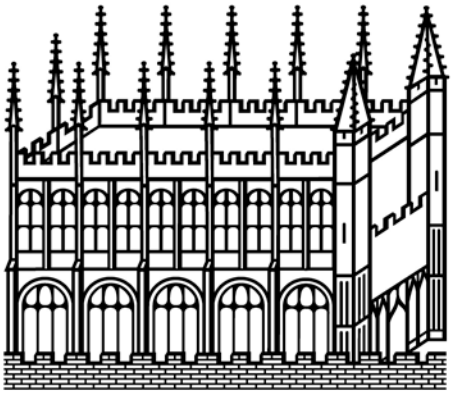

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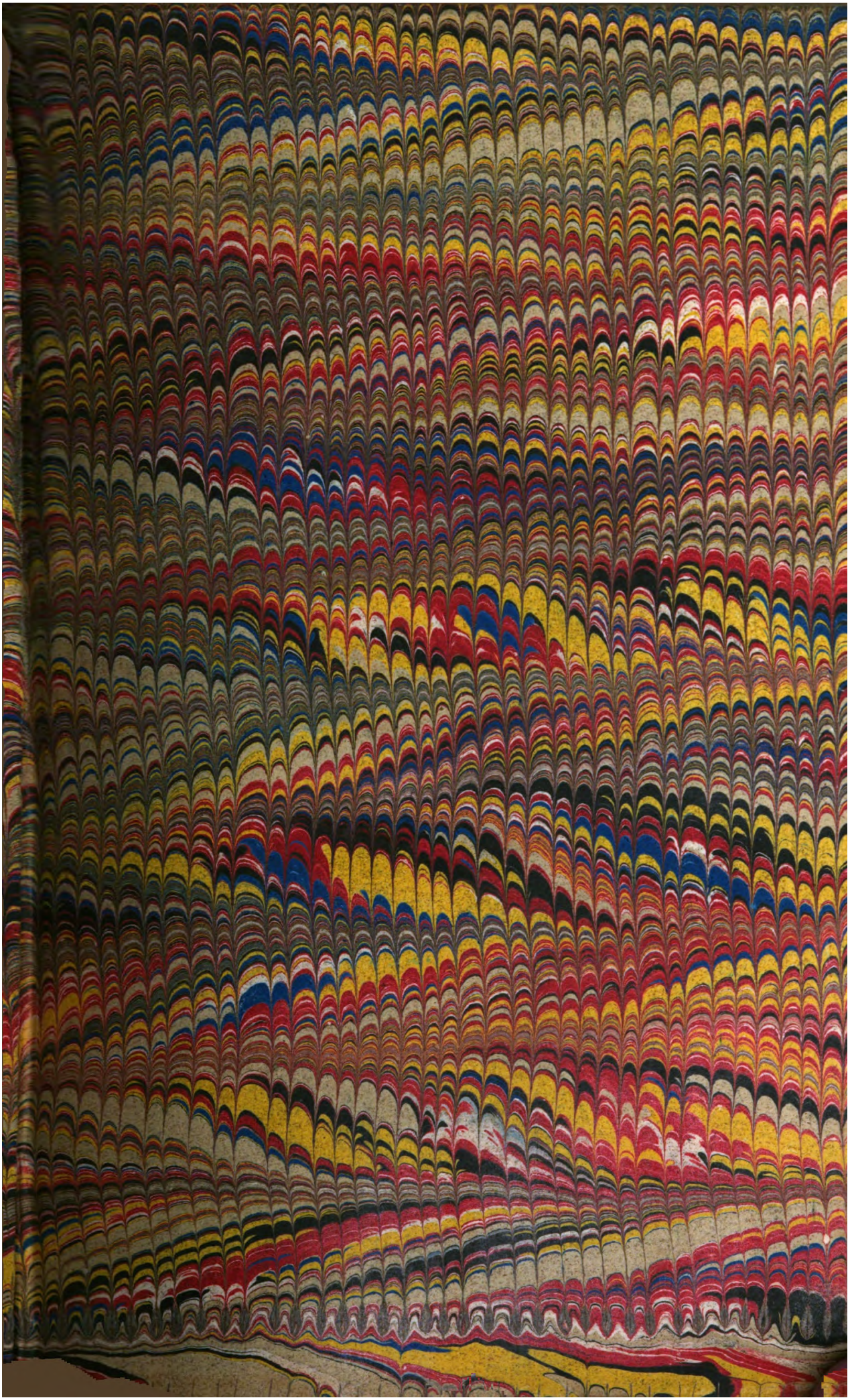

XT. B. 260.

THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

REV. JOHN LIGHTFOOT, D.D.

MASTER OF CATHARINE HALL,

Cambridge.

EDITED BY THE

REV. JOHN ROGERS PITMAN, A.M.

Alternate Morning Preacher at Belgrave and Berkeley Chapels; and alternate Evening Preacher at the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals.

VOLUME III.

CONTAINING

THE HARMONY, CHRONICLE, AND ORDER, OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT;

WITH A PARERGON, CONCERNING THE FALL OF JERUSALEM:

ALSO, FOUR LATIN TRACTS;

1. DE CŒNA CHRISTI ULTIMA;
2. AN JOHANNES EVANGELISTA SIT APOCALYPSEOS AUCTOR;
3. DE SPIRITU PROPHETIÆ;
4. DE ACADEMIA JAFNENSI.

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MDCCCXXII.

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MDCCCXXII.

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THE

HARMONY, CHRONICLE,

AND ORDER,

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

THE TEXT OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS METHODIZED:
THE STORY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES ANALYZED:
THE ORDER OF THE EPISTLES MANIFESTED:
THE TIMES OF THE REVELATION OBSERVED.

ALL ILLUSTRATED, WITH

Variety of Observations

UPON

THE CHIEFEST DIFFICULTIES, TEXTUAL AND TALMUDICAL,

FOR CLEARING OF THEIR SENSE AND LANGUAGE.

WITH AN ADDITIONAL

DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE FALL OF JERUSALEM,

AND THE

CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN THAT LAND AFTERWARD.

*SERENISSIMO

OLIVERO

REIPUB. ANGL. SCOT. ET HIBERN. &c.

DOMINO PROTECTORI,

J. L.

DEVOTISSIMUS CLIENS
MUNUSCULUM HOC LITERARIUM
IN SE QUIDEM NIHILUM,
AT SUMMI OFFICII, OMNIMODÆQUE OBSERVANTIÆ
SINCERUM PIGNUS AC INDICIUM,
HUMILLIME MERITOQUE
DICAT DEDICATQUE

* Omitted by Dr. Bright.

*EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

TO

HIS HIGHNESS'S

HONOURABLE COUNCIL.

It is not presumption, that hath induced me to this address, but sense of duty, and of that obligation that lies upon me. For, besides that homage, which I owe, in common with the whole nation, to His Highness (whom the Lord hath placed over us, and raised up a healer and deliverer in the needful time), a peculiar and redoubled bond of fealty obligeth me, as living in a Rectory, that belongeth to his patronage and donation. Which tenancy and dependance as I cannot but own, in all submissiveness, thankfulness, and duty; so, in acknowledgment thereof, and of my hearty loyalty to His Highness, I have assumed the humble boldness to present this poor tribute and oblation to him, having no better thing to offer. His clemency and goodness will not despise the offering of a willing mind, though it be but mean, especially one of this nature: I dare not call the subject that I have handled 'mean,' because it is the sum of the New Testament; but the failings and the meanness of the handling of it, as it is the more

* Omitted by Dr. Bright.

excusable, because aiming at so worthy a subject, (and who is sufficient for these things?) so may I hope that it will find the more easy pardon, and some acceptance, for the subject's sake.

With this most humble address to His Highness, I was desirous to leave an humble memorial, also, with your Honours, who stand so near him, not only of profession of that service and observance, that with all the nation I owe to your Lordships, but also of special thankfulness and acknowledgment of goodness and favour received from your honourable table, in a matter of mine own particular concernment. I can add no more, but my prayers to the Father of mercies, for his gracious protection of His Highness and your Honours, and that he will guide you in all your counsels and in all your ways.

Devoted to your Honours,

In all service,

J. L.

TO

THE READER.

I SHALL not trouble the reader with any long discourse, to show, how the Scripture abounds with transposition of stories; how the Holy Ghost doth, eminently, hereby show the majesty of his style and divine wisdom; how this is equally used in both Testaments; what need the student of Scripture hath carefully to observe those dislocations; and what profit he may reap, by reducing them to their proper time and order. I shall only, in brief, give account of what I have done in the ensuing treatise, which refers to that way of study of the New Testament.

Some years ago, I published "The Harmony, Chronicle, and Order, of the Old Testament;" observing what transpositions may be observed there, the reason of their dislocating, and where, in chronical account, is their proper time and place; and, accordingly, manifesting the genuine order of the books, chapters, stories, and prophecies, through the whole book. The New Testament, being written and composed after the very same manner of texture, requireth the like observation; and, having made the assay upon the one, I could not but do the like by the other. I have, therefore, first observed the proper time and order of the texts of the evangelists,—and how all the four may be reduced into the current of one story, and thereby evidences taken out of them themselves. I could willingly have published the text itself, in that order; for so I have transcribed it, from end to end, and so I offered it to the press, but found its passage difficult: so that I have been forced to give directions for the so reading of it, only by naming chapters and verses. It would have been both more easy and more pleasant to the reader, had the text of the Four been laid before him in several columns; but his examining and ordering it in his own Bible, by the intimations given, will cost more labour indeed, but will better confirm memory and understanding.

'The Acts of the Apostles,' do not much scruple the reader with dislocations; but the taking up of the times of the

stories, is not of little difficulty, and yet, in some particulars, of some necessity. These are observed where most material, according to what light and evidence may be had for them, either in the text itself there, or elsewhere. Especially, I have endeavoured to observe the times of the writing of 'The Epistles,' both those that fall-in in those times that the story of 'The Acts of the Apostles' handleth,—and those that were written afterward. For the fixing of some, there is so plain ground from the text, that the time is determined certainly: for others, we are put to probability and conjecture; yet such ground to build conjecture on, that, I hope, there hath not been much roving from the mark. I must stand at the reader's censure.

I was unwilling to have meddled with 'The Revelation,' —partly, because I have no mind to be bold in things of that nature (I see too much daring with that book already); and partly, because I could not go along with the common stating of the times and matters there. Yet being necessitated by the nature of the task, that I had undertaken, I could not but deal with the times and order of things spoken of in that book: and that could not be done neither, without some speaking to the things themselves: which I have conjectured at (referring all to better judgments) by the best propriety of the language and dialect used, I could observe,—where literally, and where allusively, to be understood.

Now, because it would have been but a tedious task for the reader, only to study upon the mere dislocations, and the ordering of them, or only to be pondering how to lay all in their right current,—I have not only gone the way before him, but have strewed his way all along with variety of observations; as not obvious (for such would have but added one tediousness to another), so I hope not unprofitable, nor without his delight.

