LIG\thfOOT.

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

EDITED BY THE
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Preacher at the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals.

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

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SONS; AND J. HATT, CAMBRIDGE.

MDCCCXXV.
TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM,

BY DIVINE PERMISSION,

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

THIS EDITION

OF THE WORKS OF

John Lightfoot, D.D.

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBEIDENT AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

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

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

Dr. Lightfoot commenced the early part of his education under the care of Mr. Whitehead, at Morton Green, near Congleton, Cheshire. He continued under the tuition of this gentleman, until the year 1617; when, in his fifteenth year, he was admitted of Christ's College, Cambridge. The tutor of the college was Mr. William Chappel, afterward
master of Trinity College, Dublin, and subsequently promoted to the see of Cork. Mr. Chappel was the tutor of Milton, and of Dr. Henry More, who, in the preface to his philosophical works, speaks of him as a "learned, vigilant, skilful, prudent, and pious preceptor."

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

Upon taking his Bachelor's degree, he returned, at the age of nineteen, to his former preceptor, Mr. Whitehead, who had now become master of Repton School, in Derbyshire. From the necessity of submitting to the laborious occupation of assistant, which must have prevented him from cultivating his own peculiar studies, it appears that his father's pecuniary means were not sufficiently ample to allow him to remain at Cambridge. His conversation, says Mr. Edge, was as pleasing to the master of the school, as his mildness was to the boys. After passing two years as assistant to Mr. Whitehead, he entered into Holy Orders. The first place of his ministry was Norton under Hales, in the county of Salop. The vicinity of this place to Bellaport, where was the residence of Sir Rowland Cotton, Knt., introduced him to the notice and friendship of that worthy man and profound scholar. Sir Rowland Cotton was distinguished for his deep and intimate knowledge of the Hebrew tongue: at the age of seven, he had been able to read fluently the biblical Hebrew; and not only understood, but readily conversed in that language. Sir Rowland, himself a scholar, quickly appreciated the talents of Lightfoot: he received him into his family as domestic chaplain; and, to the advantages, which Lightfoot derived from this friendship, he attributes all his future attainments in Hebrew literature. That a layman should excel in studies which seemed more appropriate to a minister of the gospel, was
a circumstance which awakened the ambition of Lightfoot. He sedulously applied himself to studies, which he had much neglected; and gratefully availed himself of those assistances, which the superior knowledge of Sir R. afforded. Similarity of tastes and pursuits is one of the strongest bands of friendship. An indissoluble affection existed between Lightfoot and his lay-preceptor; in whose family he continued to reside, until his friend and patron removed to London, at the request of an uncle, Sir Allen Cotton, then lord mayor of that city.

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

The learned and laborious works in which Lightfoot was occupied, requiring references to the rabbinical authors, he quitted Stone, and fixed his residence at Hornsey, that he might consult the literary treasures contained in the library of Sion College. In the year 1630, himself and family settled at Uttoxeter; and in the September of the same year, he was presented, by his patron Sir Rowland, to the rectory of Ashley, in Staffordshire. This new residence seemed to have completed his wishes, his stay at Ashley being protracted to twelve years. As if weary of so many changes of abode, and not anticipating any similar necessity, he resumed, with great sedulity, his Talmudic researches: and, totally abstracted in his studies, he purchased an adjoining field, in which he erected, in the midst of a garden, a small building, containing three rooms, his study, parlour, and bed-chamber. In this retreat, he devoted to study whatever time could be spared from his ministerial duties; and, not content with passing the day
at a distance from all domestic interruption, he often slept in this hermitage, although contiguous to his own parsonage-house. It is not easy to conjecture the cause which induced him to quit this beloved retreat. In the year 1642, he was appointed minister of St. Bartholomew’s Church, near the Exchange. In addressing his new flock (vol. ii. p. 353), he says, “I must ever mention, both in private to God, and in public to the world, the love and favour which I have received from your congregation; how, when I was unknown, ye owned me,—when a stranger, ye took me in,—when exiled from mine own, ye made me yours.” Strype infers from the expression “exiled,” that his removal from Ashley was not a matter of choice, but of some unknown compulsion. But it is more probable, that the word exiled is merely a strong figurative expression, implying Lightfoot’s unwillingness to quit parishioners, among whom he had long fixed his residence. There exists no ground for imagining, that any estrangement had crept in between Lightfoot and his patron; more especially as he was able to leave his brother Josiah in possession of the benefice which he had vacated. He had now matured and digested his general plan of study; and having arranged his papers for the press, it was almost necessary for him to remove to London, that he might personally superintend the publication of works, which could not, with full confidence, be submitted to the care of any scholar, not equal to himself. Neither is it improbable, that he had been summoned to attend the Assembly of Divines;—of which, in the following year, he was an active member.

The professed object of this Assembly was to arrange, in subordination to the parliament, what forms both of government and of liturgy should be adopted in the national church of England. The number of the members amounted to 151; ten of whom were peers, twenty were members of the House of Commons; the rest were clergymen. The sittings of the Assembly commenced on the first of July, 1643, in the chapel of Henry VII. Westminster Abbey. That the temporal interests of the members might not be injured by thus dedicating their time to spiritual affairs, a daily allowance of four shillings was assigned by parliament to each of them. The Journal of Dr. Lightfoot (see vol. xiii.) communicates to us, incidentally, several particulars re-
relative to the regulations, constitution, and conflicting interests of this celebrated Assembly. Episcopacy, whose crime it was to fear God by honouring the king, had been abolished; and, on the same political reasons, the republican party, to strengthen their operations against Charles, found it necessary to court the aid of the Scotch; and, as the most effectual means of conciliating these allies, to assimilate the ecclesiastical government of England to the rigorous and unbending spirit of Presbyterianism. The debates which occurred in the Assembly, may be considered as so many trials of strength between the two contending parties of Presbyterians, and Independents. It is true that, for the sake of a seeming impartiality in inquiring after truth, some Episcopalians had been included in the original convocation; and among this latter class, we find archbishop Usher, Brownrigg, Sanderson, and Hammond. These however soon seceded; alleging, that the Assembly had been forbidden by the royal proclamation; that they could not be considered representatives of the clergy, by whose concurrence their nomination had not been sanctioned; and that it was useless to mingle, for purposes of argument, with persons who had deliberately professed their enmity to the hierarchy of the English church.—The Erastians constituted another branch of the Assembly, whose principal tenet consisted in disclaiming all coercive power over the members of their communion; considering that punishment, and forms of ecclesiastical government, ought to be invested in civil rulers. The representatives of this party were not numerous in the Assembly; their most learned representative was Dr. Lightfoot.

The Independents, whose chief champions were Goodwin and Philip Nye, urged their peculiar opinions with much obstinacy and perseverance; and to their "vehemence, heat, and tugs," Dr. Lightfoot makes frequent allusion. It is evident, however, that the Independents were unable to cope with the superior numbers of the Presbyterians; more especially when strengthened by the presence of the Scotch commissioners. The Presbyterians themselves,—while permitted to fulminate their censures against malignants, Anabaptists, and every sect who might claim to themselves the same liberty of conscience, which the Presbyterians had claimed in reference to episcopacy,—did not seem to be
aware, that they were little more than political puppets in the hands of the republican leaders. Some members of the House of Commons (called by Lightfoot, 'the parliament-men') were, from time to time, added to the Assembly as so many checks on their proceedings: nor indeed was the Assembly permitted to debate on any subject, which the parliament had not proposed to their discussion. They were often used as subordinate agents for promoting the rebellious plans of their masters; being frequently ordered to urge their congregations for subscriptions and contributions towards the raising of military forces.—"Monday, Aug. 14."

There came an order of the House of Commons, about sending divers divines of London up and down the kingdom, to stir up the people in their cause, and to inform them of the justness of the parliament's taking up their defensive arms. Their names were brought into the Assembly for approbation."—vol. xiii. 9.—"Monday, Feb. 26.—The first thing done this morning was, that Mr. Millington brought in an order from the House of Commons, desiring the Assembly to write letters to the ministers of London and Westminster, to desire them to urge their congregations to subscribe and contribute to the raising of fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horse, for Sir Thomas Middleton, for the reducing of North Wales."—p. 181.

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

To the Assembly was referred the task of examining and approving such ministers, as petitioned for sequestered livings: and that the religious opinions of the petitioners might be more accurately ascertained, the business of the day was often opened by a sermon from the probationer. The rules by which the proceedings of the Assembly were regulated, were publicly read on the first Monday in each month.—It seems, that the members, from the stipend allowed by parliament, defrayed the expenses incident upon firing (page 43), and collections necessary for door-keepers and attendants.—Whoever came, after prayers, at half-past
eight (vol. xiii. 256), or departed from the room before the conclusion of the meeting (p. 296), forfeited sixpence. A fine of a shilling was inflicted on absentees.—Fasts were occasionally observed, and with great length of devotional exercise: the following extract will elucidate the nature of them:—"Monday, Oct. 16th.][—This day we kept a solemn fast in the place where our sitting is, and no one with us but ourselves, the Scotch commissioners, and some parliament-men. First, Mr. Wilson gave a picked psalm, or selected verses of several psalms, agreeing to the time and occasion. Then Dr. Burgess prayed about an hour: after he had done, Mr. Whittacre preached upon Isa. xxxvii. 3, 'This day is a day of trouble,' &c. Then, having had another chosen psalm, Mr. Goodwin prayed; and after he had done, Mr. Palmer preached upon Psal. xxv. 12. After whose sermon, we had another psalm, and Doctor Stanton prayed about an hour; and with another psalm and a prayer of the prolocutor, and a collection for the maimed soldiers, which arose to about 3l. 15s., we adjourned till the morrow morning."—Vol. xiii. p. 19.

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

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

Lightfoot's conduct in the Assembly seems to have been upright and conscientious. His attendance was
assiduous; but not permitted to interfere with his duties.
as a parish-priest. Many of the discussions, in which he
took part, will be found in vol. xiii. of this edition. He
advocated general admission to the holy Communion (vol.
xxi. 272.) He held that sprinkling was sufficient, in oppo-
sition to immersion (p. 299), and that private baptism might
be allowed in some cases; that marriage (p. 335) was a
part of God's worship, and should therefore be solemnized
by a minister, and not be considered merely as a civil com-
 pact:—that ministers should be possessed of competent
learning: that the widows, mentioned in the Scriptures, 1
Tim. v. 2. and elsewhere, are not church-officers (p. 94): that
lay-elders could not be mingled with Presbyters, in the ar-
 rangement of ecclesiastical affairs (p. 78). In many im-
portant questions, Lightfoot frequently stood alone, pre-
fering the voice of conscience to that of numbers; and little
doubt can be entertained, but that many of the Presbyterians
would have cheerfully dispensed with his absence. When
the Assembly had expounded the meaning of that article—
"He descended into Hell,"—to be that "he continued un-
der the power of death," Dr. L. prevailed to have this
clause—"In the state of the dead,"—subjoined to the ex-
plication.—He assented to the proposition, that young men,
designed for the ministry, might read the chapters, before the
sermon, by way of ease to the minister.—He argues for the
propriety of quotations in sermons, from the Hebrew lan-
guage.—He maintained that the people could not elect their
own ministers, (vol. i. p. 51); that it was dangerous so much
as to intimate any thing against a set form of prayer.—In
the directions relative to the observance of the sabbath, the
first proposition was, "That the sabbath is to be remem-
bered, before it come:" to which latter clause, Dr. L. ob-
jected, as putting upon the commemoration of the fourth
commandment a gloss, never heard of before.—Another
proposition was, "That there be no feasting on the sabbath,"
which, at Dr. L.'s suggestion, was altered into, "That the
diet on the sabbath day be so ordered, that no servants or
others be unnecessarily kept from the public service."—When
the Directory for Prayer was reading over, and they came
to that clause, "Freeing us from antichristian darkness,"
he excepted against the expression, as too low; for that
'antichrist' importeth an activeness against godliness; and
darkness is but a privation of godliness. Therefore, it was thus mended, "From antichristian darkness and tyranny." And again, whereas it was thus penned: "These things we ask, for the merits of our High-priest."—this he likewise excepted against; for that the allusion would not hold. For the Jews prayed to God by the mediation of the high-priest, but never by the merits. Whereupon the word mediation was put in.—On one occasion (so violent are the heats incident upon the collision of debate), even the placidity and equanimity of Dr. L. were indecorously ruffled, as the following extract from his Journal, will evince: vol. xiii. p. 11:—

"On Thursday morning, we, being met, prepared to go to the House of Commons with our resolves. But here Dr. Burgess began to be most uncivil and unmannerly; for having pretended a great deal of sorrow, that he could not in conscience agree with our conclusions, he desired liberty, that he might put in the reasons of dissent: which being granted, he farther desired, that our resolutions might not be brought in, till he had prepared his reasons. This was judged, and that justly, to be intolerable impudence, that the great affairs of two dying kingdoms, should be thought fit by him to stay and wait upon his captiousness. Then from entreating, he fell to challenging, and pleaded we ought to attend for his reasons, from the instructions we had receiv'd from the House for our proceedings. Well; we shook hands with him as soon as we could, and went to the House of Commons, where our Prolocutor made a speech, delivered our sense, and concluded with a petition in our name, that the House would please to provide against the people should come to take the covenant, that they might be instructed and prepared for it, that they might receive it holily and with godly fear. Thanks were returned to the Assembly, not only for their care, but also for the speed they had made, in so great a matter. But our turbulent doctor put in a petition to the House of Commons, that he might have liberty to bring in his exceptions against the covenant. Thus would he retard there, if he can, as he had done in our Assembly: a wretch, that ought to be branded to all posterity, who seeks for some devilish ends, either of his own or others, or both, to hinder so great a good of the two nations."

If from graver matters, we may advert to circumstances

* A general account of Dr. Lightfoot's conduct in the Assembly of Divines, may be found at pp. 49—52, 75—82, 149—165 of this volume.
of a lighter nature, we should be tempted to quote the brief lecture, which he read to the Assembly, on the subject of politeness:—"Then, for amending of neglect for the time to come, it was desired the scribes should observe the absent. And, for preventing going away before our rising, it was moved to be ordered, that whosoever should go out before we rise, should solemnly make his obeisance; which was ready to be done,—when I desired, that we might not leave it upon our records to posterity, that this Assembly had need to make order for common reverence and civility: whereupon, it was laid by, and the order reversed."—Vol. xiii. 295.

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

In tracing this period of Dr. Lightfoot's public life, we again find him officiating before the House of Commons, on the 26th of August, 1645, the day of their monthly fast. (Vol. vii. p. 165.) The chief object of his discourse on that occasion, was to prove that the opinion of the Millenaries is erroneous and false. In addressing himself more particularly to the House of Commons, he presses upon them various suggestions; urging them to interpose and prevent the pillage and injurious exactions, which disgraced the parliamentary forces. The conclusion of his sermon is re-
markable for the boldness and candour of the language, which could not have been palatable to some of the prevailing sectaries; and which conveys his own sentiments relative to the peculiar wants of the times. After deploring the growth of blasphemy, he proceeds thus: "I shall not take upon me to be your instructor for the means of stopping this mischief; but shall humbly crave leave to be your remembrancer of something, that may tend unto it.

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

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

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

I hope (I say it again), you will find some time, to set afoot so needful a work: and, now you are about the purging of the temple, you will look into the oracle, if there be anything amiss there, and remove it.
3. I shall not beg of you to cherish learning, for that hath no enemy but ignorant ones,—nor shall I beg that you would cherish a learned ministry, for that may challenge cherishing: but, I beseech you, take care that none intrude upon the ministry, or to preach the word, that have not a calling to it, and some competent ability for it.

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

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

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

In allusion to the former part of the preceding extract, Dr. Morgan observes,—"Mr. Lightfoot was not so good a friend to the toleration of persons differing in sentiment from the commonly received opinions, as might have been expected from his learning, judgment, and candour." But it is evident by the history of the times, when Lightfoot's sermon was peached, that he wholly pointed at the Anabaptists and Independent enthusiasts, who, under the pretence of liberty of conscience, opposed the settlement of the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical polity now, with as much furious zeal, as these, joining with them, had before
exerted in putting down the ancient established hierarchy; a universal anarchy being their aim; and how well they succeeded, need not be mentioned. It is with an eye to such as these, that we find Lightfoot arguing frequently with much zeal against schism and separation from an established church, and shewing the urgent necessity, more especially in those times, of keeping communion even with a national church, that had some corruptions in it. Upon the same principle we see him, in a sermon on St. Matthew xxviii. 19. preached at Ely (vol. vi. p. 391), censuring not only the Anabaptists, but Socinians: “Two heresies especially misconstrue this text, Anabaptism and Socinianism; for I must call that heresy, which unchurches all churches, and un-gods God.” (See Biogr. Brit. vol. v. 2934. note I.)

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

In the year 1655, Dr. Lightfoot was chosen Vice-chancellor of the university; an office which he discharged with great diligence, notwithstanding the many literary avocations by which his time was incessantly occupied. His anxiety to fulfil this high post with justice and integrity, was so intense, that having (as he imagined) decided wrongly against a friend, he observed that the thought of his injurious decision, though not wilfully made, would accompany him with sorrow to his grave. During his Vice-chancellorship he presided in the divinity-schools, in room of his friend, Professor Arrowsmith, who had been born on
the same day with himself, and whose illness he laments very feelingly. (Vol. v. p. 398.) The questions which the respondent had discussed, and upon which Dr. Lightfoot pronounced, were, 1. Status integritatis fuit status immortalitatis: 2. Vita æterna promissa fuit sub Veteri Testamento.—He maintained the affirmative in both these questions.

Munden was the favourite residence of Lightfoot; and whenever he could find any relaxation from his academic duties, he was impatient to bury himself in his study at Munden. Upon the restoration of king Charles, Lightfoot had neglected to procure a new title; and an attempt was made by a fellow of St. John’s College, Cambridge, to expel him from his living, as held from authorities no longer valid. The royal signature had actually been affixed to the deed of ejectment: but the learning and piety of Lightfoot had conciliated in his behalf the favour of many powerful friends. Sir Henry Caesar gave him timely notice of the measures in agitation; and Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, the primate, though having no personal knowledge of Dr. Lightfoot, so warmly espoused his cause, that, upon the representation of his great merits, he was confirmed in the possession of his rectory. His reinstatement was not altogether devoid of expense; he found it necessary to make some composition with the new claimant, in a sum nearly amounting to one hundred pounds. By the exertion of the same admiring friends, he was, at the same time, confirmed in retaining the mastership of Catharine-Hall. Conscious that the possession of his academic situation had no legal foundation, he voluntarily tendered to surrender to Dr. Spurstow, whom, in the republican times, he had superseded. The circumstances, attending this offer, reflect equal honour on the disinterested spirit of the parties concerned. Dr. Spurstow, aware that the society of Catharine-Hall could not but regret their being deprived of so illustrious an ornament, generously declined the offer. Upon his refusal to resume his former situation, Dr. Lightfoot then laid his petition at the foot of the throne: never was the royal indulgence dispensed towards one more worthy of it. Upon his returning to Cambridge, with the royal letters, confirming him in the mastership, the fellows of Catharine Hall rode out some miles to meet him with their respectful
congratulations, and welcomed him with the same ceremonies, as if he had been installed a new Master of their college. Such was the honourable reward of the affection and regard, which he had evinced for the college, in many instances. He was a liberal contributor, when it was necessary to enlarge some part of the college; and also redeemed a piece of land for its service. His name is still mentioned in the commemoration of the college benefactors. His discipline seems to have been as mild and lenient as the arduous nature of his office would allow. In confirmation of this, the following anecdote is recorded: that when giving an admonition in the public hall, to a youth of his college, the censure was as painful to himself as to the offender; nor could he proceed in the unwelcome duty without tears in his eyes.—To the circumstances attending his confirmation, in retaining the rectory of Munden, and the mastership of Catharine-Hall, he makes grateful allusion, in the addresses prefixed to his Talmudic Hours on the Gospel of St. Mark.

The passage, as it is a sort of historical comment upon events so important in the life of Lightfoot, may, without impropriety be quoted here: "Misericordiam Dei cano, et elementiam regis, per quas servatus ego, ut naufragium non facerem, cum jam eundem naufragium fecisset, et ne adebus pellerer, cum jam quidem forem pulsus.

"Rectoria Mundonæ-Magnæ, qua jam, a viginti fere annis retro, ego fruor, ad regiam donationem concessionemque spectat, pleno, quod aiat, jure. Isto jure dispositi hic antehac a duobus regibus fuerunt duo rectores, eximii nominis, meritorum non vulgarium, et quibus pares peperebant sua tempora non multos. A serenissimo rege Jacobo eceleberrimus Georgius Downhamus, S. T. D. qui hinc promotus, et translatus est ad episcopatum Duriensem in Hibernia. Atque ei recedenti, a serenissimo rege Carolo successor datus vir egregius Samuel Wardus, S. T. D. Collegii Sidneo-Sussexiensis, in alma academia Cantabrigiensis praefectus, idemque in eadem Academia Dominae Margaretæ-Professor gravissimus doctissimusque. Huic fatibus concedenti successi hic ego, tantis viris, eheu! quam longe dispar, et infelix æque, quod non eodem jure huc admissem, sed ea, quæ tunc occupaverat omnia, grassantisbus bellis, potestate. Non latuit fragilitas foundationis hujus meæ infirmae; quin quod, cum ad jura sua, felici nu-
mine, nutuque, rediret regia majestas, qua nunc laetamur, cito deprehendereetur; et supplicantIi cuidam concessa est haec rectoria, regali donatione.

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

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


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

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

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

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

Dr. Lightfoot is said to have been mild in countenance, somewhat ruddy in face; of good stature, and well proportioned. He was grave; but easy of access; affable and courteous in deportment, and very communicative to all enquirers; plain, unaffected, and gentlemanly, in his behaviour. In the company of good and ingenious men, he was free and unrestrained in learned and innocent conversation: but if he chanced to be present, where rude or profligate conversation was introduced, he testified his uneasiness by silence, and would withdraw on the first opportunity. On returning home from a journey, it was his custom to pass directly to his study, and not to converse with his family until he had previously performed his private devotions. Temperate and abstemious in diet, he altogether abstained from wine: he drank only water, or chiefly small beer, which he chose to have very new. As to his food, he cheerfully took whatever was placed before him; never expressing any fastidious dislikes, but praising God for thus administering to his bodily wants. This systematic temperance had endued him with a sound and healthy constitution: even in his advanced age, he was able to pursue his studies; and, in a letter to Buxtorf, not above a year before his death, he congratulates himself, with pious acknowledgments to God, upon his "vivacitatem corporis, animi, atque oculorum."
In referring to the qualities of Dr. Lightfoot's character, it is impossible not to admire his industry. The fatigues, incident to the laborious and incessant occupation, of usher in a school; his subsequent marriage, and the cares of an increasing family; his distance from the university, and consequent privation of many helps to learning; his assiduous attention to the duties of a parish-priest, both in visiting his flock, and in preaching twice on each sabbath; the abstruseness attending the studies, of which he had undertaken the cultivation; these difficulties must have presented insuperable bars to the progress of any scholar, whose obstinate industry was not equal to Dr. Lightfoot's. His favourite motto was that which Bright and Strype have quoted in the title-page of their edition of his works, \textit{Vivam omniis usu et melius}; implying his resolution to rise up early, and sit up late; in pursuit of science.

He seems to have possessed a grateful heart, and never to have forgotten a kindness received. To his education at Christ's College, he refers in an address prefixed to his "Harmony of the Old Testament." He avails himself of similar opportunities of expressing, to his benefactors and friends, his sense of obligations: and hence his various pieces are, in general, addressed to those, who (he thought) had claims upon his respect and friendship. His Talmudic Exercitations on St. Matthew, are dedicated to the society of Catharine-Hall, with a warmth of language sufficiently indicative of the author's sincerity: (Vol. xi. p. vii.) "Opus autem hoc qualemunque, et qualiscunque fortunæ, vobis nuncupatum voluimus, o carissima capita, nostri Catharinenses, et ex debito, et ex voto. Pro conjunctissimo enim isto; quo unimur nexus, vinculoque, vobis debitum omnia, quæ studemus; omnia, quæ possumus: si modo aliquid omnis sunt ista omnia: et cum universis prodesseris cupiamus (si daretur) quod studiosum decet, et quod Christianum, vos istorum desideriorum votorumque, ex ipso nexus isto meritoque vestro, ipsissimum estis centrum et requies. Conscii quidem satis nobis sumus, quam nihil possimus, vel in publicum commodum, vel in vestrum: at publicum tamen judicium exhibere cupimus apud omnes velle nostri et studii; apud vos, insuper, intimi cordis atque animi.—Reponatur ergo apud vos voto singulariori pignus hoc amoris nostri, viscerumque; et, dum ratio-
nem aliis Horarum nostrarum reddere studemus, reddat hoc vobis etiam affectuum. Persetque apud Catharinam nostram, etiam in futura secula, hoc officii testimonium, amoris monumentum, et memoria nostri vestrique.”—An affectionate remembrance of his early patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, was never obliterated from his mind: he often reverts to the former kindnesses of his friend and instructor; and in preaching his funeral sermon, he testifies the sincere affliction with which he discharged his unwelcome office. Out of respect to the name of Cotton, he named one of his sons “Cottonus”: and when a member and relation of that family was a student of Catharine-Hall, he took a pleasure in shewing every kindness, and in giving every admonition, which a father would confer upon a son. On one occasion, he feelingly deplores (vol. viii. p. xi) the miseries to which his native Staffordshire was subjected by the civil war. The intercession of his powerful friend Archbishop Sheldon, is thus commemorated: “Primitias fero replantationis meæ, quam mihi indulsit Regalis gratia, intercedente dignatione tua, cum jam forem eradicus: nam per gratiam istam, sedibus hisce redditus, et quieti, et musis meis, nihil jam amplius magisve in votis habeo, quam ut sentiat princeps excellentissimus, a se non esse ingrato benefactum, utcunque ignoto, et dignitatis tua, ab ea non pro immemori esse intercessum, utcunque pro immerenti.—Nunquam dilabetur mihi, vir amplissime, quanta cum comitate et candore excepit me dignitas et dignatio tua in meis angustiis, ignotum penitus a facie, et nunquam ante visum: quanto cum ardore causae meæ fuerit patrocinata apud Regiam majestatem, apud honoratissimum Angliæ cancellarium, apud reverendum dioecesanum: qualiter pro me consuluerit, literas scripsit, obiciem posuerit, ne procederet ruina mea ultra restorationem. Quæ omnia dum recognosco, quod facio semper, dumque cum recognizione ista subit hinc obligatio mea, illinc mea tenuitas,—hinc quam ego tanto favore dignus, illinc quam retributioni omnino impar; quid mihi alius est reliquum, nisi ut ad eandem humanitatem iterum confugiem, humiliter implorans; ut quæ me ignotum tam comiter excepit et tam indignum, excipiat etiam jam tanta obligatione notum, devinctum, et quas possum, maximas gratias agentem? Eas Amplitudini tuæ referendas commisi hisce
chartulis, indoctis quidem atque impolitis, at quae sinceritatem secum ferunt, quamvis non eruditionem; gratitudinem, quamvis non elocutionem. Atque hoc ego illis munus demandavi eo magis, quod eas longe lateque divagaturas puto, et forsan ad posteros etiam victuras; atque omnibus enuntiatum ab iis cupio, quantum Amplitudini et summae Humanitati debeat, quantis obligationibus ab ea strictus teneatur, quamque animo grato atque intimo affectu omnia haec profiteatur, ac sit agniturus in perpetuum.”—To multiply additional instances of Dr. Lightfoot’s gratitude, would be an unnecessary labour.

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

The learning of Dr. Lightfoot did not prevent him from discharging the duty of parish-priest: if he was much in his study, he was also much in his church. No excuse, except sickness and infirmity, detained him from attending
his church on the Sabbath. Though fond of abstruse disquisitions, his discourses, addressed to his country-hearers, were always full of much practical matter. On the Lord’s day, he preached morning and evening, and often continued in the church the whole day: whether abroad or at home, he scrupulously abstained from all food, until the evening service had been completed, that he might be the more intent upon his sacred duties, and preserve his thoughts from drowsiness. The dissenters of his parish scrupled not to attend upon his ministry, considering him (perhaps) not to be rigidly episcopalian: indeed, he was not entirely conformable to the rubric of the church, seldom wearing a surplice, or even reading all the prayers. His parish was scattered; but he never omitted to visit his sick parishioners. His house (says Strype) was a continual hospital: none went away unrelieved.—He would frequently bring poor people within doors to his fire; and, in winter, found occupation for them in spinning, &c. His secret charities must have been extensive; his income being 300l. a year, while his own expenses were inconsiderable: nor did he exact his full dues from his parishioners, as his successor is said to have augmented the value of the benefice by an additional fifty pounds. Whenever his duties removed him to Ely or to Cambridge, he was impatient of the absence from his parish; and would often express a longing to return to whom he called his dear “russet-coats.” His executors paid about twenty pounds for dilapidations, through the severity of his successor: but every thing was in very good repair.

Dr. Lightfoot’s love of letters, and exemption from literary jealousy, may be instanced in the patronage, or (at least) in the assistance which he afforded to contemporary scholars. He contributed his valuable assistance to Dr. Walton, in arranging the Polyglot Bible, by revising the whole of the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch; by drawing up a general sketch of Sacred Geography, as a commentary upon the common maps of Judea; by correcting many errata in the Hebrew text; and by procuring subscriptions to the work. These literary obligations, Dr. Walton very gratefully acknowledged; as appears from many of his letters. —See vol. xiii. p. 347—364. Dr. Lightfoot was deeply interested in the progress of this great and stupendous
labour. In a speech, which, during his vice-chancellorship, he delivered at the Commencement, 1655, he congratulates the University upon the completion of an undertaking, reflecting so much honour upon the English nation, and contributing to the advancement of sacred literature: “Sic sub protrito et proculcato statu Cleri nuper Anglicani germinavit, et adhuc germinat, nobile illud eruditionis germen, editio Bibliorum multi-linguum; qua quid generosius vix vidit unquam Resp. literaria, nec quicquam Anglia sibi honorificentius; opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in sempiterna sæcula futurum, summæ eruditionis, zeli, et in Deo, bonarum literarum protectore, fiduciae Cleri Anglicani jam tum summe periclitantis. Macti estote, viri Venerandi et Doctissimi, qui in opere tam magnanimo desudatis. Pergite, quod facitis, trophæa vobis erigere, patriæque; et perlegant ope vestra omnes gentes Sacra Biblia suis linguis; atque iisdem linguis eadem ope prædicentur fama eruditionis et literatura gentis Anglicanæ.”

It appears from the letters of Poole (see vol. xiii. p. 439—443), that Lightfoot contributed his learned aid to the "Synopsis Criticorum."—“I very humbly and heartily thank you for your great favour, in promising me your help for the Historical Books. The Lord requite you.”—“Sir, I here send you one part, upon Numbers: and I shall beg your thoughts upon anything as you go on.”—“Sir, I question not you mind your most encouraging and obliging offer and promise of assistance in reference to the historical books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to Job, out of the Rab­bins and Talmud.”—“I intend also a fifth volume of Appen­dices, as ‘De nummis, ponderibus, mensuris; de Templo, questiones Chronologicae, Chorographicae, Historicae, &c.’ and ‘Paralipomena, as to places of Scripture not thoro­roughly explained, &c.’ Now, Sir, as you were pleased freely to offer me your help, for which I reckon myself much in your debt, the just value I set upon it, makes me bold humbly to entreat it, which I think will come in most seasonably in the fifth volume: but how, or wherein you will please to honour me with something which shall bear your name, I submit to your good pleasure and better judgment.”—“Sir, I hope you remember the promise you were pleased to make me, the thought whereof is delightful to me, viz. in such places as you observe to be most defectively done in
my work, to give me some explications to the clearing up
of the Hebrew words, or phrases, or matters, as you have
many solid and material ones in your Horae." The extent
of Mr. Poole's obligation, to which allusion is made in the
preceding extracts, cannot be precisely ascertained. Mr.
Duckfield imagines, that the substance of Lightfoot's an-
swers to Poole's enquiries are contained in the Synopsis,
under the title of "Quidam."—See vol. xiii. p. 479.
To Dr. Castell, the learned editor of the Heptaglot
Lexicon, Dr. Lightfoot's friendship and encouragement
were consolations under difficulties, which were more than
sufficient to break the spirit of ordinary men. The letters
of Dr. Castell (somewhat pedantic, perhaps, and extra-
vagant in language) bear abundant testimony to his grateful
heart, as well as to the discouragements and obstacles,
which that neglected scholar encountered. "The desired
repute of your name and worth, amongst all the learned
nation, occasions the presenting these enclosed papers to
your judicious view, beseeching your clear impartial judg-
ment concerning the design therein contained, which
we may truly say, was not, at least for the present, so much
contrived and undertaken by us, as by some with impor-
tunity pressed and urged upon us. Without your cogni-
zance and approbation in a work of this nature, I would
not willingly engage."—"I this day received by your nephew
your very kind letter, full stored with encouraging ex-
pressions to a much-dejected spirit; together with 4l. for
one copy of the Heptaglot Lexicon, and 2s. for the stitching
it up."—"Your most affectionate and friendly letter I could
not read, without a sympathy suitable to what I there found,
eyes impregnant with tears; that in these three kingdoms
there should be one found (for such a second has never yet
appeared to me) who has manifested such a sentiment
of my ruined and undone condition."—"And truly, had
we not such an oracle to consult with, bootless and in vain
it would be to attempt such an undertaking. We have all
here just cause to break out into a serious admiration of
that Divine goodness, which as it disposes all things most
wisely for the order and measure, so likewise for the time
in doing them; 'O nos felices te ret amplius! quibus con-
tigit, te vivo, opus hoc tam grande quam arduum auspicato
suscepisse; et benedictus ob hoc semper sit summus ille
rerum arbiter."—"That real sympathy I read in your so favourable and most affectionate lines, and that free and noble bounty I experience in your munificent and generous actions, is no small encouragement to me in my deserted and despised condition; only because this luxuriant age is, and will be, ignorant of this necessary part of theological knowledge."—"Sir, Mr. Paget, one of your fellows, was with me on Monday last, and signified to me your great favour in accommodating me at your lodgings, when I went down to commence the Arabic lecture."—"The bountiful, generous, and most free proffers you have so kindly made me of your lodgings, is one of the chiefest inducements to make my life here desirable to me; which I cannot but often reflect upon with much comfort."—"Sir, I return you my very humble thanks, for giving order about laying-in some winter-fuel for me in your lodgings, and that you are so graciously pleased to accommodate me with the use of them: the sight of your honoured presence there, would be a sun more joyful to my heart, than that in the firmament to the world."—To these extracts, we will subjoin one more, which cannot be perused without the liveliest sympathy with Dr. Castell's distresses, and without proportionable admiration of Lightfoot's kindness towards that distinguished scholar:—"Sir, I was last week with Dr. Burton, who presents his service to you; and if you come upon any occasion to London, is very ready to join his interest with yours, in mentioning my condition by the public service; in which I have now spent near twenty years in time, above twelve thousand pounds of my own estate; and, for a reward, left, in the close of the work, above eighteen hundred pounds in debt; almost a hundred letters written by me, in five months' space since the convocation house last arose, unto the bishops, who passed a vote, they would help me off with my copies amongst their dignified clergy and others that thought fit to recommend it: to all which letters, only one of their lordships returned me an answer; and but five copies amongst them all hath been yet taken off. A petition I lodged in my Lord Arlington's hands above a year ago, to his Majesty, whose chaplain I have been almost seven years, that a jail might not be my reward for so much service and expense, unto which by virtue of his Majesty's letters I was commanded. This veritable condition, Dr. Burton is very
desirous should be effectually made known to my lord-keeper, like as I have more than once made it known to not a few other lords. If I must perish for all my pains and work, with so much difficulty effected, ‘Fiat voluntas Domini.’"

Numerous were the literary works which Dr. Lightfoot benefitted, if not by direct communications, at least, by his advice and learned suggestions. Contemporary scholars regarded him as a sort of oracle, from which they might derive directions infallible, and divested of ambiguity. 

Samuel Clarke, one of Bishop Walton's assistants in publishing the Polyglot, and himself the editor of many learned works, submitted to the judgment of Lightfoot his translation of the Targum upon Chronicles: “Speciminis loco, partem aliquam hie additam habes. Si eam perlegere non pigeat, reliqua sequentur, quamprimum ea descripta erunt. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si tibi placuerit Jibere et ingenue corrigere, quod in rudi mea translatione minus apte positum occurrit:” vol. xiii. p. 406.

To the preceding instance may be added the names of numerous scholars, who seemed to proceed more cheerfully and confidently in their respective labours, if sanctioned by the favourable judgment of Lightfoot.—“Having missed you once or twice in London, with intent to have shewed you these enclosed pages of Dr. Alting, about his Shiloh, which he, it seems, intends for the public, to have your opinion whether the matter, at least as he projects the same in this Synopsis, have any thing new or extraordinary, or deserve encouragement or not; for if he should not ‘portare singulare aliquid,’ I would then wish him to forbear coming abroad with it;” Haak to Lightfoot, vol. xiii. p. 421.—“Dubio procul mirabere, quod incognitus quid literarum sub oculos tuos mittendo molestus sim. Audacem me facit humanitas de te concepta, amorque tuus erga literarum rei studiosos;” Hoboken, secretary to the Dutch ambassador.—“The esteem that I have of your skill in the Jews' writings, carries me to press farther upon you than civility allows me,—to get from you the sum of your judgment concerning Morinus's Exercitations of them in the second book of his 'Exercitationes Bibliæ:’” Thorndike, an assistant in editing the Polyglot Bible.—“I have heretofore made bold, by my kinsman Mr. Radcliff, to beg your
advice about the right position of the priest’s portion in the holy square of Ezekiel. I have also made bold to give you the trouble of this other paper:” Calvert (p. 445) author of a work on the Ten Tribes.

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

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

“That blessed soul, that is now with God, in the night of its departure, laid the burden of this present work upon me, in these words: ‘You are my old acquaintance; do me the last office of a friend; make my funeral sermon, but praise me not.’ A hard task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me; when I, who, of all men, this day, have the greatest cause to mourn for his loss, that is departed, should, of all men, this day, be allowed the least liberty of mourning, because of this present work. And a strange task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me, when I must make to you all a funeral sermon, and yet must tell to none of you, for whom it is made; for if I do but call him Sir Rowland Cotton, I commend him. It was not a time to say so then, but now, I dare say it over again; a hard task, fathers and brethren, is laid upon me, when I must have much cause of tears for his death, and yet not be allowed to weep; and such reason of remembrance of his life, and yet be denied to praise. I obey, blessed soul, I obey; but I am full, I cannot hold; dispense with me something, for I cannot hold: it is for your sake, worthy audience, that I must hold tears, lest they should hinder my speech; be
pleased to give me liberty of speech, in recompense of my restrained tears. And it is for thy sake, blessed soul, that I must withhold commendation, lest I should break thy command; give me liberty of indignation against that command, in recompense of my restraint from thy commendation. 'Meus, tuus, noster, Christi,' as Jerome of Nepotianus; so we of him, whose departure we now commemorate,—'My Sir Rowland Cotton, yours, the country's, nay, Christ's,' hath forsaken us; and, because Christ's, therefore he hath forsaken us to go to him, whose he wholly was.—O that my head were waters, or rather words, for only that manner of mourning,—and my tongue a fountain of tears, for only that instrument of weeping,—is allowed me now; that I might weep day and night, not for him that is gone,—for he is gone where he always was, and where he would be,—but for myself, but for you, but for the country. It is not my ambition, but my sorrow, that I claim the first place, and to be first served, in this heavy dole of lamentation; for I have lost,—I cannot tell you what; my noble patron, my best friend, my father, my—myself I should lose, if I should but begin to tell, what he was to me: why should I speak more? for should I speak myself away, I could never speak enough. O my father, my father! the chariot of my Israel, the horsemen thereof, how thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women! And, 'is it nothing to you, O ye that sit by; behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.' He it was that first laid the foundation of my poor studies, and always watered them with his discourse and encouragement; and now the Lord hath taken my master from my head. He it was, under whose branches I sheltered, when any storm was up; and now my tree of defence is cut down. He it was that was my oracle, both for things of this life, and of a better; and now my prophet is not any more. He it was that was all things to me that man could be, but now can be nothing to me but sorrow. And is this nothing to you, O all ye that sit by? yes, the cup is gone among you also, and a great man is fallen in your Israel. Hath not the magistracy, hath not the gentry, hath not the country, lost such a man

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

Yet if his Sermons have not that smoothness of diction and impassioned style, which, in the estimate of more modern times, may be deemed necessary for popular and mixed congregations; yet, even as a preacher, Dr. Lightfoot may be highly esteemed for many valuable qualities. In his own times, he was of signal service to the church: whenever he officiated in the pulpit of the University, he excited much attention. The subjects which he discussed, were such as evinced his own erudition, and established some material point of Christian doctrine; thereby fixing the principles of the young and wavering, ensuring the respect and regard of the studious, and vindicating the honour and dignity of learning, which, in that age, was, by some enthusiasts, decried as superfluous and almost unchristian. He zealously opposed the errors of the times; the arrogant claims of Popery [vol. i. p. 189—192; vi. 55.364; vii. 110]; the pride of the Perfectionist; the laxity of the Antinomian, the proud ignorance of the Enthusiast [vii. 207. 289]; the evils of schism [vi. 214.] and separation from the Established Church; the misconception of the Anabaptist [vol. vi. 390. 412; vii. 365]; the visionary dreams of the Millenary [vol. vi. 165; vii. 63. 397]; such are the topics on which he energetically insists; topics, which, from their very nature, could not be examined without inculcating the accuracy of the Protestant creed, the necessity of prayer, humility of mind, the majesty of Scripture, the necessity of human learning, observance of the Sabbath, vigilance in the practice of moral duties, and a sober conformity to the general communion of Christ.

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

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

Dr. Lightfoot was careless of polished expressions; if his words convey his meaning, he is content. A due attention to English style must necessarily have been diverted and interrupted by his habit of composing in Latin, and by seldom having before his eyes any other writers than the Talmudic and Rabbinic. From this indifference to style, we find some vulgar phrases: as “Elias is at the same
game”—“to make cock sure”—“he played the knight of the post”—“Baronius is beside the cushion”—“he throweth dirt into the face of Eusebius”—“this knocks the business dead”—“to have his hand shot of him.” He has some words, which Mr. Bonnell (vol. xiii. 467) considers as peculiar to Staffordshire; as ungive for abate; loose for end or upshot. He spells all words with ei wrong, as feild for field, &c. He sometimes affects a play upon words; as, “He that would understand the story of the times, must first understand the times of the story.” He has some unusual words; as “disquieture;” “scrutinousness;” “recidivation;” “inheritioned;” “occursorially;” “infamous.”—Mr. Duckfield informs us, that the collection of Lightfoot’s Sermons was originally sold for fifteen pounds.

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

* Thus (by way of example), Dr. L.’s observation on St. Matthew xxvii. 16. fails in application, by his omitting to observe, that ut; son ought to be corrected into €γράφων. “This brings to my mind what Josephus relates to have been done in the besieging of the city, η αυτή τιν θέρμον καθεδόμαι προς τόν έγράψας, ουποίαν γραφθής τό υπάρχον, καὶ η πάντες φόβοι, τῇ πατρίδι γλώσσῃ δοξάσει, δ ὑπὸ έγραφαν. When huge stones were thrown against the city by the Roman slings,—some persons, sitting in the towers, gave the citizens warning by a sign, to take heed, crying out in the vulgar dialect, The Son cometh,’ that is, ιησοῦς ουσία. The Son of Man, indeed, then came in the glory of his justice and his vengeance, as he had often foretold, to destroy that most wicked and profligate nation.” (xi. 345.)
tenuit, ob studiorum communio:em, propius tecum con-
jungi, et familiarius te noscere, tibique innoscere, si modo 
occasio aliqua commoda se offerret.? (Vol. xiii. p. 423.)—"I 
have received your letter, for which, with your good ac-
ceptance of that motion which I made in my former one, I 
return you many thanks; and though you seem to doubt in 
the employment at a sense of inability, yet give me leave 
to impute that to your modesty, rather than to any want of 
abilities, of which you have given so sufficient and public 
testimony to the world, that it should be accounted a great 
obligation, if you shall please to contribute your assistance 
about the Samaritan version, or to say what you advise about 
any other part of that work:" Bishop Walton to Dr. 
Lightfoot.—"Inter alios autem viros præstantissimos, po-
pulares nostros, qui insignem in veteribus sacræ Scripturæ 
ritibus explicandis operam navarunt, merito primum locum 
occupat (ut ego arbitror) Johannes Lightfoot. Majori in-
dustria an modestia fuerit, dicere nequeo; erat ille quidem 
in omni literatura, Hebraica vero inprimis, peritissimus; in 
Sacris Scripturis diligentissime atque accuratissime versa-
tus. Ad hæc, Verbi Divini præco assiduus; summa præ-
terea morum simplicitate conspicuus; ab omni animi fastu 
ae φίλαυτη maxime alienus. Neminem aut læsit aut con-
tempsit; verbo dicam; qualis revera vir fuerit, plurima ab 
ipso edita, tum latino tum vernaculo nostro sermone, præ-
clarie testantur:" Bishop Kidder.—"Lightfootus" (says 
Texelius, in the preface to the edition of his works) "omni-
um judicio, in antiquitatibus Judæorum prærimandis præ-
stitisse videtur, quod ante eum nemo:" a commendation, in 
which Leusden concurs.—"Lightfootus, reconditæ erudi-
tionis, et exquisiti non minus ingenii, quam infinitæ in 
Talmudicis Rabbinicisque lectionis vir:" Carpzov.—"Dr. 
Lightfoot was a profound scholar, a sound divine, and a 
pious man. He brought all his immense learning to bear 
on the sacred volumes, and diffused light wherever he went. 
His historical, chronological, and topographical remarks 
on the Old Testament, and his Talmudical Exercitations 
on the New, are invaluable:" A. Clarke.—This tribute of 
applause, tendered to Lightfoot by the most distinguished 
Hebricians, would have been still more justly merited, if he 
had possessed the means of editing his productions, at the 
time and in the manner, agreeable to the nature of his own
of Dr. Lightfoot.] OF DR. LIGHTFOOT'S WORKS. xxxvii

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

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

vol. 1. d
and education, that wrote the Gospels and Epistles; it is no wonder if it speak the Jews’ dialect throughout; and glanceth at their traditions, opinions, and customs, at every step. What author in the world, but he is best to be understood from the writers and dialect of his own nation? What one Roman writer can a man understandingly read, unless he be well acquainted with their history, customs, propriety of phrases, and common speech? So doth the New Testament; ‘loquitur cum vulgo;’ though it be penned in Greek, it speaks in the phrase of the Jewish nation, among whom it was penned, all along; and there are multitudes of expressions in it, which are not to be found but there, and in the Jews’ writings, in all the world. They are very much deceived, that think the New Testament so very easy to be understood, because of the familiar doctrine it containeth,—faith and repentance. It is true, indeed, it is plainer as to the matter it handleth, than the Old, because it is unfolding of the Old:—but for the attaining of the understanding of the expressions that it useth in these explications, you must go two steps farther than you do about the Old;—namely, to observe where, and how, it useth the Septuagint’s Greek, as it doth very commonly;—and when it useth the Jews’ idiom, or reference thereunto, which indeed it doth continually. A student, well versed in their language and writings, would find it no great difficulty to translate the New Testament into Talmudic language, almost from verse to verse, so close doth it speak all along to their common speech.”—In the introduction to his ‘Talmudic Exercitations on St. Matthew,’ Dr. L. urges similar arguments for the theological utility of his favourite studies:—“Ipsissimaeaeadem suasiones, quae me primum et praecipue ad evolventem Talmudicorum excitarunt, excitarunt etiam ad præsens opus: ita ut ab iisdem rationibus emanent hi fructus et usus istius lectionis, a quibus primum ipsa lectio: nam Primo, cum omnes libri Novi Testamenti a Judæis sint scripti, atque inter et ad Judæos; cumque omnes orationes in eo habitæ, a Judæis pariter, atque ad et apud Judæos fuerint habitæ; pro re indubitassima hoc mihi semper persuasum fuit, non posse istud Testamentum non Judæorum stylum, idioma, loquendi formam normamque, sapere ubique, et retinere. Atque hinc æque indubitanter a me conclusum est etiam secundo,
of Dr. Lightfoot] of Dr. Lightfoot's Works. xxxix
quod in locis istius Testamenti obscurioribus (quae sunt quamplurimae) optimus et summe genuinus sensum eruendi modus, est perquirendo quomodo et quonam sensu intellectae fuerint istae phraselogiae et locationes, secundum vulgarem et communem gentis istius dialectum et sententiam, et ab iis qui eas protulerunt, et ab auditoribus. Non enim valet, quid nos de istiusmodi locutionibus a conceptus nostri incude fingere possimus; sed quid illae apud eos sonuerint vulgari sensu et sermone. Quod cum nullo alio modo perquiri possit, quam auctores Talmudicos consulendo; qui et vulgari loquuntur Judæorum dialecto, atque omnia Judaica tractant et patetacient: hisce rationibus ego inductus, præcipue horum voluminum lectioni me applicui." The propriety of these remarks has been fully acknowledged by all biblical critics since the days of Lightfoot. Succeeding commentators on the New Testament have evinced, by their multiplied references to the Horæ Hebraicae of Lightfoot, that, in innumerable instances, the exposition of the sacred writings must be imperfect and erroneous, if reference be not made to the immediate customs of the age, in which the Evangelists and Apostles wrote. It is, indeed, no small praise to Lightfoot, that, although he may have had some few predecessors in the paths of Rabbinical learning; yet, in extent and propriety of observation, he has not only surpassed them all; but that to him we may deem ourselves indebted for the subsequent researches, which, with a generous emulation of scholars and preceptor, have been laboriously conducted by Schoetgen, Wetstein, Koppe,—and by many of our own countrymen, more especially by Gill and Clarke.

From the Talmudic writers, much information may be derived, relative not only to the customs of the age, and the general phraseology of the sacred penmen; but also to the chorography of the Holy Land. On this subject, Dr. Lightfoot expresses himself thus: (vol. v. p. 7.) "In reading of the two Talmuds, and other of the Jewish authors of the greatest antiquity, I have observed, and that not without much delight and content, that as to the subject that we are speaking of, namely, the description of the land of Canaan, these things may be picked up out of them, dispersedly in their writings, to very good profit:—1. In exceeding many passages, when they come to speak of places
of the land, that are mentioned in the Scripture, they either
describe them, or show their situation, or distance from
such and such places, or all these together: which might
be of singular use, to compare with the descriptions, situ­
ations, and distances, that are given of such places in
Christian writers. 2. They give us abundance of names
of cities, mountains, and other places in that land, which
names are neither to be found in Scripture, nor Josephus,
nor in the heathen or Christian records, that speak of the
places of that country, but in these Judaic writers only:
and yet, which carry with them so fair a probability and
rational evidence, that there were such names and places,
that the looking after them might be exceeding pertinent
to a Canaan story. 3. They relate many choice, eminent,
and remarkable stories, occurring in such and such places,
which are not to be found in any records but their own,
and of singular illustration, both of the situation and of the
history of the land and nation: and especially of the schol­
astical history of their learned men and doctors.” And
again, in the preface to his Chorographic Century, prefixed
to St. Matthew’s gospel: “Inter omnes eos, qui Tabulas
Canaanitidis Chorographicas vel ediderunt ipsi, vel emen­
darunt aliorum, vix reperias, qui Talmudicos hac in ma­
teria in consilium vocaverint: cum certe minime spernen­
dum sit eorum symbolum in ista causa, si quidem non
præcipue aestimandum.—Nam, præterquam quod illi, præ
omnibus aliis hominibus, curiosissime inquirunt et de rebus,
et de locis istius terræ, doctores Misnici omnes, ac Ge­
maristæ etiam Hierosolymitani, eam inhabitantur atque
incoluerunt: atque eam etiam in viserunt non pauci e Ba­
bylonicis. Oculati testes, et qui non solum (vel judice
quovis lectore) præ omnibus aliis mortalibus notitiam
istius terræ non potuerunt non habere sibi familiarissimam,
eam habitantes, sed et qui in infinitis Judaicæ suæ super­
stitionis apicibus, religiosa necessitate se constrictos sunt
opinati, de situ naturaque locorum in ista terra omni cum
scrutinio et curiositate perquirere, atque investigare.—
Dictet ergo jam ratio: an ii præ omnibus aliis in re Choro­
graphica vel jure negligantur, vel prudenter? An inter
omnes limas, in ista re adhibitas, merito, aut cum æquitate
alia, lima sola Talmudica non adhibeatur? Terræ
Judaicæ Chorographiæ Judaica? Iniquum certe est, si ea
vel ex praedictio rejeciantur, vel ex ignorantia non admittantur, quae aut planam utilitatem istius terrae Chorographiae secum ferrent, aut non inutile scrutamen in ea excitarent. Si tabulas Palæstinæ vis cudere, æquissimum certe est, ut hos auctores consulas etiam cum aliis utpote testes proximos, terræ incolas, studiosissime religiosisismeque eam describentes: et si fide eos dignos non reputaveris, quia sunt Judæi, at certe examine digni sunt, et venia fandi, quatenus sunt chorographi.—Ego, cum in horum lectione omnia, quæ occurrebant huc spectantia, exercrem, et cum tabulis tractatibusque jam editis conferre, plane vidi, si me non fefellerunt oculi mei, ex his auctoribus elici ac produci posse plurima, quæ tabulas corrigerent: plurima, quæ loca ignota patefacerent: plurima, quæ incerta figerent plurima, quæ certa illustrarent: atque infinita, quæ chorographiae facem aliquo modo praferrent. Et si quis dexter et felix artifex, versatus in Talmudicis, et chorographiae peritus, pensum atque opus istiusmodi in manus sumeret, ego ab ista manu politiores ac correctiores tabulas, pleniorem, planiorem, certiorem terræ Israelitæ descriptionem expectarem, quam adhuc vidit orbis Christianus.”—The diligence and minute enquiry, with which Dr. L. has investigated this part of his subject, will be apparent by referring to pp. 1—416. of vol. x.

But, in estimating the advantages derivable from the perusal of Rabbinic writers, are we indebted to them, merely in matters of geography, or in elucidations of obscure phraseology? Are we not indebted to them (as truth is often established by reluctant witnesses) for much collateral confirmation as to the most momentous doctrines of our faith? If the Jews have, from their fidelity in guarding the sacred text, been termed the librarians of Christians; so also may many of the Rabbies be termed “our commentators.” The references which Lightfoot makes to the Talmudic authors, abundantly prove, that the doctrine of a Messiah was fully acknowledged, and fondly cherished, by the Jewish nation; thereby affording an internal evidence to the truth of the gospel. They acknowledged [vol. xi. p. 235], that the presence of Elias would precede the advent of Christ.—Even the birth of the Messiah had taken place, according to the confession of the Gemarists [vol. xi. p. 35]; while by others [xi. 422] that event was expected
before the destruction of the Temple:—by others [iii. 36. xii. 185] the time of his nativity was anxiously looked for, at the period when the Baptist was exercising his ministry: by others [viii. 52] the time of the Messiah's coming is fixed to the very time, when Jesus of Nazareth did appear and approve himself to be the Christ. The evangelical preparation for his coming, is pointed out [v. 154]. The revelation of Christ is designated by the gospel-titles of “Kingdom of God” [v. 40. xi. 52. xii. 174]; “the world to come” [xi. 199]. Our Lord is characterized by the Rabbinic commentators, as “the Son of David” [v. 261. xi. 11. xii. 179]; as “the Word” [iv. 118. xii. 230]; as “the Son of God” [viii. 469. xii. 286]; as “my (i. e. God’s) servant” [xii. 287]; as “the Son of Man” [v. 259. xii. 288]; as “Light” [xii. 318]; as “the Consolation of Israel” [xii. 384]; as “the Spirit of the Lord” [xii. 554]. Among the offices assigned to the Messiah, they recognize the “resurrection of the dead” [xii. 292]. They even ascribe to him a state of humility and suffering [v. 185. viii. 437. 448], when they can awhile forget their dreams of worldly grandeur. Without some knowledge of Talmudic writings, we shall be unable to understand even the fundamentals of Christianity; since from these authorities, we learn that our Lord condescended to borrow even the sacraments of baptism [iii. 38. iv. 408. xi. 57] and communion [iii. 56] from the rites of his countrymen; and that even the prayer which was bequeathed to us in contradistinction to the vain repetitions of the Jewish doctors, is derived from expressions, that had been long familiar in the schools and synagogues of Judea [xi. 144].

Lastly, in estimating the utility of Lightfoot's studies, we may observe, that as the Rabbinic writings contain many undoubted testimonies relative to the advent, titles, and offices of the Messiah; so also do they establish the necessity of his appearing. The state of moral and religious knowledge among the Gentile world, has been often adduced as an argument for the urgent want of a divine revelation. The force of this argument is especially applicable to the condition of the Jewish nation, immersed in vice and ignorance; a condition which must be ascribed to the pride and profligacy of the Jewish doctors, who, having usurped the chair of Moses, had, by their traditions and by
subtle evasions of duty, rendered the word of God of no effect. As Dr. Bright, although he has instanced many benefits (see pp. 16–30) resulting from Talmudical learning, has left this last argument wholly untouched, we will briefly advert to it, by arranging, under appropriate divisions, some of the many quotations, which Dr. Lightfoot has drawn from the Rabbinic writers. Though the works to which he refers, were written subsequently to the birth of Christ, yet they are generally considered as correct representations of the morals and opinions, which the Rabbies inculcated, and which the Jewish people imbibed and observed, in the days of our Saviour's ministry.

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

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

3. Importance attached to letters, while the force of precepts was neglected.—“It (that is, the history of the creation and of the Bible) begins therefore with the letter ב Beth (in the word יבשת, because two worlds were created,—this world, and a world to come.”—“There is Tsadi that begins a word (or the crooked ש), and Tsadi that ends a word” (or the straight ש). What follows from hence? “There is the just person that is crooked (or bowed down), and there is the just person that is erect” or straight.—“There is a tradition from the school of R. Esaiah Ben Korcha, that twenty blessings are pronounced in the Book of the Psalms, and in like manner twenty woes in the Book of Isaiah. But I say, saith Rabbi, that there are two-and-twenty blessings, according to the number of the two-and-twenty letters.”—
“The Samaritans (saith R. Benjamin) have not the letters ה He, or ש Ain, or כ Cheth. ה, He is in the name of Abraham, כ, Cheth is in the name of Isaac, וAIN. And they have not honour. כ, Cheth is in the name of Isaac, וAIN. And they have not mercy.
γ, Aïn is in the name of Jacob, וַיְנָהָה זָא, And they have not gentleness. But for these letters they use א Aleph: and hence it is known, that they are not of the seed of Israel.”

—“The Book of Deuteronomy came, and prostrated itself before God, and said, ‘O Lord of the universe, thou hast wrote me in thy law,—but now a testament, defective in some part, is defective in all. Behold, Solomon endeavours to root the letter Jod out of me’ (to wit in this text, כָּלֹשׁ בָּרִי אָלָה, ‘He shall not multiply wives,’ Deut. xvii.17).

The holy blessed God answered, ‘Solomon and a thousand such as he shall perish, but the least word shall not perish out of thee.’ R. Honna said in the name of R. Acha, The letter Jod, which God took out of the name of Sarai our mother, was given half to Sara, and half to Abraham. A tradition of R. Hoshiaia: The letter Jod came and prostrated itself before God, and said, ‘O eternal Lord, thou hast rooted me out of the name of that holy woman.’ The blessed God answered, ‘Hitherto thou hast been in the name of a woman, and that in the end (viz. in Sarai); but henceforward thou shalt be in the name of a man, and that in the beginning.’ Hence is that which is written, ‘And Moses called the name of Hoshea, Jehoshua.’” —The Babylonians also do relate this translation of the letter Jod out of the name of Sarai to the name of Joshua, after this manner: “The letter Jod, saith God, which I took out of the name of Sarai, stood and cried to me for very many years, How long will it be ere Joshua arise? to whose name I have added it.” —“What is the seal of the Holy Blessed God? R. Bibia, in the name of R. Reuben, saith, א מס Truth. Resh Lachish saith, א is the first letter of the alphabet, ג the middle, and מ the last: q. d. I the Lord am the first; I received nothing of any one; and beside me there is no God; for there is not any that intermingles with me; and I am with the last.” —“It is written (saith he), וַיִּבְרֵא אֵל וַיִּלְפֹּת, You shall not profane my holy name. He that makes the ה a ה, destroys the world: for he makes this sense, You shall not praise my holy name. It is written, לָמָּה לָמָה לָמָּה לָמָּה לָמָּה לָמָּה לָמָּה לָמָּה לָמָּה לָמָּה לָמָּה לָמָּה, Let every thing that hath breath, praise the Lord: he that makes the ה a ה, destroys the world: for he brings to this sense, Let every thing that hath breath, profane the Lord. It is written, מְנַשֶּׁה בְּרֵאזוּ, They lied to the Lord: he that maketh the ב a ב, destroys the world: for he
maketh this sense, They lied like the Lord. It is written אֲנִי קָדוֹשׁ בְּכָבוֹד, There is none holy like the Lord; he that makes the ב כ, destroys the world: for he maketh this sense, There is no holiness in the Lord. It is written יְהוָה יְהוָה אָלֹהִים יְהוָה אָלֹהִים, The Lord our God is one Lord: he that makes the י כ, destroys the world: for he bringeth the sense to this, The Lord our God is a strange God,” &c.

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

5. Logical deductions.—“The Jews do gather six hundred and thirteen precepts, negative and affirmative, to be in the whole law, according to the six hundred and thirteen letters in the two tables, and so many veins and members in a man’s body.”—“While he asketh necessaries for himself, let him use any language but the Syriac; because the angels do not understand the Syriac language.”—“The whale showed Jonah the Temple of the Lord, as it is said,
I went down to the bottom of the mountains: whence we learn, that Jerusalem was seated upon seven mountains."

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

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

7. Absurd calculations. — "The ladder of Jacob is the ascent of the altar, and the altar itself. — The angels are princes or monarchs. The king of Babylon ascended seventy steps; the king of the Medes, fifty-and-two; the king of Greece, one hundred and eighty; the king of Edom, it is uncertain how many," &c. They reckon the breadth of the ladder to have been about eight thousand parasangae, i.e. about two-and-thirty thousand miles; and that the bulk of each angel was about eight thousand English miles in compass. — "How much is a moment? It is the fifty-eight thousand, eight hundred, eighty-eighth part of an hour." — "Why is it called a flight-shot? It is according to the numeral value of the letters, which is two hundred sixty-six: for two hundred sixty-six [cubits] make a flight-shot. Now count, and you will thus find it: Seven times two hundred make one thousand four hundred. Seven times sixty make four hundred and twenty. Number them together, and they mount to one thousand eight hundred and twenty. Seven times six make forty-two; half a hundred thirty-three: number them together, and the whole amounts to one thousand nine hundred ninety-five. Behold two thousand cubits excepting five."
8. Intricate questions.—“Whether a man may bless God for the sweet smell of incense, which he smells offered to idols?”—“Whether a man may light a candle at another candle, that burns in a candlestick that hath images on it?”—“Whether a man, at his devotions, if a serpent come and bite him by the heel, may turn and stoop to shake her off, or no?”—“Whether it is lawful to go into the necessary-house, with the phylacteries, only ad mingendum.”—“If the brother’s wife should have her hands cut off, how should she lose the shoe of her husband’s brother? If she should spit blood; what then?”—“Asmodeus produced, from under the pavement before Solomon, a man with two heads. He marries a wife, and begot children like himself, with two heads,—and like his wife, with one. When the patrimony comes to be divided,—he that had two heads, requires a double portion; and the cause was brought before Solomon to be decided by him.”—“If any one should have two heads; on which of the foreheads should the phylacteries be bound?”

9. Subtle distinctions.—“Any spittle, found in the city, was clean, except that which was found in the upper street.”—“The hinges of the gates of the Temple are heard, as far as a sabbath-day’s journey eight times numbered. The hinges, indeed, not farther; but the gates themselves are heard to Jericho.”—“R. Jacob Bar Acha in the name of R. Lazar saith, ‘The victuals of the Cutheans are lawful,’ which is to be understood of that food, with which their wine and vinegar is not mingled.”—“They who had not nobler provision, hunted after locusts for food. The Gemarists feign, that there are eight hundred kinds of them, namely, of such as are clean.”—“There is a dispute upon that precept, Levit. xvii. 13: If any one kill a beast or bird upon a holy-day, the Shammean school saith, Let him dig with an instrument, and cover the blood. The school of Hillel saith, Let him not kill at all, if he have not dust ready by him to cover the blood.”—“R. Juda saith, The Monoceros entered not into Noah’s ark, but his whelps entered. R. Nehemiah saith, Neither he nor his whelps entered, but Noah tied him to the ark. And he made furrows in the waves, for as much space as is from Tiberias to Susitha.”—“If any wash himself all over, except the very top of his little finger, he is still in his uncleanness. And if any hath much
hair, he must wash all the hair of his head, for that also was reckoned for the body. But if any should enter into the water with their clothes on, yet their washing holds good; because the water would pass through their clothes, and their garments would not hinder it."—“He that vows abstinence from salt things, is restrained from nothing but from salt-fish.”—“The pulling off of the shoe [of the husband’s brother, Deut. xxv. 9] is right: and of the sandal, if it hath a heel, is right; but if not, it is not right.”—“A Wise man is to take place of a king: a king, of a high-priest: a high-priest, of a prophet: a prophet, of one anointed for war: one anointed for war, of a president of the courses: a president of the courses, of the head of a family: the head of a family, of a counsellor: a counsellor, of a treasurer: a treasurer, of a private priest: a private priest, of a Levite: a Levite, of an Israelite: an Israelite, of a bastard: a bastard, of a Nethinim: a Nethinim, of a proselyte: a proselyte, of a freed slave. But when is this to be? namely, when they are alike as to other things: but, indeed, if a bastard be a disciple, or a Wise man, and the high-priest be unlearned,—the bastard is to take place of him. A Wise man is to be preferred before a king: for, if a Wise man die, he hath not left his equal: but, if a king die, any Israelite is fit for a kingdom.”—“To lie on one’s back, is not called lying down; and to lie on one’s right side, is not called lying down.”—“He that ‘mingit,’ let him turn his face to the north: he that easeth nature, to the south. R. Josi Ben R. Bon saith, The tradition is, From Zophim and within:”—“that is, if this be done by any one from Zophim inwards, when he is now within the prospect of the city; when he ‘mingit,’ let him turn his face to the north, that he do not expose his modest parts before the Temple: when he easeth nature, let him turn his face to the south, that he expose not his ‘nates’ before it.”—“But why was the city laid waste? Some say, For fornication: others say, Because they played at bowls.”—“R. Zacchah’s disciples asked him, How dost thou attain to old age? He answered them, I did never, in my whole life, make water within four cubits of the place of prayer.”

10. Superiority of oral tradition over the written law.—“Amongst all the commandments, there is not one commandment that is parallel to the learning and teaching of
the law; but that is equal to all the commandments put together.”—“The written law is narrow; but the traditional is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.”—“The words of the scribes are lovely, above the words of the law: for the words of the law are weighty and light; but the words of the scribes are all weighty.”—“The Bible* is like water; the Mishna, like wine: he that has learned the Scripture, and not the Mishna, is a blockhead.”—“Who­soever* scorns the words of the Wise Men, shall be cast into boiling dung in hell.”

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

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

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

* Allen’s Modern Judaism.
any thing from it growing, is guilty, under the notion of reaping.”—“It is not only permitted to lead the beast out to watering on the sabbath-day; but they might draw water for him, and pour it into troughs, provided only that they do not carry the water, and set it before the beast to drink,—but the beast come and drink it of his own accord.”

—“Women may not look into a looking-glass on the sabbath-day, if it be fixed to a wall.”—“Let not those that are in health, use physic on the sabbath-day. Let not him, that labours under a pain in his loins, anoint the place affected, with oil and vinegar; but with oil he may, so it be not oil of roses, &c. He that hath the tooth-ache, let him not swallow vinegar to spit it out again; but he may swallow it, so he swallow it down. He that hath a sore-throat, let him not gargle it with oil: but he may swallow down the oil, whence, if he receive a cure, it is well. Let no man chew mastic, or rub his teeth with spice for a cure; but, if he do this, to make his mouth sweet, it is allowed.”

—“They do not squirt wine into the eyes on the sabbath-day, but they may wash the eye-brows with it.”—“They do all works necessary about the dead (on the sabbath-day); they anoint him; they wash him; provided only that they do not stir a limb of him,” &c.—“They bound washing to them, but they loosed sweating;” meaning, they taught that it was lawful to go into the bath to sweat, but not to bathe for pleasure.—“It is lawful near night, to put water to gums and copperas, to make ink; to put flax into an oven, to dry; to lay a net, or set a trap, for a wild beast, or vermin;—it is lawful to do these things near night, though the efficacy of the things,—as the ink’s soaking, the flax’s drying, and the net’s catching,—be on the sabbath, when it is come in.”

14. Superstitions with respect to amulets, charms, magic, &c.—See what various and manifold kinds of medicines are prescribed to a woman, labouring under a flux: “R. Jo-chanan saith, bring (or take) of gum of Alexandria the weight of a zuzee: and of alum the weight of a zuzee: and of crocus hortensis the weight of a zuzee: let these be bruised together, and be given in wine to the woman, that hath an issue of blood, &c. But if this does no benefit; take of Persian onions: thrice three logs, boil them in wine, and then give it her to drink, and say, Arise from thy flux. But if this does not prevail; set her in a place where two ways
meet, and let her hold a cup of wine in her hand; and let somebody come behind her, and affright her, and say, Arise from thy flux. But if that do no good; take a handful of cummin, and a handful of crocus, and a handful of fænum graecum. Let these be boiled in wine, and give them her to drink, and say, Arise from thy flux.”—“He that mutters, let him put oil upon his head, and mutter.” (This muttering is to be understood concerning the manner of saying a charm upon a wound, or some place of the body, that feels pain.)—“One being sick, a certain person came to him, and muttered upon him in the name of Jesus of Pandira, and he was healed.”—“R. Eliezer Ben Damah was bitten by a serpent: James of Capharsam came to heal him in the name of Jesus: but R. Ismael permitted him not,” &c.—“Let one observe a good dream two-and-twenty years, after the example of Joseph.”—“If you go to bed merry, you shall have good dreams,” &c.—A certain old man (Babyl. Beracoth) relates this story; “There were four-and-twenty interpreters of dreams in Jerusalem; and I, having dreamed a dream, went to them all: every one gave a different interpretation, and yet they all came to pass,” &c. You have (Jerusal. Maasar Sheni, fol. 52. 2. 3.) R. Joses Ben Chelpatha, R. Ismael Ben R. Joses, R. Lazar, and R. Akiba interpreting divers dreams, and many coming to them for interpretation of their dreams. Nay, you see there, the disciples of R. Lazar, in his absence, practising this art. See there, also, many stories about this business, which it would be too much here to transcribe.—“Let not any one go abroad with his amulet on the sabbath-day, unless that amulet be prescribed by an approved physician.”—“They do not say a charm over a wound on the sabbath; that also, which is said over a mandrake, is forbid” on the sabbath.—“If any one say, Come, and say this versicle over my son, or lay the book” of the law “upon him, to make him sleep; it is forbid,” i. e. on the sabbath. —“The Talmud,* after cautioning its votaries against drinking water by night, lest it should cause dizziness and blindness, instructs them, if they do drink, to guard against these maladies, by repeating Shiviri, Vriri, Riri, Iri, Ri, I; i. e. omitting, each time, one letter of the word שברי. —“When* a child laughs in its sleep, in the night of the

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

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

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

17. Puerile and ridiculous descriptions of the future world.—To this class of Rabbinic absurdities, may be refer-
red their accounts of angels and demons, detailing their number, mode of birth, precise names, magnitude and stature, residences, and peculiar offices. Equally childish are the reveries of the Rabbies, relative to the chorography of Paradise; its various divisions, and names thereof. With the same accuracy they mark out the different compartments of Hell or Gehinnom; the extent, and inmates of each section; the various intensities of penal fire, and the processes of purgation. [See Allen's M. J. ch. ix. and x.]

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

In passing from the Rabbinic writings to the pages of the Evangelists, how striking is the contrast! how visibly stamped with every mark of divinity. On the part of the Jewish teacher, we behold bigotry and rancour; from the lips of Christ we hear ‘Love thy neighbour as thyself;’—‘God loveth the world.’ On one side, we read mystical speculations, cabalistic exposition, and the Scriptures interpreted by anagram, riddle, and acrostic; on the other, precepts so plain and perspicuous, that the simplest may understand,—and he that runneth, may read. While the Rabbies are contending for supremacy, and would fain aggrandize themselves by the number of their scholars, Christ, so far from courting attachment, disowns all followers, who do not assimilate their actions to their creed. In the Talmud, we are disgusted with legends and tales; in the Gospel, our hearts are affected and improved by parables of the most exquisite beauty. The Rabbi prays in the corner of the street; Christ retires into solitude, and enjoins his disciples to offer their devotions, without reference to human eyes. The Rabbi impiously and childishly pours the fancied particulars of an invisible world: Christ assures us of another existence; and as to the rest, he veils futurity in a dignified and sublime reserve. The Rabbi is covered with vice; Christ rises immaculate above the innumerable corruptions, in which his countrymen were immersed. “The divinity of the Jews, which they taught and
heard in their schools, was as far out of the road of such
doctrine as Christ teacheth, as it is from England to
Jerusalem. For, though some of them stuck not to say,
that the law might be expounded seventy-two ways,—yet,
in all their expositions, the doctrine of regeneration, and
the work of grace, was little thought on, or looked after.
To omit their manner of expounding, by Rashe and Sopher
Teboth, Gematria, Notaricon, Atbash, Cabala, and such
wild kind of commenting, as was ordinary among them;—
the best divinity that was to be had with them, was but to
instruct them in carnal rites, and to heighten their spirits
to legal performances. They would speak and teach, in­
deed, concerning repentance and mortification, and such
kind of doctrines; but all was to promote their own legal
righteousness in such things and actions the more. Their
divinity, that they taught and learned, was generally to this
tenor:—to build upon their birth-privilege to Abraham; to
rest in the law; to rely upon their own works; to care for
no other faith but historical; to patter over prayers, as ef­
ficacious ‘ex opere operato;’ to account the day of expia­
tion, afflictions, and their very death, to be expiatory; to
expect Messias, and undoubted happiness, when he came,”
&c. [See Lightfoot, vol. v. p. 43.] Our limits do not
allow us to continue the parallel:—they who pursue the en­
quiry with an unbiassed mind, will, after contemplating the
numerous points of contrast, feel themselves compelled to
confess, that the Preacher of the gospel could not have
been of human origin; and that among the strongest argu­
ments for the truth of Christianity, may be reckoned the
peculiarities of its moral code.

