the word ועיר in the Targum upon Psal. lxxiii. 2, Hos. i. 4, &c.

Ver. 9: Ἀστὴρ, ὃν εἶδον ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, προήγεν αὐτούς: "The star, which they saw in the east, went before them." It is probable, the star had shone in the very birthnight: and thenceforward to this very time it had disappeared. The wise men had no need of the star to be their guide, when they were going to Jerusalem, a city well known; but going forward thence to Beth-lehem, and that, as it seems, by night, it was their guide.

Ver. 14: Ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. "Departed into Egypt." Egypt was now replenished with Jews above measure, and that, partly, by reason of them, that travelled thither under Jochanan, the son of Kareah, Jer. xliii; partly, with them that flocked thither, more latewardly, to the temple of Onias, of which Josephus<sup>d</sup> writes, and both Talmuds<sup>e</sup>: "When Simeon the Just said, 'I shall die this year,'—they said to him, 'Whom, therefore, shall we put in thy place?' He answered, : הנה בני נחונין; Behold! my son Onias is before you.' They made Onias, therefore, high-priest. But his brother Simeon envied him. Onias, therefore, fled, first into the Royal Mountain, and then into Egypt, and built there an altar, repeating that of the prophet, 'In that day, there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of Egypt.'"

"He<sup>f</sup> that hath not seen the cathedral church of Alexandria, hath never seen the glory of Israel. It was after the manner of a court-walk, double cloistered. There were sometimes there so many, as doubly exceeded the number of those that went out of Egypt. There were seventy golden chairs set with gems, according to the number of the seventy elders. A wooden pulpit also placed in the middle, in which the bishop of the synagogue stood. And when the law was read, after every benediction, a sign being given by a private person, waving a handkerchief, they all answered, 'Amen.'

<sup>d</sup> Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 6.

<sup>e</sup> In Menacoth, c. 13. et Succah, c. 5. Hieros. Joma, fol. 43. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Id. Succah, fol. 55. 1, 2.

But they sat not confusedly and mixedly together: but every artificer<sup>1</sup> with the professors of the same art: so that if a stranger came, he might mingle himself with the workmen of the same trade, &c. These did wicked Trajan destroy," &c.

The Babylonian Gemara<sup>r</sup> repeats almost the same things, alleging these last matters after this manner: "They sat not confusedly, but the artificers by themselves, the silversmiths by themselves, the braziers by themselves, the weavers by themselves, &c; so that if a poor stranger came in, he might know his own fellow-workmen, and betake himself to them, and thence receive sustenance for himself, and family.

So provision was made for the poverty of Joseph and Mary, while they sojourned in Egypt (at Alexandria, probably), partly, by selling the presents of the wise men, for food and provision by the way; and partly, by a supply of victuals from their country-folks in Egypt, when they had need.

There are some footsteps, in the Talmudists, of this journey of our Saviour into Egypt, but so corrupted with venomous malice and blasphemy (as all their writings are), that they seem only to have confessed the truth, that they might have matter the more liberally to reproach him; for so they speak: "When<sup>s</sup> Jannai the king slew the Rabbins, R. Josua Ben Perachiah, and Jesus, went away unto Alexandria in Egypt. Simeon Ben Shetah sent thither, speaking thus, 'From me Jerusalem the holy city, to thee, O Alexandria in Egypt, my sister, health. My husband dwells with thee, while I, in the mean time, sit alone. Therefore<sup>t</sup>, he rose up, and went.'" And a little after; "He brought forth four hundred trumpets, and anathematized"<sup>u</sup> [Jesus]. And a little before that; "Elisæus turned away Gehazi with both his hands, and R. Josua Ben Perachiah thrust away Jesus with both his hands."

"Did<sup>n</sup> not Ben Satda bring enchantments out of Egypt in the cutting, which was in his flesh?" Under the name of 'Ben Satda' they wound our 'Jesus' with their reproaches, although the Glosser upon the place, from the authority of R. Tam, denies it: for thus he; "R. Tam saith, This was not Jesus of Nazareth, because they say here, Ben Satda was in the days of Paphus, the son of Judah, who was in the days

<sup>1</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 261.

<sup>r</sup> Succah, fol. 51. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 107. 2.

<sup>t</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 112.

<sup>u</sup> Schabb. fol. 104. 2.

of R. Akiba: but Jesus was in the days of R. Josua, the son of Perachiah," &c.

Ver. 16: Ἀπὸ διστοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω. "From two years old, and under." It was now two years ago, or thereabouts, since the star had shone, and Christ was born. The reason of the tarrying of Joseph and Mary in Beth-lehem, was this,—that they believed, that the Messias, who, according to the prophet, was born there, should have been brought up no where but there also; nor dared they to carry him elsewhere, before they had leave so to do by an angel from heaven.

The Jewish nation are very purblind, how and whence the Messias shall arise; and "Nemo novit, no man knows, whence the Son of man is," John vii. 27; that is, from what original. אין מי דמיא דהא אין מי דמבייא דהא It was doubted, "whether he should come from the living, or from the dead." Only it was confessed by all without controversy, that he should first make some show of himself from Beth-lehem, which the priests and scribes of the people assert, ver. 4. Hence you have Christ now in his second year at Beth-lehem, whither Joseph and Mary had again betaken themselves with him, when they had now presented him in the Temple, according to the law, being forty days old, Luke ii. 22. And they had taken care for his education in this place, and not elsewhere, until he himself, going forth from hence, might show himself openly the Messias, if they had not been sent away somewhere else, by permission from heaven.

Ver. 23: Ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται. "He shall be called a Nazarene." Those things which are brought, from Isa. xi. 1, concerning נצר 'Netzer,' the branch; and those things also produced concerning Samson the Nazarite, a most noble type of Christ,—have their weight, by no means to be despised. We add, that Matthew may be understood concerning the outward, humble, and mean condition of our Saviour. And that, by the word Ναζωραῖος, 'Nazarene,' he hints his 'separation' and 'estrangement' from other men, as a despicable person, and unworthy of the society of men.

I. Let it be observed, that the evangelist does not cite some one of the prophets, but all: τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν, "spoken by the prophets." But now all the prophets, in a manner, do preach the vile and abject condition of Christ; none, that his original should be out of Nazareth.

† Hieros. Berac. fol. 5. 1.

II. David, in his person, speaks thus, : מוֹרָר הָיִיתִי לְאֶחָי : "I was a stranger to my brethren," Psal. lxi. 9.

III. If you derive the word Ναζωραῖος, 'Nazarene,' which not a few do, from נזיר 'Nazir,' a Nazirean,—that word denotes, not only a 'separation,' dedicated to God, such as that of the Nazarenes was; but it signifies, also, the separation of a man from others, as being unworthy of their society; Gen. xlix. 26, "They shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him, that was separate from his brethren."

Therefore, let us digest the sense of the evangelist by this paraphrase:—Joseph was to depart with Christ to Beth-lehem, the city of David, or to Jerusalem, the royal city, had not the fear of Archelaus hindered him. Therefore, by the signification of an angel, he is sent away into Galilee, a very contemptible country,—and into the city Nazareth, a place of no account: whence, from this very place, and the name of it, you may observe that fulfilled to a tittle, which is so often declared by the prophets, that the Messiah should be 'Nazor,' a 'stranger,' or 'separate' from men, as if he were a very vile person, and not worthy of their company.

CHAP. III<sup>w</sup>.

VER. 1<sup>s</sup>: Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστῆς κηρύσσει ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. "John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness of Judea." ] That John was born in Hebron, one may not unfitly conjecture, by comparing Luke i. 39, with Josh. xxi. 11; and that he was born about the feast of the Passover,—namely, half a year before the nativity of our Saviour, Luke i. 36. So the conceptions and births of the Baptist and our Saviour, ennobled the four famous tekuphas [revolutions] of the year: one, being conceived at the summer solstice,—the other, at the winter; one, born at the vernal equinox,—the other, at the autumnal.

"John lived in the deserts, until he made himself known unto Israel," Luke i. 80. That is, if the pope's school may be interpreter, he led the life of a hermit. But,

I. Be ashamed, O Papist, to be so ignorant of the sense of the word Ἐρημος, 'wilderness,' or 'desert;' which, in the common dialect, sounds all one, as if it had been said, "He

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 113.

<sup>x</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 262.

Desert

x lived in the country, not in the city; his education was more coarse and plain in the country, without the breeding of the university, or court at Jerusalem." תודה היתה ה" סאין " An<sup>y</sup> oblation for thanksgiving consists of five Jerusalem seahs, which were in value six seahs of the wilderness;" that is, six country seahs.

" A Jerusalem<sup>z</sup> seah exceeds a seah of the wilderness by a sixth part."

x " The<sup>a</sup> trees of the wilderness are those, which are common, and not appropriate to one master:" that is, trees in groves and common meadows.

So 2 Cor. xi. 26: *Καθύνοις ἐν πόλει, καθύνοις ἐν ἐρημίᾳ* that is, " in perils in the city, and in perils in the country."

x II. The wildernesses of the land of Canaan were not without towns and cities; nor was he presently to be called an 'Eremite,' who dwelt in the wilderness. The hill-country of Judea, John's native soil, is called by the Talmudists, הר המלך " The royal mountain," or hill; and by the Psalmist, מדבר הרים " The desert hill-country," Psal. lxxv. 6; and yet " in the royal mountain were a myriad of cities<sup>b</sup>."

III. David passed much of his youth in the wilderness, 1 Sam. xvii. 28: but yet, who will call him an Eremite? In the like sense I conceive John living in the deserts, not only spending his time in leisure and contemplation, but employing himself in some work, or studies. For when I read, that the youth of our Saviour was taken up in the carpenter's trade, I scarcely believe his forerunner employed his youth in no calling at all.

Beginning now the thirtieth year of his age, when, according to the custom of the priests, he ought to have come to the chief Sanhedrim, to undergo their examination, and to be entered into the priesthood by them, " the word of God coming unto him," Luke iii. 2, as it had done before to the prophets,—he is diverted to another ministry.

Ver. 2: *Μετανοεῖτε* " *Repent ye.*" ] A doctrine most fit for the gospel, and most suitable to the time, and the word or the phrase as agreeable to the doctrine.

I. A nation, leavened with the error of the Pharisees, concerning justification by the works of the law, was necessarily to be called off to the contrary doctrine of repent-

<sup>y</sup> Menacoth, cap. 7. hal. 1.  
<sup>z</sup> Rambam in Demai, osp. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Bab. Erubh. fol. 83. 1.  
<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 69. 1.

ance. No receiving of the gospel was otherwise to be expected.

II. However the schools of the Pharisees had illy defined repentance, which we observe presently, yet they asserted, that repentance itself was necessary to the reception of the Messiah. Concerning<sup>e</sup> this matter, the Babylonian Gemarists do dispute: whom Kimchi also upon Isa. lix. 19, cites, and determines the question: "From the words of our Rabbins (saith he) it is plain, there arose a doubt among them concerning this matter,—namely, whether Israel were to be redeemed with repentance, or without repentance. And it sprang from this occasion,—that some texts of Scripture seemed to go against them: such as those; 'He saw, and there was no man, and he wondered, that there was none to intercede; therefore<sup>d</sup>, his own arm brought salvation.' And also, 'Not for your sake, O Israel, do I this.' And again, 'I will remember for them my old covenant,' &c. And these places, on the other hand, make for repentance: 'Thou shalt return to the Lord thy God, and shalt hearken to his voice.' And again; 'And thence thou shalt seek the Lord thy God, and shalt find him, if thou seekest him with all thy heart,' &c. But these may be reconciled after this manner;—namely, that many of Israel shall repent, when they shall see the signs of redemption. And hence is that which is said, 'And he saw that there was no man,' because they will not repent, until they see the beginning of redemption."

"If Israel<sup>e</sup> shall repent but one day, forthwith the Redeemer cometh."

Therefore, it is very fitly argued by the Baptist, and by our Saviour after him, Matt. iv. 17, from the approach of the kingdom of heaven to repentance, since they themselves, to whom this is preached, do acknowledge, that thus the kingdom of heaven, or the manifestation of the Messiah, is to be brought in. For, however the Gemarists who dispute of this, were of a later age, yet, for the most part, they do but speak the sense of their fathers.

III. The word *Μετάνοια*, 'repentance,' as it does very well express the sense of true repentance, so among the Jews it was necessary<sup>f</sup>, that it should be so expressed,—among

<sup>e</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 98, &c.

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 64. 1.

<sup>d</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 114.

<sup>f</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 265.

whom repentance, for the most part, was thought to consist in the confession of the mouth only.

“Whosoever<sup>g</sup>, out of error or presumption, shall transgress the precepts of the law, whether they be those that command, or those that forbid,—when he repents and returns from his sins, he is bound to make confession. Whosoever brings an offering for a sin, committed either out of ignorance or presumption, his sin is not expiated by the offering, until he makes an oral confession. Or whosoever is guilty of death, or of scourging by the Sanhedrim, his sin is not taken away by his death, or by his scourging,—if he do not repent and make confession. And because the scape-goat is the expiation for all Israel, therefore the high-priest makes confession over him for all Israel.”

It is worthy observing, that, when John urgeth those that came to his baptism, to repent, it is said, that they were baptized, “confessing their sins:” which was a sign of repentance highly requisite among the Jews, and necessary for those, that were then brought in to the profession of the gospel; that hereby they might openly profess, that they renounced the doctrine of justification by the works of the law.

It is worthy of observing also, that John said not, “Repent, and believe the gospel,” which our Saviour did, Matt. iv. 17 (and yet John preached the gospel, Mark i. 1, 2, John i. 7); for his office, chiefly, was to make Christ known, who, when he should come, was to be the great preacher of the gospel.

Therefore, the Baptist doth very properly urge repentance upon those, that looked for the Messiah; and the text of the gospel used a very proper word to express true and lively repentance.

xx *Ἦγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.* “For the kingdom of heaven is at hand.”] I. “The kingdom of heaven,” in Matthew, is “the kingdom of God,” for the most part, in the other evangelists. Compare these places:—

“The kingdom of heaven is at hand,” Matt. iv. 17.	“The kingdom of God is at hand,” Mark i. 15.
“The poor in spirit, theirs	“Blessed are the poor, for

<sup>g</sup> Maimon. in Teshubah, cap. 1.

is the kingdom of heaven," yours is the kingdom of God,"  
 Matt. v. 3. Luke vi. 20.

"The least in the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xi. 11. "The least in the kingdom of God," Luke vii. 28.

"The mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xiii. 11. "The mysteries of the kingdom of God," Luke viii. 10.

"Little children, of such is the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xix. 14. "Little children, of such is the kingdom of God," Mark x. 14.

And so we have it elsewhere very often. For שמיים 'Heaven' is very usually, in the Jewish dialect, taken for 'God,' Dan. iv. 25, Matt. xxi. 25, Luke xv. 21, John iii. 27. And, in these and such-like speeches, scattered in the Talmudists; מתה ביד שמים 'Death by the hand of Heaven:' נתחלל שם שמים 'The name of Heaven is profaned:' פולחן דשמיא 'The worship of Heaven:' בס'יעתא דשמיא 'By the help of Heaven,' &c. "For<sup>b</sup> they called God by the name of 'Heaven,' because his habitation is in heaven."

The story of the Jews is related, groaning out under their persecution these words, א' שמיים 'O Heavens!' that is, as the Gloss renders it, אהה "Ah! Jehovah!"

II. This<sup>i</sup> manner of speech, "the kingdom of heaven," is taken from Daniel, chap. vii. 13, 14; where, after the description of the four earthly and tyrannical monarchies, that is, the Babylonian, Mede-Persian, Grecian, and Syro-Grecian, and the destruction of them at last; the entrance and nature of the reign of Christ is described, as it is universal over the whole world, and eternal throughout all ages:—"under whom the rule, and dominion, and authority of kingdoms under the whole heaven, is given to the people of the saints of the Most High," ver. 27: that is, 'Whereas, before the rule had been in the hands of heathen kings,—under the reign of Christ, there should be Christian kings.' Unto which that of the apostle hath respect, 1 Cor. vi. 2; "Know ye not, that the saints shall judge the world?"

