

FROM THE TALMUD AND HEBRAICA

by John Lightfoot

Lightfoot's scholarly extracts from the Talmud and other rabbinic literature that illuminate the New Testament, providing Jewish background and context that enriches understanding of the Gospels and Epistles.

101 Chapters

Table of Contents

0. From The Talmud And Hebraica
1. Chapter 1 The Division of the Land.
2. Chapter 2 The Talmudic Girdle of the Land under the second Temple, taken out of ...
3. Chapter 3 A great part of south Judea cut off under the second Temple. Jewish Id...
4. Chapter 4 The seven Seas according to the Talmudists, and the four Rivers compas...
5. Chapter 5 The Sea of Sodom
6. Chapter 6 The Coast of the Asphaltites, The Essenes. En-gedi.
7. Chapter 7 Kadesh. Rekam, and that double. Inquiry is made, Whether the doubling ...
8. Chapter 8 The River of Egypt, Rhinocorura. The Lake of Sirbon.
9. Chapter 9 A Sight of Judea
10. Chapter 10 A Description of the Sea-coast, out of Pliny and Strabo.
11. Chapter 11 The mountainous Country of Judea.
12. Chapter 12 The South Country. Judea called 'the South,' in respect of Galilee.
13. Chapter 13 Gaza
14. Chapter 14 Ascalon. Gerar. The Story of the Eighty Witches.
15. Chapter 15 Jabneh. Jamnia.
16. Chapter 16 Lydda
17. Chapter 17 Sharon. Caphar Lodim. The Village of those of Lydda.
18. Chapter 18 Caphar Tebi.
19. Chapter 19 The northern coast of Judea. Beth-horon.
20. Chapter 20 Beth-el. Beth-aven.
21. Chapter 21 Jerusalem
22. Chapter 22 The parts of the City. Sion. The Upper City: which was on the north p...
23. Chapter 23 The buildings of more eminent note in Sion.
24. Chapter 24 Some buildings in Acra. Bezeiha. Millo.
25. Chapter 25 Gihon, the same with the Fountain of Siloam.
26. Chapter 26 The Girdle of the City. Nehemiah 3.
27. Chapter 27 Mount Moriah
28. Chapter 28 The Court of the Gentiles. The Mountain of the House, in the Rabbins.
29. Chapter 29 Chel. The Court of the Women.
30. Chapter 30 The Gate of Nicanor, or the East Gate of the Court of Israel.
31. Chapter 31 Concerning the Gates and Chambers lying on the South Side of the Cour...
32. Chapter 32 The Gates and Doors on the North Side.
33. Chapter 33 The Court itself.
34. Chapter 34 The Altar. The Rings. The Laver.
35. Chapter 35 Some other memorable Places of the City.
36. Chapter 36 Synagogues in the City; and Schools.
37. Chapter 37 Bethphage
38. Chapter 38 Kedron

39. Chapter 39 The Valley of Hinnom.
40. Chapter 40 Mount Olivet. The Mount of Olives, 2 Samuel 15:30.
41. Chapter 41 Bethany. Beth-hene.
42. Chapter 42 Scopo
43. Chapter 43 Ramah. Ramathaim Zophim. Gibeah.
44. Chapter 44 Nob. Bahurim.
45. Chapter 45 Emmaus. Kiriath-jearim.
46. Chapter 46 The country of Jericho, and the situation of the City.
47. Chapter 47 Jericho itself.
48. Chapter 48 Some miscellaneous matters belonging to the Country about Jericho.
49. Chapter 49 Hebron
50. Chapter 50 Of the cities of Refuge.
51. Chapter 51 Beth-lehem
52. Chapter 52 Betar
53. Chapter 53 Ephraim
54. Chapter 54 Tsok: and Beth Chadudo.
55. Chapter 55 Divers matters.
56. Chapter 56 Samaria. Sychem.
57. Chapter 57 Caesarea. Strato's Tower.
58. Chapter 58 Antipatris. Caphar Salama.
59. Chapter 59 Galilee
60. Chapter 60 Scythopolis. Beth-shean, the beginning of Galilee.
61. Chapter 61 Caphar Hananiah. The Middle of Galilee.
62. Chapter 62 The disposition of the tribes in Galilee.
63. Chapter 63 The west coast of Galilee-Carmel.
64. Chapter 64 Acon. Ptolemais.
65. Chapter 65 Ecdippa. Achzib. Joshua 19:29; Judges 1:31. Climax of the Tyrians.
66. Chapter 66 The northern coasts of Galilee. Amanah. The mountain of snow.
67. Chapter 67 Pamiias. Paneas, the spring of Jordan.
68. Chapter 68 What is to be said of the sea of Apamia.
69. Chapter 69 The lake Samochonitis [or Semechonitis.]
70. Chapter 70 The lake of Gennesaret; or, the sea of Galilee and Tiberias.
71. Chapter 71 Within what tribe the lake of Gennesaret was.
72. Chapter 72 Tiberias.
73. Chapter 73 Of the Situation of Tiberias.
74. Chapter 74 Chammath. Ammaus. The warm baths of Tiberias.
75. Chapter 75 Gadara
76. Chapter 76 Magdala
77. Chapter 77 Hippo. Susitha.
78. Chapter 78 Some other towns near Tiberias. Beth-Meon. Caphar Chittaia. Paltathah...
79. Chapter 79 The country of Gennesaret.
80. Chapter 80 Capernaum

81. Chapter 81 Some history of Tiberias. The Jerusalem Talmud was written there: and...
82. Chapter 82 Tsippor
83. Chapter 83 Some places bordering upon Tsippor. Jeshanah. Ketsarah. Shihin.
84. Chapter 84 Usha
85. Chapter 85 Arbel. Shezor. Tarnegola the Upper.
86. Chapter 86 The difference of some customs of the Galileans from those of Judea.
87. Chapter 87 The dialect of the Galileans, differing from the Jewish.
88. Chapter 88 Gilgal, in Deuteronomy 11:30: what the place was.
89. Chapter 89 Divers towns called by the name of Tyre.
90. Chapter 90 Cana
91. Chapter 91 Perea. Beyond Jordan.
92. Chapter 92 Adam and Zaretan, Joshua 3.
93. Chapter 93 Julias-Bethsaida
94. Chapter 94 Gamala. Chorazin.
95. Chapter 95 Some towns upon the very limits of the land. Out of the Jerusalem Tal...
96. Chapter 96 The consistories of more note: out of the Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedr....
97. Chapter 97 The cities of the Levites.
98. Chapter 98 Some miscellaneous matters respecting the face of the land.
99. Chapter 99 Subterraneous places. Mines. Caves.
100. Chapter 100 Of the places of Burial.

From The Talmud And Hebraica

Chapter 1 he Division of the Land.

The Jewish writers divide the whole world into "The land of Israel," and "Without the land": that is, the countries of the heathen. Both which phrases the book of the gospel owns: "The land of Israel," Matthew 2:20: and it calls the heathens, "those that are without," 1 Corinthians 5:13; 1 Timothy 3:7, &c. And sometimes the unbelieving Jews themselves, as Mark 4:11. They distinguish all the people of the world into "Israelites," and "the nations of the world." The book of the gospel owns that phrase also, Matthew 6:32; "After all these things, do the Gentiles (or nations) seek": which, in Luke 12:30, is, "The nations of the world." Hence the word 'world' is most commonly used for the Gentiles; John 3:16,17; 1 John 2:2, &c. Somewhere a distinction is made into "The land [of Israel]," and "The region of the sea"; "And every foreign region is called the region of the sea, except Babylon": -- they are the words of Rabbi Solomon. Which, nevertheless, fall under the censure of R. Nissim: "It is something hard (saith he) to reckon every country, which is out of the land, to be the region of the sea: for then, under that name, would be included all the neighbouring places, and which are, as it were, swallowed up by the land. They say, therefore, that the more remote places are called, 'The region of the sea.' But neither does this please me: for there is no need of so great a distance, to make any place to be called, 'The region of the sea,' &c. But it is spoken in relation to the western coast of the land of Israel; on which side there are no [heathen] cities near, and swallowed up by the land. But the sea sets the bounds; but it doth not set the bounds on other sides, &c. The sense, therefore, of R. Solomon, when he saith, 'that every region, without the land, is the region of the sea,' comes to this, -- That every region, which is like to that region, is so called." Heathen cities were on that western coast; but seeing they lay within the ancient bounds of the land, namely, the 'lip of the Mediterranean sea,' -- they could not so properly be said to be 'without the land,' as those which were altogether 'without the limits.' Those cities and that country, therefore, are called by a peculiar title, the "coast or country by the Mediterranean sea." Which title all other cities of the like condition underwent also, wheresoever seated within the bounds of the land. Examples will not be wanting as we go along. They commonly define the 'land of Israel' under a double notion: to wit, that "which they possessed, who went up out of Egypt"; and that "which they possessed, who went up out of Babylon." This was, in very many places, circumscribed within narrower limits than that, not only by reason Samaria was rejected and shut out, -- but also, because certain portions were cut off (and they neither a few nor small), which became the possessions of those, that went up out of Egypt; but, under the second Temple, had passed into the possessions of the heathen. Now they were, upon this account, the more exact in observing their bounds, distinguishing this land by known bounds, both from all others, and, in some places, as it were, from itself; because they decreed, that very many mysteries of their religion were to be handled nowhere but within these limits. For besides the rites of that dispensation, which the Holy Scripture doth openly and evidently fix to that land, such as Sacrifices, Passovers, the Priesthood, and other appointments of that nature (which are commonly, and not improperly, called "Statutes appendant to that land,") very many others also are circumscribed within the same borders by the fathers of the traditions. "The land of Israel (say they), above all other lands, is sanctified by ten holinesses. And what is the holiness of it? Out of it

they bring the sheaf, and the first-fruits, and the two loaves. And they do not so out of any other land." "The law of beheading the cow doth not take place any where, but in the land of Israel, and beyond Jordan." "They do not appoint or determine concerning the new moons, nor do they intercalate the year any where but in the land of Israel: as it is said, The law shall go forth out of Sion." "They do not prefer to eldership out of the land of Israel: no, not although they that do prefer, have themselves been preferred within the land." And that I heap not together more, they do, in a manner, circumscribe the Holy Spirit himself within the limits of that land. For "Shechinah (say they) dwells not upon any out of the land." Compare Acts 10:45. The land, which the Jews, that came up out of Babylon, possess, they divide after this manner: -- "There are three lands (or countries) -- Judea, the land beyond Jordan, and Galilee; and each of those have three countries": -- those we shall take notice of in their places. To this received division our Saviour hath respect, when, sending his disciples to preach to the "lost sheep of Israel," he excludes Samaria, Matthew 10:5; which, according to the condition of the nation, was not merely heathen, nor was it truly Israel. It was not heathen; for "The land of Samaria is reckoned clean, and the gathering together of its waters clean, and its dwellings clean, and its paths clean": which the Jewish curiosity would by no means pronounce of a heathen land. But as to many other things, they made no difference between them and the Gentiles...

Chapter 2 The Talmudic Girdle of the Land under the second Temple, taken out of the Jerusalem Sheviith, fol. 36. 3.

What all these things mean, I cannot so much as conjecture; yea, nor can I scarce conjecture, what the meaning is of some of them. Neither is there any Oedipus at hand, nor Sphinx herself, to explain and unriddle them. The Talmudists are silent from making any comments here, nor have we the advantage of any other commentator. We must, therefore, act here according to the uncertain instruction of nods and winks; and that either by saying nothing, or by mere conjecture, since that the mind of the authors is either altogether unknown, or it is wholly doubtful, whether it be known or no. Expect not, that I go from street to street to knock at all the gates of these places: it will be enough, if we can scrape out, in what regions these places lie, and are able to guess at what points of the heaven they are disposed. We will at present take in hand only the first and last clause of this place quoted; which may have some tendency towards our entrance into our present business. The rest (if there be any we can attain unto) we shall handle in their proper places. "These (say they) are the bounds of the land of Israel, which they possessed that came out of Babylon." "The division, or part, of the walls of the tower Sid." Nor dare I confidently to assert, that this is spoken of the 'tower of Strato,' or 'Caesarea'; nor yet do I know to what it may more fitly be applied. We observe in its place, that that tower is called by the Talmudists, "The tower Sir": which, by how very little a point it differs from this words, and how very apt it is by want of care in writing to be confounded with it, the eye of any reader is witness... These places, concerning which the Talmudists here treat, are of a different condition from those, which were called "The region of the sea." For those places were certain towns, here and there, on this sea-coast, and elsewhere; which were, indeed, inhabited by heathens, and so could not properly be reckoned the 'land of Israel'; yet they were such, as between which, and the outmost bounds of the land, was again the land of Israel. But these places, which we are now handling, are those, which were the utmost bounds, and beyond which were no places at all, but what was reckoned the 'land of the heathen': the Phoenicians, Syrians, or other Gentiles, possessing all that coast thence forward unto the shore of the Mediterranean sea. We cannot also pass by those things, that are said by the Gemarists in the very same page, from whence the scheme before-mentioned is taken. "You see isles in the sea; and if a line were drawn from the mountains of Amana to the river of Egypt, -- whatsoever is within the line, belongs to the land of Israel; whatsoever is without the line, is without the land." After the same manner speaks the Targum of Jerusalem upon Numbers 34:4: "And their western bounds shall be the great sea, and the isles of it." Isles? What isles? Let the authors of the maps well weigh these passages.

Chapter 3 A great part of south Judea cut off under the second Temple. Jewish Idumean.

The Talmudic girdle ends, as you see, in "Kadesh, Barnea, and Ascalon." Hence it cannot but be observed, that these two places are placed, as it were, in parallel; and whatsoever space lies between Ascalon and the river of Egypt, is excluded, -- to wit, fifty-four miles. And one might, indeed, almost see some footsteps of that exclusion under the first Temple, in that very common expression, "From Dan even to Beer-sheba." This country, that was excluded, was something barren. The Talmudists speak thus of it; "That tract, which lies in Gerariku [Gerar] is ill to dwell in. How far? To the river of Egypt." And Strabo thus; "The country, which follows Gaza, is barren and sandy," &c. It was anciently inhabited by the Avites, -- namely, from Gaza to the river of Egypt. "The Avims dwelt in Hazerim," Deuteronomy 2:23. Hazar is a word of most frequent mention in that southern land, "Hazar-Addar, Hazar-Gaddah, Hazar-Shua, Hazar-Susah," &c. And it seems to denote some champaign plain and level, lying between the mountains. Hence the habitation of the Avites is called 'Hazerim'; who are numbered with the Philistines, but yet by themselves, Joshua 13:3: -- for see there, how the holy text promising to number five nations only, numbers six. This excluded portion is passed into the name of Idumea. Hence Pliny: "Presently from the rising up of the lake Sirbon, begins Idumea and Palestine." Nor that alone, but another very great part of Judea. Hence the sea of Sodom, is said, by Diodorus Siculus, to be "about the middle of Idumea." And in Josephus, and the Book of the Maccabees, we find very many places mentioned under the name of Idumea, which were almost in the very middle of Judea. For example's sake; "He came even to the Gadari, and the plains of Idumea, and Azotus, and Jamnia." And again; "And Judas and his brethren left not off fighting with the Idumeans: but fell upon them everywhere: and taking the city Chebron, &c. and the city Marissa, &c. And having come unto Azotus," &c. And more to this purpose may be read here and there. So that distinction may be made, between Idumea the Greater and the Less. Simon of Gerasa overran the towns along the mountainous country, &c. And he overran Acrabatene, and the parts as far as Idumea the Great. And there is mention of "Idumean, called the Upper." With these passages, compare Mark 3:8. Whilst the Jews were absent from their own country, enduring the seventy years' bondage in Babylon, -- it is easy to be believed, that their ancient enemies, the Edomites, and that were so from the very first original of them, had invaded their possessions, as much as they could, and had fixed their roots in that country especially, which was nearest their own: but at length, by the powerful arms of the Maccabees, and the Asmoneans, they were either rooted out, or constrained to embrace Judaism. So Josephus speaks of Hyrcanus: "Hyrcanus takes Ador and Marissa, cities of Idumea: and, having subdued all the Idumeans, suffered them to remain in the country, on condition they were willing to be circumcised, and to use the Jewish laws. And they, out of a desire of their own country, underwent circumcision, and conformed to the same course of life with the Jews." Hence there became a mingled generation in that country, between Jew and Edomite: and the name of the place was mingled also, and called both Idumea and Judea: "And Palestine was divided into five countries, -- Idumea, Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and the country beyond Jordan."

Chapter 4 The seven Seas according to the Talmudists, and the four Rivers compassing the Land.

"Seven seas (say they) and four rivers compass the land of Israel. I. The Great Sea, or the Mediterranean. II. The sea of Tiberias. III. The sea of Sodom. IV. The lake of Samocho... The three first named among the seven are sufficiently known, and there is no doubt of the fourth: -- only the three names of it are not to be passed by. IV.1. The Sibbichaeon. The word seems to be derived from a bush.2. ...3. ... V. Perhaps the sandy sea. Which fits very well to the lake of Sirbon, joining the commentary of Diodorus Siculus. For he relates, that that lake, for the most part, is so covered with sand, that it hath often deceived and supplanted travellers, yea, whole armies, thinking it to be firm land... After these seas, mentioned by the Talmudists, hear also no lean story of theirs concerning the fish: "R. Chaninah Bar R. Abhu said, Seven hundred kinds of clean fish, and eight hundred kinds of clean locusts, and of birds an infinite number, travelled with Israel into Babylon, and returned when Israel returned, except [a certain] fish. But how did the fish travel? R. Houna Bar Joseph saith, they travelled by the way of the deep, and by the deep they came back." Surely it requires a Jewish invention (which is able to frame any thing out of any thing), to trace a way, either by any sea, or by any river, through which fish might swim out of Palestine into Babylon. By the same art they bring Jonah in the belly of the whale, out of the Phoenician sea, into the Red sea. That, indeed, is somewhat hard, yet not to be doubted of, what is said, 2 Chronicles 8:18, concerning Hiram sending ships to Solomon into the Red sea. What! ships to come from Tyre into the Red sea? Which way sailed they? It is answered, He sent such Tyrian ships, which had much and long traded before in the Red sea, to accompany Solomon's fleet. To this belongs that, that it is said there likewise (and in 1 Kings 9:27), that "he sent seamen, that had knowledge of the sea"; that is, knowledge of that sea: and they probably not such, who had never yet adventured themselves into the Red sea, but had experience of it before, and were not ignorant of the Ophir voyage. The four rivers for the compassing of the land (they say) are, 1. Jordan; that is sufficiently known. II. Jarmoch. In Pliny, 'Hieramax': "Gaddara (saith he), Hieramax flowing before it." III. Kirmion. IV. Pigah. Concerning which, thus the Aruch: "Kirmion is a river in the way to Damascus, and is the same with Amanah. Pigah is Pharphar. and Jarmoch is also a river in the way to Damascus." And the Talmudists: "The waters of Kirmion and Pigah are not fit" (to sprinkle the unclean), "because they are muddy waters. The waters also of Jordan, and the waters of Jarmoch, are not fit, because they are mixed waters": -- that is, as the Gloss speaks, mixed with the waters of other rivers, which they receive within themselves. To the seven seas, concerning which we have spoken, those things which are said by Midras Tillim, do refer: "I have created seven seas, saith the Lord, but out of them all I have chosen none, but the sea of Gennesaret." -- And of the river of Amanah, of which the Aruch speaks, mention is made in the Targum upon Canticles 4:8: "They that dwell upon the river Amanah, shall offer thee a gift," &c.

Chapter 5 The Sea of Sodom

The bounds of Judea, on both sides, are the sea; the western bound is the Mediterranean, -- the eastern, the Dead sea, or the sea of Sodom. This the Jewish writers every where call, which you may not so properly interpret here, "the salt sea," as "the bituminous sea." In which sense word for word, "Sodom's salt," but properly "Sodom's bitumen," doth very frequently occur among them. The use of it was in the holy incense. They mingled 'bitumen,' 'the amber of Jordan,' and [an herb known to few], with the spices that made that incense. "The lake Asphaltitis is distant from Jerusalem three hundred furlongs": -- about eight-and-thirty miles. "It is extended in length five hundred and eighty furlongs"; seventy-two miles. -- "In breadth a hundred and fifty furlongs"; eighteen miles. Pliny speaks thus of it: "In length it is more than a hundred miles: in its greatest breadth, it makes five-and-twenty, -- in its least, six." What agreement is there between these two? I suppose Josephus does not comprehend within his measure the tongue of the sea, of which mention is made, Joshua 15:2 -- and defines the breadth, as it was generally every where diffused. Concerning its distance from Jerusalem, Solinus also speaks: "In a long retreat from Jerusalem (saith he) a sad bay openeth itself; which that it was struck from heaven, the ground, black and dissolved into ashes, testifies. There were two towns there, one named Sodom, the other Gomorrha." But that distance was not directly southward, but by a very long declination eastward. The Talmudists devote "to the sea of Sodom," any thing, that is destined to rejection and cursing, and that by no means is to be used. "Let him devote the use of such a thing to the bituminous sea." "Let the price of an oblation for sin, the owner whereof is dead, depart into the salt sea." "The proselyte Aquila divided the inheritance with his brother a Gentile, and devoted the use and benefit of it to the salt sea. Of three doctors one saith, That he devoted the moneys of idolatry into the salt sea." Hence is that allusion, Revelation 20:14, "And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire." It doth not please me, that Sodom, in the maps, is placed in the northern bounds of the Asphaltites; when it seems rather to be placed in the southern extremity of it. For, I. The bounds of the land are thus defined by Moses, Genesis 10:19: "The borders of the Canaanites were from Sidon" (on the north) "unto Gaza" (on the south), "as thou goest forward, or until thou comest to Sodom." Are not the bounds here bent from Gaza to the farthest term opposite to it on the east? II. Josephus, in the description of the Asphaltites, which we quoted a little above, hath these words: "The length of it is five hundred and eighty furlongs: and it is stretched out as far as Zoar of Arabia." Note, that the farthest coast of the extension of it southward, is to Zoar. But now Zoar was not far distant from Sodom, when Lot, with his company, got thither before the rising of the sun, Genesis 19:23. "It is written (say the Gemarists), 'The sun was risen upon the earth, when Lot entered into Sodom.' -- Now Sodom was four miles from Zoar." The maps show you Zoar and Lot's Cave in Judea, at the northern coast almost of the Asphaltites: -- by what authority, I do not apprehend. The Talmudists, indeed, do mention a certain Zoar, which they also call, "The City of Palms." -- "There is a story (say they) of some Levites, who travelled to Zoar, the city of palms: and one of them fell sick, whom they brought to an inn, and there he died." But I should sooner believe, that there were two Zoars, than I should believe, that the father of the Moabites were not conceived and born near Zoar of the land of Moab. See Isaiah 15:5. Concerning the age of

Sodom, when it perished, see the places in the margin, and weigh them well.

Chapter 6 The Coast of the Asphaltites, The Essenes. En-gedi.

"On the western shore" (of the Asphaltites) "dwell the Essenes; whom persons, guilty of any crimes, fly from on every side. A nation it is that lives alone, and of all other nations in the whole world, most to be admired; they are without any woman; all lust banished, &c. Below these, was the town Engadda, the next to Jerusalem for fruitfulness, and groves of palm-trees, now another burying-place. From thence stands Massada, a castle in a rock, and this castle not far from the Asphaltites." Solinus, Pliny's shadow, speaks the like things: "The Essenes possess the inner parts of Judea, which look to the west. The town Engadda lay beneath the Essenes; but it is now destroyed: but its glory for the famous groves, that are there, doth still endure: and in regard of its most lofty woods of palms, it hath received no disparagement either by age or war. The castle Massada is the bounds of Judea." We are looking for the places, not the men: -- we might otherwise begin the history of the Essenes from those words, Judges 1:16: "And the sons of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law, went out of the city of palms, with the sons of Judah, into the deserts of Judah." From these we suppose came the Rechabites, -- and from their stock, or example, the Essenes. Which if it be true, we make this an argument of the ill placing of En-gedi in the maps, being set too much towards the north, when it ought to have been placed towards the utmost southern coasts. If the Essenes were the same with the Kenites in seat and place, and the Kenites dwelt beyond Arad southward, or indeed even with Arad, which is asserted in the text alleged, -- and if below these were En-gedi, which is also asserted by the authors cited, -- certainly, then, the maps have laid it a long way distant from its own proper place, too much northward. View them, and think of these things. To which we also add this: -- The southern borders of the land, Ezekiel 47:19 (the very same which are mentioned Numbers 34 and Joshua 15:2), are thus declared; "The southern coast southward from Tamar to the waters of Meribah in Cadash," &c. But now Tamar and En-gedi are the same, 2 Chronicles 20:2. Nor have we any reason why we should seek another Tamar elsewhere. Certainly, the Chaldee paraphrast, and Rabbi Sol. Jarchi, and Kimchi following him, have rendered Tamar, in Ezekiel, Jericho. But upon what reason? For how, I beseech you, was it possible, that Jericho should be the bounds of the south land, when it was the utmost bounds of Judea northward? It was this, without all doubt, drove them to that version of the word, because Jericho is called the City of Palms, -- and Tamar signifies a palm; since En-gedi would not give place to Jericho, one inch in regard of the glory of palm-groves. Whether Tadmor, 1 Kings 9:18, be the same with this our Tamar, -- and whether Tadmor in the Talmudists be the same with that Tadmor, -- we leave to the reader to consider. We produce these few things concerning it, which are related by them -- for the sake of such consideration: -- "They receive proselytes from those of Cardya and Tadmor. Rab. Abhu, in the name of R. Jochanan, saith, The tradition asserts, that the proselytes of Tadmor are fit to enter into the congregation." It was said a little before; "Haggai the prophet taught these three lessons: -- The rival of a daughter" (of a priest) "may be married by a priest. The Moabites and Ammonites ought to tithe the poor's tithe the seventh year. And the proselytes of Tadmor are fit to enter into the congregation." This story is recited, in the Jerusalem Misna: "Mary, of Tadmor, having part of the blood sprinkled upon her" (whereby she was to be purified), "heard in that very juncture of time, that her daughter was dead,"

&c. But the Babylonian calls her "of Tarmod." -- "From the place Tarmud," saith the Gloss. -- The 'Tarmudeans,' are said, by those of the Babylonian Talmud, to be certain poor people, who got themselves a livelihood by gathering up wood, and selling it. R. Jochanan said, "Blessed is he, who shall see the destruction of Tadmor: for she communicated in the destruction of the first and second Temple. In the destruction of the first, she brought eighty thousand archers: and so she did, in the destruction of the second."

Chapter 7 Kadesh. Rekam, and that double. Inquiry is made, Whether the doubling it in the Maps is well done.

The readers of the eastern interpreters will observe, that Kadesh is rendered by all Rekam, or in a sound very near it. In the Chaldee, it is 'Rekam': in the Syriac, 'Rekem': in the Arabic, 'Rakim'... There are two places noted by the name Rekam in the very bounds of the land, -- to wit, the southern and eastern: that is, a double Kadesh. I. Of Kadesh, or Rekam, in the south part, there is no doubt. II. Of it, in the eastern part, there is this mention: "From Rekam to the east, and Rekam is as the east": that is, R. Nissim interpreting, "Rekam itself is reckoned for the east of the world" (that is, for the land of the heathen), "not for the land of Israel." Behold! a Rekam, or a Kadesh, also, on the east. But the maps have feigned to themselves another Kadesh, besides Barnea, and this eastern Rekam; whither, they think, the people of Israel came in the fortieth year of their travel, Numbers 20. These, we suppose, were some of the reasons, whereby the authors of them were drawn to it. I. Because Kadesh-barnea was in the desert of Paran, Numbers 12:16, 14:1. But the Kadesh, whither they came the fortieth year, was in the desert of Zin, Numbers 20:1. -- I answer, The searchers of the land, departing from Kadesh-barnea, are said, also, to go out of the deserts of Zin, Number 13:21. Paran was the general name of that dreadful desert; Zin only one part of it. II. In Kadesh-barnea they encamped many days, Deuteronomy 1:46. But in that Kadesh, concerning which mention is made, Numbers 20, there was not provision sufficient, whereby they might be sustained one day. For they complain, that it was a place altogether destitute of seed, figs, vines, and pomegranates, Numbers 20:5: which they did not at all complain of, while they remained in Kadesh-barnea. -- I answer, Omitting, that wheresoever they encamped, they were fed by manna; the complaint arose among them, not so much of the place itself, as of the ill boding and prejudice, as I may so say, of the place; because, from the barrenness of this place, they prejudged of the like barrenness of that land, into which they were to enter, -- and the porch, as it were, of which, was Kadesh-barnea. When they came hither first, now thirty-eight years before, "Ye came to the mountain of the Amorites (saith Moses) which the Lord giveth you," Deuteronomy 1:20,21. 'Is it so?' (think they with themselves) 'Does the first entrance of the land of promise, promise no better? There is little hope of the land itself, if the beginnings of it are such. It is convenient, therefore, that we send before us spies, who may bring us word, whether it is of so great account, that we should tire and hazard ourselves by going to that soil, whose first appearance is so horrid and desperate.' -- And hence was that unhappy argument before their eyes, by the inducement of which the whole multitude, by so unanimous a vote, concluded and resolved against the land. And since now, after so much time passed, they are come back to the same place, they think, distrust, and complain of the same things. III. In Kadesh-barnea, they had a supply of water; in Kadesh, whither they came the fortieth year, there was no water, Numbers 20, &c. -- I answer, They drank, when they first came to Kadesh-barnea, of the rock, which followed them (1 Cor 10:2), which dried up, when they were now ready to enter into the land. If you ask, Why had those rivers that followed them, dried up, as soon as they came at Kadesh-barnea, which before had not dried up when they came thither; -- then I ask also, Why had they dried up,

when they came to another Kadesh? IV. Concerning the Kadesh, whither they came the last year of their travel, it is said, that the city was in the utmost bounds of the land of Edom: and therefore, they desire leave of the king to pass through the land of Edom, Numbers 20:16,17. -- I answer, Nothing at all hinders, but these things may be spoke of Kadesh-barnea, which lying contiguous to the mountain of the Amorites, that is, to mountainous Judea, showed so great an army an access, and promised it; only that access was winding, and very difficult to be passed. They desire, therefore, a more level way of the king of Edom, but obtain it not. V. Perhaps that which chiefly moved them, was this; that supposing one Kadesh only, to wit, Barnea, -- it will be scarce possible not to confound the encampings of Israel in the wilderness, and their movings from place to place. -- I answer, There will be the same easiness of ordering them, if you do but reduce the sixth and seventh verses of Deuteronomy 10, into a true sense, and into agreement with Numbers 33 from verses 31 to 41; which is not hard to do. But let these things suffice, for the present, to have spoke besides our scope. That that Kadesh, to which they came in the fortieth year (which is called Meribah, Numbers 20:13), is the same with Kadesh-barnea, is clear enough from hence, -- that Meribah in Kadesh is assigned for the southern border of the land, Ezekiel 47:19; which border of old was Kadesh-barnea, Numbers 34:4; Joshua 15:3.

Chapter 8 The River of Egypt, Rhinocorura. The Lake of Sirbon.

Pliny writes, "From Pelusium are the intrenchments of Chabrias: mount Casius: the temple of Jupiter Casius: the tomb of Pompey the Great: Ostracine: Arabia is bounded sixty-five miles from Pelusium: soon after begins Idumea and Palestine from the rising up of the Sirbon lake." Either my eyes deceive me, while I read these things, -- or mount Casius lies nearer Pelusium, than the lake of Sirbon. The maps have ill placed the Sirbon between mount Casius and Pelusium. Sirbon implies burning; the name of the lake being derived from its nature, which is fiery and bituminous. It is described by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and others, whom you may look upon. A lake like to that of Sodom, and perhaps was of the like fate and original; to wit, an example of divine indignation. What if it be the monument of that dreadful earthquake in the days of Uzziah, Amos 1:1, Zechariah 14:5? when God contended also in fire, Amos 7:4: so that some cities perished after the manner of Sodom and Gomorrha, Amos 4:11; Isaiah 1:9. The farthest border of the land of Israel southward is not Nile in Egypt, but Shihor in the way to Egypt, Joshua 13:3; Jeremiah 2:18. In the Seventy interpreters, it is Rhinocorura; for they render that in Isaiah 27:12, "unto the stream of Egypt." "Unto Rhinocorura." Of which place and name, derived from the 'cutting of nostrils,' see Diodorus Siculus, lib.1. [60.]

Chapter 9 A Sight of Judea

"In Judea is the mountainous country, the plain, and the vale. What is the mountainous country of Judea? It is the king's mountain. The plain of it is the plain of the south. The vale is from En-ge-di to Jericho. The plain of Lydda is as the plain of the south: and its mountainous country is as the king's mountainous country. From Beth-horon to the sea is one circumjacent region. Rabbi Jochanan saith, Yet it hath a mountainous part, a plain, and a vale. From Beth-horon to Emmaus is mountainous, -- from Emmaus to Lydda is plain, -- from Lydda to the sea is valley." Judea is not divided amiss into four parts: -- namely, into the country, which formerly was the Philistines', which takes up the western part. To this joins, on the east, the mountainous country of Judea, which is also called "The king's mount." To the mountainous country, on the east, joins a plain, a country more low and level than the mountains, which nevertheless here and there hath its hills..."A valley, lying between mountains, is reckoned with the mountains, and mountains in a valley are numbered with the valley." To the plain eastwardly joins a valley, lower than the plain, -- namely, the coast of the sea of Sodom, and at length of Jordan. The land of Benjamin, in like manner, which is numbered with Judea, in respect of its superficies, was of the same nature; which, although "it was a portion of the narrowest limits, by reason of the goodness of the soil," yet had its mountainous part, its plain, and vale: and that, not only towards Lydda, and the great sea, but towards Jericho and Jordan. Judea did excel all the other parts of the land of Israel in very many privileges. For, besides that in it was seated Jerusalem, the metropolis of the whole nation, and in Jerusalem stood the Temple, and in the Temple sat the Sanhedrim: -- this was also peculiar to it out of the Canons, that "it was not lawful to intercalate the year out of Judea, while they might do it in Judea." Maimonides gives the reason of the thing, "Because there dwelt the divine glory." -- "Nor was the sheaf of the first-fruits of the barley to be fetched elsewhere, than from Judea, and as near as might be to Jerusalem." Once it was fetched a great way off, &c.

Chapter 10 A Description of the Sea-coast, out of Pliny and Strabo.