To the preceding remarks upon the utility of Dr. Light­
foot’s studies, may properly be subjoined a few references
to some of his principal opinions.—I. The utter rejection of
the Jews. “This makes me not believe the call of the
Jews; because they sinned beyond the Gentiles; because
they sinned against such light, as shall never appear to eyes
again. Some have dreamed of some glorious appearance
of Christ, that shall convert them; if more shall be seen,
than they have seen already, I believe it. But more, cer­
tainly, they cannot see:” vi. 394.—“I see not how we can
look upon the conversion of the Jews, under a lower no­
tion than the conversion of a brood of antichrist. There
fore can I no more look for the general calling of them, than I look for the general call of the antichristian brood of Rome: We see, indeed, by happy experience, that several nations have fallen off from the Roman antichrist, as the Protestant countries that are at this day: but antichrist is yet in being and strong; and his end will be, not by conversion, but perdition. So can I not but conceive of the Jewish nation; that although numerous multitudes of them may, at the last, be brought into the gospel, as the Protestant party hath been,—yet that, to the end, numerous multitudes also shall continue in the antichristian spirit of unbelief, and opposition, and blaspheming: and both parts of antichrist, the Roman and this, so to perish together:” iii. 410.—II. His opinion of the Septuagint. This translation (in Lightfoot’s judgment) contains many wilful errors; is arranged so as to favour the manners, traditions, and ordinances of the Jews; and to conceal from the Heathen, the truth and treasure of the Scripture. (See vol. iv. 34. 326; xi. 419; xii. 519, &c.)—III. His opinion respecting the keys of heaven. “Christ promised ‘ the keys of the kingdom of heaven’ to Peter only, of all the apostles: meaning thereby, that he should be the man, that should first unlock the door of faith, and of the gospel, unto the Gentiles; which was accomplished in Acts xi:” iii. 99. “He had said that he would build his Church to endure for ever; against which, ‘ the gates of hell should not prevail,’ which had prevailed against the Jewish church: and, ‘to thee, O Peter (saith he), I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that thou mayest open a door for the bringing-in the gospel to that church.’ Which was performed by Peter in that remarkable story concerning Cornelius, Acts x. And I make no doubt, that those words of Peter respect these words of Christ, Acts xv. 7; ‘Αφ’ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων ὁ θεός ἐν ἡμῖν ἐξέλεξαν διὰ τοῦ στόματός μου ἀκούσας τὰ ἔσχη τὸν λόγον τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, καὶ πιστεύσας: ‘A good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel by my mouth, and believe:’” xi. 226.—IV. He did not allow that ‘binding and loosing’ related to discipline, but to doctrine. And that because the phrases ‘to bind’ and ‘to loose’ were Jewish, and most frequent in their writers; and that it belonged only to the teachers among the Jews, to bind and to loose. And that when the Jews set any
apart to be a preacher, they used these words, "Take thou liberty to teach what is bound, and what is loose:" xi. 226.—V. Interpretation of Gen. iv. 7. "The common gloss upon 'sin lieth at the door,' that is, the 'punishment for sin is ready to seize on thee,' is flat contrary to the sense of the verse going before, and the latter end of that verse. God comes not there to deject, but comfort him. The word רָאשׁ translated 'sin,' signifies the 'sacrifice for sin,' all along Leviticus, which was brought to the tabernacle door:" ii. 13.—"God fireth Abel's sacrifice from heaven, but despiseth Cain's; yet readeth to him the first doctrine of repentance: 'That if he did well, he should certainly be accepted; and though he did not well, yet רָאשׁ a sin-offering lieth at the door;' if he repented, there was hope of pardon. Thus, as God had read the first lecture of faith to Adam, in the promise of Christ; so doth he the first lecture of repentance to Cain, under the doctrine of a sin-offering:" ii. 75.—VI. Chronological discrepancies. "Dr. Lightfoot often differs much from many or all other chronologers; as in the time of Christ's birth, the time from Christ's baptism to his death, the two terms of Daniel's seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years. In his account from the flood to Abraham's birth, he differs sixty years from the generality of computists; and that, upon a different interpretation of Gen. xi. 26, and proof that Abraham was not Terah's eldest son. From whence it necessarily follows, that where he agrees with others in the intermediate intervals, as from Abraham's birth to the promise, to their going out of Egypt, to the building and destruction of the Temple, &c. he must assign these to different years of the world, viz. sixty later than usual:" Dr. Bright, i. 41. —VII. "Cain and Abel born twins:" vol. ii. 75.—VIII. "About universal redemption and election he was somewhat bewildered, between the notions of his educators and those hammered out of his own head: it was his modesty made him hang in suspense."—See Bonnell's letter to Strype, vol. xiii. 467.—IX. Calling on the name of the Lord, Gen. iv. 26. "In this stock of Cain, also, began idolatry, and worshipping the creature instead of the Creator, blessed for ever; and, in a mournful feeling of this dishonour done to God by it, Seth calls his son, that was born to him in those times, 'Enosh,' or 'sorrowful;' because 'then began pro-
faniness in calling upon the name of the Lord:'" ii. 75. X. The soul of Jesus was troubled, St. John, xii. 27: "Whence comes this disturbance? It was from the apprehended rage and assault of the devil. Whether our Lord Christ, in his agony of passion, had to grapple with an angry God, I question: but I am certain, he had to do with an angry devil. When he stood, and stood firmly, in the highest and most eminent point and degree of obedience, as he did in his sufferings,—it doth not seem agreeable that he should then be groaning under the pressure of divine wrath; but it is most agreeable, he should, under the rage and fury of the devil:" xii. 367. "It is said, John xviii. 1, he went beyond Cedron. There he is in his agony: then he prays, 'Let this cup pass from me.' Why? What did he see in the cup? Bitterness enough,—but not one drop of the dregs of God's wrath. Guess his case by the case of sinful men. A Stephen, a Cranmer, a Ridley, a martyr, is brought to the stake: he hath a cup put into his hands, and that very bitter; but doth he see any of God's wrath in it? Martyrs could not have gone so joyfully to death, had they seen God angry in that bitter dispensation. Christ could not have gone so readily to his sufferings, had he thought he had gone to encounter God's indignation:" vol. vi. 19.—XI. Virtue of Christ's obedience, compared with that of his sufferings. "But his sufferings were not all, that gave his blood and death that virtue, that most justly is ascribed to it, of justifying and saving. The torments that he suffered, were not the godfather, that named his blood by that precious name of justifying and saving; but it was that infinite obedience, that he showed in bowing so low as to undergo those sufferings. And there especially does the Scripture lay and lodge the stress of it; 'By the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous:'—'He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross:'—'Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered:'" vol. vi. 235.—XII. The descent of Christ into Hell. "In this article, there are these three doctrines comprised:—1. That Christ had a true human soul, like other men. Like to us he had a soul, that was reasonable, that enlivened the body, that was whole in it: and not the divinity, that enlivened and actuated his body. 2. That when
Christ died, there was a real separation of soul and body as it is with other men. The soul slept not with the body, but was separate from it. Though it was to come into the body again, yet it forsook the body, and was separate.

3. As soon as it was departed, it went into another world of souls; to a place where holy souls go,—viz. to heaven; and there continued, till it was to return to the body. It was in paradise all the while,—the body was in the grave:

vol. vi. 27.—XIII. Death of Judas. "I cannot but take the story (with good leave of antiquity) in this sense: After Judas had thrown down the money, the price of his treason, in the Temple, and was now returning again to his mates,—the devil, who dwelt in him, caught him up on high, strangled him, and threw him down headlong; so that, dashing upon the ground, he burst in the midst, and his guts issued out, and the devil went out in so horrid an exit:"

xi. 344.—XIV. Urim and Thummim. "By the 'Urim and Thummim' is meant, the twelve precious stones (in the breast-plate of the priest) which are called 'Urim,' or 'Lights,' or 'Brightness,'—because of their shining lustre; and 'Thummim,' or 'Perfections,' because, with most exact and perfect compacture, they were all set and fixed in a plate and border of gold, in that embroidered piece, or that piece of cloth of gold:"

vol. vi. 279; see also vol. ii. 406.

XV. The woman hath power on her head, because of the angels, 1 Cor. xi. 10. "As if he should say, 'The woman hath not only power of her head, to bare her face before him, who is to be her husband,—but before them who are sent, and deputed by him, to betroth her: and from this very thing (saith he) it is clear, that the woman was created for the man; seeing she, that she might be for the man, hath such a power of uncovering her face before those angels, who come to espouse her; when otherwise, by the custom of the nation, it were not lawful.'—The apostle conceals the word חינוך 'espousals;' and saith only, 'Because of the angels,' not, 'Because of the angels of espousals:' for, by the very scope of his discourse, that is easily understood, when, in the words immediately going before, he saith, 'The woman is created for the man.' So also, the Talmudists very frequently use the single word כחל kellת 'angels,' when once it is known, that they are speaking of espousals:"

xii. 520. "Women should not expose
their faces openly in the congregation, lest the devil make a bait of their beauty; and thereby entangle the eyes and hearts of the men, who should be then better employed, than gazing and longing after beauty.' There are, that by 'angels' understood the ministers; and interpret it, that 'women should be veiled, lest the ministers' eyes should be entangled by their faces:' which exposition if it be admitted, it may speak for the admission of that, also, which we give,—which provides for the eyes of the whole congregation, as well as of the ministers;’iii. 244.—XVI. A summary of the opinions, which Dr. L. maintained in the discussions of the Assembly of Divines, may be found at page xii. of this vol.

—XVII. The Revelation of St. John. “I was unwilling to have meddled with ‘The Revelation,’ because I could not go along with the common stating of the times and matters there;” vol. iii. p. vii. Dr. L. considers ‘the Revelation’ to have been written before the fall of Jerusalem. The six seals, mentioned in the sixth chapter, refer exclusively to the rejection of the Jews, and to the destruction of their city, and not to the general state of the church under the Roman empire.—The smoke, arising out of the pit (Rev. ix. 2), designates the religion of Rome, and not of Mahomet. The fourth monarchy (Rev. xiii.) is the Syro-Grecian, and not the Roman empire. Gog and Magog (Rev. xx.) are the Syro-Grecian persecutors, and not the general enemies of true religion and its faithful professors. See vol. iii. p. 331—371.

XVIII. Lightfoot’s opinions relative to the various sects, which were prevalent in his time. 1. Perfectionists and Puritans: “There is a generation among us, that talk of their perfection, and Pharisaically boast, that they are perfect: in which you can hardly tell, whether they bewray more arrogance and pride, or more ignorance and folly: folly,—in that they think they pay such absolute perfection, which it is impossible for poor sinful man to pay; and ignorance,—in that they do not know that God does not require such perfection as they dream of, and talk of, in their dreams.” 2. Enthusiasts: “Quam longe ab institutione divina de publico ministerio aberrant hodierni nostri enthusiastæ! Nec aberrant solum, sed et summe contrariantur. Neminem sacrorum ministrum patiuntur, qui sit doctus, qui sit studiosus; sed eum solum, qui sit
Spiritu inflatus, qui possit (ut vulgari dialecto utar) \textit{‘praedicare aut concionari per Spiritum.’} Prophetas solos volunt ministre in sacris, cum jam in toto terrarum orbe non sit propheta. At Deus, cum essent prophetæ plurimi, hos non ad statum ministerium constituit, sed homines, studio doctos, et in lege literatos, nempe sacerdotes. \textit{‘De lege interrogate sacerdotes:’} vol. v. 463. \textit{‘The Spirit of God inspired certain persons, whom he pleased, to be the revealers of his will, till he had imparted and committed to writing what he thought fit to reveal under the Old Testament; and when he had completed that, the Holy Ghost departed, and such inspirations ceased. And when the gospel was come in, then the Spirit was restored again, and bestowed upon several persons for the revealing farther of the mind of God, and completing the work he had to do, for the settling of the gospel, and penning of the New Testament: and that being done, these gifts and inspirations cease, and may no more be expected, than we may expect some other gospel yet to come:’} iii. 371.—3. Separatists. \textit{‘They that will pay nothing to our churches,—that will not come to our churches; nay, will not abide to be buried in our churchyards,—do they see any abominable thing in the service of our churches, worse than the corruptions that were crept into the Jewish religion; worse superstition, worse will-worship, worse corruptions? If they do, let them show it:—if they do not, why do they so despise our churches, and the worship there, when Christ himself refused not to be present at the temple, and to contribute to maintain the service there? Let me ask them and the negligent comers to church (though they do not quite refuse it), do they think, that our Saviour ever let a sabbath-day pass, in all his time while here, but he was present at the public service, either in the temple or in the synagogue? Look the gospel through, and see, by the current of the story there, whether ever he absented himself from the public congregation on the sabbath-day:’} v. 343.—4. Affectors of singularity in Public Worship. \textit{‘The evangelists make it plain that it was Christ’s manner to go to the synagogues, every sabbath-day. And what to do there? To disturb the congregation? To cross the service? To sit dumb whilst others sing psalms? To put on his hat [that I may express it by our known English garb], while others sat bare? To do}
every thing, cross to the order of the synagogue [as there are too many among us, at this day; of this cross-grained humour?] No; no such thing came near his most meek and divine spirit. His noise or troublesomeness was not heard in the streets, much less in the place and time of divine worship. But he went to the public congregation, to join with the congregation in the worship of God, as the duty of the sabbath did require. He went, indeed to preach; but withal he joined with the congregation in other parts of divine service, as he desired that they should join with him in that: vol. vi. 223.—5. Papists. "The Papist saith, 'Scripture is not sufficient to instruct in all things of religion.' True; not of the Romish religion. For the rags that patch that, you must go to some broker; for the divine wardrobe of Scripture hath none such; viz. the orders of monks and friars, pilgrimages, single life of the clergy, salt, oil, spittle in baptism, tapers at the communion, processions, praying to and for the dead, and a thousand other trinklements and trumperies.—Scripture never knew such base ware; we must go to some other kind of shop for it. And that pedlar, with them, is tradition;" vi. 55.—6. Anabaptists. "And such an answer, if I had not other to give, should I give to an Anabaptist, that asks, Why I baptize my child? I should answer, 'He is part of myself; and so it is fit he be baptized, because I am: otherwise all of myself is not baptized.' And this gives some reason of what the apostle saith, that 'the child of a believing father or mother is holy, that he is a Christian, for the believing parent's sake;' because he is part of that parent:" vii. 365. See vol. vi. pp. 391—416.—7. Arians and Socinians. "The Arian or Socinian will have Christ to be a creature, and not God; the Holy Ghost a creature, and not God. What do they gain by this towards heaven? Do they not set themselves farther off, when they make him, that should redeem them, but a creature like themselves;—and him that should sanctify them, to be but a creature like themselves?" vii. 289.—8. Antinomians. "Knowing this, that the law is not made for the righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient." The Antinomians misconstrue here, that righteous men are exempted from obedience to the law: but the meaning is,—the law is not to punish the righteous, that make conscience of their ways, but the wicked, that will not other-
wise be restrained:’’ v. 321.—9. Millenaries. ‘‘But I must do more than barely tell you, that the gloss and exposition upon this prophecy (Rev. xx. 2), which hath got the deepest root, and the highest seat in the hearts and estimations of very many in these times, and carrieth the greatest cry with it, is the opinion of the Chiliasts of old, refined by the Millenaries alate, which take this matter about the thousand years, strictly and exactly according to the very letter; an opinion so strange to me, that, I must confess, I could not but make it a sad omen and presage a good while ago, what opinions we should fall into in time, when such an opinion as this could be so swallowed down and entertained, as I saw it was:’’ vol. vi. 167.—10. Jesuits. ‘‘I cannot but admire the impudency, as well as abhor the wickedness, of the Jesuits’ doctrine of equivocation: a doctrine that hath put on a whore’s forehead, a brazen face, and the devil’s impudency itself, before men, as well as it hath clothed itself with horrid abominableness before God. It is a doctrine, that teacheth men to lie, and yet will maintain they lie not. And by their doctrine there can be no lying, forswearing, or deceiving in the world, though they lie, forswear, and deceive never so deeply. A trick beyond the devil’s: he turns truth into a lie: these can turn a lie into truth. A Popish priest or Jesuit is brought before a Protestant magistrate. He puts him to his oath; Are you a Popish priest or a Jesuit? They will swear No roundly, and make no bones of it; having this reserve in their mind, I am not a priest to you, or I am not a priest of the English church; or I am not a Jesuit to tell you, or be your confessor:—or some such lurking reserved thought in his mind. This man hath not told a lie, though he speaks not a word true: he hath not taken a false oath, though he has sworn falsely. As the devil changeth himself into an angel of light, so these a lie into the truth. But as he is a liar still, and is most dangerous, when he seems a good angel, so is their lie, when they thus clothe it with the pretence of truth. ‘‘Into their secret let not my soul come; and with their counsel, my glory, be not thou united:’’ vol. i. 191.—11. Deniers of the necessity or sanctity of set-days, &c. ‘‘The consideration of these ends of the sabbath, may serve to assoil that controversy about the antiquity of its institution;—viz. Whether its institution was not before the giving of the law? In the
dispute about the sabbath, a-foot in England some years ago, there were some went so high (shall I say?) or so low, as to maintain, that our sabbath was not of divine institution, but ecclesiastical only; not ordained by God, but the church. And to make good this assertion, they would persuade you, that there was no sabbath instituted before the giving of the law. None from the beginning, but that the world was two thousand five hundred and thirteen years without a sabbath: for so long it was from the creation to Israel's going out of Egypt: and that then, and not before, was the law for the sabbath given:” vii. 385.—“In the afternoon, the city-ministers met together to consult whether they should preach on Christmas-day, or no. Among them were only Mr. Calamy, Mr. Newcomen, and myself, of the Assembly. And when Mr. Calamy began to incline that there should be no sermon on that day, and was like to sway the company that way, I took him aside, and desired him to consider seriously upon these things. 1. That one sermon preached at the feast of the dedication, which had but a human original, John x. 2. That the thing in itself was not unlawful. 3. That letting the day utterly fall without a sermon, would most certainly breed a tumult. 4. That it is but this one day; for the next, we hope, will be resolved upon about it by authority. 5. That he, being an Assembly-man, and advising them, would bring an odium undeserved upon the Assembly. With these things I prevailed with him to change his mind; and so he also prevailed with the company; and it was put to the question, and voted affirmatively, only some four or five gainsaying, that they would preach, but withal resolving generally to cry down the superstition of the day;” vol. xiii. 91. —12. Anarchists. “Unhappy the sheep that are without a shepherd; like a man without conscience to govern and restrain him. Unhappy family, where there is no restraint: such was Eli’s.—Unhappy city where is no restraint: such was Sodom:—there was none to restrain it. And in the last times of the city, when the reins of government were gone, what murders, robberies, oppression, confusion, overspread all! And, in a word, conceive what outrages and uproars would be in London, with whoring, thieving, plundering, if there were no government to restrain:” vol. v. 319.—13. Opposers of Liturgies. “It is an opinion,
then, that I can rather wonder at, than understand, that bids when we pray, Say not, Our Father. As I have often grieved to see the neglect and disuse of the Lord’s prayer, and to hear the reproach that some have cast upon it,—so have I, as seriously as I could, considered what ground these have had for the disusing of it: and to this hour I rest admiring, and no way satisfied, why they should refrain it, when Christ hath commanded the use of it, as plain as words can speak, ‘After this manner pray ye;’ and again, ‘When ye pray, say:’ vi. 423.—‘We have need to be taught to pray. There is no doing spiritual work, but according to the pattern in the mount. God prescribed forms:’ vol. vi. 421.

XIX. Is not Dr. Lightfoot somewhat cabalistic in interpreting various passages of the Old Testament?—1. “Joseph dieth a hundred and ten years old, having lived to see Ephraim’s children to the third generation; that is, to the third generation from Ephraim, or fourth from Joseph: and to this, the great ס in the וֹּשַׁלְש, Gen.i. ver. 23, seemeth to point, to teach us to construe this to the greatest extent,—namely, to the third from Ephraim; as the like is expressed of Manasseh:’ ii. 107.—2. “In the thirty-fifth verse of this chapter (Exod. x), the letter nun is written the wrong way in the word וֹּשַׁלְש, ‘when the ark set forward;’ and so is it also in the fifth verse of the next chapter, in the word כִּבְהֲנַת מִזְבֵּחַ, ‘they became as murderers.’ In the former is hinted, as the Jews observe, God’s gracious turning back towards the people; in the latter, the people’s ungracious turning away from God:’ ii. 127.—3. “There is the letter נ in the very first word of the book Leviticus, נֵבֶר written less than all his fellows: and it seemeth, by such a writing, to hint and intimate, that though this were a glorious oracle, yet was it small in comparison of what was to come, when God would speak to his people by his own Son, whom the ark, mercy-seat, oracle, did represent:” ii. 120.—4. “Some Canaanites are overcome; here appeareth some glimpse of the performance of God’s promise, but the people turning clean back again, they begin to murmur. Here the strange word נַגְּרָא Numb. xxi. ver. 5, and the scornful word כִּבְהֲנַת מִזְבֵּחַ, used for manna, showeth their scornfulness and fuming:’ vol. ii. 132.—5. “In the fifth commandment, in this his rehearsal, there is an addition or two more than
there is in it in Exod. xx.; and the letter teth is brought in twice, which, in the twentieth of Exodus, was only wanting of all the letters:” vol. ii. 136.—6. “It cannot pass the eye of him, that readeth the text in the original, but he must observe it, how, in Deut. xxix. ver. 29, the Holy Ghost hath pointed one clause, דֹּלֶת אַלֹּלים, to us and to our children belong the revealed things,’ after an extraordinary and unparalleled manner: to give warning against curiosity in prying into God’s secrets; and that we should content ourselves with his revealed will:” vol. ii. 157.—7. “A great-grandchild of Moses is the first idolatrous priest, but Moses’s name is written מָנָשֶׁה, ‘Manasseh,’ (Judges xviii.) with the letter א above the word; partly, for the honour of Moses, in the dust; and partly, because this his grandchild’s actions were like Manasseh’s actions, the king of Judah:” ii. 148.—8. “Gehazi’s covetousness brings upon him Naaman’s leprosy. The text hath divinely omitted a letter in one word, that it might the more brand him with a blot for this his villany; ‘I will run after Naaman,’ saith he, ‘and will take of him מָנָשֶׁה, a blot:’ instead of מָנָשֶׁה somewhat:” vol. ii. 225.—9. “A letter of note and remarkableness in the word לָמָרֶב ‘Lemarbeh’ (in ver. 7), Mem clausum,—to show the hiddenness and mysteriousness of Christ’s kingdom, different from visible pomp—and to hint the forty years before Jerusalem’s destruction, when this dominion increased through the world:” ii. 252.—10. “The twenty-four heads of the courses of the priesthood, and the high-priest, that should have been serving God at the altar, turning their backs upon it, and adoring the sun (Ezek. viii. 16), מְדִינַתיוֹת לִשְׁמַשׁ; a very strange-framed word, to express their strange abominableness:” ii. 293.—“For all the chapters in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the fifth or last excepted, are alphabetical,—or every verse beginning in order, with the letters of the alphabet, and the third chapter doing it three times over. Only in all the alphabets, but that of the first chapter, there is a dislocation of the two letters נ and ד; for, whereas נ should properly be set before, according to the constant method of the Hebrew alphabet, it is not so here, but ד set before, and נ after. The prophet, by this alteration of the letter נ, which in numbers denoteth seventy, aimeth, as it may be well supposed, to hint the seventy years that this desolation of Jerusalem, to which it was now come, should
last:” ii. 298.—12. “Observe that in 2 Sam. xi. 21, ‘Who smote Abimelech the son of Jerubesheth?’ Abimelech was the son of Jerubbaal, or Gideon, as you may see, Judg. ix. where you have Abimelech’s story. Why, then, does the Holy Ghost here misname Gideon, and, instead of Jerubbaal, call him Jerubbesheth? The reason is, because Baal was the general name of an idol; and the Holy Ghost, in detestation of idolatry, changeth the name Baal, which signifieth a Lord, into Beslth, which signifies shame. And he calleth Gideon ‘Jerubbesheth,’ instead of ‘Jerubbaal,’ because Gideon had made an idol, that all ‘Israel went a whoring after,’ Judg. viii. 27:” vol. vii. 556.—13. “The first letter in זכר, ‘remember,’ is a great letter, and above ordinary size; either, as some say, to intimate to them the great cause they had to remember the law; or, as others, to call upon them to remember the five books of Moses, and the book of the prophets, and the book of Hagiography, according to the great Zain’s numeral, which is seven:” vol. vi. 203.—14. “You have an example of the eternal duration of the very little letter Jod, in Deut. xxxii. 18; where in the word יְזֵר, it is written even less than itself, and yet it stands immortal in that its diminutive state unto this very day, and so shall for ever:” vol. xi. 99.—15. “This matter was done in the seventh year of Darius, or Artaxerxes, the same year that Ezra (chap. x.) came to Jerusalem, as the text seemeth to carry it on; unless, by the strange writing of the word לְזִבְיר ver. 16, the Holy Ghost would hint Darius’s tenth.—Let the learned judge:” vol. ii. 324.

It is almost unnecessary to advert to Dr. L.’s political conduct: it has long been forgotten in the piety and learning of the theologian. During the collisions of the civil war, Lightfoot conformed to “the powers that were:” several of his pieces were dedicated to the parliamentary leaders; and one work is inscribed to Oliver Cromwell. The Protector’s patronage, extended to the Polyglot Bible, by permitting the paper to be imported duty-free, would powerfully tend to conciliate the gratitude of scholars, and would naturally be attended with complimentary acknowledgment. The lovers of social order, might, in complying with the necessity of the times, have urged in their defence, that when the kingly authority had been withdrawn, no other
resource was left than to seek refuge under any form of
government; sufficiently vigorous to oppose a barrier to the
tide of anarchy and blasphemy, which threatened inundation
to the whole country. Lightfoot was the son of a Puritan father; and if, in advanced life, he might evince a
disposition to hazard some alterations in ecclesiastical dis-
cipline, every candid judge of human nature will make due
allowance for the force and bent of early education. Happy
would it have been for England, if, in those turbulent pe-
riods, all politicians had resembled the character of Light-
foot; who, as far as party spirit is an object of censure, did
in reality, stand alone. If the immorality of self-called
saints; if the wild ignorance of enthusiasm; if the ravings
of atheism and blasphemy; if the turbulence of those who
were impatient of civil restraint; could, in any degree be
repressed by the weapons of reason, or by the efficacy of
example; those arguments might have been derived from
the writings of Lightfoot, and that example was exhibited
in his conduct. His upright and conscientious character
was honoured by general regard. Although in the Assembly
of Divines, he thwarted, by the most scriptural arguments,
the favourite speculations of the Presbyterian parliament,—
they scrupled not to confer upon him, as a tribute due to
his abstract merit, the rectory of Munden and the mastership
of Catharine-Hall. At the restoration of monarchy, he was
confirmed in the tenure of his situations, ecclesiastical and
academic, by the urgent interference of the primate Sheldon,
who, though a total stranger to his person, was able to ap-
preciate his piety, learning, and moderation. What more
satisfactory vindication can be alleged for those, whose
lot is cast in times of national commotion,—than that, like
Lightfoot, they have commanded the esteem of contending
parties; and where hatred and rancour were most virulent,
have so comported themselves as to irritate no enemies,
but conciliate many friends. But on this point, let us
listen to the observations of former apologists: "He was
born in that age, when the strain of opinions in divinity ran
generally another way, after the first foreign reformers, be-
fore things were so calmly, impartially, and perhaps judi-
ciously examined. He lived, and publicly appeared, prin-
cipally when factions grew high, and were in great ferment;
when the populace, the worst of masters, all being done, the
most ignorant, selfish, and ungenerous, were courted; when public accusation was the fashion, and all things found fault with, right or wrong; when affairs were carried with clamour, confidence, and violence, with pretences or appearances of religion and reformation, backed with a present success. And it was no wonder, if some good and innocent men, especially such as he who was generally more concerned about what was done in Judea, many centuries since, than what was transacted in his own native country, by the intrigues and designs of enthusiastic or hypocritical politicians; I say, it is no wonder, if some such were borne away to some compliances in some opinions and practices in religious and civil matters, which they themselves afterward, upon more sedate and serious reflection, did not allow. And yet, it seems, his innocency from any self-interest or design, together with his learning, secured him from the extravagancies and follies of the demagogues, the people's oracles,—every one of which affected to distinguish and signalize himself by some peculiar doctrine or custom; but in truth, were no more fit for teachers and governors in religion, than mountebanks to compose dispensatories, or to be presidents of colleges of physicians:”

Bright.—“I do not pretend wholly to excuse and justify Dr. Lightfoot in being too much carried away with the late evil times, but only to lessen and mollify the charge. Consider, then, that he was but a man; and so subject to human slips and frailties, as well as others; and that even such who have enjoyed the greatest fame, either for learning or goodness, have, for the most part, had some abatement in their coat of arms. And those great endowments that were in him, and that eminent service he did the church and commonwealth of learning, may justly merit his pardon for any faults, into which either his ignorance or infirmity betrayed him. It was indeed his unhappiness, as well as of many other pious well-meaning men, to live in times of temptation: whereinto if they fell, it was because they were not politicians enough to see the bad consequences of those smooth and fair pretences. I may plead for him, that it was his credulity, not his malice, or any evil design, that made him err. He was carried away with their dissimulation (and there was an apostle once so); and that the more easily, being a man of an innocent and unsuspicious nature, especially when such
goodly things as religion and reformation were so much boasted. And, I make no doubt, he afterward was convinced, how he had been trepanned; and saw his error, as appeared sufficiently, by his ready compliance with the laws and orders of the established church, upon the happy Restoration; and encouraging his sons, also, to the same, who were both conformable men of the clergy. He never was a bigot or a busy officious man, always rather passive than active, unless in the Assembly. And then generally those matters, wherein he stirred, were such points, as in which the very locks of the Presbyterians' strength lay, which he, for the most part, opposed. And certainly, when we consider, how he thwarted their πρώτα ψεύδατα, their chief principles; arguing against lay-elders, standing for general admittance to the sacrament, for forms of prayers, and many such like,—the Presbyterians could never reckon him truly theirs; and I am apt to think, they wished him more than once out of their Assembly. Indeed he was then rather a man at large by himself, that followed his own studies, than followed any party of men, and promoted true goodness, as far as in him lay. In those times, he particularly made these three or four things his main drift, viz. To beat down enthusiasm, which, he plainly saw, tended to the enervating the authority of the Holy Scriptures; to maintain the honour of learning and a regular clergy; and to show the necessity of keeping up public communion with the national church: whereby unquestionably he did excellent service to the church, in those evil days:”—Strype.

It now remains, to take a brief review of Dr. Lightfoot’s writings. Some time previous to his decease, the booksellers had expressed to him their desire, that he would revise his works for publication: he assented to this wish; but the design was frustrated by his death. The following catalogue of his publications is arranged in chronological order. It is apparently impossible, that books which have no existence, should be formally specified with places and dates; and yet, after a careful consideration, the editor ventures to express his doubts as to the reality of several of the editions, stated by Walchius, Le Long, and Lipenius, to have been printed in England. That the reader may know, what degree of confidence is due, in these inquiries,
to the present editor; he states, that all the pieces and editions, which, in the ensuing enumeration, are designated by Roman numerals and by having their title pages printed in italic, have been actually seen by him. Of the foreign editions, to which Walchius and others refer, the editor has not had an opportunity of inspecting any, except those inserted in Ugolini's 'Thesaurus;' and Carpozov's, 4to. editions of the "Horæ in quatuor Evangelistas," Lips. 1675, and 1684; and of the "Horæ in Acta, Romanos, et in I. epist. ad Corinth." 1679.

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

The work is dedicated to Sir R. Cotton.

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

II. "A few and new Observations upon the Book of Genesis; the most of them, certain; the rest, probable; all, harmless, strange, and rarely heard of before." Lond. 1642. 4to.
This work is inscribed to "My dear and loving countrymen of the county of Stafford, and other my friends residing in the city of London." Dr. L. was at this time occupied in drawing up his "Harmony of the Four Evangelists." The booksellers being unwilling to hazard the printing of more extended compositions, he published these "Few Observations," which had occurred to him while compiling that greater work; considering them as so many sparks which had flown from the anvil of his "Harmony," and as so many forerunners of his Biblical labours.


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

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

Dr. Grey alludes to a passage in this sermon, in a note upon Hudibras, part 3. canto 2. verse 629; And learn'd th' Apocryphal Bigots:—"Their bigotry against the Apocrypha was so remarkable, that even the most learned amongst them, when opportunity offered, had a fling at it: and amongst the rest, the learned Dr. Lightfoot, then member of the Assembly of Divines: 'Thus sweetly and nearly' (says he) 'stood the two Testaments joined together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha does thrust in between: like the two cherubims betwixt the Temple Oracle, they would touch each other, the end of the law with the beginning of the Gospel, did not this patchery of human inventions divorce them asunder.'"—See Todd's Life of Walton, vol. i. p. 224.
IV. "A handful of Gleanings out of the Book of Exodus."
Lond. 4to. 1643.

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

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

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

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

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

Many unfortunate causes concurred in impeding Dr. L. from executing and completing a design, which he had so ably conceived. The distracted state of the times was adverse to the exertions of literary men,—more especially of theologians. The intended work must have run out into very considerable extent; a circumstance sufficient to deter the booksellers, who (as Dr. L. complains) were unwilling to undertake any except short pieces, and such as were attended with immediate profit. Neither is it improbable, that, when he originally sketched out his plan, he was little aware of its magnitude; and that some of the subordinate and prefatory parts, would increase into a size, utterly disproportioned to the more immediate work. His intention seems to have been obstructed by the ambitious extent of it; and each part became a distinct publication, without systematic reference to the first-projected undertaking. Thus the Harmony itself consists but of three parts, ending at the second Passover after our Saviour's baptism: they issued from the press at various intervals, and were separated from each other by different works. Not that the purpose, originally conceived, was wholly defeated; but that the various parts of it must be sought in various publications. Thus the arrangement of the texts, and his reasons for that arrangement, will be found in the above-named
three parts of his Harmony of the Four Evangelists, in his "Chronicle and Order of the New Testament," and in his "Rules for a Student of the Holy Scriptures;" see vol. ii. pp. 43—58. The difficulties of the language and a general interpretation of the sense are, for the most part, comprised in his Talmudic Hours. The chorography of Canaan is discussed in the prefaces to his Talmudic Hours. The dislocations of the Old Testament constitute his great work, "The Chronicle and Harmony of the Old Testament." The intended topographical description of Jerusalem was afterwards supplied by a map, delineated according to Dr. L.'s conceptions of the city. The description of the Temple forms a separate work; see vol. ix. The history of the Jews in the times when the gospel began, is slightly touched upon, in his "Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles," and in the other pieces, comprised in vol. ix.

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

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

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

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


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

VIII. "Fast Sermon (on Psalm iv. 4.) preached before the
The text of this Sermon, is, "Commune with your own hearts:" the tendency of the discourse may be gathered from its exordium.

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

IX. "A Chronicle of the Times, and the Order of the Texts, of the Old Testament: wherein the Books, Chapters, Psalms, Stories, Prophecies, &c. are reduced into their proper Order, and taken up in the proper Places, in which the natural method and genuine series of the Chronology requireth them
PREFACE TO THE OCTAVO EDITION

LXXXVIII

LIST OF

to be taken in: with Reason, given of Dislocations where
they come; and many remarkable Notes and Observations
given all along, for the better understanding of the Text;
the difficulties of the Chronicle declared; the Differences
occurring in the relating of Stories reconciled; and ex­
ceeding many Scruples and Obscurities in the Old Testa­
ment explained.” Lond. 4to. 1647.

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

The Rev. T. H. Horne, in his invaluable work, “Intro­
duction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy
Scriptures,” observes (vol. ii. p. 476), “In what year the
Chronicle, &c. was first published, we have not been able
to ascertain; but it probably was not before the year 1646
or 1647, as it is not mentioned by Mr. Torshell,” &c. Mr.
Horne’s doubt arises from not having seen the “Chronicle”
as a separate publication. Bright and Strype, in their folio
edition of Lightfoot’s Works, have omitted his prefatory
addresses; one of which, that to Christ’s College, is dated
July 22, 1647; another, that to the reader, is subscribed,
“From my lodging, in Duck Lane, London, July 23, 1647.” It
appears from a passage in the latter address, that Torshell’s
Tract, relative to the Harmony of the Old and New Testa­
ment, had preceded Dr. L.’s “Chronicle.”—The Rev. G.
Townsend has, from the same cause, fallen into the same
error; when he argues, from Torshell’s omission to name
the ‘Chronicle’ of Lightfoot, that the latter work did not
attract due attention upon its first publication:—See Pre­
face (p. ii.) to “Old Testament arranged in historical order,”
&c. a work indispensably necessary to the Biblical Student.

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

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

—— Latinè, in vol. ix. of Ugolini’s ‘Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum.’
The Catalogue of the Bodleian confounds this and No. XI. as one and the same work. The error has been copied by Watt, in his 'Bibliotheca Britannica.'

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

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

----- Latine, in vol. ix. of Ugolini's 'Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum.'

This work is dedicated to Lenthal, the Speaker of the House of Commons. The publication of it (as stated in the preceding number) had been delayed by some difficulties which occurred in procuring the engraving of a map; and was, at last, sent forth without a map; which was not added previously to the folio-edition of the whole works. Dr. L.'s zeal and industry in preparing his 'Prospect of the Temple' for the press, were somewhat repressed by an incident of a singular nature, which we narrate in his own words: "That very day, whereon I first set my pen to paper, to draw up the description of the Temple, having but immediately before laid aside my thoughts of the description of the land, I was necessarily called out, towards the evening, to go to view a piece of ground of mine own, concerning which some litigiousness was emerging, and about to grow. The field was but a mile from my constant residence and habitation, and it had been in mine owning divers years together; and yet, till that very time, had I never seen it, nor looked after it, nor so much as knew whereabout it lay. It was very unlikely I should find it out myself, being so utterly ignorant of its situation,—yet, because I desired to walk alone, for the enjoying of my thoughts upon that task, that I had newly taken in hand, I took some directions which way to go, and would venture to find out the field myself alone. I had not gone far, but I was at a loss; and whether I went right or wrong, I could not tell; and if right thither, yet I knew not how to do so farther; and if wrong, I knew
not which way would prove the right,—and so, in seeking my ground, I had lost myself. Here my heart could not but take me to task; and reflecting upon what my studies were then, and had lately been upon,—it could not but call me fool; and methought it spake as true to me as ever it had done in all my life, but only when it called me sinner. A fool, that was so studious, and had been so searching about things remote, and that so little concerned my interest; and yet was so negligent of what was near me, both in place, and in my particular concernment: and a fool again, who went about to describe to others, places and buildings that lay so many hundred miles off, as from hence to Canaan, and under so many hundred years' ruins,—and yet was not able to know, or find the way to, a field of mine own, that lay so near me:” vol. v. p. ix.

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

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

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

XIII. “Animadversiones in Tabulas Chorographicas Terrae Sanctae.”

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

† The existence of these editions is very disputable.
XIV. "Collatio Hebraici Pentateuchi cum Samaritico." 1660.

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

XV. "Horæ Hebraicae et Talmudicae impensæ I. in chorographiam aliquam terræ Israelitæ: II. in Evangelium S. Matthæi." Cantab. 4to. 1658.

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

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

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

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

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

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

This work is preceded by a sort of Talmudic dedication (dated Jan. 1, 1661) to Charles II., who had confirmed the
author in his possession of Much-Munden and Catharine Hall. Dr. L., in the ensuing address, offers his grateful acknowledgments to Archbishop Sheldon, by whose interposition the royal favour had been conciliated.

XVII. "Hœra Hebraicae et Talmudicae impensæ in Epistolam Primam S. Pauli ad Corinthios; quibus adjuncta sunt quaedam capita de usu Bibliorum in conventibus Judæorum sacris, de quæ Bibliorum versionibus, potissimum Septuaginta Interpretum." Cantab. 4to. 1664.


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


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

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


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

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

* The existence of these editions is very disputable.
The Horæ on St. Luke’s Gospel are dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon.

XX. “Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ impensa in Acta Apostolorum; et in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos.”

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

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

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

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

The following extract is from Walchius, ‘Bibliotheca Theologica,’ vol. iv. p. 360.


* The Leipsic edition is probably that by Carpzov, including the Corinthians.
† The Horæ were originally written in Latin, and not (as Walchius supposes) in English.
‡ The existence of this edition is disputable.
dicti Carpzovii operâ.—III. *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in quàdam capita Epistolæ ad Romanos et in Epistolam Primam ad Corinthios, quibus adjuncta sunt capita quàdam de usu Scripturâ in conventu Judæorum, de quo Bibliorum versionibus, potissimum Septuaginta Interpretum,* Cantabrigiae, MDCLXIV. Amstelodami, MDCLXXVII. Lipsiæ, MDCLXXIX. 4.

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

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

These "Hebrew and Talmudic Hours" of Lightfoot (whom, from his intimate acquaintance with Jewish cus-
toms, Gibbon styles "a Rabbi," have not been received by all critics, with unqualified approbation. The French theologians are less indulgent than the German, in appreciating his Rabbinic researches. "L'auteur s'y propose d'éclaircir le Nouveau Testament par le Talmud et les Rab­bins; dessein qui a été désapprouvé avec raison par les meilleurs critiques:" Niceron, Memoires, &c. vol. vi. p. 315.

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

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

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

* Histoire critique du N. T. p. 797.
à la pure parole de Jesus Christ, sont fort embarrassés quand on leur demande pourquoi ils ne batisent point par immersion, selon l'institution du bâtême, mais comme on le pratique depuis quelques siècles dans l'Eglise Romaine. Lightfoot, qui était instruit de la véritable signification de ce mot, et qui connaissait de plus à fond les rites des Juifs, n'a pas osé dire que batiser signifiait autre chose que plonger : mais pour se tirer d'affaire, il a recours à je ne sais quel raisonnement qui ne peut être reçu, puis qu'il suppose que la pratique d'aujourd'hui est manifestement contraire aux propres termes du precepte, et à la pratique de tous les Juifs.

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

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

"Il seroit inutile de m'arrêter sur plusieurs autres endroits, où ce commentateur éclairet doctement par le Talmud et par les Rabbins ce qui appartient aux ceremonies des Juifs. Il s'étend trop à la vérité sur des faits éloignés et de pure curiosité ; mais il en traite plusieurs qui sont nécessaires, et entr' autres celui qui regarde la Pâque des
Juifs. On prendra garde néanmoins qu'il n'est pas exempt de préjuges; et qu'il accommode quelque-fois les Rabbins à ses idées, comme on le peut voir dès le commencement son Commentaire sur Saint Matthieu, où il pretend que cet Evangeliste n'a point écrit en Ebreu ou Syriaque. Il cite là dessus plusieurs passages du Talmud qui ne viennent guère à propos. Saint Matthieu, dit il, ni aucun autre Evangeliste n'ont pu écrire dans une langue qui ne fût pas agréable aux Juifs: ou si nous écoutons les fables de Talmudistes, la langue Syriaque ou Chaldéique était une langue maudite. A quoi bon cette fausse érudition Rabbinique, pour combattre un sentiment qui est fondé sur toute l'antiquité? Peut-on être désagréable à une nation lors qu'on lui parle en sa langue? Qui a-t-il de plus naturel que ce que Saint Matthieu a fait dans cette occasion? Il écrit son Evangile pour les Juifs de Jerusalem en Ebreu ou Syrieque, qui était la langue qu'ils parlaient alors dans cette grande ville.

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

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

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

A more modern theologian (Mr. Orme, in his *Bibliotheca Biblica,* pag. 293.) prefers to side with Niceron and Simon, than with Buxtorf and Adam Clarke. "The Talmudical Exercitations partake largely of the unsatisfactoriness, and even silliness, of rabbinical learning, to which Lightfoot attached more importance than he ought, for assistance in interpreting the New Testament. If any man could have made a good use of the works of ancient and modern rabbins, for illustrating the Bible, Lightfoot certainly was the man. But even in his hands, the material is very unproductive; and though we are grateful to him
for the collections which he has made, we can scarce help regretting, that so much labour has been expended to so little purpose."

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


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

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

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

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

vol. i. p. 131.

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

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

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

The celebrity which Dr. L. had acquired on the continent, by his 'Hebrew and Talmudic Hours,' excited a general desire of possessing the other works, more immediately relating to Biblical criticism: and hence arose this edition. Texelius was a minister, at Rotterdam. The translation of Lightfoot's English pieces into Latin was the work of several coadjutors, whose names Texelius omits. He professes his obligations to Dr. Jos. Hill, and to Kidder, the former of whom was resident in Rotterdam, while this edition was passing through the press. The Talmudical quotations were examined by a Jew, who (Texelius says) was thoroughly conversant in Rabbinic writings.
The Indexes are very copious. Texelius omits the Sermons of Lightfoot; but has inserted two Dissertations not contained in the English folio-edition, the Dissertation (1) “on the meaning of the expression Maran Ata, and (2) on the improbability of any additional revelation after the sealing of the Scripture canon:” see vol. v. p. 417—468.—The omission of the Sermons is not a matter of regret to Niceron; “Ces Sermons ne se trouvent que dans l'édition Anglaise; ils n'ont pas paru dignes d'être traduits en Latin; parce que ce sont moins des Sermons, que des projets de Sermons, que l'auteur avoit jettez sur le papier pour soulager sa mémoire; ce qui fait qu'on y voit en beaucoup d'endroits de l'obscurité et peu de suite:”—Memoires, &c. tom. vi. p. 316.

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

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

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

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

“I. The first tract (vol. x. p. 419.) contains several observations on the version of the Septuagint. Dr. Lightfoot was so fully persuaded of the perfection of the He-
brew text, even with respect to the smallest points, which he believed to be of Divine institution, that it cannot be expected that he should have any high esteem for that version, which is so different from the Hebrew. His conjectures upon this matter are as follow. He believes, upon the authority of Massechet Sopherim, that five Jews of those who were in Egypt, translated the Law of Moses into Greek, by order of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and without the knowledge of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, who would never have consented to that version, had they been consulted about it. Afterward, the Sanhedrin likewise sent to the king of Egypt, by his order, a copy of the law in the Hebrew; but in it they corrupted thirteen several passages, which might have exposed the Law of Moses to the insults of the heathen, had they not made these alterations. This, according to the Doctor, the Septuagint did, who were only copyers of the law, and not interpreters. Lastly, the Sanhedrin seeing that the Law of Moses was already translated into Greek, and in the hands of the Gentiles, resolved upon translating the whole Bible, for fear it should be done in spite of them; as the law was already by the five Jews of Egypt above mentioned. But instead of rendering it faithfully, they made such a version as was proper to impose on the Gentiles, by means of which they could not dive into the true sense of the law, but only discover, that the Jews, who sought to settle in all the corners of the world, taught nothing in their religion which might hinder them from obtaining the privileges which they desired in the places where they were inclined to settle. According to this supposition, it is evident that the Doctor is not of their opinion, who thought that the version of the Septuagint was read in the synagogues of the Hellenistic Jews, even in the time of Jesus Christ. He refutes this opinion in the sequel of this tract, and pretends that these very Jews read the law in the Hebrew original. He gives us a large catalogue of the faults of that version, and refutes what Josephus had said in its favour. He observes, that it was never cited by the Rabbins; whereas they frequently cite the version of Aquila: which confirms his opinion, that the Jews never made it for their own particular use, but only to inform the heathen in as much of their religion, as they thought convenient to let them know. II. The second


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

VII. The seventh tract (vol. x. p. 524) is a collection of several remarkable things, which happened in the time of Ezra and the grand synagogue, digested into a chronological order, according to the years of the reign of the kings of Persia, and the weeks of Daniel. Among other things he observes, that Ezra was a hundred years old, when he died. He was the son of Seraiah, the Chief Priest, who perished with Jerusalem and the Temple. So that though he were a posthumous son, yet he must necessarily have been fifty years old, at the return from the Babylonish captivity: to which if we add the fifty years which elapsed from that return to the time when Jerusalem and its walls were rebuilt, they will make completely the one hundred years of Ezra's life. The Doctor looks upon it as an unquestionable truth, that he wrote the book which goes under his name. He is not so positive, that he was the writer of the book of Chronicles. But he assures us, that Ezra made no law concerning the canon of scripture; that he did not correct any copies of it; and that he determined nothing with respect to the text. The reason which he assigns for it, is, that the first and principal correction of the Hebrew text, consists in what the Jews call Keri and Chetib; that is, certain marks to be met with in the margin of the Hebrew copies, to shew, that certain words were to be read otherwise than they were written. Now it seems, that this correction arose from the comparison, which was made between two copies, that of Babylon, and that of Jerusalem. But this correction is very frequently to be met with in the book of Chronicles, and in the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; which Ezra perhaps never saw; or if he had seen them, he could not have confronted two different copies; since it is probable, that at that time there was only the original ma-
VIII. The eighth tract (vol. iii. p. 445) is a fragment of a chronological history of the School or Academy, which the Jews erected at Jabne, by the permission of Titus Vespasian, after the destruction of Jerusalem. IX. The ninth (vol. x. p. 532) contains a few Talmudical notes on the books of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua. X. Next follow a few additions to our Author's Hebraical and Talmudical Hours on St. Matthew xi. XI. The next piece is a sermon preached at Ely, in 1674, (vol. vi. p. 85) wherein he explains that celebrated passage in St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 3, 'Know ye not, that we shall judge angels?' The Doctor is of opinion, that when St. Paul says, that 'the saints shall judge the world'; it ought to be understood of Christian magistrates, who, after the establishment of Christianity, should become the natural judges of men; and that those who should judge the angels, are the apostles and the first ministers of the Gospel, who, by their ministry, should condemn the wicked angels, and overthrow their empire in the world. XII. Then follow the Speech and other Academical exercises of our Author (vol. v. p. 389) when he was chosen Vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge. At the same time, two questions were proposed for a Doctor of Divinity's act, on which Dr. Lightfoot was obliged to give his opinion by reason of the indisposition of the Professor, who should have moderated. The questions were, 'Whether the state of innocence was a state of immortality,' and 'Whether eternal life was promised in the Old Testament.' Both which, the Doctor maintained in the affirmative. XIII. Then follows (vol. i. p. 411) a small fragment of the history of the creation. XIV. The fourteenth piece (vol. i. p. 415) contains an account of the journeys and encampments of the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt. XV. The next (vol-i.p.423) is a short explication of the four first chapters of the visions of the prophet Hosea. The Doctor is of the same opinion with those who believed, that the command which God gave to that prophet to marry a wife of whoresoms, is no more than a parable. XVI. In the next (vol. iii. p. 425) he examines whether the repast in which Christ (John xiii. 27, 30) gave the sop, which he had dipped, to Judas, was the Passover or not. He maintains the negative, grounding his opinion chiefly on what St. John says,
(chap. xiii. i.) who being about to relate what happened at that time, begins by observing, 'that it was at Bethany before the feast of the Passover.' XVII. The next piece (vol. iii. p. 431) is an examination of the question, whether St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, is the author of the Apocalypse: which Dr. Lightfoot maintains against Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, and other learned men who are of the contrary opinion. XVIII. Then follows (vol. i. p. 444) a collection of the promises made to the Jewish Church, in the prophets, and which are not to be fulfilled till the last times. XIX. The next (vol. x. p. 553) is an examen of the liturgy ascribed to St. James: the Doctor proves this to be spurious. XX. The twentieth piece (vol. viii. p. 303) is a fragment of the Roman and Christian History, and of the affairs and principal persons, of the four first centuries of Christianity. In the first chapter, he refutes the history of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. He observes in the third, that the emperor Nerva prohibited the making any man a Eunuch, and the marrying of a kinswoman. XXI. The volume concludes with a few letters from John Buxtorff, and some other learned men, to Dr. Lightfoot." [These and other letters are inserted in vol. xiii. pp. 345, &c. of this edition.] "In these letters, we find among other particulars, that in the year 1656, Monsieur Le Moine, who was then minister at Roan, and afterwards professor of Divinity at Leyden, sent word into England, that the edition of Josephus which he was about, was near finished, and immediately to be put to press. Yet above thirty years after, no edition appeared; nor so much as the least token of any such thing was found in the library of Monsieur Le Moine, after his death. Some have supposed, that this work was stolen; and others, that it was not so far advanced, as to be ready for a publication." (See "A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical," vol. vii. p. 75.)

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

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

This is the third and last memorial (see No. XXI. and
XXIII. which Mr. Strype has left of his solicitude to promote the reputation of Lightfoot, by superintending the publication of his writings. The volume is dedicated to Dr. John More, bishop of Norwich. In the preface, Strype considers Dr. L. in the characters of scholar and divine, gives some account of his conduct in the Assembly of Divines; and adduces many instances of his zeal as a Christian, to oppose the heretical and immoral opinions, which were prevalent in those times. The materials of the volume itself consist of three tracts. The first tract is entitled “Rules for a Student of the Holy Scriptures;” in which Dr. L. shews the method of reading the Old and New Testament, according to the historical order of time. The second tract consists of Meditations upon some abstruser points of divinity, and explanations of divers difficult places of Holy Scripture. These are extracts from many of his manuscript sermons, which were never printed; they are arranged into three decades: see vol. v. p. 289. The third tract comprises two discourses, 1. Upon the Holy Catholic Church; 2. Upon the Communion of Saints. See vol. v. p. 37—82.


Since the death of Lightfoot, there has elapsed a period of 150 years. During that interval, his reputation has not declined: though Rabbinic literature has been more minutely explored, the utility of his labours is generally acknowledged; his name is familiar to every Theologian, not merely among his countrymen, but even among continental scholars; and all commentators on the Holy Scripture have drawn, amply and gratefully, from his Talmudic researches. That the whole works of a divine whose writings are universally admired by all biblical critics, should never yet have been collected into one uniform edition; is not this a considerable reproach even to the country which gave him birth? To supply this chasm in English theology, is the purpose of this edition. The attempt, though imperfectly executed, is at least meritorious; and may have some claim upon the approbation of scholars, even from its adventurous boldness. An editor whose know
ledge of the Hebrew has been confined to the Old Testament, cannot be deemed competent for the just performance of so important an undertaking: but a sufficient period of time has elapsed, in which scholars, conversant in Rabbinic literature, have had ample opportunity to stand forth. If they have declined the toil, let it at least be the consolation—if not the praise—of meaner and humbler men, that they have not intruded into an arena, where the able were contending; that the very effort, though feeble, may serve to direct public attention to the erecting of a worthier monument to the fame of Lightfoot; that even errors and imperfections are salutary warnings to subsequent editors; and that it is an honourable failure, to fail in a difficult and noble enterprise.

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

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

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

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

† Not contained in the English folio-edition.
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Every attempt has been made in exploring the recesses, in which any unedited work of Lightfoot might be supposed to lurk. An expression† in (vol. i. p. 184) Strype's preface to "Some Genuine Remains" had excited a hope, that some

† Not contained in the English folio-edition.
* See also vol. i. pp. 425.—430.
† "I have been inquisitive after these" [viz. Dr. L's Exercitations upon the Apostles' Creed], but cannot recover them: I conjecture they were embezzled at Ely, where he died."
valuable materials might be traced in the cathedral or episcopal library at Ely: an application, on this subject, was made to the present bishop of Ely, who very courteously instituted inquiry: but nothing was discovered.

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

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

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

* See his 'Bibliotheca Biblica,' pag. 229.
the Assembly of Divines, strenuously maintained the impropriety of debarring any applicant from participating in the sacred elements. To the courtesy of Mr. Orme, the editor is indebted for his knowledge of the above-mentioned curious tract, and for the obliging loan of the volume which contains it. It is not probable, that any farther accessions will be made to future editions of Lightfoot; or, at least, any valuable accessions. The papers left by him have been thrice examined by Strype, in reference to selecting portions for publication. Dr. L.'s library of Rabbinical works, Oriental books, &c. were bequeathed by him to Harvard College, in America, where the whole were burned in 1769. See the 'General Biographical Dictionary,' of Mr. Chalmers, who states this fact, apparently on the authority of a manuscript note in Gough's copy of the 'Biographia Britannica.'

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

* In a letter to Buxtorf, Lightfoot declares, that "he could find scarce any booksellers in England, who would venture to print his works, and that he was obliged to print some of them at his own expense;" and Frederick Miege, in a letter, informed him, that there was not a bookseller in Germany, who would freely undertake the impression of his Commentary upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians.
generous interposition of a Primate (vol. xii. p. iii.), so his writings are now fostered by a successor in that see, from whom every effort, in the cause and to the honour of the Christian church, experiences munificent patronage. Or if greater honour had been wanting, that honour has been most graciously extended in the accession of a name—which will be ever dear to those who record the benefactors of English literature,—the name of our present illustrious Sovereign, the Fourth George.

I. R. P.

Kensington, May, 1825.
Good S-.

I thank you for your last morning's visit, but I forgot one thing then that makes me thus to send this reply after you. If that is I must mend your if in treating will not do I must command you be personally at bury the last Sunday in this month than to be assistant to me in preaching in the morning on administering the Sacrament with me I know that if Billy will not be against it if I hope before another Sacrament to have a similar thing I am at the leisureness of a day with there hast a rambling mind in Yorkshire if I hear nothing from you before next Saturday it depend upon you, e you shall notably engage.

Jan: 5th 1655

[Signature]

[Signature]

[Signature] Lightfoot
TO THE
MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND HIGH-BORN PRINCESS
MARY,
PRINCESS OF ORANGE, &c.

MADAM,

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

Persons of our garb and profession have seldom any better way of signifying our respect than a book, sometimes our own, sometimes another's: of the former, I had none ready; of the latter, it hath happened I had no contemptible one under my hand: a divine of your Highness's own country; a son and dignitary of the church of England: in one sort of learning, the most
knowing, perhaps, of any man in Europe, and the most inquired after in the country, where your Highness now resides, of any English divine. Insomuch, that most of these English works are (as I am informed) translating into Latin by some of our own countrymen here and in Holland, as his Latin ones are here in England now translated into English. These last, with some pieces in English never before printed, are collected into a second volume,—and, with the first, humbly beg the honour of admission into your Highness’s presence. This will still more confirm your Highness’s own observation, and the proof of your Highness’s own closet, that no one country hath and doth still more abound in learned, pious, judicious, writing divines, than England:—in talking, noise, and gesture, perhaps they may be equalized, or outdone.

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

I am not insensible, that, although the author be in English, yet not only the meanness, but also the unsuitableness, of such a present to your Highness, being so full of Hebrew and chronological learning, may seem to want excuse enough. But, first, the greatest part of this volume is the whole history contained in the Scriptures, the most venerable and valuable for antiquity, certainty, variety, rarity, and use, of any extant; and that so well methodized and laid together,
according to order of time, as to make it very easy and pleasant. And then for the Hebrew, as all other the learned languages, they are generally rendered into English, except the unusualness of the writing, or the emphasis of the phrase, or some other such cause, hinder. Finally, for the chronological part,—The great condescension and most obliging freedom, with which your Highness is pleased to treat those, who have served you in my quality, have given me opportunity enough to know so much, as not to doubt of your Highness's capacity to understand and make use of it, when you please. Besides the dedication of this author's works, thus revised and corrected, to so great, so judicious, and exemplary a patroness of the church of England, and so illustrious an ornament to it by your practice, seems a convenient expiation for (I had almost said) the innocent fault, or the unhappy mistakes, of the author in that kind; having, through an excess of misguided gratitude, prefixed the name of one of the worst of men (free confession may sooner gain pardon) to one of the best of his pieces.

I am not here to detain your Highness any longer, than with the addition of my unfeigned and incessant prayers for the improvement of those excellent qualities already attained, in so great a degree, by your Highness, of religion, virtue, and prudence,—the proper characters of great minds, who are to fill great places; the continuance and preservation of health; the blessing of posterity, in God's due time; the increase of all prosperity here, and the immortal reward of pious and virtuous souls hereafter. These, I am sure, have the concurrence of all, who have had the happiness of
knowing any thing of your Highness; but are more especially due from him, who hath had the honour and benefit too of attending your Highness in holy things, and still retains the just ambition of ever continuing

Your Highness's

Most devoted and most humble servant,

GEORGE BRIGHT.
THE

PREFACE TO THE READER.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Concerning copies and translations, they are of great
use. I. To evidence and confirm the integrity of any
copy of the original text; though there be great difference
between these, and all are not of the like weight and autho-
Generally speaking (just to mention my conjecture), I reckon the Samaritan text and version in the first place, after the Hebrew; next, the paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch; then, the Syriac version in the English Polyglots; then, the vulgar Latin; then, the present Septuagint; then, the Arabic version; then, the Ethiopic; then, the other Chaldee and Persian paraphrases. Thus, for example, that the old original reading of the place before cited, Isa. vii. 8, was not שׁוֹי, as Grotius affirms, but שׁוֹיו, as it is in all our Hebrew copies,—is very probably argued from the agreement of all our translations. In Deut. x. 6, the Hebrew and Samaritan texts are contrary one to the other: besides, there is a whole sentence in the Hebrew, which is not in the Samaritan. According to the Hebrew it is, "And the children of Israel took their journey from Beerôth, of the children of Jaakan, to Moserah: there Aaron died, and there he was buried," &c. But in the Samaritan it is, "And the children of Israel went from Moserah, and pitched their tent among the sons of Jaakan." And then, all the encampments of the children of Israel being interposed and reckoned up, as Numb. xxxiii, it follows, "Then died Aaron," &c. But all the other versions, exactly agreeing with the Hebrew copy, are a very good argument for its reading: and it may be reconciled with the history, Numb.xxxiii.31.38, in some such manner as is done by our author, p. 38: though it be confessed too, that the exact agreement of the story, in both places, according to the Samaritan, is, on the other hand, considerably for the reading of the Samaritan text. The repetitions of the Samaritan, in Exod. xvii, after ver. 14. 19. 22; from Deut. xxiv, and v. with some alterations, as in many other places; and the interposition of a whole sentence, Exod. xxii. 10, and elsewhere; these, I say, being all absent from all the translations, are arguments of the integrity of the Hebrew copy in general, and particularly in those places. Nor can I believe but in that vexatious question of the two Cainans, Gen. x. 24, and Luke iii. 36, the Septuagint is corrupted, and the Hebrew copy in the right,—since the Samaritan text and version, and all other translations, agree with the Hebrew. And even the Vatican copy of the Septuagint,
in 1 Chron. i, hath quite left out the second Canaan; and the
Alexandrine Copy, as it once hath it, so it hath once omitted it also.

II. But then, on the other hand, it is to be acknowledged,
that sometimes the consent of other versions is an argument
of defect or error in our present Hebrew copies. For though
the Hebrew copies we have, be, beyond all comparison, the
best, and nearest the originals; yet, it is too much partiality
or superstition to believe, that there are not therein some
faults considerable to be corrected by the translations, of
which examples are frequent in the restoring of other au-
thors, and particularly Ignatius’s Epistles by primate Usher.
In that known place, Psal. xxii. 16, the English translation
hath truly read it קמא, "they pierced my hands and my
feet:" but, in our present Hebrew copies, it is קמא ידותל
"As a lion, my hands and my feet." That there is a defect
in all these Hebrew copies, and that it was formerly written
קמא, "they have pierced or digged" my hands and my feet,
all the versions, except the Chaldee paraphrase, confirm.
Besides that the present reading is nonsense, except it be
supplied with some verb, as it is by the Chaldee paraphrast,
which, upon this book of the Psalms, and upon the Hagio-
grapha, is of no great antiquity; where we read הַּיִּאָה בְּעֵד
i. e. “like a lion, biting my hands and my feet.” But this
is very precarious; and such an ellipsis (though the Hebrew
abounds with that figure) as seems contrary to the genius of
the Biblical Hebrew, and perhaps without example. Not
now to mention, that, according to the Masora itself, it must
be here read in another sense than as a lion: for it here notes,
that, in the letter (ב) is twice found in the Bible with
the vowel (א), but in two different significations; and that
the other place is Isa. xxxviii. 13, תֶּאֶרֶס עֵד בְּרֵי,
according to our English translation, “I reckoned till morning, that,
as a lion, so will he break all my bones.” In this last place,
no doubt, but must signify as a lion: therefore, in the
first place of Ps. xxii, it must not signify so, but some other
sense. These are things known sufficiently to the learned,
but not to beginners in this sort of literature, nor in our lan-
guage; and, therefore, it may not be superfluous to mention
them. Nor that of Ps. cxliv. 14, where all the translations,
except the Chaldee paraphrase, again interposing a whole
verse to this sense, “The Lord is faithful in all his words,
and holy in all his works;” make it highly probable (besides
the argument from the alphabetical beginning of every verse,
one of which will be wanting without that interposition), that
so much is left out in all our modern Hebrew copies, which
was in the more ancient, whatever the industrious and la-
borious Hottinger may, briskly and warmly, after his man-
ner, say in defence of them: though the repetition of that
verse, with the alteration of two words in the seventeenth
verse, may be some argument on the other side. That fa-
mous place of difficulty, Exod. xii. 40, “The sojourning of
the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hun-
dred and thirty years,” would be justly suspected of defect
from the Samaritan text, and Alexandrine copy of the Se-
venty, though there was no evidence from chronology: both
of which have it, “The sojourning of the children of
Israel, and of their fathers in Egypt and Canaan:” and even
the Roman edition of the Seventy adds, “the land of Ca-
naan” to Egypt.

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

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

\[\text{Note. Misc. ad Port. Mos. cap. 4.}\]
there seems to be three words otherwise read by the Septuagint, and followed by St. Paul, Acts xv. 16, than is now extant in the Hebrew, which much alters the sense: for ישם, "they shall possess," the Septuagint read שֵׁם, "they shall seek;" for היה, the article of the accusative case, יהוה, we; and for אדום Edom, אדום man or mankind. The Septuagint, and out of them the Arabic, reading one way,—the Chaldee, Vulgar Latin, and Syriac, reading another,—leave it uncertain, which is the right, unless it can be determined by other means.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

First, then, the very knowledge of the opinions and customs of so considerable a part of mankind, as the Jews now are, and especially have been heretofore, is valuable, both for pleasure and use. It is a very good piece of history, and that of the best kind, viz. of human nature, and that part of it which is most different from us, and commonly the least known to us. And indeed the principal advan-
tage, which is to be made by the wiser sort of men, of most writings, is rather to see, what men think and are, than to be informed in the natures or truth of things they write of; to observe what thoughts and passions have run through men's minds, what opinions and manners they are of. Particularly it is of great importance here, to take notice of the strange ignorance, the putid fables, the impertinent trifling, the ridiculous discourses and disputes, the odd conceits, the fantastical observations and explications, the childish reasonings, the groundless arrogance and self-conceit, the superstitious temper of this people universally, except Maimonides, and one or two modern, more philosophically given, who yet had enough of it too. The very spirit of hypocrisy, weakness, pride, and superstition,—which our Saviour and the prophets, those illustrious preachers of inward and real righteousness, of a solid and intelligent piety and virtue, reproved and inveighed against in their times,—runs still generally through their writings. It appears yet by them, how blindly, or hypocritically, they prize the smaller matters of their religion, and their own additional circumstances, beyond the weightier and more important. They make a great noise of their being God's peculiar people, in special covenant with him; of the divinity of their religion, and the 'jus Divinum' of all their little institutions, and nonsensical mysteries, especially of their Cabala, either from the groundless and whimsical interpretation of some command of their law, or from uncertain or false tradition; when, in the mean time, they little mind the great end and design of what is true and useful in them. They will dispense with charity and humanity itself, to observe their own decisions, while they think it lawful to compass the death of an Israelite, who wears linsey-woolsey, and unlawful to take up a heathen out of the sea, ready to perish. They talk, as if God were so enamoured of their ancestors, and doted on their posterity, that he made the world only for their sake; and thought himself still so obliged to them for the honour they do to him, by preferring and choosing him, and his laws, and religion, before others,—that he must needs be their Protector and Saviour, nor ever suffer one of those, his dear people, to perish, or scarce come to any harm. This is a disease in all reli-
gions, and but too ready to creep into the best of religions, Christianity itself; which hath so expressly discovered, and severely condemned it, in the foolish hypocrites of the Mosaical religion, to which it succeeds. We may farther also observe, how much the Jews, and other oriental people, are given to strange, uncouth, and strong imaginations, especially about intellectual things, like the Pythagoreans and Platonists, who had their learning and notions from the east and the south: which, as it hath its use for invention and discovery, sometimes of more than whatever enters into the thoughts of the dull generality of mankind,—so it is a great disadvantage of nature too, stuffing the mind with a great many impertinences, follies, and falsehoods, and that are believed with great pertinacity, unless it be managed by the supreme faculties of understanding, reason, and judgment. After all this, a man may meet with some opinions among them, either by chance, or tradition, and many institutions, rites, and laws, with the explication and application of them, which may be good hints to wiser men. Though I have been generally inclined to believe, that the most of the considerable doctrines among them, about intellectual matters in divinity and philosophy, as concerning the nature and attributes of God, some things of the Messiah, the nature and orders of angels, of the Holy Spirit, and Divine presence (שכינה and רווח כבוד), of the resurrection of the dead, the immortality of souls, and their states after death, of the first and second death, of a kind of purgatory, of the day of judgment, of original sin, &c. of some of which, there is some account in the Theologia Judaica of Du Voisin; I say, I have been always prone to think, that the Jews, especially the modern, such as Rambam, Rasi, Saadia, Kimchi, Abarbanel, &c. have received them, though insensibly, and not known to themselves, and with some mixture and interpolation of their own, from heathen and Christian philosophers, fathers, schoolmen, who first taught them, and set them about in the world. I have said the most, not all; and this, I think, I could make probable, in many particulars, if this were a place for it. But this is enough for the first advantage.