Truly I admire, that the fulfilling of that vision and prophecy in Daniel should be lengthened out still into, I know not what, long and late expectation, not to receive its completion before Rome and antichrist shall fall; since the books of the gospel afford us a commentary clearer than the

<sup>b</sup> Elias Levit. in Tishbi.

<sup>i</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 115.

sun, that that 'kingdom of heaven' took its beginning immediately upon the preaching of the gospel. When both the Baptist and Christ published the approach of the kingdom of heaven from their very first preaching,—certainly, for any to think, that the fulfilling of those things in Daniel did not then begin,—for my part, I think, it is to grope in the dark, either through wilfulness or ignorance.

III. 'The kingdom of heaven' implies, 1. The exhibition and manifestation of the Messiah, Matt. xii. 28; "But if I, by the finger of God, cast out devils, the kingdom of God is come upon you:" that is, 'Hence is the manifestation of the Messiah'. See John iii. 3, xii. 13, &c. 2. The resurrection of Christ,—death, hell, Satan, being conquered: whence is a most evident manifestation, that he is that 'eternal King,' &c: see Matt. xxvi. 29, Rom. i. 4. 3. His vengeance upon the Jewish nation, his most implacable enemies: this is another, and most eminent manifestation of him: see Matt. xvi. 28, xix. 28. 4. His dominion by the sceptre of the gospel among the Gentiles, Matt. xxi. 43. In this place, which is before us, it points out the exhibition and revelation of the Messiah.

IV. The phrase מלכות שמים 'The kingdom of heaven' very frequently occurs in the Jewish writers. We will produce some places; let the reader gather the sense of them:—

"R. Joshua<sup>k</sup> Ben Korcha saith, In reciting the phylacteries, why is שמע 'Hear, O Israel,' [Deut. vi. 4, &c.] recited, before that passage שמע אם ויהיה 'And it shall come to pass, if you shall hearken' [Deut. xi. 13], &c. To wit, that a man first take upon himself the kingdom of heaven, and then the yoke of the precept." So the Jerusalem Misna hath it: but the Babylonian thus; "That a man first take upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, and then the yoke of the precept."

"Rabbi said to Rabbi Chaijah, לא חזינא ליה לרבי דמקבל, עליה מלכות שמים We never saw Rabbi [Judah] taking upon himself the kingdom of heaven. Bar Pahti answered, At that time, when he put his hands to his face, he took upon himself the kingdom of heaven." Where the Gloss speaks thus; "We saw not, that he took upon himself the kingdom of heaven; for until the time came of reciting the phylac-

<sup>j</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 264.

<sup>k</sup> Beracoth, cap. 2. hal. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Gemara Bab. ibid. fol. 13. 2.

teries, he instructed his scholars; and when that time was come, I saw him not interposing any space."

"Doth<sup>m</sup> any ease nature? Let him wash his hands, put on his phylacteries, repeat them, and pray, וְהָיָה מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם אִם תִּפְרֹשׁ: And this is the kingdom of heaven fulfilled." שְׂדֵי וְתַבְדִּיל תִּיבוֹת שֶׁל מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם "If<sup>n</sup> thou shalt have explained Shaddai, and divided the letters of the kingdom of heaven, thou shalt make the shadow of death to be cool to thee;" that is, "If, in the repeating of that passage of the phylacteries [Deut. vi. 4], Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, &c. you shall pronounce the letters distinctly, and deliberately, so that you shall have sounded out the names of God rightly, 'thou shalt make cool the shades of death.'" For the same Gloss had said, קְרִיאָה שְׁמֵעַ שְׁהוּא קְבַלְתָּ מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם "The repeating of that passage, 'Hear, O Israel,' &c. is the taking of the kingdom of heaven upon thee. But the repeating of that place, 'And it shall be, if thou shalt hearken,' &c. [Deut. xi. 13]: וְהָיָה אִם שְׁמוֹעַ שְׁהוּא קְבַלְתָּ עוֹל מְצוּהָ: And this is the taking of the yoke of the precept upon thee."

"Rabban<sup>o</sup> Gamaliel recited his phylacterical prayers on the very night of his nuptials. And when his scholars said unto him, Hast thou not taught us, O our master, that a bridegroom is freed from the reciting of his phylacteries the first night? he answered, I will not hearken to you, nor will I lay aside the kingdom of heaven from me, no, not for an hour."

"What<sup>p</sup> is the yoke of the kingdom of heaven? In like manner as they lay the yoke upon an ox, that he may be serviceable,—and if he bear not the yoke, he becomes unprofitable; so it becomes a man first to take the yoke upon himself, and to serve in all things with it: but if he casts it off, he is unprofitable; as it is said, 'Serve the Lord in fear.' What means, 'in fear?' The same that is written, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' And this is the kingdom of heaven."

"The<sup>q</sup> scholars of Jochanan Ben Zaccai asked<sup>r</sup>, Why a servant was to be bored through the ear, rather than through some other part of the body? He answered, When he heard with the ear those words from mount Sinai, 'Thou shalt

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. fol. 15. 1.

<sup>o</sup> In eodem, cap. 2. tract. Berac. hal. 5.

<sup>q</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 116.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. col. 2. in the Gloss.

<sup>p</sup> Zohar. in Levit. fol. 53.

<sup>r</sup> Hieros. Kiddushin, fol. 59. 4.

have no other Lord before my face,' he broke the yoke of the kingdom of heaven from him, and took upon himself the yoke of flesh and blood."

If by 'the kingdom of heaven,' in these and other such-like places, which it would be too much to heap together,—they mean the inward love and fear of God, which indeed they seem to do,—so far they agree with our gospel sense, which asserts the inward and spiritual kingdom of Christ especially. And if the words of our Saviour, "Behold, the kingdom of God is within you," Luke xvii. 21, be suited to this sense of the nation, concerning 'the kingdom of heaven,'—there is nothing sounds hard or rough in them: for it is as much, as if he had said, "Do you think the kingdom of heaven shall come with some remarkable observation, or μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, 'with much show?' Your very schools teach, that the kingdom of God is within a man."

But, however they most ordinarily applied this manner of speech hither, yet they used it also for the exhibition and revelation of the Messiah in the like manner, as the evangelical history doth. Hence are these expressions, and the like to them, in sacred writers; "The Pharisees asked Jesus, When the kingdom of God should come?"—"They thought that the kingdom of God should presently be manifested:"—"Joseph of Arimathea waited for the kingdom of God."

And these words in the Chaldee paraphrast, "Say ye to the cities of Judah, the kingdom of your God is revealed," Isa. xl. 9:—"They shall see the kingdom of their Messiah," Isa. liii. 11.

The Baptist, therefore, by his preaching, stirs up the minds of his hearers, to meet the coming of the Messiah, now presently to be manifested, with that repentance and preparation, as is meet.

Ver. 4: 'Ἡ δὲ τροφή αὐτοῦ ἦν ἀκρίδες. "His food was locusts." ] : הגודר מן הבשר יהא אסור בבשר דגים וחגבים. "He" that by vow tieth himself from flesh, is forbidden the flesh of fish, and of locusts." See the Babylonian Talmud<sup>v</sup> concerning locusts fit for food.

Ver. 5<sup>w</sup>: 'Ἡ περιχώρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. "The region round about Jordan." ] The word περιχώρος, 'the region round

<sup>r</sup> Luke, xvii. 20.

<sup>s</sup> Luke, xix. 11.

<sup>t</sup> Luke, xxiii. 52, &c.

<sup>u</sup> Hieros. Nedarim, fol. 40. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Cholin, fol. 65. 1.

<sup>w</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 265.

about,' is used by the Jerusalem Gemara: "From<sup>x</sup> Beth-horon to the sea כּוֹרֵן פְּרִי אֶחָת מְדִינָה אַחַת פְּרִי כּוֹרֵן מִבֵּית חֲרוֹן וְעַד הַיָּם מְדִינָה אַחַת פְּרִי כּוֹרֵן is one region *περίχωρος*, round about," or, one circumjacent region. *Περίχωρος*, perhaps both in the Talmudists and in the evangelist, is one and the same thing with a 'coast,' or a 'country along a coast,' in Pliny: "The country (saith he<sup>y</sup>) along the coast is Samaria:" that is, the sea-coast, and the country farther, lying along by that coast: which may be said, also, concerning 'the region round about Jordan.' Strabo, concerning the plain bordering on Jordan, hath these words; "It is a place of a hundred furlongs, all well watered, and full of dwellings."

§. *A few Things concerning Baptism.*

Ver. 6: Καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο. "And were baptized."] It is no unfit or unprofitable question, Whence it came to pass, that there was so great a conflux of men to the Baptist, and so ready a reception of his baptism?

I. The first reason is, Because the manifestation of the Messiah was then expected, the weeks of Daniel being now spent to the last four years. Let us consult a little his text:—

Dan. ix. 24: "Seventy weeks [of years] are decreed concerning thy people," &c. That is, four hundred and ninety years, from the first of Cyrus to the death of Christ. These years are divided into three parts, and they very unequal.

1. Into seven weeks, or forty-nine years, from the giving of Cyrus's patent for the rebuilding Jerusalem, to the finishing the rebuilding of it by Nehemiah.

2. Into sixty-two weeks, or four hundred thirty-four years,—namely, from the finishing the building of the city to the beginning of the last week of the seventy. In which space<sup>z</sup> of time, the times of the Persian empire (which remained after Nehemiah, if indeed there was any time now remaining), and the times of the Grecian empire, and of the Syro-Grecian, were all run out, and those times also, wherein the Romans ruled over the Jews.

3. The holy text divides the last week, or the last seven years, into two equal parts, ver. 27; which I thus render; "And he shall strengthen, or confirm, the covenant with many in that one week: and the half of that week shall

<sup>x</sup> Sheviith, fol. 38. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Lib. 5. cap. 13.

<sup>z</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 117.

make the sacrifice and oblation to cease: *or*, in the half of that week he shall make to cease," &c. Not in the middle of that week, but in the latter half, that is, the latter three years and a half of the seven.

First, seven weeks having been reckoned up before, and then sixty-two weeks, ver. 25,—now there remained one only of the seventy; and in reference to that, in the middle of it the Messias shall begin his ministry; which being finished in three years and a half (the latter halved part of that week), "he shall make the sacrifice and oblation to cease," &c.

The nation could not but know, could not but take great notice of, the times, so exactly set out by the angel Gabriel. Since, therefore, the coming of the Messias was the great wish and desire of all,—and since the time of his appearing was so clearly decreed by the angel, that nothing could be more,—and when the latter half of the last seven years, chiefly to be observed, was now, within a very little, come;—it is no wonder, if the people, hearing from this venerable preacher, that the kingdom of heaven was now come, should be stirred up beyond measure to meet him, and should flock to him. For, as we observed before, "They thought that the kingdom of God would immediately be manifested," Luke xix. 11.

II. Another reason of it was this,—the institution of baptism, for an evangelical sacrament, was first in the hand of the Baptist, who, "the word of the Lord coming to him," (Luke iii. 2,) went forth, backed with the same authority, as the chiefest prophets had in times past. But yet the first use of baptism was not exhibited at that time. For baptism, very many centuries of years backwards, had been both known, and received in most frequent use among the Jews,—and for the very same end, as it now obtains among Christians,—namely, that by it proselytes might be admitted into the church; and hence it was called טבילת גריות 'Baptism for proselytism:' and was distinct from טבילת נדה 'Baptism [or washing] from uncleanness.' See the Babylonian Talmud in Jevamoth<sup>a</sup>.

I. I ascribe the first use of it, for this end, to the patriarch Jacob, when he chose into his family and church, the young women of Sychem, and other heathens, who then

<sup>a</sup> Fol. 45. 2. in the Gloss.

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lived with him. "Jacob said to his family, and to all who were with him, Put away from you the strange gods, and be ye clean, and change your garments," &c. Gen. xxxv. 2. What that word means, והטהרו 'and be ye clean,' Aben Ezra does very well interpret to be שירדצו הגוף 'The washing of the body,' or baptism; which reason itself, also, persuades us to believe.

II. All the nation of Israel do assert, as it were with one mouth, that all the nation of Israel were brought into the covenant, among other things, by baptism. "Israel (saith Maimonides<sup>b</sup>, the great interpreter of the Jewish law) was admitted into the covenant by three things,—namely, by circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. Circumcision was in Egypt; as it is said, 'None uncircumcised shall eat of the passover.' Baptism was in the wilderness before the giving of the law; as it is said, 'Thou shalt sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their garments.'"

III. They assert, that that infinite number of proselytes in the day of David and Solomon were admitted<sup>c</sup> by baptism: "The<sup>d</sup> Sanhedrims received not proselytes in the days of David and Solomon: not in the days of David, lest they should betake themselves to proselytism, out of a fear of the kingdom of Israel: not in the days of Solomon, lest they might do the same by reason of the glory of the kingdom. And yet abundance of proselytes were made in the days of David and Solomon before private men; and the great Sanhedrim was full of care about this business: for they would not cast them out of the church, because they were baptized," &c.

IV. "Whosoever<sup>e</sup> any heathen will betake himself, and be joined to the covenant of Israel, and place himself under the wings of the divine majesty, and take the yoke of the law upon him,—voluntary circumcision, baptism, and oblation, are required: but if it be a woman, baptism and oblation."

That was a common axiom, אין גר עד שימול ויטבול "No man is a proselyte, until he be circumcised and baptized." It is disputed by the Babylonian Gemara<sup>f</sup>, "A proselyte, that is circumcised and not baptized, what of him? R. Eliezer saith, Behold, he is a proselyte: for so we find concern-

<sup>b</sup> Issure Biab, cap. 13.      <sup>c</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 266.  
<sup>d</sup> Maimonid. Issure Biab, cap. 13.      <sup>e</sup> Id. ibid.      <sup>f</sup> Jevumoth, fol. 46. 2.

ing our fathers, that they were circumcised, but not baptized. One is baptized, but not circumcised; what of him? R. Joshua saith, Behold, he is a proselyte: for so we find concerning the maid-servants, who were baptized, but not circumcised. But<sup>e</sup> the wise men say, Is he baptized, and not circumcised? Or, Is he circumcised, and not baptized? He is not a proselyte, until he be circumcised and baptized."

But baptism was sufficient for women so far forth, as this held good, אַטְבֵּלָהּ לַחַיִּים נִכְרִיָּה לְשֵׁם אִשָּׁה יְכַלְמָהּ לְאִשְׁוֹרִי "One<sup>h</sup> baptizeth a heathen woman in the name of a woman, —we can assert that for a deed rightly done." Where the Gloss is thus;—"To be baptized in the name of a woman, was to be baptized נִדְּחָה טְבִילַת נִדְּחָה with the washing of a woman polluted, and not with the baptism to proselytism. But we may, nevertheless, assert her, who is so baptized, for a complete proselytess; because that baptism of washing for uncleanness serves for proselytism to her; for a heathen woman is not baptized [or washed] for uncleanness."

V. They baptized also young children (for the most part with their parents). "גַּר קָטָן מִטְבִּילִין אוֹתוֹ עַל דַּעַת בֵּר" They<sup>i</sup> baptize a little proselyte according to the judgment of the Sanhedrim:" that is, as the Gloss renders it, "If he be deprived of his father, and his mother brings him to be made a proselyte, they baptize him [because none becomes a proselyte without circumcision and baptism] according to the judgment [or right] of the Sanhedrim; that is, that three men be present at the baptism, who are now instead of a father to him."

And the Gemara, a little after; גַּר שְׁנַתְגִּירוּ בְּנָיו וּבְנֹתָיו עִמּוֹ "If with a proselyte his sons and his daughters are made proselytes also, that which is done by their father, redounds to their good. א" רַב יוֹסֵף הַגָּדִיל "R. Joseph saith, When they grow into years, they may retract." Where the Gloss writes thus; "This is to be understood of little children, who are made proselytes together with their father."