I have not set myself to comment; but, in a transient way, to hint the clearing of some of the most conspicuous difficulties,—and that, partly, from the text itself,—and, partly, from Talmudical collections: of which latter I have alleged very many; and the most of them, I hope, not impertinently, but for useful illustration. For though it is true, indeed, that there are no greater enemies to Christ, nor greater deniers of the doctrine of the gospel, than the Hebrew writers; yet, as Korah's censers, and the spoils of David's enemies, were de-

dicated to the sanctuary-service,—so may the records, to be met with in these men, be of most excellent use and improvement to the explication of a world of passages in the New Testament. Nay, multitudes of passages are not possibly to be explained, but from these records. For, since the scene of the most actings in it, was among the Jews,—the speeches of Christ and his apostles were to the Jews,—and they Jews, by birth and education, that wrote the Gospels and Epistles; it is no wonder if it speak the Jews' dialect throughout; and glanceth at their traditions, opinions, and customs, at every step. What author in the world, but he is best to be understood from the writers and dialect of his own nation? What one Roman writer can a man understandingly read, unless he be well acquainted with their history, customs, propriety of phrases, and common speech? So doth the New Testament; 'loquitur cum vulgo:' though it be penned in Greek, it speaks in the phrase of the Jewish nation, among whom it was penned, all along; and there are multitudes of expressions in it, which are not to be found but there, and in the Jews' writings, in all the world. They are very much deceived, that think the New Testament so very easy to be understood, because of the familiar doctrine it containeth,—faith and repentance. It is true, indeed, it is plainer as to the matter it handleth, than the Old, because it is an unfolding of the Old:—but for the attaining of the understanding of the expressions that it useth in these explications, you must go two steps farther than you do about the Old;—namely, to observe where, and how, it useth the Septuagint's Greek, as it doth very commonly;—and when it useth the Jews' idiom, or reference thereunto, which indeed it doth continually. A student, well versed in their language and writings, would find it no great difficulty to translate the New Testament into Talmudic language, almost from verse to verse, so close doth it speak all along to their common speech. The allegations that I have produced of this nature, in this present tract, I have done but cursorily, as not writing a comment, but a running survey of the times, order, and history, of the whole New Testament: so that, it may be, many of them may not speak to every reader that full intent, for which they are produced,—and which, would I have spent my time to have been their interpreter (but I was willing to avoid prolixity), I could have made them to have spoken plainly.

What I might have done in this kind, I shall show but by one instance (which let not the reader think tedious here, since I have avoided tediousness, in this kind, all along hereafter); and this is by a comment, in the way we have been speaking of, but upon one verse, and that is the twenty-second verse of the fifth chapter of Matthew; which I have picked out the rather, to make an exercitation upon, because it is generally held by all expositors, that in it there is a plain reference to something in the Jewish customs, which is the thing we have been mentioning.

"Whosoever is angry with his brother, without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment," &c.

The sense which is ordinarily given of this verse, in the construction of many expositors, is made to refer unto the three sorts of judicatories among the Jews: the lowest, consisting of three judges,—the middle, of twenty-three,—and the supreme, of seventy-one. With which allusion and explication I cannot close, upon these three reasons:—1. Because the lowest judicatory, to which they apply the word, 'the judgment,' had nothing to do in capital matters: and so the conclusion of the verse before cannot be understood in this verse, 'The murderer shall be in danger of being judged by the judicatory of three;' for they judged no such thing: and, answerably, the first clause in this verse, where the same word, 'the judgment,' is reserved, cannot have the same application. 2. The word Συνέδριον is used only in the second clause; and it will be hard to give a reason, why the middle Sanhedrim should only be so called (as that interpretation makes it to be), when all the three, and most eminently the highest, did bear that name. 3. To apply 'Gehenna ignis,' to penalty inflicted by the highest Sanhedrim, as divers do, doth cause so hard straining (as may be observed in the several allusions that are framed of it), that it is very far from an easily-digested and current sense. I deny not, indeed, that Christ, in the verse, alluded to something of the Jews' practices, in some point of judicature; but unto what, I shall defer to conjecture, till its course come, in the method, in which it seemeth most genuine to take the unfolding of the verse up: and that is,—1. To consider of three words in it; which also are to be met in other places, and so carry a more general concernment with them, than to

be confined unto this verse;—and those are, 'brother,' and Ἔνοχος, and Gehenna. 2. To consider of the three degrees of offences that are spoken of,—namely, 'causeless anger,' saying 'Raca,' and calling, 'Thou fool.' And, 3. To consider of the three penalties denounced upon these offences,—viz. 'judgment,' 'the council,' and 'hell-fire.'

1. The word 'brother,'—which doth so constantly wrap up all professors of the name of Christ, in the signification of it, in the New Testament,—may not unfitly be looked upon, by reflection upon the sense of the word 'neighbour,' in the Old Testament, as that was commonly interpreted and understood by the Jews: "By using the word 'neighbour' (saith Rabbi Nathan), he excludeth all the heathen[a]." And let this passage of Maimonides be well weighed: "It is all one (saith he) to slay an Israelite, and to slay a Canaanite servant: he that doth either, must be put to death for it. An Israelite that slayeth a stranger-sojourner, is not put to death by the Sanhedrim for it, because it is said,—If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour[b]; and it is needless to say, he is not to be put to death for a heathen. And, it is all one for a man to kill another man's servant, or to kill his own servant; for he must die for either; because a servant hath taken upon him the commandments, and is added to the possession of the Lord[c]." By which it is apparent, that they accounted all of their own religion, and them only, to come under the title 'neighbour:' to which opinion how our Saviour speaketh, you may observe in Luke, x. 29, 30, &c. So that in the Jewish church there were those, that went under the notion of 'brethren,'—that is, 'Israelites,'—who were all of one blood: and those that went under the name of 'neighbours;' and those were they, that came in from other nations to their religion: "They shall no more teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother[d]." Now, under the gospel, where there is no distinction of tribes and kindreds, the word 'brother' is ordinarily used to signify in the same latitude that 'neighbour' had done; namely, 'all that come into the profession of the gospel;' and *it* is so taken also, as *that* had been, in contradistinction to 'a heathen:' "Any man that is called a brother[e]:"—"If thy brother offend thee, &c. let him be as a heathen[f]."

[a] Aruch. in בן בריה. [b] Exod. xxi. 14. [c] In Retseah, &c. cap. 2.
[d] Jer. xxxi. 34, &c. [e] 1 Cor. v. 11. [f] Matt. xviii. 15. 17.

2. Ἔνοχος, which our English rendereth, 'is in danger of,' translates the words חייב and מחויב, which are as ordinarily used among the Jewish writers, as any words whatsoever: as, חייב מיתה 'guilty of death;' חייב כרת 'guilty of cutting off,' &c. Every page, almost in either Talmud, will give you examples of this nature.

3. Gehenna:—It is well known, that this expression is taken from גיא הנום 'The valley of Hinnom;' of which, and of the filthiness and abominableness of which place, there is so much spoken in Scripture. There was the horrid idol Molech, to which they burnt their children in the fire: "And thither was cast out all the filth and unburied carcasses; and there was a continual fire to burn the filth and the bones[g]."

From hence the Jews borrowed the word, and used it, in their ordinary language, to betoken 'hell:' and the text, from which they especially translated the construction, seemeth to have been the last verse of the prophecy of Isaiah, which by some of them is glossed thus; "And they shall go forth out of Jerusalem, into the valley of Hinnom, and there they shall see the carcasses of those, that rebelled against me[h]," &c.

It were endless to show the frequency of the word in their writers: let these few examples suffice:—"Lord, thou wilt drive all the wicked to Gehinnom[i]." "The wicked shall be judged and delivered to Gehinnom, the everlasting burning[j]." "Thou shalt see those that go down to the land of Gehinnom[k]." "They shall be gathered together, as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in prison, מחוייבי נחנום לנהנום ἔνοχοι εἰς γέενναν, εἰς γέενναν, They that are guilty of Gehinnom, into Gehinnom[l]." "Be thou delivered from the judgment of Gehinnom[m]." "Do you think to be delivered from the judgment of Gehinnom[n]?" "Because of the law, they are delivered from the judgment of Gehenna[o]," &c. See the phrase, Matt. xxiii. 33.

And now we have done with words, let us come to sentences; and consider the offences that are prohibited, which are easily acknowledged to be gradual, or one above another. About the first,—viz. 'causeless anger,'—there needeth no explanation; the words and matter are plain enough.

The second is, "Whosoever shall say to his brother,

[g] As D. Kimchi saith, in Psal. xxvii. [h] Vid. Kimch. et Ab. Ezr. in loc. [i] Chald. Paraph. on Isa. xxvi. 15. [j] Ibid. on Isa. xxxiii. 14. [k] Ibid. on ver. 17. [l] R. Sol. on Isa. xxiv. 22. [m] Targ. in Ruth, ii. 12. [n] Midras Mishle, fol. 69. [o] Baal Tur. in Gen. i. 1.

Raca:"—A nickname, or scornful title, which they disdainfully put one upon another, and very commonly: and, therefore, our Saviour hath specified in this word, the rather, because it was of so common use among them, and they made no bones at it. Take these few examples:—" A certain man sought to betake himself to repentance (and restitution); his wife said to him, 'Recah,' if thou make restitution, even thy girdle about thee is not thine own[p]," &c. " Rabbi Jochanan was teaching concerning the building of Jerusalem with sapphires and diamonds, &c.: one of his scholars laughed him to scorn; but, afterward, being convinced of the truth of the thing, he saith to him, Rabbi, do thou expound, for it is fit for thee to expound; as thou saidst, so have I seen it: he saith to him, 'Recah,' hadst thou not seen, thou wouldest not have believed[q]," &c. " To what is the thing like? To a king of flesh and blood, who took to wife a king's daughter. He saith to her, Wait, and fill me a cup, but she would not: whereupon he was angry and put her away. She went and was married to a sordid fellow: and he saith to her, Wait, and fill me a cup: she said unto him, 'Recah,' I am a king's daughter[r]," &c. " A Gentile saith to an Israelite, I have a dainty dish, for thee to eat of: he saith, What is it? he answers, Swine's flesh: he saith to him, 'Recah,' even what you kill of clean beasts, is forbidden us, much more this[s]."

The third offence, is, to say to a brother, " Thou fool:" which how to distinguish from 'Raca,' which signifies 'an empty fellow,' were some difficulty; but that Solomon is a good dictionary here for us, who takes the term continually for a wicked wretch and reprobate, and in opposition to spiritual wisdom.—So that, in the first clause, is condemned 'causeless anger;' in the second, 'scornful taunting and reproaching of a brother;' and in the last, 'calling him a reprobate and wicked,' or uncharitably censuring his spiritual and eternal estate. And this last doth more especially hit the scribes and Pharisees, who arrogated to themselves only to be called 'wise men[t];' but, of all others, had this scornful and uncharitable opinion, " This people, that knoweth not the law, is cursed[u]."

And now for the penalties denounced upon these offences, let us look upon them; taking notice of these two traditions

[p] Tanchum, fol. 5. [q] Midras Tillim, fol. 38. col. 4. [r] Idem, in Psal. cxxxvii. [s] Tanch. fol. 18. col. 4. [t] חכמים [u] John, vii. 49.

of the Jews, which our Saviour seemeth to face and to contradict:—

1. That they accounted the command, 'Thou shalt not kill,' to aim only at actual murder. So in their collecting of the six hundred and thirteen precepts out of the law, they understand that command to mean but this,—That one should not kill an Israelite[v]: and, accordingly, they allotted this only violation of it to judgment. Against this wild gloss and practice, he speaketh in the first clause:—"Ye have heard it said, 'Thou shalt not kill;' and he that killeth or committeth actual murder, is liable to judgment; and ye extend the violation of that command no farther: but I say to you, That causeless anger against thy brother, is a violation of that command, and even that maketh a man liable to judgment."