A second use of the Talmudical and Rabbinical authors, may be the confirmation of the history of our Saviour Jesus,
the true Messiah; that there were such persons as Jesus, and his disciples, who lived in such a country, and in such an age; that he performed such actions, and delivered such discourses; that there were such places, opinions, customs, practices, public and private, in that time. For the Jewish writers, who then lived, or not long after, and others from them, make mention of these matters of fact,—they report to us such usages and rites among themselves,—they relate and discuss such opinions and controversies. Their style and phrase is perfectly the same with that of the evangelists; nay, much of the matter too, such as Proverbs, Parables, Similitudes. Now what confirms or weakens the credit of a history in some particulars, doth it in all the rest; for the oftener any one relates things truly, or falsely,—the more probable it is, he may do so again. Were it not in our own tongue, I should think it almost superfluous to give but an instance or two, out of many of our own observation, there being so great a number already produced by our author, and other learned men, to commend and encourage this study. How like to that of our Saviour, in his sermon on the mount, Matt. vi. 25, and Luke xii. 22, “Therefore take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink,” &c.—is that in the Babylonian Talmud, in the Gemara of the treatise Sota, fol. 48. col. 2. אֶת הָעֵדֶם אָמַר כָּל מְ. i. e. ‘It was a saying of Rabbi Eliezer the elder, That whosoever, having one morsel in his basket, inquires what he shall eat on the morrow,—he is no other, than one of little faith,” ἀληθινοστος. This same saying is quoted by our author, in his Horæ Heb., but at the second hand, out of R. Abuhab’s preface to Menorath Hammaor. And again, Talm. Babyl. Kidd. in Misn. Misn.14. דָּרָם מָרְפָּרְנָוי שָלָה בָּשָׁר אֲנִי שְׁבָרְבָּאֲנָי לְשָׁמְשׁ אֲתָא קֻרְנוֹנָי דָּינָי שְׁאָרְפָּרְנָוי שָלָה בָּשָׁר. i. e.”Shall the beasts and the fowls be fed without solicitous care and trouble, and shall not I, who am created to serve my Master and Maker?”—Again, Matt. x. 35, 36, our Saviour tells his disciples, that “He was come to set a man at variance against his father,” &c. We meet with the very same tradition almost in the same words, Talm. Babyl. cap. 9. mis. 15: the citation is too long to be all recited. It begins מבּית טַעְיָה וְכָלָא לאָזָא to this purpose, “That about the time of the Messiah, impudence should abound,” &c; and then
a little after, "the son shall revile and ill treat his father, the
daughter shall rise up against her mother, and the daugh­ter-in-law against the mother-in-law, and a man's foes shall be they of his own household."  R. Judah tells the same
story in Talm. Babyl. Sanhed. fol. 97. col. 1:—although
these unwonted things seem to be spoken by these Rab­bins, not as the consequents or effects, but as the imme­diate precedents, of the Messiah's coming. Some of the
most notable parables of our Saviour, in the gospels, we
meet with them, the very same, or very like, with some few
alterations, in their Talmuds. That of the rich glutton,
that of the marriage-feast, and the wise and foolish virgins,
Talm. Babyl. Gem. Schab. 153. These, translated by Con­rade Otho, are already cited by Sheringham, in his preface
to Codex Joma: the last of which is loosely and ill ren­dered, with additions and omissions, for the better expli­cation and accommodation of it to the text of the evange­list. Furthermore, how exactly true doth that reproach of
our Saviour, to the Scribes and Pharisees appear, Matt.
xxiii. 3, from their own disputes and decisions, in Talm.
Babyl. Maas. Misn. cap. 4. Misn. 5: and how deservedly our
Saviour pronounceth a woe against them, for their greater
care and accuracy in paying tithe of mint, anise, and
cumin, than in judgment, mercy, and faith. Their great
doctors and wise men, in the place cited, make it an im­portant question, whether anise (which they call
should give tithe of its seeds, leaves, stalks, or sprouts
altogether (as I suppose). R. Eliezer was of opinion,
that it ought: but the Wise men (זרכתם), who always carry
it, judged that nothing was to be tithed in its leaves and
seeds, but only nasturtium and eruca, which
some English cresses and rocket. Scores of places might
be here set down, which have not been taken notice of by
other authors: nor was it worth their while always to do
it, unless very briefly to indicate such a custom or phrase,
and the places in their authors, where, for curiosity, or ex­ercise, they may be found. And to keep myself within the
bounds of a preface, I will here together just note many
places in the Talmuds, where there is mention made of our.
Jesus, that the learners or learned may consult them at their leisure. Most of them are to be found scatteringly in Buxt. Lex. Talmud: only we must observe, that, partly, out of ignorance,—partly, out of malice,—they have mixed many fooleries and falsities with what is true. In Talm. Babyl. Sanh. Gem. 43. 1, it is delivered as a tradition, "That Jesus was hanged (upon a cross) the day before the Passover, because he had enchanted, seduced, and drawn away, the people; that it being proclaimed three days for some person to appear in his behalf, to testify his innocence, there was none found to do it; that he was regno propinquus," i.e. either of the royal family, or in favour with some courtier; "that there were five of his disciples" (the names, except one, agree not with ours) "who pleaded they were not to be put to death." Again, in the same treatise, fol. 101, 102, and in Sot. 47. 1, they say, "Jesus used enchantments and sorceries;" and they tell a story of his going into Egypt, with one Joshua son of Perachiah, and that he was excommunicated by R. Simeon. The rest of the places are, Talm. Babyl. Avod. Zar. 17. 1, and those which speak of an apostate. By whom Buxtorf and others think, they covertly mean Jesus; as Talm. Babyl. Sanhedr. 67. 1. Schab. 104. 2. and Talm. Hieros. Sanhed. cap. 7, about the end. It were easy to fill many sheets more under this head: but these are abundantly sufficient for instances of this second use of Talmudical and Rabbinical skill. The reader also, in perusing this volume, will find a multitude of passages and observations to this purpose, and particularly, chap. 9, 10, 'Of the Temple-Service:' and sect. 77, "Of the Harmony of the New Testament.'

To these ought to be added, the known benefit and advantage of the interpretation of many places of the Old Testament, concerning the Messiah; the rendering them more probable even to Christians, and the establishment of many Christian dogmas against the Jews, denied by some, or many, or almost all, the later of them,—from authors and writers of greatest authority in their account. As to this last point against the Jews, it matters not so much of what authority they are in themselves (though some may be allowed them), or from whence they had their opinions. Such
are, for example, the time of the Messiah's coming; the excellency of his nature; the greatness of his power; that he was to be a spiritual prince, to have spiritual power against Satan, and to turn him and wicked men into hell; yet a calamitous, afflicted, and despised person, though highly meritorious; the justification of men for his sake; his satisfaction, by his merits, for the sins of penitents, &c. I do not say, that what we meet withal among the Jews, especially more ancient, is exactly the same with these Christian doctrines; but that at least it is so like, and comes so near them, truly and intelligibly explained, that they have reason to be fairly disposed to the belief and reception of them.

And, first, I will very briefly put together (that I may take in as much as I can, into this Preface) many Scripture interpretations, especially of the ancients, concerning the Messiah, to which many more may be added. Isa. ix. 6, "His name shall be called Wonderful," &c. Maimonides, in his confesseth these six names to belong to the Messiah, construing the words as we do. So doth Aben Ezra. But R. Lipman, R. Solomo, and D. Kimchi, make another construction,—viz. "that the mighty God, the everlasting Father, &c. shall call him (the child), Wonderful," &c. Isa. xi. 1, 2, "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse," &c. The Gemarists, in Talm. Bab. Sanh. 93. 2, and Maim. in his 'Rabbinic, and the Chaldee paraphrast, interpret it of the Messiah.—Isa. lii. 13, "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted," &c. Tanchuma, in 'Jalkut,' understands it of the Messiah; and R. Houna, in the same place, refers the fifth verse of chap. liii, "He was wounded for our transgressions," to the afflictions of the Messiah. That whole prophecy is generally, by the ancients, interpreted of the Messiah; though R. Saadia, and Aben Ezra, whom Grocius thought good to follow, refer it to Jeremiah; and the Kimchis, R. Solomon, and Abarbanel, with much less reason or sense, to the people of Israel.—Isa. xi. 10, "To it shall the Gentiles seek." In Beres. Rabb. fol. 110, it is said to be meant of Messiah: so, indeed, do all the Jewish interpreters.—Isa. xi. 4, "And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares," &c. it is spoken of the times of the Messiah in Jalkut, out of Talm. Bab. Schabb.—Zech. xi. 12, "And they weighed for my
price thirty pieces of silver:” R. Chanina and R. Jochanan, in Beres. Rab., are of opinion, that those thirty pieces were thirty new precepts, which the Messiah was to bring with him, whence would follow some change in their law: though there are three, who object that those thirty precepts are to be given to the Gentiles, not to the Israelites, as the scholiast R. Issachar there interprets it.—Zech. xii. 10. “And they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced” (which place, I think, may be better rendered, to secure it against the grammatical objection of the Jews). R. Dousa, in Talm. Bab. Succ. 52. 1, will have it meant of the Messiah, the son of Joseph.—Micah v. 2, “Out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel:” the Chaldee paraphrase tells us this is the Messiah. Buxtorf, in his Lex. Talm. gives us above sixty places, where the Chaldee paraphrasts mention the Messiah. Many or most of which interpretations or allusions being fantastical, and not owned by any Christian expositors, who have handled the Scripture with judgment and sobriety, are impertinent to our purpose. Although, I fear, I have already cloyed the reader with the first sort of citations, yet I must beg his patience a little while, for one or two more of the second, —viz, those that belong to the establishment and more easy reception of some Christian dogmas. That gloss of Tanchuma in Jalkut, on Isa. lii. 13, a place just before mentioned, is now quoted by every body. The words of the prophet are, ידוהי ישוע עבדי ירמיהו ויהי יממעד מפרעה י. "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently, he shall be exalted, and be extolled, and be very high.” That ancient author glosseth, that ממלך משמיה ירמיהו וממשיה יבשמחו ובין מבלי המלך י. i. e. “This is the king Messiah; he shall be exalted above Abraham, extolled above Moses, and high above the ministering angels; for it is said (Ezek. i. 18), As for their heights or backs, there is a height above them.” I know, in the Hebrew this last sentence, brought for proof, may and ought to be otherwise rendered: but it is sufficient to my purpose, that the sense must be as I have translated it, according to this ancient author, because otherwise it proves not the thing, for which it was quoted. Now that which is principally observable, is, that, by the ‘living creatures’ in Ezekiel, this author and others under-
stood the supreme order of angels (of which they make seven) called עליות ההもらって, 'holy animals,' and by רשבים, which we translate 'rings,' they 'backs,'—they mean their 'dignities:' and yet they say, there was עליות הלא, 'a height or dignity above them,' which was that of the Messiah; and, therefore, that he was next God, the fountain of being: and why not, then, that he did, from eternity, emanate or issue from him? This doctrine of this ancient author, is directly contrary to the opinion of Maimonides, who tells us, that the dignity or eminency of the Messiah should be greater than that of all the prophets, except Moses. But nothing can be more agreeable to the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and especially to the seventh and fourteenth verses: and, indeed, this chapter, and the beginning of St. John's Gospel, and the Epistle of Jude, and many things in St. John's and St. Peter's Epistles, in the Apocalypse, and elsewhere, have so much of a cabalistical strain, both as to matter and phrase, that the Jews, methinks, should have a kindness for them, if it were but only upon that account. I should here scarce mention so whimsical a writer as Baal Hatturim, who seems to attribute at least the formation of the chaos to the Messiah,—did not our learned author, in his 'Harmony of the New Testament,' tell us, that the same is to be met with in Zohar and Bahir, two of the most esteemed books among the Jews. Upon the words, רוח אנשי המריאת, "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," Gen. i. 2, that author notes, כי בני אדם יש למשיח, "This was the Spirit of the Messias." Nor is that translation and paraphrase of the Chaldee paraphrase on Isa. liii. 13, to the end of chap. liii. now, I suppose, less commonly known, where justification, or remission of sins, is so plainly ascribed to the intercession of the Messiah. Chap. liii. 4: "Therefore he shall pray for the remission of our sins, and our iniquities shall be forgiven for his sake:" and ver. 6 and 7, in the Chaldee; כללית כתובה i.e. "We all of us have been scattered like sheep; every one strayed and wandered in his own way: but it hath seemed good to God to forgive us all our sins for his sake; he prayed and was heard; nay, before he opened his mouth, he was accepted." It may indeed be some doubt, whether the paraphrast, by this, He, who shall intercede, understands the Messiah, or some other; because those
things which are spoken from ver. 13, of chap. lii, to ver. 4, of chap. liii:—he seems to mean them confusedly, sometimes of the Messiah, and sometimes of the people of Israel, as many of their modern authors do. But the doubt may soon be resolved by observing, that he attributes remission of sins to the same person, of whom he saith, “That he shall gather the captivity of Israel, and shall send the wicked to hell:” but this cannot be meant of the people of Israel; and, consequently, it must be understood of the Messiah. Nor is it any wonder, that the Jews should do this honour to the Messiah, when they give so great a part of it to their ancestors, Abraham, Isaac, &c. The Jerusalem Targum, Gen. xxii. 14, introduceth Abraham, desiring of God, that, when the children of Israel should address themselves to him in time of necessity, he would remember Isaac’s voluntary oblation of himself to be a sacrifice (for so they think it was), and pardon them, and forgive their sins. And in Talm. Bab. Ber. 7. 1, there is one Rabbi, who interprets those words in Daniel’s prayer (Dan. ix. 17), “for the Lord’s sake,” i. e. “for Abraham’s sake.” But the plainest and clearest place to this purpose, as if it had been written by a Christian under the disguise of a Jewish style, is extant in a book of great repute among the Jews for its antiquity (though, for some reasons, I conjecture, the author lived after Mahomet’s time) called ‘Pesikta.’ It is quoted in Jalkut, on Isa. lx. 1. Buxtorf hath already given us this place largely translated into Latin, in Arca Fœd. cap. 14. I will here set down as little as may be of it, for brevity’s sake, with an observation or two.  הַקְּרִיתָל הַבֵּיתָי הַמַּטְחָו וַהֲרֵגָתָו יִדְמֹזַי “God, beginning to make a covenant with him (the Messiah), thus bespake him:—Those whose iniquities are hid with you, will put you into an iron yoke, with which they will make you like a heifer, almost blind with labour, and strangle you; for the cause of their iniquities, your tongue shall cleave” (with grief and drought) “to the roof of your mouth. Do such things as these like you?” To which the Messiah answers, “Perhaps those afflictions and sorrows may last for many years.” God tells him, “That he had decreed him to suffer them for a whole week of years; but if he did not consent thereto, he would presently remove them.” To whom the Messiah returns,” “That
he would most willingly undergo them upon condition, that not one Israelite should perish, but that all of them should be saved;—those who lived and died in his days; those who were hid in the earth; those who were dead since Adam; even all embryos and untimely births; finally, all who had been or should be created."

Are not these expressions very near the Christian doctrine of the Messiah's suffering for the sins of all mankind, or of Christ's being a propitiation for the sins of the whole world? Only these true Jews, according to their wonted uncharitableness and arrogance, restrain the benefit to themselves. Again, the same author, Pesikta, tells us, "That it is a tradition of their masters, that, in the month Nisan, their forefathers are to rise up and say, to the Messiah, 'O Messiah, although we are your ancestors, yet thou art more excellent than we, because thou hast borne the iniquity of our sons,—and harder and heavier afflictions have passed over thee, than ever yet happened or shall happen to any man, &c. Is it your pleasure, that our children should enjoy the benefits, which God will bestow upon them? For peradventure because thou sufferest even from them, while they cast thee into prison' ('he came unto his own, and his own received him not,' John i. 11), 'thou mayest be less favourable unto them.'" To whom the Messiah answered, "That what he had done, he had done it for the sake of them and their children." What is all this, but what the Christians teach, that the Messiah was to be a person despised (it is there one instance of his condition), afflicted, and cruelly used, even by his own kindred and countrymen? It is true, in the same place of the same author, we have two traditions likewise of the victorious, pompous, splendid, and prosperous state of the Messiah at last: but they are different traditions of different persons, the one of R. Isaac, the other of R. Simeon. And then suppose they had been of the same persons, yet still the Messiah was to have been a man of mighty sufferings; and no marvel, if they withal retained their inveterate opinions of his temporal power and greatness. In the same place, a little before, they feign a short colloquy (according to their fashion) between God and Satan; where God tells Satan, "That the light, which he saw under his throne of glory,
belonged to him, who should in time confound him with shame; and that Satan, when he saw it, fell down and trembled, crying out, That he truly was the Messiah, who was to cast him and all the heathen people into Gehenna. For this purpose was the Son of God manifested (saith St. John, i. 3. 8), that he might destroy the works of the devil.” Much more might be observed and transcribed in this quotation, and many more instances might be brought: but I am to remember, I am writing a Preface, not a Treatise.

But, lastly, The principal use of Talmudical and Rabbinical authors is yet behind,—namely, the right interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament. Inspired writings are an inestimable treasure to mankind; for so many sentences, so many truths: but then, the true sense of them must be known; otherwise, so many sentences, so many authorised falsehoods. Whatever, therefore, contributes to the finding out of that, must in proportion be valuable. And no greater help to do it with ease, speed, and plainness, than the knowledge of the phrases, opinions, laws, rites, and customs, as well as other circumstances of the Jews, at the time of those writings. This appears from the great and frequent ignorance or mistakes of many both ancient and modern interpreters, who had as great a share of piety, parts, and wit, and other suitable qualities, as other men, but wanted this assistance; and even Jerome and Origen, who had the most skill, would have done better, if they had had more of it. In this age, all commentaries are full of this kind of learning, and none hath more frequently, and perhaps to better purpose, made use of it, than this our laborious and learned author. I will only here, as I have done in the particulars before, add an instance or two out of many of our own observation, and put an end to this short essay of the utility of oriental learning. In Matt. xii. 36, the πημα ἀρραν, or idle word, ‘for every one of which, our Saviour saith, men shall give an account’ (he doth not say shall be condemned or punished), may perhaps be of the same importance with that, which the Talmudists and Rabbins call שִׁיחַ נָע, i.e. ‘the talk of those who are idle,’ at leisure, have little to do; such as is used among people in ordinary conversation, when they meet together:—as, What news? How doth such a
person? or the like. Even this may be well or ill done, prudently or foolishly; and, therefore, even of this, an account will be required. See Maimon, Comment. in Pirk. Avoth, cap. 1.—That of our Saviour's promise, Matt. xviii. 20, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them,"—is well paralleled and illustrated by the saying of R. Chanina, Pirk. Avoth, cap. 3, "If but two together employ themselves in the law,—the Shechinah, or Divine Presence, will be among them." The like, also, Talm. Bab. Ber. 6.1.—That of St. Mark xiv. 56, concerning the false witnesses against our Saviour, that "their witnesses agreed not together," oiv igsawi sawi, may be somewhat explained by the custom we read of in Talm. Bab. Sanh. Misn. cap. 5:—They used to put seven questions to every one of the witnesses apart;—namely, In what jubilee, or space of forty-nine years, any thing was done? In what year of that jubilee? What month? What day of the month? What day? What hour? What place? If the words of the witnesses agreed not, the testimony was called ראות במשפט 'an idle testimony,' which was to no purpose: if they did agree, it was ראות קסם 'a firm and effectual testimony.' And a somewhat more obscure saying of our Saviour to the Samaritan woman, John iv. 14, "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life;"—this may receive light from a like saying in Pirk. Avoth, cap. 6; נטנת מכHora 1 שים יד ומכלים ולא אל זוראהتعلم כלים שלושי שיאני פותק ומניה ומטrogen והולך i.e. "The law gives him that studies in it, a kingdom, dominion, sagacity in judgment, revelation of its secrets; and becomes to him like a never-ceasing fountain, and mighty flowing river."—The קרירה רוחו 1 שיאני פותק ומניה ומטrogen והולך i.e. "the refreshment of spirit in the world to come," of which R. Jacob (in Pirk. Avoth, cap. 4.) pronounceth, that "One hour's enjoyment is more worth than a whole life in this world," is very like St. Peter's καιρον ἀποτελομέως, "the times of refreshment, which shall come from the presence of the Lord," Acts iii.19.—The apostle's advice, Cor. i. 8, to abstain from things offered to idols, was in compliance with those brethren, who thought it unlawful from a Jewish
canon. Talm. Babyl. Avod. Zar. Misn. cap. 2, מֵּשֶׁר הָהֹנֶס, "It is lawful to eat of the flesh, which is carrying into an idol's temple, but not of that which comes out; because it is of the sacrifices of the dead," i. e. to inanimate idols, or to dead persons. That place of 1 Cor. xi. 10, where St. Paul commands the women to cover their heads in praying, "because of the angels," would have given critics and expositors no trouble,—if they had observed, that the apostle alluded to, and allowed of, the received opinion of the Jews concerning angels being present, and that with curiosity, in some human affairs of importance, but especially in religious matters. We may learn thus much, and smile into the bargain, from what we read concerning R. Joshua, and R. Jose, the priest, in Talm. Babyl. Chag. 14. 2. It is this, ר' יוחנן רבה, מי החכמים באדري אפור ואן נדר השמשה מרבים פסח ר' יהושע רשבא את הוא נתوء товар נתヶר שלם ובוים נורא פיסין קשת משני רוהי מלואיםרשרא מתتحقق הספרות עם בכום אדום. שמהקבנים בהמהו חית כלת: to this sense: "As R. Joshua and R. Jose, the priest, were walking together, they said, one to another, Let us discourse of the Mercavah, or Chariot" (that is, the metaphysical part of their Cabala, or traditional mysterious philosophy, so called from the vision of Ezekiel, where, they think, it was mystically taught). "R. Joshua began (and it was upon the day of the summer solstice): presently the heavens were covered with clouds; and there appeared a kind of a bow in a cloud, and the ministering angels were crowding to hear, as men used to do at the solemnities of the bridegroom and bride." This story will not fail to bring to our minds that of St. Peter, 1. i. 12; εἰς τὴν ἐπετευμονὴν ἀγγέλων παρακώπαι, "Into which things" (the matters of the gospel) "the angels desire to look." Which makes me a little wonder at the opinion of our author, p. 303, so well versed in those books, that by the 'angels' are meant the 'devils,' making a bait of the beauty of the women to entangle the eyes and the hearts of the men. Perhaps he hath changed his opinion in his notes upon the Epistle to the Corinthians, which I could never yet see.—He that reads in the Chaldee paraphrase, commonly called Jonathan's, on the Pentateuch, Gen. xxxv. 25, 26, 'That the angels used to meet together at certain times to praise

* Present edition, vol. 3. p. 244.
And in the same Targum, as also in the Jerusalem, how the angel, which wrestled with Jacob, desired him that he would let him go, because that very morning was his first course from the creation with others to laud and praise God: he that reads the long story of R. Chani- na and R. Kasma, in the Medraschim, printed with Zohar, fol. 46. p. 2. col. 2, concerning the angels Aza and Azael (נוני and יני), who, murmuring and rebelling against God, and by him tumbled down from his holy place, and then clothed with airy vehicles, playing pranks with women, were bound with long iron chains to the mountains of darkness; I say, he that reads these, cannot but refer them to 1 Cor. xiii. 1, “The tongues of angels;” and 2 Pet. ii. 4, “The angels that sinned and were cast down to hell, and delivered into chains of darkness;” and Jude, ver. 6, “The angels, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness.” I have put as many things together here, as I could conveniently, and could add much more. But it is time to put an end to this part of our little dissertation, and to draw to a conclusion of the whole.

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

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

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

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

He was for his temper, as far as I know, or have heard from those who knew him better, and may be gathered from many of his prefaces, of as great modesty as learning; humble and mean in his own opinion, perhaps to an excess: where the greatness of that amiable virtue (a thing rare), seems to have betrayed him to an error in judgment concerning himself and his own value, and too long commendations and eulogiums of others. As he was most obliging and kind himself to others, so, by what I have heard, he was the most sensible of his obligations to them; which might be the cause, why he was, in some cases,
so liberal in his acknowledgments and praises; having more regard to the favour he received, than to the right or other qualities and circumstances of the person, who bestowed it. He was most assiduous and laborious in his study, where he spent almost the whole time, and peradventure somewhat too much, when he was in a station of some action and government.

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

It is not so foreign to the argument and design of this Preface, to take notice here, by the way, and upon this occasion, of the French critic, now so much in vogue with us, Father Simon; who as he hath indeed in that book of his, given very just commendations to so great a performance; so he hath been pleased to find some faults therein, and to make many other observations and reflections concerning other matters, with reason little enough. As for example, perhaps because he saw the compilers of those many great volumes so good husbands as to give us the
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"Ita tempori et chartæ pepercisse."—Leusden’s edition.
Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, as it were in the margin, by noting only the differences from the Vatican copy; he thought they would have done well to have given us, in like manner, the Samaritan text and version of the Pentateuch: whereas there are not the same reasons. Perhaps there are more and more considerable differences between the Hebrew and Samaritan, than between the two copies of the Seventy: and then the reading of the Hebrew in Samaritan letter, and that without any points, as also the being acquainted with the dialect of the Samaritan version, so very remote from the Hebrew, and somewhat different from all other of the Chaldee paraphrasts, were sufficient reasons, besides others, for the printing them, as they are done, entirely. And, indeed, they would have been much to blame, if they had omitted them, and followed some such advice as that of this author.

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

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

*Hist. Crit. lib. 2. cap. 14.*
nearer the true first original, as himself confesseth, than the Vulgar Latin, must be a more faithful copy, and consequently more authentic. And then all the modern both Latin and vernacular translations, though they have their faults, not every where truly rendering the Hebrew, yet more agreeing with the present Hebrew than the Vulgar Latin, as every one knows, they must be more faithful copies, and consequently more authentic too.

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

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

This, methinks, is a considerable instance of the indefensibleness and willfulness of some of the opinions of the Roman church. Wherefore this learned and industrious critic follows the present mode of France, to make the most plausible and tenable explications of their received...
dogmas: which, for my part, supposing they be not only plausible, but true, shall have not only my permission, but commendation. But that they have been always the general sense of their church,—or, though true, ought to be imposed upon all Christians as conditions of communion; the one, I do not always believe,—the other, I do not by any means allow. I am glad to see such effects of the increase of solid knowledge amongst a people more ingenious, free, and generous, that they are ashamed somewhat of follies and falsehoods, though too ancient and too much authorized.

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

But to return to our author:—what he hath written in Latin, is as much and perhaps more considerable than what is here collected in English: the various pieces are now with us translated into our own tongue, and printed
altogether also in one volume. Amongst these, are his 'Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ, upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians,' which I had not seen, when this preface was first written and gone off from the press, but since I have seen and perused it. And the managers of this whole edition, for some reasons of their own, having deferred the perfecting and publishing of it till this present time, have put me upon a necessity of altering some things in this sheet, and given me opportunity of adding others.

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

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

\textsuperscript{k} Present edition, vol. 3. p. 244.
Rabbins themselves, as he acknowledgeth, do we find the word הִנְיָו without the addition of הָלַשׁ יָמִים signifying those deputies, unless they have been before mentioned together.

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

In the late ill and unjust times, he was not for nothing taken from his country employment, and put into the mastership of Catharine-Hall in Cambridge, by those who, out of interest, did oftentimes respect and draw in persons of some account and reputation for learning. Here he continued till the happy return of our Sovereign to the rightful possession of his crown and kingdom; when he soon ranged himself in the Church of England, in which his innocency and learning were so far taken notice of by his superiors, and especially the late most reverend and generous Archbishop, and the lord-keeper Bridgman, two impartial countenancers of honest men and scholars, that (as I have been informed) they always used him with kindness, respect, and liberality. And indeed his dedicatory epistles before his Latin commentaries on St. Mark and St. John, are sufficient witnesses both of his benefactors and his gratitude. By their care and bounty it was, that what he had before his majesty’s restoration, was continued to him, and moreover a prebendary of Ely bestowed upon him. In those stations he followed his studies, and constantly and honestly discharged his duty till his death, which happened in December, in the year 1675. And thus much of the author.

Much more without doubt might be said to his advantage by those, who had more acquaintance with him, or knew him better. I have done what right I could, to his worth and memory.

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

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

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

mistake. For it is not written "בַּעֲשֹׁתָה מִצְוָה" but מִצְוָה in the copies, which our Polyglot Bibles followed, and in Athia’s edition, all that I had at present to consult, besides Buxtorf’s Bibles, with the Rabbinical commentaries. Here, indeed, it is מִצְוָה: the reason of which is, I suppose, the Masora’s marginal note upon that word, which is יְכֹל אַלֶּפֶן הַפּוּר i.e. Aleph in מִצְוָה is wanting, according to the commentary or explication of R. Solomon Jarchi. It seems, therefore, only to be so written in the copy, which that Rabbi used, and those who were pleased to follow him. Besides that, the word which signifies a blot, is not מִצְוָה but מִצְוָה; and even this last is sometimes written with an epenthetical Aleph מִצְוָה. But enough of this trifle. Such, also, is his conjecture, p. 129°, concerning the reason of the transposition of the Hebrew letters (א) and (ו) in the alphabetical chapters of the ‘Lamentations;’ or rather of the verses which begin with (ו), being set before those which begin with (א); whereas (א) in the Hebrew alphabet is before (ו). ‘The reason may be (saith our author), to hint the seventy years’ desolation of Jerusalem, because the Hebrew letter (א) stands for the number seventy.’ If it were to denote any such thing, it might as well have hinted eighty years as seventy, (ו) being the numeral letter for eighty. Besides, the Syriac and Arabic versions there have retained their usual and natural order. His note upon the extraordinary and unparalleled punctation of the Hebrew words "לָנוּ וְלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ וּלָנוּ V" To us and to our children belong the revealed things,” Deut. xxix. 29, with points over every one of those letters, nay, with eleven points, according to the Masora; I say, this is of the same nature. ‘It is, saith he, to give warning against curiosity in prying into God’s secrets, and that we should content ourselves with his revealed will.’ But it is far more probable, or certain, that these things were the casual mistakes or crotchets of some transcribers. His style, also, is often less proper; sometimes grammatically defective; which is to be attributed to his perpetual converse with the Talmudists, Rabbins, and other oriental languages, whose genius is so extremely different from that of the western;—and to the want of reading authors in our own tongue, being sufficiently employed with his own thoughts and compositions;—and sometimes perhaps to the
singularity of his notions. It may be observed also, that he often differs much from many or all other chronologers; as in the time of Christ’s birth, the time from Christ’s baptism to his death, the two terms of Daniel’s seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years. In his account from the flood to Abraham’s birth, he differs sixty years from the generality of computists; and that, upon a different interpretation of Gen. xi. 26, and proof that Abraham was not Terah’s eldest son. From whence it necessarily follows, that where he agrees with others in the intermediate intervals, as from Abraham’s birth to the promise, to their going-out of Egypt, to the building and destruction of the Temple, &c. he must assign these to different years of the world, viz. sixty later than usual. Perhaps, in some points, he may have as good reason and proof as others; of which let the reader judge: for I intend not, in this place, to dispute or decide any chronological controversies, which are numerous, often operose, and of little moment.

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

In the last place, according to promise, it is to be advised that all is not so well printed, as might be desired; some numbers are not so accurately placed over-against other. As p. 81. numb. 24. of Baasha,—and p. 81, the first of Jehoash should have been set two lines higher, against the 15th of Jehoahaz. Sometimes a column and name at the head of it is needless; as p. 49, Ahimelech. Sometimes the name in the top of the column mistaken; as p. 50, Jair for Tolah; and p. 83, Ahab for Jehoshaphat. But such small things as these, as they could not be easily prevented, so they may easily be remedied by any one, who will make use of the chronology. And as for other errata, I hope they are not worth the pains of collecting,—or else
are such, as will be, at first sight, mended by an intelligent reader: the sheets being carefully corrected by a reverend and worthy friend of mine in London, of long study and great skill in this kind of learning; when I, by the undeserved favour of my superiors, was called to an honourable employment out of my own country.

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

G[orge]. B[right].
SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE

OF THE

REVEREND AND MOST LEARNED

JOHN LIGHTFOOT, D.D.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After this, he was admitted as an assistant to his former master, Mr. Whitehead, who was then master of a famous school at Repton, in the county of Derby, where he continued a year or two, and made great improvement in the
Greek tongue. His conversation there was as pleasing to the master, as his mildness was acceptable to the boys, who were under his trust.

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

This Sir Rowland Cotton was a man of very singular learning: he was the son of Mr. William Cotton, citizen and draper of London: he had great skill in the Hebrew tongue by the early instructions of Mr. Hugh Broughton, who often lodged, and, for some considerable time, resided at his father's house. There were few places in the Hebrew Bible, which he was not able readily to read, and render into English, when he was but seven or eight years of age, and he did not only understand but readily speak the language. This worthy knight our author often mentioned as his great friend, and a person of a most exemplary life, as well as of great learning and judgment.

I have seen a sermon of our author's, prepared to be preached at his funeral, in which he bewails his death; and complains, at the close of it, that he was hindered by the express command of this worthy and modest knight, upon his death bed, from saying any thing of him.

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

Sir Rowland Cotton did, while our author preached at the place above-named, out of respect to his hopeful parts, take him into his own family, as his chaplain: there he laid the foundation of his Rabbinical learning, for which he is justly renowned, not only here in England, but beyond the seas. And that which put him upon it, as our author himself would frequently relate it, was this:—Sir Rowland Cotton.
would often question him in that language, in which our author was then but a novice; and this after some time wrought upon him so effectually, that, out of shame and indignation that he wanted that learning, which his patron had, he set himself close to the study of the tongues, and the Hebrew especially. He was ashamed to be baffled (as, he confessed, he often was) by a country-gentleman; and that also in a piece of learning, which he, by his profession and his character, was much more obliged to attain to, than his patron could be supposed to be. And this was the occasion of his applying himself to those very useful studies, to which otherwise, probably, he would have continued a stranger.

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

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

From Stone our author removed to Hornsey, near the city of London, for the sake of the library of Sion College, to which he often resorted; and from thence in the spring, Anno Domini 1630, he and his family came to Uttoxeter aforesaid; where he continued till the September following, when Sir Rowland Cotton preferred him to the rectory of
Ashley in the county of Stafford. Here our author continued in great esteem for the space of twelve years; and here he very much pursues his Rabbinical studies. And to that end he bought a small piece of land lying near unto his parsonage-house, where he built a small house in the midst of a garden, containing a study and withdrawing-room below, and a lodging chamber above. Here he closely followed his said studies, with great delight, and unwearied diligence; and did choose to lodge here very often, though it were so near to his family and parsonage-house. He continued in this place till June, Anno Domini 1642, when, upon what occasion soever it was (most probably being called up to the Assembly of Divines), unwillingly he seems to leave his abode and country, and became a kind of exile in London, as we may collect from his epistle before his "Handful of Gleanings upon Exodus;" where he thus bespeaks the parishioners of St. Bartholomew's Behind the Exchange, "That when exiled from his own, they made him theirs." But in this his destitute state, it seems, he continued not long. His parts and worth, like a great light, could not be hid; but soon were taken notice of in the city. So that he became minister to the inhabitants of the parish aforesaid. Where, as we learn from that epistle, their first meeting was with extraordinary kindness, and the same mutual affection abated not between them. About this time it was also, that another employment was laid upon him; namely, to be a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Whether I shall now follow him, and give some account of his carriage and demeanour there.

In the year 1643, the ministers of the city of London met together to consult, whether they should preach on the Christmas-day following, as they had been wont to do, or take no notice at all of the day. One of them (whom I shall not name), of great authority among them, was against their preaching, and was very near prevailing with the rest of his brethren to forbear. Our author was at that meeting (being at that time minister at St. Bartholomew's aforesaid), who was so far from consenting to the advice of that person who gave it, that he took him aside, and argued the point with him; and did not only maintain the lawfulness of the thing in question, but the expedience of it also; and
showed, that the omitting it would be of dangerous consequence, and would reflect very much upon those men, who made profession of no other design, but reforming what was culpable and faulty. In a word, he so far prevailed with the company, that when it was put to the question, it was carried in the affirmative, and there were not above four or five of the whole, who dissented. I forbear to mention the particular arguments, which our author made use of (which I could easily have done); because, I do not mention it as an instance of his learning, that he was able to maintain this cause; than which, nothing can be thought more defensible;—but only to let the reader know, that, though our author lived in the late unhappy times, and conversed with men who were extravagantly bent upon extremes, yet he did not want courage and integrity in standing against the stream.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In that assembly, in discoursing of church-officers, there was a certain divine, who affirmed that widows were to be esteemed as such; and, for the confirmation of his opinion, he alleged, that it appeared from hence,—viz. that they were chosen at sixty years of age. Our author opposed that fond opinion, from that very argument, on which the divine aforesaid grounded it, alleging, that, under the old testament, the officers at the Temple were dismissed at fifty years of age,—and that it was, therefore, unreasonable to suppose, that, in the new, any should be admitted to office, who were not under sixty. And whereas another divine in that assembly affirmed, that the priests were dismissed from their service, because of the burden of carrying the ark, &c. our author replied, that the ark was fixed in Solomon's time, and that the courses of the priests were so
full, as that eighty opposed Uzziah; and that Josephus saith, That the courses had five thousand a piece at least in them, and their service but one week in about half a year; and that, therefore, they could not be supposed to be overlaid with work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the latter end of the year 1643, I find our author was preferred to the rectory of Much-Munden, in the county of
Hertford, void by the death of that excellent person, Samuel Ward, D. D., the Lady Margaret-professor in the university of Cambridge. In that rectory, he continued to the day of his death. He resided upon his living as much as was consistent with his relation to Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, of which he was master many years before his death. He was uneasy when he was from his living; and would express a great desire to be at home with his 'russet-coats,' [Subrufas tunicas, Leusd.] as he was wont to call his country neighbours, when he was absent from them. His labours in that place were very great and exemplary. He was unwearied in his studies, which he followed early and late with indefatigable diligence. He was a most constant and painful preacher: his parsonage-house was about a mile distant from his parish church, whereunto he resorted every Lord's day, read the prayers, and preached morning and afternoon, and did many times continue there all the day, and returned not home till night, remaining in the church, not diverting to any other house to refresh himself, until evening service was all finished. He had for his flock the care and compassion of a father; he lived among them in great peace, and with great hospitality. There he continued without let or disturbance many years. Indeed, soon after the happy restoration of his majesty, a fellow of a college in Cambridge, procured a grant of our author's living. Of this he was soon advertised by his neighbour and worthy friend, Sir Henry Cesar; upon which, by the favour of the late Archbishop Sheldon, our author was confirmed in his rectory. This great favour of the archbishop, our author gratefully acknowledgeth in two epistles dedicatory to him, prefixed to his 'Horæ Hebraicæ upon St. Mark and St. Luke.' And he would often mention the great favour he received from that worthy and very excellent person Sir Henry Cæsar, whose neighbourhood and encouragement was one of the greatest comforts of our author's life.

He commenced doctor in divinity in the year 1652. His Latin sermon was upon those words, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran Atha;" 1 Cor. xvi. 22. When he was in the University, he preached frequently, and to the great advantage of the students there. He always pressed an exemplary life upon his auditors,
and to very good purpose preached up the necessity of human learning, and exploded the enthusiasm, which had, at that time, gotten a great possession of the minds of unstable men. He preached up the lawfulness of forms of prayer in those times, when many men were so extravagantly vain as to decry it. And for schism and separation from an established church, he was so great an enemy to it, that he did, in those times, urge the necessity of communion with a church, which had corruption in it. And whoever will be at the pains to consider what he hath to this purpose, in his Horæ Hebraicæ upon St. Matthew, chap. viii. ver. 4,—and especially in his sermon preached at St. Michael's Church in Cornhill, before his countrymen of the county of Stafford, upon St. John x. 22 (which is printed with the rest of his works),—will be abundantly convinced of this. When he preached at Cambridge, he did generally pitch upon some difficult text of the Holy Scriptures, which he explained to the great satisfaction of the learned auditors. In which, I reckon, he did very considerable service to the public. In doing so, he relieved the minds of honest and inquisitive men, who were at a stand,—and defended the Holy Scriptures from the contempt of those, who were profane scoffers, and were ready upon all occasions to lessen their authority. And, indeed, he was very happy this way: I have heard a very learned and reverend divine (lately deceased) profess, that “he never heard our author preach, but he learned something, which he did not know before.” He was of very singular use in the University in those times; and his discourses were of that nature, that they greatly gained upon the more studious and inquisitive sort of men. He laboured much in proving ‘infants’ baptism,’ against the Antipedobaptists of those times. This he did upon most substantial grounds, and such as commended themselves to the lovers of truth: I doubt not but that he did confirm many, by his way of proof, who were wavering before. I find among our author’s papers a letter directed to him from a very learned divine, William Outram, D.D., who was then his auditor in Cambridge; in which he gives our author all possible thanks for “his choice and truly learned observations” (as he justly calls them) in relation to the Lord’s prayer, in which he asserted the lawfulness of forms; and is earnest with him to grant him his notes of his sermons
on baptism, "Which (says he) I have most earnestly longed for, ever since they were preached; and not without due cause: for verily, had I not heard them, I should not to this day have been so well reconciled to infants' baptism, as (I bless God) I now am. I desire, therefore, that you would be pleased to consider what real usefulness your notes may be of; and how (for my own part) I am infinitely more persuaded by your way of probation, than by some other ratiocinations of men ordinarily used." There are many persons now living, that have great cause to bless God for our author, and will confess the eminent service, which he did in that time.

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

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

Among which, the edition of the Polyglot Bible, which was finished in the year 1657, deserves to be mentioned in the first place. This excellent and useful work was in great measure accomplished by the indefatigable pains of the learned and reverend Brian Walton, D. D. (and afterward lord bishop of Chester), and remains a monument of the exemplary diligence and eminent learning of that excellent prelate. I shall only, at present, consider, how far our author was concerned in that work. I find him consulted about that whole work by Doctor Walton, at his first en-
trance upon it, in a letter of the doctor's to him, bearing date Jan. 2, 1653: in which he begs our author's assistance, as to the Samaritan Pentateuch, which he bestowed much pains about; vid. Dec. Chorograph. in S. Marcœ. cap. x. sect. 5. Nor was this the first application, which had been made to him; for by that letter it appears, that our author had modestly declined the employment, upon the score of his inability;—to which the doctor in that letter replies, that our author had given “sufficient and public testimony to the world of his ability.” I find also, that Doctor Walton (as appears by his letters, bearing date Feb. 23, 1653, and April 24, 1654, and June 14, 1654, and several others) sent our author the several alphabets of sheets, as they came off from the press,—and desired him to peruse them as he had done, and note the mistakes he should meet withal. In one of which he tells him, that, “as to the Samaritan, his diligence and judgment had been so exact, that there would be little cause to alter, much less to censure and correct.” I find also, that our author assisted in that work several other ways, not only by procuring subscriptions towards its encouragement, but by furnishing him with several MSS. out of the University library, viz. a Syriac MS. of the prophets (which the doctor acknowledges, in a letter bearing date Nov. 7, 1655), and a Syriac lexicon, a MS. He assisted him, likewise, in rectifying the map of Judea, as appears by another letter, dated July 23, 1656,—and with certain notes out of the Jerusalem Talmud, as appears by another letter, Nov. 4, 1657. Besides this, our author sent him his chorographical observations, which we find prefixed to the Polyglot Bible under his name.

Next to the Polyglot Bible, and in order to render that the more useful also, the greatest work of this last age, and, indeed, of any other of that kind, is that incomparable book, the Lexicon Heptaglotton, by Edmund Castell, D. D., published in the year 1669. I find that Dr. Castell (a man, for his great piety, incomparable learning, and incredible diligence, not to be mentioned without a preface of honour), before he entered upon that work, consulted our author about it, and submitted it to him “either to stifle or give it life,” as he expresseth himself in a letter to him, bearing date Dec. 2, 1657. To which when the doctor had received
our author's answer, in which he approves his excellent design, in a second letter the doctor returns him his thanks; and, after his acknowledgments, he adds, "And truly (says he) had we not such an oracle to consult with, bootless and in vain it would be to attempt such an undertaking." And a little afterward he adds, "O nos felices ter et amplius, quibus contigit, Te vivo, opus hoc, tam grande quam arduum, auspicato suscepisse: et benedictus ob hoc semper sit summus ille rerum Arbiter." This letter is not dated, but must be written upon the beginning of that great undertaking.

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

Doctor Lightfoot, indeed, was very much concerned for that most worthy undertaker,—and did, I find, do his utmost to support the good man in that excellent work. He wrote often to him, and failed not, by all manner of ways, to encourage him in his labours. The doctor tells him, in a letter, bearing date Nov. 15, 1664, "Next to the divine, I meet with no lines like yours, that so sweetly refresh and delight my soul, when quite wearied with labour," &c. When the first volume of that excellent book came out, I find the doctor giving our author the notice of it, and promising him to transmit it, with a request to give a censure
of it, none being "either more able to judge, or that will do it with greater candour;" especially he desires "his more severe scanning of the Arabic." This he does in a letter, dated Jan. 14, 1667. He acquaints him, also, with the finishing of the second volume, in a letter, dated to him June 9, 1669. By this it appears, how far our author was concerned in the encouraging of this excellent work.

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

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

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

As to his great learning, his works are a proof beyond all exception; and I make no doubt, but that the reader will receive great benefit by them. Our author was a very perspicacious man, and very happy in clearing the difficulties of the Holy Scriptures, and greatly furnished with that learning, which enabled him that way. His great abilities were acknowledged by the learned of our own country, and those beyond the seas. I shall not need to insist upon the testimonies to this purpose, which I could easily produce. However, I shall not forbear to mention some. Our author had sent Doctor Castell one of his books, at that time when he was engaged in his Lexicon. In a letter of his, bearing date Aug. 16, 1664, he makes this following acknowledgment: "Sir, you have laid an unutterable obligation upon me by the gift of this learned and much-longed-for work—you have enriched my poor library with an addition so excellent and delightful, that truly, when I first received it, I could not contain myself from reading it quite through, notwithstanding the importunacy of my public engagement, and the clamour of all the workmen, correctors, compositors, pressmen, &c. to all whom I turned a deaf ear, till I had satisfied my eye with the entire perusal of it." And afterward he adds,—"Sir, I will never be ashamed to confess by whom I have profited: all that would understand that clear light, together with the mysterious hidden use and benefit, which the most ancient records of the Jews bring unto Holy Writ,—must confess themselves, above all others, deeply indebted to your elaborate and incomparable writings, who have fetched out more of these profound and rich mines, than any of the best seers in this or the precedent ages, have been able to discover." I might have added much more from that very excellent person's own hand. Take the suffrage of another learned man, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who, in a letter to our author, bearing date May 18, 1669, expresses his esteem of his learning in the Jews' writings, and desiring his judgment of the excercitations of Morinus, in words too long to be transcribed. And for foreigners, I shall content myself with two only. The first is that of Monsieur Le Moine, a most learned minister of the Protestant church of Ruen, who, in a letter to
Dr. Worthington, speaking of his notes and exercitations upon Josephus, he saith: "In iis utor sæpissime Lightfootii Talmudice doctissimi operibus; quem si inter Philebræorum familiarium ducem dixero, nihil certe dixero, quod assurgat ultra meritum eruditissimi illius viri. Quæ de Templo, de chorographia sacra in Matthæum, in Actus, erudite et feliciter conscrisit, diu est quod illa possideo, iisque præclaris operibus Bibliotheca mea superbit." The other testimony is that of the most learned professor of Basil, the late Doctor John Buxtorf: this great man, speaking of our author, in a letter of his to Doctor Castell, hath these words: "Ex horis ejus Talmudicis incepi illius doctrinam et diligentiam valde amare. Illæ salivam mihi moverunt, ut propediem ab ipso similia videre desiderem et gustare. Precor ipsi omnia læta, ac meritis ejus digna." Again, in a letter of the same professor to our author, dated at Basil, Dec. 12, 1663, I find he expresses the highest esteem for him, whose diligence, and accuracy, and dexterity, in illustrating the Holy Scriptures, he tells him, he admires: "Raræ hæ dotes hoc nostro sæculo in viris theologis, rari hujusmodi Scriptores," &c. as he goes on in that letter, too long to transcribe.

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

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

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\text{Magnum mentis opus, neo de codice paranda}
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And now he betakes himself in good earnest to these abstruse and perplexing studies. He defrauds himself of his rest and ease; withdraws from his friends; and abstracts himself from the world, and all secular entanglements; and early and late pursues his wise and worthy end. His motto seems to have been (for we find it written, in one of his note books, under his name), "rise up early," and "sit up late," in the pursuit after knowledge.

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

He was not only a man of great learning, and exemplary diligence; but of great modesty, and humility, and gratitude, and candour. He did not swell with pride upon the account of his learning or his labours. He was far removed from any great opinion and conceit of himself, or a low and mean one of his neighbour:—those who knew him, will confess this. Indeed, he was so far from thinking
highly of himself, and his own performances, that some men have thought him extreme and something faulty; and that he did not value himself, as he ought to have done. There did not, perhaps, live in the world a man of more profound humility, than our author was: a man ready to hear others speak; willing to be put in mind of any thing, that was a mistake or slip; full of the sense of another man's worth, and without a just sense of his own. The most grateful and modest man, and of the greatest candour and humanity, and sweetness of temper, our author was.

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

Thus, I have given some short account of this excellent man, and of his useful life in the world. He lived to great purpose, died much lamented; and hath left us, who survive, an excellent example. God grant, that we may closely and vigorously follow every thing, that, in our author, or any others, was virtuous and exemplary: we shall in due time reap, if we faint not.
AN APPENDIX,
OR
COLLECTION OF SOME MORE
MEMORIALS OF THE LIFE
OF THE EXCELLENT
DR. JOHN LIGHTFOOT,
MOST OF THEM TAKEN
FROM ORIGINAL LETTERS, OR MSS. OF HIS OWN.

I.

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

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


b Ep. before his Hor. Hebr. upon 1 Cor.
and, for the helping and furthering all pious students of Holy Scriptures, he resolved to communicate this his course, by publishing a *Harmony*, for the use of all. And now he bends all his study and thoughts to do this fully and exactly, so as it might answer the religious and good ends he intended it for. Vast and long pains it cost him: for the course of his studies was employed in 'elaborating' (to use his own most true expression) 'the Harmony of the Four Evangelists.' And both nature and providence assisted him in this noble intended work. For he was naturally of a strong and hale constitution; and his lot fell to be seated in a private country living, free from noise, and secular business, and importunate visits. Here, in his beloved study, built by himself in the midst of a garden, he plods hard at it, night and day; and, for divers years, allowed himself but some few hours in the night for sleep.

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

I. To lay the texts in that order, that the nature and progress of the story doth require.

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

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

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

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

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

* Vide Epis. to the Harmony, published 1644.*
II. To dispose in their proper places, all the dislocations of texts and stories in the Old Testament, which are exceeding many; that such dislocations in the New Testament might be thought the less strange.

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

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

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

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

\[d\text{ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xi.}\]
But it may be some satisfaction to all those, that value Dr. Lightfoot and his learning, that, though the world enjoys not this labour, in the method and perfection it was at first intended; yet he lived so long, as to impart to us, at several times, the sum and substance of it. For, to look back upon the design of that ‘Harmony’ and ‘Preface’ before mentioned,—of the four parts, whereof the ‘Harmony’ was to consist, the two last, namely, the explaining of the difficulties of the language, and illustrating the sense, are effected, in part, in his last and best labours, “The Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations;” and we lament only, that his leisure, or his life, permitted him not to have gone through all the books of the New Testament, in that method, as well as the Four Gospels, the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and some part of the Acts of the Apostles, and a scrap of the Romans. And, the two former parts of the said Harmony, namely, the order of the texts, and his reasons for so ordering them, we have in his Three Harmonies afterward published, and especially in his last, published in the year 1655. The chief thing we want here, is the full text of the four evangelists, laid down before us in its true order of time. And this he had transcribed curiously and exactly, from end to end, by his own hand, in that order and series, as things occurred. Whereby, those four divine historians were reduced into one complete story, and might have been read with far more ease, and pleasure, and understanding. But, “he offered it to the press, and found its passage difficult;” because it would swell the book too much, as he tells us in his epistle before that book. This MS. lies in a private hand, and may hereafter (if occasion serve) see the light.

As for the five parts of the Preface designed, the two first were completed and published, long since, by him, Anni 1644 and 1647. And, for the two next, the land of Canaan is chorographically described, and the situation of Jerusalem, and the Temple, in some measure shown, in his Disquisitions prefixed before his several Horæ Hebraicæ, and in his distinct Treatise of the Temple. And this last edition of his works exhibits all this in three maps, one of Jerusalem, another of the Holy Land, drawn according to the Doctor’s own judgment; and a third of the Temple itself, accurately drawn by the Doctor’s own hand upon
vellum, and now printed from that original. This map he mentions in his Epistle before the *Prospect of the Temple.* Which, it seems, he himself had a good conceit of (a thing he seldom had of his own performances), so as he would fain, for the excellent use of it, have had it published with the book, but it would not then pass. Hear his own commendation of it: he calls it, "A full, plain, punctual, and exact prospect and description of the Temple; its situation, dimension, platform, fabric, and furniture, both within and without: the walls, gates, courts, cloisters, chambers, and buildings, that were about it: the altar, lavers, stations for men, slaughter-places for beasts, and all the offices belonging to it. A delineation so copious and plain, in all the particulars, of that holy ground, that had it had the hap to have come to the public view, I should not have feared to have made the reader, the judge and censor upon the nature and use of the thing*" (he seldom speaks so confidently): "but the hap of becoming public is not happened unto it." Though now at last, by good hap, it is.

But, however, the world has at length gained this map, so long suppressed; yet his chorographical description of Canaan and the places adjoining, is irrecoverably lost. You will be the more sensible of the loss of it, if you will hear what the design of it was, and what pains he had taken about it. Take it from his own pen in one of his epistles:—he intended "to describe the land of Israel in a way somewhat new, indeed, and untrodden, and (as he believed) unattempted:" he means, out of the writings of the Jews. For he had observed three sorts of things, that might be picked up out of the Talmuds, and other Jewish authors (if dexterously managed), in reference to the land of Canaan:—"I. In exceeding many passages, when they come to speak of places of the land, that are mentioned in Scripture, they either describe them, or show their situation, or distance from such or such places. II. They give us abundance of names of cities, mountains, and other places, in that land. Which names are neither to be found in the Scripture, nor Josephus; nor in the heathen or Christian records, that speak of the places of that country; but in these Judaic writers only; but yet carry a fair probability and rational evidence, that there were such names..."
and places. III. They relate many choice, eminent, and remarkable stories, occurring in such and such places, which are not to be found in any records, but their own: and of singular illustration both of the situation, and of the story, of the land and nation.” Now the taking notice of passages of this nature had been his course for many years together, as he had occasion to read the Talmudical writers. So that he had gathered a great stock of these rarities, as he styles them, for the use of his chorographical work; even to the bulk of a great volume. Insomuch, that what he saith of his book of the Temple, “That it cost him as much pains to give that description of it, as to travel thither,” is as much, or more true of this. The unhappy chance, that hindered the publishing this elaborate piece of his, which he had brought to pretty good perfection, was the edition of Doctor Fuller’s “Pisgah Sight:” great pity it was, that so good a book should have done so much harm: for that book, handling the same matters, and preventing his, stopped his resolution of letting his labours, in that subject, see the light. Though he went a way altogether different from Doctor Fuller; and so both might have shown their faces together in the world; and the younger sister, if we may make comparisons, might have proved the fairer of the two. But that book is lost utterly, save that many of his notions are preserved in his chorographical pieces put before his “Horæ.”

And for the last thing (whereof that Preface was to consist), namely, to give some historical account of the affairs of the Jews; that is done, in part, in his Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles, published Anno 1645, and in his ‘Parergon, Concerning the Fall of Jerusalem,’ at the end of the Harmony, Anno 1655. But, alas! these are but light touches of their story, rather than any complete and full account thereof. But such as they are, we must be glad of and contented, in the want of the rest. Indeed, the Jews’ history, from the beginning of the gospel downwards, for some centuries, would have been as excellent and useful, as the subject would have been rare and unusual. And a thing of that difficulty, also, that the modest Doctor propounds it to others, rather than dares to undertake it himself. For we find, in one of his Epistles Dedicatory,
he recommends it to "some able pen to continue the story of the Jews, where Josephus and Hegesippus end theirs, and where Jerusalem ended her days,—until these latter times, out of the Jews' own Talmud and writings; for the illustration of the truth of those predictions of Scripture that foretell their doom, and for the evidencing that justice, that hath ever since haunted them for the murder of the Righteous One, whom they crucified."

II.

Concerning his learning and studies.

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

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

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

k Ep. before his Harm. publish. 1647.
Jews. And to acquaint you, more particularly, how he ordered himself in taking up these notices, he used large note-books in folio. And therein he digested what he intended to note, as he read the Talmuds, and other Jewish books, under such titles as these: “Quædam de Terra Israelitica sparsim collecta; Things scatteringly collected concerning the land of Israel.” And “בֵּית שְׁרוֹא וּרְא: Quænam. What was the land of Israel.” And “בֵּית שְׁרוֹא Things appropriated to the land of Israel.” And there is an alphabet by him framed, in this method: A ב. B ב. C כ. K כ. נ. χ. D ד. E ו. ג. י. H ח. ה. I א. J א. L ל. &c. Under which, according to their initial letters, he used to reduce all places of the Holy Land, mentioned in the Talmud, and something of their situation, or history, with references unto the page of the tracts, where they were mentioned. And, lastly, there is another title,—viz. “Placæs in Babylonia,” under which he collected the names and stories of towns or cities in that country also.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What Doctor Worthington contributed to this work, besides the using his interest with his learned friends for the same purpose, let me mention, though not so much to our present theme. At the library at St. James's, there was a Josephus in Greek, printed at Basil; probably once belonging to the very learned Isaac Casaubon; for in the margin were various lections written by his hand, which he had gathered out of MSS. and some conjectures and
hints of his own; there were, also, marked in it other notes of Patrick Young, written most in Greek. These the aforesaid Doctor transcribed, and numbered the pages and the lines, which made three sheets of paper close written, a matter of no small pains, and sent them over to the said Monsieur Le Moine. But to return to our author.

III.

Some account of him as a Divine.

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

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

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

Doctor Lightfoot's judgment was, for general admission to the holy sacrament, and spake for it by these arguments: I. That though the law forbid the unclean to come 'ad sacra,'—yet it gave not power to any to repel those, that offered themselves to come. Nor find we any such example. II. That in Matt. vii. 6. "Sanctum canibus, Give not that which is holy, to the dogs," is spoken in reference to the apostles' safety. For the Jews themselves, who use this proverb, by dogs and swine, understand the bitter ene-
mies and persecutors of the truth. And so our Saviour hereby warrants his disciples, though they preach not to persecutors and enemies, lest it cost them their lives. III. Circumcision was indifferently ministered to all the seed of Abraham: ergo, IV, Judas received the sacrament, ergo. And when Mr. G. instanced in Uzziah’s being repelled, our Doctor answered, That it was ‘ab officio et loco;’ and withal said, “Grant the priest did and might repel the unclean, yet the case was different:” for that uncleanness was external, and it might be known, whether they were purified or no: but so cannot a minister now judge of a man’s conscience: for though he were scandalous yesterday, yet may his repentance be unfeigned by to-day, for aught he knows.”—Dr. B. urged, That though Christ was καπνογνώστης, yet Judas’s villany was not now known among the disciples. Our Doctor answered, Christ had publicly marked him out for a traitor before.—Dr. H. urged, “After the sop, he went out.” The Doctor answered, That was no Passover nor sacrament, but before it. —Upon this, the matter arose to a great heat (for he seemed herein to oppose the whole assembly), and leave was publicly given, to our author and Mr. P. to debate the point about Judas:—and they did it, somewhat largely. And the next day, Dr. H. offered to dispute the same matter against him; but the assembly thought fit not to allow it. Again, Matt. vii. was taken up, which Dr. Lightfoot again opposed, and desired, that the verse might be taken in this sense, which they would have, “Give not the sacrament to dogs, lest they rend you;” and then that they would consider, how doth this agree? And farther urged, that dogs in Scripture doth most constantly signify an enemy: and where dog once signifies a profane man at large, it signifies many a time for that one, either those without, or utter enemies of the truth. Mr. S. pleaded for the place thus: “The ordinances are not to be administered, where they will be profaned; but when a scandalous person comes,” &c. Our respondent denied the major. The other, in proving it, construed, ‘To tread under foot,’ as much as ‘To neglect or slight.’ Which received this answer, That neither the word in the Hebrew, in the Old Testament,—nor in the Greek, in the New,—signifieth in that

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

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

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

Let us not be weary to hear his thoughts and discourse upon the other sacrament of baptism, as we have heard him upon that of the Lord’s supper. Our Doctor did allow of private baptism in some cases. This was opposed by some, who would have baptism celebrated in public only. Here the Doctor insisted upon these things. I. That, in 1 Cor. i. 16, “I baptized the house of Stephanas,” was “in ecclesia constituta;” and the phrase importeth, that it was not in a synagogue. II. Whereas some had asserted, that
circumcision was public,—he proved, that it was generally private. 1. Otherwise in great towns, every day sometimes would have been as a sabbath; for every day would some child come to be eight days old. 2. Moses's wife, and Judah at Chezab, circumcised children distant from any congregation. III. All the nation was baptized, when they were to come out of Egypt; but this could not be in the congregation. IV. The Jews' Pandect tells us, That a proselyte was to be baptized at home, as a servant by his master; but if either servant or master refuse, then should he be brought before the congregation.

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

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

The assembly discoursing concerning marriage, whether it should be denied to be a part of God's worship, or whether it were to be held out as a mere civil thing, Mr. G. alleged, Eccl. viii. 2, "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God;" to show obedience to magistrates to be a mere civil thing, and yet it lays a tie of obedience from God. Dr. Lightfoot de-
nied that gloss of the place, and said, That the oath there is not an oath taken by the subject to David, but the oath made by God to David’s house.

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

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

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

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

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

The matter being debated,—"Whether ministers should read the service and chapters before sermon;"—some propounded, that young men, designed for the ministry, should do it for the ease of the ministers.—To this our author
assented, and shewed, That, in the New Testament, we find
the preacher to be different from the reader; as Luke iv. 16,
the law was read, before Christ preached on it. So Acts
xiii. 15: and so the Karraim, among the Jews seemed to be
the readers of the law,—and the Pharisees the ' ex-
positors' (from שד to expound') of it.

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

At another time, being upon "discipline," when there
had been great bandying of that place, Ephes. iv. 11,
"pastors and teachers;" disputing what officers they
were, whether distinct or the same,—whether ordinary or
extraordinary:—the Doctor spake to this purpose, That he,
for his part, was of a strange indifference in this place and
point. For with the one part he held, that these two, here
named, are distinct officers; but it was 'pro hic, et nunc, et
ad tempus.' For by that μέχρι καταντήσωμεν, &c. Till we all
come, &c. ver. 13, he means the coming-in of the Gentiles:
and that is ἐνότης τῆς πίστεως, and μέτρον ἡλικίας, &c. the
unity of the faith, and the measure of the stature, &c. there
spoken of. And, that these officers were those, that God
appointed for the bringing-in the Gentiles to the union
with the Jews, ἐν ἑτῶν τῆς πλείστως; and therefore is no institution of such officers for the time to come. A pastor indeed is to continue, but this 'ex necessitate rei,' rather than 'hujus loci.' But a doctor is not of such necessity. Then indeed there were, as Acts xiii. 'prophets and διδάσκαλοι, teachers,' but it was κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν, 'according to the church being'; but now not so.

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

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

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

IV.

Some remarks upon his Hora Hebraicae et Talmudicae.

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

another of those pieces, Mr. Bernard of St. John’s, Oxon, a man of known learning, worth, and piety, writes thus to him: “I most humbly thank you for the happy Hours on the more copious evangelist; by which that most excellent part of Holy Scripture is finished, and completely expounded in the most proper and yet untrodden way. God reward you, both here and in the better world, for this, and the rest of your labours in this sort; which posterity will admire and bless, when they see them altogether.” Dr. Worthington, another person of great judgment, learning, and goodness, treats our doctor with these words, in a letter, wrote to him Feb. 1666, concerning the same subject; “I wish you length of life, health, vacancy, and freedom for what remains. I hope that you are still proceeding, and are not weary in well-doing, though books sell but little: those that are able to buy, less mind books; and those that would buy, are less able: having little to spare from what is necessary for their families: but your labour will not be in vain in the Lord: nor here neither.” The learned men beyond the seas had also a high value for these pieces: let some of them speak for themselves. Frederick Mieg (son to a great Counsellor of the Elector Palatine, once brought up under Buxtorf in Hebrew and Rabbinical studies, and of whom he gives a high character) thus writes to our doctor from Paris, 1664, concerning those ‘precious Hours,’ as he styles them, and ‘public labours’: “Publicos enim labores non vereor appellare, quos in publicum literarii Orbis commodum redundare, nemo est qui ignoreret.” And tells him besides, That there were no learned men, as he knew, on that side the seas, but did, “summis anhelitibus,” earnestly pant after his Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which he had then ready for the press. And begs him, in his own name and in the name of all that love those studies, “ut lucem non invides scripto luce dignissimo, neque illud intra privatos parietes sensescere sinas, unde tantum imminet publico emolumentum: That he would not envy it the light, since it was so worthy of it: nor suffer that to lie longer concealed within private walls, whence so great profit would accrue to the public.” In a letter from Nicholas Hoboken, secretary to the Dutch ambassador, here in England, written to Dr.
Lightfoot in the year 1659, he acquaints him with the sense Gisbertus Voetius (professor of divinity, and a man of great name in Holland) had of his Chorographical Century before his Horæ upon St. Matthew; namely, "That he had expressed to him (the said secretary), the complacency that he took from those geographical illustrations of his, fetched out of the Talmudists: ita tamen, ut spe largiori frui desideret plura lucubrationum ejusmodi tuarum videndi." And if we should travel into France, there we shall find a man of as great fame, as the other was in Holland, and, it may be, of greater learning,—I mean, Monsieur Le Moine, who, in a letter to Dr. Worthington, anno 1666, expressing the value he had of Dr. Lightfoot's books, and among the rest of his sacred Chorography before St. Matthew, he saith, "that his library is proud of them." But the judgment of the venerable Buxtorf is 'instar omnium,' who, in a letter to Dr. Castell, in the year 1664, earnestly desires to know what Dr. Lightfoot did: and saith, "That by his Talmudic Hours he began greatly to love his learning and diligence, and wished heartily to see more of them." And in the year before that, in a letter to our doctor himself, he thus accosts him: "Ex quo Horas tuas Hebraicas et Talmudicas in Matthæum vidi et legi, cœpi te amare, et pro merito aestimare. Tantam enim in eis Talmudicæ lectionis peritiam, et ad illustrationem SS. literarum dexteritatem; tantam etiam diligentiam et accuracionem in illis deprehendi, ut non potuerim non te magnificare, et in admirationem tui rapi. Raræ hæ dotes hoc nostro sæculo in viris Theologis, rari hujusmodi Scriptores; qui nil nisi suas proprias observationes lectoribus proponunt: unde ab eo tempore desiderium me tenuit, ob studiorum communionem propius tecum conjungi, et familiaris te noscere. Since the time I saw and read the Hebrew and Talmudic Hours upon Matthew, I began to love you, and to esteem you, as you deserved. For in them I observed so great skill in Talmudical reading, and dexterity in illustrating the Holy Scriptures, accompanied with so great diligence and accuracy, that I could not but extol you, and be carried away with an admiration of you. These endowments are rare in divines in our days, writers of this nature are rare; who propound to readers only their own observations. Whereupon, from that time, I had a desire
This was the reception these learned Hours of his found in the world: and a great and invaluable loss it was, that he went not through the whole New Testament in that excellent method of explaining them. His friends indeed often called upon him, and set him on to proceed. Dr. Worthington's judgment was, that he would do better to publish more at a time than he did, since he needed not to fear now their reception: so as Luke and John might make one volume, and after that the Acts and the Epistle to the Romans would make another: and then his works would meet at the Epistle to the Corinthians. But if the tediousness of the work should discourage him to go on, yet he earnestly recommends one book at least to him,—and that is 'the Epistle to the Hebrews,' the matter of it being so suitable to his Hebrew studies. Such good suggestions were made to him, but they took no effect: not that his strength began to fail him, or that he was unwilling to give his pains (for he had a mind generously disposed to communicate his knowledge), but the true reason was, because he could not get them printed, and had so much impaired his own estate by what he had before sent abroad. This he complains of more than once: and particularly in a letter to Buxtorf: into whose bosom thus he pours out his mind. "Exaspiciavi paucis abhinc annis commentariolum, &c. A few years since, I prepared a little Commentary upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the same style and manner as I had done that on Matthew. But it laid by me two years and more, nor can I now publish it, but at my own charges, and to my great damage: which I felt enough and too much in the edition of my book upon St. Mark. Some progress I have made in the Gospel of St. Luke, but I can print nothing but at my own cost. Whereupon I wholly give myself to reading, and scarce think of writing more. Our booksellers and printers have dulled my edge, who will print no book, especially Latin, unless they may have an assured and considerable gain." So that I know not, whether we ought to be more angry or grieved; grieved, that we are deprived of such useful labours; or angry with those, who were the occasions of it.
The assistances he gave to the Polyglot Bible, the Heptaglot Lexicon, and other learned works and men in his time.

Thus his fame spread itself far and wide; and this made him sought unto by many learned men for his counsel or furtherance in their studies, or for his directions or castigations in their labours, that they intended for the public. How much the Right Reverend Bishop Walton made use of him in his Bible (one of the bravest works that ever came forth), the reverend writer of the account of the Doctor's life showeth. It was as good a work as it was great, and this raised a wonderful zeal and affection in the Doctor to it, and excused the trouble that he was at about it, in revising it; and specially the Samaritan Pentateuch: and so the great undertaker tells him, in one of his letters to him. And it much rejoiced his heart, when the work was brought to perfection: which he expressed in a congratulatory letter to Mr. Samuel Clark, of Oxon, who had a great hand in it. To which that excellent linguist makes this answer: "As for the work past through, I have great cause of thankfulness and blessing God, that hath, even beyond our own hopes, carried us through it. Yet I have no reason to attribute to myself, as due, any part of that thanks and praise, whereunto you are pleased jointly to entitle me with others far more deserving: but I rather contract a greater debt of thankfulness, that, by the testimony and suffrage of one so eminently judicious as you are, I am adjudged to have been faithful." I conclude this matter with a part of Dr. Lightfoot's speech, that he made at the commencement, anno 1655, being then Vice-chancellor: wherein he mentions this work then in hand in a kind of triumph, as so much tending to the honour of learning, and particularly of the English (then despised) clergy, and finally for promoting the knowledge of the Bible all the world over: "Sic sub protrito et proculcato statu Cleri nuper Anglicani germinavit, et adhuc germinat, nobile illud eruditionis germen, editio Bibliorum multi-linguium, quid generosius vix vidit unquam Resp. literaria, nec quicquam Anglia sibi honorificentius. Opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in sempiterna sæcula futurum,
Thus, under the now-despised and trampled-on English clergy, hath grown up, that noble issue of learning, the edition of the Polyglot Bible; and still it grows: than which the learned world hath scarce ever seen any thing more generous, nor the English nation any thing to itself more honourable. A work of eternal fame, a memorial to endure to everlasting ages, of the English clergy’s great learning, zeal, and trust in God the protector of learning, when now it lay under mighty hazard. Go on, ye reverend and learned men, who are sweating in so brave a work. Proceed, as ye do, to raise trophies to yourselves, and your country. And by your labours let all nations read the Holy Bible in their own tongues; and by the same tongues and the same labours, let the English nation’s fame for its learning and literature be proclaimed.”

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

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

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

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

Another great man in this kind of learning, I mean Mr. Samuel Clark, one employed in both the aforesaid great labours, applied to him for his counsel and help in a learned work, that he designed for the public:—which was the publishing of the Targum upon the Chronicles, with his own translation; which was a part of the Hebrew Bible belonging to the library of the University of Cambridge: a MS., it seems, that the university set so highly by, that he made three journeys to Cambridge, before he obtained it: but he borrowed it at last by Dr. Lightfoot's means about the year 1659; and by the doctor's interest had it continued to him for some years. This he designed (as soon as he had finished it) to join, with some other addi-
tionals, to the Polyglot Bible. Which design he communicates to our Doctor, before he came to a resolution about it; telling him, That "if he and such as he approved the design, it would be an encouragement to him to proceed in it." That the Doctor approved of his purpose, it appears from that constant assistance that he gave him afterward about it: Mr. Clark sending it as he transcribed and translated, sheet by sheet, for the Doctor's review and correction. For which, in a letter, dated from Holywell, September 3, 1667, he professeth himself "exceedingly engaged to him for the great pains he had taken, and that he had so freely declared his judgment in some places he had noted: being so far from unwillingness (saith he) to have my errors showed me, that I am very thankful to you for it: and entreat you to go on as freely with the rest."

This Targum, it seems, by a place in the Talmud, mentioning Onkelos, the Doctor was moved to think Onkelos "might be the author of. For which discovery Mr. Clark heartily thanks him, telling him, "that he would do him a great favour, if he would please to let him know his sense of it, whether he conceived that passage of weight enough to entitle him to this his Targum (as he calls it), upon the Chronicles."

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

Nor ought we to forget the assistance he gave to the author of "the Synopsis of the Critics," upon his desire: for he cheerfully devoted himself to the public good. First, He encouraged him with an ample testimonial of the usefulness of the design in general, and of the careful and impartial management of it by the undertaker. Then as to his pains in the work itself; he seems to have reviewed it piece by piece, as it passed from the hand of Mr. Pool, before it went to the press. For in one letter he tells the Doctor, "that he therewith sent him one part upon Numbers, begging still his thoughts upon any thing as he should meet with it." He likewise promised him, in such places as he observed to be most defectively done, to give him some explications, tending to the clearing of the Hebrew words,
or" phrases, or matter, which Mr. Pool designed to bring into a distinct volume, as Paralipomena, to go under the Doctor’s name, by themselves, with some other things, as Appendices to his work; as ‘De Nummis, ponderibus, mensuris, De Templo.’ ‘Quæstiones Chronologicæ, Chorographicæ, Historicæ,’ &c. Some sheets of these Explications of Scripture I have seen, which he had sent to Mr. Pool according to his promise. There is all the book of Joshua, and some chapters of Exodus and Numbers. Where the Doctor proceeds, chapter by chapter, briefly to give the sense or illustration of difficult passages according to the Talmudists and Rabbins. But this last designed additional volume, I think, Mr. Pool never published. And this was not all; for in another letter he takes notice of a promise, made him by the Doctor, of his assistance in reference to the historical books of the Old Testament from Joshua to Job, out of the Rabbins and Talmud: unless, perhaps, this was the same with the former.

VI.

The addresses of learned men to him.

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

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

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

VII.

His correspondences.