"Idumea and Palestine begin from the rising up of the Sirbon lake. The towns of Rhinocorura, and within Raphea. Gaza, and within Anthedon. Mount Angaris. The country along the coast, Samaria. The free town Ascalon, Azotus. The two Jamnes, the one a village" (otherwise Jamne within). "Joppe of the Phoenicians. Thence Apollonia. The tower of Strato; the same is Caesarea. The bounds of Palestine are a hundred and eighty-nine miles from the confines of Arabia. Then begins Phoenice." And chapter 19: "We must go back to the coast, and Phoenice. There was the town Crocodilon; it is now a river. Rains of some cities. Dorum. Sycaminum. The promontory Carmel: and, in the mountain, a town of the same name, heretofore called Ecbatana. Near that, Getta, Lebba, the river Pagida or Belus, mingling glassy sand with its small shore: it flows from the lake Cendevia, at the root of Carmel. Next that is Ptolemais, a colony of Claudius Caesar, which heretofore was called Ace. The town Ecdippa. The White Promontory. Tyrus, heretofore an island, &c. It is in compass nineteen miles, Palae-Tyre, lying within, being included. The town itself contains two-and-twenty furlongs. Then the towns, Enhydra, Sarepta, and Ornithon; and Sidon, the artist of glass, and the mother of Thebes in Boeotia." Strabo goes backward: "Tyrus is not distant from Sidon above two hundred furlongs": -- five-and-twenty miles. The masters of the Jews have observed this neighbourhood in that canon, whereby provision is made, that nobody betake himself to sail in the Mediterranean sea within three days before the sabbath: "But if any (say they) will sail from Tyre to Sidon, he may, even on the eve of the sabbath: because it is well known, that that space may be sailed, while it is yet day." "Between Tyre and Sidon there is the little city Ornithon" (the city of birds). "At Tyre a river goes out." "Thirty furlongs beyond Tyre is Palae-Tyrus": three miles three quarters. When, therefore, Pliny saith, the compass of Tyre is nineteen miles, "Palae-Tyre, that lies within, being included," he shows manifestly, that it is not to be understood of the compass of the city itself, since he saith, "The town itself held two-and-twenty furlongs": nor can it well be taken of the whole circumference of the Tyrian jurisdiction, but rather of the extent of the bounds of it that way, which he went. "Moreover, from Tyre" (southward) "is Ptolemais, formerly called Ace. And between Ace and Tyre, is a shore heaped with sands fit to make glass." "Beyond Ace is the tower of Strato. The mountain Carmel lies between: and the names of some small cities, and nothing more. The cities of Sycamines, of Herdsmen, of Crocodiles, and others. And going thence, is a certain great wood." "After that, Joppa; next which, the shore of Egypt, which before had stretched out towards sun-rising, does remarkably bend towards the north. There some talk, that Andromeda was exposed to the whale. A place sufficiently high; so high, indeed, that from thence (they report) Jerusalem may be seen, the metropolis of the Jews. The Jews, also, that go down to the sea, use this port. But these ports are receptacles for robbers. And so was the wood and Carmel." "And this place was so well peopled, that, out of Jamnia, a near village, and the dwellings neighbouring about, might be armed forty thousand men." "Thence to mount Casius towards Pelusium, the distance is a thousand furlongs, and a little more. And three hundred more to Pelusium." Here we must stop, and see how these two authors do agree. For, according to Strabo's account, one thousand three hundred furlongs, and a little more, run out from Pelusium to Joppa: that is, one hundred and sixty three miles, or

thereabouts: but according to Pliny's, at first sight, more by far. For "Arabia (saith he) is bounded sixty-five miles from Pelusium: and the end of Palestine is one hundred and eighty-nine miles from the confines of Arabia. And then begins Phoenice." The sum is two hundred and fifty-four miles. He had named Joppa before, 'Joppa of the Phoenicians.' But now, supposing he makes Joppa the border of Palestine, and the beginning of Phoenice, there are from Pelusium to Joppa, himself reckoning, almost a hundred miles more than in Strabo. Nor is there any thing to answer from the difference of the measure of Strabo's furlongs, and Pliny's miles. For they go by the same measure, themselves being witnesses: for to Strabo, "Eight furlongs make a mile"; and, to Pliny, "A furlong makes a hundred and twenty-five of our paces": -- which comes to the same thing. We must therefore say, that by the 'end of Palestine,' in Pliny, is properly signified the end of it, touching upon Phoenicia properly so called; -- that is, upon the borders of Tyre and Sidon. For when he calls Joppa, "Joppa of the Phoenicians," -- he does not conclude Joppa within Phoenicia; but because the sea, washing upon that shore of Palestine, was divided in common speech into the Phoenician and the Egyptian sea (so Strabo before, "Afterward Joppe; after that, the shore of Egypt," &c.); and because the Phoenicians were famous for navigation, -- he ascribed their name to Joppa, a very eminent haven of that shore. But he stretched the borders of Palestine a great way farther; -- namely, so far till they meet with the borders of Tyre and Sidon. So far, therefore, doth Pliny's measure extend itself; to wit, -- that, from Idumea, and the rising of the Sirbon lake, to the borders of Tyre and Sidon, there be one hundred and eighty-nine miles. The place that divided these meeting-bounds to the Jews, was Acon, or Ptolemais; which we shall note, when we come thither: -- but whether it was so to Pliny, remains obscure. But it is a more probable opinion, that he computed according to the vulgar and most known distinction. Gulielmus Tyrius, measuring the borders of the Tyre of his time southward, extends them to four or five miles: "For it is extended southward towards Ptolemais, as far as to that place, which, at this day, is called 'the district of Scandarion,' which is four or five miles." If, therefore, it should be granted, that Pliny's measure extended so far, we might compute the length of the land from the Sirbon, where also is the river of Egypt, to Sidon, by this account: I. From the Sirbon to the borders of Phoenice, one hundred and eighty-nine miles. -- Pliny. II. From the first borders of Phoenice to Tyre, five miles. -- Gul. Tyrius. III. From Tyre to Sidon, twenty-five miles. -- Strabo. Sum total is two hundred and nineteen miles.

Chapter 11 The mountainous Country of Judea.

"What is the mountainous country of Judea? It is the king's mountain." However Judea, here and there, doth swell out much with mountains, yet its chief swelling appears in that broad back of mountains, that runs from the utmost southern coast as far as Hebron, and almost as Jerusalem itself. Which the Holy Scripture called "The hill-country of Judah," Joshua 21:11; Luke 1:39. Unless I am very much mistaken, -- the maps of Adricomus, Tirinius, and others, ought to be corrected, which have feigned to themselves a very long back of mountains, beginning almost at the Red Sea, and reaching almost to the land of Canaan, and that with this inscription, "The Amorrhean Mountain." Those authors are mistaken by an ill interpretation of [a] phrase rendering it, "in the way by" (or near) "the mountain of the Amorites," -- when it should be rendered, "in the way to the mountain of the Amorites." Let the reader consult Deuteronomy 1:19,20: "We departed from Horeb, and went through all that great and terrible desert, which ye saw, in the way leading to the mountain of the Amorite, as our Lord commanded us, and came to Cadesh-barnea. Then I said unto you, You are now come to the mountain of the Amorites," &c. The mountain of the Amorites took its beginning from Cadesh-barnea, the southern border, of the land of Israel, -- and, by a hardened gibbosity, thrust forward itself into Judea beyond Hebron, the name only being changed into the "Hill-country of Judea." Whence is that of Samson to be understood, that he carried not the gates of Gaza near to Hebron, or to the mountain, whence Hebron might be seen; -- but to the top of this mountainous country, which runs out to Hebron: -- and so are the words to be rendered, Judges 16:3, "He carried them to the top of a mountainous place, which is before Hebron." This mountainous country is called "The mountainous desert," Psalm 75:6, because it is not from the east, nor from the west, nor from the desert of the mountains. Where the Targum thus; "Nor from the south, the mountainous place." It remains doubtful, why it is called by the Talmudists "The King's mountain." Whether because it was king among all the other mountains of Judea? or, because the royal dignity of David's house sprang hence, -- to wit, from Hebron? There is much mention of it in the Jewish writers. The Chaldee paraphrast upon Judges 4:5: "Deborah had white dust in the King's Mountain." That is, as it seems, potter's clay: for the Gemarists, speaking somewhere concerning potters say, "That they work in black dust, or in white dust." In the days of R. Hoshai, some went about to get a freedom from some tithes for the Mount of the King. Rabbi Simeon had vine-dressers in the Mount of the King. He was minded to let out his vineyard to heathens. R. Chaijah, R. Issai, and R. Immai, went up to the King's Mountain. They saw a certain heathen, who was suspicious concerning their wine. A myriad of cities stood in the Mountain-royal, of which R. Eliezer Ben Harsum possessed a thousand. This mountainous country is not, therefore, called "The mountainous desert," because it was void of cities and towns, but because it was a more barren and rough country. "The Royal Mountain was laid waste by reason of a cock and a hen. It was the custom, when they brought forth the bridegroom and the bride, to lead before them a cock and a hen: as if they should say, Increase and multiply, as they. On a certain day a regiment of Romans passed by, and wrested the cock and the hen from them: these, therefore, rose up against them, and beat them. Away, therefore, they go to Caesar, and told him, The Jews rebel against thee, &c. R. Asai saith, Three hundred thousand drew sword, and went up to the

Royal Mountain, and there slew for three days and three nights," &c. Rabbi Asai saith, "Janneus the king had sixty myriads of cities in the Royal Mountain: and in each the number was equal to them, that went out of Egypt, -- excepting three cities, in which that number was doubted. And these were, I. Caphar Bish (that is, the Ill Town); therefore called so because it afforded not a house of hospitality. II. [A town,] that had its name from a certain herb, because by that herb they were nourished. III. The town of males; so called, saith R. Jochanan, because their wives first brought forth males, and then females, and so left off." This story is recited by the Jerusalem Talmudists, who say the town of males is so called, because, unless the women departed thence somewhere else, they could not bring forth male children. "But (saith Ulla) I saw that place, and it is not able to contain even sixty myriads of nests. Therefore, said a certain sectary of R. Chaninah, Ye lie, ye lie. To whom he replied, That land is called 'the land of a Kid': but now 'a kid' hath a skin, that does not contain his flesh: so the land of Israel, while it is inhabited, is spacious; but, when uninhabited, more contracted."

Chapter 12 The South Country. Judea called 'the South,' in respect of Galilee.

Rabban Gamaliel, and the elders sitting together at the ascent into the gallery, in the mount of the Temple, had Jochanan, the priest, and the amanuensis, sitting with them. They said to him, "Go to, write to our brethren, the inhabitants of Upper Galilee, and Nether Galilee, health: we certify you, that the time is come of separating the tithes. And to our brethren, that inhabit the Upper South Country, and that inhabit the Nether South Country, health: we certify you," &c. The 'Upper South country' consisted of that part of the country, which was hilly; the 'Nether,' of a plain, and valley sinking on both sides. Which country, although it were barren above all other parts of the land, yet had its inhabitants, and those many, as well as other countries of the land. He that turns over the Talmudical books, will meet very frequently with the name of the 'South,' taken for 'whole Judea' in opposition to 'Galilee.' "Those of Zippor enjoined a fast to obtain rain, but the rain came not down. Therefore, said they of Zippor, R. Joshua Ben Levi obtained rain for the southern people: but R. Chaninah hinders it from coming upon the people of Zippor. They were called, therefore, together to a second fast. R. Chaninah sent to fetch R. Joshua Ben Levi. And both went out to the fast, and yet rain fell not. He stood forth, therefore, and said before them, Neither doth Joshua Ben Levi obtain rain for the southern people, nor does R. Chaninah restrain it from the people of Zippor: but the southern people have a soft heart, to hear the words of the law and be humbled: but the people of Zippor have a hard heart." But now R. Joshua Ben Levi, who was called "the southern," was of Lydda: and those southern people, for whom he obtained rain, were of Lydda, and such as dwelt in that country. "A devout disciple learned the intercalation of the year before his master, three years and a half: he came, and intercalated for Galilee: but he could not intercalate for the south," that is, for Judea Hence you may understand, in what sense some Rabbins are called southern: as "R. Jacob of the south"... "R. Samlai of the south"; whom you have disputing with certain, whom the Gemarists call heretics: whom I think rather to have been 'Christians.' And it seems to be the disputation of a Christian purposed to assert a trinity of persons in the Deity, but nevertheless a unity of the Deity. After you have heard the matter, perhaps you will be of my judgment. View the place.

Chapter 13 Gaza

After very many histories of this place in the Holy Bible, which there is no need to repeat here, -- in this city did Alexander the Great, at length, besiege Babemeses the Persian, by the space of two months. "And that city, which before-time was most famous, was laid waste by him, and rendered desert." Not that he had destroyed the building of the city, or consumed it with fire; for presently after his death, Antigonus and Ptolemy, his captains, fighting, it had walls, gates, and fortifications: but that he divested it of its ancient glory, so that it was at last melted into a new city of that name built nearer the sea, where formerly had been 'the haven of the Gazaeans.' That is called by Diodorus, 'old Gaza'; and 'Gaza desert,' by Strabo, and the New Testament, Acts 8:26. At last it was called 'New Majuma,' and after that 'Constantia': -- concerning which, see Eusebius, of 'the Life of Constantine,' book iv. chap.28; and Sozomen's 'Ecclesiastical History,' book v. chap.3... There is mentioned the 'mart of Gaza,' one of the three more famed marts, -- to wit, that of Gaza, and of Aco, and of Botna. There was a place also without the city, which was called, 'The waste (or desert) of the leper's cloister.'

Chapter 14 Ascalon. Gerar. The Story of the Eighty Witches.

'Ascalon,' in the Samaritan interpreter, is the same with 'Gerar,' Genesis 21. The word Gerar, among the Talmudists, seems to have passed into 'Gerariku.' "Wherefore (say they) have they not determined of that country, which is in Gerariku? Because it is ill to dwell in. How far? To the river of Egypt. But behold, Gaza is pleasant to dwell in," &c. In the author of Aruch it is, Gardiki. "Bereshith Rabbah (saith he) renders Gardiki." 'The king of Gerar,' Genesis 20:2, with the Jerusalem Targumist, is "The king of Arad." Note the affinity of Arad, Gerar, and Ascalon; and thence, unless I am deceived, will grow some light, to illustrate those places in the Holy Bible, where we meet with these names. Ascalon was distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs: that is, sixty-five miles. Which is to be understood of the older Ascalon. For Benjamin Tudelensis makes mention of a double Ascalon, -- (this our) old, and the new. For thus he writes: "Then" (from Azotus) "is new Ascalon distant two parsae, or leagues" (that is, eight miles); "which Ezra, the priest, of blessed memory, built at the seashore...now that is distant from old Ascalon, now destroyed, four leagues." So that, from Azotus to Ascalon, of which we are speaking, and of which alone the Holy Scripture speaks, were, by his computation, four-and-twenty miles; and by the computation of Adrichomius, two hundred furlongs, that is, five-and-twenty miles. "Ten miles from Gaza" (says our countryman Sandes [Sandys], an eyewitness), "and near the sea, is placed Ascalon, now of no note, anciently a venerable place to the heathen for the temple of Dagon, and the festivals of Semiramis' birthday." From Gaza to Azotus, Diodorus Siculus being witness, are two-hundred and seventy furlongs: which amount to four-and-thirty miles: namely, from Gaza to Ascalon, ten miles, and thence to Azotus four-and-twenty. That is a common saying, "From Ascalon onward to the south, is the heathen country, and Ascalon itself is reputed for a heathen country." And yet something of Ascalon was within the land of Israel. The apple-gardens or orchards, did bound the land of Ascalon on that coast, which we have observed before. And yet, "when R. Ismael Ben R. Josi, and Ben Hakkaphar, were set over the space of Ascalon" (that is, when it was intrusted to them to judge concerning the spaces or parts of Ascalon, -- namely, what were within the land, and what without, &c.) "They pronounced it clean from the authority of R. Phinchasi Ben Jair, who said, We went down to the corn-market of Ascalon, and thence we received wheat, and going up into our city we washed, and ate our Thruma"; i.e. The portion of first-fruits belonging to the priests. The greatest part of the city, if not the whole, was esteemed, under the second Temple, to be without the limits of the land: but some part, or at least the apple-yards, and the places next adjacent, were within the land. Mention is made of a certain temple in Ascalon among the "five more famous temples, -- viz. the temple of Bel in Babylon, the temple of Nebo in Cursi, of Tiratha in Mapheg, of Zeripha in Ascalon, and of Nishra in Arabia." And there is a story of a fast enjoined, because some sign appeared of a blast of the corn in Ascalon: "The elders went down from Jerusalem into their cities, and enjoined a fast, because so much of a blast was seen in Ascalon as the space of the mouth of an oven may contain." But most famous of all is the story of the eighty women, that were witches, hanged by Simeon Ben Shetach in one and the same day. We will not think much to relate the thing in the words of the Gemarists: -- "When as two disciples of the wise men in Ascalon were intent upon the study of the law, one of them, at

length dying, had no funerals performed for him, -- when yet a publican, dying at that time, had. To the student, that survived, are revealed the joys of his saved companion, and likewise the punishments of the damned publican." Let the learned reader turn this clause into English; unless my conjecture fail me, it savours of spite and poison. I should thus render it: "He saw Mary, the daughter of Eli, in the shades, hung up by the kernels of the breasts; and when he inquired, How long she was to suffer those things? it was answered, Until Simon Ben Shetach came to supply her place. But, said he, for what crime? It is answered, Therefore, because he sometime swore against his soul, and said, If I shall ever become a prince, I will destroy all wizards. But behold, he is become a prince, and yet he hath not done this: for eighty women, that are witches, lie hid in a cave at Ascalon, and kill the world. Go, and tell him, &c. He went to him, therefore, and related these things, &c. On a certain rainy day, therefore, having eighty young men in company with him, he goes to the cave, knocks, professes himself one of the bewitching society, and is let in. He sees them exercising their art. For, muttering certain words together, one brings morsels of meat, -- another, wine, -- another, boiled flesh, &c. But what can you do, say they? Saith he, I will twice utter my voice, and I will bring in eighty youths handsomely habited, themselves merry, and shall make you so. They say to him, Such we would have. He utters his voice the first time, and the young men put on their clean clothes" (free from the rains, for they had carried them with them covered and safe in certain vessels for the same purpose). "Crying out the second time, in they all come: and a sign being given, that each man should lift up from the earth one woman (for so their magical power would perish), he said to her which had brought the morsels, Bring hither now the morsels; but she brought them not. Therefore, said he, Carry her away to the gallows. Bring wine, but she brought it not; Carry her also away, saith he, to hanging. And so it was done with them all. Hence is the tradition, Simeon Ben Shetach hung eighty women in Ascalon. But they do not judge two persons in the same day: but this he did out of the necessity of the time." Where the Gloss thus; "He was compelled to do this, because the women of Israel had very much broke out into witchcraft. Therefore, he made a hedge to the time, and hanged them, to expose the thing publicly. And this in one and the same day, that their kindred might no way conspire to deliver them."

Chapter 15 Jabneh. Jamnia.

...Pliny doth dispose the towns here in this order; -- "Azotus, the two Jamnes, Joppe." -- R. Benjamin, in the order backward, thus, -- "Joppah, Jabneh, Azotus." That is Jabneh with this author, that is Jaminia with the other. A remembrance of this place is in 2 Chronicles 26:6: but the chief fame of it is for the Sanhedrim, that was placed there, both before the destruction of Jerusalem and after. Rabban Gamaliel, St. Paul's master, first presided there. Under whom came forth that cursed form of prayer, which they called "The prayer against heretics," composed by Samuel the Little, who died before the destruction of the city. Gamaliel died eighteen years before the Temple was destroyed; and his son Rabban Simeon succeeded him, who perished with the city. Jerusalem being destroyed, Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai obtained of Titus the conqueror, that he might still receive and retain the Sanhedrim of Jabneh: which being granted by him, Jochanan himself was first president there; and after him, Rabban Gamaliel the second: and after him, R. Akibah. And this place was famous above all the other universities, except only the latest of all, -- viz. Tiberias: so that "The vineyard of Jabneh" became a proverb. "For there they sat in order, as a vineyard." And it is reported, "that there were there three hundred classes of scholars, -- or, at least, eighty." How long time Rabban Jochanan sat here, is doubted. There are some, who attribute to him two years only; and others five: with whom we consent. This Rabban Jochanan I very much suspect to be the same with that John, mentioned Acts 4:6. Omitting those things, which were done by him, while he remained at Jabneh, -- let me produce his dying words, as they are recited by his friends: "When Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai now lay languishing, his scholars came to visit him: whom he seeing began to weep. To whom they said, 'O thou light of Israel, thou right-hand pillar, thou strong hammer, whence are those tears?' To whom he replied, 'If men were about to carry me before a king of flesh and blood, who today is here, and tomorrow is in his grave, -- if he were angry with me, his anger is not everlasting; if he should cast me into bonds, his bonds are not eternal; if he should kill me, his killing would not be eternal: and I might perhaps pacify him with words, or soften him with a gift. But they are ready to lead me before the King of kings, the Lord, holy and blessed, who lives and lasts for ever, and for ever and ever; who if he be angry with me, his anger is eternal; if he bind me, his bond is eternal; if he kill me, his killing is eternal; and whom I cannot either appease with words, or soften with a gift. And moreover, there are two ways before me, one to paradise, another to hell; and I know not which way they will lead me. Should I not therefore weep?'" Ah! the miserable and fainting confidence of a Pharisee in death! Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh, a busy and severe man, succeeded Jochanan. Being to be slain with his father, Rabban Simeon, -- by the intercession of Rabban Jochanan he was delivered. Being also sought for to be slain, when Turnus Rufus (in Josephus, Terentius Rufus) ploughed up the floor of the Temple, he was delivered by a way scarcely credible. Sitting in Jabneh he removed R. Akibah, head at that time of the school of Lydda, from his headship; and he at last was removed from his, and over him was placed R. Eleazar Ben Azarias. R. Akibah succeeded him, and sat forty years, and died a fool, being deceived by Ben Cozba, and slain with him: and the university was removed from Jabneh to Usha. "Jabneh stands two parsae" (that is, eight miles) "from Azotus: and was at last called Ivelyn." They are the words of Benjamin, in his Itinerary [p.51].

Chapter 16 Lydda

"Lydda was a village, not yielding to a city in greatness." Concerning its situation, and distance from Jerusalem, the Misna hath these words: "The vineyard of four years" (that is, the fruit of a vineyard now of four years' growth; for, for the first three years, they were trees, as it were, not circumcised) "was brought to Jerusalem, in the space of a day's journey on every side. Now these were the bounds of it; Elath on the south; Acrabatta on the north; Lydda on the west; and Jordan on the east." The Gloss; "The wise men appointed, that the second tenth of the fruits, growing within the space of a day's journey from Jerusalem, should be carried thither to be eaten, and should not be redeemed. That the streets of Jerusalem might be crowned with fruits." When you consider this distance, you may well wonder what that means, which is almost become a proverb, "The women of Lydda knead their dough, go up to the Temple, pray, and come back, before it be leavened." Not that the distance of the places is made less; but that hence may be shewn, that no disadvantage accrued to these women, who paid their vows and performed their religion. I very much wonder, that the authors of the maps have held Lod and Lydda for two towns; Lod not far from Jordan and Jericho; Lydda not far from the Mediterranean sea. A Jew, or one versed in Jewish affairs, will laugh at these things; when Lod and Lydda have no difference at all between them, -- unless that that is Hebrew, -- this, Greek. When the Sanhedrim sat in Jabneh, there flourished eminent schools in Lydda. Yea, Lydda had her schools and her learned men, when the university was gone away into Galilee, and Jabneh lamented her loss of scholars. There R. Akibah bore the headship of the school, removed, as I said before, from his government by Rabban Gamaliel, "because he detained at Lydda more than forty pair of men travelling" (towards Jabneh) "to give their testimony to the Sanhedrim concerning the new moon; and suffered them not to go forwards." Gamaliel being dead, or rather removed, -- when R. Akibah was head in Jabneh, R. Tarphon was rector of the school of Lydda, whom you have sometimes disputing with R. Akibah, but at last yielding to him with this commendation; "He that separates himself from you, is as if he separated himself from his own life." We read of five elders teaching and erring before Tarphon at Lydda. We read also of a fast enjoined at Lydda for the obtaining of rain, and Tarphon the moderator of the solemnity. The stories of this place are infinite; we will gather a few. Helena the queen celebrated the feast of tabernacles at Lydda. R. Eliezar and R. Joshua were sometime present in the same place at the feast of dedication: but being not enough satisfied concerning the fast at that time enjoined, one went to the bath, -- the other, to the barber's shop. Here it was, that Ben Satdah was surprised and taken, and brought before the Sanhedrim, and stoned... Since it was not lawful to intercalate the year any where but in Judea, "a great many went to Lydda out of the school of the Rabbi" (Judah Haccodesh, viz. out of Galilee. And a little after: "R. Jeremiah asked before R. Zeira, Is not Lydda a part of Judea? Yes, saith he. Wherefore, then, do they not transact the intercalation of the year there? -- Because they are obstinate, and unskillful in the law." "Lydda is a part of Judea." Let some maps mark this, which have placed a certain Lod, which never was any where, not far from Jericho, as was said before; because Lod, in the land of Benjamin, is brought in, Nehemiah 11:35: but they set Lydda far beyond the bounds of Judea in the land of Ephraim." Koshab Bar Ulla sometime got away to Lydda to Rabbi Josua Ben Levi,

dwelling there, when he fled from the Romans. The Romans pursued him, and besieged the city. Unless you deliver him to us, say they, we will destroy the city. R. Josua Ben Levi persuaded him, and he was delivered to the Romans. "I might produce numberless things celebrating the name of Lydda; such as, "The chamber of Beth-Arum in Lydda." "The chamber of Beth-lebaza in Lydda." "The chamber of Beth-Nethaza in Lydda." -- We suppose these were schools. I might mention very many names of Rabbins residing at Lydda, besides those whom I have remembered before: such are, R. Chama Bar Chanina, and R. Hoshai with him. R. Illai, and R. Eliezer; and others, who are vulgarly called the Southern, in the sense we produced before. Concerning R. Josua Ben Levi, by name, the author of Juchasin hath these words, "His habitation, or college, was in the south of the land of Israel." He means Lydda. R. Eliezer, dying at Caesarea, desired to be buried at Lydda, whom R. Akibah bewailed as well with blood as tears. "For when he met his hearse betwixt Caesarea and Lydda, he beat himself in that manner, that blood flowed down upon the earth. Lamenting, thus he spoke, -- O my father, my father, the chariot and horsemen of Israel. I have much money, but I want a moneyer, to change it." The Gloss is this, "I have very many questions; but now there is no man, to whom I may propound them." There is a place between Jamnia and Lydda, which was called Bekiin; of which there is this mention: "R. Jochanan Ben Brucha, and R. Eliezer the blind, travelling from Jabneh to Lydda, met R. Josua in Bekiin," &c. From Jamnia to Joppe (according to Benjamin, in his Itinerary [p.51]) are three leagues, or parsae: "Now Lydda was nigh to Joppa," Acts 9:38.

Chapter 17 Sharon. Caphar Lodim. The Village of those of Lydda.

Between Lydda and the sea, a spacious valley runs out, here and there widely spreading itself, and sprinkled with villages. The holy page of the New Testament [Acts 9:35] calls it Saron: and that of the Old calls the whole, perhaps, or some part of it, 'the plain of Ono,' Nehemiah 6:2, 11:35; 1 Chronicles 8:12... The wine of Sharon is of great fame, with which they mixed two parts water: and remarkable is that they say concerning the houses of Sharon. R. Lazar saith, "He that builds a brick house in Sharon, let him not return back": which was allowed to others, Deuteronomy 20:5, -- namely, that they should return back from the war, if they had built a new house, and it were not yet dedicated. "But the men of Sharon withdrew not themselves back" (they are the words of the Jerusalem Gemara), "because they repaired their houses within seven years: and the chief priest also prayed for them on the day of expiation, that their house might not become their graves." The Gloss upon the Babylonian Talmud thus; "Sharon was the name of a place, whose ground was not fit for bricks: and therefore, they often repaired their houses within seven years." Among the villages, scattered up and down in this pleasant vale, we meet with Caphar Lodim, between Lydda and the sea. There is mention of it in the book Gittin, in the very beginning: "He that brings a bill of divorce from a heathen country is bound to witness thus, -- This bill was written I being present, and was sealed I being present. -- R. Eleazar saith, Yea, he that brings it from Caphar Lodim to Lydda": R. Nissim, explaining the place, saith thus; "Caphar Lodim was without the land of Israel, neighbour to Lydda, which was within [the land], and partook of its name, because some people of Lydda were always present there."

Chapter 18 Caphar Tebi.

And this village neighbored upon Lydda, situate on the east of it. "R. Eleazar had a vineyard of four years' growth; on the east of Lydda, near Caphar Tebi." Of it there is this mention also: -- "They sometime brought a chest full of bones from Caphar Tebi, and they placed it openly in the entrance to Lydda. Tudrus the physician and the rest of the physicians go forth" -- (namely, that they might judge, whether they were the bones of men or no; and thereby, whether they were to be esteemed clean or unclean). "Tudrus said, Here is neither the backbone nor the skull of a man. They said, therefore, Since here are some, who reckon them clean, others that hold them unclean, let the matter be decided by votes. R. Akibah began, and he pronounced them clean, &c." The name Tebi, given to this village, seems to be derived from the kids skipping up and down in this fruitful vale. The word also gave name to men; and that, as it seems, with some delight. The woman Tabitha is of eternal memory, Acts 9; and, in the pages of the Talmudists, "Tebi the servant of Rabban Gamaliel; and Tabitha his maid-servant. Yea, every maid-servant of his was called Mother Tabitha, -- and every man-servant, Father Tebi."

Chapter 19 The northern coast of Judea. Beth-horon.

This coast is marked out Joshua 18:12; where, at verse 14, are very many versions to be corrected, which render the sea; such are, the Syriac, the Seventy, the Vulgar, the Italian, ours, &c.: whence ariseth a sense of insuperable difficulty to a chorographical eye: when it should, indeed, be rendered of the west, as the Chaldee, Arabic, R. Solomon, &c. rightly do. We read of a double Beth-horon in the Old Testament, but one only under the second Temple... At that place that great Canaanitish army perished, Joshua 10, not with hail (the Jews being judges), which presently melted, -- but with stones, which hardened, and lasted unto all following ages. Hence is that, "Whosoever shall see the place, where the Israelites passed through the sea, where they passed through Jordan, where they passed by the rivers of Arnon, or those great stones in the going down of Beth-horon, -- is bound to bless." They believe, in the same place, also, the army of Sennacherib fell. For so the Gloss upon the words before spoken, "The going down of Beth-horon was the place where the army of Sennacherib fell." This was a highway. Josephus, in the place above cited, relating a story of one Stephen, a servant of Caesar, who suffered hardly by robbers in this place, saith, that it was "in the public way of Beth-horon," -- namely, in the king's highway, which goes from Jerusalem to Caesarea. Yet the passage and ascent here was very strait; which the Talmudists do thus describe: "If two camels go up together in the ascent of Beth-horon, both fall." The Gloss, "The ascent of Beth-horon was a strait place; nor was there room to bend to the right hand or to the left." The story of Cestius, the Roman captain, in Josephus, is sad, but not unseasonable in this place. He intrenched against Jerusalem, in a place called the Scope on the north part of the city (which we shall show hereafter): and being at length forced by the Jews to retreat, "he came near to Gabaon, to his former camp." And being pressed farther by them, he betook himself to Beth-horon; "He led his forces to Beth-horon." "But the Jews, whilst he marched along places where there was room, did not much press him; but they getting before the Romans who were shut up within the straits of the descent (of Beth-horon), stopped them from going out: others thrust them that came in the rear down into the valley. And the whole multitude being spread at the opening of the way, covered the army with their darts." Behold! the way leading from Jerusalem to Beth-horon: -- I. From the city to Scopo (of which we shall speak afterward), is seven furlongs. II. From Scopo to Gabao, or Geba, forty-three furlongs. For Gabao was distant from Jerusalem...Josephus relating it, fifty furlongs, -- that is, six miles and more. III. From Geba to Beth-horon fifty furlongs, or thereabouts. And about Beth-horon was a very great roughness of hills, and a very narrow passage.

Chapter 20 Beth-el. Beth-aven.

Josephus thus describes the land of Benjamin; "The Benjamites' portion of land was from the river Jordan to the sea, in length: in breadth, it was bounded by Jerusalem and Beth-el." Let these last words be marked, "The breadth of the land of Benjamin was bounded by Jerusalem and Beth-el." May we not justly conclude, from these words, that Jerusalem and Beth-el were opposite, as it were, in a right line? But if you look upon the maps, there are some that separate these by a very large tract of land, and make them bend and slope from one another. Beth-el heretofore was Luz: of which the Rabbins upon Judges 1:23, &c. do not a little trifle. Sometimes it is called Beth-aven. So the Talmudists; "That town, which sometimes was called Beth-el, afterward was called Beth-aven." And the Chaldee upon Hosea 4:15: "Go not up to Beth-el"; for the Hebrew, "Go not up to Beth-aven." So also chapter 10:5,8. Not that there was not another town, named Beth-aven (see Joshua 18:12,13): but that Beth-el too deservedly bore the reproach of that name, in the same manner as Jerusalem bore the name of Sodom, Isaiah 1:10. It is said of Deborah, that she lived "between Ramah and Beth-el in mount Ephraim," Judges 4:5: where the Targum thus; "She had gardens in Ramatha, olive-trees making oil in the valley, a house of watering in Beth-el." Not that Beth-el properly was in the hill-country of Ephraim, since that town stood upon the very boundaries of Judea; but that the dwelling of Deborah was at the beginning of that hill-country, a valley running between that hill-country and those boundaries. Beth-el itself was situate in a hilly country, Joshua 16:1; which yet one would scarcely call the hill-country of Ephraim (since there was a time, when Beth-el and her towns belonged to Judea, 2 Chronicles 13:19: hence the idolatry of those of Judah is sometimes mixed with the Ephraimites', of which they hear often enough from the prophets); but it was a certain hilly place, running out between Judea and the land of Ephraim: see Joshua 18:12. On the east of Beth-el heretofore was Hai, Genesis 12:8; Joshua 8:9, &c. But upon the very first entrance almost of Israel into the land of promise, it became thenceforth of no name, being reduced into eternal ashes by Joshua. The town Beth-aven was not far from it, Joshua 7:2, which gave name to the wilderness adjacent, Joshua 18:12. In which we suppose Ephraim stood, 2 Chronicles 13:19. Which Ephraim, in the New Testament, is called "the region near the wilderness," John 11:54; concerning which we shall speak afterward.

Chapter 21 Jerusalem

The first name of this city was Shalem, Genesis 14:18, Psalm 76:2, and it is still retained in the writing, however it is read Jerushalaim. "The name of that place is Jehovah-jireh. Abraham called the place Jireh; Shem called it Shalem. Saith God, If I shall call it Jireh, it will displease Shem the Just; if I shall call it Shalem, it will displease Abraham the Just. I will therefore put that name upon it which was put upon it by both, Jireh, Shalem, -- Jerusalem." -- "We do not, therefore, put Jod between the letters Lamed and Mem in the word Jerusalem, that the word Shalem may be retained." By the computation of Aben Ezra, it is situate in the three-and-thirtieth degree of latitude. For so he speaks, "The latitude of Egypt is less than thirty degrees. And the latitude of Jerusalem is three-and-thirty degrees." Jerusalem was not divided among the tribes: for the tradition is, That houses are not hired out at Jerusalem, because they were no man's own. R. Eleazar Bar Zadok said, Nor beds also. Therefore, the master of the family received the skins of the sacrifices from the guests. Abai saith, You may learn this from hence, That it is a custom, that a man leave his earthen jug, and also the skin of his sacrifices, to his host. The Gloss: "The inhabitants of Jerusalem did not let out their houses at a price to those that came to the feasts, but granted them to them gratis." Compare Matthew 26:17. Nevertheless, the city was divided between the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, and the distinguishing line went through the very court of the Temple: "What was in the lot of Judah? The mountain of the Temple, the Chambers of them that kept it, the Courts. And what in the lot of Benjamin? The Porch of the Temple, and the Temple, and the Holy of Holies. And a line went out of the lot of Judah, and passed on into the lot of Benjamin, and in it was the altar built." The Gloss; "The whole breadth of the outmost Court, on the east part, the whole Court of the Women, the whole Court of Israel, eleven cubits of the Court of the Priests" (these were within the lot of Judah). "From thence the altar, and thenceforward to the west, is within the lot of Benjamin." In so exact distinction were these lots observed, that the south-east corner of the altar had no foundation; because that small part was in the portion of Judah, when the whole altar ought to have been within the portion of Benjamin. "Jerusalem was holy above other cities, girt with walls, because in it they ate the lighter holy things, and the second tithe. These also are those things which are spoken of Jerusalem. They do not permit a dead body to remain a night in it: they do not carry the bones of a dead body through it: they do not let out houses in it: in it they do not let out a place to a proselyte inhabitant: in it they do not allow a sepulchre, except the sepulchres of the house of David, and the sepulchre of Huldah the prophetess; which were there from the days of the former prophets: nor in it do they suffer a dunghill by reason of creeping things; nor do they bring out of it into the streets scaffolds set up against the walls by reason of defilement: nor in it do they make chimneys, by reason of the smoke: nor do they nourish cocks in it for the sake of the holy things: nor do the priests nourish cocks throughout the whole land of Israel, for the sake of purity: nor is there in it a house for shutting out suspected of the leprosy: nor is it polluted with leprosy: nor is it become any way a city to be cursed for idolatry," &c. "Never did serpent or scorpion harm any one within Jerusalem. Nor did ever any one say to his neighbour, 'The place wherein I am entertained at Jerusalem is too strait for me.'" "There is no anathema at Jerusalem, nor hath any man stumbled. Nor hath a fire or

a ruin happened there: nor hath any one said to his neighbour, 'I found not a hearth to roast my passover,' or 'I found not a bed to lie on.' In it they do not plant trees, except gardens of roses, which were there from the days of the former prophets: they do not nourish in it peacocks, or cocks, much less hogs," &c. The fathers of the traditions give this reason, why they do not allow gardens in the city: "They make no gardens or paradises in Jerusalem, because of the stink." The Gloss, "Because of the stink from weeds, which are thrown out; and it is a custom to dung gardens, and from thence comes a stink." The same Gloss, in the same place, gives this reason also, why they might not keep cocks: "It is also forbidden the Israelites to keep cocks in Jerusalem" (the priests may no where do it), "because of the holy things. For there they have eaten the flesh of the peace-offerings, and thank-offerings. And it is customary for dunghill cocks to scrape dunghills, and thence perhaps they might rake up the bones of creeping things; whence those holy things, which are to be eaten, might be polluted." Gardens without the city were very frequent, and they stretching out a good way from the very walls of the city. Hence that in Josephus, concerning the hazard Titus ran, whilst he rode about the city to spy it. "It was impossible for him to go forward; for all things from the walls were fenced up with deep ditches for the gardening, and gardens lay cross, and many walls, that parted them." The Talmudists relate also these wonders of the Temple: "Ten miracles were done for our fathers in the sanctuary. No woman ever miscarried by the smell of the holy flesh; nor did the holy flesh ever stink, or breed worms; nor was there ever seen fly in the house [or place] for slaughter; nor did ever the gonorrhoea happen to the high-priest on the day of expiation; nor rains put out the fire of the altar; nor the wind prevail over the pillar of smoke; nor was any profane thing found in the sheaf of first-fruits, or the two loaves (of the high-priest), or in the show-bread. They stood (in the Court) crowded" (the Gloss explains it thus, "They did so press one another by reason of the multitude, that their feet scarcely touched the ground"); "but when they worshipped, they had room enough," &c. "All Jerusalem was Carmelith, because it was like a common court." What Carmelith is, the Lexicons will teach us, and the Gemarists in the tract Shabbath; "There are four capacities of the sabbath" (or respects of places, as walking on the sabbath), "public, private, Carmelith, and covered lobbies. R. Chajjah saith, Carmelith is a place, neither public nor private. R. Jissa, in the name of R. Jochanan, saith, Carmelith is as the shop of Bar Justini," &c.... "R. Ismael saith, A countryman, or a villager, who takes a field from a man of Jerusalem, the second tenth belongs to the Jerusalem man. But the wise men say, The countryman may go up to Jerusalem, and eat it there." The Gloss, Kartani &c., "A Kartani is one of those that dwell in villages."