"A<sup>j</sup> heathen woman, if she is made a proselytess, when she is now big with child,—the child needs not baptism:

<sup>e</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 118.

<sup>h</sup> Jevam. fol. 45. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Bab. Erubhin, fol. 11. 1.

<sup>j</sup> Jeram. fol. 78. 1.

הוא כפי שצוה ליה טבילה דאימיה for the baptism of his mother serves him for baptism." Otherwise, he were to be baptized.

ישׂראל שתקף בגוי קטן; "If<sup>k</sup> an Israelite take a Gentile child, או מצא תינוק גוי or find a Gentile infant, and baptizeth him in the name of a proselyte,—behold, he is a proselyte."

We cannot also pass over that, which, indeed, is worthy to be remembered: "Any<sup>l</sup> one's servant is to be circumcised, though he be unwilling; but any one's servant is not to be circumcised, if he be unwilling. R. Jochanan inquired, Behold a little son; do you circumcise him by force? Yea, although he be as the son of Urcan.—R. Hezekiah saith, Behold, a man finds an infant cast out, and he baptizeth him in the name of a servant: in the name of a freeman, do you also circumcise him in the name of a freeman."

We have, therefore, alleged these things the more largely, not only that you may receive satisfaction concerning the thing propounded,—namely, how it came to pass, that the people flocked, in so universal a concourse, to John's baptism (because baptism was no strange thing to the Jews); but that some other things may be observed hence, which afford some light to certain places of Scripture, and will help to clear some knotty questions about baptism.

First, You see baptism inseparably joined to the circumcision of proselytes. There was, indeed, some little distance of time; for "they<sup>m</sup> were not baptized till the pain of circumcision was healed, because water might be injurious to the wound." But, certainly, baptism ever followed. We acknowledge, indeed, that circumcision was plainly of divine institution; but by whom baptism, that was inseparable from it, was instituted, is doubtful. And yet it is worthy of observation, our Saviour rejected circumcision, and retained the appendix to it: and when all the Gentiles were now to be introduced into the true religion, he preferred this 'proselytical introductory' (pardon the expression) unto the sacrament of entrance into the gospel. NB

One might observe the same almost in the eucharist. The lamb in the Passover was of divine institution, and so, indeed, was the bread. But whence was the wine? But yet rejecting the lamb, Christ instituted the sacrament in the bread and wine. NB

<sup>k</sup> Maimon. in Avadim, cap. 8.

<sup>l</sup> Hieros. Jevamoth, fol. 8. 4.

<sup>m</sup> Jevam. fol. 45. 2.

Secondly<sup>a</sup>, Observing from these things, which have been spoken, how very known and frequent the use of baptism was among the Jews,—the reason appears very easy, why the Sanhedrim, by their messengers, inquired not of John concerning the reason of baptism, but concerning the authority of the baptizer; not what baptism meant, but whence he had a licence so to baptize, John i. 25.

Thirdly, Hence also the reason appears, why the New Testament doth not prescribe, by some more accurate rule, who the persons are to be baptized. The Anabaptists object, ‘It is not commanded to baptize infants,—therefore, they are not to be baptized.’ To whom I answer, ‘It is not forbidden to baptize infants,—therefore, they are to be baptized.’ And the reason is plain. For when Pædobaptism in the Jewish church was so known, usual, and frequent, in the admission of proselytes, that nothing almost was more known, usual, and frequent,—

1. There was no need to strengthen it with any precept, when baptism was now passed into an evangelical sacrament. For Christ took baptism into his hands, and into evangelical use, as he found it; this only added, that he might promote it to a worthier end, and a larger use. The whole nation knew well enough, that little children used to be baptized<sup>o</sup>: there was no need of a precept for that, which had ever, by common use, prevailed. If a royal proclamation should now issue forth in these words, “Let every one resort, on the Lord’s day, to the public assembly in the church:” certainly, he would be mad, who, in times to come, should argue hence, that prayers, sermons, singing of psalms, were not to be celebrated on the Lord’s day in the public assemblies, because there is no mention of them in the proclamation. For the proclamation provided for the celebration of the Lord’s day in the public assemblies in general: but there was no need to make mention of the particular kinds of the divine worship to be celebrated there, when they were always, and every where, well known, and in daily use, before the publishing of the proclamation, and when it was published. The case is the very same in baptism. Christ instituted it for an evangelical sacrament, whereby all should be admitted into the possession of the gospel, as heretofore it was used for admission into proselytism to the

<sup>a</sup> *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 2. p. 267.    <sup>o</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 119.

Jewish religion. The particulars belonging to it,—as, the manner of baptizing, the age, the sex to be baptized, &c.—had no need of a rule and definition; because these were, by the common use of them, sufficiently known even to mechanics, and the most ignorant men.

2. On the other hand, therefore, there was need of a plain and open prohibition, that infants and little children should not be baptized, if our Saviour would not have had them baptized. For, since it was most common, in all ages foregoing, that little children should be baptized,—if Christ had been minded to have that custom abolished, he would have openly forbidden it. Therefore, his silence, and the silence of the Scripture in this matter, confirms Pædobaptism, and continueth it unto all ages.

Fourthly, It is clear enough, by what hath been already said, in what sense that is to be taken in the New Testament, which we sometimes meet with,—namely, that the master of the family was baptized with his whole family, Acts xvi. 15. 33, &c. Nor is it of any strength, which the Antipædobaptists contend for, that it cannot be proved there were infants in those families; for the inquiry is not so proper, whether there were infants in those families, as it is concluded truly and deservedly,—if there were, they had all been to be baptized. Nor do I believe this people, that flocked to John's baptism, were so forgetful of the manner and custom of the nation, that they brought not their little children also with them to be baptized.

Some things are now to be spoken of the manner and form, which John used.

First, In some things he seems to have followed the *manner*, whereby proselytes were baptized; in other things, not to have followed them. Concerning it the Talmudic Canons have these sayings:—

I. אין נוטבלין גר בלילה “They<sup>p</sup> do not baptize a proselyte by night.” Nor, indeed, “were<sup>q</sup> the unclean to be washed, but in the day-time.” Maimonides adds, “They<sup>r</sup> baptized not a proselyte on the sabbath, nor on a holy-day, nor by night.”

II. גר צריך שלושה “A<sup>s</sup> proselyte hath need of three:” that is, it is required, that three men, who are scholars of the wise men, be present at the baptism of a proselyte; who

<sup>p</sup> Jevamoth, fol. 46. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Megillah, fol. 20. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Issure Biah, cap. 1 3

<sup>s</sup> Jevam. in the place above.

may take care, that the business be rightly performed, and may briefly instruct the catechumen [the person to be baptized], and may judge of the matter itself. For the admission of a proselyte was reckoned no light matter; קשים גרים : לישראל כספחת "Proselytes<sup>t</sup> are dangerous to Israel, like the itch," was an axiom. For they, either tenacious of their former customs, or ignorant of the law of Israel, have corrupted others with their example; or, being mingled with Israel, were the cause, that the divine glory did rest the less upon them; because it resteth not on any but upon families of a nobler pedigree. These reasons the Glossers give. When, therefore, the admission of proselytes was of so great moment, they were not to be admitted but by the judicial consistory of *three*.

III. במקוה הכשר לטבילת נדה שם משבילין את הגרים. "They" baptize a proselyte in such a confluence of waters, as was fit for the washing of a menstruous woman." Of such a confluence of waters the lawyers have these words: "A<sup>v</sup> man that hath the gonorrhœa, is cleansed no where but in a fountain: but a menstruous woman, as also all other unclean persons, were washed in some confluence of waters; in which so much water ought to be, as may serve to wash the whole body at one dipping. Our wise men have esteemed this proportion to be a cubit square, and three cubits depth: and this measure contains forty seahs of water."

When<sup>v</sup> it is said, that "he that hath the gonorrhœa, is to wash in a spring [or a stream]; but a menstruous woman, and all other unclean persons, in some confluence of waters,"—it forbids not a menstruous woman, and other unclean persons, to wash in streams, where they might: but it permits, where they might not, to wash in some confluence of waters; which was not lawful for a man, that had the gonorrhœa, to do. The same is to be understood concerning the baptism of a proselyte, who was allowed to wash himself in streams: and was allowed also, where there were no streams, to wash in a confluence of waters.

IV. When<sup>x</sup> a proselyte was to be circumcised, they first asked him concerning the sincerity of his conversion to Judaism: whether he offered not himself to proselytism for the obtaining riches, for fear, or for love to some Israelite

<sup>t</sup> Jevam. fol. 47. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Maimonid. Issur. Biah, in the place above.

<sup>w</sup> Maim. in Mikvaoth, c. 1. 4. Talmud. in Mikvaoth, c. 2, 3.

<sup>x</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 268.

<sup>y</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 120.

woman, &c. And when they saw that he came out of love of the law, they instructed him concerning the various articles of the law, of one God, of the evil of idolatry, of the reward of obedience, of the world to come, of the privileges of Israel, &c. All which, if he professed, that he embraced them, he is forthwith circumcised.

“As<sup>y</sup> soon as he grows whole of the wound of circumcision, they bring him to baptism; and being placed in the water, they again instruct him in some weightier, and in some lighter, commands of the law. *טבל ועלה הרי הוא בישׂראל לכל דברין*: Which being heard, he plunges himself, and comes up, and behold, he is as an Israelite in all things. The women place a woman in the waters up to the neck; and two disciples of the wise men, standing without, instruct her about some lighter precepts of the law, and some weightier, while she, in the mean time, stands in the waters. *ואחר כך טובלת בפניהם*: And then she plungeth herself; and they, turning away their faces, go out, while she comes up out of the water.”

In the baptizing of a proselyte, this is not to be passed over, but let it be observed, namely, that *טובלין אותו* “others baptized him,” and that *והוא טובל* “he baptized himself,” or dipped, or plunged himself in the waters. Now, what that plunging was, you may understand from those things, which Maimonides speaks in Mikvaoth in the place before cited. *כל טובל* “Every person baptized” [or dipped, whether he were washed from pollution, or baptized into proselytism], “must dip his whole body, now stripped and made naked, at one dipping. And wheresoever in the law, washing of the body or garments is mentioned, it means nothing else, than the washing of the whole body. For 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.”

And now, a little to compare the baptism of John, with that proselytical baptism, and ours with both, these things are to be considered:—

† *Jeram. et Maimon. in the places above.*

I. If you compare the washing of polluted persons, prescribed by the law, with the baptism of proselytes,—both that and this imply uncleanness, however something different; that implies legal uncleanness,—this, heathen,—but both polluting. But a proselyte was baptized not only into the washing-off of that Gentile pollution, nor only thereby to be transplanted into the religion of the Jews; but that, by the most accurate rite of translation that could possibly be, he might so pass into an Israelite, that, being married to an Israelite woman, he might produce a free and legitimate seed, and an undefiled offspring. Hence, servants that were taken into a family, were baptized,—and servants, also, that were to be made free: not so much, because they were defiled with heathen uncleanness, as that, by that rite *כישראל לכל דבר* “becoming Israelites in all respect,” they might be more fit to match with Israelites, and their children be accounted as Israelites. And hence the sons of proselytes, in following generations, were circumcised indeed, but not baptized. They were circumcised, that they might take upon themselves the obligation of the law; but they needed not baptism, because they were already Israelites. From these things it is plain, that there was some difference, as to the end, between the Mosaical washings of unclean persons, and the baptism of proselytes; and some between the baptism of proselytes, and John’s baptism: not as though they concurred not in some parallel end; but because other ends were added over and above to this, or that, or some ends were withdrawn.

II. The baptism of proselytes was the bringing over of Gentiles into the Jewish religion; the baptism of John, was the bringing over of Jews into another religion. And hence it is the more to be wondered at, that the people so readily flocked to him, when he introduced a baptism so different from the known proselytical baptism. The reason of which is to be fetched from hence,—that, at the coming of the Messias, they thought, not without cause, that the state of things was plainly to be changed; and that, from the oracles of the prophets, who, with one mouth, described the times of the Messias for a new world. Hence was that received opinion, *אלף שנים שעתיד”הק”בה לחדש עולמו:* “That God, at that time, would renew the world for a thousand years.” See the Aruch, in the word *צדק*, and after in chap. xxiv. 3. And that,

also, that they used עולם הבה 'the world to come,' by a form of speech very common among them, for the times of the Messias; which we observe more largely elsewhere.

III. The baptism of proselytes, was an obligation to perform the law; that of John, was an obligation to repentance. For although proselytical baptism admitted of some ends,—and circumcision<sup>2</sup>, of others,—yet a traditional and erroneous doctrine, at that time, had joined this to both, that the proselyte covenanted in both, and obliged himself to perform the law; to which that of the apostle relates, Gal. v. 3, "I testify<sup>a</sup> again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law."

But the baptism of John was a 'baptism of repentance;' Mark i. 4: which being undertaken, they who were baptized, professed to renounce their own legal righteousness; and, on the contrary, acknowledged themselves to be obliged to repentance and faith in the Messias to come. How much the Pharisaical doctrine of justification differed from the evangelical, so much the obligation undertaken in the baptism of proselytes, differed from the obligation undertaken in the baptism of John: which obligation, also, holds amongst Christians to the end of the world.

IV. That the baptism of John was by plunging the body (after the same manner as the washing of unclean persons, and the baptism of proselytes, was), seems to appear from those things, which are related of him; namely, that he 'baptized in Jordan;' that he baptized "in Ænon, because there was much water there;" and that Christ, being baptized, "came up out of the water:" to which, that seems to be parallel, Acts viii. 38, "Philip and the eunuch went down into the water," &c. Some complain, that this rite is not retained in the Christian church, as though it something derogated from the truth of baptism; or as though it were to be called an innovation, when the sprinkling of water is used instead of plunging. This is no place to dispute of these things. Let us return these three things only, for a present answer:—

1. That the notion of washing in John's baptism differs from ours, in that he baptized none, who were not brought over from one religion, and that an irreligious one too,—into another, and that a true one. But there is no place for this among us, who are born Christians: the condition, therefore,

<sup>2</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 269.

<sup>a</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 121.

being varied, the rite is not only lawfully, but deservedly, varied also. Our baptism argues defilement, indeed, and uncleanness; and demonstrates this doctrinally,—that we, being polluted, have need of washing: but this is to be understood of our natural and sinful stain, to be washed away by the blood of Christ, and the grace of God: with which stain, indeed, they were defiled, who were baptized by John. But to denote this washing by a sacramental sign, the sprinkling of water is as sufficient, as the dipping into water,—when, in truth, this argues washing and purification, as well as that. But those who were baptized by John, were blemished with another stain, and that an outward one, and after a manner visible; that is, a polluted religion,—namely, Judaism, or heathenism; from which, if, according to the custom of the nation, they past, by a deeper and severer washing,—they neither underwent it without reason; nor, with any reason, may it be laid upon us, whose condition is different from theirs.

2. Since dipping was a rite used only in the Jewish nation and proper to it, it were something hard, if all nations should be subjected under it; but especially, when it is neither necessarily to be esteemed of the essence of baptism, and is moreover so harsh and dangerous, that, in regard of these things, it scarcely gave place to circumcision. We read, that some, leavened with Judaism to the highest degree, yet wished, that dipping in purification might be taken away; because it was accompanied with so much severity. “In<sup>b</sup> the days of R. Joshua Ben Levi, some endeavoured to abolish this dipping, for the sake of the women of Galilee; because, by reason of the cold, they became barren. R. Joshua Ben Levi said unto them, Do ye go about to take away that, which hedges in Israel from transgression?” Surely it is hard to lay this yoke upon the neck of all nations, which seemed too rough to the Jews themselves, and not to be borne by them, men too much given to such kind of severer rites. And if it be demanded of them, who went about to take away that dipping, Would you have no purification at all by water? it is probable, that they would have allowed of the sprinkling of water, which is less harsh, and not less agreeable to the thing itself.