He held a learned correspondence, especially with persons most eminent for that recondite learning, that he was so famed for, and was dear unto and highly valued by them. Namely, The great Buxtorf, while he lived; and at home, the Right Reverend Father in God, Brian, Lord Bishop of Chester, deceased; Dr. Pocock, Hebrew professor at Oxon; Dr. Castell, Arabic professor at Cambridge; Dr. Marshal, the reverend and learned rector of Lincoln College, Oxon; Mr. Samuel Clark, sometime keeper of the famous library of the University of Oxon; Dr. Worthington, sometime master of Jesus College, in Cambridge; Mr. Bernard, of St. John's College, Oxon: all men famous in their generation, whose names we need only mention; and among the laity, he held a most intimate friendship and correspondence with Sir Thomas Brograve,
of Hertfordshire, Baronet, his neighbour and kinsman, a gentleman well seen in those abstruser studies. Nor did their letters consist of vain strains of compliments, nor were they stuffed with idle and unprofitable news of affairs in the state; but they carried deep and learned inquiries about difficulties of Scripture, or doubts in their oriental studies: they conferred about brave and high designs for the better promoting of truth and religion, and solid, useful learning. One conference I met with between Dr. Castell, who was the σύγματης, 'The Propounder,'—and our Doctor, 'The Resolver,'—was upon this subject proposed by the former, "Whether when the ordinary interpretation of any Hebrew words renders the sense hard and rough, recourse may not be had to the interpretation of those words according as they signify in Syriac, Chaldee, or Arabic."—This question had been occasioned from Dr. Lightfoot's excellent interpretation of that difficult place, Ezek. viii. 17. Upon which place he put a fair sense (as it seems) by interpreting some word or words there, according to some of those languages. Whereupon he tells him, "That he met often with many seeming contradictions and absurdities in our English (though one of the best), as well as in other versions. As Job iii. 5: 'Let the shadow of death stain it' (in the margin, challenge); a catachresis I remember not to be found elsewhere. But הָא (the word there used) in the Arabic use is excipere, colligere, as the LXX, not there alone best.—Chap. xv. 4, רָמְרֵי 'Thou (speaking to Job) restrainest prayer :' whereas Job was often in prayer: in Arabic (in which language many words with him occur) is, to protract and multiply; as the Syriac and Arab, that render it, 'Thou art much in complaints.'—Chap. xviii. 2, אַוּקְפְּיָא Verborum,' again from the Arabic 'Contradicendi vices, as the Arab and Chaldee both.—Chap. xvi. 18, 'O earth cover not thou my blood, שָׁמָּו so that there should be no place to my cry': because blood is a crying sin,—to pray 'his cry should have no place:' I am a Davus to that sense.—Prov. xxiii. 7, 'As he thinks in his heart... 'and yet his heart is not with thee:' seem very repugnant." Whereupon he propounds this question, "That meeting

with a world of these (seeming contradictions) every day, he craves his judgment, whether the Arab, Chaldee, Syrian, may not sometime sit upon the bench, and pass their vote concerning their old mother's meaning?" All the news, communicated between these correspondents, was about the farther progress of oriental learning, the discovery of more books of that nature, &c. which was the best and joyfulest news to them. It may be, it will not be amiss to communicate a letter or two of this nature. The one is of the aforesaid Dr. Castell, written 1664: "Sir, though I perish, it comforts me not a little to see how Holy Writ flourishes. I lately received an Armenian psalter given me by Professor Golius, come newly off the press: where they are printing, at Leyden, the whole Bible in that language. The Old Testament is there printing in the Turkish language, perfected by Levinus Warnerus. The New Testament in Turkish, done by Mr. Seaman, is just now in the press at Oxford: of which I have some sheets by me: as I have also of the old Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon gospels, now printed with a glossary to them at Leyden. Mr. Petreus hath printed some parts of the Old Testament in Ethiopic, and hath many more prepared both in that and the Coptic language. The Lithuanian (of which I have a good part by me), and the New English Bibles, I need not name. I have a specimen of a Turkish Dictionary printed at Rome, and of a Chaldee Dictionary in folio, in the Hebrew language, composed by the learned Coken de Lara; which our ὁ μακαρίτης, Professor Buxtorf, much desired he might live to see finished: it is said to be now near its period at the press." And news of the same import the learned Mr. Bernard communicated to him from Oxon, about the year 1674; which let it not be too tedious to peruse also: it ran thus:

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

*English folio-edition*, vol. 1, p. xxiii.
excellent man, that they will not be unwilling these their letters should be exposed to the public, or any thing else, that I have mentioned from them, that may any ways tend to the preserving his fame or honour. If it be said, That these matters are no news now, though they were then,—I answer, Probably divers things, here related, are not so common and ordinarily known, at least to many, but that they may be read with satisfaction. But the truth is, I produced them not so much to inform the world of news, as to discover some of the learned matters of the Doctor's correspondence.

VIII.

An account of his imperfect pieces.

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

In Latin.

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

Pars Secunda, viz. Judaica.

CAP. I.

Cineres Hierosolymorum, et vastatae terrae facies.

CAP. II.

Synedrium Magnum collocatur in Jahne. This is sufficient to show the design of that Book.

II. Computus Temporum Judaicorum—ab Urbis Excidio ad conscriptum Talmud Hierosolymitanum.
III. Index aliqualis Talmudis Hierosolymitani.
IV. Disquisitio modesta de LXX. et de Græca Versione.
V. Discrepantiae τῶν LXX. a textu Hebraeo in Pentateuco.
VI. Σφάλματα τῶν LXX.—Giving an account of all the errors of all kinds at large.
VII. Hillel, a short discourse.
VIII. De Spiritu Prophetiæ.—A discourse occasioned from 1 Cor. chap. xiv.
IX. Concio ad Clerum, habita in Ecclesia Sanctæ Marie, Jan. 12, 1654, pro gradu Doctoratus.
X. Disputatio in publicis Comitiis pro gradu Doctoratus.
XI. Orationes et Determinationes, cum Procancellariatu functus est.
XII. Ætates Rabbinorum.
XIII. Quædam de Israelitica sparsim collecta.
XIV. Annotationes in primum et quartum caput Genesis.
XV. Memorabilia quædam sub Ezra, et Synagoga ejus Magna, chronologic disposita.
XVI. Correctiones et Observationes in Textum Samaritanum.
XVII. Adversaria e Rabbinis collecta in Josuam, et in quædam Capita Exodi et Numerorum.
XVIII. The Minor Prophets in the Vulgar and LXX translations, compared with the Hebrew, and the various readings and additions taken notice of.
XIX. Divers other loose papers, concerning the Destruction of Jerusalem, situation of places in the Holy Land, Chronology, History, &c.

In English.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. Of the Creation. A Chapter.

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

X. History beginning from the Fall of Jerusalem.

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

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

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

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

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

IX.

Encomiums given him by learned men.

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

\[a \text{ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. xxvi.}\]
Concerning his love to, and endeavours of promoting, oriental learning.

There was no man under the sun, whom our Author more reverenced and honoured, than Buxtorf, professor of divinity and Hebrew in Basil; and the reason was, because, next to his piety, he had been so instrumental, by his published labours, in furthering the knowledge of Jewish learning: to which, from his youth, the Doctor had a strong, and almost natural inclination; and it continued with him to the end of his life. When Dr. Buxtorf had writ a letter to him by the hands of one, who had formerly been his scholar, our good man received both letter and bearer with the highest resentments of joy and complacency, for the sake of the reverend professor. And when he had signified in a letter to our Doctor, that, by reason of age and infirmities growing upon him, and finding himself greatly to decline in strength of body and mind, he must lay aside all thought of publishing any thing more; this our Doctor took heavily to heart, and lamented in a letter he sent him. For by him he acknowledged himself to have arrived to what skill he had in his rabbinical learning; and from the grateful sense he had of this, arose a vast love and reverence for him. "Placet (saith he) Honoratissimo Domino, de peritia mea in Talmudicis loqui, quæ si qua est (quam scio quam sit exigua) tota tibi ipsi referenda est, et incomparabili Parenti tuo, &c. It pleaseth you, most honoured Sir, to speak of my skill in the Talmudists, which if it be any (and how small it is I well know), is wholly owing to you, and to your incomparable Father. Ploughing with your oxen (using your Lexicons), I have sowed; and if any crop comes of it, it is yours. And what Christian is there, I pray, who reads over the Talmudic writings, that owes not the same tribute? So much is the whole Christian world indebted to the great name of Buxtorf." And then he professes to him, he could not read it without tears, when he told him, that, by reason of the weaknesses and indispositions of old age, he must promise the world no more of his writings.—This was in the latter end of the year 1663. And indeed the death of that
learned professor happened not long after, namely, in the beginning of September the year after. For whom the magistrates of Basil had such a great esteem, that before the father’s death, they chose his very young son to succeed him in the Hebrew professorship; as, in his other of divinity, Dr. Zwinger (descended of that famous man of his name), was also elected. And as one of the last respects Dr. Lightfoot could pay the memory of that great man, he wrote an epicedium upon him, and got Sir Thomas Brooke to write another in some of the Oriental languages; and so also did Dr. Castell; which were sent to the friends of the deceased. And when, not long after, the young professor came into England, he received a most kind and obliging reception from our Doctor as well for his father, as for his own sake.

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

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

And for the better setting afoot these studies, upon the
death of the learned Golius, Hebrew professor beyond
seas, who had an excellent collection of Rabbinical and
Oriental books, vast were the pains and diligence, which
he, and Dr. Castell, and some others, used for the pur-
chasing of them for the enriching the library of Cambridge,
or some other public one here in England. Though, I
think, they succeed not, those books being afterward
sold at a public auction in Holland.

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

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

XI.

His kindness and affection to Catharine-Hall.

As he truly loved learning, so he had an entire favour
to the universities, where it was fostered and promoted.
This appeared in that public and open joy and triumph that
he expressed in his oration, when vice-chancellor of Cam-
bridge, which was Anno 1655, at the opening of the com-
mencement. For when, in those unjust and violent times,
wherein so much malice was exercised against religion, no
wonder its handmaid, learning, was designed for ruin: no-
thing, then, was talked of so much, and so much intended, and almost come to a final resolution, as the seizing the possessions and revenues of the university, and turning out the scholars to shift for themselves. But by God's gracious overruling providence, this feral design took not place. Upon which our vice-chancellor made a long harangue, expressive of wonderful joy and thankfulness:

"Non tinge nobis, idque moestis animis tremulisque non potuimus, qualis futura Anglia erutis oculis, &c. We could not but imagine, and that with sad and trembling hearts, what England would have been, her eyes, viz. The universities, and clergy, being put out: what Cambridge would have been without Cambridge: what a spectre of a dead university, what a skeleton of empty colleges, what a funeral of the muses, and a carcass of deceased literature," &c. and after breaks forth into thanks to Almighty God for their happy deliverance. And then taketh occasion hence to expatiate learnedly, in his Rabbinical way, of the antiquity, use, and necessity, of universities. "Academias primum fundavit ipse Deus, &c. God was the first founder of universities, of equal age with his law and visible church, and not to die but with them," &c. as he elegantly and learnedly goes on.

Thus his good will spread itself over the whole universities, but it was more peculiar to two colleges in that of Cambridge, unto which he was particularly related,—viz. Christ's college, where he had first been bred, and Catherine-hall, over which, for many years, he presided. And this kindness he showed by dedicating a book to each. That to Catherine-hall, is before the first 'Horæ Hebraicæ' he published:—wherein, by giving them account of his first falling upon Jewish studies, and the excellent method he used in perusing the Rabbins, he, like a careful master, directs their studies; and, in the close, he professeth his dedication proceeded from that real respect and endearment he had to them, and that he designed his book as an eternal memorial of it. What else sounded those kind words, which he used in his letters to foreigners concerning his college, styling the students thereof, "Catharinenses mei?" And Doctor Castell, who knew as much of his mind as any, there being a great friendship between them, speaking to him concerning the college, calls it,
"Your delighted-in Catharine-hall." It is true he was, at first, put in master there by the powers, that then were; but, upon the happy settlement of these kingdoms upon their old and true foundation of monarchy, and the restitution of the king,—our Doctor, knowing the right of that place belonged to another,—namely, to Dr. Spurstow, voluntary, and freely, went and resigned it up to him: but, upon his refusal to return back again and take that charge, he applied to the king, who graciously bestowed his letters upon him, to confirm and settle him in that mastership: and, upon his coming down with those letters, the fellows of the college rode out some miles to meet him, and to receive him with that ceremony, as if he had been a new master of Catharine-hall.

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

It was not his want of affection to his college, that made him reside not much there; but, partly, because he
thought himself most bound to be chiefly among his flock, of whose souls he had the care: and, partly, because in the country was most retirement, a thing, that, for the sake of his studies, he greatly affected to the last. Which were not ungrateful to his old age, but rather an ease and a pleasure to it. "Studendo solor senectutem," was a saying of his to a learned man.

XII.

His patrons and friends.

His great learning and excellent qualities reconciled him friends and admirers among those of his own rank and degree, and made him a favourite to men of eminency and honour. Besides those I have already mentioned, he was dear to, and highly valued by, his grace, the most reverend father in God, Gilbert, late lord archbishop of Canterbury: through whose mediation, his parsonage of Great Munden and his mastership of Catharine-hall were confirmed to him by the king. Which he acknowledged in two epistles, before two of his Hebrew and Talmudic Exercitations. The right honourable Sir Orlando Bridgman, sometime lord keeper of the great seal, a learned and good man, took a pleasure in his learning; and when he was judge, and went the circuits, he always desired, and frequently procured, Dr. Lightfoot to preach at the assizes, at Hertford, whom, for his learned and unusual notions, he delighted to hear. He was one of his great encouragers to proceed in his Hebrew and Talmudical explanations of the New Testament, "Consilio, auxilio, patrocinio, munificentia,—by his counsel, aid, patronage, and bounty," as he speaks himself, in his Epistle Dedicatory, before the Horae upon St. John. The right honourable and right learned Sir William Morice, knight, one of the principal secretaries of state, deserves to be mentioned in the next place; who, unasked, unsought to, was very serviceable to our author, in procuring the king's favour, and his letters patent for him. The sense of which (for none so sensible of kindnesses) made him think himself obliged to put his name before one of his books. He was, also, endeared to two personages of Hertfordshire, of great honour and integrity, viz. Sir Tho. Brograve, baronet, and Sir Henry Cæsar, knight.
The former of these was doubly related to the Doctor, viz. in affinity, and in the course of his studies, being learned in the Jewish literature: as appears by a design he and the Doctor had of going to Dr. Castell's library, to peruse some books of his of that nature. To which Dr. Castell, in a letter, gives them free leave, telling them, "That his Cabalistic and Rabbinic books were most of them at Higham Gobyon: where his study doors should stand wide open, to give Sir Thomas and him entrance; every book they found there, was most truly at the service of them both, to take and use at their pleasure." The intercourse between Sir Thomas and the Doctor was very frequent, both by letters and visits, the distance not being so great (only two miles), but that they might walk the one to the other on foot: which they often did, out of that great endeavour that was between them, and for conferring together in the things of their studies. A friend of mine has heard the Doctor tell, more than once, how, upon occasion of some discourse between them, about such a subject, Sir Thomas departed from him, and presently penned a discourse about the university of Athens, and brought it to him; which the Doctor after lent out to some one, that had desired it, but could not call to mind to whom; so that that learned piece was stifled, and irrecoverably gone. And I have great cause to suspect, that this which happened to the writing of the Doctor's friend, happened, also, otherwhiles to himself. In whose hands soever any of his books or writings lie concealed, to say no worse of them, they deserved not the friendship of so worthy a man.

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

But his first and ancient friend, master and patron (as he used to call him, and that in many just regards), we must not, we cannot, forget: for he never forgot him to his dying day, and scarcely ever spake of him but with a transport of affection: I mean Sir Rowland Cotton, of Shrop-
shire; who gave him the presentation of Ashley in Staffordshire, and was the great instrument of putting him upon the study of the Rabbins; and being himself very learned in them, was his tutor, as well as his patron. "With much care, tenderness, and condescension, did he guide and lead on my studies" (as he publicly declares in an epistle to Mr. William Cotton, his nephew and his heir), "in the same way, that he himself had been trained by that choice and incomparable oracle of learning, Mr. Hugh Broughton." And in the same epistle, he professeth, "he always esteemed it one of the choicest advantages that ever accrued to him, that it was his hap and happiness, at his first setting out into the study of Scriptures and Divinity, to be settled in his house, and to come under his tuition and instruction." Undoubtedly, Sir Rowland had perceived a good spirit and an excellent genius, in young Mr. Lightfoot; and that he wanted nothing but counsel and direction, and somebody to recommend a good method of study to him, to make him a great scholar: and this made that worthy person undertake him himself; as foreseeing what he would afterward prove, in case his studies were well regulated at first. This kindness he ever remembered: which let him speak for himself. "He" (meaning Sir Rowland) "laid such doubled and redoubled obligations upon me by the tender affection, respect, and favour, that he showed towards me,—as have left so indelible an impression upon my heart, of honour to his dear name, and observance to his house of Bella port, that length of time may not wear it out, nor distance of place ever cause me to forget it." As a commentary upon which words, I might mention the care and regard he ever had to the family of the Cottons. And I do remember, that when I was a student of Catharine-hall, there was one who was a Cotton, and an heir of that family, was likewise a student, and admitted there by the Doctor's means: over whom he had a more especial eye; and frequently had him sent for into his lodgings, to eat with him, and confer with him, and to show kindness to him for Jonathan's (I mean his great uncle's) sake. And out of respect to that dear name, he caused one of his sons to be called Cottonus. Nay, he loved the very name of Bella port, the seat of Sir Rowland. And I have a letter, which Sir Rowland wrote, anno 1629,
in answer to his epistle dedicatory to him before his first book, that he published. This beloved letter the Doctor preserved unto his dying day, as a kind of sacred relic: upon which was wrote, with his own hand, "Sir Rowland Cotton's letter."

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

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

XIII.

His relations.

Having expatiated thus largely in our notices of this man, that we may omit nothing that is material, we will now begin to consider him in his more private and personal capacity. His reverend father had five sons, whereof our John was the second. His eldest was Thomas, the only of all his sons bred to a secular employment, being a tradesman. The third, Peter, a very ingenious man, and practised physic in Uttoxeter; and beside his art, he was of great usefulness in that country, and often in commissions for ending of differences. He also had intended to have writ the life of his brother, Dr. John Lightfoot, but was prevented by death. The next was Josiah, who succeeded his brother, Dr. Lightfoot, in his living of Ashley; the only of the brothers now living. The youngest was Samuel, a minister also, but long since deceased. And as it was his honour, that he was derived of an honest and gentle stock by both father and mother; so it was a part of his happiness, that God blessed him with a posterity. He was twice married, and both times into families of worship. His first wife was Joyce, the daughter of Crompton, of Staffordshire, esquire, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a good name and estate. Her mother was an Aston, of the family of the Lord Aston, of Tixal, but before they were Papists. This their daughter was the youngest, if I mistake not, of nine sisters; all the rest that lived, having been married into worshipful families there. In the church of Stone, in that county, where the Doctor sometime was minister, there remains the portraiture of them all, with three sons, and their father and mother, in brass. She was first wedded to Mr. Copwood, a gentleman of a good estate in that county: by whom she had two sons and one daughter. The sons since died; but the daughter is now living, and married there, and inherits the estate. The relict of this gentleman the Doctor became acquainted withal, when he lived in Sir R.
Cotton's family! and, not long after, married her, himself being yet young; by whom he had issue four sons and two daughters. To one of which the Lady Cotton was godmother. His eldest son was John, who was chaplain to the late right reverend father in God, Brian, Lord Bishop of Chester, the famous undertaker of the Polyglot: by whom this Mr. Lightfoot was much esteemed; but died soon after his lord and patron, and lies buried in the cathedral church aforesaid. He had six daughters; all now deceased, but two, who live at Chester. Anastasius was his second son, who had also these additions to that name,—viz. Cottonus, Jacksonus, in memory of Sir Rowland Cotton, and Sir John Jackson, two dear friends of the Doctor's. This was also a clergyman, incumbent of Thundridg, in Hertfordshire; and died there; leaving one son still living. The third son was Athanasius, brought up a tradesman in London; deceased also. And his fourth son, Thomas, died young. His daughters were, Joyce, now the worthy consort of Mr. John Duckfield, rector of Aspeden, in Hertfordshire (whom I must not name, but with an addition of respect for communicating to me most of the papers and original MSS. and letters of Dr. Lightfoot, and others, that I have made use of, both in these relations, and in the published sermons). And Sarah, now a widow, formerly married to one Mr. Colclough, a gentleman of Staffordshire, deceased.

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

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

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

THOMAS LIGHTFOOTE

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

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

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

Obiit ille Julii 21, 1653. Ætat. 81.
Obiit illa Januarii 24, 1636. Ætat. 71.

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

THOMAS\(^h\) LIGHTFOOTE

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

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

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

XIV.

His last sickness and death.

And now we are arrived at the last scene of this great
and good man's life. In the latter end of the year 1675,
that year, when colds were so rife and so mortal,—our
Doctor, going to his residence at Ely, fell into one of these
colds: which he complaining of, was persuaded to eat a
red herring, and to drink two or three glasses of claret.
The former he easily did; but the latter he was more diffi­
cultly drawn to, having always used to drink nothing but
small beer, or water. This little wine, according to the
judgment of his physician, cast him into a fever, or, at
least, heightened it. The disease much affected his head,
so that he lay dozing and slumbering, saying but little:
only, when any asked him, how he did, he would devoutly
say, "In the hands of a good God;" which he repeated
often. His behaviour, all the time of his sickness, was
with exceeding much meekness, patience, and silence,
speaking much with God and himself, but little, as I said,
to others. When Dr. Calamy, then a fellow of Catharine­
hall, went to Ely to visit him, he found him in this con­
dition, using very few words; when he asked him, if he
had made his will, and settled his secular affairs, he an­
swered, he had; and told him where his will was. His
physicians were, Dr. Gosnald, of Cambridge, and Dr.
Hicks, of Ely. Dr. Mapleton, the reverend dean, and Dr.
Womock, a prebend there, now lord bishop of St. David's,
were his chief visitants, who performed the offices of the
church with him. Thus he lay near a fortnight, and then
rendered up his pious and virtuous soul into the hands of
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his good God, in a good old age, being seventy-four years old within some few months: and yet might have lived much longer, if one may gather conjectures of the length of men's lives, by their healthfulness and vivacity. Besides his years, his works, and the excellent service he did in his generation, would have bespoke him an old man indeed. In which regard, none was freer from that which Seneca makes the great reproach of old age, viz. when there is nothing to compute age by, but years. "Nihil turpius est," saith he, "quam grandis natu senex, qui nullum aliud habet argumentum, quo se probet diu vixisse, præter Ætatem." His body was brought from Ely to his beloved Munden, where he had been minister near two-and-thirty years, and was there buried. Mr. Gervase Fulwood, formerly a fellow of Catharine-hall, and who had long known him, preached his funeral sermon. He was interred, greatly beloved and greatly lamented by all that knew him, and especially his parishioners, who took their last leave of him with many sighs and tears.

XV.

His temper and spirit, piety and virtues.

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

part of physic,' as Queen Elizabeth used to call it: his food was plain and coarse. Wine he altogether abstained from, and likewise from beer and ale abroad, drinking only water; except he were at home, where he had his beer brewed for him, which was very small; and that he delighted in, drinking it also very new. He ate seldom above once a-day, namely, a dinner on the week days, and a supper on Sundays. Whereby he redeemed the more time for his studies, and preserved himself in such a constant good plight of health. He was of a genius more curious than ordinary, affecting an inquiry into hidden things, and to tread unbeaten ways: as may be sufficiently judged by the studies that he followed. He seemed to be inquisitive into the nature of spirits, and concerning the apparitions of deceased persons. There was a long account of the appearance of a spirit in Driffield, a town in Yorkshire, which was sent to Dr. Burton, when fellow of Magdalen College in Cambridge, by a friend of his, formerly his collegian, he receiving the relation from the woman herself, to whom this spirit often appeared. This letter, Dr. Burton communicated to our Doctor, who transcribed it with his own hand, though it filled almost a sheet of paper, as not only pleasing his curiosity, and satisfying him of the truth of apparitions, but also surprising him by the various and strange discourse, that that spirit used: too long here to be repeated. He was of a very meek and tender spirit, easily discouraged, often melting into tears. I have been told, that being to give a public admonition to a lad of his college, for being guilty of some high misdemeanors; the college bell being rung, and the students met together in the hall, the master gave the scholar his admonition with much gravity, and with as much compassion, tears being observed to stand in his eyes while he did it. This soft disposition made him easily discouraged. I know not to what better to attribute that passage, whereby the world had almost been deprived of his excellent tract of the Temple: which was this (as he himself tells it), that going that very morning that he began his Description of the Temple, to see a piece of land, but a mile off from his house, which he had been owner of many years, but never saw, he chose not to take direction, and so to go alone by himself for meditation's sake: but, in fine, missed his way, and lost himself.
Here his heart (he said) took him to task, and called him fool, so studiously to search into things remote, and that so little concerned his interest, and so neglective of what was near him in place, and that so particularly concerned him: and a fool again, to go about to describe to others places and buildings, that lay so many hundred miles off, as from hence to Canaan, and under so many hundred years' ruins; and yet not able to know or find the way to a field of his own, that lay so near. And this so far prevailed upon him, that it put him upon a resolution to lay by that work; and so he did for some time, till afterward his bookish mind made him take it in hand again. So easily, and upon such little accidents, are generous spirits sometimes daunted. No man was more sensible of favours than he, and none more apt to pass by injuries; being of a calm, settled, and undisturbed spirit.

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

But his spiritual endowments, as he was a minister and

a Christian, rendered him more illustrious, than all his natural and acquired. These made him beloved of God,—as the others, valued and admired of men. He took a good course, at first, for the better preparing himself for the ministry. For, after his departure from Cambridge, having spent two or three years in the country, where he made an entrance into his Hebrew studies, he resolves to come up to London, to take the opportunity of the divinity-library there: thereby to furnish himself with a good stock of reading and learning, proper to the holy employment he had undertaken, before he engaged himself farther in it. Here he lay for some years close and private, and read over the fathers, and many other books tending to the furthering his divinity-studies. He preached then indeed but seldom, or not at all,—his business now being something else. But when some, who had a mind to have themselves eased by his labour, charged this upon him, as a crime of idleness; to clear himself of that imputation, he published his first book, to let the world see he was not idle, though he preached not. He never cared to be accused of idleness: and his own conscience cleared him of that (as he tells us before that book); though he confessed, "That he was not so hasty, as many be, to intrude himself where there is no necessity." But when he had taken the charge of souls upon him, in all the parts of the ministerial function, he was very diligent: a constant preacher, resorting to his parish church, which stood a mile distant, every Sunday, winter and summer, wet and dry, unless abroad, or hindered by sickness. He failed not to visit the sick, whensoever sent for, compassionating their condition, and administering wholesome counsels and comforts to them. He was a great enemy to schism and faction, and uncharitable separation from the church; and did use to press communion, both in his sermons and ordinary discourses. And it may not be amiss, to mention the notable argument he used to manage in the behalf of holding communion with the national church; which was, our Lord's example. This he often and convincingly urged in this case: and particularly, but some few months before his death, in one of his ordinary sermons, he had these words, "Let me ask them" (meaning the neglecters of the public worship), "do they think, that our Saviour ever let sabbath-day pass, in all his time, while here,
but he was present, at the public service, either in the Temple or in the synagogue?" Look the gospel through, and see by the current of the story there, whether ever he absented himself from the public congregation on the sabbath-day. Read that Luke iv. 16 (to spare more); 'He came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and, as his custom was, went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and stood up for to read.' It was his custom to go to the synagogue, to the public service and congregation on the sabbath-day, and he never failed of it. And he stood up for to read in his own town-synagogue, as owning himself a member of that congregation. For it is not recorded, that he read in any synagogue beside. It was his custom to go to the public congregation on the sabbath-day: it is these men's custom not to come there:—he never absented himself from the public meeting; these men account it religion to absent themselves ever. Is our public service more corrupt than theirs was then? If it be, let them shew it. If it be not, let them give a reason, why they go so directly contrary to our Saviour's own practice."Generally, his sermons were very plain, as preached to a country auditory,—and practical, recommending, above all things, piety and a good life: and, if he chanced to fall upon controversial points in the course of his sermons, he would strive, in a few words, to pass over the controversy,—and, while he was upon it, to render it as useful and serviceable to pious ends, as he could. His sermons always carried a sweet and easy strain with them; a rhetoric peculiar to himself, notably raising attention, and making a quick impression upon the affections. Insomuch, as he seldom failed of a great auditory; having scarce one in his parish, that absented from his ministry. And another qualification he had of a good clergyman, and that was, his charity; which was free and large. His house was a continual hospital; none went away thence unrelieved; which was so well known, that he had a more than common charge at his door. For such was his compassionate spirit, that all sorts of comers, pretending need, partook of his liberality: and he would frequently bring poor people within doors to his fire, to warm them, as well as feed and clothe them. Besides, he used, in the winter seasons, to find work for the poor of his parish, as spinning, &c. Whereby at once industry and labour might be
encouraged, and poverty succoured. And his secret charities are supposed considerable. For he had 300l. per annum; and no charge, nor visible expense, and yet spent all.

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

—Monstrari et didicere hic est,

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

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

XVI.

Some apology for our Author: and the conclusion.

Having said all this,—I know nothing else needful to be done, but to dispel some mists that may darken his name, and leave Dr. Lightfoot's memory as fair and unblemished, as may be, to posterity: and so we will gently draw the curtains about his hearse, and take our leave of the reader and him at once. I plainly see, there are two things, that some will be apt to charge upon him. The one is, certain peculiar opinions that he espoused: and the other, that he seemed to be too much carried away with the
late evil times. I do not pretend, wholly to excuse and justify him in these things, but only to lessen and mollify the charge. Consider then, that he was but a man, and so subject to human slips and frailties as well as others: and that even such who have enjoyed the greatest fame, either for learning or goodness, have, for the most part, had some abatement in their coat of arms. "Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura." And those great endowments that were in him, and that eminent service he did the church and commonwealth of learning, may justly merit his pardon for any faults, which either his ignorance or infirmity betrayed him into.

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

He was, indeed, a member of the Assembly of Divines, and long after that (I think) one of those, who, at the beginning of the king's joyful return, were appointed to confer with the episcopal divines at the Savoy: whereby it appears, that he bended sometime towards Puritanism. It was, indeed, his unhappiness, as well as of many other pious well meaning men, to live in those times of temptation; whereinto if they fell, it was because they were not politicians enough to see the bad consequences of those
smooth and fair pretences. I may plead for him, that it was his credulity, not his malice, or any evil design, that made him err. He was carried away with their dissimulation (and there was an apostle once was so); and that the more easily, being a man of an innocent and unsuspicuous nature, especially when such goodly things as religion and reformation were so much boasted. And, I make no doubt, he afterward was convinced, how he had been trepanned; and saw his error, as appeared sufficiently, by his ready compliance with the laws and orders of the established church, upon the happy Restoration: and encouraging his sons, also, to the same, who were both conformable men of the clergy. He never was a bigot, or a busy officious man, always rather passive than active, unless in the Assembly. And then generally those matters, wherein he stirred, were such points, as in which the very locks of the Presbyterians' strength lay, which he, for the most part, opposed. And certainly when we consider, how he thwarted their πρωτα ψευδαρα, their chief principles; arguing against lay elders, standing for general admittance to the sacrament, for forms of prayers, and many such-like,—the Presbyterians could never reckon him truly theirs; and I am apt to think, they wished him more than once out of their Assembly. Indeed he was then rather a man at large by himself, that followed his own studies, than followed any party of men, and promoted true goodness, as far as in him lay. In those times, he particularly made these three or four things his main drift, viz. To beat down enthusiasm, which, he plainly saw, tended to the enervating the authority of the Holy Scriptures; to maintain the honour of learning and a regular clergy; and to show the necessity of keeping up public communion with the national church: whereby unquestionably he did excellent service to the church in those evil days. He had an excellent faculty in wresting out of the hands of schismatics those weapons, that they most confided in. For this I might show his way of dealing with Enthusiasts, Anabaptists, &c. But I will instance only in those, that would justify their separation, from the word saints in Scripture, supposing that thereby were meant persons truly and inwardly holy. The ignorance of the latitude of this word was then the cause of many bitter contentions, and wild
opinions, nay, and of no small danger to all that were not saints in their account. To this purpose, he speaks in a Latin sermon, preached at Ely, at an episcopal visitation held there by the right reverend father in God, Benjamin, late Lord Bishop of Ely: "Nec periculosius aut terribilior sonuit olim Shibboleth Gileaditarum, &c. That the Shibboleth of the Gileadites anciently sounded not more dangerously, than the title of saints of late." Whereas, as he shews in that sermon, and used to urge in the late times, That by saints is meant nothing but Christians, in opposition to heathens, or unbelievers. And that the apostle, in that phrase, speaks with the common notion of the Jewish nation; to which בקירות "in holiness," signifies no more than "within the profession of the Jewish religion;" and לא בקירות "not in holiness," signifies as much as "in heathenism."

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

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

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

J. STRYPE.
Ad° Autorem.

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

W. D.

JOHANNES P. LIGHTFOOT, S.T.P.

Agro Staffordensi oriundus,
Ecclesiæ Magnæ Mundoniae in agro Hertfordensi Rector,
Aulæ S. Catharinæ apud Cantabrigienses Præfectus,
Et Eliensis Canonicus.
Eruditione omnifaria, præsertim Orientali,
Instructissimus.

Qui Thalmudicam doctrinam miro judicii acumineteractavit,
Et Rabbinicæ literaturæ venam exhibuit
(Quod rarum) sine scoriis.
S. Scripturis obscurioribus lucem dedit, confusis harmoniam.
In Chronologiæ δυνατον οὐ erundis Conjector felicissimus.
Et Hebraicæ veritatis Vindex strenuus.

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

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

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

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

My Lord,

This second volume of Dr. Lightfoot's Works, the effect of great learning, and as great industry, being brought to a conclusion, it seemed to want nothing to make it complete, and to recommend it to the world, but some great name to stand before it. And since the choice of this laid in me, the poor instrument employed in preparing these labours for the press, I could fix upon none so proper, so suitable, as your Lordship, upon two accounts. The one is, mine own private obligations unto your Lordship, being my very reverend diocesan, under whose paternal care I live, and discharge my ministerial function, in peace, and from whom I have received favour and countenance; and, lastly, to whom I ought to account for the spending of my time,—as I find, in some ancient injunctions of our church, the inferior clergy were bound to do. The other, is the book itself; which contains some of the last and best labours of a man, of as great worth and abilities, as fame: in all the pages of whose writings appear lively strokes of learning, religion, and a love of the church's peace and prosperity. Of which most sacred things, your Lordship is so known and eminent a patron.
Pardon me then, my most honoured Lord, that I have presumed to grace this piece with your venerable name: and vouchsafe to take these pious and learned labours under your Honour's favour. And if there shall be any thing found herein, that will not bear the censure of your Lordship's severer eye, whether it be the publisher's, or the author's, error, I do earnestly recommend both to your Lordship's great candour and charity.

I cannot take my leave without my prayers for your Lordship, that God would prosper your pensive thoughts and weighty cares, for retrieving the distressed condition of our poor church, occasioned, in a great measure, by contentious and unpeaceable spirits: spirits, that, even from the very first times of the Reformation, have been undermining its welfare, and exercising the skill and patience of its earliest bishops. Insomuch, that it was long since the judgment of one of your Lordship's predecessors, in the see of London, and one that had been charged with too much favour and gentleness towards them, that severity was necessarily to be used. For thus he writes, in a letter (which I have seen) to a great minister of state, Anno 1569: "Mine opinion is, that all the heads of this unhappy faction should be, with all expedition, severely punished, to the example of others, as people fanatical and incurable." And the same New Reformers (as they were then termed) created so much affliction to the church, that it made another very reverend prelate of this see quite weary of his bishopric, and drew this complaint from him, in a letter dated 1573: "I may not, in conscience I cannot, flee from the afflicted
church: otherwise I would labour out of hand, to deliver myself of this intolerable and most grievous burden.” I make no doubt, but your Lordship, being in the same place, and having to do with men of the same temper, feels the same burden. God Almighty strengthen and encourage, succeed and bless, you, in all the wise methods you use, in the government of your church and clergy.

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

My Lord,

One of the meanest of your clergy,

And your Lordship's most humble

And dutiful son and servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

Low-Leighton, May 14, 1684.
I am not insensible this Second Volume may lie under some prejudice, as translations and posthumous pieces usually do; which have not the last polishing of the author's own hand, nor his consent to make them public. Therefore, to prevent any too hasty censures, and to give this book the advantage of a fair light, and thereby to justify what hath been done in sending it abroad to bear its fellow company, is the chief design of this Preface. And here I am to account for two things, according to the two parts that this volume consists of. The former is the translation of the Horaæ Hebraicae: and the second, the publishing of the Sermons.

I. For the former, it cannot be denied, that a translation labours under the same disadvantage, that the copy of a good picture doth, which seldom reacheth to the truth and perfection of the original. And it needs not be said, that among those fatal things, such as, epitomies, wilful interpolations, ignorant and careless transcriptions, and the like,—whereby the books of the ancients, especially ecclesiastical writers, have suffered no small damages,—unskilful translations have contributed their share; damages rather to be deplored, than ever to be redressed. But as to the present translation, I have this to apologize for, if not to justify, it: that seeing these Latin pieces were the very &amp;#x2209; the last result and perfection of our author's long and elaborate Oriental studies, the very marrow and compendium of all his Rabbinical learning; and since that great knowledge he had attained in that way, is in these Latin Exercitations maturely, and, after many years' pensive thoughts, digested, and reduced to be admirably subservient to the evangelical doctrine, and by a peculiarly divine skill he hath made the Rabbies, more bitter enemies than whom the gospel never had, to be the best interpreters of
it;—it was thought pity, that his countrymen should be
deprived of these his last and best labours; and seemed
somewhat unjust, that strangers, and the learned only,
should reap the benefit of them. Besides, it is to be con-
sidered, how much a right understanding of the Four Evan-
gelists, and the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the
history of the great founder of our religion, and his holy
institution, would contribute to the burying of unhappy
differences, which have arisen, in a great measure, from
mistaken interpretations of matters in those books, and to
the furthering peace and unity among us; and how highly
all, that call themselves Christians, are concerned to attain
to the true sense and meaning of the Holy Scriptures, on
which our faith and hope are built; and lastly, that these our
author’s labours administer such considerable help to us
herein;—it was resolved that so small an impediment, as
the Latin tongue, should not obstruct so great a good.

I hope there will be no occasion to accuse the transla-
tion for any defect of care, or faithfulness, or skill; but ra-
ther that it may merit some approbation upon all those
accounts. The work of a translator chiefly consists in car-
rying along with him the sense of the author, and, as much
as another language will allow, the very air of his expres-
sion; that he may be known, and discovered, though he
wear the dress and habit of another nation. I trust, those
who undertook this employment, will be found to have duly
attended to both. I will not be so confident, as to vouch
it so absolutely free of all mistake, as if the translators had
been inspired by the author himself: it being morally im-
possible, in a work of that critical nature and considerable
length, not to make a stumble or a slip. It will satisfy
reasonable men, I hope, if the errors are but few, and the
work be generally accompanied with a commendable dili-
gence. The judicious reader will not like our pains the
less, that we have not much regarded curious and smooth
language. For none will look for a fine and florid style in
a translator, who is bound-up to follow close his author;
and considering that he that presumes to vary too freely
from his words, it is a great venture, but he varies often
from his sense too. And indeed affectation of soft words,
and handsome periods, would have been a vice here; for
it would have made the author look unlike himself, whose
style was generally rough and neglected, his mind being more taken up about sense, and inquiry after truth, than those things. And therefore, I hope, none will place this among the blemishes of the translation. If the words be easy and intelligible, and naturally expressive of the sense, the more plain and unaffected, the better.

I will advance a step farther, in behalf of this English translation: there are some things in it, that may give it the advantage, even of the Latin Exercitations themselves: namely, that they are all, with a diligent and careful eye, revised and corrected in abundance of places, besides what the Errata directed to. The Addenda, printed at the end of the Horae upon St. Luke, and St. John, are here reduced to their proper places in the body of the book, excepting one passage only, which was neglected, I know not how, but now printed at the end of this preface. The annotations upon the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, ignorantly and carelessly thrust in among the Exercitations upon the Acts of the Apostles, are placed where they ought to stand. The quotations out of the Rabbins, and other authors, are every where cast out of the text into the margin (yet with references to direct to each allegation); that so the reading might be the more smooth, and continued without break or interruption. And whereas much Hebrew and Greek was frequently cited, and not seldom left in those more hidden languages without any interpretation (the author supposing his readers learned men, and able to understand those languages), in this edition, intended for the use of the more unlearned, those citations every where are translated, as well as the Latin text. Which was very necessary to be done, when the illustration of the matter, and sometimes the strength and sense of the whole sentence or subject treated of, depended upon those very phrases and sentences so translated. And for the better illustration of the author’s elaborate searches after the true situation of Jerusalem, and many other towns and places of the Holy Land, almost wholly lost long since in their rubbish,—and, for the benefit of the studious,—we have procured two maps to be delineated exactly according to the author’s judgment and conjectures, the one of the city of Jerusalem, and the other of the land of Canaan. To the latter of which, is adjoined a table of the
names of the towns and places (which are not a few), wherein the Doctor differed from the ordinary chorographers. Also, whereas in the "Chorographical Decad" before St. Mark, there were two small schemes, the one of the Asphaltites, and the other of the sea of Gennesaret, together with the countries adjacent, very coarsely described; insomuch that our author is fain to apologize for one, that he was "extra limites," "out of his own bounds," when he did it; and for the other, that it was "rudis delineatio," "a rough and homely draught;"—both these are, in this edition, printed off from copper-plates, carefully and exactly cut, that they might be rendered the more graceful and acceptable to the beholders. And this shall be sufficient to have spoken of that, which makes up the first part of this volume.

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

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

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

In an assize sermon, preached anno 1664, his discourse was upon some part of the history of the woman taken in adultery, John viii:—upon which, he hath some learned and ingenious Glosses in his Talmudic Exercitations upon the place. But, in that sermon, they receive much advantage by several things, there added: which, probably, through his study of brevity in compliance with the printer, he then omitted. As, 1. In that sermon, he furnisheeth us with an argument, to persuade that this story is canonical, from that very thing, for which some were apt to reject it; viz. from that seemingly odd act of our Saviour, in stooping
down, and writing upon the pavement of the Temple: it
being so agreeable to the practice prescribed, Numb. v., for
trial of the wife suspected of adultery. "Nor had the
thing," saith he there, "ever been disputed, if the story it-
self had been searched to the bottom; for then it would of
itself have vindicated its own authority to be evangelical
and divine." 2. Here also you have his conjecture (which
you meet not with in the Exercitations), that this woman
probably was taken in the adulterous act, in the very Tem-
ple itself; and his reason for that conjecture. And, 3. In
his 'Exercitations' at ver. 3, he saith, There are some rea-
sons, that do persuade, that these Scribes and Pharisees,
that brought this woman to Christ, were elders of the San-
hedrim: but what these particular reasons were, he is silent
in. But if we have recourse to that sermon, he will tell
you there, what they are. Namely, 1. Because, Matt.
xxiii. 2, the evangelist useth the expression of the "Scribes
and Pharisees" for the Sanhedrim. And, 2. From those
words of Christ to the woman, "Hath no man condemned
thee?" Which seem to imply, that those that brought her,
had power to judge and condemn her.

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

Perhaps, some few passages may be censured as seem-
ing to reflect upon the doctrine or practice of our church. But to this I answer, That they only seem to do so. And if the reader will but calmly and deliberately view those passages again, he will find, that they may admit of a very fair construction; and the most that they speak, is against placing the sum of religion in ceremonies and outward formalities, or the needless multiplying of them; not against a sober and intelligent use of the rites of the church, as they are appointed to be used for the preserving decency and order, and promoting edification. And he is very severe, that will not overlook some things, and pass a favourable construction upon others, considering the times wherein our author lived, and what doctrines then prevailed, and carried away many good, though unwary, men, as with a strong, and scarcely to be resisted, torrent. And allowance may the more reasonably be given to some few things, seemingly obnoxious to censure, for the sake of many others: which do greatly inculcate peace and conformity, and the authority of the church, and decry separation from the national established church. I instance only in that excellent sermon, preached in the late unhappy times in a public audience, upon John x. 22: where the argument of our Saviour's holding communion with the Jewish church in the public exercise of religion is so fully and incomparably managed; that it was within these few years almost resolved to make it public by itself for the use and information of our dissenters: which, if read and considered by them with a candid and unprejudiced mind, would certainly set them clear of their scruples, and bring with them abundance of satisfaction into the bosom and communion of our church. And beside that, in his sermon upon Jude, ver. 12, he discourseth against praying by the Spirit, and enthusiastical pretences to revelation. In that upon Luke xi. 2, he argues, most excellently, for set forms of prayer, and particularly for the use of the Lord's Prayer, that was, at that time, ready to be quite justled out of God's worship. And it was observable at that time, that the Doctor ended both his prayers, both before and after that sermon, with the Lord's Prayer. In that sermon, speaking about casting away religious usages, because abused, he hath these remarkable words: "Now I cannot but think, how wild it is, to reject a good
thing in itself, because another hath used it evilly. This is just as if a man should cut down vines to avoid drunkenness. How subject is he, that makes it all his religion to run from superstition, to run he knows not whither!" And again, in the same sermon; "I know not what reformers should more study, than to observe how near Christ complied with the things used in the Jewish religious practice and civil converse, that were lawful." Once more, in his discourse upon 1 Cor. xiv. 26, towards the conclusion, he propounds two things to be considered by them, who scrupled at the religious exercise of singing psalms, because it is nowhere commanded to sing after that manner, and with those circumstances, that we do. 1. "That there is no plain grounds, why to refrain,—but most plain, why to sing. 2. Where a duty is commanded, and a scruple ariseth from some circumstance, it is safer to go with the command, than from it." The reason I have selected these passages is, to show how our author stood affected to the church. And indeed by these, and many other expressions, that are scattered in his sermons, we may plainly see, that peaceableness, and keeping communion with the church was his great principle: and that his great aim, in the late times, was to keep up the honour of the public ordinances, and the public ministry in reputation; and to maintain the necessity of good works against Antinomianism, and the divine authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the necessity of human learning in the clergy against enthusiasm, then the great prevailing errors. And I make no doubt, that, by such means and doctrines as these, the blessing of God accompanying, our author did very good service to religion and truth then, and did educate and train up young students in the university, and other Christians, his auditors, into a readier and more cheerful conformity to our present church.

In a word, all his sermons breathe a true spirit of piety and inward goodness, and an entire desire to be instrumental to the right understanding of the Holy Scriptures for the propagation of God’s glory, and the building up of Christians in real substantial piety, and true saving knowledge. And they carry a plain, easy, unaffected, strain of humble oratory, condescending to the meanest
capacity; and which hath something peculiar in it to raise attention, and to make a wonderful impression upon the affections; I mean, by offering frequently something new and surprising, and intermixing sudden apostrophes, and affectionate and close interrogations.

And now, in the last place, I must account for myself and for what I have done in publishing these discourses. Mr. John Duckfield, rector of Aspeden, in Hertfordshire, the author's son-in-law, and one of his executors (to whom the world is, in the first place, beholden for permitting them to be made public), kindly imparted to me the deceased learned man's scattered papers and MSS. and among the rest, his sermon-notes. From the love and honour I had to his memory and his learning, I diligently set myself to the perusal of them; and being not a little pleased with many of the notes, I resolved to select a few out of a great many: with a design to let them see the light with the other works of the Doctor, that were then reprinting: thinking it pity that the world should lose many excellent notions (as they seemed to me), and expositions of hard places of Scripture, that were dispersed up and down in those notes: and that, at least, some of his pains in the pulpit, as well as in his study, might be preserved to posterity. I have transcribed them as I found them; neither contracting, but where the same matters, that were in other sermons, were repeated, or in the closes of them, where the practical improvements were somewhat large and long: nor adding, unless in these cases; either where references were made to texts of Scripture, which I have writ out at large, a thing necessary for the clearer understanding of the tenor and contexture of the discourse; or where any Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, occurred, which I have translated for the benefit of vulgar readers. Indeed, in some few places, I have left the Hebrew words without any interpretation, as I found them, not well knowing what to make of them, either through mine own ignorance, or the author's mistake in his hasty writing. I was sometime in a hesitation, whether to leave them wholly out, or to insert them, as I found them writ in the MSS. The latter of which I resolved to do, that they might lie open to the conjecture of the more learned; and that nothing might be presented maimed, but as entire as might be. To give
one instance, in the sermon upon Luke xi. 2, not far from
the end we meet with הַרְבִּית מִיִּשֶׁר, whether or no it be a
mistake of the author’s pen, for הַרְבִּית ‘The curses against
heretics;’ which the Jews used to add to their prayers.
Lastly, in some discourses written in very short notes, and
with some ‘et ceteras,’ I have been forced to insert words,
now and then, to supply and make the sense complete.
This, I was sensible, was a very nice and tender point;
and therefore I used not only all faithfulness and the best
skill I had, but diligently consulted other notes, where the
same notions were more fully set down, and have some­
times supplied myself from thence: but otherwise I have
chosen rather to leave some places imperfect, than to fill
up by mine own bare conjecture. The sermons of this
sort are those generally, that bear the ancieneter date: but
towards the latter end of his life, the notes were more fully
and fairly written: the Doctor probably not daring then to
trust to his memory so much as he had done in his younger
days. The discourse upon Luke xi. 2, and that upon
Matt. xxviii. 19, are of this kind. Which, however, I have
used my best care and caution to copy so at least, as to
render the main lines of the discourses clear: yet I am
afraid the reader will want many things to make them
speak out the full sense and meaning of the author.
Which indeed is a great pity; because they are of those
sermons, that have some great strokes in them: and the
fame of them is still fresh in the memory of many now
alive, that heard them preached at St. Mary’s in Cambridge.
The latter of which, viz. that which treats of baptism, con­
firmed a late reverend and very learned divine of the
church of England in the doctrine of infant baptism, who,
as himself confessed, was not well reconciled to it. But,
upon hearing those sermons (for they were two, though
they stand now digested into one continued discourse),
sent a letter expressive of great thanks to our author for
them,—and acknowledged, that he had settled him more in
the orthodox doctrine, than all his reading upon that sub­
ject ever before had; and earnestly desired the favour of a
copy of them, which was accordingly sent him from the
Doctor.

And here is a proper place to beg the reader’s excuse,
if he meet sometimes with gaps and breaks, and passages
that are not so perfect and full as it were to be wished: and to beseech him to pardon many things in these discourses; as that some break off abruptly; and that the style of others is so plain and homely, being transcribed out of his own rough papers, not polished and smoothed, reviewed and embellished for the sight of the public; but intended only as his own private remembrancers, when he preached them.

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

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

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

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

And that nothing might be wanting to render both parts of this book the more complete and useful, there are four distinct tables subjoined, compiled with commendable
Pains and accuracy. And if the preparing these, and the maps, and some other things, hath somewhat retarded the publication hereof, the reader will, I trust, the more readily pardon it, seeing it hath been only to render the whole work the more complete and serviceable.

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

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

JOHN STRYPE.

Leu-Leighton, Jan. 3, 1683.
TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN,

LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

My Lord,

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

I was willing also this way to express my sense of your Lordship's obliging favours towards me, which you have been pleased to show, not only upon account of our ancient acquaintance, and equal standing in the university, but chiefly in respect of those studies I have of late addicted myself to; which you (a known patron and furtherer of all good learning) have been always ready to assist and promote. You have, my Lord, afforded me the free use of your singular library, stored with so many and so choice manuscripts, together with such antique, and to the present generation, scarce-heard-of, books and treatises, when printing was but, as it were, in its infancy. And be-
sides, you have got me the sight of other valuable manuscripts. Whereby I must gratefully acknowledge the considerable improvements I have made in my searches into the historical affairs of this church, when it first began to reform abuses, and to vindicate itself from Rome, and as it happily proceeded under our two first protestant princes. Which must be more amply owned, in case any of my studies of this nature hereafter see the light.

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

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most obliged servant,

JOHN STRYPE.
THE PREFACE;
RELEATING TO
THE AUTHOR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But I proceed to some particular instances of these things:

I. When some in the Assembly were for gathered
churches, which must consist only of saints, and produced a place for that purpose taken out of the Revelations; chap. xv. 3, "Thou King of saints" (\(\text{'\(\text{A}\text{γ}\text{ιων}'\)}\)), Dr. Seaman well objected against it; because the reading was doubtful, some copies reading \(\text{'\(\text{Alωνων}'\)}\) instead of \(\text{'\(\text{A}\text{γ}\text{ιων}'\)}\), i. e. 'Thou King of ages,' or 'everlasting.' And Lightfoot backed him, by showing, that the Syrian and Arabic read to the same import: וּרְאָצֵי רְאָיָה and רְאָז רְיָא לְאִירָא, 'King of the world,' or 'ages.'

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

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

Yet,

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

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

6. When the Assembly came to examine, whether there were anciently in the church 'ruling elders' (and they, as it seems, of the laity), which some had laboured for the confirming of by certain places of Scripture; one of the Assembly, named Baily, began to speak; professing seriously, that till the last year he had lived convinced by Bishop Bilson of the 'Jus Divinum' of bishops; till conferring with a gentlewoman, who said to him that it was a wonder he could not see ground for presbyterial government, which all the reformed churches have; it struck him so, that he fell to study the reformed writers, Calvin, Beza, &c. and by them was convinced. And then after this preface (as though he had been thoroughly studied in this matter), he
fell upon the places of Scripture, and that with some vehemeny and smartness, and would prove a ‘ruling elder.’ And Mr. Rutherford, one of the Scotch commissioners, backed him, to make way to bring in the Scotch discipline into the English church. Gillespie, another Scotch commissioner, said in behalf of his ‘ruling elder,’ that this practice of the reformed churches arose from a sure light. But this found considerable opposition in the assembly; and that by the learnedest men, as Vines, Gataker, and our divine, who began first; and after Rutherford had done, spake to this import: 1. That as for that place in 1 Tim. ver. 17, “Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in the word,” &c; the apostle, it is true, meant hereby two sorts of officers; but that those were pastor and deacon; which he had spoken of before, as sufficient for the church, in 1 Tim. iii. 2. That προεστῶτες (the word in another place urged for ‘ruling elders’), both in the LXX translators, and in the Syriac, are ‘Præsidentes,’ and ‘Præcedentes,’ though not in government. 3. That ἀντιλήψεως, ‘helps,’ and κυβερνήσεως, ‘governments,’ 1 Cor. xii. 28, would enforce deaconry and ruling elders. Which words, when it was debated, whether they signified ‘officers’ or ‘gifts;’ and Nye and Newcomen averred, that κυβερνήσεως signified only the ‘act of government;’ Lightfoot stood up, and showed how the word was taken by the LXX: who used it in Prov. i. 5, and xi. 14, and divers other places in that book, to translate ᾑβρᾶς, which imported not the ‘act, but the ‘ability,’ and ‘gifts’ fit to govern. And that the other word, ‘helps,’ meant nothing else, but ‘helps’ to interpret the language and sense of those, that spake with tongues;—as he showed might be collected by balancing the two verses in the place in hand together, viz. the 28th and 29th. Then spake Mr. Vines upon the same place, viz. 1 Cor. xii. 28: where he showed, that the apostle spake there of several things; and that those things were for the benefit of the church: and that they related to persons; for he had before spoke of χαρίαμα, ‘gifts:’ that it spake of several gifts in several persons: that κυβερνήσεως differed from διδάσκαλοι: that κυβερνήσεως signified without doubt a ‘prefecture.’ Yet grant all this, it was very questionable, whether this place proved a ‘ruling elder.’ For that
he conceived the government was in the hands of the 'preaching elder.' And then he fell to the backing of Lightfoot's interpretation; which he did fully.

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

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

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

Gillespie, the Scotchman, laboured to prove two courts, from Deut. xvii. 12, about one going up from one court to another; that is, for appeals, as he urged from hence, "The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, that standeth to minister before
the Lord, or unto the judge; even that man shall die:” making the priest to hold one court,—and the judge, another. But Selden, Gibson, and Lightfoot, were against it. And thus Selden, “The Vulgar Latin, till within this forty years, read this place, ‘Qui non obediverit sacerdoti, ex decreto Judicis morietur: i. e. He that shall not obey the priest, shall die by the decree of the judge.’ And if that reading be right, here is no shadow of two courts. This place, he said, included all cases. And if, in any one of the inferior courts, the judge were at a stand, and those judges went to Jerusalem, and were resolved of the scruple, and went down again, and would not judge according to their resolution,—they were to die. And this was he which the Jewish writers call the Rebellious Elder.” Gibbon proved, they (i. e. the judges of the inferior courts) handled ecclesiastical matters. And that because, 1. They had all matters: 2. All laws: 3. They handled the matter of jealousy. And for this he produced Maimonides at large. Lightfoot then signified, that he had yesterday hinted the sense, which Mr. Selden now gave. And that it was not in appeals, but in point of consultation, that the judge was to go up. To which Herle gave only this answer, “I should be sorry, if we should lose appeals in this place.” But our divine besought this Assembly, that they might examine the text, before they fixed a sense upon it; and that it might be taken into consideration, whether this place speak of appeals or no: and affirmed, that it little afforded two Sanhedrims: for that the party was to consult with judge or priest, as the case required; and they two sitting together in the court. Which was urged in opposition to Dr. Hoyle, that endeavoured to prove two Sanhedrims, because the priest and the judge were named apart, and the priest first.

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

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

8. A question arose in the Assembly upon excommunication; whether it were to be done in a presbytery, or in the presence of the whole church. And so the Independents would have it, proving it from 1 Cor. v. 4, Συναχίστιν των ἤμων, “When ye are gathered together,” &c. Lightfoot answered this place thus, That the ‘Synaxis,’ i.e. ‘the gathering together,’ here, was in regard, that there were heart-burnings among them: and so they triumphed one against another in this very act of the incestuous. Ergo, he commands them, that they should convene in affection and in place: and being so met, they should do it.—And, after two or three debates upon this case of the incestuous person, Lightfoot again, That this case of the Corinthians was such, as cannot be among us: for they were hedged in with the heathen; and the apostle plainly tells us; that there was an iniquity among them more than the heathenish, ver. 1, ἦττις οὗτε ἐν τοῖς ἰύνασιν, “such as is not among the heathen.” Therefore, if he would have the whole church to come together, and to cast out this member, for the vindication of the whole church, it is a singular example, and cannot be paralleled among us.
Still this text of St. Paul, divers days after, was canvassing. Then our divine again; 1. That the phrase here used, συναχζντων, differing from that cited, 1 Cor. xi. 20, συνερχομένων ὑμῶν, "when ye come together;" and xiv. 26, δόγμα ορεχοστε, "when ye are come together" (the words being different), gives cause to suspect, that he means a difference in them. 2. That Ἕκ μέσον ὑμῶν, i. e. "From the midst of you," is used by all the Jewish courts for taking away a wicked man, Deut. xiii. &c; yet all the people might not need to be present at the censure. 3. That Paul writ indeed to all the church in Corinth; but every one must take out the lesson, as it concerned him. As the king of Syria writes to the king of Israel to heal Naaman; whereas Elisha was to have and take his share in the letter that concerned him.

9. Farther, several in the Assembly offered that place, 1 Cor. v. 2, for excommunication, and for excluding from the communion; where that incestuous person is directed by St. Paul to be "taken away from among them." But this place, Lightfoot's judgment was, concerned not at all excommunication. Of whose mind, also, was Whitaker: who showed, that the place did not prove a cutting-off from the eucharist; and that "Ολεθρος σαρκός, i. e. "The destruction of the flesh," was not taken for excommunication: and that ' Traditio Satanæ,' i. e. 'Delivering over to Satan,' seemed to be extraordinary. And that sorrow, which this bred in the guilty person, and in the whole church, was most extraordinary. Many of the Greeks thought it pain. This gave occasion to a dispute, that held all the day:—but, notwithstanding, that place was carried for a proof of excommunication. But Lightfoot gave his denial.

Neither did he like the other place, brought for excommunication, viz. Matt. xviii. 17; "If he shall neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." Which after Colman (a man that was against all manner of excommunication) had opposed; and Gataker spake against the propriety of this place, Lightfoot conceived the place, 1. To speak of offence given from a member to his pastor. For from Mark ix. 35 (which place by comparing both carefully, appears to fall in with this of Matthew), it was plain, this speech of Christ was
only spoken to the twelve. 2. That it spake of shaming an offender, and not of censuring. For that the two or three ("take with thee two or three," ver. 16), not the church, had to do with the offender. 3. That the heathen and publicans had access 'ad sacra:' but the Jews abhorred their civil society. And this was "to be as a heathen man and a publican," to have no society with such: but "to be a publican" included not excommunication. Again, after Herle and Reynolds had spoke for this place to prove excommunication; our divine answered them, 1. With this question,—Are the 'two or three' here named witnesses, as they would have them? For it is plain, these must be admonishers. 2. He showed, that that text and speech of our Saviour was upon occasion of the disciples' quarrelling. Now how improper is it, when he is speaking of offence between brother and brother, to conclude what such a one shall be to the church, and not to the party offended. For so, saith he, you understand, "Let him be to thee, that is, to the church."—But, notwithstanding, this place was carried for excommunication.

10. When the dispute came on between the Independents, and the other party, about congregations, whether there were more than one in a city,—and the great inquiry was, What that church was, that was at Jerusalem?—whether one congregation only, or more;—and Dr. Temple doubted, whether there were many fixed congregations in that city, and it seemed to him there were not;—Lightfoot answered in many particulars. 1. That such a multitude of pastors, as were then at Jerusalem, could not suit with one congregation. 2. That there were divers languages, that understood not one another. Therefore there could not be but divers congregations. 3. That one part of the church had deacons, the other not: Vid. sect. 7. Therefore we must distinguish of their congregations. 4. In the twelfth of the Acts there were ἄναπλαγαξατοκείται, i.e. "many gathered together," ver. 12; and yet James and the brethren were not there.

Burroughs and Lightfoot had a controversy about the "five thousand added to the church," Acts iv; whether they were new converts,—which our divine averred,—and Burroughs denied. And when Lightfoot had done, Palmer backed him in it. Burroughs again questioned, whether
these five thousand, or the other, were of the church of
Jerusalem? Palmer answered, that they were dwellers in
Jerusalem, Acts ii. 5, κατοικοῦντες. Lightfoot answered,
ye came unbelievers thither, and being there, they sold
their lands. Goodwin said from Mr. Mede, that they were
not dwellers at Jerusalem: for that κατοικῶν, Gen. xxvii,
is "abiding only for a few days." Vines held, that they
were afterward abiding, having come up to the feast.
Lightfoot answered, that they came not to the feast, but
because they looked that the kingdom of God should
shortly appear, Luke xix.; therefore the ground was false.
Goodwin said, This phrase ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ being joined with ὁμο-
θυμαδιν, i. e. 'with one accord,' importeth the same place,
Acts ii. 1. Lightfoot answered, 1. That grant ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ to
signify as he would have it, yet he must understand "se-
cundum analogiam fidei et rationis," as "all the men of
Sodom met at Lot's door:"—this could not be.—"The ark
rested on the mountains of Ararat." That could not be.—
"Jephthah was buried in the cities of Gilead." That could
not be.—Therefore these and such-like places must be ex-
pounded 'secundum rationem,' i. e. 'according to reason.'
2. That the Lord's supper was strange among the Jews,
but baptism was not; [for Goodwin had said, they had the
sacraments in the Temple: and what did the apostles care
for affronting the ceremonies in the Temple?] 3. That
Peter, Acts ii, preached not alone, and the rest stood by:
nor did he preach alone, Acts iii.

Shall I be allowed to go on in my narrative of this con-
troversy, which was one of the tightest, that happened in
the assembly; and wherein our divine bore a great part?
Perhaps it may not be unacceptable to hear their learning,
pro and con. Selden (and any remainders of that great
name are worthy preserving wheresoever we meet with
them) first excepted at the expression of the Presbyte-
rians, that they could not meet [they were so numerous] in
one place; but that they did not meet, he said, were pro-
per. But that they met together in Christian worship [in
the Temple, as the Independents had said], it was not to
be made good. For whereas it was said that they were
προσκοπτεροῦντες ἐν ἱερῷ, i. e. "continuing in the Temple,"—
this cannot be understood, they were there as Christians.
For as yet it was not condescended to by the Jews, that the
Gentiles should come in, otherwise than as they came in to be Jews. They [Jews] had now divers sects, Scribes and Pharisees; and so were Christians now looked upon [i.e. as a sect of Jews]. And they may very well be understood by the Essenes. Now the Jews at Jerusalem, that became Christians, did believe, that, concerning the Jews in Judea, they must observe Moses's law and customs. And then it is no wonder, if they came constantly into the Temple. And here he justified Lightfoot, saying, that baptism was long before John. Now that they had particular congregations, he was very confident. For if they would keep up Moses's law (as they checked Paul, Acts xxi, for dissuading men to walk in Moses's law), then would they do as the Jews did. Now in Megil. fol. 73, it is said, that there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem; and wheresoever were ten households, any one whereof was not a piece of a synagogue, they were to be cast into a synagogue, or congregation: Maimon. in Ῥῆμα. And then it is most probable, that these Jewish Christians would cast themselves into several congregations. And this, he added, seemed to be hinted at, Acts ii. Their going to the Temple was Jewish; their breaking bread κατ’ οἶκον, i.e. 'from house to house,' was Christian. In the Syriac Testament, 'breaking of bread' is expressly the eucharist; and κατ’ οἶκον may mean 'Beth Cineseth,' i.e. 'the house of the synagogue;' and imported some house prepared for the purpose. Thus the learned Selden.

The same controversy came on again another day: then Lightfoot showed that the foresaid phrase of 'breaking bread from house to house,' was not, as some to evade the argument had asserted, meant of common meals. Which Selden backed: and excepted against our translation of κατ’ οἶκον, and clearly understood it of Ῥῆμα, i.e. 'some synagogues or meeting places.' All things, he said, were now common among the Christians at Jerusalem, both κτήματα and ἱναρεῖα, i.e. 'mobilia' and 'immobilia.' And then, what was it to be at home? For none had a house. But the meaning is, that they met at the same time in public places.

Calamy enforced this farther from Acts xii. 5, where prayers are said to be made of the whole church for Peter: but the whole church was not met in one place: therefore
the church is not one congregation. Lightfoot seconded him, urging, that all the churches of Judea, in the places alleged, are called one church. For now it was Easter, ver. 4; and all the churches of Judea were here met; and yet called one church.

At length, for the proof of this, it was moved in the Assembly to consider Lightfoot's argument that he had propounded some days before, about the diversity of languages. And the Assembly agreed to it. This pinched the Independents. For Bridge would not have it fallen upon, unless the Assembly voted so to do: which it did accordingly. Divers spake to it, and there was a long debate upon it. Dr. Temple said, that those that spake with several tongues, were only Jews, and so understood the same language. Woodcock urged there must needs be but one language of all these people met together, Acts ii: for Peter preached but in one language to all the three thousand that were converted, Acts ii. 41,—and to the five thousand that heard them and believed, Acts iv. 4. Also Vines questioned, whether all the various nations, that were now come up to Jerusalem, Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, &c. understood not one language, and that the Hebrew. Here Lightfoot answered them both, to this tenor: 1. That the "Eleven, i. e. 'the eleven,' stood forth as well as Peter; and the story fixed more especially upon Peter, because he was minister of the circumcision. 2. That, Acts iii, Peter's speech is set down; and yet, Acts iv. 1, it is said, λαλοντονιων αυτων, 'they spake unto the people.' 3. That though some of these nations, and the Asian Jews, understood the Hebrew tongue, yet it was not so with the others, mentioned Acts ii. For the Asian Jews were the next door to Jerusalem in comparison, and some others there mentioned; and so might come every year to Jerusalem; but the others could not.

Selden also spake in answer to those, that asserted there was one common language that all understood. He said, there was not one language that was understood among them. As for their 'sacra,' it was not in much use of language. They might use their benedictions at the Temple in any language, that the people present understood, some things only excepted: as the words to the tried wife, and the blessing of the priests, Numb. vi, must
be in Hebrew. 2. Again the Hellenists, be they where they would, they, in the dispersion, used no doubt the Greek. It may be supposed, Philo himself did not understand Hebrew, as is observed by Drusius. 3. No judge might be admitted into the great Sanhedrin, unless he had seventy tongues, that is, many languages. 4. The 'Synagogæ Libertinorum, Cyreniorum,' &c. Acts vi, show diversity of nations. And there is as little doubt of diversity of languages. 5. That, in Acts vi, there is a plain and evident distinction of the Hellenists and Hebrews living asunder and severally, even in the time of having all things common.

11. Again, the Assembly had a great controversy with the congregational men about Paul and Barnabas, their coming from the church at Antioch to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, Acts xv, to know what was to be done with the believing Gentiles; since certain that came down from Judea thither, had taught, that it was needful to circumcise the brethren, and to keep Moses's law in point of salvation. Now by this application of Paul and Barnabas about this question to the apostles and elders here, in the name of the church at Antioch; an argument was raised, that that church submitted itself to be ordered and directed by the church and ministers, thus met at Jerusalem. But to evade this, Goodwin, in behalf of the congregational or independent party, moved to prove, that this meeting was for the government of Jerusalem only: for that there were some of the sect of the Pharisees there, that were of the same mind, ver. 5.—To him Lightfoot answered, that these churches would never have sent for determination in point of government for them, had they not known the presbytery constantly sitting at Jerusalem for acts of government of their own church. Bridge to this answered, that then it was no synod: and that they met for acts of government finally, to find out the truth, but not formally to exercise the acts of government. To this our divine replied, That the consequence did not hold, it was a presbytery before, ergo, no synod now. 2. That their meeting about those Pharisees in Jerusalem, ver. 5, that were of the same mind with them at Antioch, as Goodwin had said, did make this consequence; that then they met for the government of their own church. 3. That this did
infer their act of government formally, that Paul and Barnabas, ministers of the uncircumcision, came to Jerusalem to question about a business, which concerned the converted Gentiles. Now if it had been only to find out the truth,—Peter and James, ministers of the circumcision, had been most proper for to have determined this point with them. Why then should they covenant the elders, if not for an act of government?

12. When the Assembly was drawing up the order for the administration of the Lord's supper, there were these words used, "The bread and wine being set before him [the minister] in platters," the word platter was thought to be improper; and so it was altered, "The bread in comely and convenient vessels." But Lightfoot liked not this expression, but opposed it. And when they had used the word "sanctification of elements" (because they avoided the using of the word consecrate), Lightfoot scrupled at that word sanctify, as a Hebraism, as consecrate was accounted a Romanism: and therefore he offered the word set apart, as a medium. Hence arose a debate: but after a long time it was expressed, "He shall begin the act with sanctifying and blessing the elements."

13. When Lightfoot had discoursed learnedly about the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and for general admission to it; and explained the institution of it from the Passover; and that therefore, in Luke, there is mention made of two cups, as there was in the Passover; Rutherford, the Scots commissioner, that liked not our divine (who in truth spared not often to thwart the Scots labouring in this Assembly to bring in their discipline into this church of England), took upon him to prove against him, that there were not two cups meant by that evangelist, chap. xxii. but that it was an hysterosis: and that there was no mention of a cup in the institution of a Passover, and no news of that but in the Rabbins; speaking contemptibly, as it seemed, of that sort of learning. But Lightfoot answered, 1. That in all the evangelists, there is hardly an hysterosis in any one of them in so small a compass. And that it is hard to find any hysterosis in Luke at all, unless it be in one or two places. 2. That it is true, that wine was not mentioned in the institution of the Passover: for Israel was not in the land of wine. But when they came into the land of
wine, why might they not take wine to the Passover, as well as lay down some things that were circumstantial under the institution? Adding, that there were divers things in the New Testament, which we must be beholden to the Rabbins for the understanding of them; or else we should not know what to make of them.

14. When the matter of a synod lay before the Assembly, divers would have the members of a synod to consist of laity as well as the spirituality. The proposition ran, "pastors and teachers lawfully called, and (it was added by some) other fitting persons, are constituent members of a synod." The Scots opposed this addition exceedingly; and so did Palmer, Seaman, and our divine. Those that were for it were Marshall, Vines, Herle, and the Independents, who grounded themselves upon Acts xv. 7, 13; where Peter and James call the council, "Men and brethren;" and ver. 22, "It pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men," &c; the apostles and elders, pointing out the clergy; and 'the whole church,' the laity. Where Lightfoot gave this construction of the words ἔξωκαὶ ἐκκλησία: viz. by ἔξωκα, i.e. brethren, was meant the uncircumcised converts, as at ver. 1, and 23, they are understood. Now it is most like, that the uncircumcised churches would send their ministers, and not their laymen. And by ἐκκλησία is not meant the 'church,' but that 'meeting of the council.' Seaman took at Lightfoot, and followed largely. Herle applauded the interpretation, but refused it, and gave some reasons why, viz. Because ἐκκλησία, ver. 4, is not taken properly for 'the church.' And the men that brought the letters to the churches, could not be said to 'send greeting,' ver. 23; "The apostles, and elders, and brethren, send greeting unto the brethren, which are of the Gentiles." To this Lightfoot answered, That the interpretation of Scripture, is from the scope of the place, as in the Hebrew word [that ἐκκλησία translates] it is apparent. Vines denied his interpretation of ἔξωκα: for that James and Peter called all the company ἀνδρεῖς ἔξωκα, i.e. 'men and brethren.' But Lightfoot showed, that that was a common Hebraism: as in Gen. xiii. 8, וָאֹהַב וָשֶׁרֶץ 'We are men brethren.'

In fine, so well did our divine acquit himself in this Assembly, and such was the general opinion of his learning
and integrity, that when Much Munden in Hertfordshire
was under sequestration, and Mr. Sedgwick moved that
some one of the Assembly might be recommended to that
place; Lightfoot was nominated, and it was ordered with uni-
versal consent, that he should be recommended to the com-
mittee for that purpose; which happened in Jan. 1643.

It is true, this learned man was noted for certain pecu-
liar opinions, differing therein from such as were commonly
received and believed; and thereupon was disliked by
some. Nor will I deny it: but yet I must add, that they
were such notions as were innocent, and did no harm; such
as had no bad influence upon religion, nor tended in the
least to the breach of the church's peace (which he ever
held very sacred); nor lastly, such as abated the necessity
of a virtuous and good life. And for evidence hereof I
will mention some (if not the chief) of them.

First, That the Jews shall not be called, but are utterly
rejected. And that the time of their utter rejection hap-
pened before the times of Christ; and that it so happened
to them for their fond and impious traditions; rather than,
as it is commonly asserted, after Christ, for their wicked-
ness in murdering their Messiah, and persecuting the gos-
pel, how grievous a crime soever that was. And that
their last and only calling was in the times of Christ and
his apostles; when some few of them, viz. a remnant, were
brought in to the faith of Christ: but that neither then
there was, nor ever shall be, any universal calling of them.
And that that place in the Epistle to the Romans, chap.
xi. 5, "At this present time there is a remnant," &c. was
very unfit to prove this calling of the Jews to be either
universal, or after a great many ages.