Chapter 22 The parts of the City. Sion. The Upper City: which was on the north part.

There is one who asserts Jerusalem to stand on seven hills; but whether upon a reason more light, or more obscure, is not easy to say. "The whale showed Jonah (saith he) 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." One may sooner almost prove the thing itself, than approve of his argument. Let him enjoy his argument to himself; we must fetch the situation elsewhere. "The city itself (saith Josephus) was built upon two hills, divided with a valley between, whereby, in an opposite aspect, it viewed itself; in which valley the buildings, meeting, ended." "Of these hills, that, which contained the Upper City was by far the higher, and more stretched out in length: and because it was very well fortified, it was called by king David The Castle: but by us it is called 'the Upper Town.'" "But the other, which was called Acra, bearing on it the lower town, was steep on both sides." "Against this was a third hill [Moriah], lower than Acra, and disjoined from it by a broad valley. But when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up the valley, desiring that the Temple might touch the city; and they took the top of Acra lower, that the Temple might overlook it." Bezetha and Ophel were other hills also: of which in their place, when we shall first have taken a view of these two, Sion and Acra, and the situation of each. It is an old dispute, and lasts to this day, whether Sion or Jerusalem lay on the north part of the city. We place Sion on the north, convinced by these reasons: -- I. Psalm 48:2: "The joy of the whole earth is mount Sion, on the north side." Where Aben Ezra hath this note; "Mount Sion is on the north side of Jerusalem": and Lyranus, "Mount Sion is in the north part of Jerusalem." The Seventy, "The mountains of Sion on the sides of the north." Sion's fair hills stand on cold Boreas' coast. Apollinar. [Metaphr. Ps.] II. When the prophet Ezekiel takes a prospect of the new Jerusalem in a vision, -- he saith, that he stood upon "a very high mountain, near which was, as it were, the building of a city on the south," Ezekiel 40:2. On which place Kimchi thus; "He placed me upon a very lofty mountain. That mountain was the Mount of the Temple: for the Temple was to be built in a mountain, as before. And the city Jerusalem is near it on the south." And Lyranus again, after the reciting the explication of some upon that verse, and his rejecting it; "And therefore (saith he) the Hebrews say, and better, as it seems, that the prophet saw two things, -- namely, the city and the Temple, -- and that the Temple was in the north part, -- but the city in the south part." Behold! reader, Zion on the north part in the Psalmist, and the city on the south part in the prophet! The things which make for this in Josephus are various, and plain enough; which nevertheless we cannot frame into arguments, before the buildings of better note in Sion, or in the Upper City, be viewed: -- of which the reader must be mindful; namely, that the name of Sion, after the return out of Babylon, was grown into disuse, -- but the more vulgar was, the Upper Town.

Chapter 23 The buildings of more eminent note in Sion.

We shall first take knowledge of the buildings themselves, -- and then, as much as we may, of their situation. I. The 'king's court' claims the first place in our view. Concerning which are those words, "Cestius" (having wasted the other places of the city) "came at length into the Upper City [Sion], and encamped against the king's court." When the Romans had fired Acra, and levelled it with the ground, "the seditious rushing into the court, into which, by reason of the strength of the place, they had conveyed their goods, call away the Romans thither." And afterward: "But, when it was in vain to assault the Upper City without ramparts, as being every where of step access. Caesar applies his army to the work," &c. II. The House of the Asmoneans, and the Xystus, or open gallery. King Agrippa calls the people of Jerusalem together into the Xystus, and sets his sister Berenice in their view, "upon the House of the Asmoneans, which was above the Xystus, in the farther part of the Upper City." III. There was a bridge, leading from the Xystus unto the Temple, and joining the Temple to Sion. "A bridge joined the Temple to the Xystus." When Pompey assaulted the city, the Jews took the Temple, "and broke down the bridge that led thence into the city. But others received the army, and delivered the city and the king's court to Pompey." And Titus, when he besieged the seditious in the court in the Upper City, raises the engines of four legions, "on the west side of the city, against the king's court. But the associated multitude, and the rest of the people, were before the Xystus and the bridge." You see, these places were in the Upper City: and you learn from Josephus, that the Upper City was the same with the Castle of David, or Sion. But now, that these places were on the north side of the city, learn of the same author from these passages that follow: -- He saith plainly, that the towers built by Herod, -- the Psephin tower, the Hippic tower, &c. -- were on the north. "Titus (saith he) intrenched two furlongs from the city on the angular part of the wall near the Psephin tower, where the circuit of the wall bends from the north towards the west." And in the chapter next after; "The Psephin tower lifted up itself at the corner of the north, and so westward." And in the same chapter, describing the compass of the outmost wall, "It began on the north at the Hippic tower, and went on to the Xystus." -- And when he had described those towers, he adds these words, "To those towers, situate on the north, was joined, on the inside, the Court." What can be clearer? The court was in the Upper City, or Sion; but the court was joined to the outmost northern wall: therefore, Sion was on the north. Add to these, those things that follow in the story of Pompey, produced before. When the court was surrendered into Pompey's hands, "he encamped on the north part of the Temple." And of Cestius, "Being come to the Upper City, he pitched against the king's court." And a little after, "He attempted the Temple on the north side." We shall not urge more at this time. There will occur here and there to us, as we proceed, such things as may defend this our opinion: against which what things are objected, we know well enough; which we leave to the reader to consider impartially. But these two we cannot pass over in silence, which seem, with an open face, to make against us: -- I. It may be objected, and that not without cause, that Sion was in the tribe of Judah, but Jerusalem in the tribe of Benjamin. But now, when the land of Judah was on the south part of Jerusalem, and mount Sion is to be reckoned within the lot of Judah, -- how could this be, when Jerusalem, which was of the lot of Benjamin, lay between Judea and Sion? I answer, 1. No

necessity compels us to circumscribe Sion precisely within the portion of Judah; when David conquered it, not as he was sprung of Judah, but as he was the king of the whole nation.² But let it be allowed, that Sion is to be ascribed to Judah, -- that dividing line, between the portion of Judah and Benjamin, concerning which we made mention before, went not from the east to the west; for so, indeed, it had separated all Jerusalem from all Sion: but it went from south to north, and so it cut Jerusalem in two, and Sion in two: so that both were in both tribes, -- and so also was mount Moriah.¹¹ It is objected, that, at this day, a hill and ruins are shown to travellers under the name of Sion, and the tower of David, on the south part of the city. I answer, But let us have leave not to esteem all things for oracles, which they say, who now show those places; since it is plain enough that they mistake in many other things: and let it be without all controversy, that they study not so much truth in that affair, as their own gain. I wish less credit had been given to them, and more search had been made out of Scripture, and other writers, concerning the situation of the places.

Chapter 24 Some buildings in Acra. Bezeiha. Millo.

Mount Sion did not thrust itself so far eastward as mount Acra: and hence it is, that mount Moriah is said, by Josephus, to be "situate over-against Acra," rather than over-against the Upper City: for, describing Acra thus, which we produced before, "There is another hill, called Acra, which bears the Lower City upon it, steep on both sides": in the next words he subjoins this, "Over-against this was a third hill," speaking of Moriah. The same author thus describes the burning of the Lower City: "Then they fired the Archivum and Acra, and the council-house, and Ophla: and the fire destroyed unto the palaces of Helen, which were in the middle of Acra." I. The Archivum. Whether he means the magistrates' court, or the repository of the ancient records, according to the different signification of the word, we do not determine. There were certainly sacred records in the Temple, and civil records no doubt in the city, where writings and memorials of sales, contracts, donations, and public acts, &c. were laid up. I should more readily understand this of their repository, than of the magistrates' court, because, presently after, the council-house is distinctly named. II. Acra: that is, either the buildings, which were upon the very head and top of the mount, or some garrison or castle in the mount. In which sense that word doth not seldom occur in the history of the Maccabees, and in Josephus. III. The Council-house. He mentions elsewhere the council, and that, as it seems, in the Upper City. For he saith, that "the outmost wall on the north began at the Hippic tower, and went forward to the Xystus; and thence, touching upon the council" (or the court), "it went onward opposite against the west walk of the Temple." The council in the Upper City you may not improperly interpret the 'Court of the King': the council-house in the Lower City, the council of the Sanhedrim, whither it went, when it departed from the Tabernae. IV. Ophla. Ophel, Nehemiah 3:26. There was also a fourth hill, saith the same Josephus, "which was called Bezetha, situate over-against Antonia, and divided from it with a deep ditch. Now Bezetha, if you would render it in Greek, one might call it 'The New City.'" And yet there is a place where he seems to distinguish between Bezetha and the New City: for he saith concerning Cestius, "But Cestius, passing over, set fire upon Bezetha, so called, and the New City." Bezetha was seated on the north part of Antonia, and that and Caenopolis (or the New City) filled up that space, where Sion ended on the east, and was not stretched out so far as Acra was. "(The city), abounding with people, crept, by little and little, out of the walls: and on the north side of the Temple, at the hill, making a city, went onward not a little; and a fourth hill is inhabited, which is called Bezetha," &c. Interpreters differ about Millo. There is one, who supposes it to be a large place, appointed for public meetings and assemblies. Another interprets it of heaps of earth, thrown up against the wall within, whence they might more easily get up upon the wall: and when David is said to build Millo, that he erected towers upon these heaps, and banks. Some others there are, who understand it of the valley or street that runs between Jerusalem and Sion; and so it is commonly marked out in the maps, -- when, in truth, Millo was a part of Sion, or some hillock cast up against it on the west side. Let that be observed, 2 Chronicles 32:5; "And he restored, or fortified, Millo, of the city of David": or, as our English reads, "in the city of David." The Seventy read, "the fortification of the city of David." When, therefore, David is said to build "Millo, and more inwards," it is all one as if he had said, 'he built on the uttermost part of Sion, which was called

Millo, more inwardly to his own castle.' And Joab repaired the rest, 1 Chronicles 11:8. The street or valley, running between Sion and Acra, was called, as if one should say, The valley or street of cheesemongers. There was also, The market of beams, which Josephus joins with Bezetha, and the New City. "Cestius (saith he) wasted Bezetha and Caenopolis, and that which is called the beam-market, with flames."

Chapter 25 Gihon, the same with the Fountain of Siloam.

I. In 1 Kings 1:33,38, that which is, in the Hebrew, "Bring ye Solomon to Gihon: and they brought him to Gihon"; is rendered by the Chaldee, "Bring ye him to Siloam: and they brought him to Siloam." Where Kimchi thus; "Gihon is Siloam, and it is called by a double name. And David commanded, that they should anoint Solomon at Gihon for a good omen, to wit, that, as the waters of the fountain are everlasting, so might his kingdom be." So also the Jerusalem writers; "They do not anoint the king, but at a fountain; as it is said, 'Bring Solomon to Gihon.'" The bubblings up of Siloam yielded a type of the kingdom of David, Isaiah 8:6. "Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Siloah that go softly," &c. Where the Chaldee paraphrast thus; "Because this people are weary of the house of David, which deals gently with them, as the waters of Siloam slide away gently." And R. Solomon; "Siloam is a fountain, whose name is Gihon and Siloam." II. That fountain was situated on the west part of the city, but not far from the south-west corner. Josephus, speaking of that deep valley which runs between Sion and Acra, saith, "it is extended to Siloam; for so we call the sweet and large fountain." But now the mounts Sion and Acra, and likewise the valley that cut between them, did run out from east to west. And the same author, in the same place, speaking of the compass of the outermost wall, saith these things among others, "And thence it bends to the south behind the fountain Siloam." After the tumult raised at Jerusalem by the Jews under Florus, -- the Neapolitan tribune, coming thither with king Agrippa, is besought by the Jews, "that taking only one servant, he would go about through the city as far as Siloam" (that is, from the east to the west, through the whole city): and that thence, from the peaceable and quiet behavior of the people towards him, he might perceive, that the people were not in a heat against all the Romans, but against Florus only. III. Siloam was on the back of Jerusalem, not of Sion. Let that of Josephus be noted; "The Romans, when they had drove out the seditious from the Lower City, burnt it all to Siloam." This we therefore observe, because we may see some maps, which, placing Siloam behind Sion, do deceive here, and are deceived: when in truth it ought to be placed behind Acra. The pool, indeed, of Siloam was behind some part of Sion, westward; but the fountain of Siloam was behind Acra. IV. It emptied itself, by a double rivulet, into a double pool, to wit, the upper and the lower, 2 Kings 18:17; Isaiah 7:3. The lower was on the west, and is called 'The pool of Siloam,' John 9:7; Nehemiah 3:15. The upper, perhaps, was that which is called by Josephus, 'the pool of Solomon,' in the place lately quoted. "And thence (saith he) the outermost wall bends to the south behind the fountain of Siloam: and thence again bends to the east at the pool of Solomon." See 2 Chronicles 32:30; Isaiah 22:9,11. V. They drew waters out of the fountain of Siloam, in that solemn festivity of the feast of Tabernacles, which they called, "The pouring out of water": concerning which the fathers of the traditions thus; "The pouring out of water, in what manner was it? There was a golden cup, containing three logs, which one filled out of Siloam," &c. The Gemarists inquire, "Whence was this custom? From thence, that it is said, 'And ye shall draw waters with joy out of the wells of salvation.'" R. Levi saith, "Why is it called The place of draught? -- Because thence they draw out the Holy Spirit." Thence, also, they drew the water that was to be mingled with the ashes of the red cow, when any unclean person was to be sprinkled. The priests, eating more liberally of the holy things, drank the waters of Siloam for

digestion's sake. Let us also add these things; but let the reader unriddle them: -- "He that is unclean by a dead carcass entereth not into the Mountain of the Temple. It is said, That they that should appear should appear in the court. Whence do you measure? From the wall, or from the houses? Samuel delivers it, From Siloam, &c. And Siloam was in the middle of the city."

Chapter 26 The Girdle of the City. Nehemiah 3.

The beginning of the circumference was from 'the sheep-gate.' That, we suppose, was seated on the south part, yet but little removed from that corner, which looks south-east. Within was the pool of Bethesda, famous for healings. Going forward, on the south part, was the tower Meah: and beyond that, "the tower of Hananeel": in the Chaldee paraphrast it is, 'The tower Piccus,' Zechariah 14:10; Piccus, Jeremiah 31:38. -- I should suspect that to be, the Hippic tower, were not that placed on the north side, this on the south. The words of Jeremiah are well to be weighed; "The city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel to the gate of the corner. And a line shall go out thence, measuring near it to the hill of Gareb, and it shall go about to Goath. And all the valley of dead carcasses, and of ashes, and all the fields to the brook Kidron, even to the corner of the horse-gate on the east, shall be Holiness to the Lord," &c. The hill of Gareb: -- not that Gareb certainly, where the idol of Micah was, [Judges 17] concerning which the Talmudists thus; "R. Nathan saith, From Gareb to Shiloh were three miles, and the smoke of the altar was mixed with the smoke of Micah's idol": -- but, as Lyranus, not amiss, "The mount of Calvary." Goathah: the Chaldee, 'the calves' pool,' following the etymology of the word, from bellowing. Lyranus, Golgotha. The valley of carcasses and ashes. The Chaldee paraphrast and the Rabbins understand this of the place where the army of the Assyrians perished: nor very subtly; for they seem to have perished, if so be they perished near Jerusalem, in the valley of Tophet, or Ben-Hinnom, Isaiah 30:33. And Jeremiah speaks of that valley, namely, the sink and burying-place of the city, -- a place, above all others that compassed the city, the most foul and abominable: foretelling that that valley, which now was so detestable, should hereafter be clean, and taken into the compass of the city: but this mystically, and in a more spiritual sense. Hence we argue, that "the tower of Hananeel" was on the south side of the city: on which side also was the valley of Ben-Hinnom; yet bending also towards the east: as the valley of Kidron bent from the east also towards the north. It will be impossible, unless I am very much mistaken, if you take the beginning of that circumference in Nehemiah, for the corner looking north-east, which some do, -- to interpret these words of Jeremiah in any plain or probable sense; unless you imagine that which is most false, -- that the Valley of Hinnom was situate northwardly. Nehemiah 3:3: The Seventy render it by, The fish-gate. That was also southward. Of it mention is made, Zephaniah 1:10; where the Seventy have something obscure. Many conjecture this gate was called the 'Fish-gate,' because fish were carried into the city through it: I rather, because it was the 'fish-market': as the Sheep-gate was the market for sheep. Zephaniah addeth, "And he shall howl from the second." The Chaldee reads; R. Solomon, 'from the Bird-gate': perhaps the gate, near unto which fowls were sold. Kimchi reads, 'from Ophel'; more plain indeed, -- but I ask, whether more true? This Bird-gate perhaps was that which is called the Old-gate, Nehemiah 3:6. Near the corner, looking south-west, we suppose, the fountain of Siloam was; and that, partly, being persuaded by the words of Josephus before alleged, -- partly, being induced to it by reason itself. For hence flowed that fountain by the south wall eastwardly to the Sheep-gate, as we suppose; thence the river, somewhat sloping, bends towards the north into the valley, and ends, at length, in the pool of Siloam, at the foot of mount Sion. On the west was, 1. "The gate of the valley," verse 13, being

now gotten to the foot of mount Acra. And, 2. A thousand cubits thence, "The Esquiline, or Dung-gate," verse 14. And, 3. "The Fountain-gate," verse 15; not that of Siloam, nor of Draco; but another. And now we are come to the pool of Siloam, and to the foot of Sion, whither they went up by certain steps, verse 15. The pool of Siloam was first a fountain, and a river, on the west, without the walls: but at last, Manasseh the king enclosed all, 2 Chronicles 33:14, that the city might be more secured of water, in case of a siege: taught it by the example of his grandfather Hezekiah, but more incommodious, 2 Chronicles 32:3. The wall went forward along "burying-places of David, another pool, and the House of the strong," verse 16. And, not much after it, bended eastwardly. -- And now we are come to the north side. See verses 19, 20. At the turning of this corner, Herod built the most famous Psephin tower, of which Josephus thus; "On the north-west corner, the admired Psephin tower lifts up itself, near which Titus encamped," &c. There was no gate on this north side. The buildings, which were inward, are mentioned, Nehemiah 3:20-24; and the Hippic tower is mentioned by Josephus. On the east were, 1. A tower, advancing itself in the very bending of the north-east corner. Within was the 'King's House,' and the court of the prison, verse 25. 2. The Water-gate, of which is mention, Nehemiah 12:37. 3. Ophel, and the Horse-gate, Nehemiah 3:27,28; of which mention is also made, Jeremiah 31:40. Whence was the beginning of the valley of Ben-Hinnom: which, running out below the city southward, at last bent into the west. Therefore, the Water-gate led into the valley of Kedron: but the Horse-gate into the valley of Hinnom, at that place touching on the valley of Kedron. 4. The Gate Miphkad: the Vulgar calls it, The Gate of Judgment. 5. Not far distant thence was the south-east corner. And thence a little on the south side was the Sheep-gate, whence we first set out. Let us add the words of Josephus, describing how the outmost wall went. "It began on the north at the Hippic (or horse) tower, and extended to the Xystus (or open gallery); then touching upon the Council-house, it ended at the east walk of the Temple. On the other side, westwardly, beginning from the same tower, it stretched along by a place called Bethos, to the gate of the Essenes; and thence it inclined to the south behind the fountain Siloam: and hence it bowed again eastwardly unto Solomon's pool, and passed on to a certain place, which they call Ophla, and joined to the east walk of the Temple." In which words let us observe two things for the asserting the procession that we have gone: -- 1. That this description proceeds from the north to the west, the south, and the east. 2. That Ophla, or Ophel, lay between the south-east corner and the porch of the Temple; which cannot at all be conceived, if you begin Nehemiah's delineation at any other place than where we have. To these may be added, the situation of Siloam, of which those things, spoken in Josephus and the Scripture, can in no manner be said, if you reckon it to be near Sion. Let us add also the processions of the choir, Nehemiah 12:31. They went up upon the wall, and went forward on the right hand to the Dung-gate, the Fountain-gate, the city of David, &c. verse 37. Let those words, "They went forward on the right hand," verse 31, be observed: which could not be, unless according to the procession which we have laid down, -- if so be they went up on the wall on the inside of the wall, which it is rough and strange not to think. The other part of the choir went on the left hand, towards the south west, and to the gate of Ephraim, and the Old-gate, and the Fish-gate, &c. verse 29. Of the gate of Ephraim nothing was said in the delineation given chapter 3. Mention also is made of it, 2 Kings 14:13; where the Corner-gate is also spoken of; concerning which, also, here is nothing said. In Nehemiah, seems to be understood that place, where formerly was a gate of that name, -- but now, under the second Temple, was vanished.

Chapter 27 Mount Moriah

"Wherefore is it called mount Moriah? R. Levi Bar Chama and R. Chaninah differ about this matter. One saith, Because thence instruction should go forth to Israel. The other saith, Because thence should go forth fear to the nations of the world." "It is a tradition received by all, that the place, where David built an altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah, was the place where Abraham built his, upon which he bound Isaac; where Noah built his, when he went out of the ark: that in the same place was the altar, upon which Cain and Abel offered: that Adam offered there, when he was created; and that he was created from thence. The wise men say, He had the same place of expiation as he had of creation." Mount Moriah was so seated, that "the city, in the manner of a theatre, lay about the Temple": on this side Sion, then Acra, and a little on the back of Bezetha. The mount of the Temple (that is, the place where the buildings of the Temple were) was a square of five hundred cubits (see Ezekiel 42:16,17), compassed with a most noble wall, -- and that fortified (shall I say?) with double galleries or halls, or adorned with them, or both. It went out beyond this wall, towards the north-west corner, to such a dimension, -- that there the tower Antonio was built, of most renowned workmanship and story. The whole space of the courts was hollow under-ground: "And the whole platform stood upon arches and pillars," that so no sepulchre might be made within this sacred space, whereby either the holy things or the people might gather pollution.

Chapter 28 The Court of the Gentiles. The Mountain of the House, in the Rabbins.

In the Jewish writers, it is ordinarily called "The Mountain of the house"; or the "Common Court." Hence is it, that a gate, descending hither from the Court of the Women, is called "The gate whence they go out from the Court of the Women into the Common Court." Hence the author of Tosapthoth, "They go out by the gate leading from the Court of the Women into the Common Court. And some vessels of stone were fastened to the wall of the steps going up into the Women's Court, and their covers are seen in the Common Court." And that, because hither the heathen might come: "Rabban Gamaliel, walking in the Court of the Gentiles, saw a heathen woman, and blessed concerning her." And those that were excommunicated and lamented. "All that entered into the mount of the Temple, enter the right-hand way, and go about: but they go out the left-hand way: except him, to whom any accident happens: for he goes about to the left hand. To him that asks, 'What is the matter with you, that you go about to the left hand?' -- he answers, 'Because I lament': and he replies to him, 'He that dwells in this temple comfort thee.' Or, 'Because I am excommunicated': and to him he replies, 'He that dwells in this house, put it into their heart to receive thee.'" And not seldom those that are unclean. Yea, he that carries away the scape-goat might enter into the very court, although he were then unclean. "Is he polluted, who is to take away the goat? He entereth unclean even into the court, and takes him away." "The greatest space of the Court of the Gentiles was on the south; the next to it, on the east; the third, on the north; but the least space was on the west. Of that place, where the space was greater, the use was greater also." In the wall compassing this space were five gates: and within, joining to the wall, were "double galleries" or "halls," which yielded delightful walks, and defence also from rains. There was only one gate eastward, and that was called, the Gate of Shushan; because the figure of Shushan, the metropolis of Persia, was engraven in it, in token of subjection. In this gate sat a council of three and twenty. At the gate, on both sides, were shops; and the whole gallery-walk, on this east side, was called "Solomon's porch." On the south were two gates, both called the Gate of Huldah: of the reason of the name we are not solicitous. These looked towards Jerusalem, or Acra. The hall or gallery, gracing this south side, was called "The king's walk," which was trebled, and of stately building. On the west was the gate Kiponus; haply so named from 'Caponius,' governor of Judea. By this gate they went down into Sion, the bridge and way bending thither. On the north was the gate Tedi or Teri, of no use: for so is the tradition, "The gate of Tedi on the north was of no use." On this side was the castle Antonia, where the Romans kept guard; and from hence perhaps might be the reason the gate was deserted.

Chapter 29 Chel. The Court of the Women.

The Court of the Gentiles compassed the Temple and the courts on every side. The same also did Chel, or the Ante-murale. "That space was ten cubits broad, divided from the Court of the Gentiles by a fence, ten hand-breadths high; in which were thirteen breaches, which the kings of Greece had made: but the Jews had again repaired them, and had appointed thirteen adorations answering to them." Maimonides writes: "Inwards" (from the Court of the Gentiles) "was a fence, that encompassed on every side, ten hand-breadths in height, and within the fence Chel, or the Ante-murale: of which it is said, in the Lamentations, 'And he caused Chel and the Wall to lament,'" Lamentations 2:8. Josephus writes, "The second circuit was gone up to by a few steps: which the partition of a stone wall surrounded: where was an inscription, forbidding any of another nation to enter, upon pain of death." Hence happened that danger to Paul because of Trophimus the Ephesian, Acts 21:29. "The Chel or Ante-murale" (or second enclosure about the Temple), "was more sacred than the Court of the Gentiles: for hither no heathen, nor any unclean by that which died of itself, nor who lay with a menstruous woman, might come." "From hence they ascended into the Court of the Women by twelve steps." On the east it had only one gate, called in the Holy Scripture, 'Beautiful,' Acts 3:2. In Josephus, the 'Corinthian' gate: saith he; "Of the gates, nine of them were every where overlaid with gold and silver, likewise the posts, and the lintels. But one, without the Temple, made of Corinthian brass, did much exceed, in glory, those, that were overlaid with silver and gold. And two gates of every court were each thirty cubits high, and fifteen broad." On the south was only one gate also, and one on the north: and galleries; or court-walks within, joining to the wall, in the same manner as in the outer court, but not double. Before which were the treasuries placed, or thirteen chests, called by the Talmudists, Shopharoth; in which was put the money offered for the various services of the Temple; and, according to that variety, the chests had various titles written on them: whence the offerer might know into which to put his offering, according to his quality. Upon one was inscribed, "The new shekels"; into which were cast the shekels of that year. Upon another, "The old shekels"; into which were gathered the shekels owing the last year. Upon another, "pigeons and turtles." Upon another, "The burnt sacrifice." Upon another, "The wood." Upon another, "Frankincense." Upon another, "Gold for the propitiation." And six chests had written on them, "Voluntary sacrifice." "The length of the Women's Court was a hundred thirty-five cubits, and the breadth a hundred thirty-five cubits. And there were four chambers in the four corners of it, each forty cubits, but not roofed." See Ezekiel 46:21,22. "At the south-east was the court of the Nazarites: because there the Nazarites boiled their thank-offerings, and cut their hair, and put it under the pot." "At the north-east was the chamber of wood: where the priests, defiled with any spot, searched the wood, whether it was unclean by worms. And all wood in which a worm was found was not fit for the altar." "At the north-west was the chamber of the Leprous." "At the south-west was the chamber of wine and oil." "On the highest sides" (we follow the version of the famous Constantine L'Empereur), "was the smooth and plain Court of the Women; but they bounded it round about with an inward gallery, that the women might see from above, and the men from below, that they might not be mingled." In this Court of the Women was celebrated the sacred and festival dance, in the feast of Tabernacles, called the "Pouring out of

Water": the ritual of which you have in the place cited in the margin. "The Court of the Women was more sacred than the Chel; because any, who had contracted such an uncleanness that was to be cleansed the same day, might not enter into it."

Chapter 30 The Gate of Nicanor, or the East Gate of the Court of Israel.

From hence they went up from the Court of the Women fifteen steps. "There were fifteen steps (saith Josephus) ascending from the partition wall of the women to the greater gate." Concerning these steps, the Talmudists, relating the custom of the dance just now mentioned, speak thus: "The religious men, and the men of good works, holding torches in their hands, danced and sang. The Levites, with harps, lyres, cymbals, trumpets, and infinite other musical instruments, stood upon the fifteen steps going down out of the Court of Israel into the Women's Court, singing according to the number of the fifteen psalms of degrees," &c. The east gate of the Court of Israel was called the "gate of Nicanor." -- "All the gates were changed to be of gold, except the gate of Nicanor; because concerning that a miracle was shown: others say, because the brass of it did exceedingly shine." In the gate of Nicanor, they made the suspected wife drink the bitter waters; they purified the woman after childbirth, and the leper. Of the miracle, done about the folding-doors of this gate, see Constantine L'Empereur, Middoth, p.57, and Juchasin, fol.65.2, &c.: who also produceth another reason of the name, in these words: "In the book of Josephus Ben Gorion it is said, that the gate of Nicanor was so called, because a miracle was there shown, namely, that there they slew Nicanor, a captain of the Grecians, in the days of the Asmoneans: which may also be seen in the end of the second chapter of the tract Taanith." The history alleged is thus: -- Nicanor was one of the captains of the Greeks; and every day he wagged his hand towards Judea and Jerusalem, and said, "Oh! when will it be in my power, to lay them waste!" But when the Asmonean family prevailed, they subdued them, and slew him, and hung up his thumbs and great toes upon the gates of Jerusalem. Hence 'Nicanor's day' is in the Jewish calendar. This gate was 'fifty cubits in height'; the doors contained forty cubits, and very richly adorned with silver and gold, laid on to a great thickness. In that gate sat a council of three and twenty; as there was another in the gate of Susan. None of the gates had (a small scroll of paper fixed to the posts), but the gate of Nicanor.

Chapter 31 Concerning the Gates and Chambers lying on the South Side of the Court.

Here, concerning the chambers, they differ. The tract Middoth assigns these to the south side; "The chamber of wood, the chamber of the spring water, the chamber Gazith." -- The Babylonian Gemara and Maimonides assign them to the north side. In Middoth, "the chamber of salt, the chamber of Happarva, the chamber of them that was," were on the north side: in those, they are said to be on the south. The matter is hardly of so great moment, that we should weary ourselves in deciding this controversy. We enter not into disputes, but follow those things that are more probable, the Middoth being our guide.^I. Therefore we suppose, first, that the chamber Gazith was on the south side of the court, near the east corner: and that upon this reason, -- that since, according to all the Jews (howsoever differing on what side it was placed), this chamber was not in the middle of the three chambers before named, but on the outside, either on the one hand or on the other, -- the council could not sit in the lot Judah, if Gazith were not seated about that place which we assign."The chamber Gazith was in the form of a great court walk. And half of it was in the Holy Place, and the other half in that which was common: and it had two doors; whereof one opened towards the Holy Place, -- the other towards that which was common": -- that is, one into the court, the other to the Chel. The great Sanhedrim sat in that part, which was in Chel; for "none might sit in the court, unless kings only of the stock of David."In the chamber of Gazith sat the council of Israel, and judged concerning the priests. Whosoever was found touched with any spot was clothed in black, and was veiled in black, and went away. Whoever was without spot, being clothed and veiled in white, went into the court, and ministered with his brethren."The president sat in the west part of the chamber"; and "Ab Beth Din [the next in rank to the president], on his right hand, and the elders on both sides, in a half circle."How the Sanhedrim was driven from this chamber, and when and why, we observe elsewhere.^{II}. "The chamber of the spring" was next to this, westwardly: "where was a well, and a pulley: whence water was supplied to the whole court."^{III}. Contiguous to this was the "gate of waters"; so called, either because the water, to be poured out upon the altar, on the feast of Tabernacles, was brought in through this gate; or because the water-course, conveyed into the Temple from the fountain Etam, went along through this gate into the chamber of the spring. "Abai saith, That fountain was deeper than the pavement of the court three and twenty cubits." -- "And I think (saith the author of the Gloss), that the fountain Etam was the same with the waters of Nephtoah, of which mention is made in the book of Joshua, 15:9; from thence it descends and slopes into the east and west, and that place was the highest in the land of Israel."^{IV}. After this gate was the 'chamber of wood'; and above that, "the chamber of the magistrates"; or, as it was commonly called, "the chamber of the counsellors": where there was a sessions of the priests, consulting about the affairs of the Temple and Service. The 'wood-chamber' seems to be called so upon this account, because the wood was conveyed hither, after the search about it was made in the 'chamber of wood' (which was in the corner of the Women's Court,) whether there were any worms in it: that which was found fit for the altar was laid-up here, that it might be more in readiness.^V. Beyond that was "the gate of offering": and, after

that, "the gate of kindling."

Chapter 32 The Gates and Doors on the North Side.

I. First, we meet with the "gate and chamber Nitsots"; where the priests and Levites watched. This was also called "the gate of a song." II. The "chamber of them that wash" was next to that: and the "chamber of Happarva," joining to that. In that, they washed the inwards of the sacrifices; in this, they salted the skins of the sacrifices. Some believe one Parva, a magician, built this chamber; others, that that magician, Parva, made a secret hole in the wall of this chamber, that through that he might see what was here done by the high priest: "For in a covered place of this chamber there was a bath for the great priest, in the day of expiation." III. Thence was the 'gate of offering,' or of 'Corban': this was also called 'the gate of the women.' The reason rendered of the former name is, "that by this gate they brought in the Most Holy sacrifices, which were slain on the north." But the reason of the latter is more obscure: perhaps before that gate the women delivered their sacrifices into the hands of the priests. IV. After that gate, westward, was the "chamber of salt": where salt was laid up for the offerings. V. Following that was the "gate Beth Mokadh," or the "gate of burning": so called from a chamber adjoining, where a fire continually burnt for the use of the priests. This also was called the "gate Corban": for, between this and the gate last named was the chamber, where the public treasure of the Temple was laid up. In 'Beth-Mokadh' were four chambers: -- 1. 'The chamber of lambs': where they were kept for the use of the altar. 2. 'The chamber of the show-bread.' 3. The chamber, where the stones of the altar were laid up by the Asmoneans, when the kings of Greece had profaned the altar. 4. The chamber, whence they went down into the bath.

Chapter 33 The Court itself.

"The floor of the whole sacred earth was not level, but rising: when any went on, from the east gate of the Court of the Gentiles, to the farthest part of the Chel, -- he went all in a level. From the Chel, he went up into the Court of the Women, twelve steps, -- whereof every step was half a cubit in height. Along the whole Court of the Women he went in a level; and thence went up into the Court of Israel fifteen steps, every step half a cubit in height." The Court of Israel was a hundred and thirty-five cubits in length, eleven in breadth. Through all this court one went in a level; and thence went up into the Court of the Priests by one step of a cubit high: on which was set a pulpit (where the choir of the Levites that sang stood), and in it were three steps, each half a cubit. Therefore, the Court of the Priests is found to be two cubits and a half higher than the court of Israel. The Court of the Priests was a hundred thirty-five cubits in length, eleven in breadth. And they divided the heads of the beams between the Court of Israel and the Court of the Priests. They went through the Court of the Priests in a level; and the same they did along the space by the altar, and along the space between the altar and the Pronaon, or the 'Porch of the Temple.' Thither they ascended by twelve steps, each half a cubit high. The floor of the Pronaon and the Temple was all level: and was higher than the floor of the east gate of the Court of the Gentiles, two and twenty cubits. The length of the whole court was a hundred eighty-seven cubits, that is, from east to west. To wit, The breadth of the Court of Israel - 11 The breadth of the Court of the Priests - 11 The breadth of the altar - 32 The space between the altar and the Pronaon - 22 The length of the Pronaon and the Temple - 100 Behind the Temple to the west wall - 11

Chapter 34 The Altar. The Rings. The Laver.

The altar was, on every side, two-and-thirty cubits; after the ascent of one cubit, it was so straitened, that it was less by one cubit in the whole square, -- that is, on every side thirty cubits. It went up five cubits, and again was straitened a cubit; so that there it was eight and twenty cubits on every side. The place of the horns on every part was the space of one cubit; so that now it was six and twenty cubits every way. The place of the priests' walk, hither and thither, was one cubit; so that the place of burning extended four and twenty cubits round about. A scarlet thread begirt the middle of the altar, to discern between the upper bloods and the lower. The basis of the altar towards the south-east had no corner, because that part was not within the portion of Judah. At the horn between the west and the south were two holes, like nostrils, through which the sprinkled blood descended, and flowed into the brook Kedron. The ascent to the altar was, on the south, two and thirty cubits, and the breadth sixteen cubits. There was a time, when, upon this ascent, one priest stabbed another priest with his knife, while they strove who should first get up to the altar. On the north were six orders of rings, each of which contained four. There are some who assert there were four orders, and each contained six, at which they killed the sacrifices: there, therefore, was the place of slaughter. Near by were low pillars set up, upon which were laid, overthwart, beams of cedar: in these were fastened iron hooks, on which the sacrifices were hung; and they were flayed on marble tables, which were between those pillars. There was a laver or cistern between the porch and the altar, and it lay a little to the south. "Ben Kattin made twelve cocks for it, which before had but two. He also made the machine of the cistern": that is, as the Gloss explains it, "Ben Kattin, when he was the chief priest, made those cocks for the cistern, that the waters might flow out of them; he made also a pulley, or a wheel, whereby water might be drawn for the use of the cistern." Between the altar and the porch was the space of two and twenty cubits. They went up thither by twelve steps, each half a cubit in height. The Temple was strait on the hinder part, but broad on the fore part; and resembled the figure of a lion, because it is said, "Woe to Ariel" (the lion of the Lord), "to Ariel, the city where David encamped." As the lion is narrower behind, and broader before, so also was the Temple. For the porch was broader than the Temple fifteen cubits on the north, and fifteen cubits on the south; and that space, jetting out on both sides, was called "The place of knives," -- namely, where the holy knives, used in killing of the sacrifices, were laid up. The length of the Temple contained a hundred cubits, -- the breadth seventy: including within this measure the porch, the chambers, and the thickness of the outward wall; to trace all which would be too much. And these things, which we have said, we have, therefore, run through with the more haste, both because the famous Constantine L'Empereur hath, very learnedly and largely, treated of them; and because we ourselves largely enough, though much more unlearnedly, have heretofore done these things in a just volume, in our English tongue.