2. They allotted only that murder, to be judged by the council, or Sanhedrim, that was committed by a man 'in propria persona.' Let them speak their own sense: "A murderer is he, that kills his neighbour with a stone, or with iron; or that thrusts him into water or fire, of which it is not possible to get out again; if the man die, he is guilty[w]; but if he thrust him into fire or water, of which it is possible to get out again,—though he die, yet he is quit. He sets on him a dog or a serpent, he is quit. He intended to kill a stranger, and kills an Israelite; to kill a little one, and kills one of stature; to hit him on the loins, and such a blow on the loins could not kill him, but it misses the loins and hits him on the heart, and kills him,—he is quit. He intended to hit him on the heart, and such a blow on the heart was enough to kill him, but it lights on the loins, and such a blow on the loins as was not enough to kill him, yet he dies,—he is quit. He intended to strike one of stature, and the blow was not enough to have killed one of stature, but it lights on a little one, and there was enough in the blow to have killed a little one, and he dies,—yet he is quit. He intended to hit a little one; and there was enough in the blow to kill a little one, but it lights on one of stature, and there was not enough in the blow to kill one of stature, yet he dies,—he is quit. R. Simeon saith, Though he intended to kill one, and kills another, he is quit[x]," &c.

[v] Vid. trip. Targ. ibid. Sepher Chinnuch, ibid. Maim. in Retseah, cap. 1.
[w] חייב, ἔνοχος. [x] Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 9.

"Any one that kills his neighbour with his hand,—as, if he strike him with a sword, or with a stone that kills him, or strangles him till he die, or burns him in the fire, seeing that he kills him any how in his own person,—lo, such a one must be put to death by the Sanhedrim. But he that hires another to kill his neighbour, or that sends his servants, and they kill him;—or that violently thrusts him before a lion, or the like, and the beast kills him:—any one of these is a shedder of blood, and the guilt of shedding of blood is upon him; and he is liable to death by the hand of heaven, but he is not to be put to death by the Sanhedrim. And whence is the proof that it must be thus? Because it is said, 'He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed:' this is he that slays a man himself, and not by the hand of another.—'Your blood of your lives will I require:' this is he that slays himself.—'At the hand of every beast will I require it:' this is he that delivers up his neighbour before a beast to be rent in pieces.—'At the hand of man, even at the hand of every man's brother, will I require the life of man:' this is he that hires others to kill his neighbour.—In this interpretation, 'requiring' is spoken of all the three; behold, their judgment is delivered over to heaven (or God). And all these manslayers, and the like, who are not liable to death by the Sanhedrim; if the king of Israel will slay them by the judgment of the kingdom and the law of nations, he may[y]," &c.

You may observe, in these wretched traditions, a twofold killing, and a twofold judgment: a man's killing another in his own person, and with his own hand; and such a one liable to the judgment of the Sanhedrim, to be put to death by them as a murderer. And, 2. A man that killed another by proxy; not with his own hand, but hiring another to kill him, or turning a beast or serpent upon him to kill him. This man not to be judged and executed by the Sanhedrim, but referred and reserved only to the judgment of God. So that from hence we see plainly, in what sense the word 'judgment' is used in the latter end of the preceding verse, and the first clause of this,—namely, not for the judgment of any of the Sanhedrims, as it is commonly understood, but for the judgment of God. In the former verse, Christ speaks their sense,—and in the first clause of this, his own,

[y] Maim. ubi supr. cap. 2.

in application to it: "Ye have heard it said, That any man that kills, is liable to the judgment of God; but I say to you, That he that is but angry with his brother without a cause, is liable to the judgment of God. You have heard it said, That he only that commits murder with his own hand, is to be judged by the council, or Sanhedrim, as a murderer; but I say to you, That he that but calls his brother 'Raca,' as common a word as ye make it, and a thing of nothing,—he is liable to be judged by the Sanhedrim."

Lastly; He that saith to his brother, 'Thou fool,' 'wicked one,' or 'cast-away,' shall be in danger of hell-fire. Ἔνοχος εἰς γέενναν πυρός. There are two observable things in the words:—The first, is the change of case from what was before: there it was said, τῇ κρίσει, τῷ συνεδρίῳ; but here, εἰς γέενναν. And hereupon Petitus[a] professeth, that 'he cannot wonder enough, that expositors should not observe this variation:' and what he himself maketh of the observation of it, I shall not insist upon, but refer the reader to his own words. Surely, he little minds the Greek text, that sees not this in it; and there needs not any far-fetched exposition to satisfy about it; it is but an emphatical raising of the sense, to make it the more feeling, and to speak home. He that saith to his brother, 'Raca,'—shall be in danger of the council; but he that says, 'Thou fool,' he shall be in danger of a penalty even to hell-fire. And thus our Saviour doth equal the sin and penalty in a very just parallel:—unjust anger, with God's just anger and judgment: public reproach, with public correction by the council: and censuring for a child of hell, to the fire of hell. 2. It is not said, εἰς πῦρ γεένης, 'To the fire of hell;' but, εἰς γέενναν πυρὸς, 'To a hell of fire:'—in which expression, he doth still set the emphasis higher: and, besides the reference to the Valley of Hinnom, he seemeth to refer to that penalty used by the Sanhedrim, of burning: the most bitter death that they used to put men unto; the manner of which was thus:—They set the malefactor in a dunghill up to the knees; and they put a towel about his neck, and one pulled one way, and another another, till, by thus strangling him, they forced him to open his mouth. Then did they pour scalding lead into his mouth, which went down into his belly, and so burnt his bowels[b]. Now, having spoken, in the clause before, of being judged by

[a] Variæ Lectiones, lib. 1. cap. 1. [b] Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 7.

the Sanhedrim, whose terriblest penalty was this burning, he doth, in this clause, raise the penalty higher; namely, of burning, but in hell:—not a little scalding lead, but even with a Hell of Fire, &c.

The greatest part of the New Testament might be observed to speak in such reference to something or other commonly known, or used, or spoken, among the Jews; and even the difficultest passages in it, might be brought to far more facility than they be, if these references were well observed. There are divers places, where commentators, not able to clear the sense for want of this, have been bold to say the text is corrupt, and to frame a text of their own heads; whereas the matter, skilfully handled in this way, might have been made plain: as we have given experiment in this kind in some, as we have gone along; and divers others might have been instanced; but our work was not now to write a comment.

August 28, 1654.

THE

HARMONY, CHRONICLE,

AND ORDER,

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The First Part:

Viz.

THE HARMONY AND ORDER

OF THE

FOUR EVANGELISTS.

THE

HARMONY

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

First Part.

SECTION I.

LUKE, chap. I, ver. 1—4.

Luke's Preface: his Warrant to write his Gospel.

In compiling the four Evangelists into one continued current and story, this preface, that Luke prefixeth to his Gospel, may, very fitly, be set before them all, as a general proem to the whole.

If he wrote his Gospel, near about that time, when he wrote his 'Acts of the Apostles,'—it was not, till Paul had now worn out his two years' imprisonment in Rome, or thereabout[a]; which was twenty-seven years after Christ's ascension:—by which time the gospel had been carried by the apostles, who were 'eye-witnesses' of Christ's actions,—and by the disciples, who were 'ministers of the word,'—through the most parts of the world.

From these men's sermons and relations, many undertook to write gospels, partly for their own use, and partly for the benefit of others: which thing though they did lawfully and with a good intent, yet because they did it not by inspiration, nor by divine warrant; albeit what they had written, were according to truth, yet was the authority of their writings but human, and not to be admitted into the divine canon. But Luke had his intelligence and instructions 'from above[b].'

[a] Acts, xxviii. 30.

[b] Ἄνωθεν, ver. 3.

SECTION II.

JOHN, chap. I, from the beginning to ver. 15.

Christ's Divinity showed: and the Fitness of him, the Word, to be incarnate.

AFTER the preface, this portion doth justly challenge to be ranked first: for it not only treateth of Christ's divinity, which is first to be looked after in his story; but it also showeth, how proper it was for him, the second person in the Trinity, to be incarnate, rather than either of the other persons:—1. He being 'the Word,' by whom the world was created, and therefore fittest by whom it should be redeemed. 2. 'The Word,' in whom the promise of life was given[c], and so most fit by whom life should be brought. 3. The substance of that word of promise, that shone as a light throughout all the Old Testament, in the darkness of the types, figures, prophecies, and mysteries, there; and the darkness of those obscure dispensations comprehended it not, but that it gave light and shone in that obscurity: and they could not comprehend it, it being a light to break out in a far greater lustre, than they afforded.

SECTION III.

LUKE, chap. I, from ver. 5 to ver. 57.

The Birth of John the Baptist, and the Birth of our Saviour, foretold by the Angel Gabriel.

THE method and order of this section will not need much proof or clearing. The preceding[d] gave an intimation of Christ's forerunner; and this begins to tell his story to the full.

Herod the Great, by descent an Edomite, and placed by the Romans king of Judea[e], among divers other passages, in his uneven and rugged reign, had slain the Sanhedrim[f]: and, to plaster the business again, by the counsel of Bava Ben Bota, repaired the temple, and made it in-

3927 *A. M.*
753 *Year of Rome.*
30 *Augustus.*
34 *Herod.*

[e] Ver. 4. [d] John, i. 6. [c] Compare Gen. xxvii. 40.
[f] Joseph. Ant. l. 14. c. 17.

comparably more sumptuous than it was before[g]. He began this work in the eighteenth year of his reign, and it cost him eight years to finish it[h]: so that this new fabric was but eight or nine years old at this year that we are upon.

In this temple, Zacharias, a priest of the course of Abia, was offering incense in the holy place, as was used daily; and hath tidings brought him of a son, that should be forerunner to the Messias. Although Zacharias be said to have been 'of the course of Abia,' yet can it hardly be thought, that he was of his seed and posterity: for we find mention[i] but of four of the courses, that returned out of Babylon; and Abia was none of them. But the whole number of those priests, that did return of those four courses, being about four thousand two hundred and ninety, were cast by lot into twenty-four courses, according to the primitive institution; and Zacharias was of the eighth, as Abia's course had been before the captivity, and which yet bare his name; as the other did their names, who had denominated the courses from their first original. Of this ordering of the courses after the captivity, both Talmuds[j] speak largely.

Whether Zacharias were of the seed of Abia or no,—it is apparent, by his serving in Abia's course, that he was not high-priest, but one of the ordinary priests, that served by course as their turn came, and that had their particular employment in the service by lot. The manner of their lottery for this purpose, is mentioned at large, in Tamid, cap. 3; and in Joma, cap. 2.

The angel Gabriel, who, about four hundred and fifty-six years ago, had given account to Daniel of the time of Messiah's sufferings, doth now, when that time is drawing near, first bring tidings of his forerunner's birth, and then of his own.

The Jerusalem Gemara[k] relates a story very parallel to this of Zacharias,—both of his seeing an angel in the temple, and of his stay there longer than was used at offering incense: "Simeon the Just (say they) served Israel in the high-priesthood forty years: and on the last year, he saith unto them, This year I must die. They say to him, How knowest

[g] Juchas. fol. 19. [h] Jos. Ant. lib. 15. c. 14. [i] Ezra, ii. 36—39.
[j] In the treatise Taanith, cap. 4. [k] In Joma, fol. 42. col. 3.

thou that? He answered, Every year, hitherto, when I went into the most holy place [on the day of expiation], one, like an old man, clothed in white, and veiled in white, went in with me, and came out with me. Now this year he went in with me, but came not out with me." And instantly after; "The high-priest might not stay praying in the most holy place long, lest he should put the people into a fear. One once stayed long, and they were about to go in after him. Some say, it was Simeon the Just. They said to him, Why didst thou stay so long? He answered, I was praying for the sanctuary of your God, that it should not be destroyed. They say to him, Though thou didst so, yet shouldest not thou have stayed so long."