Secondly, His mean opinion of the Greek translation of
the Bible by the Seventy; that it was hammered out by the
Jews with more caution than conscience, more craft than
sincerity; and that it was done out of political ends to
themselves:—as that the Bible might be represented after
that manner to the heathen, among whom the Jews dwelt,
that they might have no occasion from any passages therein
to revile, or cavil with them; and that the Jewish nation
might live the more securely; concealing in the mean time,
as much as they could, the mysteries and truths contained
therein.
Thirdly, His opinion concerning the keys, that they were given to Peter alone: and this he openly held in the Assembly of divines: when a long debate happening, whether the keys were given to all the church, or to the apostles only; our divine stood up, and granted, that, in all ages, the learned held, that the keys meant the government of the church; but that, for his part, he held that the keys were only given to Peter, according as Christ spake only to him; “To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven” [but mark in what sense he meant it]: that is, to open the gospel to the Gentiles; which was meant, he said, by the ‘kingdom of heaven.’ And that it was to this purpose Peter spake, Acts xv. 7, in an assembly of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem; “Ye know, how that, a good while ago, God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear,” &c. ἄφ’ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων, that is, from this promise of Christ given to him. And, Fourthly, He did not allow that ‘binding and loosing’ related to discipline, but to doctrine. And that because the phrases ‘to bind’ and ‘to loose’ were Jewish, and most frequent in their writers; and that it belonged only to the teachers among the Jews, to bind and to loose. And that when the Jews set any apart to be a preacher, they used these words, “Take thou liberty to teach what is bound, and what is loose.” To which I might add, Fifthly, His peculiar interpretation of those words of God to Cain, “If thou dost not well, sin lieth at the door.” Sin, that is, not punishment, to take hold of thee, but a sin-offering, to make atonement for thee; and that that was the common acceptation of sin i. e. sin, in the books of Moses:—and that God did not intend to terrify Cain by those words, but rather to keep him from despair.

These, and perhaps other notions and expositions of Scripture, however novel they seemed to be; yet as they were not without probability, so they never made any assaults upon fundamental doctrines, or true Christian holiness and peace.—And thus we have seen somewhat of his learning and divinity:—but that which made it the more valuable, was his integrity and goodness. Which opens to us a second scene of the man, and brings us to the consideration of him,

II. As a good Christian. And for the better evidencing
of this, I shall use the same method for the most part, as I have done before to show his learning; namely, by looking into his behaviour, while he sat a member of the Assembly of divines.

1. He was an earnest promoter of the peace of the church. And because the breaking of the communion of Christians by schisms and separations, and withdrawing from the national church into distinct churches, did effectually tend to kindle the fire of contention and uncharitableness, and to beget estrangements in the family of Christ, where love ought to be the great badge; therefore he always set himself to oppose those practices. And for this purpose he would often urge, how our great Master and Lord kept up constant communion with the Jewish church, whereof he was born a member, and came up duly to the Temple at the set feasts, and observed the church's rites and customs, however corrupt they were in many respects, and the officers and prime professors of it very degenerate and hypocritical. Which argument he hath managed well in his discourse upon the widow's mite in this book, as well as in other places of his printed sermons, extant in his works. To which I might add, that when, in his discourse upon one of the select articles of the Creed, now published, he had occasionally said, that it might so happen that a man might be excommunicate out of a true protestant church, and yet it were hard to doom such a one to perdition; he presently put in this caution, that "he spake not this to animate any to separate or withdraw from the visible church wherein we live:" adding withal his grief at the separations among us, "That, for such divisions of Reuben, there were great thoughts of heart." And it is remarkable, that, when once in the Assembly some began to move, whether the church of England were a true church, and the ministry of the church of England a true ministry; some would have waved it, lest it might have brought on the business of subscription to the orders of the church, which a great many of them had refused. But Lightfoot honestly said, that this was the question betwixt our Saviour and the woman of Samaria. And if she had directly asked him, whether the church of the Jews were the true church, he would doubtless directly have answered, It was:—for otherwise God had no church in the world.
And yet was the church of the Jews, at that time, in a worse condition than any of them could think the church of England then was.

2. He was no innovator. He sat indeed in the Assembly of divines, called together by the parliament, to consult upon matters of religion; and he came thither in the simplicity of his heart, contributing his service towards the correcting of supposed abuses in religion. But still he had a respect to the good laws of the church; and disliked and declared against many propositions brought in for reformation, and opposed several things attempted to be introduced, not only by Independents and Antinomians, but such as were for transcribing the model of the Scotch and Geneva discipline. In their settling a set form for religious worship (the parliament having laid aside the Common Prayer-book), Lightfoot had an eye to the former rubrics and canons. To give one instance hereof: When, in the directory for baptism, the giving ministers warning, when any children were to be baptized, was omitted, he moved that that might be taken order for; seeing that in our old rubric, said he, it is enjoined, that warning should be given the night before. And now he showed, there was more need, since the minister, by the directory, was to make an exhortation, and to give some instructions concerning baptism. Whereupon this clause was added, "Warning being given to the ministers the day before." Again, he utterly disliked the bringing-in a rank of women for officers in the church, viz. widows:—which some had urged, grounding themselves upon that of the apostle, "Let not a widow be taken into the number under sixty years old." Where Lightfoot showed, that for that very thing he could not be of that opinion: for that it was contrary to the Old Testament, where the officers of the Temple were to be dismissed at fifty years old. And when Goodwin answered, that the priests indeed were discharged of their service at those years, because of the burden of their service; as particularly, carrying of the ark, and the labour of sacrificing;—Lightfoot replied, that the ark was fixed after Solomon's time: so that there was no more occasion to carry that. Neither were the sacrifices any such burden; the courses of the priests were so full, as that no less than eighty opposed Uzziah. And he showed it from Josephus; and that
there were five thousand a-piece at least in each course; and that their service was but one week in half a year: and therefore they could not be overladen with work. Nevertheless when, after much debate, it was brought to the vote, whether widows were church-officers; it was voted in the affirmative: yet only by one voice, Lightfoot being then absent; which he calls in his journal, his misfortune; and adds, that the proposition was utterly against his mind, and far different from his judgment.

3. He set himself especially against such, as made use of religion to supersede the duties of morality; and who, upon pretence of higher attainments in Christianity, overlooked truth, honesty, and righteousness. He could not bear such as made religion a pander to sin. And such sects there were, that showed their faces in his time. There were some, that had refined religion to that degree, that they went all upon illuminations, revelations, and spiritual raptures, and talked of nothing but of their being acted by the Spirit of God, and doing all by some mighty influences of that Spirit: poring so much upon these fancies, that they measured their own and others' religion, according as they were endued with these enthusiastical flights: in the mean time made little or no account of moral duties; and were much addicted to unpeaceableness, covetousness, fraud, lying, deceiving, slandering, and such-like.

There was one considerable sect that then appeared, and got much ground, which was known and distinguished by this doctrine, that 'Christians were not obliged by the moral law.' Against this party, great complaints were at length brought into the Assembly of divines; many of whom (among which was our divine) saw well to what a decay all true religion would soon come, if men of this opinion were tolerated. For (to show them a little to the present age), these were doctrines contained in the books or speeches of three of them, collected by Dr. Temple, and offered to the Assembly, as I find them in Lightfoot's journal:

1. 'That the moral law is of no use at all to believers: no rule to walk by, nor to examine their lives by. And that believers are freed from the mandatory power of it.'
2. ‘That it is as possible for Christ to sin, as for a child of God.’

3. ‘That a child of God needs not, nay, ought not, to ask pardon for sin; and that it is no less than blasphemy to ask pardon for our sin. And one of them being told, that David asked forgiveness of sins, it was answered, It was his weakness.’

4. ‘That God doth not chastise any of his for sin. Let believers sin as fast as they can, there is a fountain open for them to wash in. That not for the sin of God’s people, but for swearers and drunkards the land is punished.’

5. ‘That there ought to be no fasting days under the gospel; and men ought not to afflict their souls; no, not in a day of humiliation. And it being asked one of them, Whether he fasted in obedience to the civil command, he answered, That were to be the servants of men.’

6. ‘That this doctrine is false, if you fast and pray, and humble yourselves unto God, then God will turn away his judgments. Yea, if you pray by the Spirit, you are not hereupon to expect deliverance from judgments.’

7. ‘That when Abraham, in outward appearance, seemed to lie, in his distrust, lying, dissembling, and equivocating,—even then truly all his thoughts, words, and deeds, were perfectly holy and righteous from all spot of sin, in the sight of God.’

8. ‘That if a man, by the Spirit, know himself to be in a state of grace, though he commit murder or drunkenness, yet God doth see no sin in him.’

Lightfoot, with divers others of the soberer sort in the Assembly, were hugely concerned at these men and their doctrines: because they well saw, and urged to the rest, how these opinions opened a gap to all manner of licentiousness; struck at the very obedience due to the civil magistrate; horribly scandalized all the doctrine of free grace and justification; endeavoured to blast all faithful ministers, calling them ‘legal preachers;’ and that this sect was the more dangerous, because their preachers crept into the favour of the soldiers. And it was observable, that when the definition of justification lay before the divines (having under their hand the consideration of the
homily of justification), Palmer moved, that to meet with the Antinomians, repentance might go into the definition of justification; but it would not pass. But a clause in the homily was thought good to be inserted, viz. "Which though it do not exclude repentance and conversion to God, &c, yet doth it not include them as parts of the works of justification." And this clause was voted affirmatively: but Lightfoot, thinking it not sufficient, showed, that the phrase "doth not exclude repentance," did not reach to meet with the Antinomians, and profane ones, who abused this doctrine. And therefore he tendered the word required; and that it should run, "though it do require repentance and conversion," &c. But it was feared, that word might be doubtful, and therefore they rather inclined to the former phrase, not excluding.

As he showed his zeal against this sect in the Assembly, so his doctrine in his sermons was to the same import. These words he spake in one of them with much earnestness; "I have observed, and cannot but observe again to you, how much is laid in Scripture upon our discharging of our duty towards our neighbour, upon dealing in truth, in righteousness, in charity, and integrity with men; as if this were the very all we had to do. The Jews say, that all the six hundred and thirteen commands of the law are summed up in those eleven, Psal. xv. Reckon up those eleven,—and how many of them refer to our upright and righteous dealing with our neighbour? 'Who shall abide in the Lord's tabernacle? Who shall dwell in his holy hill? He that works righteousness; and speaks truth to his neighbour; that takes not up a reproach against his neighbour; that keeps his oath, though to his own hurt; that takes not usury; that takes not reward against the innocent. He that doth these things, shall never be moved.' One would think, said he, the answer to this question, 'Who shall abide in the Lord's tabernacle?' should have been such a one as this, 'He that is devout and constant in prayer: he that is a constant hearer, and much in meditation of the word of God: he that is careful to keep the sabbath, and so to relate to the duties of the first table.' But ye see here, all refers to our dealing fairly, truly, uprightly, with our neighbour. And so Matt. xix. 18, 'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. He
saith unto him, Which? Jesus saith, Thou shalt do no murder. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness, &c. So that if you ask the way to Sion: if you inquire, Which way shall I go to the Lord's tabernacle, to dwell in his holy hill? Why, friend, you must begin at a perfect and good heart towards men; and so go along to a perfect and good heart towards God; and so to Sion. God calls for such duties towards our neighbour, as it were to set us to our abseyn and primer, to learn the first elements and lessons of religion."

Thus would he sometimes meet with the Antinomian, and pull down the high-flying religionists, that were above these low dispensations of morality, truth, justice, and upright dealing with men. These doctrines therefore and such-like, broached by men of unquiet spirits, he liked not; and especially when they led men away from that true heavenly-mindedness, meekness, and humility, which are the great laws of the gospel. This was one reason made him no friend to the millenary opinion; which taught men to look for an earthly paradise and reward in this world: for these that dreamt of Christ's personal monarchy here on earth, imagined themselves also to be some of those, that must reign with him, and had the best right to the possessions of this world: which was a doctrine that opened a door to violence, rapine, and all kind of injustice; to the high disparagement also of Christ's holy religion. On that account also he was no friend to it; but, as he had occasion, confuted it. Those that embraced this opinion, concluded that place in the Revelations, chap. xxi. 2, "I John saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned," &c, for a description of the times, when Christ should come and reign on earth. But our Divine showed no more to be meant by it, but the state under the gospel; and that the New Jerusalem there meant nothing, but the Christian church, as might be showed at large. "When the Old Jerusalem in Canaan (as he spake in one of his sermons) is destroyed, John sees a New Jerusalem: when the old church of the Jews is cast away, he sees a new church. And this church is said to 'come down from heaven.' A saint is heaven-born, and is heavenly, while he is here
upon earth: from heaven he comes, and to heaven he must return: he is born from above: 'adorned' and dressed from heaven, and in a heavenly dress: and he is dressed for heaven." The Millenaries made use also of that expression of the apostle in the Acts, chap. iii. 21; that "the heavens must retain Christ, till the restitution of all things.” Against whom thus he armed his auditors: “This encourageth the Millenary to dream of Christ’s reigning here on earth a thousand years before the final end of the world; and swords must then be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks: then a universal peace, concord, and tranquillity, is to be restored to the church,—and all the glorious things the prophets have spoken of, to come to pass, and be settled. But, as to that place, the Doctor showed, there were two manners of restoring things, viz. to their old estate, or to a new and better. The Millenary himself dreamt not of restoring to any former estate: and if it be meant of restoring to a new and better, that is done already, when Elias came, and restored all things,” Matt. xvii. 11. And our divine showed, that this restoration, or restitution, signified no more but that all things in the prophets should be made good, or accomplished. This is learnedly treated of in the last discourse of the third decad. To which I refer the reader.

The Perfectionists, that pretended to live without sin, he saw wanted that humility and modesty, and constant dependance upon God’s grace, that was necessary to the Christian state; and therefore by no means approved of them neither: and endeavoured to arm his people against that doctrine. And what his thoughts were of it, may be seen in the first discourse of the third decad:—where to pull down the plumes of this vain-glorious generation, he showed, that a saint of God, in his imperfect condition, did exceed Adam himself in his unsinning condition in divers respects.

4. He was, in fine, one, that had a mighty concern for the honour of God and religion: that God might be served in spirit and truth. Which was the true cause that he was so serious, earnest, and diligent in the Assembly of those divines, that he was called to sit with. For, whatever ends they were convented for, and divers of them perhaps
drove at; yet his designs were only, what that assembly was given out to be called for; viz. The reforming of religion. And he never one day failed of being present at the Assembly from the first session thereof, but ever showed himself there to discharge this trust of religion, till Jan. 22, 1643 (that is, about five months), that being the first time he went down to Munden, to enter upon his living. It was from this principle that he was extremely concerned once, when certain blasphemous persons were brought before the judges, who sent to the Assembly to know their judgments in a point of blasphemy: which was, that one Jane Stretton had said, 'That Christ was a bastard:' and one John Hart, a soldier, said commonly, "Who made you? My lord of Essex. Who redeemed you? Sir William Waller. Who sanctified and preserved you? My lord of Warwick." The answer the Assembly returned, was, that they had horribly blasphemed, and desired exemplary punishment might be showed upon them. And besides, Lightfoot and one or two more moved, that, such an occasion being offered, they should present a request to the two Houses, that strict laws and penalties should be published against blasphemy, which did increase. And a committee was chosen for that purpose. And it was but a little after, that the Lord Pembroke, lord admiral, came into the Assembly, being sent from the House of Lords, to hasten them in settling the government of the church, for that opinions grew very many and blasphemous.

I might also add, that Mr. Chambers, one of the Assembly, related to them some blasphemies of one. "As on Gen. vi. 6, he said, that it was untrue, that God repented he made man: that the soul dieth with the body; and all things shall come to an end but God: that Christ came to live two-and-thirty years, and nothing else that he knew: that God loves any creature as well as man: that we are not to be saved by that Christ that suffered at Jerusalem, but by a Christ formed in us," &c. Whereupon it was ordered presently, that this should be brought to the Lords, and they desired to send to apprehend them.

It sprang from the same principle of his awful apprehension of God's honour, that, when the Assembly had finished the directory, and read it over, in order to the last
hand, Lightfoot observing, that the singing of the Psalms was quite left out, he moved again and again, that it might be put in, and that such a material part of divine worship should not be omitted. And at length it was done accordingly.

He had a great concern at the atheisticalness of the age, when men began to shake the very principles of religion, and strove to make themselves and others believe no existence of spirits, nor any being after death; the great curb to restrain the wicked excesses of evil men. To this I attribute the pains he took to transcribe, with his own hand, a notable relation of a spirit appearing in Driffield, in Yorkshire, that was sent to Mr. (after Dr.) Hezekiah Burton, then fellow of Magdalen college in Cambridge, by Mr. Moore, formerly fellow of the said college; and Mr. Blackwell, another minister (as it seems), who took the relation from the woman's own mouth, to whom the spirit often appeared. And seeing our divine took the pains to transcribe it for his own use, I may be pardoned, if I offer it here to the public from his manuscript.

"I suppose you have heard the news of a spirit appearing to a woman [named Isabel Billinger] at Driffield, in this county [of York]. I had this relation, be it true or false, from the woman herself. It is too long to write it to you, as I did it from her; but the chief things are these: That she saith, A spirit did appear to her at several times, in several likenesses. After some of the first appearances, she found in a low room, as she swept it out, a piece of a stake; which she pulled up, and digged there, and found some teeth, collar, bones, and a skull broken. After this the spirit, upon her demanding, If it would have any thing, spake to her, and said, 'Fourteen years have I wandered in this place, suffering wrong three times: seven years I have to wander: one-and-twenty years is my time.' Another time it appeared to her, and said, 'My life was taken from me in the chamber of this house by three women, Mary Burton, Alice Colson, and Ann Harrison, because of 23l. which I lent to Mary Burton three years before, and 1l. 3s. which they took out of my pocket, and three rings, two of gold, and one of silver, and other writings and bonds of the money; two of the rings were my grandmother's, and the silver one my own mother's. They took my life
betwixt eight and nine o'clock at night; and I received my grave betwixt twelve and one.'

"It tells many particulars, she says (which I have writ), about the place where it did live; its father's name, and mother's, and other kindred. She said, it bade her make a fire, where she took up the stake, and let Mary Burton be there, who came of herself to the making of it. (She only of the three women is alive.) The woman says, she sat by the fire, till the people in the street said her child cried in the other room. But when she went, the child was asleep, and the spirit was standing within the door, where the child was; and said, 'Blessed be the time, when this fire was made, and blessed be they that gave consent to the firemaking. For the stake begins to be as warm at the root, as the heart of me was, when the stake was struck through it.' Another time it said, 'Send Mary Burton to the jail, and I will be with her there.' She says, she asked it, 'How it should do for witness, when she came before the judge of the assize;' and it said, 'Thou shalt never want witness, as long as I can get either mile or miles.' She says, it desired her to go to Mr. Crompton's, one of the justices, and desire him to send to the churches to pray for a wandering soul, and pray for prosperity of a spirit, that will discover the murder of itself the next assize: which was done fourteen years ago, passing a week before midsummer last. [She accordingly did this message to the said justice, and related her story to him.] She says, Mr. Crompton desired to see it in the day-time; but it said, He was not so good as his word, to send to the churches to get them to pray for a wandering soul, and so it would not be seen by him in the day, unless the dark were no danger to him. She says, when she would have touched it, it said, 'Thou needest not take hold of me, for I am not evil.' She says, they bade her ask it, Where it had been all this while, and what it lived on: it said, 'I remain in the air,' and the quarters and minutes are set down, how long it stays on the earth at a time, when it appears. And said moreover, 'I am sent from the Lord, to discover and disclose:' and also said, 'I in my likeness will appear to divers, but have no power to speak to any, but to thee.' She says, it saith that it shall enjoy the happy eternal; and that it had no power to speak, till the stake was taken up. She says, it appeared to her
the night before I was with her. There is a great deal more of the story; whereof some I heard there of her, and some since by others."—To this is subjoined

THE RELATION OF MR. THOMAS BLACKWELL:

Containing almost all that was in Mr. Moore's, word for word, and these particulars besides.

"About Lammas last, 1662, it appeared twice, like a child of two years old, in white; the third time, like a young man of eighteen years old. The Saturday following, it appeared in green breeches, doublet, and coat, barefooted and bareheaded, with long flaxen hair, the upper part of the doublet unbuttoned, as she thought. She asked, 'What art thou? What wantest thou? What wouldst thou have?'—Then it came nearer. She said, 'If thou wouldst have aught, speak.'—It answered, 'Fourteen years have I wandered in this place,'—&c. (as in the other letter), and vanished, and appeared again within a quarter of an hour, and said, 'Be not thou afraid; I will never hurt thee; thou shalt never want' [witness perhaps to be supplied], and vanished. About eight or nine o'clock, the said Saturday, it appeared in white; and said nothing, but moved to and fro, and went into the room where the bones were, and rattled them, and vanished. Tuesday, about eight or nine at night it appeared again, and said, 'My life was taken from me betwixt eight and nine,' &c. (as in the other letter.) After these things, Isabel Billinger, to whom it appeared, went to the justice, and related the story to him. He wished her, when it appeared again, to ask its name, and father's, &c. and at the next appearing it answered, 'That its name was Robert Elliot; his father's name Jacob, his mother's Rebecca, his sisters Jane and Katharine. That he lived at West-Ham, three miles from London.' And at another time it told farther concerning his relations to this tenor; 'My father was born at Chester, an upholster by trade, and came in his latter days to keep a hackney-coach in London. And that his sisters were both alive in London; the one at the Black Nag's-head in Southwark, and the other at the Horse-shoe; that his mother's name first was Mrs. Rebecca
Hutchinson, and they might find it in St. John's church register book in London.'

"The justice bade Isabel ask him, 'How he came to Mary Burton's house.' The spirit answered, 'That he came to Nusterton; and not finding her there, came to Driffield, and meeting with her, desired lodging at her house; and she being unwilling, he said, He thought he might have craved such a common favour from her for the money he had lent her. She said, 'Her house was unprovided of victuals.' He called for some ale, and drank, and told her he came for his money. She said, 'She had it not to give him.' He said, 'He would either have it to­mor­row, or send for the bailiff, and distrain.' Upon that she uttered some vain oaths and idle words; and he called her bloody quean. Then she swore she could find in her heart to drink as freely of his blood, as she did of that cup of ale, and drank it immediately. The next time it appeared it told farther, 'That Mary Burton took the writings with her, and went to West-Ham, and demanded a rug, and a tankard, worth about——. That his sister Katharine being unwilling to deliver them, said, she had already given him more than came to his part. That Mary Burton said, She had got writings under his own hand, and that he had gotten a house for his life, and that now she was become a friend of his. That thereupon his sister delivered the rug and tankard to M. Burton; and that she sold them at London.' And having discovered this, he vanished.

"The next time she asked, What she should do for wit­ness: and it answered, as in Mr. Moore's letter; and more­over bade Isabel desire the justice to take no bail of M. Burton, but send her to jail, and it would be there.

"Isabel asked, What the fire should be made of? It said, 'A bright fire of coals;' and so vanished. Isabel said, That M. Burton came that Saturday to her house, with the wife of Roger Baker of Driffield: and, upon her entrance, said to Isabel, 'Good woman, we are come to trouble your house. For I hear there is a great accident befel, and that a spirit appeared to you, and said, it was wounded here.' And she desired Isabel to tell whom it accused. Isabel not knowing that it was M. Burton, said, 'He accused one M. Burton, and Alice Colson, and Anne Harrison.' Then M. Burton asked, 'Where it said it was put to death?'
Isabel said, 'In the chamber of this house?' Then Mary said, 'Her name was M. Burton; and that there was a bed in that chamber, but none ever lay in it, but only the maid.' And clapping her hands together, said, 'She never dipped her hands in any man's blood.' The spirit said, 'That she knocked him on the head and no blood appeared.' Mary Burton stayed in the town all night. The next day being Sunday, the fire was made, &c. as in the former letter. M. Burton desired to see the spirit, but it said to Isabel, 'M. Burton, my great enemy, shall not see me till her last day.' Isabel told Mary what the spirit said: who said, 'She would sit no longer there to prate.'

"Isabel was first examined before Sir Thomas Remington and Mr. Crompton: and afterward her examination was taken again by Mr. Crompton. Afterward, it desired her to go to two other justices, that they might take the examination, and pointed with its hand eastward. Isabel told Mr. Crompton what it said: who told her, that it mattered not for her going; for he would acquaint Sir Thomas Bointon and Mr. Pierson with her examination. When she returned from Mr. Crompton, the spirit was standing on the farther side of the bed where the child lay, and said to her, 'Thou shalt go to the two justices.' Which when she told Mr. Crompton, he advised her to go; and she was examined before them.

"On the 11th or 12th of September, it appeared and spoke of other things; showing of some plot for betraying of King Charles: and of the time, viz. before Candlemas, unless the country-magistrates, and his loving friends, writ to him in secret. Also the person's name that should betray him. Upon which Mr. Crompton bade Isabel ask the spirit certain questions relating thereto.

"Sept. 28. It appeared at sunrise, and said, 'Thou told'st Mr. Crompton the town where Anne Harrison lived; was Redstone; but I told thee Barnstone.'

"Sept. 29. At eight o'clock it appeared, and the woman said 'In the name of the Father, &c. how camest thou to be so long down, and not to appear?' It answered, 'She said certain prayers over me, when they struck down the stake, that I could not appear.'

"Upon Thursday, about sunrise, it appeared. Isabel asked, What became of his horse? It answered, 'My horse
was sold on Midsummer-day, at Beverly, to one Mr. Weldbread, that liveth in the south, for 5l.'

"Octob. 4. It appeared to several of the town of Driffield. But Isabel was not at home, and did not see it.

"It appeared in white all the time, like one of eighteen years old.

"Some gentlemen bade Isabel ask it, Where he should abide after seven years were expired? It said, 'I must enjoy the happy eternity; and in the mean time, the Lord is my governor.'

"Signed, Thomas Blackwell."

It is pity the relation went no farther: for one would have been glad to have known, to what issue this business came; and whether this woman, accused by the spirit, ever came to her trial. The credit of this story depended not upon Isabel alone; for, it appears, the spectre was seen also by others; and the circumstances were such, as did mightily confirm evidence of her, to whom it chiefly revealed itself and its cause. And it appears, that Crompton the justice, a person, as it seems, of sobriety and good judgment, slighted her not, but advised her to put divers material demands to it. And the story seems also to have found good credit with our divine, as well as others, in that he thought fit to transcribe the whole relation, which I have here exemplified. And so I leave it.

I have one demonstration more of his piety to God; that he continued as long as he lived, constant and painful in the word and doctrine. And as he was an assiduous and excellent preacher, so his sermons ran very much upon a strain of urging holiness, and a pure and good life upon his auditors; in a plain, but nervous style, teaching them substantial virtue and goodness; seldom meddling with controversies; unless they were such, as tended to obstruct the necessity of a holy life, or to undermine the purity and humility required in the gospel, or enticed to a revolt from the Protestant religion.

Thus he showed them, that it was no such easy matter to be a Christian, but that it required long pains and diligence. "A change from sin to God is a continued act, and requires space and time to accomplish it. Our fall was in a moment; that change from our happiness to our
sinfulness and misery, was in an instant; but our changing back again requires time. A man may fall off from a high tower in a moment; but to recover his bruise, and to climb up thither again, is not so soon done.” And because many were apt to defer their repentance by the example of the good thief, hoping to have their great work done in an instant, and to find such success as he did; therefore Dr. Lightfoot added; “That in all the Bible we have but one example of a short change, and that was the thief on the cross, who had his work of renewing done in an hour, or thereabouts. But it was at such a time as never was before, and never will be again: when the Son of God was undergoing his great change from life to death, and was purchasing the change of his people from death to life. If thou canst light on such a nick of time, which is impossible,—then thou mightest expect it possible, that this change should be wrought suddenly: otherwise expect it will take up no little time. We must distinguish of the first working of grace, and of the growth and increasing from thenceforward. That first work of grace doth indeed translate the person from one condition to another; but succession of time, and growing in grace, is required to transform him thoroughly from one temper to another. Again, the first work of grace doth indeed make a man capable of heaven; but more is required to make him fit for heaven.”

He puzzled not his people with propounding to them nice and critical signs, to know whether they were in a state of grace, but showed the plain way to be satisfied therein. “Who is there, but, if he will well examine himself, may easily tell, whether he be in the ways of God or no? Let him but try his heart and actions, whether God in his word hath commanded, or allowed, such a heart, and such actions, as he carries and acts; or whether he hath forbade, and cried out against, them. Who, but his own heart, will easily tell him, that God never commanded or allowed him to lie and deceive, to be cross and contentious, to be proud and scornful, to be wanton and luxurious, to be envious and revengeful, to be worldly and covetous? And, therefore, if he carry such a heart, and if he practise such practices as these, he must needs conclude, that he is under God’s blaming and complaint.”
He checked those, that, though they were none of the best, yet entertained a confidence that they should do well, and bolstered out themselves with good hopes of their own condition; using these words to such: "That man that hath ever gone in a sinful worldly way, never minding any thing, but to satisfy his own mind and lust, and yet will not be driven out of hope, that he shall be saved as well as the best;—this is not hope, but drunkenness: as you may persuade a drunken man to very strange hopes. This is raving, rather than solid hoping. For true and right hope, wheresoever it comes, creeps out of fear, as poor Israel did out of their caves and dens, when the fear and danger of the enemy was past and over."—And again, "Hope never comes, but where fear hath been before. As the still voice to Elias came not, but after fire, earthquake, and tempest. The soul that will breed and bring forth a lively hope, must, like Rebekah, bring forth the rough, rugged Esau of fear, before it bring forth the smooth Jacob of hope. There is first the 'spirit of bondage unto fear,' before there comes the 'spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father.' A conscience, that was never troubled, startled, or molested, but blithe, debonair, and fearless, is not peace of conscience, the gift of God,—but deadness and stupidity of conscience, the spirit of slumber."

He gave men this wholesome admonition concerning the exercises of religious worship: "Prayer, confessing of sin, attending upon God's service, these are sacrifices that God requires; and they are sacrifices with which God is well pleased, if they be well done. But there is one thing more that God requires, and without which these are nothing,—and that is, that which the apostle speaks of, Rom. xii, at the beginning; for a man to offer himself 'a living sacrifice, acceptable to God, which is his reasonable service.' In other things, a man may deceive himself: he may think he prays well enough, when, it may be, his prayers are sin: that he confesses his sins well enough, when, it may be, he adds to his sin by his slightness of confession. But in offering a man's self to God, there can be no deceit, if he do but do it. In the other he may offer but words; let him offer himself, and there is substance. This is the sacrifice that God requires, Psal. xl. 6, 'Burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required. Then said
I, Lo, I come to do thy will.’ Do but observe the apostle’s allegation of this Scripture, Heb. x. 5; ‘Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not; but a body hast thou prepared me.’ That is the sacrifice thou requirest; viz. ‘My body,’ myself to be offered to thee to do thy will.”

He frequently urged the obligation of keeping God’s commandments against the Antinomians and others; and that from the apparent agreeableness of so doing to our reason; and that since we are reasonable creatures, we should live as such: “The very equity and justice of the duties of the moral law, is not only a bond upon us to keep them, but an apparent and plain reason, why they were given. What more reasonable thing in the world, than that we should love God and our neighbour; that we should do mercy, justice, piety, honesty, and the like? Do not these things of themselves speak all the equity and reason in the world? Is it not most agreeable to reason, that reasonable creatures should live after another manner, than unreasonable brute beasts do? God hath made us men; and must there be no distinction betwixt us and beasts? What is that that must difference us? What? merely this,—that we have reason, and understanding, and speech, which beasts have not. The Scripture, you know, calls men, that have these, by the names of beasts however. Herod is a fox, in the terming of our Saviour; and Nebuchadnezzar a lion, in the speech of Jeremy. False teachers are wolves, in the language of the apostle,—and the Scribes and Pharisees serpents, and a generation of vipers, in the denomination of our Saviour and the Baptist. These men had reason, and understanding, and speech, and knowledge, as well as other men; and they would have scorned to have been thought short of other men in these things. But it is living like reasonable creatures, and not like unreasonable brute beasts, that must distinguish us from brute beasts. If a man live like a dog, a swine, a fox, a wolf, though he can talk never so much sense and reason,—does his having the use of reason do him any good?—when he is neither good towards God, nor himself, nor other men, but lives and dies, as the apostle speaks, ‘As natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed.’ 2 Pet. ii. 12.”

He would at other times press upon men, sobriety and obedience to God’s laws, out of interest to themselves, as
tending to their own real safety and welfare so to do; an excellent argument to persuade, if well managed. To this purpose he spake once; "God’s laws are the ‘cords of a man,’ and his commands are the ‘bonds of love,’ laid upon men by God for their own good, and without which it could not be well with them. Let me ask any one, that desires to be lawless, this question;—Wouldst thou that God should have nothing at all to do with thee? That God should leave thee in this wilderness, thou art walking in, to thyself, and say, ‘I know thee not, I will have nothing to do with thee?’—‘Nay, leave not all care of me,’ wouldst thou say; ‘withdraw not all providence from me. For then I shall have neither food nor raiment; I shall have neither comfort nor support; I shall have neither health, nor life,—if God disclaim me, and providence will have nothing to do with me.’—Why, friend, I may say, in some sense, his commandments are his providence, in which, and under which only, thou mayest have prosperity and safety. As Solomon once to Shimei, ‘Stay in Jerusalem, and thou shalt be well; but know, that if ever thou go over the brook Cedron, thou art but a dead man.’ Sinner,—keep within the bounds of God’s commandments, and it will be well with thee, and God will be with thee: but transgress those bounds, and thou art got, where good providence dwells not. God and his good providence dwell, as I may say, within the verge and compass of his commandments; as, in Rev. iv. 3, he and his throne are encompassed with a rainbow, the sign of his covenant. Keep thou within the bounds and compass of his commandments; and thou art where God is, where mercy is, where good providence is. But get out of these bounds, transgress his commandments, thou art then where God is not, and where good providence and mercy have no habitation. Shimei is gone over the brook Cedron, and he is under Solomon’s protection no more, but under the doom of death and danger.”

He mightily preached up a conformity to the will of God, showing how this fitted, qualified, and disposed to the highest perfection of man’s nature. Thus, speaking once of the saints in glory, he turned his speech to them after this manner: “O happy souls, you have attained now to that perfection, for which God created reasonable
creatures; viz. To be resolved wholly into the likeness of God, by having your wills resolved into his. And could this ever be done, unless the work were begun here? These blessed souls, while here, made it their work to do the will of God,—and still were striving, that their will might be agreeable to his will. And now they find, that what they did, was worth all their labour. And the more they did of his will, the more they were fitting for this happy condition. For do but consider, how keeping the commandments, and doing the will of God, does dress and prepare for the enjoyment of God. I might observe here, how the more a man keeps the commandments of God, the less guilt he contracts to himself, and the less bar there is between him and heaven. I might observe, that the more he keeps the commandments, the more comfort of conscience he gets to himself, and the more hope of reward in glory. Every good thing he does in doing the will of God, lays on a brick towards the building up his own hope and comfort of a blessed reward. But consider we only the thing under this notion, that the more a man keeps the commandments, the more he purifies himself, refines and fits himself for the embraces of God, and his enjoyment. No gross, corrupt, muddy, fleshly thing can unite to God. 'Flesh and blood cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.' For that is too gross and muddy, to come into that place of purity and holiness. No unclean thing must come into the new Jerusalem, but what is refined, purified, and holy."

He taught what troops of evil attended obstinacy and wilfulness, and how it was a fatal impediment to all virtue, and ended in destruction. And thus he thought fit to express himself concerning it: "The will rebels against the law of God, against the laws of men; it rebels against conscience, and against reason; it rebels against God's providence, and against man's own good. 'Ephraim is an untamed heifer, not used to the yoke;' nor indeed will be. O how woful a changeling is that soul, where reason is changed into self-will, and self-will is all the reason that is there! As, God knows, it is the case of the greatest part of souls in the world. Men are eager to have their own wills; and that breeds the great blustering and confusion in the world; and finally the confusion of them-
Self-will was the plague, that destroyed the angels; and is proved catching, and hath infected all mankind. And that is the very engine, whereby the devil works his end for man’s ruin. Let him bring the disease to boil up to this height, ‘I will have mine own will,’ (and who almost in the world is otherwise minded?) and his turn is served sufficiently. Has ignorance killed her thousands? Wilfulness has her ten thousands. Has weakness undone any? Wilfulness even undoes all.”

A close, base, selfish humour, and an unconcernedness how it fared with others, he set forth by these pathetical expressions: “It is a cursed malady, that hath utterly banished all humanity, and respect to others, as the devil hath done. And if so be the wretch serve his own turn, all care is banished how it speed with others; the very temper of the devil, that will please himself in his mischief, and cares not what others suffer by his humour: a cursed malady, that hath eaten out that royal law, ‘What ye would others should do to you, do ye also to them, and no otherwise.’ And instead thereof, hath written there, ‘Do any thing that may serve your own turn, and no matter how it speeds with others.’”

He showed, whence substantial comfort must be fetched for a soul, seeking peace to itself: “As the rains from the clouds, that water the earth, proceed from the earth by their evaporation and attraction by the sun; so the comfort that must refresh and water any man’s conscience, must proceed from the conscience itself; that bearing witness, that the man does his duty the best that is in him. And now, how many can answer my question? What can thy conscience tell thee thou hast done, and dost, that can any ways commend thee to God for his favour? Thy wealth, thy strength, thy parts, O man, will not do it. Thy beauty, thy comeliness, thy dress, O woman, will not do it. What hast thou else to show to God for acceptance? Good works, and a good heart: these are the things that must recommend us to God. And what stock can we show of these? What can our hearts say to us in this case? Will it not be with the most upon examination, as with them in the Book of Job, ‘That in the heat and desert come to look for water to refresh, and there is none? And they return ashamed, because there is none.’ It is very well worth
our consideration, deeply and daily, whether our actions commend us, or condemn us, to God: whether they speak good for us, or evil. For if these commend us not to God, we have nothing else will do it, be our outward privileges ever so great."

He was for a great and awful distance, and profound reverence, to be observed by men towards God; and by no means liked that bold and free way, that some used with him. "The least sinful, the least guilty men, ever have borne the greatest reverence and humbleness before God; because they were most apprehensive of his gloriousness. How low did Abraham lie before God, when he was praying for Sodom? as low as dust and ashes. And could he lie lower? Gen. xviii. 27. ‘Behold, I have taken upon me to speak unto my Lord, who am but dust and ashes.’ And, ‘Let not my Lord be angry, if I speak.’ In the 4th and 5th of the Revelations, the four-and-twenty elders that are nigh unto God, and do encircle his throne, ‘They cast down their crowns at his feet,’ as he sits upon his throne, ‘and fall themselves upon their faces,’ to adore him. And can they fall lower? Nay, in Isa. vi, the seraphims, the angels that attend him, as with their wings they cover their feet, so with their wings they cover their faces, as not assuming boldness to look upon him. As Moses, when God proclaimed his name out of the burning bush, hid his face in his mantle, and durst not behold.”—And again, “God requires to be sanctified of those, that draw near to him; and that they should come before him, and walk before him in sense and apprehension, what a glorious and dreadful God he is. The danger is, lest men should be too saucy with God. We are too ready to be too bold and daring against him. And therefore we can never have too high and dreading apprehensions of God, to keep down that proud flesh. Let it be our work, when we come to worship God in his appointments in public, or at home,—to work our hearts to as reverential and awful apprehensions of God, as we can. It will better our services, and no way hurt them. For men may come with holy boldness to him, for all such apprehensions of him. For they may remember his promise of grace, though they apprehend the dreadfulness of his glory.”

He warned parents about the education of their chil-
dren, by propounding to them the consideration of the poor children, that were offered up to be scorched to death in the arms of Moloch. "Look upon those parents that could deliver up a poor child, their own child, to such horrid and exquisite torments. Do you count this a cruel thing in those parents? What come they short of this, that either for want of good education, or by evil education, do make their children the children of hell? Those parents that, either by carelessness to educate their children in the fear of God, or by giving them evil example by their own wicked courses, do accustom them to evil ways; how little do these come short of offering their children up to Satan, as those wicked wretches did theirs to Moloch? Parents, either father or mother, that by swearing, or cursing, or lying, teach their children to do the like; that, by breaking the sabbath, and neglecting to attend the public ministry, do give example to their children to do so too; that, by deceiving, base and unconscionable dealing, set a copy for their children to write after; or if they see them follow such courses as these, and do not labour to teach and train them better; do not these, as much as in them lies, devote their children to Satan, as those did to Moloch? Are these any more merciful to their children's souls, than those were to their children's bodies? For he that trains not up his child to God,—for whom does he train him up, but the devil? For is there any mean between? What complaint God taketh up against Israel about their giving up their children to Moloch, may he not take up against thousands in the world upon this account, 'Thou hast taken my children, and delivered them up, to make them pass through the fire?'—That is, 'the children which I have given thee, and which should have been mine.'"

He warned men against lying and false-speaking by the example of Ananias and Sapphira, that were struck dead for it. "Which he called a fearful judgment set up, as a pillar of salt, at the very entrance of the gospel into the world; that men might see, and hear, and fear, and not dare to lie under the gospel of truth; especially, not to the Spirit of truth. And if you look upon Ananias's doing, you see him deceiving and lying; and if you observe Peter's words, you may see he refers his lying and deceiving to their proper original; viz. that they both are the work of
the devil. 'Why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie; and filled thy heart to deceive, and keep back part of the price of the land?' That if you will trace his wickedness to the spring-head, his intent to deceive made him lie, and his base covetousness made him deceive; and the devil caused all.'

He gave this rule concerning apparel, and for the avoiding pride in what men put on: "God allows men to wear good clothes according to their quality and degree; but if pride be there, it is beside his allowance. God allows us clothes to keep us warm: he allows us clothes to adorn our rank and quality; but if we lace and trim our wear with pride, there is a leprosy got into the warp and woof, that rots all. God appointed the Jews to wear fringes upon their garments, to make them still to be remembering the law: I am afraid, the fringing and finery of too many have a clean contrary effect: it doth but puff them up, and make them proud."—And again; "If any should ask, What clothes, and hair, and garb, may I wear? this may be a very direct and satisfactory answer: Wear what you think good, so it be without pride. And this I believe will shut out of doors, 1. Wearing a garb above one's rank and degree: for I question whether one can wear a garb above his rank, without pride. And, 2. Affecting foreign, and strange, and new-fangled fashions. For though it may be possible for a person to be in the fashion without pride, because he would not be hooted at for singularity; yet certainly it is hardly possible to affect new-fangled fashions, without pride. It is one thing to put on the fashion to avoid reproach; and another thing to dote upon fashions, and to make them bravery. He that makes his clothes his bravery, it is very suspicious he makes them his vain-glory: and he that dotes on the fashion, it is to be doubted he dotes on the pride of the fashion.'

These instances are enough to show, what a plain but fruitful method of teaching and preaching Dr. Lightfoot took. But he also took care of his people's principles, to preserve them from warping from the national church (as hath been taken notice of before), and from the church, considered as Protestant. Of which I shall proceed to a few instances.

To arm his auditors against Popery, thus he taught
Our histories tell us, That when Austin the monk came hither into Britain from the pope, as to settle religion; and when some of the British Christians consulted with a grave prudent man, whether they should close with him, and submit to his rules: ‘Yes (saith he), if he be humble, do: but if he be proud, he is not of God.’ Would you take a measure of true religion, no surer token than these two, humility and charity. They talk, they will prove the truth of their religion by antiquity, universality, and I know not what. Let them show it by the humility and mercifulness of it; and we shall desire no more. But I doubt that religion, that teacheth the merits of a man’s works, is too proud against God to be the true religion; and that, that teacheth, that the pope is above all princes, is too proud against men. And I doubt that religion,—that stirs up men to murder princes, nobles, people, that will not be of that religion,—is not the true religion. I am sure, Christ and his apostles were never either of such pride or cruelty; but farther from these principles of Rome, than it is betwixt Rome and Jerusalem.’’

And as he warned them against Popery in general, so particularly, “Against a blind zeal, zeal without knowledge, or zeal in a wrong way. ‘It is good always to be zealous in a good matter;’ but mischievous to be zealous in a bad. There was a great deal of religious zeal, for those parents to offer their children to Moloch, to be burnt alive in his arms, in devotion to that God of theirs: but it was blind zeal, mad religion, distracted devotion. Their God was the devil. St. Paul in one place saith, that ‘in zeal he persecuted the church;’ but in another place he saith, ‘He was exceeding mad against the church.’ That zeal of his was mere madness. It was blind and mad, cared not whether it went, nor what it did. Rom. x, the Jew hath zeal, but without knowledge; and that made him so to set himself against the truth. You remember that, ‘They that kill you, shall think they do God service.’ It was great zeal, but as blind as a beetle. It runs upon it cares not what, as a blind man runs upon every post, and falls into every pit.”

And against cruelty:—“The Papists plead stoutly, that theirs, and none but theirs, is the true religion. If that should be tried by this very touchstone, Is that, can that, be
true religion, that makes it religion to murder men? None of you, but have heard of the bloody days of queen Mary, and how many poor, innocent, holy men were then put to the fire, and there ended their lives:—and this, forsooth, done by the Papists, out of zeal for religion. Just such a religion as they were spurred by, that offered their children to Moloch. For compare the things together, and what can be liker? Those wretches out of that devotion and religion as they took on them, made their poor innocent children pass through the fire, a sacrifice to Moloch. These wretches, out of that devotion and religion as they took on them, made these poor innocent souls pass through the fire, a sacrifice to the pope. The cruelty much alike; the manner of the death they put them to, much alike. And were they not religious, think you, much alike? Such a sacrifice to their Moloch would they have offered of innocent ones, when they would have sent away our parliament out of the world in fire and gunpowder; and this forsooth out of zeal to religion. And so they maintain, it is lawful to excommunicate, depose, murder princes, out of zeal to religion. And so they made it lawful, nay, laudable, to murder so many innocent souls in that massacre in France.”

Against transubstantiation.—“I hope every one laughs at the doctrine of transubstantiation, that will fetch Christ from heaven at every sacrament: the master-piece of delusion. Satan shows here, how much delusion he can practise in the greatest ignorance. For a man, against sense and reason, philosophy and divinity, to believe a priest can call Christ out of heaven, and turn a piece of bread into his very body;—the strangest madness in the world! I see it, feel it, bread; and yet must believe it flesh. I know, it was made yesterday by the baker; yet now, I must believe it turned into my Creator. I know Christ is in heaven; and yet must believe that he is here on earth. The heathen were never more blind.”

And against the immoral doctrine of equivocation; whereof he thus vehemently expressed himself: “I cannot but admire the impudence, as well as abhor the wickedness, of the Jesuits’ doctrine of equivocation: a doctrine that hath put on a whore’s forehead, a brazen face, and the devil’s impudence itself, before men, as well as it hath cloathed itself with horrid abominableness before God. It
is a doctrine, that teacheth men to lie, and yet will maintain they lie not. And by their doctrine there can be no lying, forswearing, or deceiving in the world, though they lie, forswear, and deceive never so deeply. A trick beyond the devil's: he turns truth into a lie: these can turn a lie into truth. A Popish priest or Jesuit is brought before a Protestant magistrate. He puts him to his oath; Are you a Popish priest or a Jesuit? They will swear No roundly, and make no bones of it; having this reserve in their mind, I am not a priest to you, or, I am not a priest of the English church; or, I am not a Jesuit to tell you, or be your confessor:—or some such lurking reserved thought in his mind. This man hath not told a lie, though he speaks not a word true: he hath not taken a false oath, though he hath sworn falsely. As the devil changeth himself into an angel of light, so these a lie into a truth. But as he is a liar still, and is most dangerous, when he seems a good angel, so is their lie, when they thus clothe it with the pretence of truth. 'Into their secret let not my soul come; and with their counsel, my glory, be not thou united.'"

Finally, he showed them the preference of the Protestant religion, before that of the Papists: "This is the reason (saith he) that so many Protestants turn Papists (this he spake in the year 1674), because Popery opens an easier way to heaven, a thousand-fold, than the Protestant doth. Add to this, the viciousness of the times. And the more viciousness abounds, the more will such apostasy abound, according to the intimation of our Saviour, Matt. xxiv, 'Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many (to God and his truth) shall wax cold.' Men would fain enjoy their pleasures here, and yet go to heaven too: they would fain have their paradise here, and have paradise hereafter. This Popery helps them to, almost with a wet finger. Hath a man committed whoredom, adultery, been guilty of deceit, luxury, uncharitableness,—let him go and confess himself to a priest, and the priest absolves him; and those sins are gone, and there is no more danger of them. Or, Oh! for how many thousand sins, for how many thousand years, can the pope pardon him? How may pilgrimage to such a saint fetch him off? How may so many fastings, so many Ave Maries, so often lying in hair-cloth, so many masses, make all well, and out of danger? That it is as
easy almost with them to get to heaven, as for a man to do his ordinary day's work.

But the Protestant doctrine makes obtaining salvation a harder task, according to the truth of the Scripture. John vi, you read of divers, that went away from Christ, because they thought his doctrine a 'hard saying.' So doth the poor Protestant religion lose followers upon the same account. None is of poor Micaiah's side, because he speaks truth and home. But let Ahab have the four hundred false prophets; for they will be sure to make all well for him, let him do what he will. There are four hundred, and four hundred, false prophets in the popish cause, that will warrant the veriest Ahab, that ever was, heaven: if he have but money to fee them well, will pray him to heaven, sing him to heaven, pardon him to heaven; and he shall never see hell, and, it may be, not purgatory. It is easy to see, by this comparison, which is the truer and better religion of the two.

By these, and such like sound and sober discourses, he built up his people, committed to his charge, in truth and godliness. So that it is reported, he had not a Dissenter in his parish. The people of his flock honest, quiet, and industrious; his church constantly and conscientiously repaired to, every Lord's day, with due devotion.

And thus I have at length dispatched what I had to say, both of our author, and these Remains of his, which are now made public. And I, who have once more revived the memory of this great ornament of literature, and of our Church of England, shall, I hope, not only be pardoned, but merit some thanks from the piously learned, and sober-minded rank of men.

I had some inclination to have added a fourth tract of this author's, namely, 'A Chronicle of Events and Occurrences in the World, under the Kings of France and the Ottoman Emperor, made by one Joseph, a priest who lived about the times of Henry VIII:'—being a fair translation out of Hebrew into English, done by the Doctor's own hand. Which he seemed to have taken all this pains about, because the history is interspersed with what befel Jerusalem after the destruction of it by Titus the emperor, and with the wars waged by divers kings and princes for the gaining and possession of that place, once so famous for being the
spot, of all the earth, appointed for God's holy Temple to be built on; and for the Son of God to converse, and die, and redeem the world in. And also because here is set forth, by the pen of a Jew himself, the state and condition of the Jews in the latter times; and particularly, the sad persecutions and calamities that befell them, by the just judgment of God, in these western parts of the world, as well as in other parts, by the German and French nations. Whereby might be seen some history of that desolate, forsaken people, and of the scourge of God upon them in successive generations, ever since they rejected and crucified their Messiah, and took the guilt of his blood upon themselves and their children. The state of which people from age to age, since the ruin of their commonwealth, our Doctor was very inquisitive after, and wished some learned pen would give the world a fair account of. But to prevent the swelling of this volume, it was thought convenient to omit this piece.

However for a taste, I cannot but remark to the reader, how that Jewish author sets forth the calamities and unmerciful destructions that befell that people in the year 1096: “That year, he writes, was a year of affliction to Jacob. For they were oppressed in the lands of the Christians in all places, whither they were scattered. For great and evil afflictions found them out, even such as are written in the law of Moses, and such as are not written in the book. For against them rose up these abominable people, the Germans, and Frenchmen, a nation strong of face, which respecteth not persons, nor spareth old nor young. Let us, say they, avenge the cause of our Christ upon the Jews that are among us, and cut them off from being a people; neither let the name of Israel be remembered any more: or let them change their glory, and become like to us. When the synagogues which were in Germany, heard this headlong rumour, their heart melted and became as water. Fear took hold of them, as sorrow a woman in travail. They lift up their hearts to the rocks: they appointed fastings: they put dust upon their heads, and girded with sackcloth. And they cried unto the Lord in their affliction, but he covered himself with a cloud, that their prayers should not pass.” Then he proceeded to shew the massacres and spoils, committed upon the Jews in all or most of the cities and places, where
they had synagogues; as at Spire, Worms, Mentz, Cologne, Wabzlak, Meir, Trevir, Metz, Prague, and many other towns. And how their flights from place to place, and sometimes to the bishop's house, for their safety, could not secure them, but were pursued and slain with fire and sword." Whereupon he makes this conclusion. "Thus whithersoever they fled, the stone out of the wall cried after them to confound and destroy them: for God had given liberty to the destroyers to destroy in those evil days."

And one circumstance, in these miseries of the Jews, deserves to be more particularly observed; which, methinks, is a singular evidence of the judgment of God upon that people (who once called for Christ's blood upon them and theirs), that they were not only slaughtered by their enemies, but that no small numbers unnaturally perished by laying violent hands upon themselves, and their nearest relations: and this either to avoid being slain with the sword of their enemies,—or to expiate with their own blood any compliances, they had constrainedly made. Thus at Spire he mentioneth a woman, who took a knife and slew herself, refusing to be defiled, that is, to become a Christian. At Worms (where eight hundred souls were massacred in two days) many slew themselves, and each one his brother, and friend, and son, and daughter, bridegrooms, and brides: nay, the tender women slew their children 'with all their hearts' (saith the author), 'and all their souls;' and the children said, 'Hear, O Israel' [Which was the beginning of one of their prayers], when their soul poured itself into their mothers' bosom. The like was done at Mentz: and at Rincona two men escaped, who were forcibly defiled, one named Uri, and the other Isaac, the son of David Parnes; and his two daughters were with him, but they returned unto the Lord. And Isaac slew his daughters on the even of the feast of Weeks. His house also he set on fire. "And thus, saith this Jew, he offered a burnt offering unto the Lord. And he and Uri went into the congregation of the Lord [i.e. the synagogue set on fire it seems by the enemy] before the ark, and died there before the Lord, as the fire ascended. At Wabzlak they slew every one his fellow, lest the Christians should abuse them in the pools of water, which were round about the city. And one named Rab-
benu Samuel, who had one only son, this young man bared his neck, and the old man took a knife, and blessed over the slaughter, and slew him: and the young man answered Amen. And all that stood by, answered and said, 'Hear, O Israel.' Much more to this purpose is related there of the deplorable state of that people at this time, which, he saith, he transcribed partly out of the Commentaries of Rabbi Eliezer.

I have but one thing more to add (and so shall conclude this tedious preface), which possibly may not be unacceptable to the lovers of Dr. Lightfoot, and his studies, to be informed of. That besides these tracts now offered to the public, the last year several other posthumous pieces of his were printed in Holland in Latin; being a new addition to his other works; as was hinted in the beginning. These were to the number of XXI. Consisting of, Some aLearned Thoughts of the Greek Translation of the Bible by the Seventy; An bInlet into the Talmud, and a Summary of the remarkable matters contained in it by way of Index: Some cRemarks of the Places and Towns of the Holy Land: A dTract of the Spirit of Prophecy, as it was among the Jews, and afterward ceased: Some eMemorable Matters under Ezra, and that which was styled the Great Synagogue: A fHistory of the Jewish University at Japhne, that is, Joppa: Short gTalmudical Notes upon Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua: Some hAnnotations to be inserted into his Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ, in their proper places: A iSermon in Latin preached at Ely at an Episcopal Visitation before Bishop Lany, in the year 1674; that is, the last year but one of the Doctor's life: Some kof his Exercises at the Commencement, anno 1655, when he was vice-chancellor of Cambridge. All these were written by him in Latin. The pieces following were in English, but translated into Latin; viz. A lShort Tract of the Creation: The mMotions and stations of Israel through the Wilderness towards the Land of Canaan: A nShort and plain exposition of some of the first chapters of Hosea: A oDissertation, whether the Supper, in which
Judas received the sop, were the Passover-supper: Another
Discourse, whether the Revelation was wrote by the apo-
stle St. John, or some other John: An Enumeration of the
Promises of God, collected out of the Old Prophets, to be
fulfilled to the Jews in the latter Days: An inquiry into
St. James’s Liturgy: Some Fragments of Roman and Chris-
tian History for the first four Centuries: Lastly, A Collec-
tion of Letters of learned men, and upon learned subjects,
to Dr. Lightfoot; among which is a letter of the learned
John Buxtorf, from Basil, to Dr. Lightfoot, and another
from the Doctor to him.

And thus beseeching God to increase the number of
such useful and good men, as this reverend divine was, I
commend the reader and myself to God:

JOHN STRYPE.
suis locis Chorographicæ Tabulæ, quas, diuturno legendi
S. Scripturam et scripta Hebræorum usu vigili observatione, ipse Author collegerat,—felicissimæ manus artificio
(nosce, lector, et judica) expressæ. De chartæ typorum-
que insigni bonitate et elegantia, quæ et ipsa ad librorum commendationem faciunt plurimum, quia res manifesta est,
nihil necesse est dicere; nisi quod et hinc perspici velim,
nulli neque curæ neque sumptui, qui ad operis splendorem
conferre aliquid poterat, esse parcitum. Denique, ne quid
desiderari possit omnino, additi sunt sub calcem Indices,
quos vir quidam eruditus, argumenti utilitate et suavitate il-
lectus, inter pervolvendum, plenos accuratosque collegerat
atque digesserat. Quæ omnia ejusmodi sunt, ut confidere
liceat, editione hac doctorum hominum votis satisfactum
esse pleniissime; ut, si quid moræ intercurrît, hac tot rerum
ubertate abunde sit pensatum. Si quem vero male habeat,
quod omissam hic videat Sermonum ad populum syllogen,
quam extare jam publice constat; is responsum ferat, certo
id consilio a typographo esse factum, inque eo obsequentum
illum esse judicium doctorum aliquot in ipsa Anglia virorum.
Cujus rei rationes equidem lectorem per se ipsum conjet-
tare aut perspiciendo indagare malo, quam me hic aperte
dicere. Contra autem lector sciat, editionem hanc auctam
esse duobus integris, iisque utilissimis, opusculis, quæ
nulli habentur edita prostant, genuinis Lightfooti ferti-
bus, ejusdemque cum reliquis illius scriptis genii et dignit-
tatis; quæ cum haerere alicubi typographus didicisset, et a
viris doctis in Anglia commendari sibi videret, non quievit,
donec, ære multo comparata, reliquo corpori jungeret.
In iis more suo, id est, doctissime, disserit de argumentis
gravissimis, Anathemate Maran Atha, et Canone Scripturæ
consignato, et quæ dum ista agit, ambabus scilicet munific-
cus, præterea admiscet. Hoc itaque totum, quod felix
faustumque sit, jam prodit in dias luminis auras. Bonis
omnibus venturam gratissimum, dubium iis esse non po-
test, quibus perspectum est, quanto cum affectu illæ operis
partes, quas autor ipse Latine ediderat, passim per Euro-
pam acceptæ fuerint. Neque immerito; quando ejusmodi
esse hoc scripti genus viderunt et fassi sunt doctissimi
qui que viri, ut non, nisi a rari exempli et completæ cujus-
dam doctrinæ homine, proficisci queat. Non enim e me-
dio petitas quæstiunculas quasdam, sed materias raras
minimeque obvias, neque minus utiles et necessarias sectatur: easque mascule aggregit, nec, nisi bene subactas et dijudicatas, dimittit. Plurima passim eruit, quae sic satis incognita erant, certe obscura; atque illa luce ea conspargit, iis fulcit rationibus, ut difficile sit manus non dare, certe non mirari vim ingenii, quam sitam in ipso comperimus plane singularem. Atque ejusmodi etiam res passim, ubi in obviis magisque tritis versatur, patare conspicitur. Adeo ut certum mihi sit, si cui educere atque in ordinem redigere lubeat, quae pleno horreo admetitur Lightfootus, latere in his libris thesaurum rerum sacrarum plenissimum. Mea enim ista est ratio, rem theologiam his fere quatuor perfici, ut argumentum S. Scripturae omne accurate teneatur;—rerum deinde series, secundum temporum locorumque distinctionem, probe digeratur;—expedita praeterea adsit lingue utriusque sacrarum peritiae;—comprehendatur denique historia, praesertim ecclesiae, et speciatim Judaicæ, omniumque illorum rituum, qui, antiquissimis temporibus et Christi præcipue seculo, inter Judæos viueret. Ita vero in his omnibus se circumegit noster, ut haud temere inventurus sis, quem universis istis parem illi ferre audias. Qua quidem in re me jam consentientes habere video non tantum qui sunt in Anglia viri Docti, sed per cæteram Europam etiam alios permultos. Id certe omnium judicio in antiquitatibus Judæorum perrimandis praestitisse videtur, quod ante eum nemo. Quae una res quanti facienda sit, nimirum is videt, qui quae inde comoda viro theologo proveniant, non nescit. Mirum vero, quam facili manu ipse autor hujus solius facultatis subsidio res difficillimas enodet, omnemque obscuritatem, qua, ex sola ignoratione rituum Judaicorum, plurimorum oculos obsederat, discutiat. Tantummodo legantur quae super sanctis evangelistis est commentatus. Ego omnino ita judico, indolem lingue qua LXX. Interpretes utuntur, et ritus Hebreorum feliciter cognitos habere, ad inveniendum genuinam Novi Testamenti mentem supra quam dicit potest multum valere, et esse vice perpetui ejusdemque certissimi commentarii. Ex quibus omnibus aestinari potest, quid de pretio ac usu scripti hujus sit statuendum. Nimirum habebunt hic sacris studiis devoti adolescentes et SS. Min. Candidati, quibus adversaria sua, et sacram ad populum Dei sermones, utiliter et eleganter instruant ac
exornent. Habeunt viri docti, quibus suam doctrinam variis gravissimiarum rerum lemmatis feliciter adaugeant. Habeunt denique Christiani quilibet, quibus vera et haud protrita rerum sacrarum expositio allubescit, ubi se utiliter occupent atque oblectent. Ipsa quinimo commendationis indoles sine fuco, sine fastu, quibus non profana modo, sed sacra etiam multorum scripta in lucem quotidie erumpunt, nescio quid grati et amabilis in legentium animos insinuat; tum dictio ipsa dilucida, facillis minimeque ambitiosa procurrit, dissimilis illorum, qui hac tantum parte vanis hominibus, ut pueris pavones, mirabiles esse student. Si quid autem subtilius austeriusque calamo subjiciendum fuit, quod in id genus argumento nimium quam frequenter evenire necessa fuit, suavi amoeniorum mixtura omne tædium et fastidium discutit. Quæ omnia dum cogitando ruminor, experior me duci et trahi ad contemplationem imaginis et mentis doctissimi authoris, et intueri in ea virum aperte et candide probum, hilarem, alacrem, erectum, nihil laboris refugientem, et ad omnia parem; posthabita rerum aliarum cura, sapientiae studiis unice deditum; quicquid eruditum, elegans, pium, et ad enucleandum mentem S. Scripturae comparatum est, velut pretiosum thesaurum, exosculantem; contra autem quod vile et protritum, magis etiam quod falsum et absurdum est, cum fastidio aspernantem; quod vero cum Verbo Dei et sacra religione pugnat, ingenti cum odio aversantem. Qui vir cum fuisse videri autor debeat, si quid et ipse alicubi aberrasse deprehenditur, non exagitare illum decet, ut mos est hodie permultis, qui, ut arietes petulci, obvios quosque, a nemine lacesiti, cornibus impetunt; mortuos etiam jugulare, velut rem præclarum, laudi sibi ducunt: atque inde auspicia speratæ gloriæ exordiuntur: rati, ut quidam aiebat, draconem non fieri, qui serpens ante non fuerit. Sed expendere potius ac admirari oportet ingentem viri doctrinam, industrias et candorem; tum scripti hujus agnosceré eximiam cum amoenitate junctam utilitatem; in quo, quemadmodum in lata cena, si non allubescit quippiam, laus tamen sua et gratia cæteris manet: deplorare denique communem hominum sortem, qua ne iis quidem, qui ad summa pervenisse visi sunt, a nèsuis suis liceat esse immünibus. Id ego te, lector, quisquis es, prorsus compertum confido, sicubi errat Lightfootus noster, non nisi docte errare; sicut de magno
olim in ecclesia viro dictum scimus: quo ulterius in hac fragilitate ire, mortalium datum est nulli. Scribebam Roterodami VII. Idus Martii clo lo c LXXXVI.

Joh. Texelius,

Ecclesiastes Roterodamensis.

Percurri utrumque Volumen, et accurate perspexi omnia Hebraica, quæ inibi occurrunt; neque temere dicam me ultra mille voces Hebraicas correxisse, et pristino nititori restituisset.

Etiam Textus Latinus in centenis locis est correctus, et quidem in plurimis locis, in quibus sensus a nullo, nisi difficillime, potuit intelligi.


Et quia molestum esset illis, qui præcedentem editionem sibi comparaverunt, hisce novis et hactenus ineditis viginti et uno Tractatibus carere,—ideo operam dedimus, ut omnes, qui præcedentem editionem possident, etiam hos Tractatus separatim possint comparare, et suæ priori editioni addere: ita ut et illi, qui primam editionem ante sibi compararunt, et hi, qui jam hanc secundam editionem sibi comparant, possideant integra Opera Celeberrimi Lightfooti; quod Typographi, negligentes suam propriam utilitatem, in gratiam quorumvis doctorum concesserunt.

Et ne quicquam in his Operibus posthumis desideraretur, Typographi curarunt (cum integra Opera habeant suos peculiares Indices), ut etiam hi viginti et unus Tractatus suos Indices immediate sequentes habeant.
PRAEFATIO EDITORIS

DE HISCE
TRACTATIBUS MISCELLANEIS.

Quandoquidem a manu mea prodeunt haec chartae nunc primum impressae, non abs re fore existimavi, si Lectorem ingenuum paucis interpellarem. Imprimis ac præcipue, fide hominis Christiani, studiosi nominis Lightfootiani, vera haec ac germana docti illius Viri esse scripta, cujus nomen præ se ferunt, affirmo testorque. Cum enim non tam multis ab hinc annis nova operum ejusdem reverendi Theologi, tam editorum, quam nondum ἐκδότων, cudenda foret impressio, omnes ejus pugillares, commentarios, sparsasque schedas mihi tradidit gener ejus D. Duckfieldus, Pastor Aspedenæ, in agro Hertfordiensi, doctus juxta ac fidelis; ut inde quicquid ad rem facere videretur, quo ea editio concinnatior et perfectior foret, excepserem. At quoniam eadem ut lectoribus Anglicanis inserviret, maxime designata fuit, non paucre exercitationes Latino sermone compositae, luce alias dignissimae, omissae sunt. Et voluminis plusculum tumescentibus, supprimi visum est quasdam etiam patria lingua scriptas. Mihi vero quidpiam studiorum tam octi Viri perditum iri pertresum est, maxime cum sacræ literaturæ scientiam tantopere moverent. Quapropter ex scriptis praebatis volumen posthumum quaecunque apparare serio institui, tempore opportuno in publicum emittendum.

Hinc, primum quae hisce chartis contenta sunt, cum iis contuli, quæ in libris impressis occurrunt; et, caeteris relictis, quæ aut nova, aut ad augenda explicandave quæcunque antea ab Auctore scripta sunt, selegi, selecta exscripsi, exscripta in distincta sua capita et classes dispositi.

Quasdam quidem harum dissertationum mutilas, nec ad finem optatum perductas agnosco. Attamen cum quæ
extent, tot habuerunt in se utilia et egregia, ea, ejus defectus causa, omnino rejicere nolui; ne iis qui nostrum Lightfootium amant (quibus vel fragmenta et 'Aνάλεκτα tanti Viri in pretio ac aestimatione habebuntur) deesse viderer.


Non ita longe ante ejus obitum accesserunt ei quidam bibliopolæ Londinenses, ut suas Anglicas in Genesin, Exodum, et cæteros Vet. Fœderis Libros olim editos, enarrationes velit revisere et ornare, obnixe rogantes, quoniam iterum imprimere instituerunt. Quod cum primum modestè declinavit Vir gravis, se et sua omnia depretians, ut indigna rursus mundo obtrudi (uti erat homo mirae humilitatis et modestiae) quod autem ad illos, impensas fuisse ingentes, lucrum incertum (sed cum instarent); tandem seipsum illorum desiderio obsequentem fore pollicitus est. Hujus incœpti specimen et prælibationem præbet portioncula illa de Creatione, manu illius pulchre exarata. Et cum Viri literati et amici, ut in libros Vet. Testamenti Horas Hebraicas et Talmudicas scriberet (sicut et in Evangelia feliciter fecerat), sœpe eum interpellarent, annotationes, quæ hic se ostendunt in Libros Mosis et Josuæ, apparatus consilii hujus esse videntur.

Alterius classis tractatiunculas hie videre est, quæ ad quosdam ejus antea excusos pertinebant labores, sed ab eo suppressas; non quod eas judicaret luce indignas, sed ne codices mole sua nimium ingravescerent. Ea enim tempora (quando scil. bellis civilibus et anarchia languescat Britannia nostra) literis et literatis non adeo facilia fuere: atque inde non nisi parvae molis libros, tunc temporis, imprimere ausi sunt Typographi. Quo pacto evenit, auctorem nostrum plusquam par fuit, breviti studuisse, multasque periodos, casque non levis momenti ab exemplibus suis defalcare et subtrahere consuevisse. Quæ
periodi, seu potius sectiones integrae, jam dantur et restituantur.

Et hae tandem est ratio eorum scriptorum (nam de Exercitiis Academicis et Epistolis doctorum Virorum nihil est opus dicere), quae orbi literario impressionarum bona fide offero. Quibus in evulgandis, cum ultimam Auctoris manum necessae sit deesse, operam et oleum meum, quale quale sit, Lector æqui boni consulat.

JOANNES STRYP.

Duroliti apud Trinobantes in Anglia.
vi. Calend. Oct. MDCCXCVIII.
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A CHOROGRAPHICAL TABLE,
OF THE SEVERAL PLACES CONTAINED AND DESCRIBED
IN DR. LIGHTFOOT'S WORKS.

BY JOHN WILLIAMS.*

The Jewish writers divide the world into 'the Land of Israel,' and 'Without land,' x. 5.

The land of Israel, first called 'the land of the Hebrews,' then Canaan and Palestine, &c. may be considered as to its length and breadth, x. 264.

The length of it is said in Scripture to be from Dan to Beersheba, and from the entering in of Hamath, north, to the Sea of the Plain, or Dead Sea, south, ii. 232.

The Jews do reckon it from the mountains of Amana (or the upper Tarnegola, which is at the neck of Anti-Libanus), to the river of Egypt, x. 9. 128. 362.

Others do measure it by the coast; and, if Phœnícia be included, then from Sidon to Rhinocorura, or the river of Egypt, is two hundred and thirty-two miles, according to Antoninus: but if Phœnícia be excluded, then from the south bounds of that to Rhinocorura are one hundred and eighty-nine miles, according to Pliny, x. 23. 254, 255.

The breadth of the land within Jordan is not always the same; since the seas bounding on all sides, here the Mediterranean, there those of Sodom, Genne-saret, and Samochonitis, with the river Jordan, cannot but make the space very unequal by their various windings: but if we take the measure of it from the bay of Gaza to the shore of the Dead Sea, it is upward of fifty miles; and if we extend it also beyond Jordan, then from Gaza to Petra, the metropolis of Moab, is one hundred and ten miles, as may be computed from Ptolemy and Pliny, x. 251—253.

The Jews do say, that the land of Israel contained a square of four hundred parse (a parse is four miles), which make one thousand six hundred miles, x. 247, 248.

And they have a tradition (and not amiss) that the utmost bounds of the land of Israel (including the land beyond Jordan) was within three days' journey of Jerusalem, x. 249.

Sometimes the land of Israel is bounded with Euphrates, east (as indeed the holy Scriptures do), and contiguous with Mesopotamia, the river only between, x. 285.

The several Divisions of the Land.

It was anciently divided according to the people and nations that inhabited it, viz. the Canaanites, Perizzites, &c. x. 267, xi. 219.

When first possessed by the children of Israel, it was parted among the twelve tribes; and upon the division of the ten tribes, they were known by the two names of 'Judah and Israel.' But after their return from Babylon, it was divided by the Jews into Judea, Galilee, and the Land beyond Jordan (or Perea) excluding Samaria. To which, if we add Idumea, then was Palestine divided into five countries, viz. Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and the Country beyond Jordan, x. 10, 11. 127.

There was also an imperial division of it; viz. 1. Into Palestine, more espe-

* A learned friend of Strype's.—The table is enlarged in the present edition.
If be supposed to be Gaza, Ascalon, or Eleutheropolis, x. 195, &c. 

Abel, Abina, are one and the same; the Hebrew Abel being, according to the Greek termination, Abila, or Abellam. There were many places of that name, x. 289, 290.

Abila Lyasia, so called, because it had been a city in the tetrarchy of Lyasias, was in Celo-Syria, and had longit. 68. 40. lat. 35. 40. according to Ptolemy, x. 289.

Abilene, was a province in Syria, and so called from the city of Abila. This word soundeth so near to the word Habil, Gen. x. 7, that it may well be supposed to have descended from it, and the name of the place from that son of Cush, that, with his brethren, planted in Arabia, or thereabout, iv. 258, 259. x. 289.

Abel-beth-maachah, a town in the Upper Galilee, not far from Dan or Caesarea, v. 148. x. 289, 290.

Abel-macholah, (in Manasseh on this side Jordan, 1 Kings iv. 12. ten miles from Bethshan, where dwelt Elisha the prophet, Hieron.) x. 289.