Chapter 35 Some other memorable Places of the City.

I. There was a street leading from the Gate of Waters to the mount of the Temple, which seems to be called "the street of the Temple," Ezra 10:9. This way they went from the Temple to mount Olivet. II. The ascent to the mount of the Temple was not so difficult but cattle and oxen might be driven thither; nor so easy, but that it required some pains of those that went up. "A child was free from presenting himself in the Temple at the three feasts, until" (according to the school of Hillel) "he was able, his father taking him by the hand, to go up with him into the mount of the Temple." III. "The vale of the Tyropaei" (or the cheesemongers), "that divided between the hill of the Upper City and the Lower, went down unto Siloam." The entrance into this vale, probably, was eastward by the Horse-gate, and the street (the most noted of the whole city) went onward to the west. IV. The Upper Street. -- "Any spittle, found in the city, was clean, except that which was found in the upper street." The Gloss thus; "The spittle of any unclean person is unclean, and defiles. But strangers of another country are as unclean among us, as those that have a flux. Now the strangers dwelt in the upper street." Here I remember the story of Ismael Ben Camithi, the high priest; who when he went out on the day of expiation to speak with a certain (heathen) captain, some spittle was sprinkled upon his clothes from the other's mouth: whereby being defiled, he could not perform the service of that day: his brother therefore officiated for him. V. "The street of the butchers." [Saginatorum, Buxtorf.] VI. "The street of those that dealt in wool." "In the butchers' street, which was at Jerusalem, they locked the door" (on the sabbath), "and laid the key in the window which was above the door. R. Jose saith, That this was in the street of those that dealt in wool." Josephus hath these words, "In the new city there was a wool-market, and braziers' shops, and a market of garments." VII. "At Jerusalem was a great court, called Beth Jaazek, where the cities were gathered together," -- namely, that they might testify concerning the new moon: "and there the Sanhedrim took them into examination; and delicious feasts were made ready for them there, that they might the more willingly come thither for the sake thereof." VIII. Some courts also were built upon a rock, under which there was made a hollow, that by no means any sepulchre might be there. Hither they brought some teeming women, that they might be delivered there, and might there also bring up their children. And the reason of that curiosity was, that those children, there born and brought up, where they were so secure from being touched by a sepulchre, might be clean without doubt, and fit to sprinkle, with purifying water, such as were polluted with a dead carcass. The children were shut up in those courts, until they became seven or eight years old. (So R. Solomon, who also cites Tosaphthoth, where nevertheless it is, "until they are eighteen years of age.") And when the sprinkling of any one is to be performed, they are brought with the like care and curiosity to the place, where the thing is to be done, riding upon oxen, because their bellies, being so thick, might defend them the more securely from the defilement of any sepulchre in the way. IX. There were not a few caves in the city, hollowed out of the rock, which we observed concerning the hollowed floor of the Temple. Into one of these Simon the tyrant betook himself with his accomplices, when he despaired of his affairs. Of whom you have a memorable story in the place quoted. X. Besides the pool of Siloam, of Bethesda, of Solomon, (if that were not the same with Bethesda,) there was "the Sparrow-pool," before Antonia; and "the Almond-pool," on

the north side of the city.XI. We cannot also pass over "The stone of things lost": where publicaiton was made concerning any thing lost or missing.XII. We conclude with the trench brought round the city by Titus, wherein he shut it up in the siege. "Beginning from the tents of the Assyrians, where he encamped, he brought a trench to the nether new city" (the Upper was the hill Bezetha, the Nether was a place somewhat lower on the east of Sion), "and thence along Kedron to mount Olivet. Thence bending to the south, he shut up the mountain round, to the rock called the Dove-cote, -- and the hill beyond, which lies over the valley of Siloam. From thence bending on the west, he came even into the vale of the fountain. After which, ascending along the sepulchre of Anan the chief priest, and enclosing the mountain where Pompey pitched his tents, he bended to the north side, and going forward as far as the village, which is called, 'the house, or place of turpentine"; "and after that ,taking in the sepulchre of Herod, he came eastwardly to his own intrenchment."

Chapter 36 Synagogues in the City; and Schools.

"R. Phinehas, in the name of R. Hoshaiia, saith, There were four hundred and sixty synagogues in Jerusalem: every one of which had a house of the book, and a house of doctrine," "A house of the book for the Scripture," that is, where the Scripture might be read: "and a house of doctrine for traditions," that is, the Beth Midrash, where traditions might be taught. These things are recited elsewhere, and there the number ariseth to four hundred and eighty. "R. Phinehas, in the name of R. Hoshaiia, saith, There were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem," &c. We do not make inquiry here concerning the numbers being varied: the latter is more received: and it is made out by gematry, as they call it, out of the word 'full,' Isaiah 1:21. "We find in Pesikta: R. Menahem, from R. Hoshaiia, saith, Four hundred and eighty synagogues were in Jerusalem, according to the arithmetical value of the word full" [mem, lamed, aleph, tav, yod]. Note, that the letter aleph is not computed. [men=40, lamed=30, tav=400, yod=10] "The synagogue of the Alexandrians," is mentioned by the Talmudists: concerning which also the Holy Scripture speaks, Acts 6:9. "Eleazar Ben R. Zadok received (for a price) the synagogue of the Alexandrians, and did his necessary works in it. The Alexandrians had built it at their own charge." This story is recited by the Babylonian Talmudists, and they for Alexandrians have The Braziers. For so they write: "The synagogue of the Braziers, which was at Jerusalem, they themselves sold to R. Eleazar," &c. The Gloss renders 'the braziers' by 'workmen by brass.' -- The reason why the Alexandrians were so called, you may fetch, perhaps, from this story: "There was a brass cymbal in the Temple; and there being a crack in it, the wise men brought artificers from Alexandria to mend it, &c. There was also a brass mortar in the Temple, in which they beat their spices; and there being a crack in it, the wise men brought artificers in brass from Alexandria to mend it," &c. Consider well, what "The language of Tursi," means in that legend. "Bigthan and Teresh (perhaps) were two Tarsians": or, if you will, 'two artificers': "and they talked together in the language of Tursi" (where the Gloss, 'Tursi is the name of a place'); "and they knew not that Mordecai was one of the elders in the chamber Gazith, and that he understood seventy languages," &c. In the place noted in the margin, these words are related concerning the sending away the goat Azazel, or the scape-goat: "The chief priests permitted not an Israelite to lead away the scape-goat into the wilderness: but once, one Arsela, who was an Israelite, led him away: and they made him a footstool because of the Babylonians, who used to pull off his hair, and to say, Take it, and go." The Gemara thus; "Rabba Bar Bar Channah saith, They were not Babylonians, but Alexandrians; but, because they hated the Babylonians, therefore they called them by their name. Take it, and go. Why does this goat tarry, when the sins of this generation are so many?" Where the Gloss thus; "They made him a footstool, or something to put under his feet, that he might be higher: and upon this he went out of the court, and out of the city: and this, lest the Babylonians should touch the goat: for they used to pull off his hair, and to say, Go, make haste, begone, delay not, our sins are yet upon us." And after; "The inhabitants of the land of Israel hated the Babylonians; every one, therefore, carrying himself irreverently and indecently, they called by their name." 'The synagogue of the Libertines,' Acts 6:9: "The synagogue of those, that are made free": of whom the Talmudists speak infinitely.

Chapter 37 Bethphage

There is very frequent mention of this place in the Talmudists: and, certainly, a more careful comparison of the maps with those things which are said by them of the situation of this place is worthy to be made; when they place it in mount Olivet, these make it contiguous to the buildings of Jerusalem. I. In the place cited in the margin, the case "of a stubborn judge" (or elder) is handling. For when, by the prescript of the law, difficult matters, and such things as concerning which the lower councils could not judge, were to be brought unto the chief council, unto the place which God should choose, Deuteronomy 17:8; -- and when that judge of the lower council, who, after the determination and sentence pronounced in that cause, which he propounded, shall refuse to obey, and shall deny to behave himself according to their sentence, -- is guilty of death, verse 12, inquiry is made, "Whether if he shall find the Sanhedrim sitting in Bethphage, and shall rebel against the sentence pronounced by them there, that stubbornness be to be judged for rebellion," which, according to the law, is to be punished with death: and it is answered, "The text saith, 'Thou shalt arise, and go up to the place,' &c. Whence it is taught, that the place itself" (the chamber Gazith only) "adds force to the sentence." -- The Gloss writes thus, "Bethphage was a place within the walls of the city, and was reckoned as Jerusalem itself, in respect of all things." Observe, 'Bethphage was within the walls of Jerusalem': so that if the sentence of the Sanhedrim, pronounced at Jerusalem (out of the chamber Gazith), obtained in the case propounded, -- it had obtained, when pronounced in Bethphage. II. "He that kills a sacrifice of thanksgiving within the wall, and the bread of it is without the wall, the bread is not holy. What is without the wall? R. Jochanan saith, Without the wall of Bethphage; but without the wall of the court, it is holy." -- The Gloss thus; "Bethphage is the outmost place in Jerusalem: and whosoever is without the walls of Bethphage, is without Jerusalem, where is no place to eat the holy things." III. It is disputed, whether the passover be to be slain in the name of a person in prison singly; and, among other things, it is thus determined: "If he be within the walls of Bethphage, let them kill it for him singly. Why? Because it is possible, to come to him, and he may eat it." -- The Gloss; "Bethphage is the outmost place in Jerusalem: and thither they carry the passover to the person imprisoned, that he may eat it, because he is there within Jerusalem." For it was by no means lawful to eat the passover without Jerusalem. IV. "The two loaves" (daily offered by the chief priest) "and the show-bread are baked aright either in the court or in Bethphage." V. That which we produced first concerning the cause "of the stubborn elder," is recited also elsewhere; and these words are added, "He found the council sitting in Bethphage: for example's sake, if he betook himself thither to measure for the beheading of the cow, or to add to the space of the city, or the courts." VI. "He thrashes within the walls of Bethphage." -- The Gloss; "Bethphage is the outmost circuit of Jerusalem." The Aruch; -- "The wall of Bethphage is the wall of Jerusalem." Now consult the maps and the commentaries of Christians, and you have Bethphage seated far from the walls of the city, not very far from the top of mount Olivet: where, also, the footsteps of it (even at this day) are falsely shown to travellers. So our countryman Sandys, an eyewitness, writes concerning it: "We now ascend mount Olivet (saith he), another way bending more northwards" (for before, he had described the ascent to Bethany). "On the right hand, not far from the top, was Bethphage seated,

whose very foundations are confounded; from whence Christ, sitting upon the foal of an ass, went in triumph to Jerusalem: the father-guardian every Palm Sunday now superstitiously imitating him." They took their resolutions concerning the situation of this place not elsewhere certainly than from the gospel history, which seems openly to delineate Bethphage at the mount Olivet. True, indeed; and yet nothing hinders, but we may believe the Jews, asserting it to be within the walls of Jerusalem, since they illustrate the thing with so many examples; nor is there any reason, why they should either feign or dissemble any thing in this matter. To the determining, therefore, of the business, we must have recourse, first, to the derivation of the word: Bethphage is rendered by some a 'house or place of a fountain,' from the Greek "a fountain": but this is something hard: by the Glosser in Bava Mezia, in the place last cited, it is rendered, a paved 'causeway'; "The outmost compass of Jerusalem (saith he), which they added to it, is called Bethphage, and seems to me to denote a beaten way." To which that of the Targumists seems to agree, who render "At the valley of Shaveh," Genesis 14:17. But what needs is there of wandering abroad either into a strange or more unusual dialect, -- when the word Phagi most vulgarly, and in all men's mouths, denotes "green figs," which mount Olivet was not a little famous for? For although it took its name from 'Olives' yet it produced both 'fig' trees and 'palms'; and according to the variety of these, growing in divers tracts of the mount, so various names were imposed upon those tracts, which we note elsewhere. That lowest part, therefore, of the mountain, which runs out next the city, is called, from the green figs, "Bethphage": by which name also that part of Jerusalem, next adjacent, is called, by reason of the vicinity of that place. And from these things, well regarded, one may, more rightly and plainly, understand the story of Christ coming this way. He had lodged in Bethany, the town of Lazarus, John 12:1. From thence, in the morning, going onward, he is said to come to Bethphage, and Bethany, Mark 11:1; that is, to that place, where those tracts of the mountain, known by those names, did touch upon one another. And when he was about to ascend into heaven, he is said to lead out his disciples, "as far as Bethany," Luke 24:50; but not farther than a sabbath-day's journey, Acts 1:12; whereas the town, where Lazarus dwelt, was almost twice as far, John 11:18. He went, therefore, out of Jerusalem through Bethphage within the walls, and Bethphage without the walls, -- and measuring a sabbath-day's journey, or thereabouts, arrived at that place and tract of Olivet, where the name of Bethphage ceased, and the name of Bethany began; and there he ascended. I doubt, therefore, whether there was any town in Olivet called Bethphage; but rather a great tract of the mountain was so called; and the outermost street of Jerusalem within the walls was called by the same name, by reason of its nearness to that tract.

Chapter 38 Kedron

"A deep bottom, called Kedron, bounds the mount of Olives, which lies against the city eastward." "They built a foot-causeway, or a foot-bridge, upheld with arches, from the mount of the Temple to the mount of Olives, upon which they led away the red cow (to be burned). In like manner, such a foot-causeway they made, upon which they led away the scape-goat: both were built at the charges of the public treasure, which was in the Temple." The reason of that curiosity concerning the red cow was this: -- when the ashes of that cow were especially purifying above all other things (for they cleansed from the uncleanness contracted by the touch of a dead person), they thought no caution enough to keep him safe from uncleanness, who was to burn the cow. When, therefore, there might be, perhaps, some sepulchres not seen, in the way he was to go, whereby he might be defiled, and so the whole action be rendered useless, -- they made him a path, at no small cost, all the way, upon arches joining to one another, where it was not possible to touch a place of burial. The like care and curiosity was used in leading away the scape-goat. The sheaf of first-fruits was reaped from the Ashes'-valley of the brook Kedron. The first day of the feast of the Passover, certain persons, deputed from the Sanhedrim, went forth into that valley, a great company attending them; and very many out of the neighbouring towns flocked together, that the thing might be done, a great multitude being present. And the reason of the pomp was fetched thence, because the Baithuseans, or Sadducees, did not think well of doing that action on that day: therefore, that they might cross that crossing opinion, they performed the business with as much show as could be. "When it was now even, he, on whom the office of reaping laid, saith, 'The sun is set'; and they answered, 'Well.' -- 'The sun is set'; and they answered, 'Well.' -- 'With this reaping-hook'; and they answered, 'Well.' -- 'With this reaping-hook'; and they answered, 'Well.' -- 'In this basket'; and they answered, 'Well.' -- 'In this basket'; and they answered, 'Well.' -- If it were the sabbath, he said, 'On this sabbath'; and they answered, 'Well.' -- 'On this sabbath'; and they answered, 'Well.' -- 'I will reap'; and they answered, 'Reap.' -- 'I will reap'; and they answered, 'Reap.' This he said thrice; and they answered thrice, 'Well.'" In the place, marked in the margin, they are treating concerning removing a sepulchre, seated in an inconvenient place, that it might not pollute any man. Examples are brought-in of the sepulchres of the house of David, which were moved out of their places, -- and of the sepulchres of the sons of Huldah, which were within Jerusalem, and were not moved out of their places. "Hence it appears (saith R. Akibah), that there was a certain cave, whereby filth and uncleanness was carried down into the valley of Kedron." By such a pipe and evacuation under-ground, did the filth of the Court of the Temple run into the valley of Kedron. "The blood poured at the foot of the altar flowed into a pipe, and emptied itself into the valley of Kedron: and it was sold to the gardeners to dung their gardens."

Chapter 39 The Valley of Hinnom.

A great part of the valley of Kedron was called also the 'Valley of Hinnom.' Jeremiah, going forth into the valley of Hinnom, went out by the gate "Hacharsith, the Sun-gate," Jeremiah 19:2; that is, the Rabbins and others being interpreters, 'by the East-gate.' For thence was the beginning of the valley of Hinnom, which, after some space, bending itself westward, ran out along the south side of the city. There is no need to repeat those very many things, which are related of this place in the Old Testament; they are historical. The mention of it in the New is only mystical and metaphorical, and is transferred to denote the place of the damned. Under the second Temple, when those things were vanished, which had set an eternal mark of infamy upon this place, to wit, idolatry, and the howlings of infants roasted to Moloch, -- yet so much of the filthiness, and of the abominable name remained, that even now it did as much bear to the life the representation of hell, as it had done before. It was the common sink of the whole city; whither all filth, and all kind of nastiness, met. It was, probably, the common burying-place of the city (if so be, they did now bury within so small a distance from the city). "They shall bury in Tophet, until there be no more any place," Jeremiah 7:32. And there was there also a continual fire, whereby bones, and other filthy things, were consumed, lest they might offend or infect the city. "There was a tradition according to the school of Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai. There are two palm-trees in the valley of Ben-Hinnom, between which a smoke arises: and this is that we learn, 'The palms of the mountain are fit for iron.' And, 'This is the door of Gehenna.'" Some of the Rabbins apply that of Isaiah hither, chapter 66, verse the last: "They shall go out, and see the dead carcasses of the men, that rebel against me; for their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched." -- "Those Gentiles (saith Kimchi upon the place) who come to worship from month to month, and from sabbath to sabbath, shall go out without Jerusalem into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and shall see the carcasses of Gog and Magog," &c. And a little after; "The just shall go out without Jerusalem into the valley of Hinnom, and shall see those that rebel," &c. What is to be resolved concerning the 'valley of Jehoshaphat,' he himself doubts, and leaves undetermined: "For either Jehoshaphat (saith he) here erected some building, or did some work, or it is called 'the valley of Jehoshaphat' because of judgment." So also Jarchi [on Joel 3:2]; "Jehoshaphat means all one with the 'judgments of the Lord.'"

Chapter 40 Mount Olivet. The Mount of Olives, 2 Samuel 15:30.

Zechariah 14:4. In the Rabbins commonly, The Mount of Oil. "The mount called the mount of Olives, lying over against the city, is distant five furlongs." But Luke saith, Acts 1:12, "Then they returned from the mount called Olivet, which is near Jerusalem, a sabbath-day's journey." But now a sabbath-day's journey contained eight furlongs, or a whole mile. Neither yet, for all this, doth Luke fight against Josephus. For this last measures the space to the first foundation of Olivet; the other, to that place of Olivet, where our Saviour ascended. The first foot of the mount was distant five furlongs from the city; but Christ, being about to ascend, went up the mountain three furlongs farther. The mount had its name from the Olive-trees, however other trees grew in it; and that, because the number of these perhaps was greater, and the fruit better. Among other trees, two cedars are mentioned, or rather two monsters of cedars. "Two cedars (they say) were in the mount of Olivet, under one of which were four shops, where all things needful for purifications were sold: out of the other, they fetched, every month, forty seahs" (certain measures) "of pigeons, whence all the women to be purified were supplied." It is a dream like that story, that, beneath this mountain, all the dead are to be raised. "When the dead shall live again (say they), mount Olivet is to be rent in two, and all the dead of Israel shall come out thence; yea, those righteous persons, who died in captivity, shall be rolled under the earth, and shall come forth under the mount of Olivet." There was a place in the mount, directly opposite against the east gate of the Temple, to which the priest, that was to burn the red cow, went along a foot-bridge laid upon arches, as it was said before. And when he sprinkled its blood there, he directly levelled his eyes at the Holy of Holies. Those signal flames also, accustomed to be waved up and down on the top of this mount in token of the new moon now stated, are worthy of mention. The custom and manner is thus described: "Formerly, they held up flames; but when the Cutheans spoiled this, it was decreed, that they should send messengers." The Gloss is this; "They held up the flames presently after the time of the new moon was stated: and there was no need to send messengers to those, that were afar off in captivity, to give them notice of the time; for those flames gave notice: and the Cutheans sometime held up flames in an undue time, and so deceived Israel." The text goes forward: "How did they hold up the flames? They took long staves of cedar, and canes, and fat-wood, and the coarse part of the flax, and bound these together with a thread. And one, going up to the mount, put fire to it, and shakes the flame up and down, this way and that way, until he sees another doing so in a second mountain, and another so in a third mountain. But whence did they lift up these flames first? From the mount of Olivet to Sartaba; from Sartaba to Gryphena; from Gryphena to Hauran; from Hauran to Beth Baltin. And he who held up the flame in Beth Baltin, departed not thence, but waved his flame up and down, this way and that way, until he saw the whole captivity abounding in flames. The Gemarists inquire, what 'from Beth Baltin' means? This is Biram. What the captivity means? Rabh Joseph saith, This is Pombedita. What means abounding in flames? There is a tradition, that every one taking a torch in his hand, goes up upon his house," &c. The Jews believe, the Messiah shall converse very much in this mountain: which is agreeable to truth and reason. For when they think his primary seat shall be at Jerusalem, they cannot but believe some such thing of that mount. R. Janna saith, "The Divine Majesty stood three years and a half in

mount Olivet, and preached, saying, 'Seek ye the Lord, while he may be found; call upon him, while he is near.'" And now let us from this mountain look back upon the city. Imagine yourself sitting in that place, where the priest stood, while he burnt the red cow, directly over against the east gate of the Temple. Between the mount and the city you might see a valley running between, compassing Sion on the right hand, and Jerusalem on the left: the Gate of Waters against you, leading to the Temple; on the left hand, Ophla and the Horse-gate. From thence, as we have said, was the beginning of the valley of Hinnom, which, at length, bowed towards the south side of the city. In that place, near the wall, was the Fullers' field; which whether it was so called from wood framed together, where fullers dried their cloth; or 'from a fuller's monument,' of which Josephus writes, -- we do not dispute. From the Horse-gate, westward, runs out the valley Kedron, in which is a brook, whence the valley takes its name -- embracing Sion also on the north, and spreading abroad itself in a more spacious breadth. "Below the city, there was a place" (we do not dare to mark it out) "which was called Motza: hither they came down" (in the feast of Tabernacles) "and cropped off thence long boughs of willow" (it may be, from the banks of the brook Kedron); "and, going away, placed them near the sides of the altar, -- bended after that manner, that their heads might bow over the top of the altar," &c. It is no marvel, if there were a multitude of gardens without the city, when there were none within. Among them "a garden of Jerusalem is famed, wherein figs grew, which were sold for three or four assarii each: and yet neither the Truma, nor the Tenth, was ever taken of them." Josephus hath these words, "The gardening was all compassed about from the wall with trenches; and every thing was divided with crooked gardens, and many walls."

Chapter 41 Bethany. Beth-hene.

Bethany seems to be the same with Beth-hene among the Talmudists. Of which they write thus. They treat in the place, noted in the margin, concerning eating of fruits the seventh year, and concerning Beor, of which we have spoke before. They inquire, How long one may eat of these or the other fruits? -- And they state the business thus: "They eat Olives (say they) until the last ceases in Tekoa. R. Eleazar saith, Until the last ceases in Gush Chalab" (in the tribe of Asher). "They eat dry figs, until green figs cease in Beth-hene. R. Judah saith, The green figs of Beth-hene are not mentioned; unless in respect of the tenths; as the tradition is. The figs of Beth-hene, and the dates of Tubni, are bound to be tithed." The Gloss is this; "They are not mentioned in the schools among fruits, unless in respect of tithing." These words are recited in Erubhin: where the word Beth-hene is writ, Beth-jone, and Tubni is writ Tubina. Beth-hene certainly seems to be the same altogether with our Bethany; and the name to be drawn from the word Ahene, which signifies the "dates of palm-trees," not come to ripeness: as the figs also signifies "green-figs," that is, such figs as are not yet ripe. And now take a prospect a little of mount Olivet. Here you may see olive-trees; and in that place is Gethsemane, "The place of oil-presses." There you may see palm-trees growing; and that place is called Bethany, "The place of dates." And we may observe in the gospel-history, how those that met Christ, as he was going forward from Bethany, had branches of palm-trees ready at hand. There you may see fig-trees growing; and that place was called Bethphage, "The place of green-figs." Therefore, some part of Olivet was called Bethany from the palm-trees; there was a town also, called of the same name, over-against it. The town was fifteen furlongs distant from Jerusalem. And the coast of that name went on, till it reached the distance of a sabbath-day's journey only from the city.

Chapter 42 Scopo

In that manner as mount Olivet lay over-against the city on the east, the valley of Kedron running between, -- so, on the north, behind a valley somewhat broader, stretched out from Sion northward, the land swelled into a hill, at the place which from thence was called Zophim; because thence there was a prospect on all sides, but especially towards the city. Concerning it Josephus thus: "Caesar, when he had received a legion by night from Ammaus, the day after moving his tents thence, He entered into Scopo so called. Where the city appeared, and the greatness of the Temple shining out: as that plain tract of land, touching upon the north coast of the city, is truly called Scopus, The Viewer." Hence those canons and cautions: "He that pisseth, 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 pisseth, 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 buttocks before it. "If any one, being gone out of Jerusalem, shall remember, that holy flesh is in his hand, if he be now gone beyond Zophim, let him burn it in the place where he is." (For it is polluted by being carried out of the walls of Jerusalem.) "But if he be not beyond Zophim, let him go back, and burn it before the Temple." Where the Gloss thus; "Zophim is a place whence the Temple may be seen." But another Gloss doth not understand the thing here of that proper place, but of the whole compass about the city, wheresoever the city could first be seen. So R. Eliezer, of Abraham, going from the south to Jerusalem, "The third day they came to Zophim: but when he came to Zophim, he saw the glory of the Divine Majesty sitting upon the Mount" (Moriah).

Chapter 43 Ramah. Ramathaim Zophim. Gibeah.

There was a certain Ramah, in the tribe of Benjamin, Joshua 18:25, and that within sight of Jerusalem, as it seems, Judges 19:13; where it is named with Gibeah: -- and elsewhere, Hosea 5:8; which towns were not much distant. See 1 Samuel 22:6; "Saul sat in Gibeah, under a grove in Ramah." Here the Gemarists trifle: "Whence is it (say they) that Ramah is placed near Gibeah? To hint to you, that the speech of Samuel of Ramah was the cause, why Saul remained two years and a half in Gibeah." They blindly look over Ramah in the tribe of Benjamin, -- and look only at Ramah in Ephraim, where Samuel was born. His native town is very often called Ramah, once Ramathaim Zophim, 1 Samuel 1:1. "There was a certain man of Ramathaim": that is, one of the two Ramaths, which were surnamed also 'Zophim.' A like form of speech is that 1 Samuel 18:21; "In one of the two, thou shalt be my son-in-law." That town of Samuel was Ramath Zophim; and this of Benjamin, was Ramath Zophim also: but by a different etymology, as it seems: -- that, it may be, from Zuph, Saul's great-great-grandfather, whence that country was so called, 1 Samuel 9:5; this, from Zophim, of which place we have spoke in the foregoing chapter. Gibeah was Saul's town. "The town called Gabath-Saul. This signifieth Saul's-hill, which is distant from Jerusalem about thirty furlongs." Hence you may guess at the distance of Rama from Jerusalem. Josephus calls the neighbouring place of Gibeah, "the long Valley of Thorns": perhaps, the valley under the rock Seneh: of which mention is made, 1 Samuel 14:4.

Chapter 44 Nob. Bahurim.

That Nob was placed in the land of Benjamin, not far from Jerusalem, whence Jerusalem also might be seen, -- the words of the Chaldee paraphrast, upon Isaiah 10:32, do argue. For so he speaks; "Sennacherib came and stood in Nob, a city of the priests, before the walls of Jerusalem; and said to his army, 'Is not this the city of Jerusalem, against which I have raised my whole army, and have subdued all the provinces of it? Is it not small and weak in comparison of all the fortifications of the Gentiles, which I have subdued by the valour of my hand?' He stood nodding with his head against it, and wagging his hand up and down," &c. Where Kimchi thus; "Jerusalem might be seen from Nob. Which when he saw from thence, he wagged his hand, as a man is wont to do, when he despiseth any thing," &c. And Jarchi thus; "When he stood at Nob, he saw Jerusalem," &c. The Talmudists do concur also in the same sense with the Chaldee paraphrast, and in his very words; adding this moreover, -- that all those places, which are numbered-up by Isaiah in the place alleged, were travelled through by the enemy with his army in one day. The tabernacle sometime resided at Nob, when that was destroyed, it was translated to Gibeon. "And the days of Nob and Gibeon" (they are the words of Maimonides) "were seven-and-fifty years." We meet with mention of Bahurim, 2 Samuel 16:5. It was a Levitical city, the same with Almon, Joshua 21:18; which is also called Alemeth, 1 Chronicles 6:60. Those words, "And David came to Bahurim," in the place alleged in the Book of Samuel, the Chaldee renders, "And David the king came to Almath." Where Kimchi thus; "Bahurim was a city of the Benjamites, and is called in the Books of the Chronicles, 'Alemeth'; for Bahurim and Alemeth are the same." Both sound as much as, young men.

Chapter 45 Emmaus. Kiriath-jearim.

"From Beth-horon to Emmaus it was hilly." -- It was sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem. -- "To eight hundred only, dismissed the army, (Vespasian) gave a place, called Ammaus, for them to inhabit: it is sixty furlongs distant from Jerusalem." I inquire, whether this word hath the same etymology with Emmaus near Tiberias, which, from the 'warm baths,' was called Chammath. The Jews certainly do write this otherwise... "The family (say they) of Beth-Pegarim, and Beth Zipperia was out of Emmaus." -- The Gloss is this; "Emmaus was the name of a place, whose inhabitants were Israelite gentlemen, and the priests married their daughters." Josephus, mentioning some noblemen, slain by Simeon the tyrant, numbers one Aristeus, who was "a scribe of the council, and by extraction from Ammaus." By the same author is mentioned also, "Ananus of Ammaus," one of the seditious of Jerusalem; who nevertheless at last fled over to Caesar. Kiriath-jearim was before-time called Baale, 2 Samuel 6:2; or Baalath, 1 Chronicles 13:6. Concerning it, the Jerusalem writers speak thus; "We find, that they intercalated the year in Baalath. But Baalath was sometimes assigned to Judah, and sometimes to Dan. Eltekah, and Gibbethon, and Baaeth; behold, these are Judah." (Here is a mistake of the transcribers, for it should be written, of Dan, Joshua 19:44.) "Baalath, and Jiim, and Azem, -- behold, these are of Dan" (it should be written, of Judah, Joshua 15:29); "namely, the houses were of Judah, -- the fields of Dan." In Psalm 132:6; "We heard of it" (the ark) "in Ephratah" (that is, Shiloh, a city of Ephraim); "we found it in the fields of the wood" (that is, in Kiriath-jearim, 1 Samuel 7:1, &c.).

Chapter 46 The country of Jericho, and the situation of the City.

Here we will borrow Josephus' pencil, "Jericho is seated in a plain, yet a certain barren mountain hangs over it, narrow, indeed, but long; for it runs out northward to the country of Scythopolis, -- and southward, to the country of Sodom, and the utmost coast of the Asphaltites." Of this mountain mention is made, Joshua 2:22, where the two spies, sent by Joshua, and received by Rahab, are said to "conceal themselves." "Opposite against this, lies a mountain on the other side Jordan, beginning from Julias on the north, and stretched southward as far as Somorrha, which bounds the rock of Arabia. In this is a mountain, which is called the Iron mountain, reaching out as far as the land of Moab. But the country which lies between these two mountainous places, is called the Great Plain, extended from the village Ginnaber to the lake Asphaltites, in length a thousand two hundred furlongs" (a hundred and fifty miles), "in breadth, a hundred and twenty furlongs" (fifteen miles); "and Jordan cuts it in the middle." Hence you may understand more plainly those things that are related of "the plains of Jericho," 2 Kings 25:5; and what "the region about Jordan," means, Matthew 3:5. "Jericho is distant from Jerusalem a hundred and fifty furlongs" (eighteen miles and three quarters), "and from Jordan sixty furlongs" (seven miles and a half). "The space from thence to Jerusalem is desert and rocky; but to Jordan and the Asphaltites, more plain, indeed, but alike desert, and barren." This our author asserts the same distance between Jericho and Jordan elsewhere, in these words: "But the Israelites, travelling forward fifty furlongs from Jordan, encamped the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho": that is, in Gilgal, in the east coast of Jericho, Joshua 4:19. But concerning the distance between Jericho and Jerusalem, he does not seem to agree with his countrymen. For, however they, according to their hyperbolical style, feign very many things to be heard from Jerusalem as far as Jericho, -- to wit, the sound of the gate of the Temple, when it was opened, -- the sound of Migrephah, or the little bell, &c. yet there are some of them, who make it to be the distance of 'ten parsae.' "Rabbath Bar Bar Channah saith, Rabbi Jochanan saith, from Jerusalem to Jericho were ten parsae: and yet, from thence thither the voice of the high priest, in the day of expiation, pronouncing the name Jehovah, was heard, &c. The hinges of the gates of the Temple are heard as far as the eighth bound of the sabbath"; that is, as far as a sabbath-day's journey eight times numbered. The Gloss hath these words; "The hinges, indeed, not farther, but the gates themselves are heard to Jericho." There is an hyperbole in their measuring of the space, as well as in the rest. "And that plain burns in the summer, and, by too much heat, renders the air unhealthful: for it is all without water, except Jordan; the palms that grow in whose banks are more flourishing and more fruitful than those that grow more remote." "Near Jericho is a very plentiful spring, and very rich for watering and moistening the ground; it riseth near the old city, and Jesus the son of Nave took it. Of which spring there is a report, that, in former times, it did not only make the fruits of the earth and of the trees to decay, but also the offspring of women; and was universally unwholesome and harmful to all: but it was changed into a better condition by Elizeus, &c. (see 2 Kings 2:21). So that those waters, which before were the cause of barrenness and famine, did thenceforth produce fruitfulness and abundance: and they have so great a virtue in their watering, that whatsoever place they touch, they bring on to a very speedy ripeness." "And they overflow the plain seventy

furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth: and there they nourish very fair and thick gardens of palm-trees of divers kinds, &c. That place also feeds bees, and produceth opobalsamum, and cyprinum, and myrobalanum: so that one might not call it amiss, 'a divine country,'" &c. Strabo speaks like things, "Jericho is a plain surrounded with mountains, which in some places bend to it after the manner of a theatre. A grove of palm-trees is there, with which are mixed also other garden plants, a fruitful place, abounding with palm-trees for the space of a hundred furlongs, all well watered, and full of habitations. The royal court and paradise of balsam is there," &c. And Pliny; "Jericho, planted with groves of palms, and well watered with springs," &c. Hence the city is called, the "city of palm-trees," Deuteronomy 34:3, and Judges 1:16: where for that, which, in the Hebrew, is From the city of palm-trees, the Targum hath From the city Jericho: which nevertheless Kimchi approves not of, reckoning the city of palm-trees to be near Hebron: whom see. See also the Targum upon Judges 3:13, and Kimchi there; and the Targum upon Judges 4:5. When you take a view of that famous fountain, as it is described by Josephus, thence you understand what waters of Jericho the Holy Ghost points out in Joshua 16:1. -- And when you think of that most pleasant country watered from thence, let that Rabbinical story come into your mind, of The gift of Jericho, of five hundred cubits square, granted to the sons of Hobab, Moses' father-in-law: of which see Baal Turim, upon Numbers 10:29, and the Rabbins upon Judges 1.

Chapter 47 Jericho itself.