If this relation carry any truth with it, it might be looked upon as the expiring of vision (as prophecy had also ceased not long before that time): for Simeon the Just is said to be[l] "of the remnant of the men of Ezra's great synagogue:" and upon the death of Zechariah and Malachi, who were of that synagogue, the spirit of prophecy departed: and here vision and prophecy is dawning again.

Zacharias, for not believing the words of the angel, is struck חרש 'deaf and dumb:' and doth fore-signify the silencing of the Levitical priesthood ere long to be. In the Jews' canons, חרש is one of the five sorts of persons, that they commonly exclude from all employments and matters of honour, trust, or import; and it means, "one that can neither hear nor speak[m]."

His wife Elisabeth, conceiving with child, retires, as a recluse, for five months' space, that she might keep herself from all defilement; she carrying, as choice, a Nazarite in her womb, as she did[n].

Five months were not the whole time of her retiring; for that, that urged her to keep close so long, had the same tie upon her all the time she went with child: but five months only are named, by way of introduction to the story and occurrence in the sixth month, mentioned instantly after.

In the sixth month, the same angel appeareth to the virgin Mary, and telleth her of the birth of the Messias, to be

[l] משירי אנשי הכנסת הגדלה Aboth R. Nathan, cap. 4.
[m] שאינו לא שומע ולא מדבר Jerus. in chagigah. fol. 75. col. 4. [n] Ver. 15.

of her: which she believing, though by the course of nature so impossible, she presently goeth to her cousin Elisabeth, into the hill-country of Judea, to Hebron[o]; not only to visit her, and to rejoice with her, nor only to see the proof of those things, that the angel had told of her,—but, very probably, acted by the Holy Ghost, that she might conceive the Messias in Hebron, where so many choice and eminent types of him, and references to him, had been in ancient time.

These tidings come to the Virgin at the very latter end of the year that we are upon, or the beginning of the next; and her journey to Hebron is in the middle of winter.

SECTION IV.

MATT. chap. I; all the chapter.

Christ's Genealogy by the Line of Solomon, and by his supposed Father, Joseph. His Mother in Danger to be divorced upon false Suspicion of Adultery.

WHETHER it were, that Mary conceived with child at the instant of the angel's telling her of her conception, as hath been held most generally,—or at the instant that she came to her cousin Elisabeth, in Hebron,—by the time that she had stayed with her three months, she might easily be discovered to be with child, as Tamar was after the same space of time, Gen. xxxviii. 24; whose case and danger of death in that story, compare with the Virgin's case and danger of divorce in this. The Talmudic decretals do allot three months for such a discovery: "Every woman (say they) that is divorced or become a widow, behold, she may not be married, nor espoused, till she have stayed ninety days, that it may be known, whether she be with child or no; and that there may be distinguishing betwixt the seed of the first husband, and the seed of the second. Likewise, a stranger and his wife, which are proselytes, they keep them asunder ninety days, that there may be a discerning between the seed sown in holiness," [that is, when they are come into the true

[o] See Josh. xxi. 11.

religion out of heathenism; compare 1 Cor. vii. 14,] "and the seed not sown in holiness[d]."

This space of time considered, in the present story, it showeth how fitly the last verse of the preceding section, viz. Luke i. 56, and the eighteenth verse of this, do join together. The genealogy interposed, doth not interrupt, but illustrate, the story intended. And it is not only properly, but even necessarily, set in the front of the evangelical history, that satisfaction might be given by it, in that main point concerning Christ, which the Scriptures do so often inculcate, and which the Jews would first of all look after,—namely, to prove Jesus of Nazareth, however so meanly born, yet to be 'the son of David.' There were two remarkable maxims among the Jewish nation:—1. That there was to be no king of Israel, but of the house of David, and line of Solomon[e]; and, consequently, they looked for king Messias from that line. 2. That the family of the mother is not called a family[f]. Hereupon hath Matthew most pertinently brought this pedigree through the house of Solomon, and ended it in Joseph, a male,—whom the Jews looked upon as the father of Jesus.

The last verse of this chapter, as it referreth to the demeanour of Joseph and Mary in their mutual society till the birth of Christ, lieth properly, in the harmonizing of the evangelists, in the place where it doth: but as it referreth to the birth of Christ, it is coincident with Luke ii. 7. The reader in his thoughts will place it, as he seeth cause, in these several relations.

SECTION V.

LUKE, chap. I, from ver. 57 to the end.

John Baptist born.

WHEN Mary's three months' stay with her cousin Elisabeth was expired, it is easily guessed, that, if Elisabeth by that time were not delivered of her child, yet she was very near it: and that consideration doth clear the subsequence of this section to the preceding.

[d] Talm. in Jebammoth, cap. 4, et in Chetuboth, cap. 5. Maim. in Gerushin, cap. 11.
[e] Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 10. [f] Juchasin. fol. 55.

John Baptist born in Hebron, the place of the residence of Abraham, and of the first royalty of David. Here circumcision was first ordained; and here is he born, that was to bring in baptism instead of circumcision. The priests at the temple, as they looked for break of day, used oft to say, "The face of all the sky is bright, even unto Hebron[g]." Compare the dawning of the gospel, now rising there, in the birth of the Baptist: and compare the words of 'Zacharias, a priest,' ver. 78.

The time of the Baptist's birth will be found,—by setting that clock from our Saviour's,—to have been in the spring, much about the time of the Passover; about which time of the year, Isaac was born.

SECTION VI.

LUKE, chap. II, from ver. 1 to ver. 40.

Christ born.

LUKE maketh the coherence clear, when he interposeth nothing betwixt the birth of the Baptist and the birth of Christ: and, indeed, there is nothing to be found in any of the evangelists, that can interpose.

3928 *A. M.*
754 *Rome.*
31 *Augustus.*
35 *Herod.*

The four monarchies,—which, Daniel had told, should be, and should expire, before the coming of Christ,—have now run their course; and a fifth is risen, far more potent, and fully as cruel, as all the four put together; and, therefore, it is pictured with the badges of all the four; Rev. xiii. 2, compared with Dan. vii. 4, 5, &c.

A decree of Augustus, given out at Rome, becomes an occasion of accomplishing a decree of the Lord's,—namely, of the birth of the Messias at Beth-lehem. He is born under a Roman taxation; and now that prophecy of Chittim or Italy afflicting Heber[h], beginneth livelily to take place.

The time of his birth was in the month Tisri,—which answereth to part of our September,—and about the feast of tabernacles; as may be concluded upon by observing, that

[g] Talm. in Joma. cap. 3, et in Tamid. cap. 3.
[h] Numb. xxiv. 24.

he lived just 'two-and-thirty years old and a half,' and died at Easter. That month was remarkable for very many things: In it, the world was created,—the tabernacle begun,—and the temple consecrated: and, as the Jerusalem Gemarists[i] well observe, 'In it were the fathers [before the flood] born.'

His birth was in the night, and attended with the song of a whole choir of angels [as Heb. i. 6; and compare Job xxxviii. 7], and with a glorious light about Beth-lehem shepherds, to whom this great Shepherd is first revealed.

At eight days old, he is circumcised, and made a member of the church of Israel. At forty days old, he is presented in the temple, in the east gate of the court of Israel, called 'the gate of Nicanor;' and Mary's poverty is showed by her offering (compare ver. 24, with Lev. xii. 6. 8): yet her child is owned as 'the consolation and expectation of Israel.'

The first year of his age and infancy Christ spent at Beth-lehem: for whereas the Lord by the prophet[j] had appointed his birth there, his parents had no warrant for his education in any place but there, till the Lord should give them an express for it; which he did by an angel[k]. Therefore, how the words of Luke, in chap. ii, ver. 39, are to be understood, we shall observe upon the next section.

SECTION VII.

MATT. chap. II; all the chapter.

Christ,—homaged by the wise Men, persecuted by Herod,—flies into Egypt.

THE order of this section and story is cleared by ver. 7 and ver. 16; by which it appeareth, that Christ
2 *Christ.* was two years old, when the wise men came to him. For Herod had inquired diligently of them the time, when the star appeared; and, according to the time that they had told him, he slew the male children 'from two years old and under.'—'From two years old,'—because they had told him, it was so long since the star appeared; and 'under two years old,'—because he would make sure work, as to that scruple that might arise; namely,

[i] In Rosh Hashanah, fol. 56. col. 4. [j] Micah, v. 2. [k] Matt. ii. 22.

whether the star were a forerunner, or a concomitant, of the birth of that King of the Jews, that they spake of.

Now, that the star appeared at the instant of his birth, cannot but be concluded upon this consideration, if there were no more;—that, otherwise, it left the wise men so uncertain of the time, when he should be born, as that they could not tell, whether he were born or no,—no, not when they were come to Jerusalem.

The appearance of the star, therefore, was on the night, when he was born: and they having told Herod how long it was since it appeared, he accordingly slayeth all the children of two years old; for so old, according to their information, did he account the child to be, for whom he sought; and yet withal, he slew all the children under that age, that he might be sure to hit and not fail of his design. This considered, it showeth, that Christ was in his second year at the wise men's coming; and, withal, it proveth the order of this section to be proper, and that this story is to be laid after the story of Mary's purification, and not before,—as many have laid it.

It may be objected, indeed, that Luke, having given the story of his presenting in the temple, concludeth, "when they had performed all things according to the law, they returned into Galilee." Now, if they returned into Galilee when Christ was forty days old, how was he found at Bethlehem at two years old? *Answer;* Luke is to be understood, in that passage, according to the current of his own story. He had nothing to say about this matter of the wise men, nor of Christ's journey into Egypt [because Matthew had handled that to the full before]: and the next thing that he hath to relate, is his coming out of Galilee to Jerusalem, to one of the festivals. Having nothing, therefore, to insert between his presenting in the temple at forty days old, and his coming again to the temple at twelve years old, he maketh this brief transition between,—'when they had performed all things according to the law, they returned into Galilee;'—that he might thereby bring Christ to Galilee, from whence he came, when he showed his wisdom at twelve years old.

Μάγοι, in Scripture, is always taken in the worst sense,

for 'men practising magical and unlawful arts:' and if it be to be understood so in this place, it magnifieth the power and grace of Christ the more, when men, that had been of such a profession, become the first professors of Christ, of any among the Gentiles. They, seeing a new and uncouth star in the heavens [it may be, the light that shone about Bethlehem shepherds, seemed to them, at distance, a new strange star hanging over Judea], are informed by God, two years after, what it signified; and are wrought upon by his Spirit to come and homage Christ, whom it pointed out.