Abel-shittim, where the Israelites pitched their tents immediately before [and not, as in the English, after] they passed the river Jordan. This place Josephus calls Abila, and saith it is in Perea, threescore furlongs, or seven miles and half from Jordan; and, say the Jews, from Beth-Jeshimoth twelve miles, x. 97. 289.

Acharabon, a rock in the Upper Galilee. Josephus, x. 119.

Achor Valley, so called from Achan, who is called Achar, 1 Chron. 27. because he troubled Israel, Josh. vii. The maps of Canaan do most of them lay this valley and Sichem at a great distance; but if it be observed, it is not improbable that the valley runs betwixt Gerizim and Ebol. Josephus speaks of the Great Valley of Samaria, v. 86.

Achshib. See Chesib.

Achshib (it and Chesib changed into Ecdippa), the name of a place, x. 126.

Aeon, is a city of Galilee, where there was a bath of Venus, x. 124.

Aera, the mount, was within Jerusalem, ix. 214: some buildings in, x. 52.

Acrabatena, Acrabatta, a mountainous region, north of Samaria, and, say the Jews, a day's journey from Jerusalem, x. 36. 104. 109. 250.

Adam, a city in Perea over against Jericho, a little removed from Jordan, was the centre where the waters of Jordan parted, and the station of the ark, Psal. lxxxviii. 60. It was twelve miles, say the Jews, from Zaretan. (See Zaretan.) ii. 139. x. 167.

Adiabene, the same with Habor, 2 Kings xvii. 6. (say the Talmudists) a country of noted fame in Assyria, and so called from the river Adiab, xii. 571, 572.

Adida. There were several places of that name, as Adida in the valley. Adida in the mountain, under which lay the plains of Judea. Adida in Galilee, before the great plain, perhaps the same with Adida in Sephul. Adida not far from Jordan, as we have it in Josephus, x. 260.

Ador, a city of Idumea. Joseph. x. 11.

Adullam Cave, whither David betook himself when he escaped from Gath, and where he composed the one hundred and forty-second psalm, [it was in the tribe of Judah. Hieron.] ii. 270. x. 379.

Aenan, what place and where situat, x. 59, 60. x. 326. (See Enan.)

Aethiopia, one in Arabia, another in Africa, viii. 128. See Enan.

Ai, in the tribe of Benjamin, on Hai, the east of Bethel, Gen. xii. 8. Josh. viii. 9, &c. and not far from Bethaven, x. 43.

Aiat, within the jurisdiction of Judah, and in the tribe Benjamin, lying betwixt Samaria and Jerusalem, Isa. x. 256.

Aila, in the utmost borders of Palestine, joined to the South Desert and the Red Sea, whence men sail out of Egypt into India, and thence into Egypt, where was the Roman legion called Decima, saith St. Hieron. and was under the disposition of the duke of Palestine, saith the Notitia; but it should rather seem that it was Elath in the south of Judah, the other being far distant, where there was a duke of Arabia, in which Elath at the Red Sea was, as well as of Palestine, x. 250.

Alexandria, or Amon Min-No (a city in Africa, at the Canopic mouth of the river Nilus), where was in afterages a vast number of the Jews, where they had many Synagogues, with a cathedral, in which were seventy stalls, as they report, and afterward a temple built by Usias. It is probable, that Joseph and Mary came hither with our Saviour, iii. 28. x. 42, 43. viii. 451.

Alsidanus, a hill, under which lived the Trachonite-Arabians. Joseph. x. 284.

Amalek, near the wilderness of Zin, betwixt Edom and Egypt, ii. 117. 161.

Amanah (see Hor and Kirmiss), a mountain and a river, x. 128.
Ammon, a country east of Jordan, the chief city of which was Rabbah, ii. 183.

Amorites Mountain, Deut. i. 19, 20. took its beginning from Kadesh-Barnea, the southern border of the land of Israel, and ran forward into Judea beyond Hebron, the name only changed into the Hill-country of Judea. So much mistaken are Adrichomius and others, that bring it almost from the Red Sea, x. 26, 27.

Ampheloessa, a city near to Libanus, and a Decapolitan. Plin. x. 238.

Anthedon, a town betwixt Rhinocorura and Gaza, Plin. x. 23.

Anti-Libanus. See Libanus.

Antiocch. There are two cities of that name; the one in Pisidia, a province of the Lesser Asia, otherwise called Cassarea; the other in Syria, once the head of the Syro-Grecian empire, afterward the seat of the Roman governor. There the disciples of Christ were first called 'Christians.' Of old it was called Hamath, but afterward Antiocch, from Antiochus, as bloody a persecutor of the church and truth as ever Israel had, iii. 205—207. vii. 464.

Antipatris, Acts xxiii. 31. is called by some Caphar-salamis, and by Josephus, Caphar-saba; but when rebuilt by Herod, was named Antipatris, in memory of his father Antipater. It was situated in the best plain of his kingdom, rich in springs and woods, and was from Joppa one hundred and fifty furlongs, that is, eighteen miles, in the way from Jerusalem to the west part of Galilee, and far from the place that is usually assigned to it in the maps, which is in the middle of Samaria. The Jews oppose Antipatris and Gebath, that is, east and west, as the Sacred Writings do Dan and Beersheba, north and south. Ptolemy makes it to be long. 66° 20'. lat. 32° 0'. x. 116. 300. 354.

Antonia, the tower, ix. 235. 237.

Apoamia. There were, say the Jews, two Apamias; one the Upper, and another the Lower. In one were Jews of pure blood; in the other, not: and between them was the space of four thousand paces. Apamia, saith Pliny, was in Celo-Syria, and had the river Marsyas running betwixt it. It was otherwise called Sepham, and was the utmost coast of the land of Israel, north and north-east, x. 266. 320. 357. xii. 570.

Apamia Sea, is said by the Jews to be one of the seven seas that compass the land of Israel; and which, the Talmudists say, is the sea of Chamats, making Chamats and Apamia convertible, but that is a mistake. See Chamats. x. 13. 151. 266.

Aphes, (there are three cities of that name in Scripture, one in the tribe of Aser, Josh. xix. 30. the other in Judah, 1 Sam. iv. 1. &c. the third in Syria, 1 Kings xx. 30.) the wall of which last fell upon the Syrians, and killed twenty-seven thousand, ii. 219.

Appii Forum, a place in Italy about fifty miles from Rome, and in the way thence to Rhegium, iii. 283.

Ar, a city in Moab, situated upon the river Arnon, ii. 133.

Arabia, is of large extent, reaching from Euphrates to Egypt, and is divided into three parts, viz. Arabia Deserta, Petraea, and Felix. Arabia Deserta is full east of Judea, and the inhabitants thereof are in Scripture constantly called, Men of the east, Gen. xxxv. 6. Judges vi. 3, &c. Petraea, so called from the city Petra, or the rockiness of it, reaches from thence to Egypt, dividing Judea from Egypt, saith Pliny. Felix is contained betwixt the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and is divided from Petraea by the Black Mountains. Ptolemy, iv. 218. x. 21. 319, 330. xi. 427.

Arad. See Aseralon. x. 31.

Aram. See Syria.

Ararat. See Syria.

Aramath, (mountains in Armenia. Hieron.) upon one of which the ark rested, iii. 85.

Arbel, a city of Galilee, betwixt Tsippor and Tiberias. It is also the name of a valley, perhaps, adjoining thereunto. Joseph. vi. 281. x. 157. 163.

Arca, a town in the midland Phoenicia, that gave name to a tetrarchy, saith Pliny, at Libanus. Borchard saith, that the strong hold Arachus, built by Aracheus, son of Canaan, is on, or rather between, the borders of Libanus, and Anti-Libanus. From hence were the people called Arkites, x. 234. 238. 266.

Argoth. See Trachone.

Arinatha. See Ramah.

Arnon, was a river, or several streams, that divided the land of Israel from Moab. It was a watery country, ii. 133. x. 330.

Arvadites, a people in the north part of Canaan, seated in Arad and Antarad; called by Jonathan, 'Lutasites,' perhaps from Latavim, a place in Phoenicia, mentioned in the Notitia, x. 265.

Arumah, a city, of which there is frequent mention in the Talmudical writers, distant from Caphar Shichin four thousand cubits, and not far from Caphar Hanannah, x. 120.

Asamon, a mountain in the middle of Galilee, over against Tsippor. Joseph. x. 155.

Ascalon, Gerar, or Arad, stood in the country that was from thence called Garariku, and was in the tribe of Judah.
(though possessed by the Philistines). It was from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs, or sixty-five miles; from Gaza ten (saith Mr. Sandys), or as Antoninus, sixteen miles; from the river of Egypt fifty-four miles; from Cletheropolis twenty-four miles; from Jamnia twenty miles; a place now of no note, but once was venerable; it bears a great affinity with Arad and Gerar; famous story of eighty witches. It was a place, say the Jews, much given to poisoning; and south from thence was accounted Ethnick land, ii. 146. x. 10. 30—32. 254, 255, vili. 450. There was also another Ascalon, called the New, which was built by Ezra, and was four Paræ, or sixteen miles from the Old, and sixteen nearer Jerusalem than the Old, saith Benjam. Tudeusenis, x. 31. 254, 255.

Asbestos, in Galilee, and did extend itself from north to south, even from Carmel to Sidon and Lebanon, and lay betwixt Naphtali (running along with it in length) and the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, or the Great Sea. It abounded in corn and metallic mines, ii. 106, iv. 203. x. 122. 124. 178.

Ashteroth-Karnaim, (called in the Samaritan copy Apbimith Karnanin) was in the kingdom of Bashan, the larger region being called Ashteroth and Karnaim is added in a distinguishing sense, Deut. i. 4. The Jews say, Ashteroth Karnaim were two great mountains, with a valley between; by reason of the height of which, the sun never shine upon the valley, x. 281, 282.

Asphalites, extent of it, x. 15. the coasts of it, 16 201. map of it, x. 200.

Assyria, or Kir, (divided from Mesopotamia by the river Tigris) is improperly made the first of the four monar­chies, ii. 264. 273.

Athens, the metropolis of Attica, where was a famous university, a synagogue of the Jews, and the great court of Areopagus, iii. 226.

Athone, in Joseph. A city belonging to Aretas the Arabian king, and seems to be the same with Thoana in Ptolemy, which he placeth in Long. 67, 30. Lat. 30, 30. x. 338.

Atolim, or Hatolin, famous in the Ge­marists for the best wine, x. 104.

Avites Region, called in Scripture Hazerim, Deut. ii. 25, and sometimes Shur, and, in the eastern interpreters, Raphia: this country lay betwixt the river of Egypt and Gaza, forty-four miles, and was part of New Idumea, x. 10. 193, 194.


Auranitis, or Abranitis, is in the extreme parts of the land north, and is so called from the mountain Hauran, there situated also. See Hauran. x. 277. 278. 285, &c.

Asen, a town whose houses were in Judah, but the fields in Dan, x. 89.

Ashto, or Ashod, (was taken from Judah and given to Dan: Bouffre.) it was two hundred and seventy furlongs, or thirty-four miles from Gaza, twenty-four miles from Ascalon, and two miles from Jamnia: probably the language there spoken was Arabic, ii. 262. x. 31. 336. viii. 450.

Baale. See Kiriath Jearim.

Baal-Shalishah, 1 Sam. ix. 4. The Tar­gum reads it, the Land of the South; the reason of which is given by the Gémarists, because there was no country throughout the land of Israel, where the fruits of the earth were so forward as in Baal-Shalishah. Now such a country they call Southern Fields. It was not far from Mount Tabor, x. 324.

Babylon, or Babel, so called from the confusion of tongues. It is also called, the Desert of the Sea, Isa. xxi. 1. and in the Samaritan version, Lilak. It is in Scripture said to lie north of Canaan, and was situated on Euphrates, ii. 96. 270. 273.

Babylon was also, say the Jews, the name of a region that extended itself from the river Æzek, or perhaps Azochis in Pliny, to the river Juani, or Ioani, perhaps Ænania, in Amm. Marcellinus, and above Diglaq, or Tigris, unto Bagdaal and Avana, and the lower Apamia, and unto Acra Tulbankana, or Thelbelkane, which Ptol. placeth, Long. 78. 30. Lat. 35. 30. Indeed, by 'Babylon' the Jews understand all those countries unto which the Babylonian captivity was car­ried, not only Chaldea, but Mesopo­tamia also and Assyria, and do say of them, Whosoever dwells in Babylon, is as though he dwelt in the land of Israel, and is reputed as cleans. There, and in Egypt, was in after-times the greatest number of Jews, and it had of them three famous academies, viz. Nehardea, Sora, and Pompeditha, viii. 269, &c. 450. x. 285. xii. 566, 567. 569, 570.

Bahurim, called also Alemeth and Almon (both Bahurim and Alemeth, sound as much as young men), was a Levitical town in the tribe of Benjamin, and close by Jordan, ii. 186. x. 88.

Bambyces, called also Hierapolis, and by the Syrians, Magog, in the tetrarchy of the Nazarins in Cælo-Syria, Plin. x. 320.

Bamoth-Baal, a city in the plain of Peres, x. 165.
Baruchim, a place famous for wheat near Jerusalem, say the Jews, x. 104.

Basan, was first inhabited by the Rephaim, and afterward was the kingdom of Og. The name was afterward changed into Batanaea (the Syrians changing S into T.) It formerly contained Gamalis, Gaulonis, Batanaea and Trachonitis; but afterward, it was more especially applied to the south part of it, and so it lay betwixt Galilee west, and Trazonitis east, extending itself in length from south toward the north, x. 282.

Basan-Hill, seated among pleasant fields, xii. 262.

Batanea for Bashan, x. 166.

Beer, or the Well, north of the river Arnon, where the seventy elders of the Sanhedrin, by Moses’ appointment, brought forth waters by the stroke of their staves, Numb. xxii. 16. ii. 133.

Beeroth, of Benejaakan, the twenty-eighth mansion of the children of Israel in the wilderness, ii. 136, 137.

Beeroth, a city in Benjamin, Joseph. xxv. 25, probably the Beere mentioned by Mr. Biddulph (and not Beer-sheba, as was reported to him) ten miles from Jerusalem, and said to be the place where Christ’s parents missed him in their journey, Luke ii. 34. xii. 263.

Beer-sheba, (or the Well of the Oath, Gen. xxi. 31. was the utmost point of the land south; from whence the phrase, ‘From Dan to Beer-sheba,’ it was first given to Judah, Joshua xv. 26. and afterward to Simeon, Joshua xix. 2. and was twenty miles from Hebron south: Hieron. Bonfrer.) There Abraham lived, consecrated a grove, and had an oracle. It is called in the Notitia, ‘Berosaba,’ where was a Roman garrison, that had in it the Dalmatian horse of Illyria, ii. 92. 94. x. 10. 198.

Beersabea, a fortified town in the Neather Galilee, Joseph. xii. 119.

Bein, a place between Jamnia and Lydda, say the Jews, x. 39. 172.

Belatah, a village, the distance of a Sabbath-day’s journey (or two thousand paces from Shechem, and where Joseph was buried, say the Jews, viii. 424.

Belus, a very small river, called also Pagida, that flows out of the lake Cendewia, saith Pliny, and runs into the sea, (not two miles as the English, but) two furlongs from Ptolemais, saith Joseph. x. 124.

Benjamin tribe, was in length from the river Jordan to the sea, and in breadth from Jerusalem to Bethel. Its land was of the same nature with that of Judah, and had its mountainous part, its plain and vale, not only towards Lydda, and the Great Sea, but towards Jericho and Jordan, x. 22. 42.

Bene Barak, a place where sat a council of the Jews, and Akiba sometime lived, x. 173.

Berea, a town in Macedonia situated on the river Haliacmon. There is also a city in Syria of that name, far north of Damascus, iii. 226. xi. 26.

Beror Chel, x. 171.

Berytos, a city betwixt Byblus and Sidon, and almost equally distant from both, where Agrippa built a theatre, and amphitheatre, baths, porches, and such like magnificences, viii. 294.

Betar, a city not mentioned in the Scriptures, but much among the Talmudic writings, called Bitter, or Bither, among the Christians, x. 101. 107.

Bethesda, what, v. 226. 235. Pool of Bethesda, whence it received its waters; whence it had its excellent virtues, 233. 237. x. 343. In it men, not beasts, were washed, xii. 279. 280. It was made of a healing quality by the help of an angel, about the days of Christ’s being on earth, but how long before or after, we know not, 282.

Beth-Gubrin, what place, x. 243.

Beth-horon, though there were two places of this name in the Old Testament, yet we find but one under the second Temple; several histories referring to it; the way from Jerusalem to it, x. 41.

Bethany, called by the Rabbins ‘Beth-Hene,’ fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem. It took its name from a tract of ground so called, which reached within eight furlongs of Jerusalem, and had its name Beth-Hene, or the place of Dates, from Athene, which signifies the dates of palm-trees, not come to ripeness; of which many were growing there, x. 77—79. 85. xii. 218. There was a lavatory, or a pool and collection of waters, where the people were wont to purify themselves. Travellers speak of a cistern near the town of Bethany, near which in a field is shown the place, where Martha met our Lord, x. 220, 221.

Bethabara, John i. 23, where John first baptized, John x. 40. It is by some read Bethamarah, and Bethania, either as put for Batanama, according to the Syriac idiom for Bethshania. It was called Bethabarah, because (as the word signifies) it was a Place of Passage, or because opposite to Bethbarah (a place on the other side Jordan.) It was out of the precincts of Judea in the Scythopian country (where the Jews dwell amongst the Syro-Grecians), over against Galilee, and was a water distinct from Jordan, and removed somewhat from it, and above the passage from Jericho, iv. 382. 411. v. 59. x. 309, 310. 815.
Bethbarah, Judg. vii. 24. opposite to Bethabara, near to mount Ephraim, and near unto which were the waters that the Ephraimites kept against the Midianites to stop their passage, x. 315.

Betharabah, a city in the wilderness of Judah, Josh. xvi. 61. x. 326.

Bethaven in Benjamin, Josh. vii. 2. It was near unto Ai, and gave name to a wilderness adjoining thereunto, Josh. xvii. 12. x. 43.

Beth-Balaam, a hill in the utmost part of the land of Israel (taken in the largest sense) and not far from the bank of Euphrates, west, say the Jews; where they lifted up flaming torches to give notice of the new year, to them of the captivity, x. 285.

Beth-baal-meon, a city in the plain of Peræa, x. 165.

Beth-Chadudo, a place three miles from Jerusalem, at the first entrance into the desert, toward Beth-horon. x. 105.

Beth-Cerem, Nehem. iii. 14. Out of the valley of that name were fetched the stones for the altar, &c. say the Jews, x. 106.

Bethel, was in the land of Benjamin, and the utmost bound of it toward Ephraim; it was seated in a mountainous country, opposite to Jerusalem, in a right line north and south (and not as the maps, remote and aslopes), first called Luz. It was afterward called Bethaven by way of reproach (as Jerusalem is called Sodom), because of Jeroboam's calves that were placed there, x. 42, 43. 357, 358.

Beth-Haran, a city in the valley of Peræa, x. 165.

Beth-Horon, there were two places of that name under the Old Testament, the upper, which was in Ephraim, Josh. xvi. 5. and the nether Josh. xviii. 13. in Benjamin, or the extreme part south of Ephraim: Bonfrer. This last is called by Josephus 'Beth-ma-us,' was distant from Tiberias four furlongs. The maps place it too remote from thence, x. 145.

Beth-Nimrah, a city in the vale of Peræa, famous for waters, called the Waters of Nimrin, Isa. xv. 6. Josephus saith, there spring out near this place certain fountains of hot water, x. 165. 330.

Beth-phage, so called from the word Phagi, which denotes green figs, a fruit that place was famous for: it was not a town far upon Olivet (as the maps generally do shew), but a tract, which beginning at the foot of mount Olivet, ran forward for two thousand paces, where it joined to that of Bethany, and being so near Jerusalem, gave the name of Bethphage, to the uttermost part or street of it, within the wall, and was accounted as Jerusalem itself in respect of all privileges, iii. 131. x. 76, &c. 218, 219.

Beth-Rimnah, a place in the hilly country, probably of Ephraim, famous for excellent wine, x. 104.

Beth-saida, signifies 'the place of hunting,' and it seemeth to be so called, because it stood in a place where was store of deer, as Gen. xlix. 21. 'Naphtali shall abound in venison,' and Bethsaida stood either in or very near that tribe. Our author at first thought it to be on that side the lake of Gennesareth; but in his after-writings, he placeth it east of the lake of Gennesareth, in Batanea and the lower Gaulonitis, at the beginning of the mountainous country and north of Hippo. Philip rebuilt it, and gave it the name 'Julia,' in honour to the emperor's daughter, iv. 424. x. 168, 169. 227, 228. xi. 210, 211.

Bethsaida-Wilderness, a little north of Bethsaida, and near a creek of the sea of Gennesareth, xi. 210, 211.

Beth-shaaraim: there the Sanhedrin sat before it removed to Tsiippor. Here war
buried Rabbi Judah, the Holy, say the Jews, though he taught at Tsippor, x. 152. xi. 312.

Bethshan; of this there is frequent mention in Scripture, Josh. xvi. 11. Judg. i. 27. It was by the heathens called sometime Nysa, from Bacchus's nurse that was buried there, saith Pliny; and Scythopolis, because the Scythians planted there, or perhaps from Succoth. It was in the lot of Manasseh, and the furthest bounds of it northward. Judg. i. 27. It was situated below the lake of Gennesaret toward the Dead Sea, half a league from Jordan, near to Zartanah, 1 Kings iv. 12. and almost over against Succoth. And yet our author elsewhere placeth Tiberias there, and saith, that Bethshan was one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles from Tiberias, Cadesh-Barnea, was before called Ritj,... Cadesch, because the Lord was there sanctified upon the people that murmured upon the return of the spies, Num. xiii. 26. and xx. 13. and xxxii. 8. Deut. iii. 19. And Barnea, or the Wandering Son, because here was the decree made of their long wandering in the wilderness, by many stations till they came hither (and not to another Cadesch, as some would have it) again some thirty-seven or thirty-eight years after. It was also called Meribah, Numb. xxviii. 13. Ezek. xlvi. 19, &c. It was called by the Rabbins Rekam, and by the Arabians Cawatha, from Kawa, which signifies an outcry: and was situated in the desert of Zin and Paran, Numb. xii. 16. and xx. 1. in the very southern bounds of the land, Numb. xxxiv. 4. and near unto Edom, Numb. xx. 16. ii. 129—131. 135. x. 18, &c. 259.

Cadesh-Barnes, was before called Rithmah, Numb. xxxiii. 18. compared with Numb. xii. 16. and xiii. 26. perhaps from the juniper-trees that grew there, as 1 Kings ix. 4. but afterwards it was named Cadesch, because the Lord was there sanctified upon the people that murmured upon the return of the spies, Num. xiii. 26. and xx. 13. and xxxii. 8. Deut. iii. 19. And Barnea, or the Wandering Son, because here was the decree made of their long wandering in the wilderness, by many stations till they came hither (and not to another Cadesch, as some would have it) again some thirty-seven or thirty-eight years after. It was also called Meribah, Numb. xxviii. 13. Ezek. xlvi. 19, &c. It was called by the Rabbins Rekam, and by the Arabians Cawatha, from Kawa, which signifies an outcry: and was situated in the desert of Zin and Paran, Numb. xii. 16. and xx. 1. in the very southern bounds of the land, Numb. xxxiv. 4. and near unto Edom, Numb. xx. 16. ii. 129—131. 135. x. 18, &c. 259.

Cadcor, town of, x. 390.

Cadmonites, originally Canaanites, and one of the ten (though not of the seven) nations the Jews say they are to possess; so called perhaps from Cadmon, a person of renown in the family, if not from their antiquity, or rather from their habitation eastward, which was about those parts that afterward belonged to the Moabites and Ammonites. x. 268, 269.

Caduitis, how Jerusalem, in Herodotus, x. 215.

Caphor-Acon, what, x. 125.

Caphar Chittim, same with Ziddim. x. 145.

Cassarea-Palestina, so named by Herod, in honour of Cesar Augustus. It was otherwise called, the Tower of Strato, and perhaps was the Tower Sid in the
Talmud. It was situated between Doron and Joppa, and was from Jerusalem six hundred furlongs, or seventy-five miles; from Sycamum twenty miles; from Diospolis forty miles; from Jemmia fifty-two miles. Here the Roman proconsul resided, and was inhabited by Jews (who had several schools there), heathens, and Samaritans. It was called Ekron by the Jews, by way of reproach, x. 8. 112, &c. 244, 254.

Cesarea Philippi was first called Laish, or Lechem, and then Dan, (when subdued by the Danites, Judg. xviii. 29.) and by the Arabic interpreter Hazor, Josh. xi. 1. for of this Cesarea is it to be understood, and not (as our author saith he formerly understood, x. 113) of Cesarea-Strato. It was situated at the springs of Jordan the less, not far from Lebanon, within the jurisdiction of Tyre and Sidon, in the Midland Phœnicia, and was a Decapolitan city. Josephus saith it was also called Panaias, from the place adjoining called by that name, to which perhaps the name 'Remphan' may relate, Acts vii. 43. because of the idolatry or calf that continued longer here than at Bethel. Eusebius saith, here was to be seen the statue of the woman cured by Christ of the bloody issue; but that cure was rather wrought at Capernaum, x. 131. 235. 244. 245. xi. 165. viii. 434.

Cain; there is a city Cain, placed in the maps not far from Carmel; and in the Dutch map of Doet, with the picture of one man shooting another, with this inscription, Cain was shot by Lamech, Gen. iv. a place obscure by the various opinions of interpreters; but Doet hath chosen the worst of all. x. 269.

Callirhoe. (See Lasha.) x. 201.

Cana; there were several towns of this name, 1. In Asher, Josh. xix. 28. called by St. Jerome, Cana the Great, and may be called Cana of the Zidonians. 2. In the north part of the Lower Galilee, and dividing it from the Upper. This seems to be the same with Caphar-Hananiah. This our author once thought to be the Cana, John ii. 1. But last of all, he supposed it to be, 3. Cana the Less, or of Galilee, to distinguish it from the other, which was situated where Jordan flows into the lake of Gennesareth, against Julias Betharampta; and was, saith Josephus, a night's journey from Tiberias, and as far from Capernaum as the length of the lake. This was the abode of Nathanael, and of Simon, who probably was from hence called the Canaanite. 4. In the tribe of Ephraim, Josh. xvi. 8. xvii. 9. which was Cana of Ephraim. Disputable whether it should be put C or K, viii. 33. iv. 439, 440. x. 164, 165, 228, 321—323. xii. 431. See Chorazin.

Canaanites; the Scripture doth not call all the sons of Canaan by that name, as the Arvadites, &c. that inhabited Phœnicia, and a great part of Syria; but where their coasts end toward the south, there the Canaanites began, and they are sometimes reckoned as a particular nation, sometimes as including all the seven, Gen. x. 18, 19. Deut. vii. 1. &c. When particular, it respects that part of the northern part of Canaan which Canaan himself, with his first-born sons, Zidon and Heth, inhabited. Hence Jabin, king of Hazor, is called king of Canaan, Judg. iv. 2. that is, of the northern coast of the land of Canaan. But when it is a general name, it includes all from Sidon to Gerar and Gaza, Gen. x. 19. x. 262. 267. xi. 219. 220.

Canatha, accounted a Decapolitan city by Pliny, v. 190.

Capernaum, perhaps the 'Capharhorne' of Josephus. It is uncertain whether the name be derived from עָנָה or עָגָה; the former denotes 'pleasantness,' the latter 'comfort.' The oriental interpreters write it the latter way, Caphar Nachum. It was situated near to the sea of Gennesareth, in the country of Gennesaritis, Matt. xiv. 34. &c. and whereabouts the tribes of Zabulon and Naphtali met, Matt. iv. 3. between Taricha and Tiberias, and from the latter about two miles. This was the town of Christ's supposed father Joseph, and where he himself dwelt. Near to it was a fountain of the same name, and the custom-house where they gathered a tribute of those that passed over, and where Matthew was; and the mountain where Christ chose the twelve, made his sermon, Matt. v. and it is likely where he met his disciples after his resurrection, vol. i. Harm. N. T. S. S. 272. iv. 417. 226. 319, 320. x. 147. 148. xi. 210. xii. 431.

There was another Capernaum, mentioned by Gul. Tyrius, that lay upon the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, not far from Tyre, x. 320.

Caphar Achum, not far without Jerusalem, x. 104.

Caphar Hananiah, or Caphar Hanan, was in the uppermost border that divided the Upper and Lower Galilee, and sixteen miles from Tsippor, and where the plenty of sycamines began. It may seem to be the same with Bethshan, or rather Cana of Galilee, it agreeing with it in its situation, x. 116. 120. 322.

Caphar Lodim, a village in the vale of Saron, between Lydda and the sea; and was so called, because some people of Lydda were always there. It was reckoned without the land, x. 39. 40.
Chabor, was a country in the northern part of Galilee, where the twenty cities were that Solomon gave to Hiram, king of Tyre, 1 Kings ix. 11. Chabul (say the Talmudists) signifies a land that bears not fruit, or that is dirty, and, in the Phoenician tongue, that which pleaseth not. The Seventy interpreters render it ἐξω the bound or coast, taking the modern name instead of the old. It contained cities of a mixed jurisdiction, viz. 'forbidden,' as Nebo, &c. 'permitted' (that is, as to tithe) as Tsur, Tsezar, &c. x. 231, &c.

Chabul, a city destroyed for discord, say the Jews, x. 107.

Chalamish, what place, and by whom inhabited, x. 359.

Chakrah, a fortified town which belonged to Gush, and was near to Tsippor. x. 155.

Chalcis, a city or garrison built on a hill in the straits of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, x. 286. It was also the name of a kingdom thereabouts in Syria, which Agrippa succeeded his brother-in-law uncle, Herod, in; for such relations did that incestuous family find out, iii. 287.

Chaldea was reckoned to Mesopotamia. There be that suppose the Chasdim, or Chaldeans, were so called from the last letters of Arphaxad's name, ἐξω. ii. 90. viii. 110.

Chammath, in Josephus 'Ammaus,' so called by reason of the Chammim, or warm baths. It was so near to Tiberias (within a mile), that it was almost one city with it, and so near to the country of Gadara, that thence it took its name of 'Chammath of Gadara.' It was on both sides Jordan; one part upon the bank of Naphhtali, or Tiberias; another, on that of Gadara, the bridge lying between. x. 141. 226. 312. xi. 210.

Chammath of Pella. See Lasha.

Chamathii. (See Hamath.) x. 141. 226. 383.

Chanothah, Canoathah, the Upper and Lower, beyond Jordan in the borders, x. 170. 298.

Chaphenatha, 1 Mac. xii. 37. It may be thought to be some part of the outskirts of Jerusalem towards the east, and so called from the dates growing there. For Chephennioth is frequently used among the Talmudists for the dates of palm-trees, that never come to their full maturity, x. 360, 361.

Chephar, what place, and by whom inhabited, x. 359.

Cherethim, a Philistine nation, which by the Greek interpreters is rendered כפרים, Cretes, Ezek. xxv. 16, &c. and probably the Cretes, Acts ii. 11. were such, because St. Luke joins them with Aravians, x. 386.

Cherith, a brook where Elijah was con-
cealed, 1 Kings xvii. 8. It was west of Jordan, perhaps near Bethshan, x. 245, 246.

Chezib and Achzib, which at first passed into Ecdippa, according to the manner of the Syrian dialect, which commonly changeth Zain into Daleth; it was north of Acon, and not far from the Scale Tyrriorum. This divided the 'clean' of the land from 'unclean,' x. 126, 127.

Chippor, within twelve miles of Zippor, x. 359, 360.

Chorazim, Matt. xi. 21. Chorashin denotes 'woody places;' hence we suppose this place so called, because so seated; and such places the land of Naphthali was famous for above the other tribes, to and such places the land of Naphtali was in an isthmus of five miles, parting the

ria, nison. So that it is probable it was in notes woody places;' hence we suppose small country adjacent, be concluded to ' into Ecdippa;' according to the manner

a hind let loose,' i.e. shall abound in ve

ofihe Syrian dialect, wliich cbmmonly

cealed, 1 Kirtgu.vii. 8. It wa's wesrof J or-

Dan tribe, was situated on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, and afterward sent a colony to Laish. In this tribe public idolatry began, therefore not named, Revel. vii. ii. 148.

Dan city. See Cesarea.

Daphne, a region in the northern part near Lebanon, out of which Jordan ariseth. See Riblah, x. 129. 133.

Debir, a city in Judah, called at the first 'Kiriahi-Sepher,' ii. 146.

Decapolis, the ten cities are by Bör-chardus placed in Galilee, and by Pliny all beyond Jordan in Syria, except Sce-thopolis. But they seem to be such as were within the bounds of the land, but inhabited by Gentiles. Such were Bethshan, Gadara, Hippo, Pella, Cesarea Philippi, and probably Caphar-Tsemach, Beth-Gubrin, and Caphar Carnaim, v. 190, 191. x. 231. 237.

Derbe, Acts xiv. a city in Lycaonia, and coasted on Isauria, iii. 217.

Dibon-gad, in Moab, and the thirty-ninth mansion of the Israelites.

Diospolis. See Lydda.

Dimon waters, Isa. xv. 9. in Moab. Quere whether Dimon be not the same with Dibon (Beth and Mem being alternatively used) that so it may agree more with ἱεροί blood, x. 330.

Dor, Doron in the tribe of Manasseh, bordering upon Galilee, between Cesarea and Sycaminum, x. 114. 118. 313.

Dothan, Gen. xlvi. in the tribe of Za-bulon, (see Bonfrer.) ii. 102.

Dumah, a country in Arabia, ii. 263.

Ebal, a mountain, on which the curses were read. It touched on Sychem (the metropolis of Samaria), and was opposite to Gerizim. It was a mountain, dry and barren. How far from Jordan, x. 109. 162. 338.

Ecdippa, formerly called Chezib and Achzib, the name of a place, x. 126, 127.
Edar. See Migdal Eder.

Eden. It is difficult to meet in the Samaritan version with any footstep of the names of the rivers of Eden, and the country which those rivers run into, except Cophin, which seems to agree something with Cophen mentioned by Pliny.

Edom, by this term the Hebrew writers commonly express the Romans, iii. 352. Edom rendered Romans, Edomites rendered Romans, x. 195. See Idumæa and Seir.

Eglath-Shelishiah, translated, Isa. xv. 5. 'a heifer of three years old,' but why may it not be the name of a place, and so called 'a third Eglah' in respect of two others, much of the same sound; or else Dutchess or Noble Eglah as nsw signifies a duke or tribune? There is mention of EinEglaim in that country, Ezek. xlvii. 10. where Eglaim is in the dual number, and seems to intimate there were two Egs, with respect to which this of ours may be called 'a third.' The sound of the word Necla comes pretty near it, which Ptolemy placed in Arabia Petrea, long. 67. 20. lat. 50. 15. which was fifteen miles from Zoar. This seems to be Agalla in Josephus, x. 332.

Egypt was full of Jews; there they had a temple, and all their offices and ordinances, xi. 48. River of, x. 21. See Sihor.

Ekron, was the most northern of the five lordships of the Philistines, Josh. xiii. 3. and was first given to Judah, Josh. xvi. 45. but afterward taken from that and given to Dan, Josh. xix. 43. ii. 146.

Elath, south of Jerusalem, a day's journey. See Aila.

Elath or Ethol, a sea-town in the country of Edom, on the Red Sea, 2 Kings xiv. 22. and xvi. 6. ii. 233. 253.

Eleutheria, east of Joppa, and betwixt that and Lydda. It is mentioned in Gul. Tyrius, x. 300.

Eleutheropolis, a city often mentioned in St. Jerome; and from Jerusalem twenty miles, almost in the middle betwixt that and Ascalon, x. 197. 254.

Eleutherus river is by Ptolemy placed near Antarado, but by Borchardus between Tyre and Sarepta, the mouth of it three leagues from that, and about two from this, x. 293.

Elim, the fifth mansion of the Israelites after they came out of Egypt.

Emmaus, afterward called Nicopolis, and a Roman colony, was sixty furlongs or seven miles and a half west from Jerusalem, and in the way thence to the west part of Galilee. It might have its name from Ammath a channel of waters, being famous for such. And perhaps might be the same with those of Nephtoa (or Etam) which was also west of Jerusalem. Ptolemy placeth it, long. 65. 45. lat. 31. 45. which doth not well agree with the account of the evangelist, Luke xxiv. 13. and Josephus, iii. 170. x. 89. 297, 298.

Emims, the old inhabitants of Moab, ii. 89.

Engannim or Anem, 1 Chron. vi. 72. Josh. xxi. 29. now Jenine, signifies a fountain and gardens, and so the pleasantness of the place. It was in the tribe of Issachar, a Levitical city, twenty-two miles from Tabor, saith Biddulph, and in the way from Jerusalem to Galilee. Perhaps the same with Naim, by a transposition of letters, x. 296, 297. xii. 262.

Engeddi, a city in the wilderness of Judah, the same with Hazezon Tamar, and not yielding to Jericho for fruitfulness in palms (from whence its name, Tamar signifying a palm). It lay on the south (not on the north, as the maps place it) point of the Dead Sea, and not far from it, being the utmost bound of the land. It was in Idumæa the Less. Near to it was the wilderness of Engeddi, famous for its strong holds in the time of David, ii. 89. 171. 172. 221. x. 17. 200. 201. 326.

Enon or Ènon, signifies 'a place of springs, or waters,' which may be the reason why the LXX translate Middin, Josh. xv. 61. by Ènon, as Middin is a place of waters. It is uncertain where it was, whether in Galilee, or the Wilderness of Judah (as Middin was) or in Peræa near Armon. N.T.SS. iv. 304. x. 326. &c.

Epheus, a famous city in the Lesser Asia, in which was the temple of Diana, one of the seven wondrous fabrics of the world. It was hundreds of years in building at the charge of all Asia, iii. 252. &c. 277.

Ephraim tribe extended itself in length from Jordan to Gezer, Jos. xvi. 3. by the Mediterranean sea, and in breadth from Bethel, and ends at the Great Plain; so Josephus, x. 313.

Ephraim, hill country, Jud. iv. 5. was a certain hilly place running out between Judea and the land of Ephraim, x. 43. 301.

Ephraim, a small city, John xi. 54. in the confines of the tribe of Ephraim, 2 Chron. xiii. 19. but in the tribe of Benjamin, in the wilderness of Bethaven, and near to that of Judea, in or near the way from Jerusalem to Jericho. It was seated in a fruitful valley, and famous for the best flour, x. 43. 103. 357.

Esedron. See Great Plain.

Essenes. See Kenites.

Etam fountain, say the Jews, is in the way betwixt Hebron and Jerusalem. But if it be the same with Nephtoah, Jos. xv. 9. then it lies not south as Hebron, but
The waters of this were not conveyed into the city, but the Temple, and the overplus of what was used there, flowed thence into the valley that lay between the temple and Jerusalem, and emptied itself by the water-gate into Kidron, x. 348, 349, 371.

'Etham, wilderness, the same with Shur, Num. xxxiii. 7, 8, Exod. xvii. 22. The Red Sea so pointed into this wilderness, that it was on both sides of the point of the sea, ii. 117.

Euphrates, often called the 'River' in Scripture, Ezra iv. 10, &c. divides Syria and Arabia from Mesopotamia, and then joining with Tigris falls into the Persian Gulf. It is called in the Samaritan version, 'Salmaah,' x. 337, 338.

Esion Gaber, the thirty-second mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness. Thence the fleet set out for Ophir, ii. 130, 202.

Gaash Hill, where Joshua was buried, perhaps the same with that Galaad, Jud. vii. 3. (which is by the LXX rendered Gaash) and might it not be so called upon the account of the Pillar of Witness, Josh. xxiv. 26. that was built there a little from Sychem? x. 303, 304.

Gabula, a midland city of Phœnicia. Ptol. x. 294.

Gabara, Geber, or Tarnagola (these two signifying the same, viz. a cock), the Upper to distinguish it from another of that name, one of the three great cities of Galilee. It was seated beyond Cæsarea Philippi, and the utmost bound of the land north, x. 157, 158, 235, 362.

 Gad, tribe, had Reuben on the south, Manasseh north, Jordan on the west, and Gilead mountains and Arabia east, ii. 134.

Gadara, or Hippopodion, the metropolis of Perea, washed by the river Hierax, from Tiberias sixty furlongs, and near to Gergesa. Two places of the name: it was first Gazar or Gezar. It was one of the cities of Decapolis and of heathen jurisdiction, and gave name to the country about it, x. 143, 239, 241. 383.

Galilee, contained Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Asher, with part of Dan, and Perea. It was bounded north by Lebanon and Syria; on the west by Phœnicia; on the south by Samaria. It was divided into three parts, the Upper (so called because it abounded in mountains), which contained Asher and Naphtali, and was eminently called 'Galilee of the Gentiles,' and sometimes Gilgal, Deut. xi. 30. And secondly the Lower, which contained Zebulun and Issachar, and because it was champaign, was called the Great Field. And thirdly, the Vale, which is the border of Tiberias. Josephus saith, there were two hundred and four cities and towns in Galilee, that were more eminent and fortified, iii. 386. v. 144, 145. x. 118, &c. 137, 163, 279, 280, 318, 319. Galilee, although undervalued by the Jews, had been renowned for many achievements, v. 151. Bethshean, the beginning of Galilee, a most fruitful, pleasant place, x. 119; Capheus Hananiah, the middle of Galilee, 120; the disposition of tribes in it, 121; the west coast of Galilee, 122, and northern coast of Galilee, 123; sea of, 133; customs of, 158; dialect of, 159; whether the transjordanian country was ever called Galilee; whether Perea (properly so called) did not once go under the name of Galilee, 279; limits of, 380. The way from Galilee to Jerusalem described, xii. 261, &c.

Gamaa, a fortified town in Batanœa, in the Lower Gâbulitês upon the lake of Gennesaret over against Tarichæa, and that gave the name to a region about it, x. 155, 169, 294.

Gath Hepher, a town in Zebulun, Josh. xix. 13, and from whence was Jonah the Prophet, 2 Kings xiv. 25, iv. 160.

Gâbulitês, the Upper and Nether, within Batanœa, so called from Golan, once the chief city of Bashan, x. 166, 284.

Gaza, or Asca, and, by Eustathius, Jona, in the tribe of Judah. There were two, the Old and the New; the former was destroyed by Alexander, and therefore called Desert. It was from the bay seven furlongs (which was, saith Ptol. in long. 65. 45. but more probably 65. 26.) from the river of Egypt forty-four miles; from Azotus thirty-four miles; from Ascalon ten (or sixteen) miles; from the Dead Sea fifty-five miles; from Petra in Arabia one hundred and ten miles, ii. 146, iii. 195, x. 30, 31, 193, 194, 251, &c. 327, 328.

Gaza, the New, was built nearer the bay, was called Maijuua, and afterwards Constantia, and named so by Constantine after the name of his sister, saith Eusebius; or as Sozomen, of his son Constantius, iii. 195.

Gaza, there was another in Ephraim, 1 Chron. vii. 28, viii. 446. A city and a mart, both famous, x. 30.

Gedor, a town in the mountainous part of Perea, x. 165.

Gema, a city in the extreme parts of Samaria, next adjoining to Issachar; near to Nain, if not the same with it, x. 296.

Gennesaret, lake, Luke v. called Cinereth, Num. xxxiv. 11, and the sea of
Galilee, John vi. and Tiberias, John xxi. is one of the seven seas that (the Jews say) compass the land. It is about six miles broad and sixteen long, saith Pliny; but Josephus twelve and a half, and Biddulph twenty-four in length, and in breadth fifteen. From the head of Jordan to the south part of it, was about forty miles; from Samochonitis, fifteen. It was within the tribe of Naphtali, and not out of it as the maps mistake. See the scheme of it, x. 226. In the middle of it was a famous whirlpool, called Mirjama, v. 163, 164. x. 14. 124, 133, &c. It was so called from Gennesaretitis, a region near the lake, thirty furlongs in length, and in breadth twenty. A very pleasant and fruitful place, abounding in the gardens of great men. From whence it had its name, x. 146. Gerar had an affinity to Ascalon, x. 30, 31; now called Gadara, 142, 143. Gergela, a town very near Gadara, and so called either from the Gergasites, a people of Canaan; or from its clay soil, Gargishta signifying 'clay.' It gave name to the region so called, which comprehended in it the regions of Gadara, Hippo and Magdala, x. 143. xi. 392, 393. Gerizim, the hill upon which the blessings were pronounced. It was near to Sychem, and had upon it springs and gardens. Upon this, the temple of the Samarians was built in the time of Alexander the Great, forty years after the second temple, in opposition to that of Jerusalem, and flourished there about two hundred years, and at last was destroyed by Hyrcanus. Whether over against Gilgal or not, v. 99, 93. x. 199, 110. 163. Gesher, was twofold, one in Syria, Josh. xiii. 13. near to Hermon, v. 11. Hither Absalom fled, 1 Sam. xiii. 8. The other near the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xvii. 8. ii. 183. Geser, on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, 'Kings ix. 15. which, according the Syrian dialect' passed into Gadara. It was a Levitical city in the tribe of Ephraim, Josh. vi. 3. xvi. 21. x. 142. 315. Gibeah, of Saul, it signifies 'Saul's hill;' it was about thirty furlongs from Jerusalem, near to Ram, and had near it the Valley of Thorn, perhaps the valley under the rock Senach, 1 Sam. xiv. 4. x. 87. Gibeah, lay north of Jerusalem, in the way to the city Samaria; there was a great pool of water, where perhaps Christ baptized, John iii. 22. There in Solomon's time, was the greatest synagogue, the tabernacle being brought thither, after Shiloh fell, ii. 198. v. 57. Gilead, country lay beyond Jordan, and was divided into two parts; there was Mount Gilead called so from the heap of stones, set up for a witness betwixt Jacob and Laban, Gen. xxxvi. iii. 154. 159. x. 503, 504. Gilgal, Josh. iv. 19. It was in Benjamin, and fifty furlongs, or six miles and a quarter, from Jordan; ten furlongs east from Jericho. Sometimes Galilee is so called, x. 91. 97. 162. See Galilee. Giscala, a town beyond Jordan, not far from Gadara, x. 154. Golon, a city, whence is Gaulonitis, x. 166. Gophna, the next Toparchy of eleven to Jerusalem. There was a city also of that name, betwixt Cesarea and Jerusalem, and it is likely was in Judah, x. 107. 301. Gossan, 2 Kings xvii. 6. a river in Media, whither the ten tribes were carried, called Ginzak by the Jews, is like Gazu­nites in Ptol. xii. 572. Gush Chalab, in the tribe of Asher famous for olives and oil, x. 85. 104. 358. Haleac, 2 Kings xvii. 6. a city whither the ten tribes were carried; the Jews call it Halvaeth, or Chalzon, perhaps for Chalvaon, which agrees with Alvanis, a city in Mesopotamia, that Ptolemy placed in long. 74. 15. lat. 35. 20. xii. 571. Hamath, was the utmost point of the land north, and is by some of the Jews understood to be Anti­och, by others Ephiphania. There were some kingdoms named from it, as Hamath-Zoba, &c. ii. 202, 252. x. 266. Haradah, is the twenty-first mansion of Israel in the wilderness; Hashmonah, is the twenty-sixth mansion, ii. 130. Harosheth, of the Gentiles, Judges iv. 2. hath its name from Chorashin, woody places, and was in Naphtali, x. 170. Hauran, was one of the mountains on which the signal fires, perhaps some part of Anti-Libanus; and might have its name either from the Sy­rian word Havar, which signifies 'white,' or from the Hebrew word Hor, which signifies 'a cave,' being white with snow, and hallow with subterraneæ passages. However, it was situated in the extreme parts of the land toward the north, Ezek. xlvii. 16. x. 264, 285. Hazar, is a frequent name in the south of Judah, as Hazar-addar, Hazar-gaddah, Hazar-Shua, Hazar-Susah, &c. and it signifies a plain or champain betwixt hills, x. 10. Hazar-Evan, Numb. xxxiv. 9. In the Roman copy is 'Arsenain,' it was the ut-
most bound of the land toward Syria, x. 294.

Hasarim, the region of the Avites; it was a part of New Idumea, x. 193.

Hasteroth, the twenty-fifth mansion of the Israelites, ii. 128.

Hasar, Josh. xi. 4. is called Nasor, 1 Mac. xi. 63. the metropolis of Canaan, that is, of the northern country, which is known by that name. It lay on the lake Samochonitis. See Cesarea Phil. x. 133.

Haxeon Tamar. (See Enchedi.) Is Engeidi, x. 201.

Hebrews, Acts vi. 1. are Jews dwelling in Judea, to whom the Hebrew, that is, the Syriac or Chaldee, was the mother tongue, iii. 189. 332. xii. 566.

Hebron, signifies 'consociation,' and it was so called perhaps from the pairs buried there; for here, they say, Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, were interred. It was in the hill-country of Judah, Josh. xxi. 11. south of Jerusalem, but a little toward the east, and might be seen from the towers of it, say the Jews. It was a city of refuge inhabited by the Levites, but the fields and villages belonged to Judah. It had several cities within its jurisdiction. Here John Baptist was born, and probably Christ conceived, ii. 175. 176. iii. 25. iv. 166. 167. 180. 255. x. 97. &c. 202. 376.

Helipolis, a city in Celosyria, Ptol. placeth it in long. 68. 40. lat. 33. 40. x. 289.

Helemists, Acts vi. 1. are Jews dwelling in foreign parts among the Greeks, and whose mother-tongue was Greek, iii. 206. 332. xii. 566.

Hermon, or 'the mountain of snow,' at Cesarea Philippi, and near the springs of Jordan, x. 128. 129. 331.

Hermon, the Lees; Borchardus placeth it south of Tabor, which without question is from a misconstruction of Psalm lxxxix. 12. x. 294. 331.

Herodium, a castle upon a mountain in the extreme part of Perea, south, toward Moab, near Machærus, built by Herod the Great, who was buried about eight furlongs from it. Here Herod Antipas entertained his lords, when Herodias danced before them. It was two hundred furlongs, or twenty-five miles, from Jericho, x. 277. 280. 328. 329.

Heshbon, a city in the mountainous part of Perea, x. 165.

Hieramiace, or Jarmoc, a river, near to which stood Gadara beyond Jordan, x. 143.

Hinnom, valley of, x. 80.

Hippo, or Susitha, being of the same signification, in the land of Tob, and region of Gergesa. It was thirty furlongs, or about three miles from Tiberias; beyond Magdala, from Jordan, two miles, and betwixt that and Bethsaida. It was for the most part inhabited by Gentiles, x. 144. 145. 359. xii. 211. 393.

Hittites were the northern inhabitants of Canaan; and so the kings of Tyre and Sidon are called kings of the Hittites, 1 Kings x. 29. xi. 220.

Hor, the mountain where Aaron died, and the thirty-fourth mansion of the Israelites in the Wilderness; and the same with Moseroth, &c. ii. 132. 136, 137. From hence those that inhabited the land, afterward possessed by the Edomites, were called Horites, or Horims, Gen. xiv. 6. ii. 89. x. 269. 288. It is also another mountain in the northern coast of the land, Numb. xxxiv. 7, 8. so that which is inwards of it, is within the land; what is without it, is without the land. It was called by the Jews Amanah, by others Amanas, x. 9. 128. 361.

Horeb mountain, the same with Sinai, where the law was given. This gave name to the wilderness of Horeb, ii. 137. iv. 354.

Hornah, a city in the tribe of Simeon, ii. 146.

Horonaim, Jer. xviii. 34. called by Josephus 'Horone,' a city in Moab betwixt Zoar and Eshtol. Ptol. long. 67. 20. lat. 30. 30. x. 333.

Jabesh-Gilead, was in Manasseh beyond Jordan, six miles from Pella, upon a mountain, as they go to Gerasa, saith Jerome. Elijah came from hence, ii. 149. 166. 216.

Jabneh, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. called by the Gentiles Jamnia, by the change of Beth and Mem (not Jamnia, as Antoninus), and 'Ivelyn' afterward, was in Judea on the sea-coast, three leagues south from Joppa; two pars or eight miles from Azotus (as Beujamin), or as Antoninus two miles, from Diospolis twelve miles, and from Ascalon twenty miles. Here the Sanhedrim sat first after its removal from Jerusalem. Ptolemy placeth it, long. 65. 40. long. 32. 0. iii. 201. 388. x. 34. 255. 300. viii. 450.

Jacob's Bridge, over Jordan, between the lake Samochonitis and Gennesaret, in the way that leadeth to Damascus: so Biddulph. But it is probable it was lower, betwixt Succoth and Zartanah, x. 310—312.

Jamnia, same as Jabneh, x. 34.

Jamnith, a town in the Upper Galilee, fortified by Josephus, x. 119.

Japha, a town in the Lower Galilee, fortified by him, x. 119.

Ibleam, in Manasseh, on this side Jor-
CHOROGRAPHICAL INDEX.

Dan, Josh. xvii. 11. and not far from Megiddo, 2 Kings ix. 27. ii. 228.

Iconium, a city in Lycania, and the most famous of the fourteen cities that were in tetrarchy; near to it were two lakes, the greater, called Coralis, and the less, Trogitis, viii. 472.

Ida, otherwise called Enhydra, between Tyre and Sarepta, x. 123.

Idumæa, or Edom, of old, lay between Amalek and Ammon, and the Red Sea, south, and is called Idumæa the Great; but in process of time, especially after the captivity, it was enlarged, and took in all Simeon, and so up as far as Azotus, and part of Judea, as far as the Dead Sea, east, and almost to Hebron, north, which was called Judæo-Idumæa; Idumæa the New, or the Less, Mark iii. 8.

Jerusalem, a town upon the borders of Arabia and Syria, saith Herodotus; but where that town was, is uncertain. The Talmudists mention Jeshus among the towns, which, they say, are in the confines; but the situation doth not agree, x. 216.

Jericho, or the city of palm-trees, the second to Jerusalem, was in the tribe of Benjamin, from Jerusalem about nineteen miles, and about eight or ten from Jordan; celebrated for rare schools, and a royal palace: the men of Jericho famed for six things, x. 93. 95. It was situated in a plain, but compassed with mountains like a theatre; it was famous for its balsam and waters, x. 90, &c. 203, 204.

Jerusalem, the city of, ix. 44. 215. The parts of, 47. The streets of Jerusalem were swept every day; and money, found there in the time of feasts, was called tenths or tithes; so also what was found at any time, x. 216. Some families of, 574. Jerusalem once called Salem, being compounded of Jirch and Salem, and why; under what latitude. It was holy above other cities; there were no gardens in it, &c. x. 44. 46. The parts of Jerusalem, 47. 51. It had in it Acre Bezetia and Millo, 52. It had many hills in it, 47. 48. Memorable places in it were the several streets, the ascent to the Temple, some courts, pools, stones, &c. 71. 73. The reason of the destruction of Jerusalem, gathered out of the Jewish writers and out of the Scriptures, xii. 186. The destruction of Jerusalem, and the Jewish state is described as if the whole frame of the world was to be dissolved, xii. 433. vi. 290. See Jerusalem, in the preceding index, and the separate description of it.

Jeshanah, a neighbouring city to Taippar, where the records of Taippor were laid up, x. 154.

Jezreel, (seems to be in the tribe of Issachar, Josh. xix. 18.) In it was the palace of Ahab. It gave name to the valley of Jezreel, otherwise called Esdrelon, Judith i. 8. and the Great Plain, that ran far down, where was a river that discharged itself into Jordan. See Great Plain, ii. 229. x. 313, 314.

Jim, a town whose houses were in Judah, but the fields in Dan, x. 89.

Jion, 1 Kings xv. 20. seems to be beyond Dan, the city, or in the extremest borders of the land on that side. The Alexandrian copy reads it 'Nain,' v. 143. x. 294.

Joppa, Japho, Josh. xix. 46. Acts ix. 36. Jewish university at, iii. 44. A famous port-town, betwixt Cesarea and Azotus, and from the former a day's journey and a half, viii. 221. x. 34.

Jordan ariseth in the region of Daphne, near to Lebanon, not out of two fountains, but one that is in a cave called Panium, and is called Jordan the Less, till it falls into the lake Samochonitis: thence forward it is called Jordan, and falling into the lake of Gennesareth, ends in the Dead Sea. To the utmost point of which, or the desert of Haran, from the head of the river, is about one hundred miles. In some places, it was not above twenty or thirty yards over, and had fords. In this river was Christ baptized, and probably where the waters were divided by Joshua, ii. 297. iv. 304, 505. 412, &c. x. 129—131. 205, &c. 249. 311. Israel's passage through Jordan was very many miles, taking up about all the length of the river that was in Judea, iv. 305. 414. The waters thereof were opened twelve miles when Israel passed through, x. 96.

Jordan region, lay betwixt Jordan and Jericho, and so on this side of the city and that, and also toward Jerusalem, x. 203.

Jordan transmarine, x. 310.

Jotapata, or Jodaphath, a town in the Lower Galilee, x. 119. 155. There was a valley of that name, x. 106.

Ishmaelites, near to the Midianites and Medanites, with whom they lived so promiscuously, that any of them did indifferently bear any of these names, Gen. xxxvii. 26. 36. ii. 102.

Issachar tribe, was the most southern part of Galilee, lying betwixt Zebulon north, and Manasseh south. Its length was southward the sea of Gennesareth, but not quite reaching to it, to Carmel, Kishon, and the Great Sea. Its breadth
north to south, from Manasseh to Mount Tabor, and with Zebulun, was about fifteen miles. Issachar, say the Jews, is like a strong or bony ass, Gen. xix. 14. low before and behind, and high in the middle; and couches between two borders, that is, the valleys of Pisian and Jezreel, x. 121, 122. 295, 296. 317, 518. 324.

Iturea, the same with Auranitis in Josephus. It was so called either from Jetur, a son of Ishmael, Gen. xxv. 15. or from Hiturri, which signifies 'under-digging,' and so it sounds the same with 'Troglodytis,' the country of those that dwell in caves; the country being famous for caves: for which reason Pliny and Strabo speak of an Iturea in Cyrhestica and Chalcis. It was beyond Jordan, and lay edging upon Arabia, but was in Syria, iv. 251, 252. x. 266, &c. 289.

Judea, as a division of the country, contained the tribes Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and Dan, and is ordinarily called 'the south,' by the Rabbins, in opposition to Galilee, iii. 366, x. 29. As a tribe, it was divided into the 'mountains, the plain, and the south,' Numb. xiii. 30, &c. The south lay toward Seir and Amalek, from the inlets into the land, at the utmost part of the Dead Sea, having the Philistines upon the west: this part reached to the rising of the mountains, not far below Hebron. The mountains, called in Scripture, 'the hill-country of Judah,' Josh. xxii. 11, &c. and by the Jews, the 'Mount Royal,' began about Hebron, and ran along northward to and beyond Jerusalem, having the plain or flat of Jordan skirting all along upon their east side, till Samaria and Galilee brought in another denomination. The plain joins to the mountainous country on the east, and though more level and low than that, yet hath its hills. To the plain castwardly joins a valley, lower than the plain, which is the coast of Sodom, and at length that of Jordan. This tribe was incredibly populous, and had several privileges, as the intercalation of the year, &c. iv. 130. x. 21, 22. 26, 27. 45. 46. 197. Customs of, 158.

Judah-Wilderness, Josh. xv. 61. Psal. lxxiii. title, was in Idumea the Less, or the wilderness of Engedi.

Judea-Wilderness, for so they are to be distinguished, was betwixt Jericho and Jordan, and from Jericho onward toward Jerusalem, both of them comparatively desert, but both populous, and had many towns. Here John first taught, Matt. iii. 1, and Christ was tempted, whether two miles from Jericho at Quantanania, as it is pointed out by some, or farther southward along the banks of the Dead Sea, as the more desert place, iv. 354, 355. x. 200. 203, 204. 326.

Julias, formerly Betharamphtha, built by Herod and called 'Julias,' in honour of the emperor's wife; it was in Perea, near to Jordan, and at the influx of it into the lake Gennesareth. The maps have placed it farther off, x. 168. There were two cities of this name, one built by Herod, the other by Philip. See Bethsaida.

Karchnim, or Karuthim, a place of note among the Jews for the best wine, x. 104.

Kedar, a country in Arabia, Gen. xlv. 13. Isa. xxi. 13. 16, where the inhabitants lived in tents, Psal. cxx. 5: ii. 263.

Kelahathah, the nineteenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

Keila, where David raised the siege of the Philistines; (it was in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 44.) It was, say the Jews, famous for figs, ii. 171. x. 104.

Kenites, were of two sorts. 1. The descendants of Canaan, who were, it is likely, so called from some Cain, a person of renown in that family. These were planted east of Jordan, Gen. xv. 19. Numb. xxiv. 21, whereabout Moab and Ammon were seated, ii. 329. 501. 2. There were of that name of the posterity of Jethro, father-in-law of Moses, so called from the country Kain, Numb. xxiv. 22, who came with Joshua and Israel into the land of Canaan, and first resided about Jericho, the city of palm-trees, Judges i. 6, and afterward removed into the south of Judah, upon the coasts of the Amalekites, and in Saul's time were mingled with them. These Kenites were the root of the Rechabites, Jer. xxxv. and 1 Chron. iii. 55. And from them came the Essenes (a people that live alone, and of all other nations most to be admired; they are without any women, &c. saith Pliny), who succeeded them in their habitation and austerity of life, residing on the western shore of the Dead Sea. These were called Salamæans (and so the Kenites are constantly translated by the Chaldee Paraphrast. There were some of the Kenites in Galilee, Judges iv. 17, ii. 146. iii. 405. x. 17. 325, 326.

Kenizzites were by original Canaanites, called so perhaps from one Kenaz of that family. They dwelt east of Jordan, whereabout afterward Moab and Ammon planted: and were one of the ten, though not of the seven, nations the Jews say they were to possess, x. 268, 269.

Ketsarah, a little city, fortified from the time of Joshua, that belonged to Tsippor, and was near to it, x. 154.

Kibroth-hattaavah, or the graves of
lust, Numb. xi. 34, the thirteenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness.

Kiriath Arba, x. 379.

Kiriath-jearim, 'the city of the woods,' Psal. cxxxii. 6, was formerly called Baale, and was sometime reckoned to Judah, sometime to Dan, Josh. xv. 29, and xix. 25. II. 164, 165. x. 89.

Kiri-harosheth, a city in Moab, 2 Kings iii. 23: ili. 223.

Kirimion, or Amana, a river in the way to Damascus, x. 128.

Kishon, a river that pours itself into the sea, not far from Carmel, on the south, 1 Kings xviii. 40, and not, as some place it, on the north, of it. It is called an 'ancient river,' Judges v. 21, or river of their antiquities, because in ancient times it was a water of much idolatry amongst them, ii. 154. x. 123.

Kubi, town of, x. 107.

Laachish, a city, in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 39, where Amaziah was slain, ii. 232.

Lake of Gennesareth, Galilee, Tiberias, and Cinnereth Sea, all one, v. 164. In the Old Testament, called the sea of Cinnereth, in the New also the sea of Galilee, and sea of Tiberias, x. 133.

Lake of Samochonitis, in Scripture, is the waters of Merom, &c. x. 132.

Land of Israel, how divided by the Jews, x. 5. The land possessed by those that came up out of Babylon, was divided into three parts, 7. Several great mysteries and offices confined to the land of Israel, ib. The Talmudic girdle of the land under the second Temple, what, 8. A great part of the land, viz. South Judea, was cut off under the second Temple, 10. Jewish Idumea, what part of the land, ib. The seven seas, according to the Talmudists, and the four rivers compassing the land, what, 12. A description of the sea-coasts thereof out of Pleyy and Strabo, 22, &c. Towns on the limit of the land, 170. Land of Israel was the land of the Hebrews before it was the Canaanites; the original title of it from the confusion of tongues, 262. Its breadth and length, 249-256. 369.

Laodicea, Coloss. iv. 16, a city of Asia the Less, and in the province of Phrygia Pacatiana, one of the seven churches, iii. 255. 300. 330. There was also a city of that name near Lebanon, x. 287.

Lashah, called also by the heathens Calirrhoe, and by the Jews Chammath Pelle, to distinguish it from Chammath Gadarre, was on the north-east part of the Dead Sea, as Sodom was on the south, Gen. x. 19. It was famous for its warm spring of a medicinal nature, x. 201. 226.

Lebanon, a large hilly country, and so called from Laban, 'to be white,' because of the snows that lie continually upon it; so Deut. xi. 24, &c. It is often translated by the Greek interpreters, Anti-Libanus; and is called sometimes by the Talmudists, Baal. There was upon it a forest, and there Solomon built him a summer-house, ii. 202. v. 61. x. 362.

Lebbah, a sea-coast town in Galilee, near unto Carmel, from whence perhaps Judas was surnamed Lebbeus, Matt. x. 3: xii. 171, 172.

Lemba, a city of Moab, x. 242.

Lesbos, a pleasant island in the Egean Sea, betwixt the promontory Assos, and the island Chios. It was otherwise called Mitylene, Acts xx. 14, from the chief city that was so named. Thither did Tiberius banish Junius Gallio, a friend of Sejanus, viii. 94.

Libnah, the seventeenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130. There was also of that name a city in the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv. 42. 2 Chron. xxii. 10. It was a city of the Levites, Josh. xxi. 15: 224.

Lod, in the tribe of Benjamin, Neh. xi. 35. This is also another name for Lydda, x. 38. 260. See Lydda.

Lodebar, a city beyond Jordan, near Mahanaim, 2 Sam. xvii. 27, where lived Eliam, or Ammiel, the father of Bathsheba, 2 Sam. xi. 7. 1 Chron. iii. 5: i. 182.

Lot's Cave; the maps shew it in Judea, at the northern coast of the Dead Sea; but it was near Zor, in the land of Moab, x. 16. 200.

Lycaonia, Acts xiv. 6. a province of the Lesser Asia, bordering upon Galatia and Caria. There are hills that are plain, cold, and naked, and pastures for wild asses, which begin at Iconium, saith Strabo, viii. 472, 473.

Lydda, Acts ix. 35. 38. The authors of the maps have held Lod and Lydda for two towns; Lod not far from Jericho, and Lydda not far from the Mediterranean Sea; when there is no difference, unless that is Hebrew, this Greek: an error perhaps from Lod and Hadid, that are framed into one word Lodadi, by the Seventy interpreters, Ezra ii: 33. Neh. vii. 37. This was called by the Gentiles Diospolis, and by the Jews Lodicea. It wanted little of the bigness of a city, though a village, and of all places next Jabneh and Bitter, was most eminent for its schools, where R. Akibah sat president. It was seated in a plain, not in the tribe of Ephraim, as it is placed in
some maps, but in Judea, and was a
day's journey west from Jerusalem, not
far from Joppa; forty miles from Casarea,
and thirty-two miles from Ascalon,
said Antoninus, and had, according
to Ptolomy, long. 66. 0. lat. 32. 0.
From Lydda to the sea was vale, and to
Emmaus plain, iii. 201, 202, 206, x. 21, 22, 204, 250, 260, 261, 299, 300.
Lystra, a city of Lydia, Acts xiv. 8:
vii. 473.

Maachathites, are by the Jews called
Epicerus, Deut. iii. 14. Josh. xiii. 13,
being, it is probable, so called in their
time. Epicerus is, in Ptolomy, on the
east of Jordan, long. 67. 0. lat. 31. 0. x.
279.

Macedonia, a country north of Greece,
that had in it several cities of note; as
Philippi, Thessalonica, Nicopolis, and
Berea, &c. In the Notitia there is a
 distinction betwixt Macedonia, strictly
so called, and Macedonia Salutaris, iii.
224. 236. 254. 256. viii. 137. x. 197.

Machærus, called in the Talmud, Mac-
var, a castle in the mountainous part of
Peræa, and the south bound of it toward
Arabia or Moab, near Amon, and the
shore of the Dead Sea. Here John the
Baptist was imprisoned; and this was the
being betwixt Herod and his father-in-law
Aretas, the Arabian king, whose
daugethier he put away, when he took
Herodias, v. 60. 77. x. 165. 329, 330.
xi. 209.

Machir, half Gilead, beyond Jordan,
ii. 154.

Machpelah, the burying-place near He-
bron, x. 99.

Magdala, sometimes called ' Magdala
Gadare,' from its neighbourhood to Ga-
dara, was a sabbath-day's journey, or
two miles, from Channath, one mile
from Jordan and from Hippo. From
hence perhaps was Mary called ' Magda-
lene,' if not from Magdal, that signifies
' folding' or ' curling hair,' x. 143, 144.
226. xi. 211. 354, 355.

Magdalous, a place where Pharaoh Ne-
cho obtained a victory over the Syrians,
said Herodotus, which seems to be the
same with what is related, 2 Kings xxiii.
33, concerning his battle with Josiah in
Megiddo, x. 216.

Makeloth, the two-and-twentieth man-
sion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii.
130.

Manasseh tribe, was half on this, half
on the other side Jordan. That on this
side, extended itself in length east and
west from Jordan, to Dor on the Medi-
terranean Sea; in latitude from Ephraim
to Bethshean, x. 313. Manasseh beyond
Jordan, was the most northern of those
that were there situated, ii. 134.

Mansions of the Israelites in the Wil-
derness, ii. 24.

Marah, the fifth mansion of the Israel-
ites in the wilderness, where they mur-
mered for want of water, ii. 117.

Marissa, a town in Idumæa the Less :
Josephus, x. 11.

Masada, in Hebrew, 'Matsada,' which
implies ' fortification,' taken from 1 Sam.
rock, in the wilderness of Judah or En-
gedi, near the Dead Sea, but not on
the utmost north coast, as the maps, for
it was the south bound of Judea. Here
David composed that Psalm, 1 Sam. xxiv.
1, and he calls the place, 'the rocks of
the wild goats,' x. 200.

Mearah beside the Sidonians, Josh.
xiv. 4. There were waters allowed by
the Jews (probably of the same kind
with those of Tiberias), x. 142.

Medeba, a city of Moab, Numb. xxi.
30. in the tribe of Reuben, x. 241, 242.

Megiddo Valley, where Josiah was
slain, 2 Chron. xxxv. 22. This is allud-
to, Zech. xii. 10. It was in Manas-
seh, Josh. xvii. 11. in the borders of Za-
bulon, near the river Kishon, Judges v.
19: ii. 279. See Magdala.

Melita, now called Malta, an island in
the Sicilian Sea, and in the middle
 betwixt that and the shore of Africa,
being eighty-eight miles from Pachynus in Sicily,
on the east, and eighty-four from Came-
rina in the south, and one hundred and
thirteen from Lilybaem, looking toward
Africa. Ptolemay placeth it long. 38. 45.
lat. 34. 40. Here St. Paul was ship-
wrecked, iii. 289, viii. 496.

Mero, a town in the Upper Galilee:
Joseph. x. 10.

Meroë, the chief city of the African
Ethiopia, and seated in an island of the
same name, and which is made by the
river Nile westward, and the river Asta-
boræa eastward; from whence perhaps the
eunuch came, Acts viii. 27, which
may call to mind, Zeph. iii. 10: viii. 447.

Merom-waters. See Samochonitis.

Meroë, a town in Galilee that lay very
near the place, where the battle was
fought betwixt Israel and Sisera, ii. 154,
155.

Mesopotamia, or Aram Naharaim.
Geographers distinguish betwixt Mesopo-
tamia, and Babylon or Chaldea. So
Ptolemay, Mesopotamia lieth south of the
country of Babylon: and yet Babylon
may be said in some measure to be in
Mesopotamia, because it lay between
Tigris and Euphrates, but especially in
Scripture-language, for it was beyond
the river. Chaldeans are therefore said
to be of Mesopotamia; and Strabo saith,
that Mesopotamia, with the country of
Babylon, is contained in the great con-
pass from Euphrates to Tigris. The Mesopotamian or Chaldean language was spoken in Assyria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, Colo-Syria, &c. ii. 150. viii. 54. 417. 418.

Methg Ammah, or 'the bridle of Ammah,' 2 Sam. viii. 1, because there was a continual garrison of the Philistines in the hill Ammah, 2 Sam. ii. 25, which the Philistines of Gath used as a bridle to curb those parts, i. 180.

Michmesh, was castward from Bethaven, 1 Sam. xiii. 5, and seemed to be upon the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin, Isa. x. 22: ii. 256.

Middin, a town in the wilderness of Juda, Josh. xv. 61. The Greek puts Αλεον for Middin; Αλεον being in signification, 'a place of springs;' and Middin, 'a place of those that draw waters.' So in the Hebrew we find Middin, Judges v. 10, which, if rendered 'Ye that dwell by Middin,' Kiuchi will warrant it, who, in his notes upon the place, saith, 'Middin is a city mentioned in Joshua,' and it follows, ver. 11, 'among the places of drawing waters,' as explaining the other, x. 92.

Midian was twofold; the one south of Canaan toward the Red Sea, and near to Amalek, whither Moses fled, and where Jethro lived, Exod. ii. 11; the other was castward, betwixt Moab and Syria, ii. 133, 134.

Migdal Eder, or 'the tower of the flock,' there was one of that name, Gen. xxv. 1, about a mile from Bethlehem, and whereabouts, it hath been held, that the shepherds were, unto whom the angels appeared at the birth of our Saviour, Luke ii. 8. There was also another place of that name, spoken of in the Rabbins, situated on the south side of Jerusalem, and so near the city, that there was no town round about within that space, or betwixt that and the city, iv. 108. x. 221.

Migdal Zabaai, or 'the town of dyers,' that was destroyed for fornication, say the Jews, x. 107.

Migron, a town in Benjamin, Isa. x. 28: ii. 256.

Miletus, Acts xx. 16, a port town to Ephesus, and near to it, iii. 295, 296.

Milbo, in Jerusalem, what, x. 53, 54.