We read, that this city was not only wasted by Joshua with fire and sword, but cursed also. "Cursed be he before the Lord, who shall rise up and build that city Jericho," Joshua 6:26. "Nor was another city to be built (says the Talmudists), which was to be called by the name of Jericho: nor was Jericho itself to be built, although to be called by another name." And yet I know not by what chance this city crept out of dust and rubbish, lived again, and flourished, and became the second city to Jerusalem. The same persons which were just now cited, suppose that the restorer of it was Hiel, the son of Jehoshaphat, to wit, the same with Jechiel, 2 Chronicles 21:2; "Hiel (say they) was of Jehoshaphat, and Jericho of Benjamin." And that is a just scruple, which R. David objects, -- how it came about, that the pious king Jehoshaphat should suffer such a horrid thing to be done within his kingdom? Much more, how this should have been done by his son? Let them dispute the business; we hasten somewhere else. That, which ought not to be done, -- being once done, stands good. Hiel did a cursed thing in building Jericho: yet Jericho was not to be cursed, being now built. A little after its restoration, it was made noble by the schools of the prophets, 2 Kings 2:5; and it flourished with the rest of the cities of Judea unto the destruction of the nation by the Babylonians. It flourished more under the second Temple, so that it gave place to no city in Judea; yea, all gave place to it, besides Jerusalem. A royal palace was in it, where Herod ended his days: a Hippodromus, where the Jewish nobility, being imprisoned by him, were to be slain, when he expired: an amphitheatre, where his will was publicly opened, and read over; and sometime a sessions of the Sanhedrim, and "a noble troop of those, that waited in their courses at the Temple." "The elders sometime assembled together in the chamber Beth-gadia in Jericho: the Bath Kol went forth, and said to them, There are two among you, who are fit to receive the Holy Ghost, and Hillel is one of them: they cast their eyes upon Samuel the Little, as the second. Another time the elders assembled together in a chamber in Jafne; the Bath Kol went forth, and said, There are two among you, who are fit to receive the Holy Ghost, and Samuel the Little is one of them: they cast their eyes upon R. Lazar. And they rejoiced, that their judgment agreed with the sentence of the Holy Ghost." "There is a tradition, that there were, at Jerusalem, twenty-four thousand men of the station; and half a station" (that is, twelve thousand men) "at Jericho. Jericho also could have produced a whole station; but because she would give place to Jerusalem, she produced only the half of a station." Behold! five hundred men of every course residing at Jericho! But what were they? They were ready at hand to supply any courses that wanted, if there were any such at Jerusalem; and they took care of supplying them with necessaries, who officiated at Jerusalem. Hence it is the less to be wondered at, if you hear of a priest and a Levite passing along in the parable of him, that travelled between Jerusalem and Jericho, Luke 10:31,32. In so famous and populous a town, there could not but be some council of three-and-twenty, one, at least, of more remark, if not more, -- when so many of the stations dwelling there were at hand, who were fit to be employed in government; and so many to be governed. "The men of Jericho are famed for six things done by them: in three of which the chief council consented to them, but in the other three they consented not." Those things, concerning which they opposed them not, were these: -- I. "They ingrafted, or folded, together, palm-trees every day." Here is need of a long

commentary, and they produce one, but very obscure. The business of the men of Jericho was about palm-trees; which they either joined together, and mingled males with females, or they ingrafted, or (as they commonly say) inoculated the more tender sprouts of the branches into those, that were older. So much indulgence was granted them by the wise men concerning the time, wherein these things are done, which elsewhere, would scarcely have been suffered; unless, as it seems, the nature of the place, and of the groves of palms, required it. II. "They folded up the recitations of their phylacteries": that is, either not speaking them out distinctly; or omitting some doxologies or prayers; or pronouncing them with too shrill a voice. See the Gemara and the Gloss. III. "They reaped, and gathered-in their sheaves, before the sheaf [of first-fruits] was offered": and this, partly, because of the too early ripeness of their corn in that place; and, partly, because their corn grew in a very low valley, and therefore it was not accounted fit to be offered unto the Mincha, or daily sacrifice. See the Gloss. The three things, concerning which the wise men consented not to them, were these: -- I. Such fruits and branches, also certain fruits of the sycamine-trees, which their fathers had devoted to sacred uses, -- they alienated into common.II. "They ate, on the sabbath-day, under the tree, such fruits, as fell from the tree," although they were uncertain whether they had fallen on the sabbath-day or the eve of the sabbath: for such as fell on the sabbath were forbidden.III. They granted a corner of the garden for herbs, in the same manner as a corner of the field was granted for corn.Let the description of this city and place be concluded with those words of the Talmud, in the place noted in the margin: "Do they use a certain form of prayer upon balsam? Blessed be he, who hath created the ointment of our land." The Gloss is, "The ointment of our land: for it grows at Jericho; and, for its smell, it is called Jericho: and it is that Pannag of which mention is made in the Book of Ezekiel. 'Judah and the land of Israel were thy merchants in wheat of Minnith and Pannag.' This I have seen in the book of Josephus Ben Gorion." Judge, reader.

Chapter 48 Some miscellaneous matters belonging to the Country about Jericho.

Let us begin from the last encampings of Israel beyond Jordan. Numbers 33:49: "They encamped near Jordan from Beth-jeshimoth unto Abel-shittim." -- "From Beth-jeshimoth to Abel-shittim were twelve miles." It is a most received opinion among the Jews, that the tents of the Israelites in the wilderness contained a square of twelve miles. So the Targum of Jonathan, upon Number 2:2; "The encamping of Israel was twelve miles in length, and twelve miles in breadth." And the Gemarists say, "It is forbidden a scholar to teach a tradition before his master, yea, not to do it, until he be twelve miles distant from him, according to the space of the encamping of Israel. But whence is that space proved? 'And they encamped near Jordan from Beth-jeshimoth to Abel-shittim.' -- How far is that? Twelve miles." They believe, also, that the bulk of the host took up the same space, while they passed Jordan. Nor is it unfit so to believe: for it, indeed, seems at least to have taken up a very large space in its passage: this especially being observed, that, while the ark stood in the middle of Jordan, none might come within two thousand cubits near it, Joshua 3:4. When, therefore, it is said, "that the people passed over against Jordan," it is to be understood of the middle of the host, -- or of those that carried the ark, and of those that went next after the ark. From Abel to Jordan, were sixty furlongs (seven miles and a half). The breadth of Jordan from bank to bank was but of a moderate space. The Jerusalem Talmudists do write thus of it, in some part of it: "A fire sometime passed over Jordan" (that is, a flame kindled on this bank flew over to that). "But how far is the flame carried? R. Eleazar saith, For the most part to sixteen cubits; but when the wind drives it, to thirty. -- R. Judah saith, To thirty cubits; and, when the wind drives it, to fifty. -- R. Akibah saith, To fifty cubits; and when the wind blows, to a hundred." From Jordan to Gilgal were fifty furlongs (six miles and a quarter). Therefore the whole journey of that day, from Abel to Gilgal, was fourteen miles, or thereabouts. The Talmudists, being deceived by the ambiguity of the word Gilgal, extend it to sixty miles, and more: whom see afterward quoted in the eighty-eighth chapter. It is thus said in Midras Tillin, "Saul went, in one day, threescore miles." Of the stones, set up by Joshua in Jordan and Gilgal, the Gemarists have these words: -- "R. Judah saith, Aba Chalaphtha, and R. Eleazar Ben Mathia, and Chaninah Ben Chakinai, stood upon those stones, and reckoned them to weigh forty sata each."

Chapter 49 Hebron

From Jericho we proceed to Hebron, far off in situation, but next to it in dignity: yea, there was a time, when it went before Jerusalem itself in name and honour; -- namely, while the first foundations of the kingdom of David were laid; and, at that time, Jericho was buried in rubbish, and Jerusalem was trampled upon by the profane feet of the Jebusites. Hebron was placed, as in the mountainous country of Judea, so in a place very rocky, but yet in a very fruitful coast. "There is no place, in all the land of Israel, more stony than Hebron: thence, a burying-place of the dead is there." The Gemarists sift what that means: "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt, Numbers 13:22." And they reduce it to this sense, which you may find cited also in R. Solomon, upon that text of Moses, "There is no land more excellent than Egypt; as it is said, 'As the garden of the Lord, as Egypt': nor is there in Egypt any place more excellent than Zoan; as it is said, 'Her princes were in Zoan'; and yet Hebron was seven times nobler, however it were rocky, than Zoan." For this tradition obtained among them, "Rams from Moab, lambs from Hebron." And to this they apply that of Absalom, "Let me go, I pray, to Hebron, that I may pay my vow. -- And why to Hebron? -- R. Bar Bar Chanan saith, He went thither, that thence he might fetch lambs for sacrifice. For the turf was fine, yielding grass acceptable to sheep," &c. You may observe the situation of Hebron, in respect of Jerusalem, from those things which are related of a daily custom and rite in the Temple. "The president of the service in the Temple was wont to say every morning, Go, and see whether it be time to kill the sacrifice. If it were time, he, that was sent to see, said, It is light. Mathia Ben Samuel said, The whole face of the east is light unto Hebron: to whom another answers, Well," &c. Upon which words Rambam thus; "There was a high place in the Temple, whither he who was sent to see went up; and when he saw the face of the east shining, he said, It is light, &c. And they who were in the court, said, What! As the light is unto Hebron? -- That is, Is the light come so far, that thine eyes may see Hebron? -- And he answered, Yes." So also the Gloss upon Tamid; "The morning (saith he, who is on the roof) is seen as far as Hebron; because they could see Hebron thence." "And therefore they made mention of Hebron, (although the east was on that coast), that the memory of the merit of those, that were buried in Hebron, might occur at the daily sacrifice." They are the words of the author of Juchaisn, out of which those are especially to be marked, "Though the east was on that coast"; or, "Though the east were on that quarter of the heaven." Consider which words, and consult the Gemarists upon the place quoted: for they understand those words, -- "What! As the light is unto Hebron?" -- of the light reaching as far as Hebron; just as the Gloss understands them of his eyes reaching thither that went to look. All which things compared, come at last to this, -- if credit may be given to these authors, -- that Hebron, however it be placed south of Jerusalem, yet did decline somewhat towards the east, and might be seen from the high towers in the Temple and in Jerusalem. Let the reader judge. Of Machpelah, the burying-place near Hebron, very many things are said by very many men. The city was called Hebron, that is, a consociation, -- perhaps, from the pairs there buried, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their wives. Not a few believe Adam was buried there in like manner: some, that he was buried once, and buried again. "Adam said, (say they), After my death, they will come perhaps, and, taking my bones, will worship them; but I will hide my coffin very deep in the earth,

'in a cave within a cave.' It is therefore called, the cave Machpelah, or the doubled cave."

Chapter 50 Of the cities of Refuge.

Hebron, the most eminent among them, excites us to remember the rest. "The Rabbins deliver this; Moses separated three cities of refuge beyond Jordan, [Deuteronomy 4:41-43;] and, against them, Joshua separated three cities in the land of Canaan, [Joshua 20:7,8]. And these were placed by one another, just as two ranks of vines are in a vineyard: Hebron in Judea against Bezer in the wilderness: Shechem in mount Ephraim against Ramoth in Gilead: Kedesh in mount Napthali against Golan in Basan. And these three were so equally disposed, that there was so much space from the south coast of the land of Israel to Hebron, as there was from Hebron to Shechem; and as much from Hebron to Shechem, as from Shechem to Kedesh; and as much from Shechem to Kedesh, as from Kedesh to the north coast of the land." It was the Sanhedrim's business to make the ways to those cities convenient, by enlarging them, and by removing every stop, against which one might either stumble or dash his foot. No hillock or river was allowed to be in the way, over which there was not a bridge: and the way, leading thither, was, at least, two-and-thirty cubits broad. And in every double way, or in the parting of the ways, was written "Refuge, refuge," -- lest he that fled thither might mistake the way. The mothers of the high priest used to feed and clothe those, that for murder were shut up in the cities of refuge, that they might not pray for the death of their sons, -- since the fugitive was to be restored to his country and friends at the death of the high priest: but if he died before in the city of refuge, his bones were to be restored after the death of the high priest. The Jews dream, that in the days of the Messias, three other cities are to be added to those six which are mentioned in the Holy Scripture, -- and they to be among the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites. "Let him that kills the high priest by a sudden chance, fly to a city of refuge; but let him never return thence."

Chapter 51 Beth-lehem

The Jews are very silent about this city: nor do I remember that I have read any thing in them concerning it, besides those things which are produced out of the Old Testament; this only excepted, that the Jerusalem Gemarists do confess that the Messiah was born there before their times. "Beth-lehem is a certain town in the land of the Jews, thirty-five furlongs distant from Jerusalem": and that towards the south. The father of the ecclesiastical annals, citing these words of Eusebius, "But now, when in the eighteenth year of the empire of Adrian, the war was more vehemently kindled near the town called Beth-lehem (which was very well fortified with all manner of defence, nor was seated far from the city of Jerusalem)," &c. The interpreter of Eusebius renders, Beth-thera: not illy, however it be not rendered according to the letter: perhaps crept into the word instead of by the carelessness of the copiers. But by what liberty the other should render it Beth-lehem, let himself see. Eusebius doth certainly treat of the city Betar (it is vulgarly written Bitter), of the destruction of which the Jews relate very many things with lamentation: which certainly is scarcely to be reckoned the same with Beth-lehem. The same father of the annals adds, that Beth-lehem, from the times of Adrian to the times of Constantine, was profaned by the temple of Adonis: for the asserting of which he cites these words of Paulinus: "Hadrianus, supposing that he should destroy the Christian faith by offering injury to the place, in the place of the passion dedicated the image of Jupiter, and profaned Beth-lehem with the temple of Adonis": as also like words of Jerome: yet, he confesses, the contrary seems to be in Origen against Celsus: and that more true. For Adrian had no quarrel with the Christians, and Christianity, -- but with the Jews, that cursedly rebelled against him.

Chapter 52 Betar

Of this city there is a deep silence in the Holy Scriptures, but a most clamorous noise in the Talmudic writings. It is vulgarly written, Betar, and rendered by Christians, Bitter, or Bither: but I find it written in the Jerusalem Talmud pretty often in the same page, to be read, as it seems Beth-Tar; and casting away the first tau, which is very usual in the word, Be-Tar, 'the house of the

inquirer.' -- "Wherefore (say they) was Beth-Tar laid waste? Because it lighted candles after the destruction of the Temple. And why did it light candles? Because the counsellors at Jerusalem dwelt in the midst of the city. And when they saw any going up to Jerusalem, they said to him, 'We hear of you, that you are ambitious to be made a captain, or a counsellor': but he answered, 'There is no such thing in my mind.' -- 'We hear of you, that you are about to sell your wealth.' But he answered, 'Nor did this come into my mind.' Then would one of the company say, 'Whatsoever you ask of this man, write it, and I will seal it.' He therefore wrote, and his fellow sealed it: and they sent this feigned instrument to their friends, saying, 'If N. endeavours to come again to the possession of his wealth, suffer him not to do it, for he hath sold it among us.'" The principal cause of the destruction of Beth-Tera was Ben-Cozba, and his rebellion against the Romans. The Babylonian writers assign another cause. "For the foot of a chariot, was Bathara laid waste. It was a custom, that when an infant male was born, they planted a cedar; when an infant female, a pine; and, when the children contracted marriage, out of those trees they made the bride-chamber. On a certain day the daughter of the emperor passed by, and the foot of her chariot broke. They cut down such a cedar, and brought it to her. [The Jews] rose up against them, and beat them. It was told the emperor that the Jews rebelled. Being angry, he marched against them, and destroyed the whole horn of Israel," &c. "Hadrian besieged Bether three years and a half. -- And when they took it, they slew the men, the women, and the children, so that their blood flowed into the great sea. You will say, perhaps, that it was near the sea; but it was a mile distant. The tradition is, that R. Eliezer the Great saith, That there were two rivers in the valley of Jadaim, of which one flowed this way, -- the other, that. And the Rabbins computed that the third part of them was blood, and two parts water. It was delivered also, that the heathen gathered the vintages, for the space of seven years, without dunging the land, because the vineyards were made fruitful enough by the blood of the Israelites." The Jerusalem writers do hyperbolize enough concerning the distance of this city from the sea. "For if you say (say they) that it was near the sea, was it not distant forty miles? They say, that three hundred skulls of young children were found upon one stone: and that there were three chests of torn phylacteries, each chest containing nine bushels: but there are others that say, nine chests, each containing three bushels." Josephus mentions "Betaris, and Cephartobas, two midland towns of Idumea": -- where by Idumea he means the southern part of Judea, especially that that was mountainous: as appears by the context. He calls Idumea, properly so called, "Idumea the Great."

Chapter 53 Ephraim

We mean not here the land of Ephraim, but a certain town in the confines of that land: of which you read 2 Chronicles 13:19; and of which the Talmudic writers speak: "What is the best flour," to be offered in the Temple? "Michmas and Mezonechah obtain the first place for fine flour; Ephraim in the valley obtains the next place to them." These words are not read the same way by all. Those of the Mishnaioth, in the eighth chapter, read, as we have writ it: the Tosaphtah also reads Michmas: but the Talmud...: the Aruch also hath Michmas: but for Mezonechah, it hath Zanoah...the Talmud Ephoraim: the Gloss saith, "Ephoraim is a city, of which it is thus written in the books of the Chronicles, 'And Abijah took Ephraim.'" The Gemarists read it after the same manner, Ephraim, this story being added; "Jannes and Mambres said to Moses, Do you bring straw into Ephraim?" Which the Aruch reciting, adds these words; "There was a city in the land of Israel, very fruitful in bread-corn, called Ephraim: when Moses therefore came with his miracles, -- Jannes and Mambres, who were the chief of Pharaoh's magicians, said unto him, This is our business, and we can do thus with our enchantments; you therefore are like one bringing straw into Ephraim, which is the city of bread-corn, and out of which is provision for many places: therefore, how doth any carry in straw thither?" &c. Josephus, speaking of Vespasian, hath these words; "After he went into the hill country, he took two Toparchies, -- namely, Gophnitica and Acrabatena: and, together with them, Beth-el and Ephraim, two small cities." Into this Ephraim, we suppose it was that Christ retired, in that story, John 11:54. Let us also add these things from the places alleged above. R. Josi saith, "They brought also of the wheat of Barchaim, and of Caphar Achum; which were near Jerusalem." "For oil, Tekoa deserves the first praise. Aba Saul saith, Ragab, beyond Jordan, obtains the next to it. R. Eliezer Ben Jacob saith, Gush Chalab, in Galilee, obtains the third place." Karchiim and Atolin "produce the best wine: Beth Rimmah and Beth Laban, in the hilly country, -- and Caphar Sigana, in the valley, next to them." Let us also add these words elsewhere: "He eateth all manner of victuals, and eateth not flesh: the clusters of figs of Keila are brought in. He drinks all manner of drink, but he drinks not wine: honey and milk are brought in." And elsewhere: "He eateth the clusters of Keila, and drinks honey and milk, and enters into the Temple."

Chapter 54 Tsok: and Beth Chadudo.

When they sent forth the goat Azazel, on the day of expiation, -- before that, they set up ten tents, a mile distant one from another: where some betook themselves before that day, that they might be ready to accompany him, who brought forth the goat. Those of the better rank went out of Jerusalem with him, and accompanied him to the first tent. There others received him, and conducted him to the second; others to the third, and so to the tenth. From the tenth to the rock Tsok, whence the goat was cast down, were two miles. They, therefore, who received him there, went not farther than a mile with him, that they might not exceed a sabbath day's journey: but, standing there, they observed what was done by him. "He snapped the scarlet thread into two parts, of which he bound one to the horns of the goat, and the other to the rock: and thrust the goat down; which, hardly coming to the middle of the precipice, was dashed and broke into pieces." The rock Tsok therefore was twelve miles distant from Jerusalem, according to later computation. But there are some, who assign nine-tenths only, and ten miles. -- See the Gemarists. Tsok, among the Talmudists, is any more craggy and lofty rock. Hence is that, "she went up to the top of the rocks and fell." Where the Gloss writes, "Tsokin are high and craggy mountains." The first entrance into the desert was three miles from Jerusalem, and that place was called 'Beth Chadudo.' The Misna of Babylon writes thus of it; "They say to the high priest, The goat is now come into the wilderness." But whence knew they, that he was now come into the wilderness? They set up high stones; and, standing on them, they shook handkerchiefs; and hence they knew that the goat was now got into the wilderness. R. Judah saith, 'Was not this a great sign to them?' From Jerusalem to Beth Chadudo were three miles. They went forward the space of a mile, and went back the space of a mile, and they tarried the space of a mile: and so they knew that the goat was now come to the wilderness. The Jerusalem Misna thus: "R. Judah saith, Was not this a great sign to them? From Jerusalem to Beth-horon were three miles. They went forward the space of a mile," &c. From these things compared, it is no improbable conjecture, that the goat was sent out towards Beth-horon, which both was twelve miles distant from Jerusalem, and had rough and very craggy rocks near it: and that the sense of the Gemarists was this, -- In the way to Beth-horon, were three miles to the first verge of the wilderness, -- and the name of the place was Beth Chadudo.

Chapter 55 Divers matters.

I. Beth-cerem, Nehemiah 3:14. "The stones, as well of the altar, as of the ascent to the altar, were from the valley of Beth-cerem, which they digged out beneath the barren land. And thence they are wont to bring whole stones, upon which the working iron came not." The fathers of the traditions, treating concerning the blood of women's terms, reckon up five colours of it; among which that, "which is like the water of the earth, out of the valley of Beth-cerem." -- Where the Gloss writes thus, "Beth-cerem is the name of a place: whence a man fetches turf, and puts it into a pot, and the water swims upon it: that is, he puts water to it, until the water swims above the turf." The Gemarists, examining this clause, hath these words: "R. Meir saith, He fetched the turf out of the valley of Beth-cerem. R. Akibah saith, Out of the valley of Jotapata. R. Jose saith, Out of the valley of Sicni. R. Simeon saith, Also out of the valley of Genesara." II. Let the author of Aruch render it for me: "The mount of Simeon brought forth three hundred bags of broken bread for the poor every sabbath evening." But instead of 'the mount of Simeon brought forth,' -- whence it might be taken for the lot of the land of Simeon, -- he renders it, "Rabbi Simeon brought forth," &c. "But why was it laid waste? Some say, For fornication: -- others say, Because they played at bowls." The town Simonias is mentioned by Josephus in his life, "in the confines of Galilee." III. "Two tribes had nine hundred cities." The Gloss is: "There were nine hundred cities in the tribe of Judah, and in the tribe of Simeon: therefore, nine became the priests' and Levites'." See Joshua 21:16, and weigh the proportion. IV. "Nittai the Tekoite brought a cake out of Bitur but they received it not. The Alexandrians brought their cakes from Alexandria; but they received them not. The inhabitants of mount Zeboim brought their first-fruits before Pentecost; but they received them not," &c. The Gloss is, "Bitar was without the land." Therefore, this was not that Bitar, whose destruction we have mentioned before. "Mount Zeboim," wheresoever it was, was certainly within the land: for otherwise the first-fruits were not to be received from thence. Now they refused them, not because they were unlawful in themselves, but because they were brought in an unlawful time: for "they offered not the first-fruits before Pentecost," saith the tradition; where also this same story is repeated. Mention is made of Migdal Zabaia (a word of the same etymology), in that notable story: "Three cities were laid waste; Chabul for discord: Shichin for magical arts: and Migdal Zabaia" (or the town of dyers) "for fornication." V. Socoh, Joshua 15:35. Thence was Antigonus, some time president of the Sanhedrim. "Antigonus of Soco received the Cabala of Simeon the Just." VI. "Be Teri and Kubi." The Gemarists, speaking of David's battle with Ishbi-benob, 2 Samuel 21, make mention of these things: "When they were come to Kubi (say they), they said, 'Let us arise up against him': -- when they were come to Be Teri, they said, 'Do they kill the lion between the two she-whelps?'" Where the Gloss writes thus: "David pursued them flying, and he approached near to the land of the Philistines: and when he came to Kubi, which was between the land of Israel and the Philistines, they said, &c. Be Teri is also the name of a place." VII. Gophna. -- Concerning the situation of this place it is doubted whether it is to be assigned to Judah or to the land of Samaria. These things certainly seem plainly to lay it to Judea. Josephus saith these words concerning Titus marching with his army to Jerusalem: "He passeth swiftly through the country of Samaria unto Gophna:...where tarrying one day, in the morning he marches forward; and, after

some days, pitches his station along the valley of thorns unto a certain town called Gabbath-Saul."The Jerusalem Talmudists write thus: "Fourscore pair of brethren, priests, married fourscore pair of sisters, priestesses, in Gophna, in one night." You will scarce find so many priests in the country of Samaria."The synagogue of the men of Gophna was in Zippor": -- whom you will scarcely believe to be Samaritans.Of the eleven Toparchies, the second after Jerusalem was Toparchia Gophnitica, in Pliny Zophanitica, the Toparchy of Gophna.The word Gophna is derived from the vineyards.VIII. "The valley of Rimmon." -- "Seven elders came together to intercalate the year in the valley of Rimmon: -- namely, R. Meir, R. Juda, R. Jose, R. Simeon, R. Nehemiah, R. Lazar Ben Jacob, and R. Jochanan Sandelar." And a little after; "There was a marble rock there: into which every one fastened a nail; therefore it is called to this day, 'The Rock of Nails.'"IX. "They do not bring the sheaf [of first-fruits] but from some place near Jerusalem. But if some place near Jerusalem shall not produce those first-fruits, then they fetch it farther off. There was a time when a sheaf was brought out of the gardens of Zeriphin, and the two loaves out of the valley of En-Socar."X. "They sometime asked R. Joshua, 'What concerning the sons of the envious woman?' (as 1 Samuel 1:6). He answered, 'Ye put my head between two high mountains, -- namely, the school of Shammai and of Hillel, that they may dash out my brains: but I testify concerning the family of Beth Anubai, of Beth Zebuim; of the family of Beth-Nekiphi, of Beth-Koshesh, that they were the sons of the envious woman; and yet their posterity stood great priests, and offered at the altar.'"

Chapter 56 Samaria. Sychem.

"The country of Samaria lies in the middle, between Judea and Galilee. For it begins at a town called Ginea, lying in the Great plain, and ends at the Toparchy of the Acrabateni: the nature of it nothing differing from Judea," &c. [Acrabata was distant from Jerusalem, the space of a day's journey northwards.] Samaria, under the first Temple, was the name of a city, -- under the second, of a country. Its metropolis at that time was Sychem; "A place destined to revenges": and which the Jews, as it seems, reproached under the name of Sychar, John 4:5, from the words of the prophet, "Woe to the drunken Ephraimites," Isaiah 28:1. The mountains of Gerizim and Ebal touched on it. The city Samaria was at last called Sebaste; and Sychem, Neapolis. R. Benjamin thus writes of them: "Sebaste is Samaria; where still the palace of Ahab king of Israel is known. Now that city was in a mountain, and well fortified; and in it were springs, and well-watered land, and gardens, and paradises, and vineyards, and olive-yards. And two parsae thence (eight miles) is Neapolis, which is also Sychem in mount Ephraim. And it is seated in a valley between the mountains Gerizim and Ebal: and in it are about a hundred Cutheans observing the law of Moses only, and they are called Samaritans: and they have priests of the seed of Aaron." And a little after, "They sacrifice in the Temple in mount Gerizim, on the day of the Passover, and the feast-days, upon the altar, which they built upon mount Gerizim, of those stones which the children of Israel set up when they passed over Jordan," &c. And afterward, "In mount Gerizim are fountains and paradises: but mount Ebal is dry, like the stones and rocks: and between them, in the valley, is the city Sychem." Josephus speaking of Vespasian; "He turned away to Ammaus, thence through the country of Samaria, and by Neapolis so called, but Mabartha by the inhabitants," &c. Maabartha. "R. Ismael Ben R. Josi, went to Neapolis. The Cutheans came to him: to whom he said, 'I see that ye do not worship to that mountain, but to the idols which are under it: for it is written'; 'and Jacob hid the idols under the grove, which was near Shechem.'" You may not improperly divide the times of Samaria under the second Temple into heathenism, -- namely, before the building of the Temple at Gerizim, -- and after that into Samaritanism, as it was distinguished from Judaism, and as it was an apostasy from it: although both religions indeed departed not a hair's breadth from deceitful superstition. The author of Juchasin does not speak amiss here: "Then" (under Simeon the Just) "Israel went into parties. Part followed Simeon the Just, and Antigonus his scholar, and their school; as they had learned from Ezra and the prophets: part, Sanballat, and his son-in-law: and they offered sacrifices without the Temple of God, and instituted rites out of their own heart. In that Temple, Manasseh, the son-in-law of Sanballat, the son of Joshua, the son of Jozedek the high priest, performed the priest's office. And at that time Zadok and Baithus, the scholars of Antigonus, did flourish; and hence was the beginning of the schism; -- namely, when, in the days of Antigonus, many went back to mount Gerizim." That Temple flourished about two hundred years, and it perished by the sword and fire of Hyrcanus: but the Samaritan superstition perished not, but lasted for many ages; as odious to the Jews as heathenism, John 4:9. Yet they confess that "the land of the Samaritans was clean, and their fountains clean, and their dwellings clean, and their paths clean." But much dispute is made about their victuals, in the place noted in the margin. "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. It is a tradition. They sometimes said, Why is the wine of Ugdor forbidden? Because of [its nearness to] Caphar Pagash. Why the wine of Burgatha? Because of Birath Sorika. Why the wine of En Cushith? Because of Caphar Salama. But they said afterward, If it be open, it is every where forbidden; if it be covered, it is lawful." And a story concerning R. Simeon Ben Lazar follows; who came into a certain city of the Samaritans, and a certain Samaritan scribe came to me; from whom when he asked something to drink, and it was set before him, "he doubted about it," &c. And other things to that purpose are read not much after: "No wine was found in all Samaria, on a certain eve of the sabbath, but, in the end of the sabbath, there was abundance; for the Syrians had brought it, and the Samaritans received it of them," &c. They took not the half-shekel of the Cutheans, nor the pigeons of women after child-birth, &c. "Rabbi said, 'A Samaritan is as a heathen.' R. Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, A Cuthean is as an Israelite in all things. R. Lazar, The tradition is concerning the heathen, not concerning the Cutheans, &c. But the tradition contradicts R. Lazar," &c. But that deserves to be observed, "The Cutheans, when they make their unleavened bread with the Israelites, are to be believed concerning the putting away of leaven: but when they do not make their unleavened bread with the Israelites, are not to be believed concerning the putting away of leaven. R. Josah saith, This is to be understood of them as to their houses; but as to their courts, they may be suspected: for so they interpret, 'Leaven shall not be found in your houses'; not, 'in your courts.' -- It is a tradition. Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, In whatsoever precept the Cutheans converse, they are more accurate in it than the Israelites. This is to be understood, saith R. Simeon, concerning the time past, -- namely, when they were scattered about in their towns; but now, when they have neither precept nor any remainders of a precept, they are suspected, and they are corrupted"...It is something difficult what that means, "They were scattered in their towns," whether it is spoken of the Cutheans residing within their own towns, -- or of the Jews residing with them, -- or of them residing with the Jews. Whatsoever that is, it is clear certainly, both hence and elsewhere, that the Samaritans sometime did dwell together with the Jews, being here and there sprinkled among them, and the Jews here and there among the Samaritans. Certainly that is worthy of observing which Josephus related of Herod's rebuilding Sebaste, heretofore called Samaria: "In the land of Samaria (saith he) he compassed a city with a very fair wall twenty furlongs, and brought six thousand inhabitants into it": (do you think all these were Samaritans?) "and on these he bestowed a very fertile land; and, in the middle of this work, he set up a very great temple to Caesar, and made a grove about it of three half furlongs, and called the city Sebaste." "The Samaritans (saith R. Benjamin) have not the letters he or ain, or cheth. He is in the name of Abraham, And they have not honour. Cheth, is in the name of Isaac, And they have not mercy Ain is in the name of Jacob, And they have not gentleness. But for these letters they use aleph: and hence it is known that they are not of the seed of Israel." Compare these things with the Samaritan interpreter of the Pentateuch, and judge.

Chapter 57 Caesarea. Strato's Tower.

The Arabian interpreter thinks the first name of this city was Hazor, Joshua 11:1. The Jews, Ekron, Zephaniah 2:4. "R. Abhu saith," (he was of Caesarea,) "Ekron shall be rooted out"; this is Caesarea, the daughter of Edom, which is situated among things profane. She was a goad, sticking in Israel, in the days of the Grecians. But when the kingdom of the Asmonean family prevailed, it overcame her, &c. R. Josi Bar Chaninah saith, What is that that is written, 'And Ekron shall be as a Jebusite?' (Zechariah 9:7). These are the theatres and judgment-seats which are in Edom, in which the chief men of Judah hereafter shall publicly teach the law. R. Isaac said, Leshem is Panias, and Ekron is Caesarea, the daughter of Edom." The Jews are scarce in earnest when they say Caesarea is the same with Ekron: but partly, they play with the sound of the words 'Ekron,' and 'shall be rooted out'; partly, they propound to themselves to reproach her, while they compare that city, for the most part heathen, with Ekron, the city of Beelzebub. When the Asmoneans had snatched away this city out of the hand of the Grecians, the name of it was changed into "The taking of the tower Shur," as the Gemarists tell us in the place alleged: or as the author of Juchasin, "The taking of the tower Tzur": -- or as the Jerusalem Talmudists (unless my conjecture deceives me), "the tower Sid." Whether out of these words you can make out the name of "the tower of Strato," it is your part to study; that certainly was the denomination of this place before it was called Caesarea. It was distant six hundred furlongs, or thereabout, from Jerusalem (that is, seventy-five miles), as Josephus related in that story of an Essene Jew that prophesied. Who, when he saw Antigonus, the brother of Aristobulus, passing by in the Temple, having been now sent for by his brother (indeed, that he might be slain by treachery), "O strange! (saith he) now it is good for me to die; because that which I foretold proves a lie. For Antigonus lives, who ought this day to die: and Strato's tower is the place appointed for his death: which is distant six hundred furlongs hence: and there remains yet four hours of day. But the very time makes my prediction false." Having said these things, the old man remained perplexed in his thoughts; but by and by news was brought that Antigonus was slain in a certain place underground, "in a certain dark passage," which also was called, "Strato's tower." Herod built the city to the honour and name of Caesar, and made a very noble haven at vast expenses. "He built all the city with white stone, and adorned it with most splendid houses: in which especially he shewed the natural greatness of his mind. For between Dori and Joppa, in the middle of which this city lay, it happened that all the seacoast was destitute of havens, &c. He made the greater haven of Pireus, &c.: and, at the mouth of it, stood three great statues, &c. There were houses joining to the haven, and they also were of white stone, &c. Over against the haven's mouth was the temple of Caesar, situate upon a rising ground, excellent both for the beauty and greatness of it; and in it a large statue of Caesar, &c. The rest of the works, which he did there, was an amphitheatre, a theatre, and a market, all worthy to be mentioned," &c. See more in Josephus. Caesarea was inhabited mixedly by Jews, heathens, and Samaritans. Hence some places in it were profane and unclean to the Jews. "R. Nichomi Bar R. Chaija Bar Abba said, My father passed not under the arch of Caesarea; but R. Immi passed. R. Ezekiah, R. Cohen, and R. Jacob Bar Acha, walked in the palace of Caesarea: when they came to the arch, R. Cohen departed from them; but when they came to a clean place,

he again betook himself to them." This story is recited Beracoth, fol.6.1; and there it is said that they walked in the palace of Zippor. "One brought a bill of divorce from the haven of Caesarea. Concerning which when judgment was had before R. Abhu, he said, There is no need to say, It was written, I being present, -- and I being present, it was sealed. For the haven of Caesarea is not as Caesarea." Of the various strifes and uproars between the Caesarean Greeks and Jews, in which the Jews always went by the worst, Josephus hath very much. "Another disturbance (saith he) was raised at Caesarea, of the Jews mingled there, rising up against the Syrians that were in it." The contest was about priority and chiefdom, and it was transacted before Nero, "And the Greeks of Caesarea overcame," &c. Where the reader will observe, that the Syrians and Greeks are convertible terms. In this city were the first seeds of a direful war, by reason of workshops, built by a certain Greek of Caesarea, near a synagogue of the Jews. Twenty thousand men were slain there afterward on one sabbath-day. You may read of more seditions and bloodshed at that place, before the destruction of the nation, in the author quoted. Long after the destruction of it, here the schools and doctors of the Jews flourished; so that "the Rabbins of Caesarea" are celebrated every where in the Talmudical books. I. R. Hoshaiia Rubba, or the Great. -- "R. Jochanan said, We travelled to R. Hoshaiia Rubba to Caesarea, to learn the law."II. R. Abhu. -- "R. Abhu appointed divers sounds of the trumpet at Caesarea." -- "R. Abhu sent his son from Caesarea to Tiberias to the university," &c. -- "The Cutheans of Caesarea asked R. Abhu, saying, Your fathers were contented with our things, why are not ye also? He answered, Your fathers corrupted not their works, but you have corrupted them."III. R. Achavah and R. Zeira. -- "R. Mena said, I travelled to Caesarea, and I heard R. Achavah and R. Zeira."IV. R. Zerikan. -- "R. Mena said, I heard R. Zerikan at Caesarea."V. "R. Prigori of Caesarea."VI. Ulla of Caesarea. And,VII. R. Ada of Caesarea, and R. Tachalipha, &c.Mention is made of "the synagogue Mardatha, (or Maradtha,) of Caesarea": we do not inquire of the reason of the name, for it is written elsewhere "The synagogue Madadta"; -- in both places with this story joined; "R. Abhu sat teaching in the synagogue Maradta of Caesarea. The time came of lifting up hands, and they asked him not of that matter. The time of eating came, and of that they asked him. To whom he replied, Ye ask me concerning the time of eating, but not of the lifting up of hands. Which when they heard, every one withdrew himself, and fled."