Herod, at the report of the King of the Jews born, and that with the attendance of such a glorious star, looks upon him as the Messiah, yet endeavours to murder him. He is sent, by the direction of an angel, with his mother into Egypt, where there was at this time an infinite number of the Jewish nation. "At Alexandria[k] there was a great cathedral, double cloistered, and sometime there were there double the number of Israel, that came out of Egypt; and there were seventy-one golden chairs, according to the seventy-one elders of the great Sanhedrim; and there was a pulpit of wood in the middle, where the minister of the congregation stood," &c.—The Babylon-Talmud saith, Alexander the Great slew these multitudes; but the Jerusalem saith, Trajanus did. And the author of Juchasin[l] will show you a truth in both: for, "in the days of Simeon the Just (saith he), Alexandria, which was Amon Min No[m], was full of Israelites, double the number of those that came out of Egypt, &c. But they were all slain by Alexander. But after this it was repeopled again from the time of Onias, who built there a great temple, and an altar; and all the men of Egypt went thither, &c. And there was a great congregation there, double to the number of those that came out of Egypt." Of this temple, built by Onias in Egypt, Josephus[n] maketh mention; and the Talmud, in Menachoth[o]. So that Christ, being sent into Egypt, was sent among his own nation, who had filled that country.

The time that he was in Egypt, was not above three or four months; so soon the Lord smote Herod for his butchery

[k] Succah, cap. 5. [l] Fol. 14. [m] "Quæ et Amon, Min et No, appellatur:" Leusden. [n] Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 6. [o] Cap. 13.

of the innocent children, and murderous intent against the Lord of life. Joseph and Mary, being called out of Egypt after Herod's death, intend for Judea again, thinking to go to Beth-lehem; but the fear of Archelaus, and the warning of an angel, directs them into Galilee. They knew not, but that Christ was to be educated in Beth-lehem, as he was to be born there; therefore, they kept him there, till he was two years old; and durst not take him thence, till fear and the warrant of an angel dismisseth them into Egypt. And, when they come again from thence, they can think of no other place but Beth-lehem again, till the like fear and warrant send them into Galilee.

3—11 *Christ.*

There is none of the evangelists, that recordeth any thing concerning Christ, from the time of his return out of Egypt, till he come to be twelve years old, which was for the space of these years; for the better understanding of which times, let us take up some few passages in Josephus.

"Herod (saith he[p]) reigned thirty-four years, from the time that Antigonus was taken away; and thirty-seven years from the time, that he was first declared king by the Romans."

And again[q]; "In the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus, the people not enduring his cruelty and tyranny, they accused Archelaus to Cæsar, and he banished him to Vienna: and a little after, Cyrenius was sent by Cæsar, to tax Syria, and to confiscate Archelaus's goods."

And[r]; "Coponius was also sent with Cyrenius to be governor of Judea."

And[s]; "Coponius returning to Rome, Marcus Ambibuchus becometh his successor in that government. And after him, succeeded Annius Rufus, in whose time died Cæsar Augustus, the second emperor of the Romans."

Now, when Augustus died, Christ was fourteen years old; as appeareth from this,—that he was twenty-nine years old complete, and beginning to be thirty, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, the emperor next succeeding[t]. Reckon, then, these times, that Josephus hath mentioned between the death of

[p] Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 10. [q] In the same book, cap. 15. [r] Lib. 18. cap. 1.
[s] Ibid. cap. 5. [t] Luke, iii. 1, 2.

Herod, and the death of Augustus,—namely, the ten years of Archelaus, and after them the government of Coponius, and after him Ambibuchus, and after him Rufus;—and it will necessarily follow, that, when Herod slew Beth-lehem-children, Christ being then two years old, it was the very last year of his reign.

SECTION VIII.

LUKE, chap. II, from ver. 40 to the end of the chapter.

Christ, at twelve Years old, showeth his Wisdom among the Doctors: at the same Age, had Solomon showed his Wisdom in deciding the Controversy between the two Harlots[u].

IT is very easy to see the subsequence of this section to that preceding: since there is nothing recorded by any of the evangelists concerning Christ, from his infancy, till he began to be thirty years old, but only this story of his showing his wisdom, at twelve years old, among the doctors of some of the three Sanhedrims, that sat at the temple;

3939 *A. M.*
765 *Rome.*
42 *Augustus.*
12 *Christ.*
10 *Archelaus.*

—for there sat one of twenty-three judges, in the east gate of the mountain of the house, called the gate Shushan; another, of twenty-three, in the gate of Nicanor, or the east gate of the court of Israel; and the great Sanhedrim, of seventy-one judges, that sat in the room Gazith, not far from the altar.

Though Herod had slain the Sanhedrim, as is related by Josephus and divers others, yet was not that court, nor the judiciary thereof, utterly extinguished, but revived again, and continued till many years after the destruction of the city.

His story about this matter is briefly thus given by the Babylon Talmud[v]:—"Herod was a servant of the Asmonean family; he set his eyes upon a girl of it. One day, the man heard a voice from heaven[w], which said, Any servant that rebelleth this year, shall prosper. He riseth up, and slayeth all his masters: but left that girl, &c. And whereas it is said, Thou shalt set a king over thee from among thy breth-

[u] Ignat. Martyr in Epist. ad Magnes.
[v] In Bava Bathra, fol. 3. f. 2.
[w] Bath Kol.

ren [which, as the gloss there tells us, their rabbies understood, 'of the chiefest of thy brethren'], he rose up and slew all the great ones, only he left Baba Ben Bota, to take counsel of him." The gloss upon this again tells us, "That he slew not utterly all the great ones, for he left Hillel and the sons of Betirah remaining:" and Josephus relateth also, that he spared Shammai: to which Abraham Zaccuth addeth, that Menahem and eighty gallant men of the chief of the nation, were gone over to his service, and to attend upon him. So that these of themselves, and by ordination[x] of others, did soon repair that breach, that his sword had made in the Sanhedrim; he not resisting its erection again, when he had now taken away the men of his displeasure.

Hillel was president, and sat so forty years; and died [by the Jews' computation applied to the Christian account] much about this twelfth year of Christ. For they say, that 'he lived a hundred and twenty years; the last forty of which he spent in the presidency of the Sanhedrim, entering upon that dignity a hundred years before the destruction of the city.'

Menahem was, at first, vice-president with him; but, upon his going away to Herod's service, Shammai came in his room: and now two as eminent and learned men sat in those two chairs, as ever had done since the first birth of traditions. Hillel himself was so deserving a man, that, whereas in the vacancy of the presidentship, by the death of Shemaiah and Abtalion, R. Judah and R. Jeshua, the sons of Betirah, might have taken the chairs, they preferred Hillel, as the worthier person[y]. He bred many eminent scholars, to the number of fourscore; the most renowned of which by name were, Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Chaldee paraphrast,—and Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai: both probably alive at this year of Christ, and a good while after. The latter was undoubtedly so; for he lived to see the destruction of the city and temple, and sat president in the Sanhedrim at Jabneh[z] afterward. And till that time, also, lived the sons of Betirah, mentioned before.

Shammai was little inferior to Hillel in learning, or in

[x] "Aliique denuo constituti:" Leusden.

[y] Talm. Jerus. in Pesach. fol. 33. col. 1.

[z] "Jafnæ (Joppa):" Leusd.

breeding learned men: and their equal learning and schools bred differences between them in point of learning, and determination about some things in their traditions: the two masters controverting about a few articles, but their scholars about very many, and their differences very high.

This contention of the scholars grew so very high even in the masters' time, that it is recorded, that the scholars of Shammai affronted and banded against Hillel himself, in the temple-court[z]. And the quarrellings of these schools were so bitter, that, as the Jerusalem Talmud relateth[a], it came to effusion of blood and murdering one another;—"These are some of the traditions, that were made, or settled, in the chamber of Hananiah, the son of Hezekiah, the son of Garon. The persons were numbered, and the scholars of Shammai were more than the scholars of Hillel. That day was a grievous day to Israel, as was the day of the making of the golden calf. The scholars of Shammai stood below, and slew the scholars of Hillel." Nor did these animosities cease, but they were ever crossing and jarring, till, at the last, the schools of Hillel carried it, by the determination of a divine voice from heaven, as was pretended: for to such fictions they were glad to betake themselves.

"Till the divine voice[b] came forth, it was lawful for any one to practise according to the weighty or light things of the school of Shammai, or according to the weighty or light things of the school of Hillel. There came forth a divine voice at Jabneh, and said, The words of the one and of the other are the words of the living God; but the certain determination of the thing is according to the school of Hillel. And whosoever transgresseth against the words of the school of Hillel, deserveth death[c]."

At these times, then, that we are upon, their school-learning was come to the very height, Hillel and Shammai having promoted it to a pitch incomparably transcendent above what it had been before: and, accordingly, now began the titles of Rabban, and Rabbi; Rabban Simeon, the son of Hillel, being the first president of the Sanhedrim that bare a title; for, till these times, their great and learned men had

[z] Jerus. in Jom. Tobh. fol. 61. col. 3. [a] Shabb. fol. 3. col. 3.
[b] Bath Kol. [c] Ibid. in Beracoth, fol. 3. col. 2.

been called only by their bare proper names. So that now, in a double seasonableness, doth Christ, the divine wisdom of God, appear and set in among them, at twelve years old beginning, and all the time of his ministry after, going on to show them their wisdom, folly,—and his own word and doctrine, the divine oracles of wisdom. In a double seasonableness, I say,—when their learning was now come to the height, and when their traditions had, to the utmost, made the word of God of no effect.

This twelfth year of Christ was the last year of the reign of Archelaus, the son of Herod, of whom is mention, Matt. ii. 22. He is accused to Augustus for mal-administration, and thereupon banished by him to Vienna, as was mentioned before: and Coponius comes governor of Judea in his stead.

Augustus Cæsar dieth this fourteenth year of Christ, on the nineteenth day of August[d]: he was seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days old; having been monarch, since his victory at Actium, forty-four years, wanting thirteen days[e]. Tiberius Cæsar reigneth in his stead.

13, 14 *Christ.*

All this space of Christ's life, from his twelfth year of age, to his twenty-ninth, is passed over by all the evangelists in silence, because they were not so much to treat of his private life and employment, as of his public ministry. And here they follow the same course, that the angel Gabriel had done, in his foretelling of the time of his appearing, Dan. ix. 24, 25; where, speaking of the years that should pass, from his own time unto 'Messiah, the Prince,'—he beginneth the story of Messiah, from the time of his ministry only, or from the latter half of the last seven years there mentioned, the time when he should confirm the covenant with the many, &c.

15—28 *Christ.*

These years he spent with his parents at Nazareth[f], following his father's trade of carpentry[g]. And these two things were they especially, that did so mainly cloud him from the eyes of the Jews, that they could not own him for the Messias,—namely, 1. because he was of so poor condition and edu-

[d] "Duobus Sextis, Pompeio et Apuleio, Coss." Aug. Octav. cap. 100. Sueton. ed. B. Crusii. vol. 1. p. 370.

[e] Dion. Cass. lib. 56. [f] Luke, ii. 51. [g] Matt. xiii. 55, with Mark, vi. 3.

cation; and they looked for the Messias in a pompous garb; and, 2. because his first appearing in his ministry was out from Nazareth: his birth at Beth-lehem, so many years ago, either having been not at all taken notice of when it was; or, if it were, by this time worn out of notice and remembrance.

SECTION IX.

LUKE, chap. III, from the beginning to ver. 18.
MATT. chap. III, from the beginning to ver. 13.
MARK, chap. I, from the beginning to ver. 9.

The Gospel began in John's Ministry and Baptism.