3. The following ages, with good reason, and by divine prescript, administered a baptism, differing in a greater matter

<sup>b</sup> Hieros. Beracoth, fol. 6. 3.

from the baptism of John; and, therefore, it was less to differ in a less matter. The application of water was necessarily of the essence of baptism; but the application of it in this or that manner, speaks but a circumstance: the adding, also, of the word, was of the nature of a sacrament; but the changing of the word into this or that form, would you not call this a circumstance also? And yet we read the form of baptism so changed, that you may observe it to have been threefold in the history of the New Testament.

Secondly, In reference to the form of John's baptism [which thing we have propounded to consider in the second place], it is not at all to be doubted, but he baptized "in the name of the Messiah now ready to come:" and it may be gathered from his words, and from his story. As yet he knew not, that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah; which he confesseth himself, John i. 31: yet he knew well enough, that the Messiah was coming; therefore, he baptized those that came to him, in his name, instructing them in the doctrine of the gospel, concerning faith in the Messiah, and repentance: that they might be the readier to receive the Messiah, when he should manifest himself. Consider well, Mal. iii. 1, Luke<sup>c</sup> i. 17, John i. 7. 31, &c. The apostles, baptizing the Jews, baptized them "in the name of Jesus;" because Jesus of Nazareth had now been revealed for the Messiah; and that they did, when it had been before commanded them by Christ, "Baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." So you must understand that, which is spoken, John iii. 23, iv. 2, concerning the disciples of Christ baptizing; namely, that<sup>d</sup> they baptized in 'the name of Jesus,' that thence it might be known, that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, in the name of whom, suddenly to come, John had baptized. That of St. Peter is plain, Acts ii. 38; "Be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ:" and that, Acts viii. 16, "They were baptized in the name of Jesus."

But the apostles baptized the Gentiles, according to the precept of our Lord, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," Matt. xxviii. 19. For since it was very much controverted among the Jews, about the true Messiah, and that unbelieving nation denied, stiffly and without ceasing, that Jesus of Nazareth was he (under which

<sup>c</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 122.

<sup>d</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 270.

virulent spirit they labour even to this day), it was not without cause, yea, nor without necessity, that they baptized in the name of Jesus; that, by that seal, might be confirmed this most principal truth in the gospel, and that those that were baptized, might profess it;—that Jesus of Nazareth was the true Messiah. But among the Gentiles, the controversy was not concerning the true Messiah, but concerning the true God: among them, therefore, it was needful, that baptism should be conferred in the name of the true God, “Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.”

We suppose, therefore, that men, women, and children, came to John’s baptism, according to the manner of the nation, in the reception of proselytes; namely, that they, standing in Jordan, were taught by John, that they were baptized into the name of the Messiah, that was now immediately to come;—and into the profession of the doctrine of the gospel concerning faith and repentance; that they plunged themselves into the river, and so came out. And that which is said of them, that they were baptized by him, “confessing their sins,” is to be understood according to the tenor of the Baptist’s preaching; not that they did this man by man, or by some auricular confession made to John, or by openly declaring some particular sins; but when the doctrine of John exhorted them to repentance and to faith in the Messiah, they renounced and disowned the doctrine and opinion of justification by their works, wherewith they had been before-time leavened, and acknowledged and confessed themselves sinners.

Ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ “In Jordan.”] John could not baptize in any part of Jordan, so it were within the bounds of Judea (which the evangelists assert), which had not been dried up, and had afforded a passage to the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt, and were now entering into the promised land.

§ *Some few Remarks concerning the Pharisees and Sadducees.*

Ver. 7: Ἴδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων. “And seeing many of the Pharisees and Sadducees.”] To attempt a history of the Pharisees and Sadducees, after so many very learned men, who have treated of their original, manners, and institutions,—would be next to madness: we will briefly touch at a few things, and those, perhaps, less obvious.

I. That the Pharisees do not derive their name (as some would have it) from the word פֶּרִישׁ which signifies to 'expound,' is sufficiently evinced by this,—that there were women-Pharisees, as well as men. "R. Joshua<sup>e</sup> saith, A religious man foolish, a wicked man crafty, a woman-Pharisee, and the dashing of the Pharisees [against the stones], destroy the world." Those things are worth observing, which are spoke by the Babylonian Gemarists on that clause, אִשָּׁה פְּרוֹשָׁה 'A woman-Pharisee.'—ת"ר בתולה צלינית ואלמנה—שובבית וקטן שלא כלו לו חרשו הרי אלו מבלי עולם: "The Rabbins teach. A praying [*procar*] maid, a gadding widow, and a boy, whose months are not fulfilled, these corrupt the world. But R. Jochanan saith, We learn the shunning of sin from a maid, and the receiving of a reward from a widow. 'The shunning of sin from a maid;' for R. Jochanan heard a certain maid prostrate on her face, thus praying,—Eternal Lord, thou hast created Paradise, thou hast created hell also, thou hast created the righteous, and thou hast created the wicked: let it be thy good pleasure, that I be not a scandal to men. 'The receiving of a reward from a widow;' for there was a certain widow, who, when there were synagogues nearer every where, she always resorted<sup>f</sup> to the school of R. Jochanan, to pray: to whom R. Jochanan said, O my daughter, are there not synagogues at hand round about you? But she answered, וְלֹא שָׂכָר פְּסִיעוֹתַי שָׁלִי, Will there not be a reward for my steps [or, for my journey hither]? for [the tradition] saith, These destroy the world, as Joanna, the daughter of Retib."

: בתולה צלינית, by one Gloss, is rendered בעלת תפילה, that is, "a maid given to prayer," or "a maid of many prayers." By another, it is rendered, בתולתא צמינית "a maid given to fasting:" מציימה אוברת בתוליה: "losing her virginity by fasting."

'A gadding widow' they call her, "who always goes about from place to place, to visit her neighbours;"—they are the words of the Gloss. "And these corrupt the world, because they are no other but bawds and sorceresses, and yet they pretend sanctity."

"Joanna the daughter of Retib [the Gloss also being witness] was a certain sorceress widow, who, when the time of any child's birth drew near, shut up the womb of the

<sup>e</sup> Sotah, cap. 3. hal. 4.

<sup>f</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 123.

childbearing woman with magic arts, that she could not be delivered. And when the poor woman had endured long and great torments, she would say, 'I will go and pray for you; perhaps, my prayers will be heard:' when she was gone, she would dissolve the enchantments, and presently the infant would be born. On a certain day, as a hired man wrought in her house, she being gone to a woman's labour, he heard the charms tinkling in a pan; and, taking<sup>s</sup> off the cover, the charms presently came out, and strait the infant is born; and hence it was known, that she was a witch."

I have, therefore, cited these passages, not only that it may be shown, that there were 'women-Pharisees,' and so that the name is not taken from 'interpreting' or 'expounding,'—but that it may be observed also, what kind of women, for the most part, embrace Pharisaism;—namely, widows and maids, under the veil of sanctity and devotion, hiding and practising all manner of wickedness. And so much we gain of the history of the Pharisees, while we are tracing the etymology of the word.

II. That the Pharisees, therefore, were so called from the word פִּרְשָׁה, signifying 'separation,' is more commonly asserted, and more truly;—and the thing itself, as well as the word, speaks it. So that by a word, more known to us, you might rightly call the Pharisees, 'Separatists;' but in what sense, has need of more narrow inquiry. The differences of the Jewish people are to be disposed here into divers ranks: and, first, we will begin with the women:—

1. It were an infinite task to search particularly, how their canons *indulged* (shall I say?) or *prescribed* the woman a freedom from very many rites, in which a great part of the Jewish religion was placed. How numberless are the times that that occurs in the Talmudic pandect, נְשִׁים וְעַבְדִּין וְקַטְנִים פְּטוּרִין "Women<sup>b</sup>, servants, and children, are not bound to these things. Women<sup>i</sup>, servants, and children, are not bound to recite their phylacteries, nor to wear them. פְּסוּחֵי נְשִׁים רְשׁוּת The Passovers of women are at their own will."—And not to dwell upon things that are obvious, let this one serve instead of many: "A<sup>k</sup> certain matron asked R. Eleazar, Why, when Aaron sinned in making the golden calf, the people are punished with a threefold death? He

<sup>s</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 271.

<sup>i</sup> Hieros. Kiddush, fol. 61. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Berac. cap. 3. hal. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Bab. Sotab, fol. 21. 2.

answered, Let not a woman be learned beyond her distaff. Hircanus, his son, said unto him, Because no answer is given her in one word out of the law, she will withdraw from us three hundred tenth cori yearly. To whom he replied, Let them rather go and be burnt, than the words of the law be delivered to women."

From hence it appears, that the women, that embraced Pharisaism, did it of their own free will and vow, not by command: which the men-Pharisees also did. *Bar. Amharic*

2. Pass we from the women to the men; and, first, to the lowest degrees of men in the distinction relating to religion; namely, to them, whom they ordinarily called בור 'Illiterate,' and עם הארץ 'the people of the earth,' or, the plebeians. Of them, thus the Gemara in Sotah<sup>1</sup> newly cited: "One reads the Scriptures, and recites the Misna, and yet he waits not upon the scholars of the wise men,—what of him? R. Eleazar said, זה עם הארץ 'This is one of the people of the earth.' R. Samuel Bar Nachmani saith, הרי זה בור 'Behold! this is an illiterate man.' R. Jannai saith, 'Behold! this is a Cuthean.' R. Achabar Jacob saith, 'Behold! this is a magician.'"—And a little after, "Who is עם הארץ 'the people of the earth?' R. Meir saith, 'He that recites not his phylacteries, morning and evening, with his prayers.' But the wise men say, 'He, whosoever he be, that lays not up his phylacteries.' Ben Azzai saith, 'He, who hath not a fringe on his garment.' R. Jochanan Ben Joseph saith, 'He that instructs not his sons in the doctrine of the law.' Others say, 'He who, although he read the Scriptures, and repeats the traditions, yet attends not on the scholars of the wise men, this is, ע"ה the people of the earth [or, the plebeians]. Does he read the Scriptures, and not repeat the tradition? Behold! this man is בור 'illiterate.'"—The Gloss upon the place speaks thus, "The people of the earth are they, of whom there is suspicion of tenths, and cleanness:" that is, lest they tithed not rightly, nor take care aright concerning cleansings. And בור 'the illiterate' person is "גרוע מע"ה" "more vile or inferior than the people of the earth." Compare that, John vii. 49, "The people that knoweth not the law, is cursed." *Talmud, Haka. Haber*

The חבירים and חכמים תלמידי 'collegians,' or associates, and 'scholars of the wise men,' were opposed to these

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 22. 1.

<sup>m</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 124.

vulgar persons. Under the title of תלמידי חכמים 'scholars of the wise men,' are comprehended all, that were learned and studious: under the title of חברים 'religious,' as well learned, as unlearned. There were some of the learned, whom they commonly called חבריהן דרבנין or חברייה דרבנין 'collegians of the Rabbins;' who as yet were candidates, and not preferred to the public office of teaching or judging. The thing may be illustrated by one example: "חברים סהו" Do<sup>n</sup> the חברים the collegians enter in to appoint the new moon? R. Hoshai'a said, When I was חבר a collegian, R. Samuel Ben R. Isaac led me in to the appointment of the new moon, but I knew not, whether I were of the number or no." And a little after; "Do the collegians [or, fellows] go in to intercalate the year? Let us learn this from the example of Rabban Gamaliel, who-said, Let the seven seniors meet me in the chamber. But eight entered, 'Who came in hither,' saith he, 'without leave?'—'I,' answered Samuel the Little."

In this sense, the word חבר 'a colleague,' differs nothing from תלמיד חכם 'a scholar of a wise man,' in that both signify a student and a learned man. But the word חבר 'a colleague' hath a wider sense, denoting all such, who have more professedly devoted themselves to religion, and have professed a more devout life and rule, than the common people, whether they were learned or unlearned, whether of the sect of the Pharisees, or of the Sadducees, or some other. Hence you have mention of חבר כות 'a<sup>o</sup> religious Samaritan,' and of חבר נחתום 'a<sup>p</sup> religious baker.'—And the phrase seems to be drawn from Psal. cxix. 63; חבר אני לכל אשר קבלו "I am<sup>a</sup> a companion of all those, that fear thee:" עליהן דברי חברות "They take upon them the habit of religion." See the Babylonian Talmud in Avodah Zarah<sup>r</sup> in the Gloss. That distinction also is worthy of consideration, of חברייה דרבנין and רב רבנייה "The<sup>s</sup> greater and the less religious."

Yet the word seems sometimes to be appropriated to the Pharisees, as being men, who, above all others, put on a splendidly cloaked religion, which appears enough from the history of the gospel. So, perhaps, is that to be understood,

<sup>n</sup> Hieros. Sanhedr. fol. 18. 3.    <sup>o</sup> Bab. Berae. fol. 44. 2.    <sup>p</sup> Joma, fol. 8. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 272.    <sup>r</sup> Fol. 7. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Hieros. Bava Bathra, fol. 17. 1.

אגליא “The<sup>t</sup> religious Galileans purify:” that is, as the Gloss explains it, “They cleanse their wine and their oil for a drink-offering, if, perhaps, the Temple may be built in their days.” Which, nevertheless, the Aruch citing, thus explains them; חברים אוכלין חוליהן בטהרה; “The religious eat their common food in cleanness.” By which very thing the Gloss defines Pharisees; לפרושין לאוכלי חוליהן בטהרה; “To<sup>u</sup> the Pharisees; that is, to them that eat their common food in cleanness.” Behold, how the word חברים ‘religious,’ and פרושין ‘Pharisees,’ are convertible terms; and how this was the proper notion, whereby a Pharisee was defined, “That he ate his common food in cleanness:” that is, that he washed his hands, when he ate.

III. We must not think, that Pharisaism arose altogether and at once, but it was long a-conceiving, and of no fixed form, when it was brought forth. The same may, in a manner, be said of this, which is of the Traditions: both these and that were the issue of many years. The<sup>v</sup> traditionarians do refer the first conception of the Traditions to the times of Ezra. But how many centuries of years passed, before the birth of this whole monster was full ripe? In like manner, the first seeds of Pharisaism were cast long before its birth; and being now brought forth, was a long time growing, before it came to maturity; if so be any can define, what its maturity was.

We observe presently, that the foundations of Sadduceism were laid in the days of Ezra, before there were any Sadducees: in his days, also, I suspect, the foundations of Pharisaism were laid, long before there were any Pharisees. For since the Pharisees were marked with that title, because they separated themselves from other men, as more profane; and since, in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, it was the great care, and that a holy care too, to separate the seed of Israel from the heathen inhabitants of the land, to wit, the Samaritans, the Ashdodites, the Moabites, &c, not much after,—some men, arrogating too much to themselves, took occasion hence of separating themselves from the men of the Israelitic seed, as too profane, and very unfit (alas!) for their communion. Which very thing we experience in our present Separatists. For when the Scripture commands

<sup>t</sup> Niddab, fol. 6. 2.

<sup>u</sup> In Chagigah, fol. 18. 2.

<sup>v</sup> Hieros. Megil, fol. 75. 1. Bab. Bava Kama, fol. 32. 1.

Christians, that they communicate not "with unbelievers, with those who are without," &c, that is, with heathens,—some do hence make a pretence of withdrawing themselves from the assemblies of Christians: by what right, by what foundation, let themselves look to it.

We shall not trace the time, wherein the name of 'Pharisee' first arose: this is done by learned men: and, therefore, let it be enough to have observed that only. After once this pretence of religion was received, "that it was a pious matter, to separate a man's self from the common people," superstition increased every day, which served for a stay and patronage to this sect, and separation. For when they had espoused a religion so supercilious, that they commonly said, "Stand off, I am holier than thou" (which was also foretold by the prophet with an execration, Isa. lxxv. 5), and that they placed the highest sanctimony<sup>w</sup> in this, to withdraw themselves from the common people, as profane,—it was certainly necessary to circumscribe, and to put themselves under a more austere rule and discipline, that they might retain the name and fame of religious persons in other things, besides that separation, that argued so much pride and arrogancy. Hence the troubles about tithings and washings arose, and increased age after age: hence sprang the frequent fastings and prayers, the cares of the phylacteries, fringes, and other matters without number: so that (a thing fatal to Separatists) this sect, at last, was crumbled into sects, and a Pharisee was, in a manner, the same to a Pharisee, that 'the people of the earth' was to 'a Pharisee.'