Chapter 58 Antipatris. Caphar Salama.

We find this town marked out heretofore by a double name, if we believe some.¹ It is called Caphar Salama by some, of which mention is made by Josephus, and the Book of the Maccabees.² Capharzaba by Josephus himself: "But Alexander, fearing his" [Antiochus Dionysius] "coming, digs a deep trench, beginning at Capharzaba, which is now called Antipatris, unto the sea of Joppa, a hundred and fifty furlongs." Note, by the way, from Joppa to Antipatris is a hundred and fifty furlongs, that is, eighteen miles. We will not contend about the name; of the situation of it, as it stands almost in all maps, we doubt. We will give the reason of our scruple by those things that follow; in the mean time we will give some history of the place. I. Herod built it in memory of his father Antipater. "For he raised (saith Josephus) a monument to his father, and a city, which he built in the best plain of his kingdom, rich in springs and woods, and called it Antipatris." II. Hither was Paul brought when he was carried to Caesarea, Acts 23:31; where, unless those words be rendered by no unusual interpretation, "they brought him by night towards Antipatris," -- you must place that city much nearer Jerusalem than almost all the maps do. III. This measuring once and again occurs among the Gemarists, "From Gebath to Antipatris." -- "From Gebath to Antipatris (say they) were sixty myriads of cities, the least of which was Beth-Shemesh." We do not assert the truth of the thing; we only take notice of the phrase. And again; "Hezekiah the king (say they) fixed his sword to the door of Beth-Midras, and said, Whosoever studieth not the law shall be run through with that sword. They make inquiry from Dan even to Beersheba, and found not any one uninstructed: from Gebath to Antipatris, and found not boy or girl, man or woman, who did not well know the traditions of cleanness and uncleanness." Where the Gloss is; "Gebath and Antipatris were places in the utmost borders." -- Think of the scene of the story, and how such an encomium could reach as far as Antipatris, almost in the middle of Samaria, as it is placed in the maps. And what authority had Hezekiah to make inquiry among the Samaritans? The Talmudists also say, that the meeting of Alexander the Great, and of Simeon the Just, was at Antipatris. "The Cutheans (say they) prayed Alexander the Great, that he would destroy the Temple [of Jerusalem]. Some came, and discovered the thing to Simeon the Just. Therefore what does he? He puts on the high priest's garments, and veils himself with the high priest's veil: and he and the chief men of Israel went forth, holding torches in their hands. Some went this way and others that, all night, till the morning brake forth. When the morning grew light, said (Alexander) to his men, Who are those? -- The Jews, said they, who have rebelled against you. When they were come to Antipatris, the sun arose, and they were met by these: when Alexander saw Simeon the Just lighting down out of his chariot he worshipped him," &c. Do you think that the high priest, clothed in his priestly garments, and the Jews, went through all Samaria almost in such solemn procession? Josephus, relating this story, only the name of Jaddua changed, saith this meeting was "at a certain place called Sapha. But this name, being changed into the Greek language, signifies, A watch-tower. For the buildings of Jerusalem and the Temple might from thence be seen." Of which place he and we treat elsewhere under the name of Scopus, and Tzophim.

Chapter 59 Galilee

"There is Galilee the upper, and Galilee the nether, and the valley. From Caphar Hananiah, and upwards, -- whatsoever land produceth not sycamines, is Galilee the upper: but from Caphar Hananiah, and below, whatsoever produceth sycamines, is Galilee the nether. There is also the coast of Tiberias, and the valley." "Phoenice and Syria compass both Galilees, both the upper and the nether, so called. Ptolemais and Carmel bound the country westward." That which is said before of the sycamines, recalls to mind the city Sycaminon, of which Pliny speaks: "We must go back (saith he) to the coast, and to Phoenice. There was the town Crocodilon: it is a river. The remembrance of cities. Dorum, Sycaminum, the promontory Carmel," &c. And Josephus: "He set sail, and, being brought to the city called Sycaminum, there he landed his forces." Shikmonah the name of a place, among the Talmudists, seemed to design that town... Since the whole land of Samaria lay between Judea and Galilee, it is no wonder if there were some difference both of manners and dialect between the inhabitants of those countries. Concerning which, see the eighty-sixth and the eighty-seventh chapters. "There are two hundred and four cities and towns in Galilee": -- which is to be understood of those that are more eminent and fortified. In nether Galilee, those, among others, were fortified by Josephus, -- Jotopata, Beersabee, Salamis, Pareccho, Japha, Sigo, Mount Itaburion, Tarichee, Tiberias. In upper Galilee, the rock Acharabon, Seph, Jamnith, Mero. More will occur to us as we go on.

Chapter 60 Scythopolis. Beth-shean, the beginning of Galilee.

The bonds of Galilee were, "on the south, Samaris and Scythopolis, unto the flood of Jordan." Scythopolis is the same with Beth-shean, of which is no seldom mention in the Holy Scriptures, Joshua 17:11; Judges 1:27; 1 Samuel 31:10. "Bethsaine (saith Josephus), called by the Greeks Scythopolis." It was distant but a little way from Jordan, seated in the entrance to a great valley: for so the same author writes, "Having passed Jordan, they came to a great plain, where lies before you the city Bethsane," &c. "Before-time it was called Nysa (Pliny being our author), by Father Bacchus, his nurse being there buried." It was a part of the land of Israel, when it was first subdued; but scarcely, when it was subdued the second time; as R. Solomon speaks not amiss. Hence it passed into a Greek denomination, and was inhabited by Gentiles. Among whom nevertheless not a few Jews dwelt, who also had sometime their schools there, and their doctors. "The men of Beth-shean asked R. Immi, What if a man take away stones from one synagogue, and build another synagogue with them? He answered, It is not lawful." And mention is made "of something done in Beth-shean by the doctors about the wine of the heathen." "Resh Lachish saith, If Paradise be in the land of Israel, Beth-shean is the gate of it: if it be in Arabia, Beth-geram is the gate of it: if among the rivers, Damascus." The Gloss is, "The fruits of Beth-shean were the sweetest of all in the land of Israel." "Fine linen garments were made in Beth-shean."

Chapter 61 Caphar Hananiah. The Middle of Galilee.

It seems also to be called 'Caphar Hanan': hence "R. Jacob of Caphar Hanan." Mention is made of this place once and again: "If any one have five sheep in Caphar Hananiah, and five more in Caphar Uthni, they are not joined together," that is, they are not numbered to be tithed, "until he hath one in Zippor." -- The Gloss is, "From Caphar Uthni to Caphar Hananiah, are two-and-thirty miles, and Zippor is in the middle." "The men of the family of Mamal, and the men of the family of Gorion, in the years of dearth, distributed to the poor figs and raisins in Arumah. And the poor of Caphar Shichin, and the poor of Caphar Hanaiah, came: and when it now grew dark, they contained themselves within the bounds [of the sabbath], and in the morning went forward." The Gloss is, "Arumah is the name of a place. The poor of Caphar Shichin were neighbours to those of Arumah, being distant only four thousand (cubits)." Which distance exceeding a sabbath-day's journey, the poor, before the coming-in of the sabbath, contained themselves within the bounds of Arumah; that, the morning following, they might betake themselves to the houses of those that distributed their charity, and not break the sabbath. He that turns over the Talmudical writers will meet with very frequent mention of this city. You observe before in Pliny, that Sycaminum was seated between Dor and Carmel; and in the Talmudic writers, that the plenty of sycamines began at Caphar Hananiah.

Chapter 62 The disposition of the tribes in Galilee.

The country of Samaria contained only two tribes, and those of the brethren, Ephraim and Manasses: Galilee four, Issachar, Zebulun, Nephthalim, and Asher, and a part also of the Danites. The maps agree indeed about the order in which these tribes were seated, but about the proper place of their situation, Oh how great a disagreement is there among them! The tribe of Issachar held the south country of Galilee: some maps place it on the south of the sea of Gennesaret, not illy: but it is ill done of them to stretch it unto the sea itself: and others, worst of all, who set it on the west of that sea. Of this land Josephus writes thus; "And after these (the Manassites) Issachar maketh mount Carmel and the river her bounds in length, and mount Itaburion in breadth." The country of Zabulon touched upon that of Issachar on the north. Some maps spread it out unto the sea of Gennesaret; some place it a long way above that sea northwardly; the former not well, -- the latter exceedingly ill. Of it thus writes the same Josephus, "The Zabulonites had for their portion the land unto Gennesaret, extending unto Carmel and the sea." Observing that clause, "unto Gennesaret," we (persuaded also by the Talmudical writers, and led by reason) do suppose the land of Zabulon to lie on the south shore and coast of the sea of Gennesaret, and that whole sea to be comprised within the land of Nephthali. With what arguments, we are led we shew afterward, when we treat of that sea. Which assertion, we know, is exposed, and lies open to this objection: -- Object. Josephus saith, in the place but now quoted, that, "the upper parts of Galilee unto mount Libanus, and the springs of Jordan," belonged to the portion of Nephthali. But now if you stretch the portion of Nephthali from the springs of Jordan to the utmost southern coast of the sea of Gennesaret (which our opinion does), alas, how much doth this exceed the proportion of the other tribes! For from Scythopolis, the utmost south border of Galilee, to the south coast of the sea of Gennesaret, was not above fifteen miles: within which space the whole breadth of the two tribes of Issachar and Zabulon is contained. But from the south coast of Gennesaret to the springs of Jordan, were about forty miles; which to assign to the land of Nephthali alone, is neither proportionable nor congruous. Ans. This objection indeed would have some weight in it, if the land of Nephthali did extend itself eastwardly as much as the land of Issachar and Zabulon. For these run out as far as the Mediterranean sea; but that hath the land of Asher, and the jurisdiction of Tyre and Sidon lying between it and the sea. So that when the breadth of those countries is measured from south to north, the breadth of this is measured from east to west. There is therefore no such great inequality between these, when this is contained in the like straits of breadth with them, and they enjoy the like length with this. The confines of the land of Nephthali bounded the land of Asher on one side, and those of Tyre and Sidon on the other: and this land, in the same manner as the portion of Nephthali, extends itself in length from south to north; and (which somewhat agrees with our opinion, and answers the objection mentioned before) Josephus allows it a greater length than we do the land of Nephthali, or at least equal to it. For, "The Asherites possess all that hollow valley so called, because it is such that runs from Carmel to Sidon."

Chapter 63 The west coast of Galilee-Carmel.

The people of Issachar had "Carmel and the river for their bounds in length": the people of Zabulon, "Carmel and the sea." Carmel was not so much one mountain as a mountainous country, containing almost the whole breadth of the land of Issachar, and a great part of that of Zabulon. It was, as it seems, a certain famous peak among many other mountain tops, known by the same name, lifted up and advanced above the rest. The promontory Carmel, in Pliny, and in the mountain a town of the same name, heretofore called Ecbatane; where probably Vespasian sometimes consulted the oracle of the god Carmel. The sea washes upon the foot of the mountain. "R. Samuel Bar Chaiah Bar Judah said, in the name of R. Chaninah, Any one sitting upon mount Carmel when the orb of the setting sun begins now to disappear, if he goes down and washes himself in the great sea, and goes up and eats his Truma, it is to be presumed that he washed in the day time." "Carmel and the river." What is that river? Kishon, say the maps: for some describe it not far from Carmel, pouring out itself into the sea: and that not without a reason, fetched from 1 Kings 18:40. But you must suppose Kishon to flow south of Carmel, -- not, as some would have it, on the north. "The lake Cendevia flows at the foot of Carmel; and out of it the river Pagida or Bel, mingling glassy sands with its small shore"; so Pliny, -- who hath moreover these words, "Near is the colony of Claudius Caesar, Ptolemais, heretofore Ace, the town Ecdippa, the white promontory, Tyrus, heretofore an island, &c. Thence are the town Ide [otherwise Enhydra], and Sarepta, and Ornithon; and Sidon, skillful in making glass," &c. These places you may call not so much the bounds of Galilee as of Phoenicia: for in Ptolemais itself, or Acon, was the separation and parting of the land of Israel from Phoenicia. Hence Josephus, "Phoenice and Syria do compass the two Galilees, the upper and the nether so called: and Ptolemais and Carmel set bounds to the country on the west." -- What! do Ptolemais and Carmel stint the whole length of Galilee on the west? He had said elsewhere, which we also have produced elsewhere, that the land of Nephthali was extended as far as mount Libanus (on the north): alas, how far behind Ptolemais! And the land Asher was extended so far also: but "Ptolemais was the sea-borders of Palestine" (to use Pliny's words), for from hence onward were the territories of Tyre and Sidon; and Galilee was not now bounded any longer by the sea, but by those territories. We saw in the scheme produced by us in the second chapter of this little work, wherein the compass of the land under the second Temple is briefly described, how, "The walls of Aco" are there set for a bound; and that in the sense which we speak of, which afterward also will appear more....

Chapter 64 Acon. Ptolemais.

"Ptolemais" (which is also called Acon) "is a city of Galilee on the sea-coast, situate in a great champaign, but it is compassed with hills; on the east, sixty furlongs off, with the hill-country of Galilee; on the south with Carmel, distant a hundred and twenty furlongs; on the north, with a very high mountain which is called Climax" (or the ladder), "belonging to the Tyrians, and is a hundred furlongs distant. Two miles off of that city the river Beleus flows, a very small one, near which is the sepulchre of Memnon; having about it the space of a hundred cubits, but well worthy admiration. For it is in the form of a round valley, affording glassy sand, which when many ships coming thither have gathered, the place is again replenished." "From Acon onwards to the north" (is heathen land), and Acon itself is reckoned for the north (that is, for heathen land). "In Acon the land of Israel is, and is not." And therefore, "R. Josi Ben Hananiah kissed the arch of Acon, and said, Hitherto is the land of Israel." "R. Simeon Ben Gamaliel said, I saw Simeon Ben Cahna drinking wine in Acon, &c. But was it within the bounds of the land or not?" See the author of Juchasin disputing largely of this matter, in the place of the margin. There was the bath of Venus in Acon: Where R. Gamaliel washing, was asked by a certain heathen (whose name in the Babylonian 'Proculus, the son of the philosopher'), "What have you to do with the bath of Venus, -- Then it is written in your law, 'There shall not cleave to thy hand any of the accursed thing?' He answered, I must not answer you in the bath" (because you must not speak of the law when you stand naked). "When he came out therefore he said, I went not into her bounds, but she came into mine." (The Gloss is, 'The bath was before she was.') "And we say not, Let us make a fair bath for Venus, -- but, Let us make a fair Venus for the bath," &c. A story, done at Acon before R. Judah, is related, not unworthy to be mentioned. "Rabbi came to a certain place, and saw the men of that place baking their dough in uncleanness. When he inquired of them, Why they did so, they answered, A certain scholar came hither, and taught us, the waters are not of those waters (that bring pollution). He spake of the waters of eggs; but they thought that he spake of the waters of the marshes." These things we have the more willingly produced, that the reader may see that the letter ain was no sound with these; examples like to which we bring elsewhere. Now hear the Glosser; "Rabbi saw this (saith he) in Acon, in which is Israelitic land and heathen land: -- now he saw them standing within the limits of Israelitic land, and baking their dough in uncleanness, and wondered, until they told him, A certain scholar came hither," &c. Caphar Acon, is very frequently mentioned by the Talmudists. "A city which produceth fifteen hundred footmen, as Caphar Acon, if nine dead persons be carried out thence in three days successively, behold! it is the plague: but if in one day, or in four days, then it is not the plague. And a city which produceth five hundred foot, as Caphar Amiku," &c. Hence are the names of some Acon Rabbins; as, "R. Tanchum, the son of R. Chaia of Caphar Acon." "R. Simeon Ben Judah, A man of Caphar Acon." "R. Abba of Acon": and others. Weigh this story: "One brought a bill of divorce to R. Ismael; who said to him, Whence are you? He answered, From Caphar Samai, which is in the confines of Acon. -- Then it is needful, saith he, that you say, It was written, I being present, -- and sealed, I being present. When he went out, R. Illai said unto him, Is not Caphar Samai of the land of Israel, being nearer to Zippor than Acon?" And a little after: "The cities which are in the borders of Zippor near to Acon, and which are

in the borders of Acon near to Zippor, what will you do concerning them? As Acon is, so is Zippor."

Chapter 65 Ecdippa. Achzib. Joshua 19:29; Judges 1:31. Climax of the Tyrians.

"Travelling from Acon to Achzib, on the right hand of the way, eastwardly, it is clean, from the notion of heathen land, and is bound to tithes, and to the law of the seventh year, until you are certified that it is free. On the left hand of the way, westward, it is unclean, under the notion of Gentile land; and it is free from tithes, and from the law concerning the seventh year, till you are certified it is bound to those things, even until you come to Achzib." The Gemara hath these words: but the text, on which is this commentary, is this: "The three countries" (namely, Judea, Galilee, and Perea) "are bound to the law of the seventh year: whatsoever they possessed, who came up out of Babylon, from the land of Israel unto Chezib (the Jerusalem Misna read Ghezib), is not fed nor tilled: but whatsoever they possessed, who came up out of Egypt, from Chezib to the river, and to Amanah, is fed, but not tilled: from the river and from Amanah, inwards, is fed and tilled." Of Amanah we shall speak by and by. "The river (saith R. Solomon upon the place) is the river of Egypt." -- "And Chezib (saith Rambam) is the name of a place, which divided between the land of Israel, which they possessed that came up out of Babylon, and that land which they possessed that came up out of Egypt. Now that land, which they possessed that came up out of Egypt, as to the Demai" (or doubt of tithing), "is, as it were, without the land." Hence is that in the text, on which he makes this comment, "From Chezib, and beyond, is free from the Demai." The word Chezib, and Achzib, at last passed into Ecdippa, according to the manner of the Syrian dialect; to which it is common to change zain of the Hebrews into daleth. "Climax (or the ladder) of the Tyrians," in the Talmudists is, 'The ladder of Tyre.' "Before they came to Climax of the Tyrians, they forgot all." -- The discourse is, in the place cited, about some Romans sent to Rabban Gamaliel, to inquire of the Jewish law. Of him also is this story, and of the same place: "When he went sometime out of Chezib, one came to him, to ask him of a certain vow of his. He said to him, who went with him, Tell him, that we have drunk an Italian quart of wine. He saith to him, Well. He saith to him that asked, Go with us, until our wine be allayed. When they came to the ladder of the Tyrians, Rabban Gamaliel came down, and veils himself, and, sitting, resolved his vow. From this example we learn these things, that a quart of wine makes one drunk, that the way allays wine," &c. Let this be marked by the way, that it is said "A quart of wine makes drunk": and let it be compared with what R. Chaia saith, "Four pots (to be drunk by every one in their sacred feasts) contain an Italian quart of wine": and judge how soberly they carried it in those feasts, if they mingled not much water with their wine.

Chapter 66 The northern coasts of Galilee. Amanah. The mountain of snow.

This coast is described by Moses, Numbers 34:7: "From the Great Sea to mount Hor: from mount Hor to the entrance of Hamath," &c. Mount Hor, in the Jewish writers, is Amanah; mention of which occurs, Canticles 4:8, where R. Solomon thus: "Amanah is a mount in the northern coast of the land of Israel, which in the Talmudical language is called, The mountainous plain of Amanon; the same with mount Hor." In the Jerusalem Targum, for mount 'Hor' is the mount Manus: but the Targum of Jonathan renders it The mountain Umanis. "What (say the Jerusalem writers) is of the land of Israel, and what without the land? Whatsoever comes down from mount Amanah inwards is of the land of Israel; whatsoever is without the mountainous place of Amanah is without the land." And a little after; "R. Justa Bar Shunem said, When the Israelites that return" (from their dispersion), "shall have arrived at the mountainous places of Amanah, they shall sing a song; which is proved from that which is said (Canticles 4:8), He renders it, Thou shalt sing from the head of Amanah." There was also a river of the same name with the mountain, of which the Targum in that place; "They that live by the river Amanah, and they that live on the top of the mountain of snow, shall offer thee a present." And the Aruch, which we have noted before, writes thus; "Kirmion is a river in the way to Damascus, and is the same with Amanah." "The mountain of snow," among the paraphrasts and Talmudists, is the same with Hermon. The Samaritan interpreter upon Deuteronomy 4:48, "To the mountain of snow which is Hermon." And the Jerusalem writers say, "They built for the daughters of the Midianites little booths of hurdles from Beth-Jeshimon unto the mountain of snow, and placed there women selling cakes." The Jerusalem Targum upon Numbers 35 writes thus; "The mountain of snow at Caesarea" (Philippi). See also Jonathan there.

Chapter 67 Pamias. Paneas, the spring of Jordan.

The maps assign a double spring of Jordan; but by what right it scarce appears; much less does it appear by what right they should call this Jor, -- and that Dan. There is indeed mention in Josephus of little Jordan and great Jordan. Hence, as it seems, was the first original of the double spring in the maps, and of a double river at those first springs. For thus Josephus; "There are fountains (in Daphne) which send little Jordan, as it is called, into the great." He treats, in the text cited, of the lake Samochonitis, and saith, "That the fens of it are extended to the country Daphne, which, as it is otherwise pleasant, so it contains springs, from which issue little Jordan," &c. Riblah (that we may note this by the way) by the Targumists is rendered Daphne. They, upon Numbers 34:11, for that which is in the Hebrew, "And the border shall go down to Riblah," render it, "And the border shall go down to Daphne." See also Aruch in Daphne. But this certainly is not that Daphne of which Josephus here speaks; which will sufficiently appear by those things that follow. But as to the things before us: -- I. Both he and the Talmudists assign Panium or Paneas to be the spring of Jordan; nor do they name another. "Near Panium, as they call it (saith he), is a most delightful cave in a mountain; and under it the land hollowing itself into a huge vale, full of standing waters. Over it a great mountain hangs; and under the cave, rise the springs of the river Jordan." And again, "By the springs of Jordan: now the place is called Panium." And elsewhere, "Panium seems to be the fountain of Jordan": and more may be read there. The Talmudists write thus; "Rab saith, Jordan riseth out of the cave of Pamias: and so is the tradition." "R. Isaac saith, Leshem is Pamias." The Gloss is, "Leshem is a city which the Danites subdued (Judges 18:29): Pamias is a place whence Jordan ariseth." And Pliny, "The river of Jordan ariseth out of the fountain Paneas." II. That fountain of Jordan was the so-much-famed fountain of 'little Jordan,' as it is called. For so it is plainly collected from Josephus. Concerning the Danites invading Laish, or Leshem, which being subdued they called Dan, he speaks thus; "But they, travelling a day's journey through the great plain of Sidon, not far from mount Libanus, and the springs of lesser Jordan, observe the land to be good and fruitful, and shew it unto their tribe; who, invading it with an army, build the city Dan." In like manner speaking of Jeroboam, he saith these things; "He built two temples for the golden calves, -- one in Beth-el, the other in Dan, which is at the springs of little Jordan." You may certainly wonder and be amazed that the fountain of Little Jordan should be so famed and known; and in the mean time, the fountain of Great Jordan to lie hid, not to be spoken of, and to be buried in eternal obscurity. What! is the less worthy of so much fame; and the greater, of none at all? Let us have liberty to speak freely what we think, with the leave of chorographers. I. It does not appear that any other river of Jordan flows into the lake Samochonitis beside that which ariseth from Paneas. In what author will you find the least sign of such a river? But only that such a conjecture crept into the maps, and into the minds of men, out of the before alleged words of Josephus, misconceived. II. We think, therefore, that Jordan is called the Greater and the Less, not upon any account of two fountains, or two rivers, different and distant from one another; but upon account of the distinct greatness of the same river. Jordan, rising out of Paneas, was called Little, until it flowed into the lake Samochonitis; but afterward coming out of that lake, when it had obtained a great increase from that lake, it was thenceforth called Jordan the Greater. Samochonitis received

Little Jordan, and sent forth the Great. For since both that lake and the country adjacent was very fenny, as appears out of Josephus, -- the lake was not so much increased by Jordan flowing into it, as it increased Jordan flowing out of it. "Moors and fenny places possess the parts about the lake Samochonitis." The river, therefore, below Samochonitis seems to be called 'Jordan'; above Samochonitis, 'Little Jordan.'Caesarea Philippi was built at Paneas, the fountain of Jordan: which let the maps observe that they place it not too remote thence. "Philip built the city Caesarea in Paneas, at the springs of the Jordan." And also, "Having finished Paneas, he named it Caesarea."

Chapter 68 What is to be said of the sea of Apamia.

'The sea of Apamia' is reckoned the seventh among those seas that compass the land of Israel; which word hath a sound so near akin to the word Pamias, by which name the Rabbins point out the fountains of Jordan, -- that the mention of that word cannot but excite the memory of this, yea, almost persuade that both design one and the same place: and that the sea Apamia was nothing else but some great collection of waters at the very springs of Jordan. This also might moreover be added to strengthen that persuasion, that, in both places, in the quotations cited in the Jerusalem Talmud, these words are added; "The sea of Apamia is the same with the sea of Chamats, which Diocletianus, by the gathering together of the waters, caused to be made." But now that Diocletianus, whosoever he was (we prove elsewhere that he was the emperor), lived sometime at Paneas; as is clear also from the same Talmud. But the thing is otherwise. Pamias and Apamia were different places, and far distant from each other: one in the land of Israel; the other in the confines indeed of the land of Israel, but in Syria. Let this tradition be marked: -- "Ariston brought his first-fruits from Apamia, and they were received: for they said, He that hath a possession in Syria, is as if he had it in the suburbs of Jerusalem." The Gloss is, "Apamia is the name of a place in Syria." And these things do appear more clearly in the Targumists, to omit other authors. The Samaritan interpreter renders the word Shepham, Numbers 34:10, by Apamia with Ain. (Note Shin changed into Ain; note also, in the word Bozor, 2 Peter 2:15, Ain changed into Shin.) Jonathan reads it Apamia, with Aleph: for "From Shepham to Riblah," he renders 'From Apamia to Daphne.'

Chapter 69 The lake Samochonitis [or Semechonitis.]

In the Holy Scriptures it is the 'Water of Merom,' Joshua 11:5. In the Babylonian Talmudists it is 'The Sibbechean sea.' Hence is that, "Jordan ariseth out of the cave of Paneas, and flows into the Sibbechean sea." In the Jerusalem Talmudists, sometimes it is 'The sea of Cobebo,' as we have noted before; and sometimes 'The sea of Samaco'; whence in other languages it is 'Samachonitis.' "The lake Semechonitis is thirty furlongs in breadth, and sixty in length. The fens of it are stretched out unto the country Daphne; a country, as it is otherwise pleasant, so containing fountains: [Greek passage omitted]. The scruple lies concerning the pointing...The sentence and sense seems indeed to flow more smoothly, if you should render it thus, "The springs which, nourishing Little Jordan, as it is called, send it out into the Great, under the temple of the golden calf": but then a just doubt ariseth of the situation of that temple. That clause, therefore, is rather to be referred to the foregoing, so that the sense may go thus; "The springs, which, nourishing Little Jordan, as it is called, under the temple of the golden calf, send it into the Great": and so you have the temple of the golden calf at the springs of Jordan, and the place adjacent called Daphne, and the marshes of Samochonitis reaching thither. The Jerusalem Gemarists do thus explain those words of Ezekiel, 47:8: "These waters go forth into the east coast: that is, into the lake Samochonitis. And they shall go down into the plain; that is, into the sea of Tiberias. And they shall go out into the sea; that is, into the Dead Sea." "The city Hazor (saith Josephus) lies on the lake Semechonitis." This city is the metropolis of Canaan, that is, of that northern country, which is known by that name: which is called also 'Galilee of the Gentiles.' Jabin the king of Hazor, and others, fight with Joshua at the waters of Merom, that is, at the lake Samochonitis, Joshua 11:4. And Jonathan in the same place, as it seems, with the army of Demetrius, "in the plain of Asor," as the same Josephus writes. But, in the Book of the Maccabees, it is, "The plain of Nasor," 1 Maccabees 11:67.

Chapter 70 The lake of Gennesaret; or, the sea of Galilee and Tiberias.

Jordan is measured at one hundred and twenty furlongs, from the lake of Samochonitis to that of Gennesaret. That lake, in the Old Testament, is 'The sea of Chinnereth,' Numbers 34:11, &c. In the Targumists, 'The sea of Genesar'; sometimes, 'of Genesor'; sometimes, 'of Ginosar': it is the same also in the Talmudists, but most frequently 'The sea of Tiberiah.' Both names are used by the evangelists; 'the lake of Gennesaret,' Luke 5:1; 'the sea of Tiberias,' John 21:1; and 'the sea of Galilee,' John 6:1. The name 'Chinnereth' passed into 'Genesar,' in regard of the pleasantness of the country, well filled with gardens and paradises: of which we shall speak afterward. [chapter 79] It is disputed by the Jerusalem Talmudists, why 'Chinneroth' occurs sometimes in the plural number; as Joshua 11:2, 'The south of Chinneroth'; and Joshua 12:3, 'The sea of Chinneroth.' "Thence (say they) are there two Gennesarets?" Or there were "but two castles, as Beth-Jerach, and Sinnabris, which are towers of the people of Chinnereth; but the fortification is destroyed, and fallen into the hands of the Gentiles"...Sinnabri in the Talmudists is Sennabris, in Josephus, being distant from Tiberias thirty furlongs. For he tells us, that Vespasian encamped thirty furlongs from Tiberias, "at a certain station, that might easily be seen by the innovators, called Sennabris." He speaks also of the town, Ginnabrin, not far distant certainly from this place. For describing the country about Jordan, he saith, that from both regions of it runs out a very long back of mountains, but distant some miles from the river: on this side, from the region of Scythopolis to the Dead Sea; on that side, from Julias to Somorrha, towards the rock of Arabia: and that there lies a plain between, which is called "the great plain, lying along from the town Gennabrin to the lake Asphaltites." The same Josephus writes thus of the lake Gennesaret: "The lake Genesar is so called from the adjacent country, being forty furlongs in breadth, and moreover a hundred in length; it is both sweet and excellent to drink." Pliny thus; -- "Jordan, upon the first fall of the valleys, pours itself into the lake, which many call Genesar, sixteen miles long and six miles broad." "The sea of Tiberias is like the gliding waters." While the masters produce these words, they discourse what is to be thought of those waters, where the unclean fish swim together with the clean; whether such waters are fit to boil food or no: and it is answered, 'Flowing and gliding waters are fit; those that do not glide are not; and that the lake of Gennesaret is to be numbered among gliding waters.' The Jews believe, or feign, that this lake is beloved by God above all the lakes of the land of Canaan. "Seven seas (say they) have I created, saith God, and of them all I have chosen none but the sea of Gennesaret." Which words, perhaps, were invented for the praise of the university at Tiberias, that was contiguous to this lake; but they are much more agreeable to truth, being applied to the very frequent resorts of our Saviour thither.

Chapter 71 Within what tribe the lake of Gennesaret was.

By comparing the maps with the Talmudic writers, this question ariseth: for there is not one among them, as far as I know, which does not altogether define the sea of Gennesaret to be without the tribe of Naphtali; but the Talmudists do most plainly place it within. "The Rabbins deliver: The sea of Tiberias is in the portion of Naphtali; yea, it takes a full line for the nets on the south side of it: as it is said, 'Possess the sea and the south,' Deuteronomy 33:23." The Gloss is; "(Naphtali) had a full line in the dry land on the south coast, that he might draw out his nets." So also the Jerusalem writers; "They gave to Naphtali a full line on the south coast of the sea, as it is said, 'Possess the sea and the south.'" They are the words of Rabbi Josi of Galilee. So that Talmud that was written at Tiberias: so R. Josi, who was a Galilean. The words of Josephus, which we cited before, are agreeable to these. "The tribe of Zebulon's portion was to the sea of Gennesaret, stretched out also [in length] to Carmel and the sea." On the south, the land of Zebulon was bounded by that of Issachar, extending itself in breadth, "to Genessaret": touching only upon Gennesaret, not comprehending Gennesaret within it. So the same Josephus speaks in the place alleged, that "the men of Naphtali took those parts that ran out eastwardly unto the city of Damascus." It would be ridiculous, if you should so render, "unto the city of Damascus," as to include Damascus within the land of Naphtali. The maps are guilty of the like solecism, while they make Zebulon, which only came, "unto the lake of Gennesaret," to comprise all the lake of Gennesaret within it. Look into Adrichomius, to say nothing of others, and compare these words of Josephus with him. Hither perhaps is that to be reduced, which hath not a little vexed interpreters in Joshua 19; where Jordan is twice mentioned, in defining the limits of the tribe of Naphtali; verse 33, "the outgoings of the border," hence, "was to Jordan"; and, verse 34, "The going out from thence [that is, from the south border] was to Jordan in Judah towards the sun-rising." What hath the land of Naphtali to do with Jordan in Judah? I answer, Judah, that is, Judea, is here opposed to Galilee: Judah is not here spoken of as opposed to the other tribes. Before ever the name of Samaria was risen, the name of Galilee was very well known, Joshua 20:7; and so was the name of Judea: and at that time one might not improperly divide the whole land within Jordan into Galilee and Judea: when as yet there was no such thing as the name of Samaria. The words alleged, therefore, come to this sense, as if it had been said, 'The north bounds of Naphtali went out eastwardly to Jordan in Galilee: in like manner the south bounds went out eastwardly to Jordan now running into Judea'; that is, the country without Galilee, which as yet was not called Samaria, but rather Judea. The bounds certainly, of the land of Naphtali seem to touch Jordan on both sides, both on the north and the south; and so to contain the sea of Gennesaret within its bosom, according to that which is said by the Talmudists before alleged, and those also men of Tiberias. While I am discoursing of Jordan, and this lake, let me add this moreover concerning the 'boat of Jordan': -- "R. Jacob Bar Aidai saith, in the name of R. Jochanan, Let no man absent himself from Beth-Midrash, for this question was many a time propounded in Jabneh, The boat, or barge, of Jordan, why is it unclean? Nor was there any who could answer any thing to it; until R. Chaninah, the son of Antigonus, came, and expounded it in his city. The boat of Jordan is unclean, because they fill it with fruit, and sail down with it from the sea unto the dry land, and from the dry land into the sea."

-- The Jews themselves being interpreters, is a small vessel, a little ship. Josephus hath these words; "Having gathered together all the boats in the lake, they were found to be two hundred and thirty, and there were no more than four mariners in each."

Chapter 72 Tiberias.

All the Jews declare, almost with one consent, that this was a fortified city from ancient times, even from the days of Joshua, and was the same with Rakkath, of which mention is made, Joshua 19:35. "Rakkath is Tiberias," say the Jerusalem Gemarists. And those of Babylon say the same, and that more largely: "It is clear to us that Rakkath is Tiberias." And when, after a few lines, this of Rabbi Jochanan was objected, "When I was a boy, I said a certain thing, concerning which I asked the elders, and it was found as I said; namely, that Chammath is Tiberias, and Rakkath Zippor"; it is thus at last concluded, "Rabbi said, Who is it, to whom it was said, that Rakkath is not Tiberias? For, behold! when any dies here (in Babylon), they lament him there (at Tiberias) after this manner, The hearse of a famous man deceased in Sheshach (Babylon): whose name also is of note in Rakkath, is brought hither: thus lament ye him, -- O ye lovers of Israel, O citizens of Rakkath, come forth, and bewail the dead of Babylon! When the soul of R. Zeira was at rest, thus one lamented him, The land of Babylon conceived and brought forth delights, the land of Israel nourished them. Rakkath said, Woe to itself because she lost the vessels of her delights. Therefore saith Rabba, Chammath is the same with the warm baths of Gadar, and Rakkath is Tiberias." This city touched on the sea, so that the sea served on one side for a wall to it. Hence is that, in the place but now cited; "Rabh Hezekiah read the Book of Esther in Tiberias, on the fourteenth day (of the month Adar), and also on the fifteenth day (see Esther 9:21), doubting whether it were compassed with walls from the days of Joshua, or not. But who would doubt this of Tiberias? when it is written, 'And the fenced cities were Ziddim, Zer, Chammath, Rakkath, and Chinnereth.' But it is clear to us that Rakkath is Tiberias. The reason, therefore, why he doubted was this, because on one side it was enclosed by the sea instead of a wall. But if it were so, why did he doubt? Because, truly, it was no wall. When the tradition is thus, A city which hath a wall, but not fortified walls, the contiguous houses are for such walls. But Tiberias is excepted, which hath the sea for a wall" So also R. Simeon Ben Jochai, in the Jerusalem Gemara just now alleged: 'Among the cities fortified with walls Tiberias is excepted, as having the sea for a wall.' What fortune this city underwent under the name Rakkath, remains unknown. Herod the tetrarch put the name of Tiberias upon it, and built the city, for the sake and memory of Tiberius Caesar. The etymology of which place while the Gemarists deduce elsewhere, namely, either from Tob reja, because it was fair to behold, or "because it was Betiborah, in the navel, or middle," &c. they seem rather to sport out of a luxuriant wit, than to be ignorant of the thing itself.

Chapter 73 Of the Situation of Tiberias.