THE order of this section is confirmed by all the three. Mark hath made this the beginning of his Gospel; 29 *Christ.* because the preceding occurrences, of Christ's birth and minority, were committed by the Holy Ghost, who held his pen, to the pens of others. He calls the ministry and baptism of John, 'the beginning of the gospel;' and that deservedly, both in regard of John's preaching and proclaiming Christ's appearing to be so near; as also in regard of the great change that his ministry introduced, both in doctrine and practice: he preaching and administering the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; whereas baptism, till that time, had been used and taken up as an obligation to the performance of the law: and he baptizing Jews into another religion than their own; whereas, till then, baptizing had been used, to admit heathens into the religion of the Jews.

Here is the standard of time that the Holy Ghost hath set up in the New Testament; unto which, as unto the fulness of time, he hath drawn up a chronicle-chain from the creation: and from which, as from a standing mark, we are to measure all the times of the New Testament, if we would fix them to a certain date.

There are two main stories that Luke layeth down in his third chapter; the one is, John's baptizing,—and the other is, Christ baptized by him: and he hath dated the former in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar;—and how to date the latter we are taught and helped by these collections:—1. He intimateth to us, that Christ, when he was baptized by John, was

but entering on his thirtieth year, as the words that he hath used, do plainly evidence: Ἀρχόμενος ὢν ὡσεὶ, 'He was beginning to be about thirty years of age,' or 'after a manner;' and in such a way of reckoning, as the Scripture ordinarily useth, accounting the very first day of a year, as that year. יום אחד בשנה חשוב כשנה: 'One day of the year is reputed that year[g].' 2. John baptized half a year before Jesus came to be baptized of him; for he was half a year younger than John, Luke, i. 26. And as Christ was baptized and entered his ministry, just when he was beginning to enter upon his thirtieth year,—so John had begun his ministry at the same age, and both according to the law, Num. iv. 3. Christ was baptized in September, at what time of the year he had been born: for the phrase of Luke, mentioned before, doth plainly confirm, that his baptism was close to that time of the year, that had been the time of his birth. 4. For the synchronizing, therefore, of the year of Christ with the year of Tiberius, we must lay Tiberius's fifteenth collateral in annal, accounting with Christ's nine-and-twentieth; whether you reckon Tiberius's year from the very time of the year that he began to reign, which was the 20th of August [and then in September, when Christ was baptized, his sixteenth year was begun, and Christ's thirtieth]; or whether you reckon according to the common accounting of the Roman Fasti, from January to January; and then, though Christ indeed spent three months of his thirtieth year in Tiberius's fifteenth, so accounted, yet he spent three times three months of it in his sixteenth.

The fifteenth year of Tiberius, then, and the nine-and-twentieth of our Saviour, was the great year of the beginning of the gospel, in the preaching and baptizing of John, who began this work about Passover-time, or in the month Abib, otherwise called Nisan: the time of the year that Abraham had received the promise, Isaac was born, Israel was redeemed out of Egypt, and the tabernacle was erected in the wilderness. The Jews speak more than they are aware of, when they say, that "As in Nisan there had been redemption, so in Nisan there should be redemption[h]." The gospel began, and Christ died, in that month.

[g] Tal. Bab. Rosh hashanah, fol. 2. [h] Tal. Bab. ubi supr. fol. 11.

Now, whereas it may seem strange, that, upon John's beginning to baptize, he introducing so strange a practice and doctrine among them, yet the people should flock to him in so great multitudes, as the evangelists show they did, and receive his baptism with so much readiness: besides that general satisfaction that may be given to this, from the consideration of God's special hand and work, providing entertainment for his gospel, now setting forth,—these four things also may be pertinently observed:—

1. This was the time that the nation expected, that the Messiah should appear[i]: Gabriel's seventy, in Dan. ix, had so plainly and exactly pointed to this very time, that not only the pious and the studious among the nation, could not but observe it; but it had even raised an expectation through a great part of the world, of some great potency to arise among the Jewish nation about these times, which should subdue and be ruler of all the world. "[j] An old and a constant opinion had grown through the whole east, that some, coming out of the east, should be master of all."

Nay, so evident was the time and truth in Daniel, that the Jerusalem Gemarists, that could be well content to deny that Messias was already come, as the rest of their nation do, yet they cannot but confess it[k] in this story:—"Our doctors say, The name of King Messias is David. R. Joshua Ben Levi saith, His name is The Branch[l]. R. Judah, the son of R. Ibhu, saith, His name is Menahem [the Comforter]. And this helps to prove that which R. Judah saith; namely, this example of a certain Jew: who as he was ploughing, his ox lowed: a certain Arabian passing by, and observing his ox low, said, O Jew, O Jew, loose thine oxen, and lay by this plough; for, behold, your sanctuary is destroyed.—The ox lowed a second time. He saith to him again, O Jew, O Jew, yoke thine oxen, and tie on thy plough; for, behold, King Messias is born. He saith to him, What is his name? The other answered, Menahem [the Comforter]. And what is his Father's name? He answered, Hezekiah [the strong

[i] See Luke, xix. 11.

[j] "Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur." Sueton. in Vesp. cap. 4. ed. B. Crus. vol. 1. p. 277.

[k] Beracoth, fol. 1. col. 1. [l] Zech. iii. 8.

God]. He saith to him, Whence is he? He answered, From the royal palace of Beth-lehem-Judah. He went and sold his oxen, and sold his plough and gears, and went about from city to city selling swaddling-clothes for babes. When he came to that city, all the women bought of him; but the mother of Menahem bought not. He heard the voice of the women saying, O mother of Menahem, thou mother of Menahem, bring some things, sold here, to thy child. She answered, Now I pray, that all Israel's enemies may be hanged; for on the day that he was born, the house of the sanctuary was destroyed. He saith to her, We hope, as it is destroyed at his feet, so it will be built at his feet. She saith to him, I have no money. And why, saith he, doth he suffer for that? If thou have no money now, I will come again after two days and receive it.—After the days, he came to the city, and saith to her, How does the child? She answered him, Since the time that thou sawest me, there came winds and storms, and took him out of my hands." A clear confession of Christ's being already come, and of the poverty of his mother.

2. They expected a great change of things, when Messias should come: that promise in the prophet, of 'new heavens and a new earth' to be created, raised this expectation. Hence have they this saying[m]; "The holy blessed God will renew the world for a thousand years[n]." John speaks their own language, when he speaks of 'reigning with Christ a thousand years[o];' which is no more to be understood of the time yet to come, than Messias is yet to be expected as not come. Hereupon, they call the days of the Messias[p], "a new creation;" as 2 Cor. v. 17. R. Houna speaketh of three ages, and the last that he mentioneth, is 'the age of the Messias[q]:' "And when that comes (saith he), the holy blessed God saith, Now it lies upon me to create a new creation." They likewise call that time, "the world to come[r];" because of the change of things that they expected then, as if a new world were created. "In the world to come I will send my messenger speedily, and he

[m] אלף שנה עתיד הק"בה לחדש את עולמו [n] Aruch in ערף [o] Rev. xx. 4.
[p] בריה חד שוה [q] דרו של משיח in Midras Tillim. fol. 4. col. 3.
[r] עולם הבא Tanchum. fol. 77. col. 3.

shall prepare the way before me."—Paul[u] taketh 'the world to come' in this sense.

3. Baptism had been in long and common use among them, many generations before John Baptist came; they using this for admission of proselytes into the church, and baptizing men, women, and children, for that end.

"A person is not a proselyte, till he be both circumcised and baptized[v]."

"A little one they baptize, by the appointment of the consistory[w]." And, "An Israelite, that takes a little heathen child, or that finds a heathen infant, and baptizeth him for a proselyte,—behold, he is a proselyte[x]."

Hence a ready reason may be given, why there is so little mention of baptizing infants in the New Testament,—that there is neither plain precept nor example for it, as some ordinarily plead. The reason is, because there needed no such mention; baptizing of infants having been as ordinarily used in the church of the Jews, as ever it hath been in the Christian church. It was enough to mention, that Christ established baptism for an ordinance under the gospel; and then, who should be baptized, was well enough known, by the use of this ordinance of old. Therefore, it is good plea, 'Because there is no clear forbidding of the baptizing of infants in the gospel, ergo, they are to be baptized:' for that having been in common use among the Jews, that infants should be baptized as well as men and women,—our Saviour would have given some special prohibition, if he intended that they should have been excluded: so that silence, in this case, doth necessarily conclude approbation to have the practice continued, which had been used of old before.

John's baptism differed from that before, only in this;—that whereas *that* admitted proselytes to the Jewish religion, *this* admitted and translated Jews into the gospel religion: *that* was a baptism binding them over to the performance of the law, as their circumcision did;—but *this* was 'a baptism of repentance, for the remission of sins;' as was observed before.

[u] Heb. ii. 5. [v] Talm. in Jebamoth, cap. 4. and Maim. in Issure biah, cap. 13.
[w] Id. in Chetuboth, 1. קטן מטבילין אותו על דעת בית דין
[x] Maimon. in Avadim, cap. 8.

4. Though some of the nation expected that the Messias would come and redeem them, though they were impenitent, as some of the Gentiles plead in Talm. Bab. Sanhedr. cap. 10[y]; yet was it more generally held, and with good reason, that the Messias would look for a repenting generation: and thereupon, others of the Gemarists, in the place alleged, say, "If Israel repent but one day, presently the Messias cometh."

Upon the consideration of these things, it will appear the less strange, that the people flowed in to John's baptism in so great a conflux; this being the time, about which the nation expected the appearing of Messias,—baptism being a thing most commonly known and used among them,—and this baptism of repentance administered preparatively towards the entertainment of Christ, now ready to come, being suitable to their own apprehensions of the necessity of repentance, against his coming.

Baptism was, besides other tendencies of it, as a badge, whereby those, that received it and stuck to it, were marked out for safety and preservation against that destruction, that was to come upon the nation for unbelief. Therefore, John construes their coming to be baptized, their 'fleeing from the wrath to come:' and Peter[z], in the same sense, doth say, that "baptism doth now save;" as the ark had done in the destruction of the old world, so this from the destruction now coming: and to his admonition to 'Repent, and be baptized,' he addeth, "Save yourselves from this untoward generation[a]."

MATT. chap. III, from ver. 13 to the end.
MARK, chap. I, ver. 9—11.
LUKE, chap. III, ver. 21, 22.

CHRIST is baptized, being thirty years old initiant;—Joseph's age, at his appearing before Pharaoh[b];
30 *Christ.* the priests', at their entrance into their office[c]; and David's, when he began to reign[d].

He hath now three years and a half to live, and to be a public minister of the gospel; as the angel Gabriel had told[e], that "in half of the last seven of the years" there named, he

[y] Et R. Samuel in articulis fidei Judaicæ. [z] 1 Pet. iii. 21. [a] Acts, ii. 40.
[b] Gen. xli. 46. [c] Num. iv. [d] 2 Sam. v. 4. [e] Dan. ix. 27.

should confirm the covenant. R. Jochanan[f] saith, "Three years and a half the divine glory stood upon the mount of Olives, and cried, Seek the Lord, while he may be found."

This space of time had been renowned before, by Elias's shutting up heaven[g]; and now heaven is opened: by the persecution of Antiochus, when all religion was destroyed[h]; and now redemption and restoring is come.

Christ, therefore, living three years and a half, and dying at Easter, it follows, that he was baptized in Tizri, about the feast of tabernacles, at which time of the year he had been born: and was now, when he was baptized, nine-and-twenty years old complete, and just entering upon his thirtieth: to which add his three years and a half after his baptism, and it resulteth, that he died, being two-and-thirty years old and a half: the exact time of David's reign in Jerusalem[i]; "The days that David reigned over Israel, were forty years; seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty-and-three years reigned he in Jerusalem:" that is, in Hebron seven years and a half[k], and in Jerusalem two-and-thirty years and a half: so the Jerusalem Talmud counteth well, in Rosh hashanah, fol. 1. col. 2.