Mithoach, the five-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

Mizraah, or Mizar, Psal. lxi. 6, seems to be the hilly part of Zoar, whither Lot would have fled. Gen. xix. 20, O let me escape to this city, is it not Mizraah, or a little one? So that the hill Mizar, may be the same as if it had been said, the hilly part of the little hill Zoar. The reasons of which are two: 1. As Hermon was near the springs of Jordan, so the hilly part of Zoar lay hard by the extreme parts of Jordan in the Dead Sea; and the Psalmist seems to measure out Jordan from one end to the other. 2. As David betook himself towards Hermon in his flight from Absalom, so when fleeing from Saul, he betook himself to Zoar in the land of Moab, 1 Sam. xxi. 3, and so bewails his condition, as banished to the utmost countries north and south that Jordan washed, x. 331.

Mizpeh, a place near Tiberias, of an unwholesome air, x. 230.

Mizpeh; there were several places of this name in Scripture. 1. One in Gad, called Ramath-Mizpeh, Josh. xiii. 26. 2. In the north part of Manasseh beyond Jordan, near Hermon, Josh. xi. 3. 3. In Moab, 1 Sam. xxii. 3. 4. Not far from Jerusalem, in the confines, it is likely, of Judah and Benjamin, Josh. xv. 38. and xviii. 26. Here the Sanhedrim sat in the time of Samuel, and Saul was proclaimed king, 1 Sam. x. 17: ii. 166.

Moab, called Arabia of the Nomades, situated on the east of the Dead Sea, x. 329, 350.

Modim, 1 Macc. ii. 1, the sepulchre of the Maccabees, fifteen miles from Jerusalem, x. 248.

Moriah, within Jerusalem, what, ix. 213. Where situate; derivation of, 213, 214.

Moseraoth, the seven-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, and the same place or country with Hor, Gudgodah, and Hor-hagidgad, ii. 130. 136, 137.

Mount Acra, Moriah, Sion, were within Jerusalem, ix. 213, 214. Mount Olivet faced Jerusalem, and was divided from it by the Valley of Tophet, &c. 221.

Mount Gilead, what, and whether not the hill Gaash, x. 303.

Mount Hor, called Amanah in the Jewish writers, x. 128.

Mount Macvar, Macherus is derived from it, what, x. 165.

Mount Olivet; why used by Christ to preach in, iii. 140. The Mount of Olives in the Rabbins commonly the Mount of Oil, whence the name, and what was done there, x. 82. It had shops in it, 220.

Mount of Simeon, what, x. 106.

Mount Tabor, what, and where situate, x. 317.

Mount Zeboim, was within the land, x. 107.


Mountain of Snow, with some the same with Hermon, x. 128.
Mountain of the Temple, how large, ix. 215, 216. Its prospect, 221.

Mountainous country, what, x. 27.

Mountains; the Black Mountains run from the bay which is near Pharan to Judea; Ptolemy, x. 330.

Mountain of Iron, in the south in the Desert of Sin; another of that name was also in Persia, x. 90. 178.

Mountain, where Christ was tempted, was probably beyond Jordan eastward, because his first appearing afterward was at Bethabara on that side, John i. 28. But whether Pisgah, Nebo, Horsh, or what else, is uncertain, iv. 367.

Mount of Transfiguration, not Tabor, but some mountain near Cæsarea-Philippi; perhaps that which, Josephus saith, was the highest, and hung over the very fountains of Jordan. It being improbable Christ should go from Cæsarea Philippi, where he was immediately before his transfiguration, through the length of almost whole Galilee, and from thence back again by a course to Capernaum, where he immediately afterwards was, xi. 405.

Nabateans inhabited in and about the town Petra, in Arabia, Plin. With whom David had war, saith Josephus; x. 252. 287.

Nain, Luke vii. 11, so called, from the pleasantness of its situation, and probably as it is of the like signification, so was the same with Engannim. It was in the extreme borders of Issachar toward Samaria, opposite to Gema, the extreme of Samaria toward Issachar (if not the same with it) and in the way from Galilee to Jerusalem, that it might thence be seen. It was probably beyond Jordan eastward, having Asher and the coasts of Tyre betwixt it and the Great Sea. It abounded in vineison, and there was the gospel first preached, ii. 106. x. 122. 136, 137.

Neptosah. See Etam.

Netophah, Jer. xl. 8. (in the tribe of Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 54, and ix. 16.) ii. 301.

Nibshan, a city in the wilderness of Judah, Josh. xv. 62.; x. 326.

Nicanor, gate of, x. 65.

Nisopolis, a city in Macedonia, Titus iii. 12. that bore the name and badge of the victory that Augustus obtained against Antony, iii. 261, 262. x. 298. See Emmaus.

Nitzah, the great deity of the Egyptians, and the chief river of Egypt, but not the same with what the Scripture calls, The River of Egypt, ii. 115. x. 21. See Sihor.

Nineveh, the chief city of Assyria, propitious against by Nahum and Jonah, some thirty or forty years before it fell, and was swallowed up by Babylon, ii. 266. 273.

Nisibin, There was a noted consistory of the Jews, x. 173.

Nocara, a place three miles from Jericho, x. 359.

Nob, 2 Kings xvii. 9. was a city in Benjamin, belonging to the priests, so near Jerusalem, that it might thence be seen. Here the tabernacle was, before it was translated to Gibeah, in both which it rested seven-and-fifty years, saith Maimon, ii. 169. x. 88.

Nomades, were Arabians that lived in Moab, x. 329.

Nabatia, the seven-and-thirtieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 132.

Og. Wilderness, was in Batanea, or Bashan the desert, where our Saviour fed five thousand with five barley loaves, &c. Josh. vi. 9. xii. 293.

Olivet Mount, faced Jerusalem, (viz. the part of the city so called), the Temple and Sion on the east, winding north, and was so called from the abundance of olives that were upon it, or rather a part of it. That part which was nearest Jerusalem being called Bethphage, from the figs that grew there; the next to that
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Olivet, from the olives; and the farthest part Bethany, from the palms or dates. The foot of it was five furlongs from Jerusalem, saith Josephus. The top of it, Acts i. 12. called a Sabbath-day's journey, which was about eight furlongs, or a mile; and was the place, according to the later sense of our author, where the tracts of Bethphage and Bethany met. Here our Saviour ascended, and where he got upon the ass when he rode into the tracts of Bethphage and Bethany met. Butchadnezzar, ii. 295, 296.

Ono, was three miles from Lydda, and not, as the maps, near Jordan, not far from Jericho. It had a plain near it of the same name, Neh. vi. 2, &c. which was either the same with Saron, or a part of it. Betwixt this and Lydda, or near to them, was the Valley of Craftsmen, Nehem. xi. 35. x. 39. 260.

Ophtah, a place in the east part of the world, and for which they set out from Edon Geber, a port town on the Red Sea, 1 Kings ix. 26. 28. ii. 202.

Opotes, a city that is watered by the river Chrysorrhous, and which Pliny reckons amongst the Decapolitan, v. 190. x. 236.

Orba, Ezek. xxvii. 27. a city in the borders of Bethshan, whereabout Elijah was, when fed by the ravens, x. 245.

Orithon, or The City of Birds, a little city betwixt Sarepta and Sidon, x. 23.

Oronas, a city in Moab, Joseph. x. 242.

Orontes, formerly called Typhon, a river springing between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, near Heliopolis; and so it should be raised higher in the map. It seems to derive its name from Hauran, x. 286. See Hauran. There was another Orontes near Seleucia-Pieria. See Seleucia.

Otrouene, was from Rhinocorura twenty-four miles, from Cassium twenty-six miles. Antoninus. x. 255.

Palgo-Bibus, a city in the midland Phcenicia, x. 234.

Palga-Tyrus, or old Tyrus, is thirty furlongs, or three miles three quarters beyond Tyre. It was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 295, 296.

Palestine, was in length, from the confines of Arabia south, to Phcenicia north, which began at Ptolemais, 139 miles, saith Pliny. Arabic was there the mother tongue, viii. 462. x. 25. 124.

Palestine, the Third, called 'Palestine the Healthful,' whence the name, x. 195, 197.

Palmira. See Tadmor.

Pattathah, a place not far from Tiberias, x. 145.

Panaes, or Panium, and by the Rabbins, Panias, is the place whence arose the springs of Jordan; which Josephus thus describes: "Near Panium is a most delightful cave in a mountain, &c. and under the cave rise the springs of the river Jordan." Sometimes the fountain itself is called by that name; and sometimes Cesarea Philippi is called also Panaes. To this perhaps, Acts vii. 43, may have a respect, and Remphan may be no other than the calf of Phan or Panias, which is the same with Dan. viii. 434. x. 129-131. See Cesarea Philippi.

Papath, a place three miles from Tipphoris, x. 152.

Paphos, Acts xiii. 6. 13. was a city in the south-west angle of the island Cyprus; there was the old city and new, and both maritime places. Here was a temple of Venus, iii. 214, 215.

Parius, Numb. x. 12. and xii. 16. was the general name of the terrible wilderness, that lay on the south point of the land of Canaan. It was from Libanus one hundred miles, ii. 127, 128. x. 19.

Parbar, the gate, where situated, ix. 287.

Pareccho, a fortified town in the Nether Galilee, x. 119.

Patmos, an island in the Icarian Sea, of about thirty miles compass, where St. John had his visions, iii. 332.

Pella, a city of Moab, the farthest northern coast of Persia, and the south coast of Trachonitis. It was a Decapolitan city, and rich in waters. It is commonly said the Christians fled thither, and by that means were not involved in the destruction of Jerusalem; but how that could be, when it was, as Josephus saith, one of the cities destroyed by the Jews, in revenge of the slaughter of twenty thousand of their nation in Cesarea, must be left to the learned. If
they fled thither, it is probable it might be for sustenance; the destruction of Jerusalem being, say the Jews, in the seventh year, which was the year of release; when, on this side Jordan, they neither ploughed nor sowed, though they did on the other, iii. 356. x. 165. 258. 241, 242.

Pelusium, signifies 'muddy,' from χωλε 'mud,' and so is the same with 'sin,' and so is the same with 'sin,' pelusium, Ezek. xvi. 16. The Targums make it the same with Ramaes, Exod. i. 11. This by the Talmudists is called Cappadocia, and by the Arabians Damas. In the Samaritan, Naphick, for Anpak wrote over the gate. It was the bound of Egypt toward Arabia; and was from Mount Caussi four miles, from Joppa one hundred and thirty-six, x. 24, 25. 191. 338. xii. 423.

Perbeiusus, a city in Pisidia, viii. 465. Pentascinum, half way between Pelusium and Cassium, and from each twenty miles, x. 255.

Persea, signifies that part which is over a river, and is largely taken for the whole country beyond Jordan, inhabited by two tribes and half; and so it went sometimes under the name of Galilee, and might be so called from Gellenoth of Jordan, Josh. xii. 11; sometimes the southern part of that only was so called, which contained the kingdom of Sion or Reuben, and part of Gad: and then the length of it was from Macherae south, to Pella north, and the breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan. It was inhabited of old by the Zuzims, v. 144. x. 165. 242. 277, 279, &c.

Perge, Acts xiii. 13. a city in Pamphylia, and was situated betwixt the rivers Cestus and Cataraeaxis, being sixty furlongs distant from the former. There was a temple of Diana, iii. 215. viii. 463, 464.

Perizzites, so called from Perez, a person of note in the family of Canaan, from whom they descended, though not named amongst them, Gen. x. and was one of the seven nations of Canaan that were to be cut off, xi. 219. x. 267, 268.

Persia, is otherwise called Elam, Isa. xxii. 6. ii. 264.

Pethro, or 'the Rock,' a city of the Nabateans, and metropolis of Moab, little less than two miles in compass, situated in a valley, and encompassed with inaccessible mountains, a river running between, thirty-eight miles from the Dead Sea; from Gaza (not six hundred, as in Pliny) one hundred and ten miles, from the Persian Bay one hundred and twenty-two miles. Its long. 66. 45. Ptol. x. 252, 253.

Pharpar, 2 Kings v. 12. a river near Damascus, which the Jews call Pigah, and is said to be one of the seven rivers that compass the land, x. 13.

Phoenicia, or Phoenicia, may be divided into three parts, the maritime Phoenicia, the south border of which was Ptolemia; the midland Phoenicia, which had cities, Arca, Paleo-biblis, Gabala, Cesaræa of Pancas; Syrophoenicia, which extended as far as Antioch, x. 25, 234, 235.

Phoenician Sea, reached as far as Joppa, x. 24, 25.

Phoena, a town in Palestine, x. 178.

Philadelphiæ; there were several cities of that name. 1. The metropolis of Ammon, formerly called Rabbah, was in the south of Perea, in a fruitful country, and reckoned by Pliny, a Decapolis city. 2. Philadelphia, one of the seven Churches of Asia, Rev. i. and iii. (and so was it likely that of Lydda, as being of greater note, rather than Cilicia. See Bonfrer. x. 165. 238.

Philippi, Acts xvi. 12, a city in Macedonia, where was a Roman colony, iii. 224.

Philistines; inhabited the sea-coast, and gave the name of Palestine to the country. They were long enemies to Israel, ii. 146. 160. See Palestine.

Phrygia, a province in the Lesser Asia, part of which was called Pacatiana, in which was Laodicea, and another part Salutaris, iii. 25. x. 197.

Pimon, [Punon] the six-and-thirtieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 132.

Pithon, a town in Ephraim, where Abdon lived, Judg. xii. 15: ii. 161.

Pisidia, a province in the Lesser Asia; it had thirteen cities in it, amongst which was Antioch, viii. 464, 465.

Pislan, a valley in or near Issachar, x. 295.

Pithom. See Tanis.

Plain, The Great Plain, 1 Maccab. v. 52, was on both sides Jordan, and was on the west side in breadth from Bethshean to Ephraim; and in length from Bethshean to the Dead Sea: on the west side from Juliæ to Somorrha; the bound of Arabia Petrea. It was one hundred and fifty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth. It was the same with the Great Plain of Esdrelon, Judith i. 8. and the Great Valley of Jezreel, 1 Kings iv. 12: x. 90. 135. 206. 312, 313. The Lower Galilee, is sometimes called the Great Plain. See Galilee.

Pombeditha, a famous school of the Jews in the country of Babylon. x. 173, xii. 569.
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Pool, Lower Pool, Upper Pool, King's Pool, Pool of Siloam, Pool of Bethesda, Sheep-Pool, Pool of Shalalah, Pool of Solomon, what, x. 345, 349.

Pool of Bethesda, whence it received its waters; whence it had its excellent virtues, v. 285, 286. In it man, not beasts, were washed, xii. 280. It was made of an healing quality by the help of an angel, about the days of Christ's being on earth; but how long before or after, we know not, 282.

Probalica, or Sheep-gate, was not near the Temple, contrary to the common opinion, x. 343.

Ptolemais, or Acon, and by the Talmudists, Caphar Aco, is a sea-town of Galilee; and divided the Upper Galilee from the Lower, and the land of Israel from Phenicia. It is seated in a plain,compassed with mountains, having on the east the mountainous part of Galilee, on the north the Scæle Tyriorum, from which it was a hundred furlongs; on the south Carmel, from whence it is one hundred and twenty furlongs, x. 118, 124.

Puteoli, a famous mart-town in Italy, and a haven for ships, viii. 501.

Rabbah. See Philadelphia.

Rachel's sepulchre, south of Bethel and Migdal-Eder, and between Beth-lehem and Ramah, iv. 292. x. 223.

Ragab, a place beyond Jordan, famous for oil, x. 104.

Rakhath; a fortified city from the time of Joshua, x. 138.

Ramah; there were many towns called by this name, because they were seated in some high place; but the more eminent were, 1. Ramah or Aramaetha, called Ramathaim-Zophim, or Ramah of the Zophites, 1 Sam. i. 1. so called from the country of Zaph, in which it was, 1 Sam. ix. 5. in the hill-country of Ephraim, the birth-place of Samuel. 2. Ramah, if not the same, a frontier town upon the very skirt of Ephraim, towards Benjamin. 3. Ramah in Benjamin, Josh. xviii. 25. near to Gibeah of Saul, 1 Sam. xxii. vi. where Saul was anointed. It was not far from Beulah, though they were in different tribes, Matt. ii. 18. Hither Nebuzaradan brought the captives, Jerem. xl. 1. It was within sight of Jerusalem, being about thirty furlongs from it; and was called also Zophim, but for another reason, perhaps from the Zophim near Jerusalem, ii. 162, 166, 212. 298, 299. x. 87, 164.

Ramoth Gilead, a city of refuge in the tribe of Gad, and so in the country of Gilead, Deut. iv. 43. Josh. xx. 8. x. 218.

Raphana, a city towards Arabia, and by Pliny accounted a Decapolitan, v. 190, x. 238.

Red Sea; whence the name, with a strange story about Jonah's whale, iv. 27.

Refuge, cities of, x. 99, 100.

Rekan, what places denoted by, x. 18, 258. See Cadesh.

Rephaim, a people under Lebanon, Gen. xiv. 5. and xv. 20, called by the Samaritan, Aseans; and by the LXX, Titans, 2 Sam. v. 18. ii. 89. x. 270.

Rephaim Valley, 2 Sam. v. 18, not far from Jerusalem, ii. 177.

Renen tribe, west of Jordan, north of Gad, and enclosed between the rivers Arnon and Jordan, ii. 134.

Rhegium, Acts xviii. 13, a port-town in Italy, opposite to Sicily, iii. 289.

Rhinocorura, x. 21, 193. See Sihor.

Riblah, in the land of Hamath, Jer. xxxix. 5, where Nebuchadnezzar passed judgment upon Zedekiah. It was the north-east border of the land, Num. xxxiv. 11. The Targumists render it Daphne, ii. 299. x. 129. See Daphne.

Rimmon rock, whither the six hundred Benjamites fled, Judg. xx. 47, called Hadad Rimmon, Zech. xii. 11. or f the sad shout of Rimmon,' ii. 149.

Rimmon-pares, the sixteenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

Rimmon Valley; there was a marble rock there, into which every one of the seven elders that intercalated the year there, fastened a nail: therefore it is called, f the valley of nails,' say the Jews, x. 108.

Rissah, the eighteenth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

Rithmah. See Cadesh.

Rivers, the four, x. 12, 398.

Rome, is called Chittim in the Old Testament. It was built by Romulus, in the year of the world 3175, in the fifteenth year of Amaziah, king of Judah, that is, 785 years before our Saviour's death. It was the head of the fifth empire, and extended its dominion from Parthia to Britain, iii. 349. iv. 190. See Rome, in General Index.

Sabbatic river, saith Pliny, is in Judea; but Josephus saith, it is in the way to Antioch, between the cities Arca and Raphana. Josephus saith, it flows on the sabbath-days. Pliny and the Talmudists say, it is dry upon those days. The contrary relations of historians bring the truth of the story into suspicion, x. 236, 237.

Sabaeans, east of Canaan, iv. 218.

Succa, a country east of Batanea, x. 284.


**CHOROGRAPHICAL INDEX. 297**

- Sagalassus, a city in Pisidia, viii. 465.
- Salamean, or Salmean, or Kedide, the same, and what, x. 325, 326.
- Salamis, a fortified town in the Nether Galilee. There was also a city in the island of Cyprus of that name, Acts xii. 5. It was a port-town, iii. 213.
- Salamis, See General Index.
- Salim, John iii. 25, not near Sychem, as the maps place it, but a town in Galilee, and, it is likely, in Issachar, for so the Greek interpreter reads it, Josh. xix. 22.: v. 59, 60. x. 323, 324.
- Salmaa, or Sulma, a town in Arabia Deserta, long. 78. 23. lat. 28. 50. near to Ephruses, and from which it is likely the Samaritan calls Ephruses by that name, x. 338.
- Salt, city of Salt in the wilderness of Judah, Josh. xv. 62.: x. 326.
- Samochitis, Lake, called also the Sibbichean Lake, from νικτο a bush, because in the summer it was much dried, and grown over with thorns and bushes. It was otherwise called the Waters of Merom, Josh. xi. 5, and is said by the Jews to be one of the seven seas that compassed the land. It was thirty furlongs broad, and sixty long, and its marshes reached up to the country Daphne, x. 12. 132, 133.
- Samaria was a city, under the first Temple, built upon a hill, and was in later times called Sebaste, in honour of Augustus, or from the temple built in honour of him. Under the second Temple, it gave name to a region that was in the middle betwixt Judea and Galilee, beginning from Ginnæ, lying in the great plain, and ending at the toparchy of the Acrabatæni. It contained the two tribes of Ephraim and Manassæ, v. 37, &c. x. 109, &c. 121. viii. 441. Samaria had a temple and service resembling those at Jerusalem, iii. 193. In the days of Christ it was a country, not a city, for then there was no city of that name, but Sychem was the city, v. 81. 87. It is a country, not a city; and when the city Samaria is mentioned, it means the chief city of the country, which was Sychem, viii. 122.
- Samaria, under the first Temple, was a city; under the second, a country: called Sebaste, the religion thereof was Heathenism and Samaritanism, x. 109, 110. Samaria was planted with colonies two several times, 334, 335. geography of, x. 404.
- Sandalium, two of that name; the Sandalium of Lydda, being near to that city; and the Emkean, so called from Caphar Imki, x. 261.
- Sapheeta, a University of the Jews, xii. 262.
- Sarepta, or Zarephath, 1 Kings xvii. Obad. 20, was in Asher, belonging to Sidon, and betwixt that and Tyre, being from the former two leagues, and from the latter five. It was called Zarephath, as a conflagatory for boiling metals, especially glass, ii. 242. x. 291—293.
- Sarao, Heb. Sharon, Acts ix. 35, the same with Ono in V. T. Nehem. vi. 2, &c. was a spacious and fertile vale or champain, betwixt Lydda and the sea, having several villages in it, and was famous for wine. It was so called from πως to let loose, because of the cattle turned out there, iii. 202. v. 210. x. 39. v. 61. There was another Sharon beyond Jordan, inhabited about by Gileadites, by which it seems that it was a common name for all plains and champains whatsoever, viii. 210.
- Saracens, so called from Saracon, the east, x. 268.
- Scala Tyrium, or, the Ladder of the Tyrians, a very high mountain, north of Ptolemais one hundred furlongs, x. 124, &c. 265.
- Scope and Scopos, the view called Zophim, what, x. 86.
- Scythopolis, or Bethshean, x. 119. 239, 240. 312.
- Scythopolitan country, what, x. 311, 312.
- Sea, the Great Sea, Num, xxxiv. 4. or the Mediterranean, x. 9.
- Sea, put for a multitude of people, iii. 399.
- Sealop Amya, what, upon conjecture, x. 131.
- Sea of Cinnereth, in the Old Testament, is called in the New the Lake of Gennessaret, also the sea of Galilee and the sea of Tiberias, x. 133, 134. Sea of Galilee, Tiberias, Cinnereth, and lake of Gennessaret, were all one, v. 164. The molten or brazen sea described, ix. 428, 429. It contained two or three thousands baths, 429. Sea of Galilee, its length and breadth, xii. 262. Sea of Sodom, what and of what use, x. 14, 15.
- Seas, the seven seas according to the Talmudists, and the four rivers compassing the land, what, x. 12. 397.
- Sebaste, a brave city, built by Herod just where Samaria stood; may be the place called, in the New Testament, the city of Samaria, viii. 441. See Samaria.
- Secacah, a city in the wilderness of Judah, Josh. xv. 61.: x. 326.
- Seir mount, called Gablah [or Gebalab] by the Samaritans, betwixt Horeb and Cades, Deut. i. 2.: ii. 130. 136. iii. 298. It took its name from Seir, a branch of the Canaanites, x. 268. 337.
- Selame, a town in Galilee, near Tabor, probably the same with Salim, mentioned by the LXX, Josh. xix. 22.: x. 324.

Seige, a city in Pisidia, viii. 465.

Senec, a rock near Gibeath in Benjamin, i Sam. xiv. 4. x. 87. See Gibeath.

Seph, a fortified town in Upper Galilee. Josephus. x. 119.

Sepharad, Obad. 20. neither, as the Targum, 'Spain;' nor as St. Hieron. 'Bos­

ション into the sea, iii. 215. viii. 272. 460.

Sepher, a portion of ground, and the place where it lay, called, John iv. 5, Sycbar, (either

 tant eight miles from Samaria, and twenty-

v. 87, &c. viii. 112. x. 109. 338, &c. and was the south bound between Judea and Egypt. It was from Gaza four-and-forty miles, from Ascalon fifty-four miles, from Ostracene twenty-four miles, and not far from Sirbon, x. 10. 21. 195. 207. 255.

Shechem, or Sychem, signifieth both a

portion of ground, and the place where it lay, called, John iv. 5, Sychar, (either

by way of reproach, as it signifies 'drunk·

arcs.' Isa. xxviii. 1, or as it signifies ' a se­pulcre,' &c.) and Nicopolis. It was the

metropolis of Samaria. Here the twelve patriarchs' bones were laid. It was in the tribe of Ephraim, in a valley between the

mounts Gerizim and Ebal, being distant eight miles from Samaria, and twenty-seven from Engannim, ii. 99, 100. 142.

v. 87, &c. viii. 112. x. 109. 338, &c.

Shezor, a town near Zephath in the

Upper Galilee, x. 137.

Shihin, not far from Tippor, x. 155.

Shiloah, so called, because of the 'peace­

ableness' of the land, when the tabernacle was set up there. It was otherwise called

Ephraim, north of Bethel, and a little on

one side from the way between Bethel

and Sychem. It was destroyed in the

time of Hophni and Phineas, ii. 141.

163. 164. 298. x. 89.

Shunem, a town in the tribe of Issachar, Josh. xix. 18, where the woman lived whose son Elisha raised to life, iv. 160.

Shurr. See Elham and Hazerim.

Shushein, the royal city of Persia, ii. 311.

Sicily, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, near Italy, the chiefest city of which was Syracuse, iii. 289.

Sicini Valley. In a place of that name, was a university of the Jews, x. 106. 173.

Sidon, on the shore of the Great Sea, from Tyre five-and-twenty miles, from
was in length more than one hundred miles, in its greatest breadth five-and-twenty, in its least six. It is likely Josephus did not comprehend within his measure the tongue of the sea, Josh. xv. 2. and describes the breadth as it generally was, x. 14, 15.

Somorha, the south bound of the rock of Arabia, x. 90.

South-Country, used for Judea, x. 28, 9.

Spain and France, what places the Jews understood for them, x. 291.

Stations of the Israelites in their departure from Egypt, ii. 415.

Subterraneous places, x. 177.

Syria. See General Index.

Strato's Tower, what, x. 112, &c.

Succoth, so called from the booths Jacob built there, Gen. xxxiii. 17. was in the vale of Perseus, opposite to Zartana, and perhaps might give the name of Scythopolis to Bethshean, which was near to Zartana. There was the valley of Succoth, Psal. lx. 10. in Moab or Peres, ii. 99. x. 180. x. 165. 313, 314. See Beth Shan.

Susittha, anciently called Mazi, x. 144.

Tabor. See Hippo.

Sycaminum, probably the Shikmonah in the Talmudists, a town on the sea-coast of Phoenicia, betwixt Doron and Carmel, and perhaps the same with Caphar Hana- niah, that divided between Upper and Nether Galilee, x. 118, &c.

Sychar and Sychem, the same, v. 81. 87. Sychar, the reason of the name, 88.

Sychem, the metropolis of Samaria, called Neapolis: the Jews, in scorn, called it Sychar, x. 109.

Syria, anciently called Aram, which was divided into several kingdoms; as Aram-Naharaim, Aram-Zobah, Aram-beth-Rehob, &c. Psal. lx. title. 2 Sam. x. 8. And so Syria was of large extent, its breadth being from Selucia Pierire to Zeugma on Euphrates, five hundred and twenty-five miles; and did include in it all the country of the Jews, both within and without Jordan, Matt. iv. 24. as being within the jurisdiction of the Roman governor of Syria, and by the Jews was all of it accounted as Canaan, in respect of its privileges. It was divided, in the Notitia, into Syria on Euphrates, and Syria Salutaris, ii. 181. 272. v. 190. 191. viii. 460. x. 132. 191.

Tabor mount, called by Josephus, Itaburion, was thirty furlongs high. It lay, as it were, in the midst, betwixt the coasts of Samaria and Upper Galilee. Having on this side Issachar (of which it was the utmost bound north, Josh. xix. 22.) toward Samaria, and on that side Zabulon toward the aforesaid Galilee [and so is misplaced in the map by mistake.] It was two leagues east from Nazareth, and about ten miles from Capernaum. The Tabor, usually shown to travellers, agrees not with that of Josephus, x. 119. 294, 295. 317, 318. Tabor was not the mount where Christ was transfigured, xi. 465.

Tabor Plain, 1 Sam. x. 3. perhaps the Methhara of the Gemarists, x. 325.

Tadmor, 1 Kings ix. 18. It may be questioned, whether it be the same with Tamar or Engedi. Josephus saith, the Greeks call it Palmira, and so the Vulgar interpreters read it, x. 17. 233.

Tahath, the three-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

Tamar and Engedi, are the same, x. 17. See Engedi.

Tanis, said to be the Pithom, Exod. i. 11. by the Targum; from hence one mouth of Nilus is called Taniticum. It is derived from ' tin,' which among the Chaldees signifies mud,' x. 191.

Tara, the four-and-twentieth mansion of the Israelites in the wilderness, ii. 130.

Tarichees, a town in the Lower Galilee, south-west of the lake of Gennesareth, over against Gamala, and thirty furlongs from Tiberias, iii. 376. x. 119. 139, 140. 145. 196. 226.

Tarshish, a city that was in the dominion of Nineveh, in the time of Jonah ii. 243.

Tarshish, a city that was in the dominion of Nineveh, in the time of Jonah ii. 243.

Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, and a free town of the Romans. Here St. Paul was born; and here was a university, in which were scholars no whit inferior to Athens, viii. 130. 416.

Taurus, a mountain, where situated, x. 361.

Tekoa, in the tribe of Judah, south of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, being distant from the former twelve miles, from the latter six: Bonfrer. It was the birthplace of Amos, and famous for the best oil. There was a wilderness near to it, ii. 240. x. 104. 199.

Telithon, a city in Moab: Josephus, x. 242.

Tetrarchy, not a fourth part of a kingdom, for Syria had seventeen, &c. but rather a principality in the fourth rank of excellency in the Roman empire; as emperors, proconsuls, kings, tetrarchs, iv. 250. 251.

Thebaïs in Egypt, was famous for Mys- robalanum: Pliny. xi. 427.
Chorographical Index.

Thessalonica, a city in Macedonia, iii. 225, 226.

Tiberias city, in the Lower Galilee, a fortified city from the days of Joshua, formerly called Rakkath, Josh. xix. 35; but named Tiberias by Herod in honour of Tiberius; the situation ill placed in the maps. The ground of it was before a burying-place, but pleasant, having the lake of Gennesareth as a wall on one side; and a little from Jordan, being at the efflux of that from the lake, and not in the middle of the shore of the lake, as the maps. It grew to be the prime city of Galilee, and indeed of all Israel, having thirteen synagogues, and an academy. Here was collected the Talmud; and here was the tenth and last session of the Sanhedrim. It was from Scythopolis fifteen miles, from Hippo thence, from Gadara six, from Tipporis eight or nine. It was famous for its medicinal waters, iii. 394, &c. x. 118, 119, 139, &c. 148. 226. 359.

Tigris river, where it riseth and runs slower, was called Digtina; where swifter waters, formerly called Rakkath, Josh. xix. 35.

Timnath, or Thanna, one in Judea, and another of Samson in Dan. There was also a third, called Timnath-Serab, Josh. xxiv. 30. in mount Ephraim, where Joshua was buried, x. 202, 203.

Tiphah, not far from Tizah, where Menahem exercised great severity, 2 Kings xv. 15: ii. 246.

Trebathaba, a village near Gerizim, where the Jews met an impostor among the Samaritans (Simon Magus as like as any), that promised to shew them holy vessels, which Moses with his own hand had hid in Gerizim, vii. 171.

Tirsah, 1 Kings xiv. 17. perhaps the same with Sichem, ii. 209.

Tophat, the valley, why so called, ix. 221.

Towns, x. 175. xi. 381, 382.

Toshab, a city from whence Elijah was called the 'Tishbite,' as say the Targums, which is far fetched; perhaps rather from Toshbi, which denotes no other than a 'converter;' to which Malachi iv. 5. seems to have alluded, xii. 20.

Tower of Antonia, ix. 235.

Trea-Tarbernae, Acts xxviii. 15. in Italy, three and thirty miles from Rome, and betwixt that and Appii-Forum, iii. 289.

Trachonitis, was a province and tetrarchy, or rather part of a tetrarchy, in Syria, anciently called Argob or Regab, being north of Persea and east of Batanea; and was so called, saith Tyrius, from 'dragons,' or 'secret lurking places,' which were so called, which this country did abound in, the inhabitants living upon robbery; or it might be so called from 'Trachones,' which, saith Strabo, were two mountains beyond Damascus, and might be so called from the Hebrew word יוֹר, which signifies 'weariness,' in regard of the difficulty of passing them, iv. 251, 252. x. 165, 166. 242. 277, 278. 283, 284. 286, 289.

Tyre, Acts xx. 6. in Lesser Asia, and in the way from Ephesus to Macedonia, iii. 276.

Troglogdives, were a people that dwelt in caverns and holes, and were both of the north of the land of Israel and the south. Pliny saith, Troglogydtes had excellent Myrobalanum, x. 286. xi. 427.

Tzok, was the rock from whence the goat Azazel was cast; it was near Bethhoron, twelve miles from Jerusalem, x. 104, 105.

Tzippor, x. 152. 154. See Zipor.

Tyrie; there were divers towns called by the name of Tsur or Tyre, because built in a rocky place. As 1. The noble mart of Phenicia, which had bounds with old Tyre, nineteen miles about, and extended its territories south as far as Ptolemais, and gave name to the Tyro-Sidon, which reached as far as Cæsarea-Philippi and Chabul. 2. There was Tyre which was between Arabia and Judea beyond Jordan; and Josephus joins Tyrians with Gadarenes, &c. 3. There was another in Chabul, x. 23, 24. 122. 230. 235. 254. 293.

Tyrians Ladder of, x. 126.

Umanus, a mountain, where situated, x. 361.

Ur, a city of the Chaldees, Gen. xi. 28: ii. 88.

Usha, or Osha, a city over against Sepharaam, from which it was a double Sabbath-day's journey. Here the Sanhedrim sat, iii. 388, 389. 394. x. 155, 156. famed for decrees, and other things done there by the Jewish doctors, x. 155, 156. 390.

Uz, the country of Job, so called from Uz: the son of Nahor, Gen. xxii. 24, ii. 109.

Valley of Salt, near Edom, Psal. 60. Tit. ii. 281.

Valley of Crafts-men. x. 260. Of Hinnon, used historically in the Old Testament, metaphorically in the New; it was the common sink of Jerusalem; there was a constant fire to bum up the bones and filth of the city, 81.

Valley of Jehoshaphat, what, 82.

Valley of Rimmon, what, 108.

Wilderness. See General Index.

Zabulon tribe, was north of Issachar.
Its latitude was north and south, and contained about eight miles. Its length was east and west from the sea of Gennesareth, not including it, to Carmel and the Great Sea, xx. 106. x. 121. ii. 136.

Zalmon, Judg. ix. 48, a mountain, or some tract in a mountain near Sychem, x. 229, 230. See Dalmanutha.

Zalmonah, the five-and-thirtieth man- sion of the Israelites in the Wilderness. It signifies the place of the image, because of the brazen serpent. It was called also Maaleh Acrabbim, or the coming up of scorpions, Josh. xv. 3: ii. 132.

Zalmon, a mountain, or some tract in a mountain near Sychem, x. 29, 230. See Dalmanutha.

Zarah, a city of Moab: Josephus, x. 242.

Zared Valley, or Brook, between Ije- Abarim and Amnon, ii. 158.

Zarephath. (See Sarepta) x. 291, 293.

Zaretan, or Zartanah in Manasseh in the plain of Jordan, not far from Bethshean, and twelve miles from Adam, twixt which the waters were divided, x. 167. viii. 361.

Zeboim, one of the cities destroyed with Sodom, south of Lasha and north of Adma, on the north point of the lake, x. 107. 201. There was a mountain also of that name, x. 107. xi. 265.

Zedekiah's Dens or Caves, not a few miles in measure, x. 179. 198. 238.

Zemarites, were Canaanites, and by the Targums are called Chamatsi, and they think them so called because they laboured in wool, x. 266.

Zephalath, a town in Galilee, x. 157.

Zer, neighbour to Ziddim. See Zid- dim.

Zeriphin gardens near Jerusalem, x. 108.

Zeriphin gardens near Jerusalem, x. 108.

Zeugma, the east bound of Syria on Euphrates. See Syria.

Ziddim, Josh. xix. 25, otherwise called Caphar-Chittaa, a fortified city not far from Tiberias or Magdala, x. 146.

Ziglag, in the south of Judah, 1 Sam. xxx. 1: li. 173, 174.

Zin Wilderness, Num. xxxiv. 4, so called from the mountain Zin, or mountainous tract, as that was called from the groves of palms. It was part of the Wilderness of Paran, and the south bound of the land, it had in it metallic mines, ii. 117. x. 19. 178. 258.

Ziph desert in Judah, x. 199.

Zipporis, or Tsippor, so called, because situated on a hill, or Kitron, Judg. i. 29. the biggest city in Galilee, and for sixteen miles round pleasantly situated, encompassed with a land flowing with milk and honey, noted for warlike affairs, a university, many synagogues, and many famous doctors. It was from Tiberias twenty miles, from Caphar-Uthni and Caphar-Hananiah, which were thirty miles asunder. It was the ninth place where the Sanhedrim sat, iii. 394, 395. x. 120. 152, &c. 360.

Zoan, Numb. xiii. 22, the best country of Egypt, x. 97. xi. 312.

Zoar, Gen. xix. 20, in Moab, long. 67. 20. lat. xxx. 30; four miles from Sodom, on the south end of the lake, and not on the north (as the maps), and fifteen miles from Necla, x. 15. 16. 201. 331.

Zobah. See Syria.

Zuzims, a people anciently in Ammon, ii. 89.

Zophim, the same with Scopo and Scopus, x. 86.

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THE DESCRIPTION OF JERUSALEM.

Jerusalem, was otherwise called Salem, Gen. xiv. 18. Psal. lxvi. 2, and by Herodotus, Cadytis, probably from Cadisha, the holy! (the Syriac changing w into r) the common name of it, Isa. lxviii. 2, &c. and from Ælius Adrianus, Ælia. It was in compass fifty furlongs, or six miles and a quarter. The latitude according to the Jews was thirty-three, but according to Ptolemy, the longitude is sixty-six; the lat. 31. 40. It was from the sea of Sodom eight-and-thirty miles, from Bethlehem five-and-thirty furlongs, from Jericho about nineteen miles, from Jordan thirty, from Neapolis thirty, and stood in the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, iv. 344, 345. x. 14, 15. 44, &c. 100, &c. 215—217. 250. 254. 300.

The girdle or compass of the city, Nehem. iii. x. 56, 57.

South.

Sheep-gate, Nehem. iii. 1. Josh. v. 2, so called, because it was a market for sheep; it was a little from the east, the corner looking south, x. 56. 343.

Fuller's-field, south, near the wall, not far from the corner easterly; so called, from wood framed together where fullers
dried their cloth, or from a fuller's monument, of which Josephus writes, x. 84.

Bethesda. It signifies, 'the place of mercy,' just within the Sheep-gate, and the same with Solomon's Pool. It had cloistered walks, x. 56. 73. 345. v. 226. 227. 234.

Meah, Hananeel, towers beyond the Sheep-gate, Jer. xxxi. 38. x. 56. If Fish-gate, Zeph. i. 10. so called, from a fish-market there, rather than because the fish were carried through it, as many conjecture. It was south, x. 57.

The Gate of Birds, called the second gate, Zeph. i. 10. perhaps it was that which is called the old gate, Neh. iii. x. 57. 58.

Ephraim-gate, was next to the old gate, Neh. xii. 39. It was south, but a little from the corner west and south, 2 Kings xiv. 13. x. 60.

Corner-gate, 2 Kings xiv. 13, four hundred cubits from that of Ephraim, 2 Chron. xxv. 23. x. 60.

Siloam fountain, the same with Gibon, 1 Kings i. 33. It was on the back of Acra without the city, not far from the corner that looked west and south, and ran in a contrary channel east and west. As it made to the east, it left the Fuller's Field upon the right, and saluted the Sheep-gate on the left, and so turning eastwards, fell into Bethesda. This pool which it thus emptied itself into, was called by divers names; as the Upper, and Solomon's, as also the Old Pool, Isa. xxii. 11, and the Pool of Shalah, or Siloam, which gave name to all the buildings about it, as the Tower of Siloam, &c.

By another rivulet, the waters of Siloam ran west, and coasted along the Broad-wall, the Tower of Furnaces, the Valley-gate and Dung-gate; and after a while at the basis of Sion, or on the back of some small part of it, fell into the Lower or King's-pool, called Shalah, Neh. iii. xvi. This was without, though very near the wall of the city, and afterward brought within it by Manasseh, ix. 225. x. 54, &c. 345, &c.

Gareh-hill, Jer. xxxii. 38. as Lyra not amiss, the same with Calvary from the south, and more to the west, x. 56. 57.

Broad-wall, Neh. xii. 39. Siloam ran by it, ix. 225.

Tower of Furnaces, next to the Broad-wall, ix. 225.

Valley-gate, Neh. iii. 13. on the west at the basis of Acra, Siloam ran by it, ix. 225. x. 58.

Dung or Esquilina-gate, Neh. iii. 14, a thousand cubits from the Valley-gate, x. 58.

Fountain-gate, Neh. iii. 15. another distinct from that of Siloam and the Dragon, x. 58.

Steps that led up to the city of David, west, a little beyond Siloam, and at the foot of Sion, x. 58. 343.

Burying-places of David.

The House of the Strong, Neh. iii. 16. not far from whence the wall turned north.

Pompey's Tents, On a mountain near the north, but on the west, x. 74.

King's-gardens, extended from the descent of Sion to the Pool Shelahh, and between the Fountain-gate and the King's Pool, were rivers drawn, that ran from Siloam into the King's Pool, x. 347.

Etam-fountain was westward four furlongs from the city, from whence was an aqueduct to the Temple, x. 67. v. 65. See Etam, in the general table.

North.

On the north side was no gate, but buildings within close to the wall, x. 58.

Psephimus Tower, built by Herod at the north-west corner, x. 58.

Zophim, or Scopus, a mountain north of Sion, from whence there was a prospect into the city, x. 86. 87.

Herod's Sepulchre, without the north-wall of the city, x. 74.

East.

The Tower, which lieth out, was in the very bending of the corner north and east, Neh. iii. 25. x. 58.

Water-gate, Neh. xii. 37, so called, because the waters that flowed from Etam into the Temple, descending into the valley between the Temple and Acra, and perhaps those of Bethesda, constantly supplied by an aqueduct from Siloam, ran by this gate into the brook Kidron, ii. 58. 59. x. 84. 348. 349.

Ophel, was rather a building than a tower, south of the Water-gate and the Horse-gate, x. 57—59. 345.

Horse-gate, Neh. iii. 27, perhaps the same with the East-gate, Jer. xix. 2. was south of Ophel, and led into the valley of Hinnom, x. 59. 80. 81.

Miphkadh-gate, the vulgar call it 'the Gate of Judgment,' not far from the southeast corner, x. 59.

Kidron Valley, so called from the brook, which had its name from black-
ness; or 'Kedaria,' dung, ran from the east, embracing Sion on the north, appearing then broader, xii. 396, 397.

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A

BATTLE WITH A WASP'S NEST;

or,

A REPLY

to

AN ANGRY AND RAILING PAMPHLET, WRITTEN BY MR. JOSEPH HEMING, CALLED 'JUDAS EXCOMMUNICATED,'

or,

'A VINDICATION OF THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS,' &c.

WHEREIN
HIS ARGUMENTS ARE ANSWERED, HIS ABUSES WHIPT AND STRIPT; THE QUESTION, 'WHETHER JUDAS RECEIVED THE SACRAMENT,' DEBATED, AND THE AFFIRMATIVE PROVED.

BY PETER LIGHTFOOT.

LONDON,

1649.
**“I am in possession of a curious controversial tract by Lightfoot, under the name of his brother Peter, 'A Battell with a Wasp's Nest.' London, 1649. 4to.”  
Orme's 'Bibliotheca Biblica,' page 292.**
TO THE READER.

In a pamphlet lately published by Mr. Joseph Heming (which he hath titled 'Judas Excommunicated; or, A Vindication of the Communion of Saints,' &c.), there is so much dirt and venom vomited by him, upon my name and repute, that by his casting, you may easily guess the foulness of his stomach:—and get out of his way, reader; for he cares not where he lets fly, if the disgorging fit do but once come upon him, which comes not seldom. He made this promise in an epistle which he intended to prefix unto this clamorous volume; but spared it, upon courtesy to me, as he pretendeth: "I am resolved now, God willing, if he retract not what he hath spoken, and that speedily, to give his reputation such a wound, that all godly men who love the truth, and speak the truth in sincerity, abominating lies, and such as speak them in hypocrisy; yea, those very ungodly ones, whose cause he pleads, shall loath it, as men do a rotten stinking carcass by the way-sides; neither shall all the friends he hath, or can possibly make, be ever able to salve it up." A very charitable and saintlike resolution, I can assure you: and how he hath endeavoured to make his word good by bad words, all along his libel, I need not go about to show; the thing itself speaks itself. You see the man's spirit and temper by his own confession. He pretends to argue and reason, but intends to bark and bite; he takes on him tenderness to the truth, which, it seems, if he stood not up for it, were utterly undone; whereas the bottom of his heart and resolution is, to fall upon my person, and wound my repute, and to serve his spleen upon me, under such a pretence. A man that begins to assume a Papal prerogative, and in time may prove as excellent a saint-maker, or devil-maker, as his pontifical Holiness of Rome himself: for please him, be his whiteboys, and do as he does, and say as he says,—you shall presently be a saint, and not an Egyptian dog must dare to open his mouth against it. But, do but cross him never so little in his opinion, or in his humour; and he will instantly make you a profane person, and a castaway; and all the friends you have, can do you no good.
TO THE READER.

The occasion of all this heat and breaking out against me, was only this: he oftentimes in the pulpit (though I must tell you that I believe he is no more a lawful minister than myself), declaimed against the sacrament, calling it a "Communion of dogs and devils, and a rotten twopenny Communion" (so he calls the Lord's Prayer, "a carnal fleshly ordinance"), bragging to prove against all men, "that Judas did not receive the sacrament;" and telling the congregation, "That if they did believe that Judas did receive the sacrament, they might do as Judas did; that is, go and receive, and then go and hang themselves," &c. You cannot blame me, if such passages as these, seemed bitter to me, who as yet cannot be convinced by all that ever he hath spoken about it, but that Judas did receive the sacrament, as well as any other of the disciples. Hereupon I drew up short notes upon this point, for mine own settlement, and for some others' satisfaction, which notes I did neither send to him, nor intend for him: but, he getting them into his hands by some means or other, and disdaining that his oracularity and ipse dixit should be crossed, he falls to Shimei's manner of dispute, with railing and flinging dirt and stones, as a man transported with fury, passion, and scorn to be contradicted.

I am not solicitous to stand upon the vindication of mine own repute, which to wound, he hath, by his own confession, set himself to work, and made it his task:—if this be to be "a servant to all men in the Gospel of Jesus Christ," as he styleth himself to be, he that carries an* accuser in his name may do as much. I refer my cause to God, who knoweth my heart and actions, and who will once judge between us: and besides the witness of mine own conscience, I dare appeal to all that know me, to give in testimony of my conversation; and to those that know me not, I do but refer it, to weigh with what scorn, spleen, pride, and virulence, Mr. Heming hath spoken against me what he hath spoken: and then let them judge whether so high boiling passions be not ready to foam out scum and scandal.

Whosoever hath bestowed the time and pains to read his discourse through, he doth easily perceive it to consist of these four parts: reasoning, railing, boasting, and impertinencies. The three last are his own proper invention, and let

* Δικαστήριον.
him have the honour of them: but the first, that is, reasoning, or arguments, or answers, or call them what you will, about the matter in dispute between us, there is hardly one of them, but he hath shamelessly stolen it. Come hither, all ye proselytes and disciples of Mr. Heming, and see how he useth you. He makes you believe that this his great elaborate volume is his own study, and pains, and learning; and I hope you do not a little admire him for it: he feeds you with these arguments to prove that Judas received not the sacrament, as if they were out of his own store; whereas, they are almost every bit of them stolen goods; and you, poor souls, are fed with such plundered provision. I suppose you will not take it well at his hands to be so served as he hath served you, when I tell you whence he had it. You would little think that Mr. Heming should feed you with the invention of a jure-divino Presbyterian Scot, and make you believe it is the dainty food of his own providing. Spit out for shame; for these arguments, that you have so eagerly swallowed, digested, and been delighted with, came out of a jure-divino Presbyterian cupboard, were cooked and dished up by a jure-divino Presbyterian hand, and Mr. Heming got them away by the virtue of hocus pocus, and hath served them up for your diet, as his own cookery. Read but Mr. Gillespie, in his book called 'Aaron's Rod Blossoming,' from page 442 to page 469, and there you will see how this gentleman ruffles in clothes that are none of his own; and makes you believe that he feeds you with venison, when it is but kid's flesh purloined, and that from a Scot. Now fie upon it, that ever Mr. Heming should serve us thus.

The two sentences of Greek with which he hath flourished the front of his volume, he hath taken out of that book, pages 452 and 453, word for word. The second thing in his ninth page, the third thing in his tenth page, the first, second, third, and fourth things in his eleventh page, the third thing in his thirteenth page beginning thus, "The original," &c.; and the first in the same page, beginning with "Perhaps," &c.; in the fifteen page, the first answer beginning, "'Tis true," &c. the second beginning, "'Tis as true," &c. and the second below beginning, "If it had been said," &c.; the third beginning, "Whereas he affirmeth," &c. and from thence all whole till you come to the first thing in the sixteenth page, the fourth thing in the sixteenth page, and
the first thing in the last page; these are all taken out of that book of Mr. Gillespie's, as any one may see that will read that portion of it between those pages 442 and 469. Read it, ye saints, in and about Uttoxeter, and see how your great oracle serves you, and trust him another time. It is his own motion in his epistle to you, page 4, "Let me see my errata, and I shall endeavour to correct and amend them." Shew him this his dealing, and tell him it is not fair to serve either you or Mr. Gillespie thus. For all the little affection that he beareth either to a Scot, or the Presbyterian judgment, and for all the great sincerity that he pretends to bear to you,—yet you see how he can make use of those, and make bold with you to serve his own turn.

It is certainly either a great itch that he hath to appear in public, or a great desire to scratch a public revenge out of me, that hath put him on to play such poor game as this, rather than to sit out; namely, that he will dish up other men's arguments, sippeted with his own boasting and railing, rather than not to be seen a man in print:—and so he must needs print, and he must needs print queries about Christmas-day, that he might be somebody, though the most part of them were filched out of Mr. Prynne's Histriomastix and the Scripture Almanack. But if there be such an itch in him, I would he would claw himself, and not make other men smart for his scrubbing. It is not any smart in my reputation that troubles me, though he thought to have lashed that to the flaying and salting (I have innocency is viper-proof); but it is a smart to me that I must be troubled to spend time and labour in answering stolen arguments, idle vapours, snarlings and barkings, and fond impertinencies of a man that cares not much what he says, so it be in print, that it may be talked of, and whose very element is mud and troubled waters. Were I such an one for senselessness and for impiety as he would make me, I were fitter to live among brute beasts than amongst men; or, rather, I were not fit to live upon the earth at all. But my witness is in heaven, and within me; what, my heart is: and my testimony is in the country where I have lived, where is, and hath been, my conversation; and let the few lines ensuing be the evidence whether I am mad and raging, as he would represent me. I see if Master Heming were the doomer of my final estate, that it would go but hardly with me; but I am to stand or
fall to mine own Master; into whose hands let me fall, for with him is mercy. However I am traduced by the most uncharitable censure of this man, to have "contra-conscientiously, upon a malignant design, and for the advancement of my Master's kingdom" (you can easily read what master his charity meaneth), taken up and maintained that opinion that I hold: yet the Lord God of Gods he knoweth, and I desire that Israel may know, that never any such thing entered, or got the least footing, in my thoughts: but what I hold and maintain, I do it according to the best light I can receive from Scripture,—according to the best dictates of my conscience upon that information,—and as in the sight of God, and as in dread and reverence of his divine word. Therefore it doth fret me as little, as it doth please him much, in all the reproaches he doth cast upon me; and if he can count it the part of a saint to use such language, I can very well account it the part of a Christian to undergo it. And I go not alone neither under that burden; for all that are not directly of his mind and practice, have share in the same reviling and censure with me.

I shall, for all his scorns, calumnies, uncharitableness, and virulence, leave him these places for an answer, Prov. xxx. 12, 13, 14.; Matt. v. 22, and vii. 1.; Luke xviii. 9.; Ephes. iv. 31, &c. And as for the cause that is between us, I shall most heartily lay the umpirage of it before any impartial and indifferent readers, when they shall have had the patience to hear what I can say for the things I hold, as they have seen what he hath spoken for himself.

PETER LIGHTFOOT.

Uttoxeter, August 14, 1649.
His epistle, dedicated to the Saints of the Most High God in and about Uttoxeter, he beginneth thus:

"Precious Hearts, I confess I am engaged in low and fruitless controversies, against which I find a reluctancy in my spirit, because they tend not to edification so much as could be wished."

Answer. I would gladly know what necessity hath engaged him in such controversies: I am sure it is as free and more necessary for him, to teach the sound and saving doctrines of salvation (if he had a calling thereto and were able), and would be more acceptable and profitable to those that hear them, than to trouble men's minds with empty and windy controversies, which only swell and puff up, but edify not. I am past doubting, and I dare say that all men that do seriously mind salvation, will be of the same mind with me, that teaching the doctrines of faith, repentance, self-denial, charity, mortification, and the like, is a thousand times a readier way, either to beget a saint, or to build him up, than puzzling men's thoughts with low disputes, and fruitless controversies, in which Mr. Heming spends so much time, and is so deeply engaged. I dare say these points never brought men to heaven. I question whether ever they forwarded any men so much as one step thitherward. Admit I were come up to Mr. Heming's opinion in these points as far as he would have me; that I would speak as bitterly against Judas's receiving of the sacrament and mixed communion as he doth; that I abhorred baptizing of infants; that I would be rebaptized; that I would cry out against singing of psalms in the public congregation; that I would hold or practise in these or such like things as these as
punctually and completely as he could desire; I pray you what were I nearer heaven for all this? what one hair's breadth had this stepped me forward towards God, or towards salvation? Might not publicans, harlots, Ahabs, Cains, and incarnate devils, do as much as all this, and be devils still? Why should Mr. Heming engage himself and insist so much upon such fruitless things as these, as he hath done; when it is as free and open before him to deal only with sound and saving doctrines? and it would be more comfortable for him so to do, upon his final account; and it would be more graceful to the hearers, in case Mr. Heming were able or idoneous thereunto.

I will appeal to all standers-by, of unbiased and impartial judgment; yea, I durst appeal to Mr. Heming's own conscience, if unmuffled, or not altogether ignorant, Whether the insisting upon such doctrines as these, upon which he spends the most of his public discourses among us, tends not more to gain a party, than to save a soul. I would ask of him, What comfortable account doth he think to give, when he comes to give up his reckoning betwixt God and himself,—first, for taking upon him the profession of a minister, and then for neglecting to prosecute the wholesome doctrines that should save souls, so much as he doth, and declaiming almost only upon such windy and needless points as these, which only breed ill humours and disturbance in the minds of men, and divisions and heart-burnings in congregations, and tend not one jot or tittle to edification. And I would desire the Saints in and about Uttoxeter, that he meaneth, in the bowels of Christ and in the melting rendering of their own salvation, to think seriously with themselves upon their reckoning with God upon these points, Whether they think the zeal of infant-baptism, mixed communion, and such like punctilios, the bent upon which must needs cool zeal in better things,—can redound to their comfort, in the day of their account? Let me, by way of parable, lay before them two men, upon their death-beds, and reckoning with God upon their course and carriage in religion; one of them of the old light, as it is reputed, that is, in the old and good way in religion, in which all the holy men in England have walked since England knew the gospel; he hath this to say, from the bottom of his heart to God: 'Lord, thou knowest that I have ever desired to lie low in mine own
thoughts, and have reputed myself the chiefest of sinners; that I have loved and longed after the doctrines of salvation, that tended to the saving of my soul, and to the union in thy church; that I have prayed, heard, sung, received the sacrament with the congregation with a good heart; and that thy word hath been most welcome to me, though it hath crossed me in my dearest humour and opinion.' The other of them, of the new light, and strange doctrines that are now afoot, that were never heard of before; he hath this to say, upon his reckoning, for his comfort: 'Lord, thou knowest that I have accounted myself a saint, and despised others; that I have loved and been zealous for matters of question and dispute; that I have refrained the sacrament, and singing of psalms with the congregation, because of the profane in it; I have been an enemy to infant-baptism; and I have not cared for any minister, that was not directly of mine own opinion and judgment.' Let any one judge whether of these two is liker to come off with the greater comfort; and let any that know the way of Mr. Heming's teaching, judge, whether the greatest bent of his endeavour in it do tend to any higher comfort than the latter. Reader, however he talks of reluctancy in his spirit against such low controversies, it is his own free choice, and, for aught we can see, his delight, to be versed and zealous in them:—and there is no necessity or force upon him to urge him to it, that any of us can possibly conceive, unless it be because he is not skilled in more material points, or because he would make and maintain a party. And that he delights in these low controversies, for all his saying, it is enough to be collected out of his own words; who, though he calls them "fruitless," yet, within five lines after, he professeth that he "findeth daily that low things are most beneficial for believers of lowest attainments." God help those believers that find no greater benefit by any doctrine than by these low points. I can hardly believe that such are believers of St. Peter's old edition, that "desire the sincere milk of the word, and grow by it;" but of the new edition under some new light, that think to go to heaven some new-found way. Then he proceedeth thus:

"What I have done in this, is for their souls, who came out of Babylon, out of Egypt the other day."

*Answer.* Let Mr. Heming remember that passage, "Woe
unto him that calleth light darkness." What he meaneth by "Babylon" and "Egypt," is easy to pick out; namely, whosoever is not of his opinion and practice: and hence come those charitable and innocent expressions of his (as he calls them), "Mr. Lightfoot and his unholy communicants," page 4; "Mr. Lightfoot and his unholy crew," page 20; "his profane fellow-members," page 5, &c.

The reader, if he were of Mr. Heming's charity, and no higher, might be induced to think that poor Uttoxeter is the veriest Sodom and Gomorrah upon the earth; and that till he came thither, it had been led, and lived, in the deepest superstition and darkness that ever Babylon and Egypt did. It is not for me to speak what a ministry this town hath had, ever since before Mr. Heming was born: the relation I stand in to him that hath been their minister so long, does stop my mouth. But let all the counties hereabout, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, &c.; let any in England that ever heard of old Mr. Lightfoot, minister of Uttoxeter, what he hath been, and what his ministry and conversation hath been; nay, let Mr. Heming's own Saints be witnesses what his pains, doctrine, life, and ministry, hath been among them for above these thirty years:—if they have not dissembled, the day hath been, when some of them have acknowledged, and taken on them to think, that this town in a happy ministry hath gone in equal pace and degree with the most towns in England. And now the case is so altered, that till Mr. Heming came amongst them, poor Uttoxeter is said to have been in darkness, and in Babylon and Egypt; and he proved a Moses and a Zorobabel to bring it out.

I would argue with Mr. Heming about these "precious hearts that are come out of Babylon and Egypt but the other day." Some of them have pretended to holiness and preciseness in religion above other men, many years before Mr. Heming ever came here, or his name was known; and it may be they were then more really taken for Saints than they are now. They were either Saints then or they were not; if they were not, then they were hypocrites, for they took religiousness and sanctity upon them: if they were Saints, then there may be Saints in Babylon and Egypt, and in my communion: and I hope these ancient professors have not changed their charity, though they have changed their light, so, but that they think there are some that communicate with
me, that have always demeaned themselves in the evidence and demonstration of holiness, zeal, piety, charity, and of all other Christian accomplishments, in as full and constant a measure and course, as any of those that Mr. Heming hath brought out of Egypt and Babylon, and that have ever carried as visible marks of saints upon them, as any of these. But would you know what it is to come out of Babylon and Egypt, in Mr. Heming's sense? It is indeed to come out of your wits and your religion. It is to deny your baptism, your mother Church of England, and the way of religion in which all the holy men of England have walked till now. It is to cast off Parliament, Assembly, Directory, order, and all government in matters of religion. It is to withdraw from the communion, refrain from singing of psalms, vilify the Lord's Prayer, and infant-baptism. It is, in a word, to walk by a new light, newly lighted, and newly come forth; to say and do as Mr. Heming would have you; and he that doth these things, is as surely come out of Egypt, as ever did gipsies; and is as certainly a Saint, as it is certain the moon is made of green cheese.

Mr. Heming. "I never intended this answer of mine should have come to a public censure, had not Mr. Lightfoot and his unholy communicants, &c. dealt deceitfully."

Answer. The friar desired a pig's heart, and a capon's liver; but, good man, he would have neither pig nor capon die for him. Mr. Heming loves in his heart to be in print, for that makes him seem somebody; but he 'would not come to public censure,' for that may happen to speak contrary to his self-conceit and humour, and that is to him as the pangs of death. I will not question whether he intended his answer for the press or no; it may be it had been as good for him to have let it alone: but let me thank him for publishing his good word, which I and my fellow-communicants have from him all along. "Mr. Lightfoot and his unholy communicants dealt deceitfully." Nay, if I take you talking of dealing deceitfully, I will talk with you; for I have my tale to tell to that purpose too. You may observe, throughout his pamphlet, that still he holds it out as if I pleaded for mixed communion; which I meddled not withal, but only kept me to the question, whether Judas received the sacrament or no. But enter Machiavel: his subtlety thought that he could not pick enough out of my assertion, "that
Judas received the sacrament, to make me so sufficiently odious as he would have me: therefore he juggles this business into the dispute about mixed communion; and there he thought he should find railing stuff enough against me; and how excellently he has husbanded it, is abundantly visible. To do him a courtesy, I will avouch for mixed communion: and since he hath promised some elaborate piece in page 20, which will be about such a subject, I suppose I shall leave him a few queries to find him work.

1. Whether may not a man, with as much safety to his soul receive the sacrament with a scandalous person as with a hypocrite? **Affirmo.**

2. Whether is not a man rather to communicate with scandalous persons, if such company at the sacrament cannot be avoided, than to refrain or withdraw from the sacrament altogether? **Affirmo.**

3. Whether is there any such end, or any such thing, in the nature of the sacrament, as to distinguish one Christian from another? **Nego.**

4. Whether the "communion of saints" in Scripture sense, be not in the profession of Christian faith, as well as in the receiving of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper? **Affirmo.**

5. Whether the main ends of the sacrament of both Testaments be not the same? **Affirmo.**

6. Whether the sacraments, howsoever they be received, be not seals? **Affirmo.**

This half-dozen of points I would put out to Mr. Heming, to tagging; but let us have no boasting nor railing in the bargain: I would have my points tagged without tufts. If he can, from clear Scripture or reason, contradict what I hold, he will discover more skill than he hath shewed himself guilty of in all this dispute. But, if he cannot (but his logic can prove any thing), I could deduce such conclusions from these premises, that would make his opinion against mixed communion run so on snicksnarles, that with fingers and teeth and all, he would find enough to do to unknot it again, and make it run glib.

The greatest part of his epistle he spends in railing and reviling me, in as taunting and bitter terms as he can invent upon this score of mixed communion; which though I meddled not withal, yet he will needs persuade you that I hold
it, or else he were undone for railing matter. Will you hear some of his "innocent expressions," as he calls them? "I should superabundantly wrong him, if I should not rank him with the vilest in the kingdom; for with them he will have communion as a member of the same external visible body, by virtue of which relation, they are all his brethren and sisters; so that he hath his brother drunkard, brother thief, brother murderer, brother liar, &c.; sister whore, sister witch, &c.: yea, all that have been hanged at Tyburn, and all other gallows in England, ever since he was born and baptized into that fellowship he pleads for, have been his brethren and sisters," page 5. and 23. "And this I dare say I can prove against all the devils in hell," page 5.

Angelus in penna—voce Gehenna.' Nay, take in "Pede la-tro" too, at Mr. Gillespie's request, who hath been so basely plundered.

Now a kingdom for a mouse-hole to run into, from the fury of this dreadful champion, that is ready to challenge even all, even all the devils in hell, into disputation. And certainly all the devils in hell, if they should dispute with him, could not give him worse language than he giveth me.

What jolly kindred hath he adopted me into? It is well he lived not in the days of Samuel, or David, or Esau, or Jeremy, or any of the holy men upon record in Scripture; for it is odds they might have heard as much from him, as I do, seeing they were admitted by the same circumcision into the same church, by which and into which every Israelite beside was admitted, were he good or bad. If it were any disgrace to them to have drunkards, murderers, liars, thieves, &c. circumcised as well as they, and of the same church that they were of, I shall very willingly bear the same disgrace with them. Take heed, Mr. Heming, that by your self-minted select communion, that you talk of, you make not yourself holier than these holy men.

After he hath raged and rambled a great while in his puff and passion, he comes at the last a little to himself; and begins, as he thinks, to talk reason, and he saith thus:

"Here is one thing that I would have you and all men to take special notice of, namely, that Mr. Lightfoot's communion diametrically opposeth

1. The Scriptures, the plain letter, 1 Cor. v. 9, 10, 11; 2. Cor. vi. 14—18.
"2. His creed, or at least this article of it, the Communion of Saints.

"3. The Covenant, by which we are bound to endeavour a reformation according to the Word of God, and the best reformed churches, who abhor such communions.

"4. The Directory, which saith, The ignorant and scandalous are not fit to receive the sacrament of the Lord’s supper; yea, the Common-Prayer Book itself, which shuts the door against, and keeps out open and notorious evil livers.

"5. And lastly, the principles, hopes, expectations, and joint endeavours, of all godly ministers.”

Answer. Mr. Heming loves Creed and Covenant, and Directory, when they will serve his turn; but all the year after, he loves them as he loves me. But let us examine how my communion is contrary to all these, and to the Scripture, and to the other things that he hath named. My communion is to this purpose: 1. I desire the purity and due administration, and receiving of the sacrament, as well as Mr. Heming, or any of his disciples. 2. But I find no text in Scripture, that either warrants me to refrain the sacrament, because scandalous persons do receive it,—or that doth condemn me for receiving with such, all the while I endeavour to fit and approve mine own heart as cometh that ordinance. 3. Nor do I use, when I come about that work, to be so scrupulous in looking what others are, as I do desire to examine myself; and so I take the apostle’s meaning to be, 1 Cor. xi. 29. Now, how this communion of mine should be so opposite to all that is called good or holy, as he cen­sures it, it is far sooner said than proved. He saith it diam­etrically opposeth

1. “The Scriptures, the plain letter, 1 Cor. v. 9, 10, 11.; 2 Cor. vi. 14—17.”

Answer. The plain letter in the former place is this: “I wrote unto you an epistle not to company with fornicators: yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then ye must needs go out of the world: but now I have written unto you, not to keep company if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a raile, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one, no not to eat.”

Now, in this plain letter, I would desire Mr. Heming to
tell me whether the holiest man in the church of Corinth, might not have his brother fornicator, his brother covetous, his brother idolater, &c. Let him construe me those words, "If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator," &c. 2. Let him shew me in all these words the least syllable that speaketh against my communion: yes, that he will do presently with a wet finger: "Not to company, not to eat with such a one." But I will deny that "not companying" meaneth in that sense, and that "not eating with," meaneth in that sense, but in a civil sense; and I will give him till this day month to prove the contrary: so little is the letter plain against me, unless you will take his gloss with it.

The plain letter in the second place is this: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? or what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth, with an infidel? and what agreement hath the Temple of God with idols? &c. wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate," &c. Now, let me make his argument for him out of these words.

If you may not marry with Heathen idolaters, you may not receive the sacrament with some Christians. But, &c. Ergo. Never doubt the truth of this syllogism; for it is in the mood and figure called "A baculo ad angulum." Who seeth not plainly, that the apostle speaketh here of open and professed idolatrous Heathens? and, from them to argue to Christians that profess the name of Christ, is such a kind of logic, that when Mr. Heming hath made it good, I will give him an answer. So little plain is the letter of either of these texts against me, that if you plough not with this heifer, ye find not the riddle.

2. He saith my communion opposeth my creed, or, at least, this article of it: "the communion of saints." He is deceived: it opposeth not my creed, nor the communion of saints as it meaneth in my creed; but it opposeth his creed, and the communion of saints that his new creed holdeth out. If this were the question before us, I could easily shew him how he straighteneth the word "communion" more, and applies the word "saints" otherwise than the Scripture doth, when it speaketh to that point, of the saints' communion. There may be saints found in Scripture sense, that
A WASP'S NEST.

are neither of Mr. Heming's opinion, practice, nor canonizing; and there may be found a communion of saints in other things besides receiving of the sacrament. He makes a great business of it in pages 16, 17, as if I spoke blasphemy when I uttered these words: "For the fancy is to make a noise of only the saints receiving;" meaning the saints of his calendar and canonizing. But he calls heaven and earth to witness, and is ready to rend his clothes, and his hair, as if I called the communion of saints a fancy. No, Mr. Heming, I do not; it is one of the articles of my creed, and I believe it: but you must let me suppose withal, that you fancy such a communion of saints, and such saintship, as, when you have done all you can, you will never be able to prove it. And therefore, never make such ado as if I blasphemed, or knew not what I said; or it dropped from my pen before I was aware, and I know not what. I am ready to say it again and again, that you fancy a communion of saints you can never make good. And if this were the question between us, I could shew you that I rave not, but understand what I say, and that I am not ignorant what the Scripture and my creed meaneth by 'communion of saints.' If you should declaim, and rail, and rage, as you do, seven years by Uttoxeter clock, I must yet hold, that there may be a devil in your communion, and a saint in mine; and that all are not saints and devils that you hold so; and therefore you may save your labour, and spare your breath about this matter. I could tell you of some, that have carried as fair a shew as any saint in your calendar, and yet have been but painted sepulchres; and I could name some that have been called as bad as you call me (and that by those that took on them as much saintship as you do), which yet have been 'real Israelites, without guile.'

3. He saith, 'My communion diametrically opposeth the covenant and the platform of the best reformed churches,' if his do not more, I will lose my stake. These are against separation, gathering of churches, withdrawing from the communion of the public congregation; and so am I. They are against preaching without orders; and so am I. They are against all pernicious and damnable doctrines and opinions; and so am I. And these would have the sacrament kept as pure as possible; and so would I. If Mr. Heming's new-
lighted way be nearer the covenant, and the pattern of the best reformed churches, let him take all.

4. What he saith of my communion being "against whatsoever is called good and holy; and against the principles, hopes, expectations, and endeavours of all godly ministers," all is but to lay ink enough upon my opinion, that it may seem black to purpose. And when he hath all done, it is but an opinion that he himself puts upon me, and will make me to hold it whether I will or no; for I never meddled with him about mixed communion (as I said before), nor pleaded for it, but kept me to the question about Judas's receiving of the sacrament: and yet will he needs foist in this for the question; for without this, he thought he could not so handsomely abuse me. He confesseth it was his resolution to wound my reputation, that it should never be healed; and he hath taken up this rusty weapon, which he thinks will do it. I must fence for myself as well as I can. Have at him then with some of the language of the beast to begin with:

Rumpatur, quisquis rumpitur invidiâ.

And so let us to it, upon the proper quarrel and question that is between us.

My first assertion is this:

"That the sop which Judas received, and Satan with it, he received it not on the passover-night, but two nights before; and that he received it not at the passover-supper at Jerusalem, but at a common supper at Bethany."

Mr. Heming stateth the question first to be discussed in this assertion thus: "Now, here ariseth a great question between Mr. Lightfoot and myself, namely, which was the supper at Bethany, that mentioned John xii. 1—3, &c., or that John xiii. 1—3?"

"He saith, that in John xiii: and upon that mistaken place, hath built his wood, hay, and stubble. Boys and girls, if ye can but read English, come forth and shame this great master in Israel: read both the chapters, and then tell him which speaks of the supper in Bethany. But I answer, "That in John xii. was the supper at Bethany; and not that in John xiii."--

Reply. 'Conclamatum est.' I have lost the day already,
and never a stroke struck; and boys and girls must hoot me out of the field. But hark ye, my honest boys and girls of Uttoxeter; before ye fall a shouting, let me tell you a story:—There was once a poor woman fool (if my memory fail not, Seneca’s wife kept her for her pastime at Rome), and she was suddenly struck blind, and lost her seeing. Now, all the world could not persuade her that she was blind; but she cried out that the house was dark, and thought rather that the day and the sun had lost their light, than she her sight. My lads, if you must shame any body for blind beetledness, it must be Mr. Heming, that calls you out; for he sees not what he should see in John xiii. and yet he cries out, the blindness is mine at John xii. The fault is in his eyes, but you cannot persuade him so; but that I have lost my sight. How miserably low and lost am I in his esteem, when for my morals he holds me worse than any man; and for mine intellects, less than any reading boy. Though I know he thinks of me as bad as bad can be, I thank him for it: yet, truly, I did not think he had reputed me so very silly and senseless, as either not to see at all, that the supper in John xii. was at Bethany, or so little to observe it as to commit so gross a mistake as he would put upon me. Sir, certainly either you are mightily mistaken in me, or you would put a mighty fallacy upon the reader. Assure yourself I can spell and read the word Bethany in John xii. 1, as well as any boy or girl in all Uttoxeter parish; and I saw it as plain when I entered upon this dispute, as ever your eyes saw it in all your life. But you did not see Bethany in John xiii. 1—3, which I did, and that is the reason of all this vapouring: and hereupon, you either sillily or willingly, falsify our question; and so the poor boys and girls that are called out to shame me, will either shame themselves for shouting at they know not what, or rather shame you for vapouring at you know not what. Our question is not whether the supper, in John xii. or the supper in John xiii. were the supper at Bethany, but our question is, Whether that supper in John xiii. were not at Bethany, as well as that supper John xii. I assert it was; but Master Heming denies it.