When I read Pliny of the situation of this city, and compare some things which are said by Josephus and the Talmudists with him, I cannot but be at a stand what to resolve upon here. Pliny speaks thus of the situation of it: "The lake [of Genesar] is compassed round with pleasant towns: on the east, Julias and Hippo; on the south, Tarichea, by which name some call the lake also; on the west, Tiberias, healthful for its warm waters." Consult the maps, and you see Tiberias in them seated, as it were, in the middle shore of the sea of Gennesaret, equally distant almost from the utmost south and north coasts of that sea. Which seems well indeed to agree with Pliny, but illy with Josephus and his countrymen. I. Josephus asserts that Hippo (in Perea, i.e. the country on the other side Jordan) is distant from Tiberias only thirty furlongs. For speaking to one Justus, a man of Tiberias, thus he saith, "Thy native country, O Justus, lying upon the lake of Gennesaret, and distant from Hippo thirty furlongs," &c. The same author asserts also (which we produced before), that the breadth of the sea of Gennesaret was forty furlongs. Therefore, with what reason do the maps place the whole sea of Gennesaret between Tiberias and Hippo? Read those things in Josephus, look upon the maps, and judge. II. The same Josephus saith of the same Justus, "Justus burnt the towns of those of Gadara and Hippo. And the towns bordering upon Tiberias, and the land of the Scythopolitans, were laid waste." Note, how the towns of those of Gadara and Hippo are called "towns bordering upon Tiberias"; which certainly cannot consist together, if the whole sea be between, which is so put by the maps. III. Those things which we learn from the Talmudists concerning the situation of this place cannot be produced, until we have first observed certain neighbouring places to Tiberias; from the situation of which, it will be more easy to judge of the situation of this. In the mean time, from these things, and what was said before, we assert thus much: That you must suppose Tiberias seated either at the very flowing-in of Jordan into the lake of Gennesaret, -- namely, on the north side of the lake, where the maps place Capernaum [illy]; or at the flowing out of Jordan out of that lake, namely, on the south side of the lake. But you cannot place it where Jordan flows into it, because Josephus saith, Tiberias is not distant from Scythopolis above a hundred and twenty furlongs, -- that is, fifteen miles; but now the lake of Gennesaret itself was a hundred furlongs in length, and Scythopolis was the utmost limits of Galilee southward, as we shewed before. Therefore we are not afraid to conclude that Tiberias was seated where Jordan flows out of the lake of Genesar, namely, at the south shore of the lake; where Jordan receives itself again within its own channel. This will appear by those things that follow. We doubt, therefore, of the right pointing of Pliny. Certainly we are not satisfied about it; and others will be less satisfied about our alteration of it. But let me, with their good leave, propose this reading, "On the east Julias, and Hippo on the south. Tarichea, by which name some call the lake, on the west. Tiberias, wholesome for its warm waters." Which reading is not different from Pliny's style, and agrees well with the Jewish writers: but we submit our judgment to the learned.

Chapter 74 Chammath. Ammaus. The warm baths of Tiberias.

Chammath and Rakkath are joined together, Joshua 19:35. For they were very neighbouring cities; Rakkath is Tiberias, -- and Chammath, the town Ammaus, in Josephus. Of their neighbourhood, the Jerusalem Talmudists write thus: "The men of a great city may walk" (on the sabbath) "through a whole small city" (which was within a sabbath-day's journey); "but the inhabitants of a small city walk not through a whole great city." And then follows, "Formerly the men of Tiberias walked through all Chammath; but the men of Chammath passed not beyond the arch: but now those of Chammath and those of Tiberias do make one city." And the Babylonian Talmudists thus, "from Chammath to Tiberias is a mile." "Chammath is Tiberias. And why is it called Chammath? By reason of the Chammi, warm baths of Tiberias." It is not seldom called 'Chammath of Gadara'; not only because it was very near the Gadarene country, -- for the channel of Jordan only was between; -- but because it was built, as it seems, on both the banks of Jordan, the two parts of the town joining by a bridge. "Rabbah said, Chammath is the same with the warm baths of Gadara, and Rakkath is Tiberias." "It was lawful for the Gadarenes, R. Judah Nasi permitting them, to go down into Chammath [on the sabbath], and to return into Gadara: but the men of Chammath might not go up into Gadara." Behold! Tiberias so near to Chammath, that it was almost one city with it: and Chammath so near to the country of Gadara, that thence it took the name of 'Chammath of Gadara.' "R. Samuel Bar Nathan, in the name of R. Chama Bar Chaninah, said, I and my father went up to Chammath of Gadara, and they set before us small eggs." "R. Jonathan and R. Judah Nasi went to Chammath of Gadara." "R. Immai and R. Judan Nasi" [he was grandson of R. Judah Nasi] "went to Chammath of Gadara." Of the warm baths of Tiberias the Talmudists speak much. Let these few things be collected out of them: -- "R. Josua Ben Levi being sick, washed sometime in the warm baths of Tiberias, leaning on the shoulders of R. Chajia Bar Ba." "Three warm baths remained from the waters of the deluge." I. The whirlpool of Gadara: that pool of Gadara, it may be, is that, which being drank of, as Strabo relates, cattle lose their hair, horns, and hoofs. II. The great fountain of Biram. Of Biram, see Bab. Rosh hashanah, fol.23.2. the first line. III. The warm baths of Tiberias." "They allowed them the waters of Meara and the warm baths of Tiberias." "So also Josephus: "John (of Giscala) writ to me, praying 'that I would permit him the use of the warm baths which are at Tiberias.'" "And so Pliny before: "Tiberias, healthful for its warm waters."

Chapter 75 Gadara

There was a double Gadara. One at the shore of the Mediterranean sea: that was first called Gezer, 1 Kings 9:15. In Josephus, "Simon destroyed the city Gazara, and Joppe, and Jamnia." -- And in the Book of the Maccabees, "And he fortified Joppe, which is on the sea, and Gazara, which is on the borders of Azotus." At length, according to the idiom of the Syrian dialect, Zain passed into Daleth; and instead of Gazara, it was called Gadara. Hence Strabo, after the mention of Jamnia, saith, "and there is Gadaris, then Azotus and Ascalon." And a little after; "Philodemus the Epicurean was a Gadarene, and so was Meleager and Menippus, surnamed the 'ridiculous student,' and Theodorus the rhetorician," &c. But the other Gadara, which we seek, was in Perea, and was the metropolis of Perea. "Being come into the parts of Gadara, the strong metropolis of Perea." They are the words of Josephus. It was sixty furlongs distant from Tiberias, by the measure of the same author. "Gadara, the river Hieramax [Jarmoc, of which before] flowing by it, and now called Hippodion." Some reckon it among the cities of the country of Decapolis. Another city, also 'Gergesa' by name, was so near to it, that that which in Mark is called 'the country of the Gadarenes,' chapter 5:1, -- in Matthew is 'the country of the Gergesenes,' chapter 8:28: which whether it took its name from the Girgashites, the posterity of Canaan, -- or from the clayish nature of the soil, (Gargishta, signifying clay,) -- we leave to the more learned to be decided. The Chaldee certainly renders that thick dirt, which is in the Hebrew the clay ground, 1 Kings 7:46. The Jerusalem writers say, that the Girgashites, when Joshua came, and proclaimed, "He that will go out hence, let him go," -- betook themselves into Africa.

Chapter 76 Magdala

Not far from Tiberias and Chammath was Magdala. You may learn their neighbourhood hence: -- "If a man have two floors, one in Magdala and another in Tiberias, -- he may remove his fruits from that in Magdala, to be eaten in that of Tiberias." "R. Simeon Ben Jochai, by reason of certain shambles in the streets of Tiberias, was forced to purify that place. And whosoever travelled by Magdala might hear the voice of a scribe, saying, Behold! Bar Jochai purifies Tiberias." "A certain old shepherd came, and said before Rabbi, I remember the men of Magdala going up to Chammath, and walking through all Chammath" (on the sabbath), "and coming as far as the outmost street, as far as the bridge. Therefore Rabbi permitted the men of Magdala to go into Chammath, and to go through all Chammath, and to proceed as far as the farthest street, as far as the bridge." Josephus hath these words of Magdala; "King Agrippa sends forces and a captain into Magdala itself to destroy the garrison." We meet with frequent mention of the Rabbins, or scholars, of Magdala: -- "R. Judan of Magdala." "R. Isaac of Magdala." "R. Gorion saith, The men of Magdala asked R. Simeon Ben Lachish," &c. It is sometimes called 'Magdala of Gadara,' because it was beyond Jordan.

Chapter 77 Hippo. Susitha.

You may suppose, upon good grounds, that Hippo is the same with Susitha in the Talmudists, from the very signification of the word. Inquire. Of it there is this mention: -- "R. Joshua Ben Levi saith, It is written, And Jephthah fled from the face of his brethren, and dwelt in the land of Tobh...which is Susitha." If you would render it in Greek, it is Hippene. This city was replenished with Gentiles, but not a few Jews mixed with them. Hence is that, "If two witnesses come out of a city, the major part whereof consists of Gentiles, as Susitha," &c. And after a few lines, "R. Immai circumcised from the testimony of women, who said the sun was upon Susitha." For it was not lawful to circumcise, but in the day-time. Hippo was distant from Tiberias thirty furlongs only.

Chapter 78 Some other towns near Tiberias. Beth-Meon. Caphar Chittaia. Paltathah.

Among the towns, neighbouring upon Tiberias, Tarichee is especially commemorated in Josephus, a city thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias: you will find in him the history and mention of it very frequent. In the Talmudists we meet with other names also. I. Beth-Meon. "The men of Tiberias, who went up to Beth-Meon to be hired for workmen, were hired according to the custom of Beth-Meon: the men of Beth-Meon, who went down to Tiberias to be hired, were hired according to the custom of Tiberias." This place is also called, as it seems, Beth-Mein. In the place noted in the margin, they are treating of the town Timnath: of which it is said, that "Samson went up to Timnath"; and elsewhere, that "the father-in-law of Samson went down to Timnath": so that there was both a 'going up' and a 'going down' thither. R. Aibu Bar Nigri at last concludes, and saith, "It is like to Beth-Mein, by which you go down from Paltathah; but by which you go up from Tiberias." In Josephus, "Beth-Maus [Beth-Meon] is distant from Tiberias four furlongs." The maps place it too remote from thence. II. There is also a place not far from Tiberias, or Magdala, whose name was Caphar Chittaia: which we may guess at, from this story: -- "R. Simeon Ben Lachish said thus, They whip a prince, that offends, in the sessions of the three men. R. Judah Nasi hearing these words was angry, and sent to apprehend him. But he fled without Magdala: but some say, Without Caphar Chittaia." -- Ziddim (Joshua 19:35) is Caphar Chittaia. Zer is neighbour to it.

Chapter 79 The country of Gennesaret.

Josephus thus describes it: "By the lake Gennesar, is a country extended, of the same name, of a wonderful nature and pleasantness. For such is the fruitfulness of it, that it denies no plant," &c. "The temper of the air suits itself with different fruits: so that here grow nuts, a more winter fruit; there palms, which are nourished with heat; and near them figs and olives, which require a more moderate air," &c. The Talmudists speak like things of the fertility and pleasure of this place. "The Rabbins say, Why is it called Gennesar? Because of the gardens of princes. Those are the great men who have gardens in that place. And it was of the lot of Nephthali" (they are the words of the author of Aruch), "as it is said, 'And a thousand princes were of Nephthali.'" The fruits of Gennesaret are mentioned as being of great fame. "Wherefore (say they) are there not of the fruits of Gennesaret at Jerusalem? The reason is, that they who came to the feasts should not say, We had not come but to eat the fruits of Gennesaret." And elsewhere, where it is disputed, what is the more noble part of food, something seasoned with salt, or a morsel, -- and it is concluded, that that which is seasoned is to be preferred, and that thanks are to be given upon it; the mention of the fruits of Gennesaret is brought in, which are preferred also before a morsel. Hereupon there is mention of the 'Tent of Gennesaret,' that is, as the Gloss speaks, "When Genosar, which is also called Chinnereth, abounded with noble gardens, they made certain shady bowers, or small tents, for that time, wherein they gathered the fruits." The length of this most fruitful soil, lying along the seashore, was but thirty furlongs, and the breadth twenty. "And expositors say (they are the words of the Aruch), that there is a place near to Tiberias, in which are gardens and paradises." Let that be noted, 'There is a place near to Tiberias.'

Chapter 80 Capernaum

From the things last spoken, we gather no trifling conjecture concerning the situation of the town of Capernaum. Josephus relates that the country of Gennesar, which we have described, was watered "with a spring of excellent water; the people thereabouts call it Capernaum." From that either the city hath its name, or rather that hath its name from the city; and the city from the pleasantness of the place. The evangelists, compared together, do make it clear, that this city was seated in the land of Gennesaret. For when it is said by Matthew and Mark, that Christ, sailing over from the desert of Bethsaida, arrived at the country of Gennesaret, Matthew 14:34; Mark 6:53, it is manifest from John that he arrived at Capernaum, John 6:22,24,25. When, therefore, that most pleasant country lay near Tiberias, and that Capernaum was in that country, -- we must necessarily suppose that it was not very remote from Tiberias. It was "upon the sea-coasts, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthali," Matthew 4:13: -- not that it was the bounds of each, but because it was within the borders of Zabulon and Nephthali, they being put in opposition to the other parts of Galilee. So, "the borders of Tyre and Sidon," Mark 7:24, denote not that very centre where the territories of Tyre are parted from those of Sidon; but the "bounds of Tyre and Sidon," as distinguished from the bounds of Galilee. Nevertheless, neither was this city far distant from the very limits, where the bounds of Zabulon and Nephthali did touch upon one another, -- namely, near the south coast of the sea of Gennesaret, which we observed before. We suppose Capernaum seated between Tiberias and Tarichee. Whether, Cepharnome, in Josephus, be the same with this, we do inquire.

Chapter 81 Some history of Tiberias. The Jerusalem Talmud was written there: and when.

Tiberias was built by Herod the tetrarch in honour of Tiberius: and that in a common burying-place, or in a place where many sepulchres had been. Hence it was that the founder was fain to use all manner of persuasion, enticements, and liberality, to invite inhabitants. The very delightful situation of the place seemed to put him on to wrestle with such a difficulty and inconvenience, rather than not to enjoy so pleasant a soil and seat. For on this side, the sea washing upon it, -- on that side, within a little way, Jordan gliding by it, -- on the other side, the hot baths of Chammath, -- and on another, the most fruitful country Gennesaret adjacent, -- did every way begird this city, when it was built, with pleasure and delight. It did every day increase in splendour, and became at last the chief city not only of Galilee but of the whole land of Israel. It obtained this honour, by reason of the university translated thither by Rabbi Judah, and there continued for many ages. It was ennobled by thirteen synagogues: among which "the ancient Serongian synagogue was one." It was famous also for the Sanhedrim sitting there; for the Talmudic Misna, perhaps, collected here by R. Judah; and for the Jerusalem Talmud, written there for certain. That very volume does openly speak the place where it was published: in which the words here, and hither, do most plainly design Tiberias, almost in infinite places. But there is a greater controversy about the time: it is agreed upon, by very many learned men, that this Talmud was written about the year of Christ 230: which I do indeed wonder at, when the mention of the emperor Diocletian, unless I am very much mistaken, does occur in it. Let us note the places: -- "When the king Docletinus came hither [to Tiberias], they saw R. Chaija Bar Abba climbing a sepulchre to see him." This story is repeated in Nazir, and he is there called Doclinus, by an error, as it seems, of the copiers. "Dicletinus gathered the rivers together, and made the sea of Apamia." And this story is recited in Chetuboth, and there he is called Docletianus. "Docletinus had most fine gold, even to the weight of a Gordian penny." "When Docletianus came thither, he came with a hundred and twenty myriads." "The boys of R. Judah, the prince, bruised Diclot, the keeper of hogs, with blows. That king at length escaped, and coming to Paneas, sent for the Rabbins, &c. He said to them, Therefore, because your Creator worketh miracles for you, you contemn my government. To whom they said, We contemned Diclot the hog-herd; we contemned not Diocletianus the king." Hence arose a suspicion among some learned men, that this was not to be understood of Diocletian the emperor, but of some little king, I know not whom, of a very beggarly original: of which opinion I also was some time, until at last I met with something that put the thing past all doubt. That you find in Avodah Zarah. There inquiry is made by one, "What of the mart of Tsur?" -- There is this inscription there, "I Diocletianus, the king, built this mart of Tsur [or Tyre], to the fortune of my brother Herculus, in eighty days." The very sound persuades to render Herculus, and the agreeableness of the Roman history, from which every one knows how near a king there was between Diocletian and Maximian Herculus. Eusebius mentions the travelling of Diocletian through Palestine; and all the Roman historians speak of his sordid and mean birth; which agree very well with the things that are related by the Talmudists. These are all the places, unless I am much

mistaken, where this name occurs in this Talmud, one only excepted, which I have reserved for this place, that, after we have discovered, by these quotations, that this was Diocletian the emperor, some years after him might be computed. That place is in Sheviith: "Diocletianus afflicted the men of Paneas: they said therefore to him, We will depart hence: but a certain sophist said to him, Either they will not depart; or, if they do, they will return again: but if you would have an experiment of it, let two young goats be brought hither, and let them be sent to some place afar off, and they will at last come back to their place. He did so: for the goats were brought, whose horns he gilded, and sent them into Africa: and they, after thirty years, returned to their own place." Consider, that thirty years passed from this action of Diocletian, which if you compute even from his first year, and suppose that this story was writ in the last year of those thirty, you come as far as the ninth or tenth year of Constantine. Mention also of king Sapor occurs, if I do not fail of the true reading. "A serpent, under Sapor the king, devoured camels." Yea, I have I know not what suspicion, that "Lulianus the king," of whom there is mention in that very same place, does denote Julianus the emperor. "When Lulianus the king (say they) came thither, a hundred and twenty myriads accompanied him." But enough of this...R. Judah, who first removed the university to Tiberias, sat also in Zippor for many years, and there died: so that in both places were very famous schools. He composed and digested the Mishnaioth into one volume. "For when he saw the captivity was prolonged" (they are the words of Tsemach David, translated by Vorstius), "and the scholars to become faint-hearted, and the strength of wisdom and the cabala to fail, and the oral law to be much diminished, -- he gathered and scraped up together all the decrees, statutes, and sayings of the wise men; of which he wrote every one apart, which the house of the Sanhedrim had taught, &c. And he disposed it into six classes; which are Zeraim, Moed, Nezikin, Nashim, Kedoshim, Tahoroth." And a little after; "All the Israelites ratified the body of Mishnaioth, and obliged themselves to it: and in it, during the life of Rabbi, his two sons, Rabban Gamaliel and R. Simeon, employed themselves, in the school of the land of Israel: and R. Chaija, R. Hoshaiia, R. Chaninah, and R. John, and their companions. And in the school of Babylon, Rabh and Samuel exercised themselves in it," &c. Therefore it is worthy of examination, whence those differences should arise between the Jerusalem Misna, and the Babylonian, -- differences in words, without number, -- in things, in great number; which he that compares them will meet with every where. You have a remarkable example in the very entrance of the Jerusalem Misna, where the story of R. Tarphon's danger among thieves is wanting, which is in that of Babylon. Whether R. Judah composed that system in Tiberias or in Zippor, we are not solicitous to inquire: he sat in both, and enriched both with famed schools; and Tiberias was the more eminent. For "The university of Tiberias was greater than that of Zippor."

Chapter 82 Tsippor

"Tsippor is the greatest city of Galilee, and built in a very strong place." "Kitron (Judges 1:29,30) is Tsippor: and why is it called Tsippor? Because it is seated upon a mountain as Tsippor, a bird." "Sixteen miles on all sides from Tsippor was a land flowing with milk and honey." This city is noted in Josephus for its warlike affairs; but most noted in the Talmudists for the university fixed there, and for the learning, which Rabbi Judah the Holy brought hither, as we have said before. He sat in this place seventeen years, and used most frequently to say this of himself, "Jacob lived in Egypt seventeen years, and Judah lived in Tsippor seventeen years." He sat also in Beth-Shaarim, as also in Tiberias, but he ended his life in Tsippor. There is this story of his death; "The men of Tsippor said, Whosoever shall tell us that Rabbi is dead, we will kill him. Bar Kaphra, having his head veiled, looked upon them and said, 'Holy men and angels both took hold of the tables of the covenant, and the hand of the angels prevailed, and they snatched away the tables.' They said to him, 'Is Rabbi dead?' He said, 'Ye have said.' They rent their garments after that manner, that the voice of the renting came as far as Paphth, that is, the space of three miles. R. Nachman in the name of R. Mena said, 'Miracles were done on that day.' When all cities were gathered together to lament him, and that on the eve of the sabbath, the day did not waste, until every one was gone home, had filled a bottle with water, and had lighted up a sabbath-candle. The Bath Kol pronounced blessedness upon those that lamented him, excepting only one; who knowing himself excepted, threw himself headlong from the roof, and died." "R. Judah died in Tsippor, but his burial was in Beth-Shaarim: dying, he gave in command to his son, 'When ye carry me to my burial, do not lament me in the small cities through which ye shall pass, but in the great,'" &c. What say you to this, R. Benjamin? In you it is, "His sepulchre is in Tsippor in the mountain, as also the sepulchre of R. Chaija, and Jonah the prophet," &c. Do you make up the controversy with your kinsmen now cited. There were many synagogues in Tsippor. In the story but now alleged, concerning the death and burial of R. Judah, mention is made of eighteen synagogues that bewailed him; but whether all these were synagogues of Tsippor, or of other places, it is questioned, not without cause. "The synagogue of Gophna was certainly in Tsippor." There was also "The synagogue of Babylon in Tsippor." There are also many names of famous doctors there. "R. Honna Rabba." "R. Abudina of Tsippor." "R. Bar Kaphra in Tsippor." "R. Chaninah of Tsippor." The mention of whom is most frequent above others. A controversy, risen at Tsippor, was determined before "R. Simeon Ben Gamaliel, and R. Jose." Among many stories acted on this stage, which might be produced, we shall offer these only: -- "An inquisition was sometime made after the men of Tsippor: they, therefore, that they might not be known, clapped patches upon their noses; but at last they were discovered," &c. "One, in the upper street of Tsippor, taking care about the scripts of paper fixed to the door-posts, was punished a thousand zuzees." These words argue some persecution stirred up in that city against the Jews." "A certain butcher of Tsippor sold the Jews flesh that was forbidden, -- namely, dead carcasses, and that which was torn. On one sabbath eve, after he had been drinking wine, going up into the roof, he fell down thence and died. The dogs came and licked his blood. R. Chaninah being asked, Whether they should drive away the dogs? 'By no means,' said he, 'for they eat of their own.'""Counsellors and pagans in Tsippor" are

mentioned. And also "The sons of Ketzirah, (or the harvest), of Tsippor." Tsippor was distant from Tiberias, as R. Benjamin tells us in his Itinerary, "twenty miles." Zipporin with Zain is once written in the Jerusalem Talmud; one would suspect it to be this city: "When R. Akibah went to Zippor, they came to him, and asked, Are the jugs of the Gentiles clean?" A story worthy of consideration; if that Zipporin denote ours, was R. Akibah in Tsippor? He died almost forty years before the university was translated thither. But schools happily were there before a university. In the Talmud, the story of "Ben Elam of Tsippor" (once it is written, "in Tsippor") is thrice repeated; who, when the high priest, by reason of some uncleanness contracted on the day of expiation, could not perform the office of that day, went in, and officiated.

Chapter 83 Some places bordering upon Tsippor. Jeshanah. Ketsarah. Shihin.

I. In the place, noted in the margin, discourse is had of the legitimate mothers of the priests: among other things it is said, that no further inquiry be made, "If his father be enrolled in the catalogue of Jeshanah of Tsippor." The Gloss is, "There was a neighbour city to Tsippor, whose name was Jeshanah; and it was customary to enroll them who were fit to judge," &c. So that this 'Jeshanah' seems to be so near to Tsippor, that the records of Tsippor were laid up there. II. "Towns fortified from the days of Joshua: Old Ketsarah, which belongs to Tsippor; and Chakrah, which belongs to Gush; Calab; and Jodapath the old [Jotopata]; and Gamala," &c. The Gloss is, "Ketsarah is the name of a little city without Tsippor." Perhaps that which we cited above relates to this, "The sons of Ketzirah (or the harvest), of Tsippor." III. "Sometime a fire happened in the court of Josi Ben Simai in Shihin, and the inhabitants of Ketsarah, which belongs to Tsippor, came down to quench it; but he permitted them not, saying, 'Let the exactor exact his debt.' Presently a cloud gathered together above the fire; and rains fell, and put it out. The sabbath being finished, he sent money to every one of them." Josephus mentions also Garisimes, distant twenty furlongs from Tsippor. In like manner, "Asamon, a mountain in the middle of Galilee, which lies over against Tsippor."

Chapter 84 Usha

"The Sanhedrim went from Jabneh to Usha, and from Usha to Shepharaam." The Gloss is, "To Jabneh in the days of Rabban Jochanan (Ben Zaccai); to Usha in the days of Rabban Gamaliel: but they went back from Usha to Jabneh: but in the days of Rabban Simeon they returned." We do not apprehend the reason why Rabban Gamaliel went thither; whatsoever it were, either some disturbance raised by the Romans, or indignation that R. Eleazer Ben Azariah should be president with him, or some other reason, -- certainly the abode there was but small, either Gamaliel himself returning to Jabneh after some time, or R. Akibah, who succeeded in his chair. But after the war of Adrian, and the death of R. Akibah in that war, when Judea was now in disturbance by the Romans, Rabban Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, succeeding in the presidentship after Akibah, went with the Sanhedrim from Jafne to Usha, nor was there ever after any return to Jafne. The Talmudists remember us of very many things transacted at Usha. "When they intercalated the year in Usha, the first day, R. Ismael, the son of R. Jochanan Ben Brucha, stood forth, and said according to the words of R. Jochanan Ben Nuri. Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel said, 'We were not wont to do so in Jafne.' On the second day, Ananias, the son of Josi the Galilean, said according to the words of R. Akibah. R. Simeon Ben Gamaliel said, 'So we were wont to do in Jafne.'" This story is repeated in Rosh hashanah, and Nedarim. "In Usha it was decreed that a man should nourish his little children; that if a man make over his goods to his children, he and his wife be maintained out of them," &c. It was determined also in Usha concerning the burning the Truma, in some doubtful cases: of which see the place quoted. But that we be not more tedious, let this story be for a conclusion: "The wicked kingdom [of Rome] did sometime decree a persecution against Israel: namely, that every one preferring any to be an elder should be killed; and that every one that was preferred should be killed; and that the city in which any is preferred to eldership should be laid waste; and that the borders within which any such promotion is made, should be rooted out. What did Baba Ben Judah do? He went out, and sat between two great mountains, and between two great cities, and between two sabbath bounds, between Usha and Shapharaam, and ordained five elders, namely, R. Meir, R. Judah, R. Simeon, R. Josi, and R. Eliezer Ben Simeon. Rabh Oia added also R. Nehemiah. When this came to be known to their enemies, he said to the scholars, 'Fly, O my sons': they said to him, 'Rabbi, what will you do?' He said to them, 'Behold, I am cast before them as a stone which hath no movers.' They say, that they departed not thence, until they had fastened three hundred iron darts into him, and had made him like a sieve."

Chapter 85 Arbel. Shezor. Tarnegola the Upper.

"Arbel a city of Galilee." -- There is mention of it in Hosea 10:14. But there are authors which do very differently interpret that place, viz. the Chaldee paraphrast, R. Solomon, Kimchi: consult them. It was between Zippor and Tiberias. Hence Nittai the Arbelite, who was president with Josua Ben Perahiah. The valley of Arbel is mentioned by the Talmudists. So also "The Arbelite Bushel." "Near Zephath in Upper Galilee was a town named Shezor, whence was R. Simeon Shezori: there he was buried. There is the memory also of R. Ismael Shezorei, who perhaps was his brother." In that scheme which we exhibited in the beginning of this work, out of the Jerusalem Gemarists, delineating the limits of the land under the second Temple, among other names of places, you observe the mention of a place called "The upper Tarnegola or Cock," &c. I render it "Geber, (or Gabara) the upper, which is above Caesarea." Why I render Tarnegola by Geber, those that are versed in the Talmudic writings will easily perceive; for in them 'a cock' is indifferently called in the Chaldee language Tarnegola, and by the Rabbins Geber. Nor is there an example wanting of this our rendering. For the Targum of Jonathan, in Numbers 33:35,36, renders Ezio-geber Cerac Tarnegola, "The city of the Cock." And he mentions this very place which we are now upon, Numbers 34:8; "Tarnegola at Caesarea." And the Targum of Jerusalem there reads "Tornegola of Caesarion." Now that Caesarea which they mean is 'Caesarea Philippi,' which is at the fountain of Jordan: and that Gabara is called "Gabara the upper," for distinction's sake, from other cities of the same name. Josephus calleth "Tiberias, Sippchor, and Gabara," the three greatest cities of Galilee. He mentions also the town Gabaroth, and Gabaraganei, which are reckoned with the Gadarenes and Tyrians by him. "From Gabara of Caesarea and down-wards is as the land of Israel," in respect of the Demai, or tithing.

Chapter 86 The difference of some customs of the Galileans from those of Judea.

It is not impertinently questioned, with what inhabitants Galilee and Perea were first planted after the return out of Babylon, when you scarce find any mention of them in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, but of those only who inhabited Judea and the land of Benjamin. But whosoever they were, whether pure Israelites, or those that were more mixed, or some of the ten tribes, it is certain those that inhabited Galilee differed much from those that dwelt in Judea, in certain rites, and not a little in the dialect of their speech. The Jewish pandect observe a various difference between them: out of which we produce these few instances instead of more: -- In the place noted in the margin, it is discoursed concerning the form and manner of writing the donation of the marriage dowry. "So and so (say they) the people of Jerusalem writ, and the Galileans writ as those of Jerusalem: but the inhabitants of Judea something varied," &c. Where the Gemarists thus; "The Galileans' care was of reputation, not of money; the inhabitants of Judea, their care was of money, not of reputation," &c. "The wise men say, In Judea they did service works on the Passover-eves, until noon; in Galilee, not at all." "The wise men say, That the Trumah taken generally is bound in Judea, in Galilee is loosed. For the Galileans know not the Trumah of the Temple-chamber." The sense of the tradition is this, When any one pronounced a vow in general terms, -- for example, saying thus, 'Let this be to me as the Trumah,' not naming what kind of Trumah, -- a Galilean, so speaking, was loosed from his vow, because he, by reason of the distance of the place (as the Gloss tells us), knew not the Trumah of the holy treasury: but he that inhabited Judea, and spoke thus, was bound by his vow. And in the same text is added, "If any vows generally by curses, he is loosed in Judea; he is bound in Galilee, because the Galileans do not know the curses of the priests." Where the Gloss is this; "There were no priests among the Galileans: therefore, when they cursed, they cursed to none but to God." And the Gemara of Jerusalem thus; "Because they were fastened to the curse of Achan, it is said, that they are bound: but in Judea, because they are not fastened to the curse of Achan, it is said that they are loosed." "Rabbi Judah saith, In Judea they made inquiry concerning the bridegroom and bride three days before the wedding: but in Galilee they did not so. In Judea they allowed the bridegroom and bride private company one hour before the wedding; but they did not so in Galilee. It was a custom in Judea that the married persons should have two friends, one of the family of the bridegroom, and the other of the family of the bride: but it was not so in Galilee. In Judea those friends slept in the same place where the bridegroom and bride slept: but in Galilee it was not so," &c.

Chapter 87 The dialect of the Galileans, differing from the Jewish.

"Surely thou also art one of them, for thy speech bewrayeth thee," Matthew 26:73. Let these passages, which are delivered by the masters, be instead of a comment: -- "To the men of Judea who were exact in their language, their law is established in their hands. To the men of Galilee, who were not exact in their language, their law is not established in their hands." -- The Gloss is, "They [the men of Judea] were exact in their language: so that their speech was pure, not corrupt." "To the men of Judea, who are exact about their language, and appoint to themselves certain signs, their law is established in their hands: to the men of Galilee, who are not exact about their language, nor appoint to themselves signs, their law is not established in their hands." The Gloss is; "They were exact about their language, namely, in rendering the same words which they had heard from their masters. And because they were taught orally, by hearing after hearing, they appointed to themselves from them sign after sign. And because they were exact about their language, they knew how to appoint to themselves fit signs that they might not forget." "The men of Judea learn from one master, and their law is established in their hands: the Galileans learn not from one master, and their law is not established in their hands." The Gloss writes, "The Galileans heard one master in one language, and another in another; and the diversity of the language, or pronunciation, confounded them so that they forgot." And a little after, "R. Abba said, If any ask the men of Judea, who are exact about their language, Whether they say Maabrin with Ain, or Maabrin with Aleph? Whether they say Acuzo (with Ain), or Acuzo (with Aleph)? They all answer, There are some who pronounce it with Aleph, and there are others who pronounce it with Ain..." And a little after: "A certain Galilean said...They answered him, O foolish Galilean..." The sense is, When the Galilean asked, "Whose is Immar, 'this lamb?'" he pronounced the first letter in the word Immar, so confusedly and uncertainly, that the hearers knew not whether he meant Chamar, -- that is, an 'ass'; or Chamar, 'wine'; or Amar, 'wool'; or Immar, 'a lamb.' "A Galilean woman when she should have said to their neighbour Come, and I will feed you with milk" [or some fat thing]: "said, My neighbour, a lion shall eat you." The Gloss is, "She distinguished not, but confounded the letters: for when she should say, Shelubti with Beth, which signifies a neighbour, she said Shelucti, with Caph (a barbarous word). For, 'come, and I will feed you with milk.' -- she said words that imply a curse; as much as to say, Let a lion devour thee." "A certain woman said before the judge"...That which she intended to say was this, "My Lord, I had a picture, which they stole; and it was so great, that if you had been placed in it, your feet would not have touched the ground." But she so spoiled the business with her pronouncing, that, as the Glosser interprets it, her words had this sense, "Sir, slave, I had a beam; and they stole thee away; and it was so great, that if they had hung thee on it, thy feet would not have touched the ground." Among other things, you see, that in this Galilean dialect the pronunciation of the gutturals is very much confounded; which however the Jews correct in the words alleged, yet it was not unusual among them, so that "the mystical doctors distinguished not between Cheth and He." They are the words of the Jerusalem Talmudists: -- and these also are the words of those of Babylon; "The schools of R. Eleazar Ben Jacob pronounced Aleph Ain, and Ain Aleph." We observed before one example of such confusion of letters, when one teaching thus, "The waters of the marshes are not to be reckoned among

those waters" (that make unclean), he meant to have it understood of the water of eggs: but he deceived his hearers by an uncertain pronunciation... If you read the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, you will find so frequent a changing of the gutturals, that you could not easily get a more ready key of that language than by observing that variation.

Chapter 88 Gilgal, in Deuteronomy 11:30: what the place was.

That which is said by Moses, that "Gerizim and Ebal were over-against Gilgal," Deuteronomy 11:30, is so obscure, that it is rendered into contrary significations by interpreters. Some take it in that sense, as if it were near to Gilgal: some far off from Gilgal: the Targumists read, "before Gilgal": while, as I think, they do not touch the difficulty; which lies not so much in the signification of the word Mul, as in the ambiguity of the word Gilgal. These do all seem to understand that Gilgal which the people of Israel took the first night after their passage over Jordan, Joshua 4:19; which, as Josephus relates, was distant only fifty furlongs from Jordan; but which the Gemarists guess to be fifty miles and more. For "they say, the journey of that day was more than sixty miles, to wit, from Jordan to Gilgal." And this they say, that they may fix Gilgal near Gerizim and Ebal; where they think the people encamped the first night after their entrance into the land of Canaan, from those words of Moses, Deuteronomy 27:2, "In the day, wherein thou shalt pass over Jordan, thou shalt set thee up great stones, and shalt plaster them with plaster," &c. Now those stones, say they, are set up in Gerizim and Ebal. Hence is that of the Gemarists, "The Lord said, I said, When ye shall pass Jordan, ye shall set up stones; but you have spread yourselves as far as sixty miles." And, "Gerizim and Ebal were sixty miles distant from Jordan." But certainly by that Gilgal, of which Moses in those words speaks, "Are not Gerizim and Ebal over-against Gilgal?" is to be understood some other than that which Joshua named by that name, Joshua 5:9. For when Moses spoke those words, the name of that Gilgal, near Jericho, was not at all: nor can that which is spoke in the book of Joshua concerning the nations of Gilgal, Joshua 12:23, be applied to that Gilgal, when it had obtained that name. Therefore, in both places, by Gilgal seems to be understood Galilee; and that as well from the nearness of the words, -- for Gilgal, and Galil, are of the same root and etymology, -- as from the very sense of the places. For when, in Joshua, some kings of certain particular cities in Galilee -- Kedesh, Jokneam, Dor, &c. -- are reckoned up, the king of the nations of Gilgal, or Galilee, is also added, who ruled over many cities and countries in Galilee. So also the words of Moses may very well be rendered in the like sense, 'Are not those mountains, Gerizim and Ebal, beyond Jordan, over-against Gilgal, or Galilee?' These things following strengthen our conjecture: -- I. The version of the LXX, who render The nations of Gilgal, by Gei of Galilee. II. The comparing Josephus with the book of the Maccabees, in the story of Demetrius. "He pitched his tent (saith Josephus), 'in Arbel, a city of Galilee'; but, 1 Maccabees 9:2, "They went forth the way that leadeth to Galgala, and pitched their tents before Mesaloth, which is in Arbel." In one Arbel is in Galgala or Gilgal, in the other it is in Galilee.