As Christ, by circumcision, was admitted a member of the church of the Jews,—so is he, by baptism, of the church of the gospel: being withal installed into his ministerial function by baptism, and unction of the Holy Ghost,—as the priests were into theirs, by washing and anointing.

SECTION X.

LUKE, chap. III, from ver. 23 to the end of the chapter.

Christ's Genealogy by his Mother's Side.

MATTHEW'S genealogy, and this, as they run by a different line, so they are brought in upon different ends. Matthew intends to show, that Jesus Christ was the son promised to David. Luke shows him the seed of the woman, promised to Adam[l]; who, in the next following section, begins to break the head of the serpent. Therefore, when that promise to Adam beginneth to take place in Christ's entering upon his ministry, and in his being sealed for the

[f] Midr. Till. fol. 10. col. 4. [g] Luke, iv. 25. James, v. 17. [h] Dan. xii. 7. 11.
[i] 1 Kings, ii. 11. [k] 2 Sam. v. 5. [l] Gen. iii. 15.

Messias by the Holy Ghost, this genealogy is divinely woven in.

Matthew derives his line by the pedigree of Joseph, his supposed father, and draws it from Solomon; Luke, by the pedigree of Mary, his mother, and draws it from Nathan. For as the Jews looked on him as 'the son of David,' they would regard the masculine line and the line-royal; therefore, Matthew giveth it at his birth: but looked on, as the seed promised to Adam, 'the seed of the woman,'—he was to be looked after by the line of his mother. And whereas this seed of the woman was to destroy the power of Satan by the word of truth, as Satan had destroyed men by words of falsehood,—Luke doth properly draw up his line to Adam, now when he is to begin to preach the word.

The line on this side the captivity, for which there is no record elsewhere in Scripture, Matthew and Luke took from some known records then extant among the nation. R. Levi saith, "There was found a book of genealogies at Jerusalem, in which it was written, Hillel was of the family of David: Ben Jatsaph of the family of Asaph[m]," &c. They kept the records of pedigrees; and, of all other, they would be sure to keep those of the family of David, because of the expectation of the Messiah from it.

SECTION XI.

MATT. chap. IV, from the beginning to ver. 12.
MARK, chap. I, ver. 12, 13.
LUKE, chap. IV, from the beginning to ver. 14.

The Seed of the Woman and the Serpent combating.

MARK and Luke, by these words, "immediately the spirit driveth him," and "Jesus returned from Jordan," do make the order necessary: so that as for the subsequence of this to what preceded, there can be no scruple. Only there is some difference betwixt Matthew and Luke, in relating the order of the temptations: which Matthew having laid down in their proper rank [as appeareth by these particles, 'then,' ver. 15, and 'again,' ver. 8], Luke, in the rehearsing of them, is not so much observant of the order [that being fixed by

[m] Tal. Jerus. in Taanith, fol. 68. col. 1.

Matthew before], as he is careful to give the full story; and so to give it, as might redound to the fullest information.

As our mother Eve was tempted by Satan to "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life[o]" [for she saw it was good for food, that it was pleasant to the eyes, and to be desired to make one wise[p]]; so, by these, had it been possible, would the same tempter have overthrown the seed of the woman: for he tempted him to turn stones into bread, as to satisfy the longing of the flesh; to fall down and worship him, upon the sight of a bewitching object to his eyes; and to fly in the air in pride, and to get glory among men. Luke, for our better observing of this parallel, hath laid the order of these temptations answerable to the order of those.

Jesus, being baptized about the feast of tabernacles, towards the latter end of our September, is presently carried into the wilderness of Judea, by the acting of the Holy Spirit, to enter that combat with the serpent which was designed[q]. Forty days and forty nights [he being all the while in watching, fasting, and solitude, and among the wild beasts, but sat, as Adam, among them in innocency] the devil tempteth him, invisibly, as he doth other men,—namely, striving to inject sinful suggestions into him; but he could find nothing in him to work upon[r]: therefore, at forty days' end, he taketh another course, and appeareth to him, visibly, in the shape of an angel of light [and so had Eve been deceived by him, mistaking him for a good angel]; and trieth him by persuasion, by Scripture, and by power; but, in all, is foiled, mastered, and banished, by a word.

SECTION XII.

JOHN, chap. I, from ver. 15 to the end of the chapter.

Christ is pointed out by John, and followed by some Disciples.

CONCEIVE the continuance of the story thus:—Christ, newly baptized, goeth immediately into the wilderness, and leaveth John at Jordan, on Judea side. In the time of the forty days' temptation, John, having now gathered his harvest of disciples on that side the river, goeth over into the

[o] As 1 John, ii. 16. [p] Gen. iii. 6. [q] Gen. iii. 15. [r] As John, xiv. 30.

country beyond Jordan, and baptizeth in Bethabara. Thither came some Pharisees, by commission of the Sanhedrim, to question him about the authority whereby he baptized; making no strangeness at baptizing, which had been so long in use among them; but questioning his authority to baptize in that tenor that he did.

The next day after their questioning of him, Christ cometh into sight, is pointed out by John, and followed by some of his disciples.

For half a year, John had baptized in the name of Christ, and knew him not[s]. Only, as all the nation expected the Messias to come in time, and John had it revealed to him, that he was now ready to appear,—so John baptized, and the people came to him upon this account. He professed to all that came to him to be baptized, and so he did to the Jews' commissioners now,—that he baptized only in the name of him, that was to come after him, "whose shoes' latchet he was not worthy to unloose," ver. 27. Let a passage in Tosaphtoth[t] comment upon these words: "What is the token of a servant? He ties his master's shoes, or looses his shoes, and bears his things after him to the bath." And the like saith Maimonides[u]: "A Canaanite servant is like land as to buying; and he is bought by money, or by script, or by service in way of earnest: and what is the earnest in buying servants? namely, that a man use them, as they use servants before a master: as, to loose his shoe, or to tie his shoe, or to carry his things after him to the bath," &c.

So that those that were baptized in this time, of whom there was a very great number, knew not of Jesus of Nazareth's being the Christ; nor knew they more of Christ than they had known before, but only that he was ready to come: only they were baptized into faith in him, and to repentance.

But when Christ himself came to be baptized, John had discovery of him; and so is able now, upon the sight of him, to point him out to his disciples: whereupon, Peter [and probably John], and Andrew, and Philip, and Nathanael, follow him.

[s] John, i. 31. 33.

[t] אי זה הוא חוקת עבדים נעל לו סנהילן ודחיר לו סנדלן והוליך אחריו כלים למרחץ in Kiddushin, cap. 1.

[u] In Mekerah, cap. 2.

SECTION XIII.

JOHN, chap. II; all the chapter.

Water turned into Wine.

CHRIST'S FIRST PASSOVER AFTER HIS BAPTISM.

The words "the third day," in ver. 1, mean either the third day from Christ's coming into Galilee[v]; or the third day from his conference with Nathanael; or the third day from the disciples' first following him: they give demonstration enough of the series, and connexion of this chapter to the former.

It was about the middle of our November, when Christ came out of the wilderness to John at Bethabara; and then there were about four months to the Passover; which time he spent in going up and down Galilee, and at last comes to his own home, at Capernaum. Those two passages being laid together,—"The day following, Jesus would go forth into Galilee[w];" and, "After this he went down to Capernaum, and continued there not many days, and the Jews' Passover was at hand[x],"—do make it evident, that Jesus had now a perambulation of Galilee, which took up a good space of time. So that this first miracle, of turning water into wine, was about the middle of our November, or little farther.

The Jews' marriages were fixed to certain days of the week: "For a virgin was to be married on the fourth day of the week, and a widow on the fifth[y],"—the reason why, is not pertinent to produce here.—Now, if this marriage at Cana were of a virgin, and on the fourth day of the week, or our Wednesday,—then Christ's first showing himself to John and his disciples at Jordan, was on the first day of the week, afterward the Christian sabbath.

These marriage-feasts they held to be commanded; and, thereupon, they have this maxim; "It is not fit for the scholars of the Wise to eat at feasts, but only at the feasts commanded, as those of espousals and of marriages[z]."

At the Passover, it is half a year since Christ was baptized; and, thenceforward, he hath three years to live, which

[v] John, i. 43. [w] John, i. 43. [x] John, ii. 12. [y] Talm. in Chetub. cap. 1. [z] Maim. in Deah, cap. 5.

John reckoneth by three Passovers more,—viz. John, v. 1; and vi. 4; and xviii. 28. In this first half-year, he had gone through his forty days' temptation, had gathered some disciples, and had perambulated Galilee.

At Jerusalem, at the Passover, in the face of all the people, he acted in the evidence of the 'Great Prophet,' and purgeth his own temple[a],—doth many miracles,—knoweth the false hearts of many,—and trusteth not himself with them.

"He found in the temple those, that sold oxen and sheep[b]." For some illustration to this passage, take a story in the Jerusalem Talmud[c]:—"One day, Baba Ben Bota came into the temple-court, and found it solitary, or destitute [that is, not having any beasts there for sacrifice]. He saith, Desolate be their houses, who have desolated the house of our God. What did he? He sent and fetched in three thousand sheep of the sheep of Kedar; and searched them, whether they were without blemish, and brought them into the mountain of the house [or the utmost court, the place where Christ found sheep and oxen at this time]; and saith, My brethren, the house of Israel, whosoever will bring a burnt-offering, let him bring it; whosoever will bring a peace-offering, let him bring it."

Among other things, that Jesus did for the purging of his temple, it is said, "He poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables," Κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχεε τὸ κέρμα; and so again, Matt. xxi. 12.—Maimonides[d], "It is an affirmative precept of the law, that every Israelite pay, yearly, half a shekel; yea, even the poor, that lives on alms, is bound to this, either begging so much money that he may give it, or selling his coat to get so much."

"On[e] the first day of the month Adar, proclamation was made about this half-shekel, that they should get it ready. On the fifteenth day of that month, the collectors sat in every city for the receiving of it; and as yet they forced none to pay. But, on the five-and-twentieth day, they began to sit in the temple" [this was some eighteen or nineteen days before the Passover], "and then they forced men to pay; and if any refused, they distrained. They sat with two chests

[a] As Mal. iii. 1. 3. [b] John, ii. 14. [c] In Jom. tobh. fol. 61. col. 3.
[d] In Shekalim, cap. 1. [e] Talm. in Shekalim, cap. 1, &c.

before them; into the one of which they put the money of the present year,—and, into the other, the money, that should have been paid the year before. Every one must have half a shekel to pay for himself. Therefore, when he brought a shekel to change for two half shekels, he was to pay some profit to the changer[f]; and when a shekel was brought for two, there was a double profit to be paid for the change."

SECTION XIV.

JOHN, chap. III; all the chapter.

Nicodemus. The Disciples baptize in the Name of Jesus.