Both<sup>x</sup> Talmuds reckon seven sects of Pharisees, and so does the Aruch<sup>y</sup>: which it will not be irksome to describe with their pencil, that the reader may see, to what a degree of madness this sect was come, as well as to what a degree of hypocrisy. שבעה פרושין הן "The Pharisees are seven:"—

1. פרוש שכמי 'A Shechemite Pharisee.' זה עשה מועשה שבם "This<sup>z</sup> (Pharisee) does as Shechem." Where the Gloss is, "Who is circumcised, but not for the honour of God." טעין מצוותיה על כתפיה "He<sup>a</sup> carrieth his precepts upon his shoulders:" that is, as the Aruch explains it, "Wood to make a booth [in the feast of Tabernacles], or something of that nature."

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 125.

<sup>x</sup> Hieros. in Berac. fol. 13. 2. Sotah, fol. 20. 3. and Bab. Sotah, fol. 22. 2.

<sup>y</sup> In ערוש

<sup>z</sup> Bab.

<sup>a</sup> Hieros.

2. המנקיף את ' A Pharisee struck, or dashing.' פרוש נקפי את רגליו " Who<sup>b</sup> dasheth his feet." The Gloss is, " He who walketh in humility, the heel of one foot touching the great toe of the other: nor did he lift up his feet from the earth, so that his toes were dashed against the stones." The Aruch writes, " Who withdrew himself a great way off, that he might not press upon men in the ways, and dashed his feet against the stones." : אקף לי ואנא עבר מצוח: " Strike<sup>e</sup> me (or, surround me), and yet I will perform the command."

3. פרוש קזאי ' A<sup>d</sup> Pharisee, that lets out his blood.'—" He<sup>e</sup> strikes out his blood against the walls." The Gloss is; " He shows himself such a one, as if his eyes were hood-winked, that he might not look upon a woman; and here-upon dashed his head against the walls, and let out his blood." The Aruch writes, " He so pressed up himself against the walls, that he might not touch those that passed by, that by the dashing he fetched blood of himself."—" He<sup>f</sup> performed one precept, and one duty, and struck out blood at each."

4. פרוש מדוכיא ' A Pharisee of the mortar.'—The Aruch thus describes him; " He went in a loose coat, resembling a mortar with the mouth turned downwards. So he, with his loose garment, was straiter above, and broader below."—In the Jerusalem Talmud he is called פרוש מנכ"ה, " who saith, I withdraw whatsoever is mine, and fulfil the command."

5. פרוש מה חובתי ואעשנה " The Pharisee which saith, Let me know what my duty is, and I will do it."—" I have<sup>g</sup> done my duty, that the command may be performed according to it."—The Aruch thus; " As though he should say, There is no man can show me, wherein I have transgressed."

6. פרוש יראה ' A Pharisee of fear: ' such as Job.

7. פרוש אהבה ' A Pharisee of love: ' as Abraham. אין לך חביב מכולן אלא פרוש אהבה כאברהם " Among<sup>h</sup> all these, none is worthy to be loved, but the Pharisee of love."

Whether Pharisaism ran out into any of these sects, in the days of the Baptist, we dispute not. Let it be granted, that the best and the most modest of that order, came to his baptism: the best of the Pharisees, certainly, were the worst of men. And it is so much the more to be wondered at, that these men should receive his baptism after that man-

<sup>b</sup> Bab.

<sup>e</sup> Bab.

<sup>c</sup> Hieros.

<sup>f</sup> Hieros.

<sup>d</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 273.

<sup>g</sup> Hieros.

<sup>h</sup> Hieros.

ner as they did,—when it was highly contrary to the rule of the Pharisees to converse among the common people, of whom there was so great a concourse to John; and highly contrary to the doctrine of the Pharisees, so much as to dream of any righteousness, besides that, which was of the works of the law, which the doctrine of John diametrically contradicted.

The original of the Sadducees, learned men as well as Jews, as Christians, do, for the most part, refer to one Zadoc, a scholar of Antigonus Socheus; which Antigonus took the chief seat in the Sanhedrim after the death of Simeon the Just. Of him thus speaks the tract *Avoth*<sup>i</sup>: “Antigonus of Socho received traditions of Simeon the Just. He said, Be not as servants, who wait upon their master for the sake of the reward; but be ye like servants, who wait upon their master not for the sake of the reward: but let the fear of the Lord rule you.”

“This wise man (saith Rambam upon the place) had two scholars, Zadoc and Baithus,—who, when they heard this from their master, said among themselves, when they were gone away, Our master, in his exposition, teacheth us, that there is neither reward nor punishment, nor any expectation at all [for the future]: for they understood not what he meant: therefore, they mutually strengthened one another, and departed from the rule, and forsook the law: and some company adhered to both. The wise men, therefore, called them Sadducees and Baithusees.” And a little after: “But in these countries,—namely, in Egypt,—they call them Karaites, קראים; but Sadducees and Baithusees are their names among the wise men.” See, also, the *Avoth* of R. Nathan<sup>j</sup>.

Yet<sup>k</sup> that raiseth a scruple here: “At<sup>l</sup> the conclusion of all prayers in the Temple, they said, עד עולם ‘for ever.’ But when the heretics brake in and said, There was no age but one, it was appointed to be said, מן העולם ועד העולם ‘For ever and ever,’ or ‘from age to age.’” Upon these words thus the Gloss; “In the first Temple they said only, ‘Blessed be the Lord God of Israel for ever.’ But when the heretics brake in, and said, ‘There was no age but this,’ Ezra and his consistory appointed, that it should be said, מן העולם ועד העולם ‘For ever and ever,’ or ‘from age to age,’ to imply, there is

<sup>i</sup> Cap. 1.<sup>k</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 126.<sup>j</sup> Cap. 5.<sup>l</sup> Bab. Berac. fol. 54.

a double world [this, and one to come], to root out of the heart the opinion of those, that deny the resurrection of the dead."

Take notice, reader, that "there were some, who denied the resurrection of the dead in the days of Ezra," when as yet, Zadoc, the father of the Sadducees, was not born. After Ezra, and his great synagogue (which endured many a year after Ezra was dead), sat Simeon the Just, performing the office of the high-priest, for the space of forty years: and Antigonus Socheus, the master of Zadoc, succeeded him in the chair of the Sanhedrim. So that, although the Sadducees, with good reason, do bear an ill report for denying the resurrection, and that was their principal heresy; yet that heresy was, when as yet there were no heretics, called by the name of 'Sadducees.' To which, perhaps, those words do agree (which sufficiently taste of such a heresy), "Ye have said, It is in vain to serve God," &c. Mal. iii. 14.

It is not, therefore, to be denied, that the Sadducee-heretics were so named from Zadoc; but that the heresy of the Sadducees, concerning the resurrection, was older than that name, one may suppose not without reason; nor that that cursed doctrine first arose from the words of Antigonus, illy understood by Zadoc and Baithus, but was of an ancients original, when as yet the prophets Zecharias, Malachi, and Ezra himself, were alive, if that Ezra were not the same with Malachi, as the Jews suppose. Therefore, I do rather think, that heresy sprang from the misunderstanding of the words of Ezekiel, chap. xxxvii; which some understanding according to the letter, and, together with it, seeing no resurrection, dreamt that there would be none afterward. And this doctrine increased, and exalted itself into a sect; when, at length, Zadoc and Baithus asserted, that it was so determined out of the chair by their master Antigonus<sup>1</sup>, the president of the Sanhedrim.

When I fetch the rise of the Sadducees not much after the death of Simeon the Just, that does not unseasonably come into my mind, which is mentioned by the Talmudists, that the state of things became worse after his death. "All<sup>m</sup> the days of Simeon the Just, the scape-goat had scarce come to the middle of the precipice of the mountain [whence he was cast down], but he was broken into pieces: but, when

<sup>1</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 274.

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Joma, fol. 43. 3.

Simeon the Just was dead, he fled away [alive] into the desert, and was eaten by Saracens. While Simeon the Just lived, the lot of God [in the day of expiation] went forth always to the right hand: Simeon the Just being dead, it went forth sometimes to the right hand, and sometimes to the left. All the days of Simeon the Just, the little scarlet tongue looked always white: but when Simeon the Just was dead, it sometimes looked white, and sometimes red. All the days of Simeon the Just, the west light always burnt; but when he was dead, it sometimes burnt, and sometimes went out. All the days of Simeon the Just, the fire upon the altar burnt clear and bright; and, after two pieces of wood laid on in the morning, they laid on nothing else the whole day: but when he was dead, the force of the fire languished in that manner, that they were compelled to supply it all the day. All the days of Simeon the Just, a blessing was sent upon the two loaves and the show-bread so, that a portion came to every priest, to the quantity of an olive at least; and there were some, who ate till they were satisfied,—and there were others, to whom something remained, after they had eaten their fill: but when Simeon the Just was dead, that blessing was withdrawn, and so little remained to each, that those that were modest, withdrew their hands,—and those that were greedy, still stretched them out.

Γεννήματα ἔχιδνῶν “*Generation of vipers.*”] I. Ὀφεις, ‘Serpents,’ chap. xxiii. 33. Not so much “the seed of Abraham,” which ye boast of, as “the seed of the serpent.” Ὁ Ἀντίχριστος, ὁ Ἀντικείμενος, ‘The antichrist,’ ‘the opposer,’ 2 Thess. ii. 4. A nation and offspring diametrically opposite, and an enemy to that seed of the woman, and which was to bruise his heel.

II. Hence, not without ground, it is concluded, that that nation was rejected and given over to a reprobate sense, even before the coming of Christ. They were not only γένεά, ‘a generation,’ but γεννήματα, ‘an offspring of vipers,’ serpents sprung from serpents. Nor is it wonder, if they were rejected by God, when they had long since rejected God, and God’s word, by their traditions. See that, Matt. xiii. 13—15, 1 Pet. ii. 10, “Ye were not a people.”

There was, indeed, a certain remnant among them, to be gathered by Christ: and when that was gathered, the rest

of the nation was delivered over to everlasting perdition. This<sup>m</sup> is that *λείμμα*, that remnant of the apostle, Rom. xi. 5, which then was, when he writ those things; which then was to be gathered, before the destruction of that nation.

*Φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς* “*To fly from the wrath to come.*”] These words respect the very last words of the Old Testament, “lest I smite the earth with a curse,” Mal. iv; and denote the most miserable destruction of the nation, and now almost ready to fall upon them.

The receiving of John’s baptism signed and fenced those that received it, from the ruin that was just coming. To this belongs that of St. Peter, Epist. i. ch. iii. 20, 21: in that manner as Noah and his sons were, by water, delivered from the flood, “so also baptism now, the antitype of that type, saveth us,” from the deluge of divine indignation, which, in a short time, is to overflow the Jewish nation. Think here, if those that came to baptism, brought not their little ones with them to baptism: when, by the plain words of the Baptist, those that are baptized, are said to “fly from the wrath to come?” that is, ‘the wrath of God,’ that was not long hence to destroy the nation by a most sad overthrow.

Ver. 9: *Μὴ δόξητε λέγειν* “*Think not to say.*”] A Jerusalem phrase, to be met with every where, in the Talmud: סבר מימר “*To think a word,*” or “*to be of that opinion.*”

Ver. 10: *Ἡ ἀξίτη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν* “*The axe is laid to the root.*”] These words seem to be taken from Isa. x. 33, 34. The destruction of the nation was to proceed from the Romans, who had now a great while held them under the yoke. That axe, now laid to the root of the tree, shall certainly cut it down, if, from this last dressing by the gospel, it bears not fruit. In the Talmud<sup>n</sup>, those words of Isaiah are applied to the destruction of the city; and thence it is argued, that the Messiah should be born not much after the time of that destruction, because, presently after the threatening of that ruin, follows, “*A Branch shall arise out of the stock of Jesse;*” Isa. xi. 1.

Ver. 11: *Ὅς οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι* “*Whose shoes I am not worthy to bear.*”] In Luke it is, *λῦσαι τὸν ἰμάντα τῶν ὑποδήματων*, “*to unloose the latchet*

<sup>m</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 127.

<sup>n</sup> Hieros. Beracoth, fol. 5. 1.

of his shoes:" which comes to the same thing: both sound to the same import, as if he had said, 'Whose servant I am not worthy to be.'

"A Canaanite<sup>o</sup> servant is like a farm, in respect of buying: for he is bought with money, or with a writing, או ברוקק or by some service done, as a pledge or pawn. And what is such a pawning in the buying of servants? Namely, that he looseth the shoe of him [who buys], or binds on his shoe, or carries to the bath such things as be necessary for him," &c. These things Maimonides produceth out of the Talmud, where these words are, "How<sup>p</sup> is a servant<sup>q</sup> bought ברוקק by service? He looseth the buyer's shoe; he carrieth such things after him, as are necessary for the bath; he unclothes him; washes, anoints, rubs, dresses him; puts on his shoes, and lifts him up from the earth," &c. See also the Tosaphtha<sup>r</sup>.

This, by the way, is to be noted, which the Gloss intimates,—that all servants, of what heathen nation soever, bought by the Jews, were called 'Canaanite servants,' because it is said of Canaan, "Canaan a servant of servants."

Ver. 15<sup>s</sup>: Οὕτω πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. "Thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness." That is, 'that we fulfil every thing that is just.' Now, in the baptism of Christ, there were these two just things especially:—I. That this great priest, being initiated into his ministerial office, should answer the type of the admission of the Levitical priests, who were initiated by washing and anointing; so was he by baptism, and the Holy Ghost. II. When, by the institution of Christ, those that entered into the profession of the gospel, were to be introduced by baptism, it was just, yea, necessary,—that Christ, being to enter into the same profession, and to preach it too, should be admitted by baptism.

Ver. 16: Καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς. "And Jesus being baptized." I. That Christ conversed upon earth two-and-thirty years and a half (as many years as David lived at Jerusalem; compare 2 Sam. v. 5), is proved hence:—1. That he was baptized, when he had now completed his twenty-ninth year, and had newly begun his thirtieth. That the

<sup>o</sup> Maimon. in מכירה cap. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Bab. Kiddushin, fol. 22. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 275.

<sup>r</sup> Ad Kiddush. cap. 1.

<sup>s</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 128.

words of Luke imply, ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος ὢν "He began to be about thirty years old." Which words, although they are applied by some Christians to I know not what large latitude,—yet, in the Jewish schools, and among that nation, they would not admit, certainly, of another sense, than we produce. For there<sup>t</sup> this axiom holds, יום אחד בשנה : השנה "The first day of the year is reckoned for that year." And, questionless, Luke speaks with the vulgar. For let it be supposed, that the evangelist uttered these words in some Jewish school, "N. was baptized ἀρχόμενος ὢν ὡσεὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, beginning to be about thirty years old:" how could it be understood by them of the thirtieth complete (much less of the thirty-first, or thirty-second, as some wrest it)? when the words ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ, "beginning to be about," do so harmoniously agree with the said axiom, as scarcely any thing can do more clearly. 2. That, from his baptism to his cross, he lived three years and a half. This is intimated by the angel Gabriel, Dan. ix. 27; "In the half of a week" (that is, in three years and a half) "he shall make the sacrifice and oblation to cease:" and it is confirmed from the computation in the evangelists, but especially in John, who clearly mentioneth four Passovers (chap. ii. 13, v. 1, vi. 4, and xiii. 1) after his forty days' fast, and not a little time spent in Galilee.

II. Therefore, we suppose Christ was baptized about the feast of Tabernacles, in the month Tisri, at which time we suppose him born; and that John was born about the feast of the Passover, and at that time began to baptize. For when Christ lived two-and-thirty years and a half, and died at the feast of the Passover,—you must necessarily reduce his birth to the month Tisri, and about the time of the feast of Tabernacles; and when John the Baptist was elder than he by half a year, you must necessarily suppose him born about the feast of the Passover. But of these things we have said something already.