Mr. Heming. “That in John xii. was the supper at Bethany, and not that in John xiii.; for in John xiii. Bethany is not so much as once named: but, in chap. xii. it is. As also in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv.”
Reply I see the man cannot see one inch further into a
millstone than there is a hole pecked in it before him: boys
and girls might have given such a reason as this. Children,
was the supper in John xiii. at Bethany? No, forsooth, mas­
ter, for Bethany is not once named there. But such a mas­
ter in Israel as Mr. Heming, should have looked a little
farther about him, before he had given his determination.
Children, was the supper in John xiii. at Jerusalem? No,
forsooth, master; for Jerusalem is not once named there.
Yet Master Heming holds it was: and here he hath given
me an argument against his own tenet. He says, that that
supper in John xiii. was at Jerusalem, and that it was on the
passover night; and proves by that chapter, that Judas
went out before the sacrament, and yet is there not the least
mention of Jerusalem or the passover night, nor of the sa­
crament, in all that chapter. He allegeth this chapter of
John as his chief ground to prove, that Judas did not receive
the sacrament; when there is not one word of the sacrament
in all John's gospel! He produceth this evangelist to judge
of a matter (and that to gainsay the other three that aver
it), who speaks not one word of the thing to be judged of.
And yet when I say the supper in John xiii. was at Bethany,
he thinks this a good reason to say No, because Bethany is
not there named.

Before I come to shew that Bethany was the place of that
supper,

I shall first shew that that supper was before the passover
day; and, secondly, that it was two days before the passover,
and at Bethany; although indeed the circumstance of the
place be not so material to our dispute, as the circumstance
of the time.

I say, therefore, that the supper in John xiii. was before
the passover-day came. And that I prove from the plain
words of John himself, in the first verse of that chapter.
“Now, before the feast of the passover,” &c. whereupon I
argue thus:

Argum. 1. That supper that was before the feast of the
passover, was not on the passover-day, but before it.

But that supper in John xiii. was before the feast of the
passover, verse 1. Ergo, it was not on the passover day, but
before it.

To this Mr. Heming giveth this answer, page 10.
"In John xiii. 1, 'Now before the feast,' &c. is not meant two days before; as he would have it: the words are, πρῶτης ἐορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, meaning, immediately before, &c. as Luke xi. 38. πρῶτον ἀφελείαν, the Pharisee wondered that he washed not before dinner; that is, immediately before dinner."

Reply. Rarely critical! But I doubt, 'Animus est in patinis:' by the feast of the passover, Mr. Heming understandeth the very passover meal; and so he sheweth his meaning in page 11, "the sop was given" (saith he) "at an ordinary or common supper, which Christ had the same night before he ate the passover."

1. Let him but shew me from one end of the Bible to another, where the word 'Εορτή signifies barely a meal, and I will lose my supper to-morrow night. When there is mention of the feast of tabernacles, the feast of dedication, the feast of pentecost, the feast of passover, &c. Mr. Heming, it seems, thinks of victuals stirring, and looks after his commons; but any man that is not a child in Scripture, knows that the expression means the whole space and solemnity of these times. He would make but a hungry exposition of the feast of expiation, which was a most strict fasting day.

2. If he had consulted Latin translators upon John xiii. 1, he would have found that they render it, 'antē diem festum paschae,' applying it to the day, and not to the meal.

3. Was not the feast of the passover begun, before any supper that day was stirring? I believe wiser men than either you or I will tell you, that the feast of the passover began as soon as ever the paschal lamb began to be slain.

4. Whereas he talks of a common supper, which they had the same night before they ate the passover; I deny it: for it was a holy supper of their peace-offerings, as I have learned by some better acquainted with Jewish customs, than I doubt either you or I shall be these two days. And, if it were so, Judas communicated in this supper by your own confession, and that is something towards a cheese.

Mr. Heming. "At that supper John xiii. Christ's hour was come, verse 1, so that he was betrayed the very same night, as it is evident, comparing John xiii. 37, 38. with John xviii. 1—3.; and Matthew xxvi. 34. Mark xiv. 30. This discourse passed betwixt Christ and Peter, the very night in which he was betrayed."
Reply. It is most true that Christ's hour was then come, for the design of his betraying was set on foot that night; but that he was betrayed that night, I deny, as evident as it is in his looking-glass that he would shew you. There is, indeed, in John xiii. 37, 38. a passage about the cock's crowing, that makes Mr. Heming think the matter is cocksure on his side; whereas it may be but the crowing of his own brains, that tunes it into a construction to serve his turn, and not the sense and meaning of the place itself.

The words of the evangelist are these: "Peter said unto him, Lord, why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thy sake. Jesus answered, Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake? verily, verily, I say unto thee, the cock shall not crow, till thou hast denied me thrice."

For the understanding of these words, I would desire the reader to observe these two things:

1. That Christ, in Matthew, xxvi. 34. saith, "Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow," &c.; and Mark xiv. 30. "That this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice," &c.; for that was indeed the very night in which Peter did deny him. But here, in John xiii. 38. he doth not so determine the time, but saith only, "the cock shall not crow," &c.

2. That by these words, "The cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice," he meaneth not, thou shalt deny me thrice before any cock crow; for he denied him but once before a cock crew, as is plain, Mark xiv. 68—70. but he meaneth, Thou shalt deny me thrice in the space of cock's crowing, which space was the third part of the night, Mark, xiii. 35. And so Mark helpeth to understand it, when in him it is explained, "before the cock crow twice," &c. Mark, xiv. 33. This therefore helpeth Mr. Heming's cause never a jot; nor proveth it that that night, John, xiii. was the night that Peter denied Christ; for Christ might have said as much as he saith there, a twelvemonth before Peter denied him, and yet the sense very sound and current: 'Peter, art thou so confident and resolute? I tell thee that the time will come, when, in the time of cock's crowing, thou shalt deny me three times over.'

Now, whereas Mr. Heming would have you compare John xiii. 37, 38. with John xviii. 1—3. his meaning is to this purpose; That Christ having given Peter notice of his denial,
and spoken these words in chap. xiv. xv. xvi. and xvii. he presently goes over the brook Kedron, and there is apprehended: but he would make you leap over a stile by the way, and take no notice of it, and so you may chance break your shins. What makes he of that clause, John, xiv. 31. "Arise, let us go hence?" Let him tell me whether Christ went now. I know he will say, He rose from the table after the sacrament, and went out of doors towards Kedron, and spoke the passages in chap. xv. xvi. and xvii. as he walked along. In very good time, and a very likely business. But John, xviii. 1. saith, "When he had spoken these words, he went forth." Construe me that.

Argum. 2. A second argument that I use to prove that the supper in John xiii. was before the passover day, is from verses 27—29. of that chapter; where, when Judas had received the sop and Satan, and Jesus said to him, "What thou doest, do quickly;" some of the disciples thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast. Now, if they had things to buy against the feast, the feast was not yet come.

The answer that Master Heming returns to this argument is, first, thus: "Perhaps Christ did not eat the paschal lamb upon the same day the Jews did, &c. And then the feast the disciples dreamed of, might very well be the Jews' passover, kept a day after. I could speak more for proof of this from John xviii. 21. and xix. 14. than ever Mr. Lightfoot will be able to answer."

Reply. Perhaps the evangelists are not to be believed, because they speak contrary to Master Heming's humour; for they tell you, as plain as plain can be, that Christ did eat the paschal lamb upon the same day the Jews did. See Matthew, xxvi. 17.; Mark, xiv. 12.; Luke, xxvii. 7, 8. And yet he puts a "perhaps" upon it, to squeeze out something to his purpose. Sure the man did not know that the paschal lambs were slain by the priests at the altar, and the blood sprinkled there, and they slain, and the blood sprinkled in the name of a paschal; and sure he did not know how high a transgression it was reputed by the Jews to eat the passover on a wrong day: had he known, and weighed these things, perhaps he would find it a harder business for Christ to eat the passover a day before the Jews, than he dreamed of.
A BATTLE WITH

But why do I talk of such things as these to him, when he puts a perhaps upon so plain texts of the evangelist?

As for that tiring work that he would set me upon, out of John xviii. 28. and xi. 14, I will tell him this beforehand, that if I can make nothing of those places, I will deny mine own skill, judgment, and opinion, before I will deny the plain texts of the evangelists, as he doth. But I need not to eat mine assertion, for any thing that those places hold out against it.

He is but little acquainted with Scripture, or with the Jews' customs about the passover, that knows not that there were passover bullocks, and other peace-offerings, to be eaten in the week of the feast, as well as the lamb was upon its day, 2 Chron. xxx. 21. 24.; and xxxv. 7, 8. And that these are called the passover as well as the lamb: Deut. xvi. 2. compared with Exodus xii. 15.

And to take up these texts, which in Master Heming's conception, will be everlasting tiring-irons to me, in John xviii. 28. "The Jews went not into Pilate's judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover:" that is, but that they might eat the solemn peace-offerings that were to be eaten at the passover, and which are called the passover; and that in chap, xix. 14. "It was the preparation of the passover, and about the sixth hour:" that is, it was the day in which they prepared these paschal bullocks and peace-offerings for their holy diet along the days of the feast. What so great difficulty is there in these texts, and what incongruity is there in this exposition of them?

A second answer that Mr. Heming giveth to my argument is this (but I must tell you beforehand it is somewhat homely):

"Observe," saith he, "how he would daub over his own mistake, with the untempered mortar of the disciples' ignorance; what some of them thought, proceeded of ignorance," John xiii. 28, 29, &c. and a little after: "For the disciples' ignorance, and Mr. Lightfoot's grounded upon theirs, Christ had no more feasts."

Reply. Now, come out, good manners: he that useth the disciples so uncivilly, I may put off my hat and thank him, that he useth me no worse than he doth. I must tell the apostles and evangelists, that let them take heed what they say, and how they place their words; for if they speak but one
syllable awry from Mr. Heming's humour, he will tell them what they are before all the parish. And I pray you, Sir, what were the apostles ignorant of, that one may daub walls with their ignorance? Could they not tell whether the feast were come or no? That is the question that you and I are upon, out of the words in John xiii. 28, 29.: and if you say they were ignorant of that, you speak like Mr. Heming in state and majesty: and if they were ignorant of that, they were ignorant to the purpose. Come on, my boys and girls, when holidays were in fashion, could you tell when a holiday came? If you could, you were wiser than Mr. Heming holds the disciples were.

But, it may be, he will say, that he doth not mean they were ignorant of this, but of something else, as he saith, "They knew not that he was to be betrayed that night." Why, what is this to our question? The evangelist saith, "They thought Jesus had bidden Judas buy something against the feast." Hereupon I say, if it were "against the feast," the feast was not yet come. To this he gives this answer: "What some of them thought, proceeded of ignorance," for, "they knew not that he was to be betrayed." Is not this an answer as profound and direct in itself as it is well mannered towards the disciples? I say, still, the disciples thought Judas had been bidden to buy something against the feast, ergo, the disciples knew that the feast was not yet come. Let him answer me this directly, and like a man that desireth to find out the truth.

A third argument that I give to prove, that the supper, John xiii. was before the passover day, and not on it, proves a pitfall to Mr. Heming, beyond my expectation; for I did not think he had been so blind, as to have been so caught. My words were these: "We know that the Lord's supper was given the passover day at night: viz. the first Sabbath of the feast." The meaning of my argument, I shall give by and by.

Now, Mr. Heming thinketh that I speak the savourest and bravest nonsense that ever did man. I shall give his censure in his words at length, and not in figures; for it is pity any of it should be lost.

"Whereas he saith," saith he, "that we know the Lord's supper was given on the passover day at night: viz. the first Sabbath of the feast, whereon the Jews ate the paschal
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lamb; I am afraid he understandeth neither what he saith, nor whereof he affirmeth. But be it so; and then,

"1. How was Christ upon the cross on the preparation day, the day before the Sabbath, according to those Scriptures, Matthew xxvii. 62.; Mark xv. 42.; Luke xxi. 54.; John xvii. 28. and xix. 14. 31. and 42. verses?

"2. How could he rise the day after the Sabbath, namely, the first day of the week, Mark, xvi. 2.; Matthew, xxviii. 1. since he lay three days in the grave? Doth the man believe (think ye) that Christ ate the passover a day or two after he was dead? or that he did rise the next day after he had eaten it? "Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?" What day thinks he Christ was betrayed and taken? or how long was it between his taking and crucifying? I wish the man be not found tardy here."

Reply. You have your wish into your own bosom, and that with a witness. It is not I that am found tardy here, but yourself; so as that you will be ashamed of it when you see it. I warrant you, Mr. Heming and his disciples have had many a pleasant laughing and triumphing fit, over this poor sentence of mine; and have hugged one another in this advantage of nonsense, as he has set it out, no doubt most learnedly to them. Methinks I see him scratch the elbow, and hear him laugh hither. But I must put him in mind of Seneca's wife's fool again: he cries out I am blind, when the blindness is his own.

This great master in Israel never dreamed, in all his life, of any Sabbath, but only the ordinary weekly Sabbath; and from this ignorance comes all this laughter: but it seems I must be his teacher now, and inform him, that the first and last day in the passover week, was a Sabbatical day, or a Sabbath, and so was also the first and last day of the feast of Tabernacles, &c. Had he but well weighed Exod. xii. 16. Lev. xxiii. 7. and seriously consulted how the word "Sabbath" is to be understood in Lev. xxiii. 15, I am sure he would have gone a mile on my errand, before he would have given this censure upon those words of mine, for his own credit's sake. Why do you not laugh now, Mr. Heming? I hope I have you here at a full check mate; and, I suppose, by this time you see, that the more you have triumphed over me here, the more shamefully you have discovered your own ignorance, Would you not give a gray groat now, with all your heart, that
these words of yours had never been born? Be wiser another
time; you know not what an art I have of setting mouse-traps.
I say, therefore, again, that on the passover day at night,
the first Sabbath, or first Sabbatical day of the feast, was en­
tered; and hereupon I argue thus:—The disciples, when
Judas had received the sop, and Jesus bade him, ‘quod facis,
fac cito,’ thought that he bade him buy something. But if
that were the passover night, the Sabbath was now entered;
and buying any thing was neither lawful nor possible.
Therefore, that was not on the passover night, but some
night before: for it is senseless and groundless to think, that
the disciples should think of Christ’s bidding him buy some­
thing, when nothing was possible to be bought.
Upon that text, therefore, John xiii. 29, “Some thought
that Jesus had said unto him, Buy those things that we have
need of against the feast,” I conclude,
1. That that was not at the passover supper, because then
nothing could be bought, a Sabbatical day being entered.
And, 2. That that was before the feast of the passover, be­
cause the disciples thought of buying something against the
feast. If this my arguing be not direct, let him correct me;
if it be, let him give me direct answers, if he can.
But, before I leave this text and argument, will you hear
a piece of logic, that he venteth upon my arguing from it?
“If from this Scripture” (saith he), “he will conclude that
there was another feast, why may not I conclude, that Judas
gave something to the poor?”
Reply. Brains and stairs are not better rhyme than this
is reason. I know not what your logic may conclude; but
another to conclude so, I must tell him, it is to take up more
than comes to his share. If I had concluded from this
Scripture, ‘that Judas bought something against the feast,’
you might have concluded in equity, that ‘Judas gave some­
thing to the poor;’ but when I conclude no more but this,
that ‘there was a feast,’ your share of concluding comes to no
more but this, that ‘there were some poor.’ And as properly
as one may conclude, that ‘there were some poor,’ to whom
something was to be given, from this, because they thought
he bade give something to the poor; so as properly may it
be concluded, that ‘the feast was to come,’ against which
something was to be bought, from this, because they thought
he bade him ‘buy something against the feast.’
A fourth argument I use to prove that the supper in John, xiii, at which the sop was given to Judas, was not on the passover day, but before, is this:

"The devil entered into Judas before the feast of the passover came.

"But the devil entered into Judas at the supper, in John xiii.

"Ergo, that supper, John xiii. was before the feast of the passover came." The major is proved, Luke xxii. 3. "Satan entered into Judas," &c.; verse 7. "Then came the day of unleavened bread," &c. By which it is apparent, that Satan was entered into Judas before the day of unleavened bread, or the passover day came: unless Mr. Heming will except at the evangelist's order; which if he do, let him give a good reason why, lest he shew himself too bold with the text, for his own turn.

To the force of this argument he answers nothing; but, only because I said, 'the devil entered into Judas at Bethany,' he catches up the word Bethany, and keeps a coil with that; but to the pith of the argument he saith nothing. Only in what answer he giveth to this argument, which indeed is to no purpose, let me challenge him upon one passage which is utterly shameless, and that is, when he saith, "The conspiracy is as clearly placed before the sop, as before the passover;" but, 'Dic quibus in terris, et Phyliida solus habeto.' Let him but shew me where, and then I will say he speaks like a Scripture man; but if he cannot, I must say it is extreme impudence and impiety to assert any such thing; for he makes his fancy equal with the sacred text. There is not one syllable, letter, or tittle, in all the gospel, that Judas's conspiracy was before the sop; but there is as plain an evidence that his conspiracy was before the passover, as there is of any thing in the gospel; and yet, because this gentleman hath fancied that the sop was given on the passover night, he dares to equal his fancy with the divine writ, and say, "The conspiracy is as clearly placed before the sop as before the passover:" that is, in his brains; but nowhere else. Well fare a bold face in time of need.

Another argument, and wherewith I will clench up all, to prove the supper, John xiii, at which Judas received the sop, was before the passover day, is this: that "it is not probable, nor can be conceived, that Judas should receive the sop,
and so the devil with it, and go to the high priests and bargain with them, receive a band of men, John xviii. 3. and betray his Master, and all upon one night; for, besides the unlikelihood of it, the text is plain, that from the time of the receiving of the sop, he sought opportunity to betray him, Matthew xxvi. 16. or how he might conveniently, &c. Mark xiv. 11. Luke xxii. 6. And how improper it is to say, a man seeks conveiency, or opportunity, when he runs upon a thing, and doth it on a sudden, I refer to any one of common capacity."

Now, Mr. Heming gives this argument a threefold answer. First, he saith, "'Tis probable all this might be done in one night: for Judas was not so far from the high priest; the band of men not so far to seek; the Devil, Judas, and the Jews, not so backward in driving on this damnable design, as he would insinuate. I myself have known in this betraying age, five times more than this amounts to, brought about in as short a night."

Reply. I cannot imagine, with all the skill I have, what that should be, that was five times more than the betraying of the Son of God. And I wonder how Mr. Heming came to know, that Judas was so near the high priest, and that the band of men was so ready at hand. There was an old wandering Jew talked and ballated of, betwixt twenty and thirty years ago; if one had had the luck to have met with him, he would have told the whole business. It seems Mr. Heming hath had the hap to meet with some of his intelligence, and that makes him so exact in this relation: but poor we, that go by the old light of the four evangelists, can see no such matter. Mr. Heming grants that Judas sat down with Christ on the passover night, and at the common supper with him; and he sticks not much to grant that he ate the paschal lamb with him. Well; Christ, after that, did but deliver the sacrament, sing a hymn, speak a few words to his disciples, go into the Mount of Olives, and there Judas was presently at hand to apprehend him. Now, how Judas in so short a time as this, should do all this business, get together the chief priests and captains, Luke xxii. 4. (it may be the wandering Jew said they supped all together this night), bargain with them, raise a band of men, get lanterns and torches all ready, &c. he must be of a quick belief, that believes such quickness.
A second answer that he gives is this:

"He (following the old trade) most shamefully abuseth Matthew xxvi. 16.; Mark xiv. 11, when he saith, It is plain from those texts, that from the time of the receiving of the sop, Judas sought opportunity to betray Christ. Read the verses before and after, and then tell me, if you can see but the print or footsteps of any such thing. Is it not plain in those places, that from that time Christ reproved Judas for his covetous indignation, at the spending of the ointment, he sought opportunity, and from that reproof took occasion, to betray him? It is evident he sought how he might conveniently betray Christ before he received the sop."

Reply. It is policy to cry Thief first. Be sure to tell me of abusing Scripture, loud enough, that nobody may hear me tell tales of you; but, before I have done, I hope I shall have my tale heard too. Now, how much I abuse Matthew xxvi. 16.; Mark xiv. 11, to the purpose mentioned, will appear in the discussion of our next question, about the supper at Bethany, upon which I shall instantly enter, when I have first challenged him upon two assertions, which he will never be able to make good, whilst his name is Mr. Heming, unless it be by some gospel of his own making. The first is this: "That Judas took occasion to betray Christ from his reproving of him for his covetous indignation at the spending of the ointment." If Mr. H. have any other ground for this, but that he judgeth of another's impatience to be crossed in his humour, by his own, let him shew it; and if he shew any solid ground for it, I will venture the burning of my cap.

The other is this: "That 'tis evident that he sought how he might conveniently betray Christ before he received the sop." Where is it so evident? why, in his fancy, and by his new light; but not by any one letter in all the gospels. If it were true that Judas received the sop on the passover night, as he fancieth, then he said something: but that I deny, and have alleged my arguments and reasons why I deny it; the which I refer to any impartial and indifferent judgment.

Those that hold that Judas did not receive the sacrament, do lay this as the corner-stone of their opinion: "That Judas, upon the receiving of the sop, went out before the sacrament was administered." Will you hear the words of Zanchius instead of many? 'Etsi multi et magni viri hec
docuerint et scripserint, ego tamen nullo modo concedo aut concedere possum: although many men of great esteem have taught and written (that Judas received the sacrament), ‘nevertheless I cannot, nor at all do, yield unto it.’ And what is his reason? ‘Quod apertè pugnat cum historia Johannis evangelistæ: Because it plainly thwarted the history of the evangelist John.’ And how doth it so? ‘Johannes, cap. xiii. ver. 30. apertè scribit Judam postquam accepsisset offulam a Christo (in jusculo nimirum agni assi) intinctam, statim eisè exivisse: Because John, in chap. xiii. ver. 30. writeth expressly, that Judas, after he had received the sop, dipped (namely in the sauce of the roasted lamb), went straightway forth.’ Zanch. in quartum præcep.

Mr. Heming is of the very same opinion, and urge him with the authority of the other evangelists, that say that Judas sat down to the passover with the rest of the disciples. Yes, that is true, saith he; but before the sacrament, Christ gave him the sop, and he was gone. It seemeth exceeding strange to me, that this use should be made of this chapter of John xiii. who speaketh not one syllable of the sacrament, and which telleth plainly that that supper, at which the sop was given, was ‘ante diem festum Paschæ,’ as the best translators have rendered it, and that most truly.

It were enough, therefore, for the overthrowing of Mr. Heming’s opinion, to prove only that that supper, in John xiii. was before the passover day: and we needed not look any further how many days or nights it was before; yet, that I may do him justice, and myself right in the maintaining of this my assertion, I yet go further, and aver, that

“That supper, in John xiii. was in Bethany.”

For the proof of which I thus argue:

“But Judas’s conspiracy began from the devil’s entering into him, which was when he received the sop, at the supper, in John xiii.

“But Judas’s conspiracy began from Bethany.

“Therefore the devil’s entering into him, when he received the sop at the supper, in John xiii. was at Bethany.”

The major proposition, that Judas’s conspiracy began from the devil’s entering into him, is as clear in Luke xxii. 3, 4. as the sun at noon, “Then entered Satan into Judas Iscariot, being one of the number of the twelve: and he went his way, and communed with the chief priests and captains
how he might betray him unto them, and they were glad," &c.; and then, in verse 7, "Then came the day of unleavened bread," &c. Now, let all the world, nay his very boys and girls, judge upon this matter. Children, when did Judas begin his treason? Why, Satan entered into him, and then he went his way and communed with the high-priests, &c. What! was this before the passover day or no? Yes; it was before; for Satan entered into him, and he communed with the chief priests, &c. and then "the day of unleavened bread came afterward. Would not any boy or girl, that hath any capacity, and would not any man or woman that reads the Scripture conscientiously, and is led by the Scripture, and leads it not to his own opinion that he hath taken up, understand these words of Luke in this manner? Let Mr. H. give a satisfactory and convincing reason why they are not to be thus understood, and he may then crow and triumph; but, if he cannot, then doth he wrest the Scripture; and, having set down his own opinion, he will bring the Scripture to it, to speak for his purpose by hook or by crook. I urge the evangelist's words again: "Then Satan entered into Judas, and he went his way, and communed with the chief priests," &c.; and let Mr. Heming's own disciples be judges, whether this prove not, that Judas's conspiracy began from the devil's entering into him: and that the devil entered into him upon his receiving of the sop at the supper, in John xiii. they will not deny.

Now I need not to prove the minor, That "Judas's conspiracy began from Bethany;" for Mr. Heming doth grant it, when he saith, "Is it not plain from these places, Matthew xxvi. 16.; Mark xiv. 11. that from the time Christ reproved Judas for his covetous indignation at the spending of the ointment, he sought opportunity, and from that reproof took occasion to betray him?" page 12. And in page 13, he saith again, "Nothing else passed at the supper at Bethany concerning Judas, but Christ's rebuking him for his indignation at the spending of the alabaster-box of ointment."

My conclusion, therefore, is good, till Mr. H. can give a clear and satisfactory answer to the proof of my major, which I believe he will hardly do this week: that "the devil's entering into Judas, when he received the sop at the supper, in John xiii. was at Bethany."

All that Mr. H. says about this business, is this:
"1. Luke xxii. 3. speaks nothing at all of the supper at Bethany, nor of any thing done there.

2. Though all the evangelists place the conspiracy before the passover, yet they place not the giving of the sop at Bethany. Read Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. John xii. and see if you can find any such thing there."

Reply. So may I answer him again: 'John, xiii. speaks nothing of any supper at Jerusalem. Read the chapter through, and see if you can find any such word, or any mention of the sacrament there:' and, I may as well argue, Read Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. John xii. and see if you can find any such thing as any sop given at all: Ergo, there was no sop given.—The man is at bo-peep; and where it will serve his turn, you must believe such a thing is there, though it be not written there; and, where it will not serve his turn, you must not believe it, because it is not written there: nay, sometimes you must not believe it, though it be written there. I shall take the places he refers you to, into handling by and by.

I yet go farther in my assertion, because I desire to deal in all plainness; and I say,

That supper at Bethany, from which Judas began his conspiracy, upon Satan's entering into him, was two days before the passover. And for the proofs of this, I produce Matt. xxvi. 2.; Mark xiv. 1. where there is mention of two days before the passover; and presently after, of Christ's being at meat in Bethany; and then of Judas's going to the high priests, &c.

Now, here Mr. Heming sheweth all his learning, and his sincere dealing with the Scripture, on a cluster. Will you hear a new-lighted commentary upon these texts, such a one as you do not hear every day, unless it be from him; and learn but this kind of way of expounding Scripture, and you may hold what you will, and bring the Scripture to maintain it. His words are these:

"The following Scriptures, viz. Matthew xxvi. 2.; Mark xiv. 1. do not at all prove the supper at Bethany to have been just two days before the passover; but that, two days before the passover, the chief priests and scribes sought how they might take Christ by craft and subtlety, &c.: and at last concluded it must be on the feast day (viz. the feast of the passover), lest there should be an uproar, &c. Matt. xiv. 1, 2."
"The supper at Bethany is as likely to have been six days before the passover as two: 'Then Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethany,' &c. 'There they made him a supper,' John xii. 1, 2."

Reply. You know what kind of reading of the Bible he made, that found a green bay horse, or mule, there; and truly this way of expounding is much like it: he that will go such a way, may find any thing he hath a mind to; but God help them that are led by such an expositor. Mr. Heming reads Mark xiv. 1—3. thus: "Two days before the feast of the passover, the chief priests sought to take Christ by craft; but they said, Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar. And six days before the passover, Jesus being in Bethany, as he sat at meat," &c. Now, I pray you, is this according to the gospel of Mark, or according to the gospel of Mr. Heming? If this be not shameless wresting of Scripture, I know not what is.

Here are two things that he would foist upon the evangelists, that I durst swear were never in their meanings. The first is, that he would persuade you that Matthew and Mark do change the proper order and time of their story; telling a story of two days before the passover first; and then telling a story of six days before the passover, after it. And the second is, that he would persuade you, that the supper at Bethany, in John xii. 1. and the supper at Bethany, in Matthew xxvi. 6. and Mark xiv. 3, was one and the same; and for this purpose he hath linked Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. and John xii. together four or five times in his discourse, as if the matter was past all doubting.

Let me talk with him a little about both these, particularly.

And first, about his persuading that Matthew's and Mark's order is here inverted, and the story of the supper at Bethany dislocated in them, I shall propose two or three things to him, which if he had considered of, or known before, it may be he would have been more cautious, for his credit's sake, than thus blind Biard like, to venture he knows not, nor cares not on what.

1. Let him shew me but one dislocation, I say but one, from the beginning of Mark's gospel, to this very place, and then I will grant that there might be some colour of dislocation here. If this grandee had studied the order of the evange-
lists, as well and seriously as some others have done; he
durst not, for shame, have said thus much, especially of
Mark, who is so exact and direct for his method, that I say
it again, from the beginning of his gospel, to this very place,
Mr. H. cannot shew one story, I say not one, which he can
prove by any sound evidence or reason to be dislocated; no,
or from this place to the end of his gospel. It was luck in
a bag then, that he that is so direct in all his gospel from
end to end, as never to change one story out of its proper
time and place, should do it here to serve Mr. Heming's turn
so pat.

2. Mr. Heming makes no bones of making two evange-
lists of one and the same story; the like to which let him
shew me again through all the gospels, and I will lay down
the cudgels. I say it again, let him shew, through all the
gospels, such another dislocation in two evangelists, of one
and the same story, as he would make this to be in Matthew
and Mark, and I will confess mine own ignorance, and ap-
plaud his skill. I believe there is but one example in all the
evangelists, that two or more of them do misplace the same
story; and that is not such a dislocation as this neither, as
I shall shew him the difference, if he have ever the luck and
skill to find it out.

3. Sure he never observed how direct Matthew and Mark
are in reckoning the days of Christ's last week before the
passover, from his riding in triumph to Jerusalem till the
passover day came. As John tells, that six days before the
passover he supped at Bethany, John xii. 1. so they go on,
and tell, that on the next day, or five days before the pass-
over, he rideth in triumph into Jerusalem, Matthew xxi. 1,
2, &c.; Mark xi. 1, 2. and at even goeth to Bethany, Matt.
xxi. 17.; Mark xi. 11.

On the morrow, which was four days before the passover,
he goes again from Bethany into Jerusalem, Mark xi. 11.
15, &c. and at night goeth the same way again, Mark xi. 19.

In the morning, which was three days before the passover,
he goes again into Jerusalem, Mark xi. 20. 27, &c. and at
even departs into the Mount of Olives, Mark xiii. 1. 3. xxiv.

And thus are we come to the night that we are upon,
namely, two nights before the passover. Where did Christ
lodge this night? why, the evangelists tell you, in the Mount
of Olives. Where there? why, Matthew and Mark say, “After two days was the passover, and the scribes sought to take him,” &c. “And he being at Bethany, at meat,” &c.

Why should not any rational man rather take the method of both the evangelists here to be direct, since it is so direct all along hitherto, than to make a jump back again, no man alive can imagine to what purpose, but only to serve Mr. Heming’s turn? It is apparent that Christ lodged two nights before the passover, in the Mount of Olives.

I suppose Mr. H. will not say he lay all night in the open fields; and I presume he cannot tell where else to lodge him, in the Mount of Olives, but at Bethany: and the evangelists say, “After two days was the passover,” &c. “And Jesus being at meat in Bethany,” &c. And yet Mr. H. will not suffer you to think that Christ supped this night at Bethany, but the two evangelists spake of six nights before the passover. How senseless is it to think, that when they have told you directly what Christ did the fifth, fourth, third day before the passover, and when they say moreover, it was “two days before the passover,” they then should jump back again to six days before, and no man can imagine for what.

4. It is presumption to displace the evangelists’ method without good and sound reason given for it. Let Mr. H. give but such a one, and I shall be silent.

As gross or more gross (put what substantive to it you think good) is his second asseveration, if he could persuade you to it; and that is, that that supper at Bethany, John xii. and that supper at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. were but one and the same, and at the same time; which you must believe upon the word of this great oracle, though there be these main and visible differences between them.

1. That supper in John xii. was six days before the passover.

That supper in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was but two, if you will believe the evangelists as they spake, and not make them speak as Mr. H. would have them.

2. The supper in John xii. was in the house of Lazarus.

The supper in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was in the house of Simon the leper.

3. At the supper, in John xii. Mary, a woman named, anointeth Christ’s feet.
At the supper, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. a woman not named anoints his head.

4. At the supper, in John xii. Judas alone hath indignation at the expense of the ointment, verse 4.

At the supper, in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. the disciples had indignation at it, Matthew xxvi. 8.

Now, all these differences, which, to such a dull pate as mine, cannot choose but make these appear different suppers, Mr. Heming can reconcile as fast as a hen can crack nuts: for do but hear him crack.

"And lastly (saith he), though much more shall be added if there be occasion, if any man of common capacity will but compare John xii. from verse 1. to 8. with Matt. xxvi. 6. to verse 13. and Mark xiv. 3. to verse 9. he shall find they all speak of the same supper at Bethany. And for what John differs from the other two evangelists, in naming Martha and Lazarus, and in saying she anointed his feet, whereas the others say she poured it on his head; that shall be easily reconciled, whensoever Mr. Lightfoot pleases."

It seems Mr. Heming hath a singular faculty of reconciling dead men; and I wish he have not a better, in setting living men together by the ears. I would he would let the evangelists alone, who are at a sacred peace among themselves, and that he would reconcile poor Uttoxeter, which is torn in pieces with dissensions, since he came amongst us. I know not whether Tenteron steeple was the cause of the stopping up of the haven two or three miles off it: this I know, that till Uttoxeter knew Mr. Heming, peace, amity, and charity, dwelt amongst us, in few towns more; but now, nothing but dissension, biting, and backbiting, in no towns the like. If you be so good a reconciler, I pray begin at home: the evangelists need none of your day'smanship.

You would think it were silk or satin that this great reconciler makes all this ruffle in, when it is but poor buckram ignorance of the style of the gospels, that I may name nothing else. His skill in the gospels is so great, that if any two passages in them do but look one like another, they must of necessity be one and the same; and he can find one trick or other in his budget to make them so. I warrant you he would make a gallant stitching together of these differences, if I were pleased to desire it of him. He can tell you as directly how the house of Lazarus became the house of...
Simon the leper, as if he had drawn the conveyance; and how anointing of Christ's head came to be anointing of his feet, as ever men brought head and heels together. This sure he learned from the wandering Jew too.

His squib is not out yet, but it cracks thus further:

"I conclude against all he hath said or can say, yea against whatsoever all the friends he shall make in this controversy, can say for him,

"1. That there was no sop given in the supper at Bethany; let him find it me in Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. John xii.
"2. That the discourse between Christ and his disciples about the traitor, passed that very night he ate the passover at Jerusalem, Matthew xxvi. 19—26.; Mark xiv. 16—22. and not at Bethany two days before. For had Judas been discovered at Bethany, how could the disciples (John as well as the rest) begin to be sorrowful (wondering to hear Christ say, One of you shall betray me, John xiii. 21, 22.), and inquire who it was, saying, 'Is it I, Is it I,' two days after? Matthew xxvi. 22. Mark xiv. 19. Luke xxi. 23.
"3. That Christ washed not his disciples' feet at Bethany, but at the supper at Jerusalem, the same night he was betrayed, John xiii.
"4. That the sop was given at an ordinary or common supper, which Christ had the same night before he ate the passover," &c.

Reply. "I conclude against all he hath said or can say, yea against all the friends he can make in this controversy can say.”

That very word would make one start. What luck had I, that I was not acquainted with Don Quixote? he were the only fellow in the world to make up this challenge, for he was an old dog at fighting with windmills; and I know no friend that I have, that hath any heart upon such encounters. You have heard of little Jefferey, the dwarf, that challenged the great porter to fight with him, but it must be in the furnace-hole, or in an oven: you may make the application.

Let you and me alone with this business like a couple of wise men as we are; I have no friends that have any mind to be miscalled, or to fight with shadows.

1. You conclude that there was no sop given in the supper at Bethany; but I conclude there was.
You derive your conclusion from Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. and John xii. and your argument lieth thus, if I can see it:

If Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. and John xii. that speak of the supper at Bethany, speak not of giving of the sop, then there was no sop given at the supper at Bethany. But, ergo,

Make good the consequence, and the day is yours; but you will not make that good to-day.

My conclusion I derive from Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. John xiii. and I frame my argument thus:

The time and place whence Judas began his treason, was the time and place of Satan's entering into him with the sop: this is proved by the authority of Luke, xxii. 3, 4, "Then entered Satan into Judas, and he went and communed with the chief priests," &c., and of John xiii. 27.

But the supper at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was the time and place whence Judas began his treason. This Mr. H. granteth; therefore the supper at Bethany was the time and place, where Satan entered into Judas with the sop.

2. You conclude, "that the discourse between Christ and his disciples concerning the traitor, passed that very night that he ate the passover:" that is most true; but whereas you conclude withal, that the like discourse passed not at Bethany two days before: that is most false. And as for your reason, "had Judas been discovered at Bethany, how could the disciples, John as well as the rest, begin to be sorrowful," &c. I will tell you.

First, if the discovery of Judas at Bethany, was privately to John only, then your question, or reason, is answered; and I must put you to prove the contrary.

Secondly, though John knew it before, yet he loved not his Master so little, but he would be sorrowful too, to hear of his Master's betraying again, as well as they.

Thirdly, though the discovery at Bethany were openly to all, yet might they, two nights after, begin to be sorrowful, to hear of it again. He hath written that word "begin" in a different letter, as if he would have you to observe the emphasis of that word, as if they had never been sorrowful about that business before. But though they had heard of it two days before, might they not begin to be sorrowful about it again, when the discourse of it was renewed? The passover
supper was a meal of rejoicing; and, in the midst of that meal, for Christ to speak of his betraying, might it not damp their rejoicing, and make them begin to be sorrowful? And besides, I could tell of a propriety that ‘to begin’ hath in the gospel language, that, if he had observed, it may be he would not have pointed out the word for so emphatical. ‘To begin’ to do a thing, in gospel language doth often mean no more but to do a thing. ‘They began to be sorrowful,’ in Mark xiv. 19. is no more in Matthew xxvi. 22. than, ‘they were sorrowful.’

Fourthly, at the passover supper, they ask not Who is it? but, they every one say, “Is it I?” The former question had been of doubting, as John xiii. 22.: the latter, of every one vindicating themselves, and asserting their integrity by that question.

Fifthly, Doth he make no difference between John’s asking Christ alone, and all the disciples speaking to him? and no difference between Christ’s saying, “He to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it,” and “He that dippeth with me in the dish?”

If all the three evangelists had spoken in Luke’s language, “The hand of him that betrays me, is with me on the table,” and not mentioned dipping in the dish, I wonder where Mr. Heming’s passover-night sop would have been found then? But, when Matthew and Mark speak of dipping in the dish, here is enough for him to make ‘quidlibet e quolibet,’ as he can do it most excellently.

3. He concludes, that Christ washed not his disciples’ feet at Bethany, but at the supper at Jerusalem, the same night he was betrayed, John xiii.

This is written in a gospel of his own making (for it is not written in John xiii.), and so is his next conclusion, “That the sop was given at an ordinary common supper, which Christ had the same night, before he ate the passover.” Let him find fair evidence for either of these in any of the four evangelists that we read, and I will say I never read them. Sure this man would make an excellent new gospel.

And now let me use his own style, and conclude too.

I conclude against all he hath said, or can say (but bear witness I challenge none of his friends),

1. That the supper in John xiii. at which Judas received the sop, was before the passover festival, verse 1 and 29.

2. That every night, for five or six nights together, before
the passover, Christ lodged in the Mount of Olives (and if Mr. Heming can tell where, but at Bethany, let him shew it), Matthew xxii. 17.; Mark xi. 19, and xiv. 1, 2.; Luke xxii. 37.

3. That two nights before the passover, he supped at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. 2. 6.


5. That he began his treason upon Satan’s entering into him, Luke xxii. 3, 4.

6. That Satan entered into him upon his receiving of the sop, John xiii. 27.

Ergo, 7. That Judas received the sop at Bethany, two days before the passover.

Now, because Mr. Heming, according to his common charity, doth charge me for contra-conscientiously and wickedly wresting the Scripture, for the maintaining of this my conclusion, I shall desire the reader equally and impartially to judge between us, whether of us wrests these texts, that we have had to deal with about, he or I.

1. I say the supper, John xiii. was before the passover day, because the text saith, It was before the feast of the passover, verse 1. He saith, that supper, John xiii. was on the passover night, though the text doth say, It was before the feast of the passover. Whether of us do more wrest this Scripture?

2. I say, that when some of the disciples thought that Jesus bade Judas buy something against the feast, the disciples knew that the feast was coming, and it was not yet come. He saith, What the disciples thought, proceeded from their ignorance. Whether of us do more wrest and wrong this text and the disciples?

3. I say, that that supper at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was two days before the passover, because the evangelists do presently before speak of two days before the passover. He saith, That supper at Bethany, Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. was six days before the passover, though the evangelists do presently before speak of two days before the passover. Whether of us do more wrest the Scripture here?

4. I say the method and order in that place of Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. is direct; and I take the stories without misplacing them. He saith, The method and order there is not direct; and he doth misplace the stories. Whether of us do offer the more violence to the evangelists?
5. I say, The supper in John xii. and the supper in Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. were two different suppers, because one is dated six days before the passover, and the other two; the one was in the house of Lazarus, the other in the house of Simon the leper; at the one, Christ's head is anointed; at the other, his feet. He saith, The supper in John xii. and the supper Matthew xxvi. Mark xiv. is one and the same supper, though one be dated six days before the passover, and the other two; though the one were in the house of Lazarus, and the other, in the house of Simon the leper; and, though at the one Christ's head were anointed, and at the other, feet. Let all the world judge whether he or I do more wrest the Scripture.

My second assertion is this:

That Judas received the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

For the proof of which I produce Matthew xxvi. 20.; Mark xiv. 17. where it is said, that "Jesus sat down with the twelve;" and he taxeth Judas for treason, Mark xiv. 13. Luke xxii. 21.

To this Mr. Heming saith, but what he had said before, 1. "It is true (saith he) he sat down at Jerusalem with the twelve, of whom Judas was one, in the common or ordinary supper. 2. It is as true that there (as Mr. Lightfoot doth most righteously affirm for the truth, to the deeper wounding of his cause) that there he taxed Judas for treason, gave him the sop, and discovered him; and not at Bethany two days before."

Reply. I thank you that you will once grant I speak truth, but you think it is for your own turn. But I pray you, how doth that that I affirm, wound my cause? I say Jesus taxed Judas of treason at the passover supper; and I say he taxed him of treason at the supper at Bethany, two nights before: what wound do I give to my cause by this? If you find any advantage by it, make use of it.

Well, he granteth Judas was at the common supper; but how missed he of the sacrament? Why, Mr. H. will tell you as directly as if he had been there, that he was taxed for treason, and the sop given him; and so he packed away before the sacrament was in hand. And thus he makes a story of his own head of the sop given at the passover supper, which he will never be able to prove, while his name is Mr. Heming. But the story of the evangelist, that determines the case, he slippeth over, and speaks not one word to it. I cite
Luke xxii. 21. to prove Judas present at the sacrament, and this Mr. H. saw was like enough to wound his cause, and therefore (I shall commend his wit another time) he answers it with grave silence, not speaking one word to it.

It is apparent, by Luke, that Judas was at table after the giving of the sacrament. Consider his words, Luke xxii. verse 19. "And he took bread and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body, &c.; verse 20, "Likewise the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you;" verse 21. "But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me, is with me on the table." What say you to this, Mr. Heming? Where was Judas now, I pray you, when his hand was on the table? Give me a direct and clear answer to evidence that he was not at table at the delivering of the sacramental cup, and I shall say you are an oracle indeed. But let me have your answer out of the gospel of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, and not out of a gospel of your own making. Can any thing be plainer for my assertion than this? "But behold:"

By taking this course to change the method and order of Scripture, when mine own list, and when it will serve my turn, I will prove to you any thing—That Cain killed Abel before Adam was created; that Christ was crucified after he rose again from the dead; that he was baptized before he was born; and any thing in the world whatsoever. I would eat my opinion, and bite my tongue, before I would make the evangelists my slaves to serve my opinion. Let all the world judge whether this is to be led by the Scripture, or to lead the Scripture whither you please.

1. Let Mr. H. begin at the beginning of Luke's gospel, and let him tell me how many dislocations he can find that Luke maketh of his own story, from one end of his gospel to another. I believe he will find but very few that he can say upon good ground, These passages are displaced; and that
this should be one of those very few, where there is so great probability of its direct order, as 'But, behold,' he must use a great many of words to make any reasonable man believe it.

2. Let him consider the conditions of the word πλην, and take it in all, or any of the senses it can be taken in, and see whether it will stretch to prove a ὑστέρον πρὸτερον, or to be divided from what went before it. Sometimes it makes a conclusion, as πλην οὔτε ἄνηψ γυναῖκος, 'Veruntamen neque vir sine muliere,' 1 Cor. xi. 11. It is sometimes 'πρετερquam,' as Πλην τοῦ πλοίου, 'πρετερquam navis,' Acts xxvii. 22. Sometimes 'preter,' as Πλην Ἀποστόλων, 'preter apostolos,' Acts viii. 1. Sometimes 'sed' or 'verum,' as Πλην οίδαί ύμῖν, 'sed vae vobis,' Luke vi. 14. Sometimes 'tamen,' as Πλην τοῦτο γινώσκετε, 'tamen hoc scitote,' Luke x. 11. And sometimes 'quinetiam,' as Πλην λέγω ύμῖν. Now, in all these acceptations, or in any of them, is it not ever made an inseparable companion, or in conjunction to something that went immediately before? And I am confident, Mr. H. would plead hard it doth so here, if it made but half so much to his purpose, as it makes against him.


To this, Mr. Heming's answer is this:

"The text doth not say he delivered it to the twelve, but to all, namely, to all present; for Judas had gotten the sop, and was gone forth."

Reply. Readers, the evangelists alleged tell you, that Jesus sat down with the twelve, and they did eat; and as they were eating, he ordained the sacrament; and not a syllable of Judas's getting the sop, or going forth. But Mr. H. tells you so: it is a story of his putting in amongst those evangelists. Now, whether it be fitter to believe them or him, judge ye.

I would ask Mr. Heming this question:—Before the gospel of John was written (as he is held to have written the last), if Mr. Heming had read any of, or all, the three other relating the story of the passover, how would he have construed them then? Where would his sop, and Judas going forth have been found then? Does not he think that all that read them then, understood them as I do, and never dreamed of Judas receiving the sop and going out? and yet they
thought that they had the full story of the passover supper too. I dare allow Mr. Heming seven years' study to prove that John speaks one syllable of story of the passover supper. But, because he hath spoken of a supper and a sop, and Judas going forth, &c. therefore, he will have that the passover supper, though the evangelists do most plainly say it was before the passover feast.

He giveth a second answer as magistratical and withal as solid as this; and that is, "If it had been said, he gave it to the twelve, yet that would prove nothing; for, in 1 Cor. xv. 5. it is said, 'He (Christ) was seen of Cephas, and then of the twelve,' though he was seen only of the eleven, Matthew xxviii. 16, 17. Mark xvi. 14."

Reply. Readers, I must tell you again, that whatsoever the evangelists say, Mr. Heming must set their sense: though all the three had said, 'he gave the sacrament to the twelve,' yet you must say it was but to eleven; and, though they speak not a word of Judas's absence, yet Mr. Heming has told you he was gone; and that is enough for you to believe against three evangelists. The allegation out of 1 Cor. xv. 5. is profoundly applied. Paul says Christ was seen of the twelve; and yet you are to understand it but of eleven: true; for the story had abundantly and abundantly again, told before what was become of the twelfth, and how they were become but eleven; and the Corinthians knew the story well enough. But here, though the evangelists had said, 'he gave it to the twelve,' Mr. Heming will have you to understand it only of eleven, though none of the three spake a word before of the abating of the number, or what was become of the twelfth.

In the objection he frameth and answereth, "If Mr. Lightfoot shall be so vain as to say Matthias was then chosen in the room of Judas," &c. he doth but fight with his own shadow, and I will let them alone to deal it out: fight man, fight shadow, and part yourselves when you think good.

Mr. Heming. "Whereas he affirmeth that Christ gave the sacrament to Judas, I fear he doth him more injury, than ever he will be able to account for, at his tribunal."

Reply. Let Mr. Heming fear to make that so heinous a sin, which he hath no warrant to prove but his own fancy, that it is any sin at all.

I shall propose to him these two or three questions:
1. Is it any injury to Christ to say that he gave Judas the word, as well as to the other apostles; that is, made him a minister of it as well as they? or to say that Christ gave him the Spirit; that is, the power of miracles, and gifts of healing, as well as to them? I believe Mr. H. will hardly deny that he gave him the word and Spirit in this sense. I pray you, then, why is it so great an injury to Christ to say, 'he gave the sacrament to Judas,' more than to say 'he gave the word and Spirit to Judas'? I would gladly see wherein the difference lies; that to say, the one should be no sin, and say the other should be so heinous: shew me some reason why it should be a higher business for Christ to give the sacrament to Judas, than to make him a minister of the word and sacrament?

2. Did not Judas eat the passover with Christ? if not at this last supper, yet at some other time? I presume Mr. H. will not deny it: why, then tell me, why it should not be injury to Christ to say this as well as the other? Was not the passover a sacrament, as well as the Lord's Supper? Was not the paschal lamb the body of Christ in the same sense that the bread in the sacrament was? Shew me wherein lies the vast difference: that to say that Judas received the one sacrament with Christ, is an innocent truth; and to say that Judas received the other sacrament from Christ, is damnable impiety? Mr. H. in page 20, can, and doth, grant, that Judas received both passover and sacrament. Doth he injury to Christ in this concession or no?

Mr. Heming. "Did he not usually except Judas? 'Have not I chosen twelve, and one of you is a devil?' John vi. 70. 'Ye are clean, but not all,' John xiii. 10, 11. And again, verse 18, 'I speak not of you all, I know whom I have chosen,' &c."

Reply. No; he did not usually except Judas: in a few places indeed he doth it; but usually he doth it not. Let that be proved: you shall see more places than these by and by where he doth not.

Mr. Heming. "But to those he gave the sacrament, he saith, without exception,

'1. 'This is my body, which is given for you. This is the cup of the new testament, in my blood, which is shed for you,' Luke xxii. 19, 20. Surely Christ could not safely say so to Judas, whom he knew to be a devil eternally lost."
Reply. 1. But Christ might safely say so to the whole society, though Judas was there. As what say you to these speeches?

Matthew x. 20. "It is the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." Judas was in the company of them to whom this was spoken, verse 4, yet was not God his father.

Matthew xii. 46. "He stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren." Where was Judas; think you, now?

Matthew xiii. 16. "Blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear." Was Judas under this blessing, or was he absent at this time too?

Matthew xxiii. 8. "All ye are brethren." Verse 9. "One is your Father, which is in heaven." Had Judas the luck to be absent now also?

Luke xii. 4. "I say unto you, my friends;" verse 32. "Little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." Oh, Judas, where art thou now?

Matthew v. 13. "Ye are the salt of the earth. Ye are the light of the world."


In these, and very many such speeches, which were generally spoken to the whole company of the disciples, Mr. Heming's logic will make this construction: that either Judas was not there (sure it was his luck alway to be with his bag at the market), or Christ did not safely speak those words. No doubt he would make an exceeding brave comment upon such places as these, if he were put to it.

Mr. Heming. "'I will not drink henceforth of the fruit, until that day I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom,' Matthew xxvi. 29. Had Christ meant Judas as well as the rest (as he must, had he been there, since he excepts him not), he had been fouly mistaken; for he was never like to come there, understand the Father's kingdom how ye will."

Reply. Here Mr. Heming very gravely will teach Christ how to speak: and if he speaks not as his mind is, he will tell you he is fouly mistaken. It was our Saviour's common way of oratory, to frame his words in his instructions, admonitions, exhortations, &c. as speaking to all present: when
the proper application of what was spoken, did not suit with every one that heard it, but only with such as stood in capacity of such a thing, as Matthew xxiii. 8, 9. he saith to all the multitude present, “All ye are brethren, and one is your Father in heaven:” and yet every singular person in that multitude cannot be thought capable of the proper sense of these words.

But Mr. H. saith, In this speech in hand, Christ must mean Judas if he were present; though he used not such strictness in other speeches, yet here he must do it, or Mr. Heming will tell him his own.

Mr. Heming. “Luke xxii. 28—30. ‘Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, and I appoint to you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed to me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’ But,

“1. Judas had not continued with him in his temptations.
Neither,

“2. Could Christ appoint to him any other kingdom, but that of wrath and darkness. Nor,

“3. Was he ever like to sit at Christ’s table in his kingdom; much less sit on a throne in judgment of the twelve tribes, who is himself to be judged as a devil.”

Reply. 1. These very words are spoken by Christ, in Matthew xix. 28. before ever sop or Satan came into Judas. Mr. Heming must prove that Judas was absent then also, or else this his argument is not worth a straw.

2. Observe what a proper exposition he makes: “You eleven shall sit on twelve thrones.” An acute gloss I promise you; Eleven men lay in twelve beds.

Mr. Heming. “Matthew xxvi. 31. ‘All ye shall be offended because of me this night.’ This is the same all, to whom the sacrament was delivered. Let Mr. Lightfoot take heed how he traduce Christ himself, by affirming that Judas was one of the ‘all’ he administered the seal and spake these words to. And let him not think to evade any of these Scriptures, by saying Judas had received the sacrament and was gone forth, unless he be able to prove it.”

Reply. Truly that is no hard task to do, to prove that Judas, having received the sacrament, was gone forth: what can be plainer than the text is for this, Matthew xxvi. 30, 31. “And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into
the Mount of Olives. Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended," &c. And so Mark xiv. 26, 27. Mr. Heming winked at this text, and would not see what he might have done, and would not have others to see what is to be seen in it; but would persuade you these words were spoken by Christ, while he was still in the house, and at the table, the better to delude you with his argument. But the evangelists tell you plainly, that they were all gone forth, Christ, disciples and all: and then was Judas gone about his villany, to get together his men to surprise his Master.

It is apparent in Luke xxii. that Judas was at table after the delivering of the cup. Let Mr. Heming clear it that he did not receive the bread and the cup; and let him shew that Judas did not stay the singing of the psalm, as nice as he and his precious hearts make it to sing psalms in the congregation, because they will not sing with the profane. With all the skill all of them have, they will not evade it, but that Christ and the disciples sung the hymn, while Judas was with them. I say, therefore, according to the plain texts of the evangelists, that Judas received the sop, and Satan with it, before the feast day of the passover came: that before that day came, he had contrived with the chief priests for his Master's betraying; that on the passover night he was one of the twelve that sat down to supper; that he was there at the common supper, as Mr. H. calls it; that he was there at the paschal lamb, eating; at the sacrament delivering; at the singing of the hymn; and till all the Table rose and went out: and then he slipped aside, and gathered his cut-throats for the apprehending of his Master.

If I have not shewed this clearer from the text, and more free without wrestling of the text, than Mr. H. shews the contrary, let me, in the eyes of all judicial and impartial men, bear the brand of so silly a fool as he would stamp upon me.

And whereas he would affright me with, "Let Mr. Lightfoot take heed how he traduce Christ himself, by affirming Judas was one of that 'all' he administered the seal and spake these words to,"

1. He might have done well to have given the evangelists this caution; for I speak but what they tell me. One of them tells me, that When Christ gave the cup Judas was at the table; and another tells, that He bade them all drink of
it; and what can I say less than I do? If I have forged one
tittle of mine own head, let me hear of it.

And, 2. I pray you, what injury is it to Christ, to say He
administered the seal to Judas? Shew me a reason why the
seal might not be administered to him. I say it might; I say
it may, to a person that is not a saint. Cry not out here,
"Hear, O heavens," &c. but shew me a solid reason why it
might not. I say again, It is no more traducing of Christ,
to say he administered the seal to Judas, than it is traducing
of Christ to say, he administered the word to Judas. And
if Mr. Heming can prove the sacrament to be greater than
the word, he may then say something against this my asser­
tion; but till he can do that, he must give me leave to hold
what I do.

And here hath Mr. Heming spent all his shot he had to
spend about the controversy between us; namely, concern­
ing the time of Judas' receiving the sop, and concerning his
receiving of the sacrament. All the rest of his book he
shoots powder, and he cares not how: one while he talks of
the communion of saints, another while of gathering of
churches, then of liberty of conscience, &c. which, as they
are besides our question, so shall not I trouble myself with
them.

But, before we part, let me again thank him for that fa­
vourable and Christian-like conclusion that he makes with
me, as he made it his beginning, when he saith thus: "I
should abundantly wrong him, if I should not rank him among
the vilest in the kingdom; for, with them he will have com­
munion, as a member of the same external visible body, by
virtue whereof they are all his brethren and sisters; so that
he hath his brother drunkard, brother thief, brother murder­
er, brother liar, &c.; sister whore, sister witch, &c.; yea, all
that have been hanged at Tyburn, and all other gallows in
England, ever since he was born and baptized into that fel­
lowship he pleads for, have been his brethren and sisters:
let him or any one else, upon good ground, deny it if he
can."

Reply. Here is excellent language I promise you, and
full of Christian meekness and charity: I could not but re­
ppeat it again. This gentleman calls God to record upon his
soul, that he hath spoken nothing in bitterness and passion,
page 7. And if this be his calm language, what do you
think he speaks, when he speaks in thunder? Sure his wo-
men saints dictated this language to him; for this is plain
scolding, and not arguing. Whatsoever he disclaimeth of
bitterness and passion, look his whole discourse through,
and see what it breathed of throughout.

He begins it with the title, "Precious Hearts." A precious
tongue would have done well in the bargain too. But you
see how impatient the man is to be crossed: whosoever can-
not hold, and speak, and practise point-blank according to
his humour, must be ranked with all the whores, thieves,
witches, murderers, and Tyburnians, in England.

If you be so free from bitterness and passion, take heed, I
pray you, Mr. H. of pride, blind zeal, and self-prizing. You
must needs think (if these blind you not) that others have
studied the Scriptures as well as yourself, and understand
reason, and know the concernment of their souls, and would
gladly be saved as well as you: and that hold their tenets
in religion from a good conscience, and would be as loath to
deceive themselves in things of such weight as well as your-
self. What reason or warrant have you to think that no man
thinks right but he that thinks as you do? and none prac-
tiseth right, but according as you practise? and that none
can walk to heaven but just in your steps? and when a man,
from the bottom of his soul, thinks that Judas received the
sacrament, and holds, that it is better to receive the sacra-
ment with the congregation, though profane persons be
there, than either to refrain from the sacrament, or separate
from the congregation; what reason or warrant have you in
the world thus to vilify him, and to rank him with so vile
persons? I cannot hold the Communion of Saints to mean in
your sense; I cannot think the sacrament was ordained only
for visible and real saints; I cannot hold that it is to distin-
guish betwixt Christian and Christian; I cannot either re-
linquish the sacrament or the congregation: must I there-
fore be matched with all the thieves, whores, witches, and
villains of the gallows? If this be meekness, charity, and
Christianity, it is so by some new-found or new-made bible;
for in that that I have always studied, this is held to be pride,
rashness, passion, and uncharitableness. The man hath fanci-
ced a Communion of Saints, and a reservedness of the sacra-
ment, which he will never be able to prove and because I
and others cannot be of the same groundless judgment, this is the charitable man’s doom upon me.

Doubtless he would make a brave judge: but let not me nor any friend of mine come under his fingers. No more ado with him, but, Sirrah, do you think Judas received the sacrament? and, do you think mixed communion is lawful?—Yes, and it please you.—Then, take him jailor; for this is a companion, nay a brother, of all the rogues and thieves that ever were hanged at Tyburn, &c. A smart judge I promise you: bless you out of his clutches.

I may not forget neither, before we part, to thank him for his good word, in page 11, where he saith, “Mr. Lightfoot hath gone against manifest light of truth, the whole current or stream of orthodox, godly, and learned expositors, common sense, &c. And to serve a malignant design, he wickedly and, it is to be feared, contra-conscientiously wrests and wrings in John xiii. &c.”

Reply. Here is charity by lumps. I wonder in what school he learned it.

1. I pray you, what malignity is it to believe and to maintain, that Judas received the sacrament? Yes, there is this malignity in it: ye cross the impartial mind and opinion of Mr. Heming: for, else, there is nothing in it contrary either to Scripture, piety, charity, peace, honesty, or good manners.

2. I would fain know how this opinion is contrary to common sense. I would go a mile to hear him shew this. He saith, in page 1, “Many weak ones have stumbled at what Mr. Lightfoot hath spoken and written, though there be neither divinity nor reason in it.” Excellent well grounded disciples I assure you, that stumble when there is neither stone nor straw in the way. He doth them but little credit, in telling they are so easily shaken by that is neither divinity nor sense. He should shew how it wanteth or contrarieth common sense. Come, let us hear it.

3. It were worth bearing whom he owns for orthodox expositors: Beza, Calvin, Pareus, Fulke, &c. Why, these were of the old light; I hope you scorn to call these men orthodox. No, says he, but I do not; I will call any men orthodox, as far as I think they will serve my turn: but, if I find them different in the least tittle from mine opinion, I shall tell them what they are.
Doth Mr. Lightfoot's opinion go against the whole current of orthodox, godly, and learned expositors? Zanchy saith, 'multi, et magni viri,' have taught and written agreeable to mine opinion. And if Mr. Gillespie were alive (whom you have so unworthily used, as to steal his arguments by whole-steal, and never to own him), he could name you a man of my opinion, whom he would confess a man orthodox, godly, and learned, and even a walking library of orthodox, godly, and learned expositors; and that is Mr. Prynne, a gentleman of that learning, that you would have but little pleasure to combat with in this controversy. If you were as well versed in what he hath written about this subject, as you are in Mr. Gillespie; you would find that you either wilfully speak you care not what, or sillily speak you know not what, when you say mine opinion is contrary to the whole current of orthodox, godly, and learned expositors.

Whether I have gone against the manifest light of truth, and whether I have wrested the Scriptures, I appeal, from your censure (for I am sure you will be partial in your own case), to the impartial Judge of your heart and mine, and to the impartial reader, who hath seen what hath passed between us.

And as for that unchristian and injurious censure, "that I had a malignant design, and that I have wickedly and contra-conscientiously wrested the Scriptures," I will say no more to it; but I pray God give you a better tongue and heart: and I will leave you that text in Rom. ii. 1. to study on, as far as passion and self-conceit will give you leave.

And now let us shake hands and part. I thank you for your kindness and good words, as much as it comes to. I wish you more charity, humility, wisdom, and moderation. I would advise you to study more, and print less: your stock is not so great as to be trusting too much abroad. You see what pains I have been at with you: I hope I shall have thanks from you for it.

A wisp or a cuck-stool, the reward of scolds, had been a fitter return for your railing, than patience and reason; but you see how I have waited on you with salt and spoons. I hope you will excuse me, if I find myself something to do another time: for, this I will promise you, and here is my...
A BAT'TLE WITH A WASP'S NEST.

hand on it; that rail, rage, rave, call, miscall, print sense or nonsense, vent your own arguments, or arguments that you have stolen, vapour in what subject, or after what manner you will,—I am resolved to answer you with deep silence, and with Hezekiah's lesson, "Answer him not." You love not to appear in public so much, but I love it as little. You have forced me to this trouble, and to be thus troublesome to the reader. Say what you will, you shall bring me upon the stage in this manner no more.
LETTERS.

LETTER I.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

[This, and the following letter, ought to have been inserted at p. 470 of vol. xiii.]

WORTHY SIR,

I RECEIVED some while since a letter from Mr. Bonnell, and therein one enclosed from yourself to him; of which I deferred to give you an account to him presently, by misunderstanding something in Mr. Bonnell’s letter, as if it would be time enough to send up the sermons, when one who was intended for Aspeden Hall, should come up in person to bring them, which will not be yet this fortnight. I am since apt to think that passage meant of something else, though of what, if not of them, I cannot certainly interpret; but having received yours of the 23d instant, I immediately set myself to peruse all the sermons I had; and have, by this next return, sent up another parcel to you, wherein that upon Ziba and Jephthah’s daughter, and one upon Acts vii. 44., which is all I can find, and that but a little paper. Also, I have sent all that are upon Exodus xx. &c., with several others upon other subjects, some whereof I think you may have had before: I remember to have heard from the Dr. himself, concerning a sermon of his preached upon baptism, at St. Mary’s, in Cambridge, the notes whereof were earnestly desired from him by Dr. Outram. Whether he writ them out again for him, or delivered the original notes, I cannot tell; but I have seen a letter of Dr. Outram’s to him, of thanks for them, and professing a great deal of content and satisfaction in having them; which hath been the reason of my sending up all larger or shorter notes that I find upon that subject (unless that I have overlooked any); but I doubt that sermon may not be among them.

Sir, for your care and pains about the sermons, I must always acknowledge the great obligations you have laid
upon me; and shall be at a loss how to express my thankful
sense of your kindness to the Dr.'s memory, in any suitable
manner. I would I knew any thing in the Dr.'s library, that
would be acceptable to you, which you might keep for his
sake. The agreement you have made with Mr. Chiswell, I
do readily consent to; and when you shall send down his
form, I shall be as ready to subscribe to it. That you have
bargained for them, as they are, I don't well understand; not
conceiving that there should be so many perfect ones, and
exactly writ, and with that plainness that a stranger to his
hand should be able to transcribe them, or which should not
need something to be done about them. One thing I ex­
pressed to Mr. Bonnell, that I much desired to know, how
Mr. Parkhurst came by those two sermons; one whereof, I
have made so much inquiry after; and the other, I know not
what it is. Gladly would I find something to gratify Mr.
Parkhurst with instead of them; but I cannot think what I
should be likely to meet with. All the papers, whatsoever,
of the Dr.'s, having been seen and perused by Mr. Kidder,
and not any thing else but what you know, judged meet to
be published; but I shall once more turn them over, to see
what there is, and shall give you account accordingly. For
particulars about his life, we yet expect whether we shall
have any more than we have had from Staffordshire; and we
shall know soon. For any thing of especial remark, in his
latter days, I must confess I cannot think of any thing, be­
sides his known public conversation, both in his personal
and ministerial capacity. Touching his station at Ely, Dr.
Womock, who was his very loving friend, and who greatly
esteemed him, is that person, who, if living, may give the
best account of him. And what he was at Cambridge, and
particularly in the college, Dr. Eachard must be able to give
a just information. And now, as I am writing, I think on't,
Dr. Calamy, at London, may be as fit a person as any.

Sir, I have no more; but that my wife desires to have her
best respects presented to you, which also receive from

Your very obliged friend and servant,

J. Duckfield.

Aspeden, May, 29, (82.)
LETTER II.

Mr. J. Duckfield to Mr. Strype.

WORTHY SIR,

I HAVE received your last, with a form (included) of a bill of sale to Mr. Chiswell, which I have returned to you, signed, and sealed, and witnessed. Sir, I am not hasty for the money, but do wholly leave it to you, to take your own time, when you think fit to receive it, or call for it; only, if it be all one to Mr. Chiswell, when he pays it, daughter Joyce, who is the other executor with me, is now at this present with us, with her husband also (who is the first witness); and if the money should come any time this fortnight, they might take their part of it with them. But by this, I would not at all engage you any whit sooner to desire it of him, than you think meet yourself, and according to your own conveniences. And I know (no) other way for your sending it, but by our Buntingford carrier, James Lyon, who inns at the Swan, Bishopsgate-without: he comes in on Thursday mornings, and comes out again Fridays, in the afternoon; and, I think, will not easily be met with, but about the time of his coming in or out. When, at any time, you pay it to him, you may do it privately, and take his receipt, and that shall acquit you for any miscarriage. Sir, I have carefully perused all the sermons I have (whereof, I think, you have the bigger part; a greater part of those that are still with me, being but short notes), and can find no other upon Acts vii., but what I sent you this last sending. Here is also that account, which I have brought to me out of Staffordshire, of the Dr’s life: a larger account (they say) hath been sent up another way, which is supposed to be delivered by him to whom it was sent (—-’s wife is also here now, and so tells us, as she thinks, but knows not certainly), to Mr. Kidder. When you see him, pray be pleased to ask, whether he received it or no. Sir, I cannot but have a great sense of your kindness, and labour of love (so I must call it), in this concern of the Dr.’s sermons; and shall study some way to express myself,

Your very faithful and obliged friend and servant,

J. DUCKFIELD.

Aspeden, June 12, (82.)
DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of March 29th, this 2d of April, which falling out to be the carrier’s day, without any farther deferring, I return you this. Concerning what I mentioned, your letter gives me as much satisfaction as I can wish, especially as to what relates to yourself. Touching what you desire to be informed in, I give you this account. The Dr.'s first wife was Joyce, the relict of one Mr. Copwood (a gentleman of a good estate in that county, viz. of Stafford, by whom she had two sons and one daughter, when the Dr. married her; the sons since died, after they were grown men; and the daughter is now living there, and married in that county, and inherits the estate), and the daughter of one Mr. Crompton (an esquire he was, but I cannot give you his prænomen), of the same county, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a good name and estate: her mother was an Aston, of the family of the Lord Aston, of Tixal, but before they were Papists. This their daughter, the Dr.'s wife, was (I think) the youngest of nine sisters; all the rest that lived, having been married into worshipful families there; and I have seen a monument of them all, and of three sons, with the portraiture of them in brass, with their father and mother, in the church of Stone, in that county. Her eldest brother, and his son, her nephew, were both justices of the peace; and the son a parliament-man, in the first long parliament; but both on that party. She died (as I remember) in the year 56, the latter end of the year, and was buried in Munden Church, in the chancel. His second wife was Anne, the relict of one Mr. Austin Brograve, uncle to Sir Thomas. She also died at Munden, and was buried there. By this last, the Dr. had no children; by his first, these sons, John, who was chaplain to the bishop of Chester, Dr. Brian Walton, and much esteemed by him, but died presently after the bishop, and was buried in the cathedral of Chester. Anastasius, his second son, who had also these additions to that name, “Cottonus, Jacksonus,” in memory of those two dear friends of the Dr., Sir Rowland Cotton, and Sir John Jackson: this son was minister of Thundridge,
in Hertfordshire, and died there, leaving one son, who is now apprentice at London, but almost out of his time. His third son, *Athanasius*, brought up a tradesman, at London; but is dead, without issue. *Thomas*, his fourth son, who died young. His first son, John, had six daughters, who are all dead but two, who live now at Chester. His daughters were, *Joyce*, my dear wife; and *Sarah* (a widow now), in Staffordshire, married to one Colclough, a gentleman of that county. What money Dr. *Legate* gave to the new building, at Catherinehall, I cannot certify you: he kept it private to himself. I have heard of a sum, but I cannot say it upon certainty. Dr. *Calamy* (I suppose) can inform in that particular. But I am sure, by his assistance, he procured good sums from others; and I know of one hundred pounds, which by his only interest in the gentleman, altogether a stranger to the College, he obtained of him for them; for I received three score pounds of it myself, which was left unpaid when the Dr. died. His disease, of which he died, was a fever, of which he was sick almost a fortnight. He had there one Dr. *Hicks* (as I remember his name), of Ely, and Dr. *Gosnall*, of Cambridge, his physicians. His communication with his friends there, especially the dean, Dr. *Mapleton*, and one Dr. *Womock*, a prebend, who were his chief visitants, I have heard nothing of. His behaviour, when I saw him, was with exceeding much meekness, patience, and silence; speaking much with God and himself, but little to others. He was brought from Ely to Munden, and buried there; Mr. Gervase Fulwood preaching at his funeral.

Thus, Sir, have I given you as particular information as I can, in the things you were pleased to inquire about: many of which, about his children and grand-children, I think, may not be much material nor pertinent to take notice of. Any thing in special about his friendship with Sir Henry Caesar, or Sir Thomas Brograve, I cannot recount, but only in general, that they were very intimate friends. To the former, in his sickness, which was the small-pox, he gave several visits, though very fearful for his own family; but his singular love and respect to Sir Henry, constrained him not to prefer that consideration to his service to so dear a friend in such a time, whose death he very much lamented. The intercourse between Sir Thomas Brograve and him was frequent, both by letter, and often conferences, the distance
not being so great, only two miles, but that they might walk the one to the other on foot, which they often did, for the great endearedness between them, and for conferring together on the things of their studies. I have heard the Dr. tell; he hath told it to me once and again; how, upon occasion of some discourse between them, about such a subject, Sir Thomas departed from him, and presently penned a discourse about the university of Athens, and brought it to him; which the Dr. had lent out to some one that had desired it, but could not call to mind to whom; so that it was irrecoverably gone. As a testimony of their using to meet, and what use they made of it, I have put in this paper,* which is the only one I can find of that kind, either from the one or the other.

Sir, I have been too long; and therefore must, of force, abruptly conclude, and subscribe,

Your very respectful friend and servant,

J. Duckfield.

April 2, (84.)


END OF VOL. I.