Chapter 89 Divers towns called by the name of Tyre.

Besides Tyre, the noble mart of Phoenicia, we meet with various places of the same name, both in the Talmudists and in Josephus. In the place noted in the margin, they mention one Tyre, in the very borders of the land, which was bound to pay tithes; and another, in like manner in the borders, which was not bound: we shall hereafter produce their words. And in these examples which follow, and in very many others, which might be produced, -- they leave it undecided, whether the discourse is of Tyre of Phoenicia, or of some other place of that name. "Jacob Navoriensis travelled to Tyre and there taught some things, for which R. Chaggai would have him beaten." "R. Mean went to Tyre: whom R. Chaija Bar Ba found there; and going forward, he told R. Jochanan those things which he had taught." "R. Issa went to Tyre, and saw them drinking wine," &c. Josephus thus writes of Hyrcanus, the brother of Simon the high priest: -- "He built a strong place between Arabia and Judea beyond Jordan: and called it Tyre." The same author, of John Ben Levi thus: When he had endeavoured to retain the Giscalites, now attempting to shake off the Roman yoke, it was to no purpose: "for the bordering people, the Gadarenes, the Gabaraganeans, and the Tyrians, having got together considerable forces, invade Giscala." You can scarcely suppose that these Tyrians came out of Tyre of Phoenicia, but from some other place of the same name. Upon that reason that very many towns in the land of Israel were called by the name of Rama, namely, because they were seated in some high place; by the same reason very many are called by the name of Tyre, because they were built in a rocky place.

Chapter 90 Cana

We have little to certify as to the situation of this place: only we learn this of Josephus concerning Cana, that it was such a distance from Tiberias, as he could measure with his army in one night. For when word was brought him by letters, that the enemy Justus had endeavoured to draw away the Tiberians from their fidelity towards him, "I was then (saith he) in a town of Galilee, called Cana: taking, therefore, with me two hundred soldiers, I travelled the whole night, having despatched a messenger before, to tell the Tiberians of my coming: and, in the morning, when I approached the city, the people came out to meet me," &c. He makes mention, also, of Cana, in the same book of his own Life, in these words; "Sylla, king Agrippa's general, encamping five furlongs from Julias, blocked up the ways with guards, both that which leads to Cana, and that which leads to the castle Gamala." But now, when Julias and Gamala, without all doubt, were beyond Jordan, it may be inquired whether that Cana were not also on that side. But those things that follow seem to deny this: for he blocked up the ways, "that by this means he might shut out all supplies that might come from the Galileans." Mark that, that might come from the Galileans; that is, from Cana, and other places of Galilee about Cana. That Julias which Sylla received was Julias Betharamphtha (of which afterward), which was seated on the further bank of Jordan, there where it is now ready to flow into the sea of Gennesaret. Therefore, Cana seems, on the contrary, to lie on this side Jordan; how far removed from it we say not, but we guess not far; and it was distant such a space from Tiberias as the whole length of the sea of Gennesaret doth contain.

Chapter 91 Perea. Beyond Jordan.

"The length of Perea was from Macherus to Pella: the breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan." "The mountainous part of it was mount Macvar, and Gedor," &c. "The plain of it was Heshbon, with all its cities, which are in the plain, Dibon, and Bamoth-Baal, and Beth-Baal-Meon," &c. "The valley of it is Beth-Haran, and Beth-Nimrah, and Succoth," &c. The mention of the mountains of Macvar occurs in that hyperbolic tradition of R. Eleazar Ben Diglai, saying, "The goats in the mountains of Macvar sneezed at the smell of the perfume of the incense in the Temple." The word Macherus is derived from Macvar. The whole country, indeed, which was beyond Jordan, was called Perea: but it was so divided, that the southern part of it was particularly called Perea; the other part was called Batanea, Auranitis, Trachonitis. So it is called by Josephus, because, by the donation of Augustus, "Perea and Galilee came into the possession of Herod Antipas: and Batanea, and Trachon, and Auranitis, into that of Philip." Bashan passed into Batanea, according to the Syriac idiom, that changeth Shin into Thau: Batanin, in the Samaritan interpreter; Matanin, in the Targumists, by the alternate use of Mem and Beth, which is not unusual with them. Golan was the chief city of this country, Joshua 20:8. Whence is Gaulonitis, and that "Upper and Nether Gaulonitis." In the Jews we read, "Trachon, which is bounded at Bozrah." Not Bozrah of Edom, Isaiah 63:1; nor Bezer of the Reubenites, Joshua 20:8; but another, to wit, Bosorra, or Bosor, in the land of Gilead. Concerning which, see Josephus, and the First Book of Maccabees, 5:26. While we speak of the difference between Bezer and Bozrah, we cannot pass by a simple example of this thing, propounded by the Babylonian Talmudists. "The prince of Rome" [viz. Samael, the angel of death, as the Gloss tells us] "did formerly commit a threefold error; as it is written, 'Who comes from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah?' In this matter he errs, because there is no refuge but in Bezer, and he betook himself to Bozrah," &c. "Batanea is bounded by Trachonitis." Auranitis. -- Josephus sometimes calls it 'Abranitis.' -- "Caesar (saith he) gave to Herod [the Great] Trachon, and Batanea, and Abranitis"; and that, that he should restrain and subdue the robbers, who most miserably vexed those countries, &c.

Chapter 92 Adam and Zaretan, Joshua 3.

I suspect a double error in some maps, while they place these two towns in Perea; much more, while they place them at so little a distance. We do not deny, indeed, that the city Adam was in Perea; but Zaretan was not so. Of Adam is mention, Joshua 3:16; where discourse is had of the cutting-off, or cutting in two, the waters of Jordan, that they might afford a passage to Israel; The waters rose up upon a heap afar off in Adam. For the textual reading "In Adam," the marginal hath "From Adam." You may very fitly apply both readings. Adam was the centre, where the waters parted: here was the station of the ark of the covenant, now ready to enter Jordan. Hence the Psalmist, The tabernacle which he had fixed in Adam, Psalm 78:60. Therefore, the textual reading "inAdam," holds well; because there was the centre of the cutting in two of the waters: but the marginal reading "from Adam," does moreover add light, because the gathering those waters together on a heap was far above it. "R. Jochanan saith, Adam is a city, and Zaretan is a city, and they are distant from one another twelve miles." From Adam to Zaretan, were the waters dried up; from Zaretan and upwards, they stood on a heap. Adam was in Perea, over-against Jericho; Zaretan was in the land of Manasseh on this side Jordan. It is called Zarthanah, 1 Kings 4:12, and is defined to be near Beth-shean, which was the furthest bounds of the land of Manasseh northward. The brazen vessels of the Temple are said to be cast in the plain of Jordan, in the clay ground between Zaretan (on this side Jordan) and Succoth (beyond it), 1 Kings 7:46. Therefore, the words cited in Joshua, far off from Adam, which is beside Zaretan, are so to be understood, as not so much to denote the nearness of Adam and Zaretan, as to intimate that the heaping up of the waters was by Zaretan. They are to be rendered in this sense, "And the waters that came down from above stood together; they rose up into one heap, in a very long distance from the city Adam," namely, to that distance, which is by Zaretan. Adam and Zaretan, on this and the other side, were both something removed from Jordan: but they are named in that story, because there the discourse is of the time, when Jordan contained not itself within its own channel, but had overflowed its banks.

Chapter 93 Julias-Bethsaida

There were two Juliases, both in Perea, one built by Herod, called before 'Betharamphtha': of which Josephus; "At Betharamphtha, which before was the city's name, Herod compassed Julias with a wall, calling it by the name of the empress." The other built by Philip, heretofore called Bethsaida, of which the same author writes thus: "Philip, having raised the town Bethsaida on the lake of Gennesaret to the honour of a city, both in respect of the number of the inhabitants, and other strength, gave it the same name with Julia, the emperor's daughter." The maps have one Julias only: not amiss, because they substitute the name of Bethsaida for the other: -- but they do not well agree about the situation of both. Julias-Betharamphtha was seated at the very influx of Jordan into the lake of Gennesaret. For thus Josephus; "Jordan, having measured a hundred furlongs more from the lake Samochonitis, after the city Julias, cuts the lake of Gennesar in the middle." Do not these words argue that Jordan, being now ready to enter into the lake, did first glide by Julias? To which those things which are said elsewhere by the same author do agree. "Sylla (saith he) encamped five furlongs from Julias, and stopped up the ways; -- namely, that which led to Cana, and that which led to the castle Gamala. But I, when I understood this, sent two thousand armed men, under Jermias their captain; and they having encamped a furlong from Julias near the river Jordan," &c. Note that, when they were distant from Julias a furlong only, they are but a little way off of Jordan. The maps place it more remote from the influx of Jordan into the lake of Gennesaret than these words will bear. Julias-Bethsaida was not seated in Galilee, as it is in the maps, but beyond the sea of Galilee in Perea. This we say upon the credit of Josephus: "Philip (saith he) built Caesarea in Paneas [mark that]: and Julias [which before-time was Bethsaida] in Nether Gaulonitis." But now, there is nobody but knows that Gaulonitis was in Perea. This certainly is that Julias which Pliny placeth eastward of the lake of Gennesaret (for the other Julias was scarcely near the sea at all); and that Julias of which Josephus speaks, when he saith, "that a certain mountainous country beyond Jordan runs out from Julias to Somorrha."

Chapter 94 Gamala. Chorazin.

These things determine the situation of Gamala: -- 1. It was "in lower Gaulon," in which, as we have seen, Bethsaida was. 2. It was "upon the lake [of Gennesaret]." 3. It was "over-against Tarichee." Compare the maps, whether in their placing of it they agree with these passages. Here was Judas born, commonly called 'Gaulanites,' and as commonly also, the 'Galilean.' So Peter and Andrew and Philip were Gaulanites; of Bethsaida, John 1:44; and yet they were called 'Galileans.' While we are speaking of Bethsaida, Chorazin comes into our mind, which is joined with it, in the words of Christ, Matthew 11:21, as partaking with it in his miracles, and being guilty of equal ingratitude. If you seek for the situation of this place, where will you find it? Some maps place it on this side Jordan, and other beyond Jordan: but on what authority do both depend? It is mere conjecture, unless I am deceived. Let me also conjecture. The word Chorashin, denotes woody places, both in the Holy Bible and in the Rabbinical writings. Hence we suppose the Chorazin that is now before us is called, namely, because it was seated in some woody place. For such places the land of Nephthali was famous above the other tribes: to which the words of Jacob have regard, "Nephthali is a hind let loose," Genesis 49; that is, Nephthali shall abound with venison; as Asher (of whom mention is made in the words going before) shall abound in bread, and royal dishes. Those words also of the Talmudists refer to this, "It is lawful for cattle to feed in common, in the woods, yea, for the tribe of Judah [to feed] in the tribe of Nephthali." Hence 'Harosheth of the Gentiles' hath its name, Judges 4:2, which was in that tribe. Led by these reasons, I suppose our Chorazin to have been in Galilee, rather than in Perea, where most maps place it. But when this place seems to have been so famous for the frequent presence and miracles of Christ, it is a wonder that it hath nowhere else so much as a mention in the gospel-story, but in the bare remembrance of it in those words of Christ, "Woe to thee, Chorazin," &c.; whereas Bethsaida and Capernaum, places that he mentioneth with it, are spoken of elsewhere. What if, under this name, Cana be concluded, and some small country adjacent, which, from its situation in a wood, might be named 'Chorazin,' that is, 'the woody country'? Cana is famous for the frequent presence and miracles of Christ. But away with conjecture, when it grows too bold.

Chapter 95 Some towns upon the very limits of the land. Out of the Jerusalem Talmud, Demai, fol. 22. 4.

In the place cited, discourse is had about the tithing of some herbs and seeds, namely, of rice, nuts, onions, Egyptian beans, &c.; and inquiry is made, what is to be resolved of tithing them, if they grow in places which seem to be without the land; and these words are presently after brought in: -- "These cities are forbid in the borders, Tsur, Sezeth, and Bezeth, Pi Mazobah, upper and lower Canothah, Beth Badia, Rosh Maja, Amon, and Mazi (R. Mena saith, So it was called anciently, but now Susitha): Ainosh, En Teraa, Ras, Berin, Jion, Jadot, Caphar, Charob, Chaspia, and Caphar Tsemach. These cities are permitted in the borders, Nebi, Tsur, Tsijar, Gasmi, Zivian, Jagdi, Chatam, Debab, Charbatha, and Cheracchah" (or "Debab, and its wilderness, and its fortification"). You see the name Tsur, here once and again, of which we have spoken before: let us add these words elsewhere: "I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living: and are there not other lands of the living besides Tsur and her companions, -- and Caesarea and her companions?" Of Caphar Tsemach, there is mention also in the place first cited, col.3, in these words: "Rabbi looseth Bethshan. Rabbi looseth Caesarea. R. looseth Beth-Gubrim. Rabbi looseth Caphra Tsemach" (from the obligation, as it seemeth, of the Demai). "Rabbi permitted to take herbs, in the end of the seventh year: but all were against him. He said to them, Come, and let us judge of the matter. 'It is written' (concerning Hezekiah) 'And he beat in pieces the brazen serpent.' What! was not any one righteous from Moses unto his times, who did this? But God reserved that crown for him, that he might be crowned with it: and God hath reserved this crown for us, that we may be crowned with it."

Chapter 96 The consistories of more note: out of the Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedr. fol. 32. 2.

"The Rabbins deliver, Follow after righteousness, follow after righteousness. Go to (Beth-Din) the famous consistory, to R. Eleazar to Lydda, to Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai. A tradition; The sound of mills in Burni. The sons' week, the sons' week. A candle in Beror Chel. A feast is there, a feast is there." These things are something obscure, and do require light. Beror Chel, seems to design a place: but what place? Indeed, the Sanhedrim of R. Jochanan was in Jabneh; but his consistory, his seat of judgment, seems to be distinguished from the Sanhedrim. So Paul was brought up at the feet of Rabban Gamaliel; not in his Sanhedrim, but in his consistory or school. So you may conjecture, that Rabban Jochanan, besides that he sat president of the chief Sanhedrim, had his peculiar consistory in Jabneh itself, or in some neighbour place. That which follows, "A tradition, the sound of mills," &c. is cleared by the Glossers: "The sound of mills in Burni was a sign that there was a circumcision there; as if it had been publicly proclaimed, The infant's week expires in this place. And the sound of a mill was a sign that spices were ground to be applied to the wound of the circumcision. It was a time of persecution, wherein it was forbidden to circumcise: they feared, therefore, by any public notice to make known that there was to be a circumcision; but they appointed this sign." 'A candle in Beror Chel.' -- The Gloss writes, "The light of one candle in the day-time, but many candles burning in the night, gave a sign, as if one had given notice by a public proclamation that a feast of circumcision was there," &c. Another Gloss is thus: "They were wont to light candles at a circumcision. It was also a custom to spread a tablecloth at the door: hence is that, A custom prevailed at Jerusalem, that as long as the tablecloth was spread at the door, travellers went in." The Aruch writes thus; "In the time of persecution they could not celebrate public matrimony, nor public circumcision; therefore, they did them secretly: wheresoever, therefore, were lighted candles on the lintel of the door, they knew that there was a wedding-feast there; and wheresoever was the sound of mills, there was a circumcision." The Jerusalem Talmudists add, "Although the persecution ceased, yet that custom ceased not." The Babylonian Talmudists go on. "Go to R. Josua to Pekiin." In the Jerusalem Talmudists it is Bekiin, in this story that follows: "R. Jochanan Ben Bruchah, and R. Eliezer the blind, travelled from Jabneh to Lydda, and received R. Josua in Bekiin." "Go to Rabban Gamaliel to Jabneh. Go to Rabbi Akiba to Bene Barak. Go to R. Mathia to Roma. Go to R. Chananiah Ben Teradion to Sicni. To R. Jose to Zippor. To R. Judah Ben Betirah to Nisibin. To R. Josua to the captivity (viz. to Pumbeditha). To Rabbi to Beth-Shaaraim. To the Wise men in the chamber Gazith."

Chapter 97 The cities of the Levites.

Concerning them, see Numbers, chapter 35, and Joshua chapter 21. "The suburbs of the cities of the Levites were three thousand cubits on every side; viz. from the walls of the city, and outwards; as it is said, 'From the walls of the city and outwards a thousand cubits: and thou shalt measure from without the city two thousand cubits' (Numbers 35:4,5). The former thousand were the suburbs, and the latter two thousand were for fields and vineyards. They appointed the place of burial to every one of those cities to be without these bounds; for within them it was not lawful to bury a dead corpse." Do you ask the reason? It was not so much for the avoiding pollution, which might be contracted from a sepulchre, as by reason of the scribes' curious interpretation of the law, that saith, The suburban lands of these cities were given to the Levites for their cattle and oxen, "and for all their living" (creatures), Numbers 35:3: -- therefore, say they, not for the dead or for burial. All the cities of the Levites were cities of refuge; but with this distinction from those six which were properly so called; that those six afforded refuge to every one that dwelt in them, whether he betook himself thither for that end or no: but the other Levitical cities were not so. And also, that the unwitting manslayer, flying to those six cities, dwelt there at free cost, without paying any rent for his house; but in the other Levitical cities he lived not at free cost. Those forty-eight cities of the Levites were so many universities, where the ministerial tribe, distributed in companies, studied the law, became learned; and thence scattered through the whole nation, dispersed learning and the knowledge of the law in all the synagogues. Two things are, not without good reason, to be observed here, which, perhaps, are not seriously enough observed by all. I. The settled ministry of the church of Israel was not prophets, but priests and Levites, Malachi 2:7. For it was not seldom when there were no prophets; and the prophets send the people to the priests for instruction, Haggai 2:11, and Malachi, in the place mentioned already. II. That tithes were granted to the priests and Levites, not only when they ministered at the altar or in the Temple, but when they studied in the universities and preached in the synagogues. Behold the method of God's own institution. God chooseth Israel to be a peculiar people to himself: to this chosen people he gives a law and a clergy: on the clergy he enjoins the study of the law: to their studies he suits academical societies: on the universities he bestows lands and tithes: on the synagogues he bestows tithes and university-men. And the schools of the prophets were little universities, and colleges of students. For their governor they had some venerable prophet, inspired with the Holy Spirit, and that partook of divine revelations. The scholars were not inspired indeed with the same prophetic spirit, but received prophecies from the mouth of their master. He revealed to them those things that were revealed to him, of the will of God and the state of the people, of the times and events of Israel, and above all, of the mysteries of the gospel; of the Messiah, of his coming, times, death, resurrection, and those things that were to be done by him. In these small universities, "the prophets, who prophesied of the grace that should come (as the apostle Peter speaks), inquired diligently of salvation; searching what, or what manner of time that was, which was pointed out by the Spirit of Christ that was in them, when he foretold the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." These things, not to be fetched out by the mere and bare study of the law, were here taught; and so the studies of the law and gospel together

rendered the minister of the divine word complete.

Chapter 98 Some miscellaneous matters respecting the face of the land.

I. Let us begin with that canon concerning reading the Book of Esther in the feast of Purim. "Towns that were begirt with walls from the days of Joshua read it on the fifteenth day" of the month Adar: "Villages and great cities read it the fourteenth day": "Unless that the villages anticipate it, to the day of the congregation." You see a threefold distinction of cities and towns: 1. Fortifications, or towns girt with walls from the days of Joshua. But whence shall we know them? They are those which are mentioned in the Book of Joshua; "which, however in after-times they were not begirt with walls, are nevertheless reckoned under the catalogue of them, as to the reading of that book." 2. Great cities. That was called a great city in which was a synagogue. So it is defined by the Piske Tosaphoth, "That is a great city, in which are ten men at leisure to pray and read the law." See what we say concerning these things on Matthew 4:23, when we speak of synagogues. 3. Villages. That is, such where there was not a synagogue. Yea, saith the Piske Harosh, "a fortified town, wherein are not ten men of leisure" (or such as 'ceased from the things of the world'; and these made up a synagogue), "is reputed as a village," &c. That which is added in the text of the Misna, "Unless the villages do anticipate it to the day of the congregation," is thus explained by the Glossers: "When towns, girt with walls, read the Book of Esther on the fifteenth day, and those that were not walled, on the fourteenth (see Esther 9:21): and yet it is said before" (in the same text of the Misna), "that that book is read the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days; the wise men granted liberty to the villages to preoccupate the reading, namely, on that day wherein they resorted to the synagogue: that is, either the second day of the week, that went before the fourteenth day of the month, or the fifth day of the week: which were days of assembly, in which the villages resorted into the cities to judgment. For the second and fifth days of the week, the judiciary consistories sat in the cities by the appointment of Ezra. Now the villagers were not skillful in reading; therefore it was needful that they should have some reader in the city." II. Let the canons and cautions of the spaces and places next joining to the city or town be observed: 1. "A dovecote was not built within fifty cubits from the city": and that, lest the pigeons might do injury to the gardens that were sown. 2. "They permitted not a tree within five-and-twenty cubits from the city." "And this (as the Gloss speaks) for the grace of the city." 3. "They allowed not a barn-floor within fifty cubits from the city": that, when they fanned their corn, their chaff might not offend the citizens. 4. "They permitted not dead carcasses, or burying-places, nor a tanner's shop, to be within fifty cubits from the city" (because of the stink). "Nor did they allow a tanner's workshop at all, but on the east side of the city. R. Akiba saith, On any side, except the west, but at the distance of fifty cubits." III. From the cities let us walk forth into their ploughed grounds and fields. Here you might see, in some places, certain tokens hung upon some fig-trees, to show of what year the fruit that grew there was. See what we say on Matthew 21:19. In other places, you might see barren trees stigmatized with some mark of infamy. "A tree which shook off its fruits before they were ripe, they mark with red, and load it with stones." You might see the ploughing and mowing of their fields, the dressing of their vines, and their vintage, to be done by the rules of the scribes, as well as by the art of the

husbandman, or the vine-dresser. For such was the care and diligence of the Fathers of the Traditions, concerning tithing corn and fruits, concerning leaving a corner for the poor, concerning the avoiding of sowing different seeds, and of not transgressing the law concerning the seventh year; that they might not plough, nor sow, nor reap, but according to the traditional rule. Hence are those infinite disputes in the books Peah, Demai, Kilaim, Sheviith, of the corner of the field to be left, what and how much the portion of it was, and of what things such corners ought to consist? Of those that divide the field so that a double corner of it is due to the poor: Whether a corner is due from beds of corn that grow among olive trees? Whether from a field whose sowing and reaping is various? What are the trees whose fruits are Demai? Of what things is the tithing of the Demai? How long the same plot of ground may be sown with different seeds, so as not to offend against the law? Of sowing different seeds: -- How many vines make a vineyard? Of their rows, of the beds of the vineyard, of sowing within the press, &c. and innumerable decisions of that nature, which did so keep the countryman within bounds, that he could not plough nor mow his land according to his own will, but according to the rule of tradition."The inhabitants of Beth-Namer measured out a corner for the poor with a line, and they gave a corner out of every row. Abba Saul saith, They make mention of them to their praise, and to their dispraise: to their dispraise, because they gave one part out of a hundred; to their praise, because, measuring with a line, they collected and gave a corner out of every row": that is, meeting with a measuring line, they yielded the hundredth part of the field to the poor, and that out of every row of sheaves.

Chapter 99 Subterraneous places. Mines. Caves.

Thus having taken some notice of the superficies of the land, let us a little search into its bowels. You may divide the subterraneous country into three parts: the metal mines, the caves, and the places of burial. This land was eminently noted for metal mines, so that "its stones," in very many places, "were iron, and out of its hills was digged brass," Deuteronomy 8:9. From these gain accrued to the Jews: but to the Christians, not seldom slavery and misery; being frequently condemned hither by tyrants. So Eusebius of Edesius, "He was condemned to the metal mines of Palestine." And again, concerning others, "Then passing to the other confessors of Christ, he condemns them all to the brass mines, which were in Pheno of Palestine." On the north part of the land, in the country of Asher, were mines of metal. Hence is that in Deuteronomy 33:25, "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass." On the south, in the desert of Sin, the utmost bounds of Judea, were mines also: hence -- and shall pass to Zin, as our translation reads, Numbers 34:4, -- in the Jerusalem Targumist, is over-against the mountain of iron: and in Jonathan, unto the palm-trees of the mountain of iron: and in the Talmudists, the palm-trees of the mountain of iron are fit to make a small bundle to carry in the hand in the feast of Tabernacles. On the east coast of Perea was also "an iron mountain," -- witness Josephus. And without doubt there were other such-like mines, scattered here and there in other parts of that land, though of them we have no mention. You will not at all wonder at these underminings of the earth, seeing they brought so much profit and gain with them, and were so necessary to the life of man. But what shall we say of those dens and caves in rocks and mountains, whence no gain seemed to be digged, but rather danger arose to the neighbouring places oftentimes? For what were these, but lurking-places for wild beasts and robbers? There is infinite mention of these caves both in the Holy Scriptures and in other writings, especially in Josephus, where subterraneous passages, and dens, are mentioned a thousand times. And many of these were of a vast largeness, scarcely to be credited; those especially in the Talmudists, which are called "The dens of Zedekiah," not a few miles in distance. But were those hollows the work of nature, or of the hands and industry of man? By one example, taken out of Josephus, the thing may be determined. Relating the story of a castle built by Hyrcanus in Perea, among other things he speaks thus: "Out of the rock against the mountain, having cut in two the prominent parts of it, he made dens of many furlongs long." And a little after, "He made the mouths that opened into these dens to be strait, that but one might go in at a time, and no more": "and this he did on purpose for security's sake, and for avoiding danger, in case he should be besieged by his brethren." These dens, therefore, were cut out of mountains and rocks for the uses of war, that they might serve for refuge and strength. And it is probable the Canaanites, a warlike and gigantic nation, had digged very many of these caves before the entrance of the Israelites into that land; and that the Israelites also increased the number of them. See concerning these caves, Joshua 10:16; Judges 6:2; 1 Samuel 22:1, and 24:3; 1 Kings 18:13; Isaiah 2:19, &c.

Chapter 100 Of the places of Burial.

There were more common and more noble sepulchres. The common were in public burying-places, as it is with us: but they were without the city. "And through that place was no current of waters to be made; through it was to be no public way; cattle were not to feed there, nor was wood to be gathered from thence." "Nor was it lawful to walk among the sepulchres with phylacteries fastened to their heads, nor with the book of the law hanging at their arm." Some sepulchres were extraordinary; that is, in reference to the place of their situation. As, 1. A sepulchre found; that is, when a sepulchre is in somebody's field without his knowledge; but at last the sepulchre is discovered. 2. A sepulchre that is publicly noxious; that is, digged near some place of common walk or travel: from the nearness of which the passengers contract pollution. The more noble sepulchres were hewn out in some rock, in their own ground, with no little charge and art. You have the form of them described in the place noted in the margin, in these words: "He that selleth his neighbour a place of burial, and he that takes of his neighbour a place of burial, let him make the inner parts of the cave four cubits, and six cubits; and let him open within it eight sepulchres." They were not wont, say the Glosses, to bury men of the same family here and there, scatteringly, and by themselves, but altogether in one cave: whence, if any one sells his neighbour a place of burial, he sells him room for two caves, or hollows on both sides, and a floor in the middle. Coffin is the very place where the dead corpse is laid. The tradition goes on: "Three sepulchres are on this side, and three on that, and two near them. And those sepulchres are four cubits long, seven high, and six broad." To those that entered into the sepulchral cave, and carried the bier, there was first a floor, where they stood, and set down the bier, in order to their letting it down into the sepulchre: on this and the other side, there was a cave, or a hollowed place, deeper than the floor by four cubits, into which they let down the corpse, divers coffins being there prepared for divers corpses. "R. Simeon saith, The hollow of the cave consists of six cubits, and eight cubits, and it opens thirteen sepulchres within it, four on this side and four on that, and three before them, and one on the right hand of the door, and another on the left. And the floor within the entrance into the cave consists of a square, according to the dimensions of the bier, and of them that bear it: and from it, it opens two caves, one on this side, and another on that. R. Simeon saith, Four at the four sides of it. Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, The whole is made according to the condition of the ground." These things are handled by the Gemarists and Glossers very curiously and very largely, whom you may consult. From these things now spoken, you may more plainly understand many matters which are related of the sepulchre of our Saviour. Such as these: Mark 16:5: "The women, entering into the sepulchre, saw a young man sitting on the right hand": in the very floor, immediately after the entrance into the sepulchre. Luke 24:3: "Going in they found not his body," &c. Verse 5: "While they bowed down their faces to the earth, Peter ran to the sepulchre, and, when he had stooped down, he saw the linen-clothes"; that is, the women, and Peter after them, standing in the floor, bow down their faces, and look downward into the place where the sepulchres themselves were (the cave of the graves), which, as we said before, was four cubits deeper than the floor. John 20:5: "The disciple whom Jesus loved came first to the sepulchre; and when he had stooped down" (standing in the floor, that he might look into the

burying-place), "saw the linen clothes lie; yet went he not in. But Peter went in," &c.; that is, from the floor he went down into the cave itself, where the rows of the graves were (in which, nevertheless, no corpses had been as yet laid, besides the body of Jesus): thither also after Peter, John goes down. And verse 11: "But Mary, weeping, stood at the sepulchre without: and while she wept, she stooped down to the sepulchre, and saw two angels in white sitting, one at the head, and another at the feet, where the body of Christ had lain." "She stood at the sepulchre without"; that is, within the cave, on the floor, but without that deeper cave, where the very graves were, or the places for the bodies: bowing herself, to look down thither, she saw two angels at the head and foot of that coffin wherein the body of Christ had been laid. Sacred to God and the King,

An altar is here to be erected before the porch;

and thanksgivings to be offered on it,

for this leisure granted to the studies of learning; for the muses preserved,

for me and mine snatched from imminent ruin, --

To Jehovah the Deliverer,

and to Caesar the Preserver:

To Caesar the things which are Caesar's,

and to God the things which are God's. Come hither, stranger, [viator], and stand by me, while I am sacrificing; and when you hear me relating my own story, help my prayers with yours; assist me in this holy office, and worship the same deities with me. I sing the mercy of God, and the clemency of the king, by which I was preserved from suffering shipwreck, when I had been already shipwrecked; and from being driven out of doors, when I had been already driven out. This rectory of Great Mundon, which I have now enjoyed for almost twenty years, belongs to the royal donation and grant, pleno jure, as they use to speak. By which right two rectors were placed here heretofore by two kings: persons they were of eminent name, of no ordinary worth, and the like to whom their times produced not many. One was the very famous George Downham, STD, presented by king James, who was promoted hence, and sent over to the bishopric of Derry in Ireland. And he leaving it, that excellent person Samuel Ward, STD, master of Sidney Sussex College, in the university of Cambridge, and also the most grave and learned professor of the lady Margaret in the same university, was made his successor by king Charles. Upon his decease I succeeded here; far unequal (alas!) to so great men: and as unhappy, that I was not admitted by the same right, but by that power that then, while the wars prevailed, possessed all. The brittleness of this my weak title lay not concealed; but when the king's majesty, in which we now rejoice, by a happy turn of Providence returned to his own rights, it was presently discovered; and this rectory was granted to one who was a suitor for it, by the royal donation. Thus I and my fortunes are shipwrecked, and my affairs are come to that last extremity, that nothing now remains for me but to leave my house and these quiet retirements wherein for so many years I followed my studies with the highest satisfaction and the sweetest leisure. But another thing there was that stuck more close, namely, that I seemed to see royal majesty offended with me, and that brow that shined on others with a most sweet serenity, sad, clouded, bended on me; and certainly to perish under the displeasure of a king is twice to perish. Under these straits what should I do? There was no place for hope, when

the fatal instrument was now signed against me: but to despair is to subscribe to one's own misfortune, is to derogate from the king's mercy, is to submit to certain ruin under uncertain suspicion. Perhaps the most merciful king is not angry with me at all, for eagles do not use to be angry with flies. Nor, perhaps, is it too late, nor altogether to no purpose, to seek after a remedy for my wound, not yet incurable; for as yet the fatal decree was not gone out without repeal. Perhaps my case is altogether unknown to the best king, or disguised by some unjust complaint; and it is a comfort that my business lies before a king, not before a common man. To the altar, therefore, of his mercy I humbly fly in a lowly supplication, begging and entreating him to consider my case, to revoke the destructive decree, and to vouchsafe to continue and establish my station in this place. Take now, O England, a measure of thy king; and, even from this one example, learn what a prince thou hast to boast of. The royal father of his country received my supplication cheerfully, complied with my desires, and granted me his donation, -- established it with his great seal, and (which I desire might be written in letters of gold to last for ever) by a particular, and, as it were, paternal care, took order that hereafter none, by any means whatsoever, should proceed to do any thing that tended either to my danger or ruin. O! how would I commemorate thee, thou best of princes, greatest Charles, how would I commemorate thee! What praises or what expressions shall I use to celebrate or set forth so great clemency, commiseration, and goodness? Those are light obligations that speak, these my obligations stand amazed, are speechless, and swallowed up in admiration. It is for common men to do benefits that may be expressed in words, it is for Charles to oblige beyond all that can be spoken. I will add another thing also, O stranger, which the same mercy and goodness also added. For when I feared the same fortune in the university as I had felt in the country, and fled again to the same altar, the royal bounty heard me, granted my petition, ratified my desires, and confirmed and strengthened my station there also. To comprise all in a word, which indeed exceeds all words. Although I were an obscure person and of no note, altogether unworthy and of no merit, wholly unknown to the king's majesty, and lying possibly under some kind of accusations, (for it wanted not an accusation that I was put into these places by that authority that I was,) yet twice within two weeks by the royal favour I obtained his grant, confirmed by his hand, and the great seal of England. And thus rooted out here he replanted me; and ready to be rooted out elsewhere he preserved me, rescued me from danger, freed me of my fear: so that now I, as well as my worthy predecessors, have this to boast of, that I have a king to my patron. But far be it, far be it, from me, most unworthy man, to boast: all this, most great, most merciful prince, redounds to your praise alone; and let it do so: rather let England glory in such a prince, and let the prince glory in such mercy. Triumph, Caesar, triumph in that brave spirit of yours, as you well may. You are Charles, and you conquer; you subdue all by pitying, delivering, giving, and forgiving all. That conquest I shall always acknowledge with all humility and thankfulness: and thou, little book, and you, trifling sheets, wheresoever ye shall fly, tell this abroad in my name everywhere, and to every man, that although there be nothing else in you worthy to be read, yet that this my sincere profession may be read and heard; that, next after the divine mercy, I owe to the mercy of the king, that I enjoy this sweet leisure for learning, that I enjoy these quiet retirements, that I enjoy a house, that I enjoy myself. So, O father of the country, may the Father of mercies reward you sevenfold, and seventy times sevenfold into your bosom; and may you feel every day the benefit and sweetness of doing good by the recompenses that are made you by Heaven. Thus may your mercy ever triumph, and ever reap as the fruit of it the eternal favour of the Divine mercy. Thus may England be crowned for a long time with her king;

and may the king be crowned for ever with the love of God, with his protection, his blessing, his grace, his glory. Made these vows, Jan. 1, 1661. To the Right Reverend Father in Christ, Gilbert,

By the Divine Providence, Lord Bishop of London. The sacrifice by the law was to be delivered into the hands of the priest, and to be offered by him: and since your hands, reverend prelate, vouchsafed to offer my petitions, to the king's majesty, I now become an humble petitioner that those hands would please to offer also these testimonials of my thanks. I bring the firstfruits of my replantation which the royal favour indulged me by the intercession of your honour, when I had been rooted up. For since by that favour I am restored to these seats, to peace, and my studies, there is nothing I now desire besides, nothing more than that that most excellent prince may perceive, that he hath not been a benefactor to an ungrateful person, however unworthy, however obscure: and that your honour may see that you have not interceded for a forgetful person, howsoever undeserving. I shall never forget, great sir, with how much kindness and candour your honour received me in my straits, altogether unknown to you, and whose face you had never before seen: with how great concern you pleaded my cause before the king's majesty, before the most honourable the lord chancellor of England, and before the right reverend my diocesan: how your honour consulted for me, wrote letters, laid stops, that my ruin might not proceed beyond a possibility of restoration. All which while I reflect upon, which I ever do, and while, together with that reflection, I consider what ever do, and while, together with that reflection, I consider what obligation lays upon me on one hand, and my own meanness on the other; on one hand how unworthy I am of so great favour, and how altogether unable to make any recompense on the other; what else is left me but to fly again to the same kindness, humbly imploring it, that as it at first so obligingly received me, a person unknown and unworthy; so it would now entertain me, known and bound by so great obligation, and approaching with all the thanks I can give. Those thanks so due to your honour I have committed to these papers; unlearned indeed they are, and undressed [impolitic]; but such as carry sincerity with them, though not learning, thankfulness, though not eloquence. And I have intrusted this charge with them the rather, because I suppose they may disperse themselves far and near, and perhaps may live to posterity: and that which I desire of them is, that they would declare to all how indebted he is to your honour, and to your great humanity, with how great obligations he is bound to you, and with how grateful a mind and inward affection he professeth all this, and will acknowledge it for ever, who is, My Lord,

Your Honour's most obliged servant,

John Lightfoot

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