Ver. 17: Καὶ ἰδοὺ, φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν "And behold, a voice from heaven." Christ was honoured with a threefold testimony, pronounced by a voice from heaven, according to his threefold office. See what we say at chap. xvii. 2.

You find not a voice sent from heaven between the giving of the law, and the baptism of Christ. What things the

<sup>t</sup> Rosh Hashanah, fol. 2, 2.

Jews relate of Bath Kol, they must pardon me, if I esteem them, partly, for Jewish fables,—partly, for devilish witchcrafts. They hold it for a tradition: “After the death of the last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, נסתלקה רוח הקודש מישראל: *the Holy Spirit departed from Israel [which was most true]*: כן משתמשין בבת קול: *but they used thenceforth the Bath Kol.*” “The Bath Kol was this; כשקול יוצא מן השמים When a voice (or thunder) came out of heaven, another voice came out from it.”

But why, I pray, was prophecy withdrawn, if heavenly oracles were to be continued? Why, also, was Urim and Thummim taken away? Or rather, why was it not restored after the Babylonian captivity? For “Five things (say they) were wanting under the second Temple<sup>x</sup>, which were under the first:—namely, the fire from heaven, the ark, Urim and Thummim, the oil of anointing, and the Holy Spirit.” It would certainly be a wonder, if God, taking away from his people his ordinary oracles, should bestow upon them a nobler oracle, or as noble; and that, when the nation had degenerated, and were sunk into all kind of impiety, superstition, heresy. When the last prophets, Haggai and the rest, were dead, the Sadducean heresy, concerning the resurrection, crept in, and the Pharisaical heresy, also, weakening all Scripture, and making it of none effect by vain traditions. And shall I believe, that God should so indulge his people, when they were guilty of so grievous apostasy,—as to vouchsafe to talk familiarly with them from heaven, and<sup>y</sup> to afford them oracles so sublime, so frequent, as the prophets themselves had not the like? If I may speak plainly what I think, I should reduce those numberless stories of the Bath Kol, which occur every where, under these two heads;—namely, that very many are mere fables, invented for this purpose,—that hence the worth of this or that Rabbin or story may be illustrated; the rest are mere magical and diabolical delusions.

When I read these, and such-like passages, that<sup>z</sup> the Bath Kol in Jericho gave witness to Hillel, that he was worthy to have the Holy Ghost abide upon him:—that the Bath Kol in Jabneh yielded the same testimony to Samuel the Little :

Bab. Sanhed. fol. 11. 1.

<sup>v</sup> Piske Tosaph. in Sanhed. cap. 1. art. 29.

<sup>w</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 65. 1.

<sup>x</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 129.

<sup>y</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 276.

<sup>z</sup> Bab. Sanhed. in the above place.

that the<sup>a</sup> Bath Kol again in Jabneh determined the controversies between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, for those of Hillel;"—and innumerable other stories of that kind; I cannot but either suspect these to be tales, or that these voices were framed by art magic for the honour of the Rabbins.

It is remarkable, what is related in the Jerusalem Talmud<sup>b</sup>; "אר" אלעזר הולכין אחר שמיעת בת קול; "R. Eliezer saith, They follow the hearing of Bath Kol." And a little after; "R. Jochanan, and R. Simeon Ben Lachish, desired to see the face of Samuel [*the Babylonian Doctor*]; Let us follow, say they, the hearing of Bath Kol. Travelling, therefore, near a school, they heard a boy's voice reading [in 1. Sam. xxv. 1] 'ושמואל מת' And Samuel died.' They observed this, and so it came to pass; for Samuel of Babylon was dead."

"R. Jonah and R. Josah went to visit R. Acha lying sick: Let us follow, say they, the hearing of Bath Kol. They heard the voice of a certain woman, speaking to her neighbour, 'The light is put out.' To whom she said, 'Let it not be put out, nor let the light of Israel be quenched.'"

Behold! reader, a people very well contented to be deceived with a new kind of Bath Kol. Compare these things with Virgil's lots, of which the Roman historians speak frequently. Not to be more tedious, therefore, in this matter, let two things only be observed: 1. That the nation, under the second Temple, was given to magical arts beyond measure. And, 2. That it was given to an easiness of believing all manner of delusions beyond measure. And one may safely suspect, that those voices, which they thought to be from heaven, and noted with the name of Bath Kol,—were either formed by the devil in the air, to deceive the people, —or by magicians by devilish art, to promote their own affairs. Hence the apostle Peter saith, with good reason, that "the word of prophecy was surer than a voice from heaven;" 2 Pet. i. 19. X MB

The very same, which I judge of the Bath Kol, is my opinion also of the frequent appearances of Elias, with which the leaves of the Talmud do every where abound; namely, that, in very many places, the stories are false,—and, in the rest, the apparitions of him were diabolical. See the notes upon the tenth verse of the seventeenth chapter.

<sup>a</sup> Hieros. Berac. fol. 3. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Schab. fol. 8. 3.

## CHAP. IV.

VER. 1: 'Ανήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπο τοῦ πνεύματος πειρασθῆναι, &c. "*He was led up by the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted;*" &c.] The war, proclaimed of old in Eden between the serpent, and the seed of the serpent, and the seed of the woman, Gen. iii. 15, now takes place: when that promised seed of the woman comes forth into the field (being initiated by baptism, and anointed by the Holy Ghost, unto the public office of his ministry) to fight with that old serpent, and at last to bruise his head. And, since the devil was always a most impudent spirit, now he takes upon him a more hardened boldness than ever, even of waging war with him, whom he knew to be the Son of God, because from that ancient proclamation of this war he knew well enough, that he should bruise his heel.

The first scene or field of the combat, was the 'Desert of Judea,' which Luke intimates, when he saith, that "Jesus returned from Jordan, and that he was led by the spirit into the wilderness;" that is, from the same coast, or region of Jordan, in which he had been baptized.

The *time* of his temptations was from the middle of the month Tisri to the end of forty days; that is, from the beginning of our month of October to the middle of November, or thereabouts: so that he conflicted with cold, as well as want, and Satan.

The *manner* of his temptations was twofold. First, Invisibly, as the devil is wont to tempt sinners; and this for forty days: while the tempter endeavoured, with all his industry, to throw in his suggestions, if possible, into the mind of Christ, as he does to mortal men. Which when he could not compass, because he found 'nothing in him,' in which such a temptation might fix itself, John xiv. 30,—he attempted another way, namely, by appearing to him in a visible shape, and conversing with him, and that in the form of an angel of light. Let the evangelists be compared. Mark saith, "he was tempted forty days:" so, also, doth Luke: x but Matthew, that "the tempter came to him, after forty days;" that is, in a visible form.

The *matter* of his temptations was very like the temptations of Eve. She fell by the "lust of the flesh, the lust of

<sup>c</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 133.

the eye, and the pride of life:" which are the heads of all sins, 1 John ii. 16.

By the lust of the eyes: for " she saw the fruit, that it was pleasant to the sight."

By the lust of the flesh; she lusted for it, because " it was desirable to be eaten."

By the pride of life; not contented with the state of perfection, wherein she was created, she affected a higher; and she " took<sup>d</sup> of the fruit, and did eat," that she might become wiser by it.

The same tempter set upon our Saviour with the same stratagems.

I. As Eve was deceived by mistaking his person, supposing a good angel discoursed with her, when it was a bad,—so the devil, in like manner, puts on the good angel here, clothed with light and feigned glory.

II. He endeavours to ensnare Christ by the lust of the flesh; " Command, that these stones be made bread:"—by the lust of the eye; " All these things will I give thee, and the glory of them:"—by the pride of life; " 'Throw thyself down,' and fly in the air, and be held up by angels."

Ver. 5: 'Ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ' " Upon the *pinnacle of the Temple.*"] Whether he placed him upon the Temple itself, or upon some building within the holy circuit, it is in vain to seek, because it cannot be found. If it were upon the Temple itself, I should reflect upon the top of the Πύλον 'Porch of the Temple:' if upon some other building, I should reflect upon the Στοὰν βασιλικήν, 'The royal gallery.' The priests were wont sometimes to go up to the top of the Temple, stairs being made for this purpose, and described in the Talmudic book entitled Middoth<sup>e</sup>; and they are said to have ascended hither, " When<sup>f</sup> fire was first put to the Temple, and to have thrown up the keys of the chambers of the Temple towards heaven, with these words; ' O thou eternal Lord, because we are not worthy to keep these keys, to thee they are delivered.'—And there came, as it were, the form of a hand out of heaven, and took them from them: and they leaped down, and fell into the fire."

Above all other parts of the Temple the Πύλον 'Porch of the Temple,' yea, the whole πρόναος, 'space before it,' may not unfitly be called τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, 'the wing of the

<sup>d</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 277.    <sup>e</sup> Cap. 4. hal. 5.    <sup>f</sup> Bab. Taanith, fol. 29. 1.

Temple,'—because, like wings, it extended itself in breadth on each side, far beyond the breadth of the Temple: which we take notice of elsewhere.

If, therefore, the devil had placed Christ in the very precipice of this part of the Temple, he may well be said to have placed him upon 'the wing of the Temple,' both because this part was like a wing to the Temple itself, and that that precipice was the wing of this part.

But if you suppose him placed ἐπὶ στοὰν βασιλικήν, 'upon the royal gallery,' look upon it thus painted out by Josephus: "On<sup>s</sup> the south part [of the Court of the Gentiles] was the στοὰ βασιλική, the king's gallery, that deserves to be mentioned among the most magnificent things under the sun: for upon a huge depth of a valley, scarcely to be fathomed by the eye of him that stands above, Herod erected a gallery of a vast height; from the top of which, if any looked down, σκοποδιυῖν οὐκ ἐξικουμένης τῆς ὄψεως εἰς ἀμέτρητον τὸν βυθόν' he would grow dizzy, his eyes not being able to reach to so vast a depth."

Ver. 8<sup>h</sup>: Δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου, &c. "Showed him all the kingdoms of the world," &c.] That is, Rome with her empire and state. For, 1. That empire is called πᾶσα οἰκουμένη, 'All the world' (which word Luke useth in this story), both in sacred and profane writers. 2. At this time all cities were of little account in comparison of Rome, nor did any part of the earth bear any vogue, without that empire. 3. Rome was 'the seat of Satan,' Rev. xiii. 2; and he granted to the beast of that city both it, and the dominion. 4. This, therefore, seems to be that, whereby he attempts to ensnare our Saviour in this object,—namely, that he promiseth to give him the pomp and power of Cæsar, and to deliver into his hand the highest empire of the world,—that is, the Roman. This, antichrist afterward obtained.

Ver. 13: Καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρέθ, ἔλθων κατώκησεν εἰς Καπερναούμ. "And, leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt at Capernaum." Why he left Nazareth, after he had passed six or seven-and-twenty years there, the reason appears, Luke iv. 28, &c. We do not read, that he returned thither again;—and so, unhappy Nazareth, thou perishest by thine

<sup>s</sup> Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 703.]

<sup>h</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 131.

own folly and perverseness. Whether his father Joseph had any inheritance at Capernaum, which he possessed as his heir, or rather dwelt there in some hired house, we dispute not. This is certainly called his city, Matt. ix. 1, &c; and here, as a citizen, he paid the half-shekel, Matt. xvii. 24. Where it is worthy marking, what is said by the Jews: "How<sup>i</sup> long does a man dwell in some city, before he be as one of the citizens? Twelve months." The same is recited again<sup>j</sup> elsewhere. The Jerusalem Gemara thus explains it; "If he tarry in the city thirty days, he becomes as one of the citizens, in respect of the alms-chest; if six months, he becomes a citizen, in respect of clothing; if twelve months, in respect of tributes and taxes." The Babylonian adds, "if nine months, in respect of burial." That is, if any abide in a city thirty days, they require of him alms for the poor; if six months, he is bound, with the other citizens, to clothe the poor; if nine months, to bury the dead poor; if twelve months, he is bound to undergo all other taxes with the rest of the citizens. See the Gloss.

Ver. 15: Γῆ Ζαβουλὼν, καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλίμ. "The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthali." It is needful, that the words of Isaiah be considered, whence these words are taken. He had been discoursing, in the eighth chapter, towards the end, concerning the straits and miseries, that compassed<sup>k</sup> the transgressors of the law and the testimony. "To the law and to the testimony," &c. ver. 20. ועבר בה נקשה ורעב. "But if a man transgress against it [that is, תורה and תעודה 'the law and the testimony'], it will redound to his hardship, and he shall suffer hunger," &c. ver. 21. "And he shall look to the earth, and behold trouble and darkness, dimness of anguish, and he shall be driven to darkness," ver. 22. And then it follows, chap. ix. 1<sup>l</sup>, כִּי לֹא מוֹעֵף לְאִשֶׁר, "For the dimness shall not be like to that, wherein it was ill with him, at what time the former [afflicter] lightly touched the land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthali, and the latter grievously afflicted," &c. "That people, who sat in darkness, saw a great light," &c.

That which the prophet means here, is this:—1. That

<sup>l</sup> Bava Bathra, cap. 1. hal. 6.

<sup>j</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 112. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 278.

<sup>l</sup> Or viii. 23. Duncan's Hebrew Bible, vol. 2. p. 9.

the contemners of Emanuel and his testimony, that is, the gospel, should undergo far greater calamities, than those places had undergone, either under their first conqueror Ben-hadad<sup>m</sup>, or under the second, the king of Assyria<sup>n</sup>. For those places saw light at last restored to them, when the Messias preached the gospel there: but the contemners of the gospel are driven into eternal darkness. 2. He foretells the morning of liberty, and of evangelical light, to arise there, where the first darkness and the calamities of their captivity had arisen. St. Matthew citing these words, that he might show the prophecy to be fulfilled, of that light that should arise there,—omits those words, which speak of their former misery, that is, the first clause of the verse, and produceth those words only, and that very fitly too, which make to his purpose, and which aim directly thither, by the prophet's intention. The prophet Hosea affords us an instance of curtailing<sup>o</sup> a sentence after that manner, chap. i. 11, ii. 1; when he proclaims Israel and Judah miserable, he calls them 'Lo-Ammi,' and 'Lo-Ruchamah;' when happy, 'Ammi,' and 'Ruchamah.'

Πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. “*Beyond Jordan.*”] Not by Jordan, but *beyond* Jordan. For the latter afflicter, the king of Assyria, had carried away that country also into banishment and bonds, 1 Chron. v. 26. Here is an ellipsis of the conjunction *and*.

Ver. 18: Βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. “*Casting a net into the sea.*”] : מוֹחֲבֵן בַּיַּמָּה שֶׁל טַבְּרִיָּה: “*Fishing<sup>p</sup> in the sea of Tiberias,*” in Talmudic speech. There the fathers of the traditions dream, that Joshua, the son of Nun, gave ten laws to the Israelites, concerning having some things in common, as lawful, and to be allowed of: תַּרְרָה תְּנִינָא דְהַתְנָה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ “*Our Rabbins have a tradition, that Joshua ordained ten conditions: שִׁיחַ מְרַעֵן בְּהוֹרְשֵׁין That cattle graze in common in woody places. וּמִלְקָטֵין עֵצִים: And that a man gather wood in common in his neighbour's field,*” &c. Among others, מוֹחֲבֵן בַּיַּמָּה שֶׁל טַבְּרִיָּה “*And that any, in common, spread his nets for fishing in the sea of Tiberias.*” But yet under this caution, שְׁלֹא יִפְרוּם קֶלַע “*That none set up a wall, which may be an impediment to ships.*” The Gloss is, “*It is the manner of*

<sup>m</sup> 1 Kings, xv. 20

<sup>n</sup> 2 Kings, xv. 29.

<sup>o</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 132.

<sup>p</sup> Bava Kama, in the place above.

fishermen, to fasten stakes in the water, and to make fences of canes or reeds, in which the fish may be taken: but this is not permitted, because it is an impediment to the ships." However, therefore, the sea of Tiberias belonged to the tribe of Nephthali, yet it was free for any Israelite to fish in it, so it were under the condition mentioned.

Ver. 19: Ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων "Fishers of men." This phrase is something agreeable with that of Maimonides<sup>p</sup> upon the Talmud, שלא ישכח דבר מדברי דיני תורה: "A fisher of the law."

Ver. 21: Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου. "James the son of Zebedee." We meet<sup>q</sup> with a certain Rabbin of this very same name, יעקב בר זבדי, ר' "R. Jacob, the son of Zabdi."

Ver. 23: Διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν. "Teaching in their synagogues." Since we meet with very frequent mention of synagogues every where in the books of the gospel, it may be needful to know something more clearly, what the customs and institutions of the synagogues were, for the better understanding very many things, which have some reference thereunto in the New Testament: let us here despatch the history of them ἐν ἐπιτομῇ, as briefly as we may, now when the mention of synagogues first occurs.

### § Of the Synagogues.

I. A synagogue was not formed any where, but where there were ten learned men, professedly students of the law. 1. Let that of the Talmud<sup>r</sup> be observed. איזה עיר גדולה "What is a great city? כל שיש בה " בטלנין: " That, in which were ten men of leisure. פחות מכאן הרי זה כפר: " If there be less than this number, behold, it is a village." 2. Observe that of Maimonides<sup>s</sup>; "Wheresoever there be ten of Israel, there a house must needs be built, to which they may resort to prayers in the time of prayer, and this house is called a synagogue." Not that any ten of Israel made a synagogue; but wheresoever were ten learned men, and studious of the law, these were called בטלנין Batlanin, 'Men of leisure;' "who were not to esteemed for lazy and idle persons, but בצרכי ציבור בטלנין ממלאכתן ועוסקין בצרכי ציבור" not being encumbered with worldly things, "were at leisure only to take

<sup>p</sup> Torah, cap. 1.    <sup>q</sup> Hieros. Mansar Sheni, fol. 55. 2.    <sup>r</sup> Megill. cap. 1. hal. 3.  
<sup>s</sup> Tephillah, cap. 11.    <sup>t</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 133.

care of the affairs of the synagogues, and to give themselves to the study of the law."

The<sup>v</sup> reason of the number of ten, though lean and empty enough, is given in the Talmud<sup>w</sup>; and it is this; עדה היא עשרה "A congregation consists of ten:"—which they prove hence, because it is said, עד מתי לעדה הרעה הזאת, "How long shall I bear with this evil congregation," &c. (Numb. xiv. 27.) Take away Joshua and Caleb, and there remain only ten;" namely, of the spies of the land.

II. Of these ten men:—

1. Three bare the magistracy, and were called בד"ש של שלשה 'The bench of three':—whose office it was, to decide the differences arising between the members of the synagogue, and to take care about other matters of the synagogue. These judged concerning money-matters, thefts, losses, restitutions, of ravishing a virgin, of a man enticing a virgin, of the admission of proselytes, χερροδεσία, 'laying on of hands,' and divers other things, of which see the tract Sanhedrim<sup>x</sup>. These were properly, and with good reason, called Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, 'Rulers of the Synagogue,' because on them laid the chief care of things, and the chief power.

2. Besides these there was 'the public minister of the synagogue,' who prayed publicly, and took care about the reading of the law, and sometimes preached, if there were not some other to discharge this office. This person was called שליח ציבור 'The angel of the church,' and דון הכנסת 'The Chazan or bishop of the congregation.' The Aruch gives the reason of the name: "The Chazan (saith he) is שליח ציבור the angel of the church (or the public minister), and the Targum renders the word רואה by the word חוזה one that oversees; שהוא צריך לראות היאך יקרא והיאך קורא בני אדם for it is incumbent on him to oversee, how the reader reads, and whom he may call out to read in the law." The public minister of the synagogue himself read not the law publicly; but, every sabbath, he called out seven of the synagogue (on other days, fewer) whom he judged fit to read. He stood by him that read, with great care observing, that he read nothing either falsely, or improperly,—and calling him back, and correcting him, if he had failed in any thing. And hence he was called דון, that is Ἐπίσκοπος, or 'Over-

<sup>v</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 279.

<sup>w</sup> Sanhedr. cap. 4. hal. 6.

<sup>x</sup> Cap. 4. hal. 1.

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seer.' Certainly, the signification of the word 'Bishop,' and 'Angel of the church,' had been determined with less noise, if recourse had been made to the proper fountains,—and men had not vainly disputed about the signification of words, taken I know not whence. The service and worship of the Temple being abolished, as being ceremonial, God transplanted the worship and public adoration of God used in the synagogues, which was moral, into the Christian church; to wit, the public ministry, public prayers, reading God's word, and preaching, &c. Hence the names of the ministers of the gospel were the very same, 'The angel of the church,' and 'The bishop,'—which belonged to the ministers in the synagogues.

3. There were also three deacons, or almoners, on whom was the care of the poor; and these were called 'Parnasin,' or 'Pastors.' And these seven perhaps were reputed שבעה טובי העיר "The seven good men of the city;" of whom there is frequent remembrance in the Talmudists.

Of these Parnasin, we shall only produce these things. There were two, who demanded alms of the townsmen; and they were called, שני גבאי צדקה "The two collectors of alms." ועוד אחד כרי שיהיו ג' לחלק צדקה "To whom was added a third to distribute it."

R. Chelbo<sup>2</sup> in the name of R. Ba Bar Zabda saith, They do not make fewer than three Parnasin. For I see the judgments about many matters to be managed by three: therefore much more these, which concern life. R. Josi in the name of R. Jochanan saith, They do not make two brethren Parnasin. R. Josi went to Cepharsa, intending there to set Parnasin over them, but they received him not. He went away, after he had said these words before them, Ben Bebai was only set over the threaded [linen of the lamps], and yet he was reckoned worthy to be numbered with the eminent men of that age. [See Shekalim, cap. 5.] Ye who are set over the lives of men, how much more are ye so? R. Chaggai, when he appointed the Parnasin, argued to them out of the law, all dominion that is given, is given from the law. By me kings reign. R. Chaiia Bar Ba ארכינין set ἄρχοντας, rulers over them, that is, he appointed Parnasin. R. Lazar was a Parnas."

This, perhaps, holds out a light to those words of the apo-

<sup>1</sup> Maimon. in Saubedr. cap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Hieros. Peah, fol. 21. 1.

stle, 1 Tim. iii. 13, "They that have performed the office of a deacon well, have obtained to themselves a good degree:" that is, being faithful in their care and provision for the poor, as to their corporal life, they may well be probationers for the care of souls. For when those Parnasin, as also all the ten, were learned and studious, they might with good reason be preferred from the care of bodies to that of souls. The apostles' deacons are to be reckoned also of the same learned and studious rank. And now let us turn our eyes a little from the synagogues to Christian churches, in the history of the New Testament. When the Romans permitted the Jewish synagogues to use their own laws and proper government, why, I pray, should there not be the same toleration allowed to the apostolical churches? The Roman<sup>a</sup> censure had as yet made no difference between the Judaizing synagogues of the Jews, and the Christian synagogues or churches of Jews; nor did it permit them to live after their own laws, and forbid these. I am not, therefore, afraid to assert, that the churches of that first age were wanting to themselves, if they took not up the same liberty of government, as the Romans allowed the Jewish synagogues to use. And I do not think that was said by the apostle, 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3, &c. without this foundation. Therefore, this power of their own government being allowed them, if so be they were minded to enjoy what they might, how easily may those words of the apostle be understood, which have so racked learned men (shall I say?) or which have been so racked by them, 1 Tim. v. 17<sup>b</sup>: Οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, &c. "Let the elders that rule well," &c.

4. We may reckon the eighth man of these ten to be the תורגמן, that is, 'the interpreter' in the synagogue; who, being skilled in the tongues, and standing by him that read in the law, rendered, in the mother-tongue, verse by verse, those things, that were read out of the Hebrew text. The duty of this interpreter, and the rules of his duty, you may read at large in the Talmud<sup>c</sup>.

The use of such an interpreter, they think, was drawn down to them from the times of Ezra, and not without good reason. "ויקראו בספר תורה זה המקרא וגו" And<sup>d</sup> they read in

<sup>a</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 134.

<sup>b</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 280.

<sup>c</sup> Megill. cap. 4. Maimon. in Tephillah, cap. 12, &c. Massecheth Sopherim, cap. 10, &c. and elsewhere.

<sup>d</sup> Hieros. Megill. fol. 74. 4.

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his enumeration puts out here

the book of the law. That was the text. מפורש זה תרגום Explaining. That was the Targum. ושום שכל אילו טעמים And added the meaning. They are the accents: ובינו במקרה and they understood the text. That was the Masoreth." See Nehem. viii. 8; see also Buxtorf's Tiberias, chap. viii.

5. We do not readily know whom to name for the ninth and tenth of this last three. Let us suppose them to be the 'master of the divinity-school,' and his 'interpreter:' of whom we shall have a fuller occasion of inquiry. And thus much concerning the head of the synagogue, that learned Decemvirate, which was also the representative body of the synagogue.

III. The days wherein they met together in the synagogue, were the sabbath, and the second day, and the fifth of every week. Of the sabbath there is no question. They refer the appointment of the second and fifth days to Ezra. "Ezra (say they) decreed ten decrees. He appointed the public reading of the law in the second and fifth days of the week. Also on the sabbath, at the time of the sacrifice. He appointed washing to those, that had the gonorrhœa. He appointed the session of the judges in cities, on the second and fifth days of the week," &c. Hence, perhaps, it will appear, in what sense that is to be understood, Acts xiii. 42, Παρεκάλουν τὰ ἔθνη εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον λαλεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα. "The Gentiles besought, that these words might be preached to them the next sabbath, or, the sabbath between;" that is, on the days of that intervening week, wherein they met together in the synagogue.

IV. Synagogues were anciently builded in fields. "To<sup>e</sup> the evening recital of the phylacteries, are to be added two prayers going before, and two following after." Where the Gloss thus; "The Rabbins instituted that prayer [ראו עינינו], that they might retain their colleagues in the synagogue. And this certainly respected their synagogues at that time, because they were situated in the fields, where they might be in danger." And so Rabbenu Asher<sup>s</sup> upon the same tract; "Anciently their synagogues were in fields: therefore, they were afraid to tarry there, until the evening prayers were ended. It was therefore appointed, that they should recite

<sup>e</sup> Hieros. Megill. fol. 75. 1. Bab. Bava Kama, fol. 82. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Bab. Beracoth, fol. 2. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Fol. 69. 3.

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Thursday

some verses, in which a short sum of all the eighteen prayers had been compacted; after which that prayer *קראו עיניו* was to be recited.<sup>h</sup>

But the following times brought back their synagogues, for the most part, into the cities; and provision was made by sharp canons, that a synagogue should be built in the highest place of the city, and that no house should be built higher than it.

V. The like provision was made, that every one, at the stated times of prayer, should frequent the synagogue. "God<sup>h</sup> does not refuse the prayers, although sinners are mingled there. Therefore, it is necessary, that a man associate himself with the congregation, and that he pray not alone, when an opportunity is given of praying with the congregation. Let every one therefore come, morning and evening, to the synagogue." And, "It is forbidden to pass by the synagogue in the time of prayer, unless a man carry some burden upon his back: or unless there be more synagogues in the same city; for then it may be judged, that he goes to another;— or unless there be two doors in the synagogue; for it may be judged, that he passed by one to go in at another. But if he carry his phylacteries upon his head, then it is allowed him to pass by, because they bear him witness, that he is not unmindful of the law." These things are taken out of the Babylonian Talmud<sup>h</sup>: where these are also added: "The holy Blessed one saith, Whosoever employeth himself in the study of the law, and in the returning of mercy, and whosoever prays with the synagogue, I account concerning him, as if he redeemed me and my sons from the nations of the world. And whosoever prays not with the synagogue, is called an 'ill neighbour,' as it is said, 'Thus saith the Lord of all my evil neighbours,' " &c. Jer. xii. 14.

VI. When they were met together in the synagogue, on the sabbath-day (for this being observed, there is no need to speak any thing of the other days), the service being begun, the minister of the church calls out seven, whomsoever he pleases to call out, to read the law in their order. First, a priest, then a Levite, if they were present; and after these, five Israelites. Hence it is, O young student in Hebrew learning, that in some editions of the Hebrew Bible you see

<sup>h</sup> Maim. in Tephill. cap. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Chap. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Beracoth, fol. 8. 1.

<sup>l</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 135.

marked in the margin of the Pentateuch, 1. כהן 'The priest.' 2. לוי 'The Levite.' 3. שלישי 'The third.' 4. רביעי 'The fourth.' 5. החמישי 'The fifth.' 6. ששי 'The sixth.' 7. שביעי 'The seventh':—denoting, by these words, the order of the readers, and measuring out hereby the portion read by each one. Thus, I suppose, Christ was called out by the angel of the church of Nazareth, Luke iv. 16, and reading according to the custom, as a member of that synagogue.

There is no need to mention, that prayers were made publicly by 'the angel of the church' for the whole congregation, and that the congregation answered 'Amen' to every prayer: and it would be too much particularly to enumerate what those prayers were, and to recite them. It is known enough to all, that prayers, and reading of the law and the prophets was the chief<sup>m</sup> business in the synagogue, and that both were under the care of 'the angel of the synagogue.'

I. There seemed to have been catechizing of boys in the synagogue. Consider what that means, נשים במאי זכין "What<sup>n</sup> is the privilege of women? באקריו בניידו לבי כנשתא: This, that their sons read in the synagogue. באתנו גברידו: בי רבין: That their husbands recite in the school of the doctors." Where the Gloss thus, "The boys, that were scholars, were wont to be instructed [or, to learn] before their master in the synagogue."

II. The 'Targumist,' or 'Interpreter,' who stood by him that read in the law, and rendered what was read out of the Hebrew original into the mother-tongue,—sometimes used a liberty of enlarging himself in paraphrase. Examples of this, we meet with in the Talmud<sup>o</sup>, and also in the Chaldee paraphrast himself.

III. Observe that of the Glosser, היו באים לשמוע הדרשה, נשים ועמי הארץ: "Women<sup>n</sup> and the common people were wont to meet together, to hear the exposition, or the sermon." But of what place is this better to be understood than of the synagogue? That especially being well weighed, which immediately followeth, והיו צריכין דרשנין למשוך את לבבם, "And they had need of expounders [or preachers] to affect their hearts:" which is not much unlike that, which is said,

<sup>m</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 281.    <sup>n</sup> Bab. Berac. fol. 17. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Hieros. Biccuring, fol. 65. 4. Sanhedr. fol. 20. 3. Bab. Berac. fol. 23. 1. and elsewhere.

<sup>p</sup> In Bab. Schab. fol. 30. 2.

Acts xiii. 15, *Εἰ ἔστι λόγος ἐν ὑμῖν παρακλήσεως πρὸς τὸν λαόν*:  
 "If ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on."

*Beth midrash*  
 IV. Service being done in the synagogue, they went to dinner. And after dinner to *בית מדרש* 'the school,' or 'the church,' or 'a lecture of divinity;' call it by what name you will. It is called also not seldom by the Talmudists *ציבור* and *כנסת* 'The synagogue.' In this sense, it may be, is *בית מדרש עליון* 'the upper synagogue' to be taken, mentioned in the Talmud<sup>q</sup>; if it be not to be taken of the Sanhedrim. In this place a doctor read to his auditors some traditional matter, and expounded it. *בית המדרש ששם שונית משנה וגמרא*. "In the Beth Midrash they taught traditions, and their exposition."

There are three things to be taken notice of, concerning the rites used in this place.

1. He that read to the auditors, spake not out with an audible voice, but muttered it with a small whisper in somebody's ear; and he pronounced it aloud to all the people. So that here the doctor had his interpreter in this sense, as well as the reader of the law his in the synagogue. "Rab<sup>h</sup> went to the place of R. Shilla, *ולא הוה אמורא למוקם עליה* and there was no interpreter, to stand by R. Shilla; Rabh therefore stood by him." Where the Gloss hath these words, *לא הוה אמורא מתורגמן* he had no interpreter present, who stood before the doctor, when he was reading the lecture. *והחכם לוחז לו לשון עברית*: And the doctor whispered him in the ear in Hebrew, and he rendered it in the mother-tongue to the people." Hither of our Saviour hath respect, Matt. x. 27; "What ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops." Consult the same place.

2. It was customary in this place, and in these exercises, to propound questions. In that remarkable story of removing Rabban Gamaliel of Jafne from his presidentship, which we meet with in divers<sup>t</sup> places of both Talmuds: when they met together in the Beth Midrash, *עמד השואל ושאל* "The questionist stood forth and asked, The evening prayer, is it observed by way of duty, or of free will?" And after a few lines, the mention of an interpreter occurs: "The whole

<sup>q</sup> Hieros. Schab. fol. 3. 1.    <sup>r</sup> Gloss. in Bab. Berac. fol. 17. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Bab. Joma, fol. 20. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Hieros. Berac. fol. 7. 4. et Taanith, fol. 67. 4. et Bab. Berac. fol. 27. 2.

multitude murmured against it, and said to Hotspith the interpreter, ‘ Hold your peace;’ and he held his peace,” &c.

3. While the interpreter preached from the mouth of the Doctor, the people sat upon the earth. “ Let not a judge go upon the heads of the holy people.” The Gloss is, “ While the interpreter preached, the *ציבור* synagogue [or the whole congregation] sat on the ground : and whosoever walked through the middle of them to take his place, seemed as if he walked upon their heads.”

One<sup>x</sup> may safely be of opinion, that the word *Συναγωγή*, synagogue, was used sometimes in the New Testament in this sense; and that Christ sometimes preached in these divinity-schools, as well as in the synagogues.

But by what right was Christ permitted by the rulers of the synagogue to preach, being the son of a carpenter, and of no learned education? Was it allowed any illiterate person, or mechanic, to preach in the synagogues, if he had the confidence himself to do it? By no means. For it was permitted to none to teach there, but those that were learned. But there were two things especially, that gave Christ admission to preach in every synagogue;—namely, the fame of his miracles, and that he gave out himself the head of a religious sect. For however the religion of Christ and his disciples was both scorned and hated by the scribes and Pharisees, yet they accounted them among the ‘ religious,’ in the same sense as they did the Sadducees; that is, distinguished from *עם הארץ* ‘ the common people,’ or the seculars, who took little care of religion. When, therefore, Christ was reckoned among the religious, and grew so famous by the rumour of his miracles, and the shining rays of his doctrine,—no wonder, if he raised among the people an earnest desire of hearing him, and obtained among the governors of the synagogues a liberty of preaching.

#### CHAP. V<sup>y</sup>.

VERS. 3, 4, 5, &c: *Μακάριοι, Μακάριοι, &c.* “ *Blessed, blessed,*” &c.] It is commanded, Deut. xxvii, that, upon the entrance of the people into the promised land, blessings and curses should be denounced from the mounts Gerizim and Ebal: the curses being particularly reckoned up, but

<sup>u</sup> Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 7. 2.

<sup>x</sup> *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 136.

<sup>y</sup> *Leusden's edition*, vol. 2. p. 282.

the blessings not so. Which seems not to be without a mystery, since the law brought the curse with it: but Christ, who should bring the blessing, was yet to come a great while hence. Now he is present pronouncing the blessings, and that on a mountain. The Jewish writers do thus relate that matter:—

“Six” tribes went up to the top of mount Gerizim, and six to the top of mount Ebal. But the priests and the Levites stood below with the ark of the covenant. The priests compassed the ark; the Levites compassed the priests; and the whole people of Israel stood on one side, and on the other: as it is said, ‘All Israel and the elders,’ &c. (Josh. viii. 33.) Turning their faces to mount Gerizim, they began with the blessing, ‘Blessed is the man, that shall make no idol, or molten image,’ &c. And both the one and the other answered, Amen. Turning their faces to mount Ebal, they pronounced the curse, ‘Cursed is the man, who shall make an idol, or molten image:’ and both the one and the other answered, Amen. And so of the rest. And at last, turning their faces to Gerizim, they began with the blessing, ‘Blessed is the man, who shall continue in all the words of the law;’ and the answer on both sides is, Amen. Turning their faces to Ebal, they pronounce the curse, ‘Cursed is every one, that shall not continue in all the words of the law:’ and the answer from both sides is, Amen,” &c.

In like manner Christ, here, having begun with blessings, “Blessed, blessed,” thundereth out curses, “Woe, woe,” Luke vi. 24—26.

That which many do comment concerning the octonary number of beatitudes, hath too much curiosity, and little benefit. It hath that which is like it among the Jews: for thus they write<sup>a</sup>; “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.”

“Abraham<sup>b</sup> was blessed with seven blessings.”

<sup>a</sup> Talm. in Sotah, cap. 7. Tosaph. in Sotah, cap. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Midr. Tillin upon Psal. i. et R. Sol. upon Isa. v.

<sup>c</sup> Baal Turin upon Gen. xii.

“These<sup>v</sup> six are blessed, every one with six blessings, David, Daniel, and his three companions, and king Messias.”

Ver. 8<sup>w</sup>: Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ “*Blessed are the pure in heart.*”] Hearken, O Pharisee,—all whose praise lies in outward cleanness. How foolish is this boasting of a Jew! “Come<sup>x</sup> and see, saith R. Simeon Ben Eleazar, how far the purity of Israel extends itself: when it is not only appointed, that a clean man eat not with an unclean woman; but [that an unclean man eat not with an unclean man] that a Pharisee that hath the gonorrhœa, eat not with a common person, that hath the gonorrhœa.”

Ver. 9: Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί: “*Blessed are the peacemakers.*”] :[אדם לחבירו] אדם בן אדם “*Making<sup>y</sup> peace between neighbours*” is numbered among those things, which bring forth good fruit in this life, and benefit in the life to come.

Ver. 17: Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον, &c.: “*Think not, that I am come to destroy the law,*” &c.] I. It was the opinion of the nation concerning the Messias, that he would bring in a new law, but not at all to the prejudice or damage of Moses and the prophets: but that he would advance the Mosaic law to the very highest pitch, and would fulfil those things, that were foretold by the prophets,—and that according to the letter, even to the greatest pomp.

II. The scribes and Pharisees, therefore, snatch an occasion of cavilling against Christ; and readily objected, that he was not the true Messias, because he abolished the doctrines of the traditions, which they obtruded upon the people for Moses and the prophets.

III. He meets with this prejudice here, and so onwards, by many arguments,—as, namely, 1. That he abolished not the law, when he abolished traditions; for therefore he came, that he might fulfil the law. 2. That he asserts, that “not one iota shall perish from the law.” 3. That he brought in an observation of the law, much more pure and excellent than the Pharisæical observation of it was: which he confirms even to the end of the chapter, explaining the law according to its genuine and spiritual sense.

Ver. 18: Ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν “*Verily, I say unto you.*”]

<sup>v</sup> Targ. upon Ruth iii.

<sup>w</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 137.

<sup>x</sup> Bab. Schab. fol. 13. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Peab, cap. 1. hal. 1.

enough hence, that our Saviour also so far asserts the uncorrupt immortality and purity of the holy text, that no particle of the sacred sense should perish, from the beginning of the law to the end of it.

To him, that diligently considers these words of our Saviour, their opinion offers itself, who suppose, that the whole alphabet of the law, or rather the original character of it, is perished; namely, the Samaritan, in which they think the law was first given and written; and that that Hebrew, wherein we now read the Bible, was substituted in its stead. We shall not expatiate in the question; but let me, with the reader's good leave, produce and consider some passages of the Talmud, whence, if I be not mistaken, Christians seem first to have taken up this opinion.

The Jerusalem Talmud treats of this matter in these words: "R. Jochanan de Beth Gubrin saith<sup>1</sup>, There are four noble tongues, which the world useth: the mother-tongue, for singing; the Roman, for war; the Syriac, for mourning; the Hebrew, for elocution: and there are some which add, the Assyrian, for writing. The Assyrian hath writing [that is, letters or characters], but a language it hath not. The Hebrew hath a language, but writing it hath not. They chose to themselves the Hebrew language in the Assyrian character. But why is it called אשורי the Assyrian? שדוא מאושר בכתבו Because it is blessed (or direct), in its writing. R. Levi saith, Because it came up into their hands out of Assyria."

Ezra  
 "A tradition. R. Josi saith, Ezra was fit, by whose hands the law might have been given, but that the age of Moses prevented. But although the law was not given by his hand, yet writing [that is, the forms of the letters] and the language were given by his hand. 'And the writing of the epistle was writ in Syriac, and rendered in Syriac,' Ezra iv. 7. 'And they could not read the writing,' Dan. v. 8. From whence is shown, that the writing [that is, the form of the characters and letters] was given that very same day. R. Nathan saith: The law was given in breaking<sup>2</sup> [that is, in letters more rude, and more disjoined]: and the matter is, as R. Josi saith. Rabbi [Judah Haccodesh] saith, The law was given in the Assyrian language; and, when they sinned, it was turned into breaking. And when they were worthy

<sup>1</sup> In Megill. fol. 71. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 284.

in the days of Ezra, it was turned for them again into the Assyrian. I show to-day, that I will render to you מִשְׁנֶה Mishneh, the doubled,—or, as if he should say, the seconded<sup>k</sup> (Zech. ix. 12). And he shall write for himself the Mishneh (the doubled) of this law in a book (Deut. xvii. 18), namely, in a writing, that was to be changed. R. Simeon Ben Eleazar saith, in the name of R. Eleazar Ben Parta, and he in the name of R. Lazar, the Hammodean, The law was given in Assyrian writing. Whence is that proved? from those words, שִׁיחַ וַיִּשָׂא שֵׁל תּוֹרָה דְּוִמִים (Exod. xxvii. 10). וַיִּשָׂא שֵׁל תּוֹרָה דְּוִמִים וַיִּשָׂא שֵׁל תּוֹרָה דְּוִמִים that the letter ו Vau in the law is like a pillar.” So the Jerusalem Talmudists.

Discourse is had of the same business in the Babylonian-Talmud<sup>l</sup>, and almost in the same words, these being added over: “The law was given to Israel in Hebrew writing, and in the holy language. And it was given to them again, in the days of Ezra, in Assyrian writing, and the Syriac language. The Israelites chose to themselves the Assyrian writing, and the holy language; והניחו להדיעות כתב עברית and left the Hebrew writing and the Syriac language to ignorant persons. מאן הדיעות But who are those idiots (or ignorant persons)? R. Chasda saith, כותאי The Samaritans. And what is the Hebrew writing? R. Chasda saith, כתב ליבונאה:” that is, according to the Gloss, “Great letters, such as those are, which are writ in charms, and upon door-posts.”

That we may a little apprehend the meaning of the Rab-  
bins, let it be observed,

I. That by ‘the mother-tongue’ (the Hebrew, Syriac, Roman, being named particularly) no other certainly can be understood than the Greek, we have shown at the three-and-twentieth verse of the first chapter.

II. That that writing, which the Gemarists call כתב עברי and which we have interpreted by a very known word, ‘Hebrew writing,’—is not therefore called עברי, because this was proper to the Israelites, or because it was the ancient writing, but (as the Gloss very aptly) כתב עברי של בני עבר הנהר because “the writing, or character, was in use among them that dwelt beyond Euphrates.” In the same sense, as some would have Abraham called עברי ‘Hebrew,’ signifying “on the other side,” that is, beyond, or on the other side of, Amana.

<sup>k</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 139.

<sup>l</sup> Sanhedr. fol. 21. 2. et 22. 1.

Many nations were united into one language, that is, the old Syriac,—namely, the Chaldeans, the Mesopotamians, the Assyrians, the Syrians. Of these, some were the sons of Sem; and some, of Cham. Though all had the same language,—it is no wonder, if all had not the same letters. The Assyrians and Israelites refer their original to Sem; these had the Assyrian writing: the sons of Cham, that inhabited beyond Euphrates, had another; perhaps, that, which is now called by us, the Samaritan, which, it may be, the sons of Cham, the Canaanites, used.

III. That the law was given by Moses in Assyrian letters, is the opinion (as you see) of some Talmudists; and that, indeed, the sounder by much. For to think that the divine law was writ in characters, proper to the cursed seed of Cham, is agreeable neither to the dignity of the law, nor indeed to reason itself. They that assert the mother-writing was Assyrian, do indeed confess, that the characters of the law were changed; but this was done by reason of the sin of the people, and through negligence. For when, under the first Temple, the Israelites degenerated into Canaanitish manners, perhaps they used the letters of the Canaanites, which were the same with those of the inhabitants beyond Euphrates. These words of theirs put the matter out of doubt: “The law was given to Israel in the Assyrian writing, in the days of Moses: but when they sinned under the first Temple, and contemned the law, it was changed into breaking to them.”

Therefore, according to these men’s opinion, the Assyrian writing was the original of the law, and endured and obtained unto the degenerate age under the first Temple. Then, they think, it was changed into the writing used beyond Euphrates, or the Samaritan; or, if you will, the Canaanitish (if so be, these were not one and the same); but by Ezra it was at last restored into the original Assyrian.

Truly, I wonder, that learned men should attribute so much to this tradition (for whence else they have received their opinion, I do not understand), that they should think, that the primitive writing of the law was in Samaritan; seeing that, which the Gemarists assert concerning the changing of the characters, rests upon so brittle and tottering a foundation, that it is much more probable, that there was no change at all (but that the law was first writ in As-

syrian by Moses, and in the Assyrian also by Ezra), because the change cannot be built and established upon stronger arguments.

A second question might follow concerning Keri and Kethib: and a suspicion might also arise, that the text of the law was not preserved perfect to "one jot and one tittle," when so many various readings do so frequently occur. Concerning this business, we will offer these few things only, that so we may return to our task:—

I. These things are delivered by tradition; ג' ספרים מצאו "They<sup>m</sup> found three books in the court, ספר מעוני The book מעוני Meoni, the book זעטוטי Zaatuti, and the book היא Hi. In one they found written, באחד מצאו כתוב מעון אלהי קדם 'The eternal God is thy refuge:' but in the two other they found it written, מעונה אלהי קדם (Deut. xxxiii. 27); קיימו שנים; They approved [or, confirmed] those two, but rejected that one. In one they found<sup>n</sup> written, וישלח את זעטוטי, וישלח את נערי בני ישראל; but in two it was written<sup>o</sup>, וישלח את נערי בני ישראל: 'And he sent young men of the children of Israel' (Exod. xxiv. 5). Those two they confirmed, but that one they rejected. In one they found written, תשע היא 'She was nine;' but in the two was written, אחת עשרה היא 'She was eleven:' those two they confirmed, and that one they rejected."

I do much suspect, that these three books, laid-up in the court, answered to the threefold congregation of the Jews, —namely, in Judea, Babylon, and Egypt, whence these copies might be particularly taken. For, however that nation was scattered abroad almost throughout the whole world,—yet, by number and companies scarcely to be numbered, it more plentifully increased in these three countries, than any where else: in Judea, by those that returned from Babylon; in Babylon, by those that returned not; and in Egypt, by the temple of Onias. The two copies that agreed, I judge to be out of Judea and Babylon; that, that differed, to be out of Egypt: and this last I suspect by this, that the word זעטוטי 'Zaatuti' smells of the Seventy interpreters, whom the Jews of Egypt might be judged, by the very sake of the place, to favour more, than any elsewhere. For<sup>p</sup> it is asserted by the Jewish writers, that זעטוטי was one of those changes, which the Septuagint brought into the sacred text.

<sup>m</sup> Hieros. Taanith, fol. 68. 1.

<sup>n</sup> English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 140.

<sup>o</sup> Leusden's edition, vol. 2. p. 284.

<sup>p</sup> Massecheth Sopherim, cap. 1. art. 6.

more to come...