BEFORE our Saviour's departure from Jerusalem, Nicodemus, one of the judges of the great Sanhedrim, cometh to him, and becometh his disciple: for we cannot so properly look for a member of that great council in any place as at Jerusalem. He had observed, in his miracles, the dawning of the days of Messias, or 'the kingdom of heaven;' but having but gross and erroneous apprehensions concerning the kingdom of heaven, or of the state of those days [as was the general mistake of the nation], he is rectified about that matter, and is taught the great doctrines of regeneration and believing in Christ. Christ, teaching regeneration by the Spirit and water, exalteth baptism, and closely calleth to Nicodemus to be baptized. The Talmudic records make mention of a Nicodemus in these times, who had to do about waters, to provide sufficient for the people to drink at the festivals.

He is taught, against the great misprision of the nation, that Messias should be a redeemer of the Gentiles, as well as the Jews. The Jews, in their common language, did title the Gentiles[g], "The nations of the world." The earth they divided into[h] "the land of Israel," and "out of the land;" and the people they parted into[i] "Israel," and "the nations of the world." The New Testament, which follows their common language exceeding much, useth both these expressions very often, whereby to signify the 'Gentiles:' sometimes calling them "those that are without," and sometimes "the world." Nicodemus very readily understood the word in this common

[f] קולבון לשולחני Κόλλυβον τῷ τραπεζίτῃ.
[g] אומות העולם
[h] חוצה לארץ ארץ ישראל
[i] ישראל and אומות העולם

sense, when Christ says, "God so loved *the world*, that he gave his Son." And he very well perceived, that Christ contradicted, in these his words, their common and uncharitable error, which held, that the Messias should be a Redeemer only to Israel, and those Gentiles only, that should be proselyted to their Judaism; but as for the rest of the heathen, he should confound and destroy them. Examples of this their proud uncharitableness, might be produced by multitudes: let these two or three suffice:—The Jerusalem Talmud[j], speaking of the coming of Messias, saith, and produceth these words, Isa. xxi. 12; "'The morning cometh, and also the night;' it shall be the morning to Israel, but night to the nations of the world." "The threshing[k] is come; the straw they cast into the fire, the chaff into the wind, but preserve the wheat in the floor; and every one that sees it, takes it and kisses it. So[l] the nations of the world say, The world was made for our sakes; but Israel say to them, Is it not written, But the people shall be as the burning of the lime-kiln, but Israel, in the time to come[m] [an expression whereby they commonly mean the times of the Messias], shall be left only? as it is said, The Lord shall lead him alone, and there shall be with him no strange god."—Baal turim, on Num. xxiv. 8, on those words, 'He shall eat up the nations, his enemies, and shall break their bones,'—observeth the letter ע in one of the words to have a special mark upon it, "signifying (saith he), that he should root out the seven nations" of the Canaanites, "and in time to come[n], the other sixty-three nations;" that is, all the seventy nations of the world.—'No (saith our Saviour); God loved the world, or the Gentiles; and God sent not his Son, Messias, to condemn the world, or the Gentiles; but that the world through him should be saved.'

After this transaction with Nicodemus, Jesus departeth from Jerusalem into Judea, and there he setteth his disciples to baptize in his name: that whereas John had only baptized in the name of Christ, and his baptized ones did not know who Christ was, now the disciples baptize in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, to evidence him to be the Christ, into whose name John had baptized.

[j] In Taanith, fol. 64. col. 1. [k] Midr. Till. on Psal. ii.

[l] בן אומות העולם [m] לעתיד לבוא [n] לעתור לבוא

John himself was baptizing still in Ænon, in Galilee, having traversed Judea upon the coasts of Jordan, and Peræa, or beyond Jordan; and now come thither, where presently his sun is to set.

This chapter contains the story of half a year, and somewhat more,—namely, from the Passover [if the conference with Nicodemus were at that time] till after the feast of tabernacles: at which time, it was a whole year since Christ was baptized, and a year and a half since John began to baptize.

SECTION XV.

LUKE, chap. III, ver. 18—20.

John imprisoned.

FROM the last verse of the preceding section, and forward, we hear no more of John in any of the four evangelists, till you find him in prison. Therefore, this portion in Luke, which giveth the story of his imprisonment, is very fitly and properly to be subjoined to what precedeth. Observe how aptly the first verse of this, and the last of that, do join together. Luke, indeed, hath used an anticipation here, laying down the story of John's imprisonment, before the story of Christ's being baptized,—because he would show the effects of John's doctrine altogether. With Pharisees, Sadducees, publicans, soldiers, and the rest of the people, he found entertainment of his doctrine, when he told them their faults, and taught them their duty; but when he reproved Herod, he would not be so compliant, but imprisoned him. The time of his commitment may be guessed, by what time it was that Christ slipped aside for his own safety, upon the hearing how the case went with John; which will appear to be about the middle of our November; and John had begun to preach and baptize at spring was twelvemonth before, about some eighteen or nineteen months ago.

SECTION XVI.

JOHN, chap. IV; all the chapter.
MATT. chap. IV, ver. 12.

Christ, at Jacob's Well, converteth Samaritans: healeth a sick Person, &c.

CHRIST was in Judea, when John was apprehended by Herod, in Galilee. His pretended quarrel was
31 *Christ.* the multitude of John's disciples, as dangerous for innovation: but the very true cause, indeed, was, his and Herodias's spleen, for John's plainness with them about their incest. The Pharisees at Jerusalem would soon hear, what was become of John, their eye-sore, and what Herod laid to his charge; namely, the dangerousness of his gathering so many disciples. Now our Saviour, understanding that they looked upon him, as one that had more disciples than John, and so was in equal danger from them upon that account,—he getteth out of Judea, out of their reach, and goeth to Galilee. But was not Galilee within their reach too?

From ver. 35, may be computed the time of this journey into Galilee,—namely, when it was "now four months to harvest;" that is, to the Passover; for, from the second day in the Passover-week, their harvest began[o]: and from this, there may be some reasonable conjecture concerning the time, when John was cast into prison. Christ was in Sychar-field about the latter end of our November, when it was now four months to the Passover; and he took that journey, as soon as he understood of John's imprisonment[p]: he was now entered upon his one-and-thirtieth year of age.

When he cometh up into Galilee, he avoideth his own city, Nazareth[q]; because he knew, he should find no respect there, in regard of the mean education, that he had among them: but he goeth to Cana, where he had done his first miracle; and from thence, with a word of his mouth, he healeth one sick at Capernaum; it was the son "of one of the king's party[r]"—namely, of old Herod's, to whom divers of the eminent and learned of the Jews had gone to be his servants, to the distaste of others, and probably in a reluctancy to their own principles, but overcome with court-interests[s].

[o] Lev. xxiii. 11, &c. [p] Matt. iv. 12. [q] John, iv. 44.
[r] Βασιλικοῦ τινός. [s] Juchasin, fol. 19.

SECTION XVII.

LUKE, chap. IV, from ver. 14 to ver. 31.
MARK, chap. I, ver. 14.

Christ, preaching in Nazareth-Synagogue, is in Danger of his Life.

THUS is Christ come up to Galilee again from Jerusalem, and out of Judea, where he had stayed a good space. The reader may observe here, what a chasma [if I may so call it] there is in the story of Luke, who hath stepped from the story of Christ's temptation in the wilderness, to this his coming to Galilee; and hath laid nothing between,—whereas there was a whole year's history intercurrent: and so we observed such another, chap. ii. 39.

At his first coming up into Galilee in this voyage, he avoideth his own town Nazareth, because he knew a prophet hath no honour in his own country: but now, having gone up and down the country some space, and a renown being gone of him all over those parts, he cometh at last to see what entertainment he can find in his own town: there he is admitted, as a member of that synagogue, to be 'Maphtir,' or 'public reader' of the second lesson in the prophets for that day. But preaching upon what he had read, and hinting the calling of the Gentiles, from the dealing of Elias and Elisha with some heathens; and, withal, pinching close upon the wickedness of Nazareth, by that comparison,—he is in danger of his life; but delivers himself in some miraculous manner.

He preacheth thus in the synagogue, in the authority and demonstration of a prophet; and, as he evidenced that authority elsewhere by his miracles, so doth he here in Nazareth, by reading of the lesson in the prophet,—which being to be read in the original Hebrew, which language was now lost among them, and only attained to by study, he showeth his prophetical spirit in this skill in the language, having had no education to such a purpose. The reader in the law and prophets both, had an interpreter, that rendered what was read out of the Hebrew text into the vulgar language, and the interpreter sometimes took liberty to paraphrase upon the text [as the Chaldee paraphrast had done, especially upon the prophets], and kept not always 'verbatim' to it. The Jerusa-

lem Gemarists[t] give an instance of such a thing; "Joseph, the Maonite, interpreted, in the synagogue in Tiberias, these words, 'Hear ye this, all ye people;' Why do not ye labour in the law? have not I given the Sanhedrim to you for a gift? And 'hearken, O house of Israel;' Why do you not give the Sanhedrim the gift I appointed you at Sinai? And 'hearken, O house of the king, for the judgment is to you;' I speak it to you, but the judgment is to the priests: I will come and sit with them in judgment, and end and destroy them out of this world."—So Christ, in reading the lesson out of the prophet, becomes his own interpreter and paraphrast both.

SECTION XVIII.

MATT. chap. IV, ver. 13—17.
MARK, chap. I, ver. 14, 15.

Christ, at Capernaum, in the Coasts of Zabulon and Nephthalim, &c.

WHEREAS Matthew, in the beginning of this section, telleth that Christ left Nazareth,—Luke, in the end of the preceding, shows the reason why; namely, because he was in hazard of his life there; and so the connexion is made plain.

In the coasts of Zabulon and Nephthalim, captivity had first begun[u]; and there Christ first beginneth, more publicly and evidently, to preach the near approach of the kingdom of heaven, and redemption. In the first plantation of the land, after the captivity, Galilee escaped from being Samaritan, and was reserved for this happy privilege, of being the first scene of Christ's preaching the gospel. And as that country was inhabited by a good part of the ten tribes before their captivity,—so, upon their return out of Babel, in the ten tribes of Zerubbabel and Ezra, it may well be held to have been planted with some of the ten tribes again. For, 1. Observe, in Ezra i, that there is a proclamation from Cyrus, that any of the blood of the Jews, wheresoever within his dominions, should have liberty to go up to Jerusalem, ver. 3—5. Now, undoubtedly, the ten tribes were then residing within his dominions; and it is harsh to conceive, that they had all so far utterly forgot God and their country, as none of them to desire to go to their own land again, when permitted. 2. There

[t] In Sanhedr. fol. 20. col. 3. [u] 2 Kings, xv. 29.

is a 'summa totalis,' in Ezra ii, of forty-two thousand three hundred and threescore, ver. 64, that returned out of captivity, upon that proclamation. And there is the number of several families reckoned, as making up that sum: whereas, if the total of these particulars be summed up, it reacheth not, by sixteen thousand, or thereabout, to that number of forty-two thousand three hundred and threescore. Where, then, must we find those sixteen thousand, since they arise not in the number of the families there named? The families, there named, are of Judah and Benjamin: and then, certainly, those sixteen thousand can hardly be imagined any other than of the ten tribes. And, 3. Whereas it is apparent, that the returned of Judah and Benjamin planted Judea,—whom can we imagine, but some of the ten tribes, to have planted Galilee? And hence, their difference in language from the Jews of Judea, and in several customs: and hence the reducing of some after the captivity, to the line of some of the ten tribes: as Hannah, to the tribe of Asher[v]:—'Ben Cobisin, of the line of Ahab[w].'

And here is the first returning of the ten tribes to be supposed; and it carrieth fair probability, that the most of the twelve apostles, and many of the rest of the disciples, that were of Christ's most constant retinue, were of the progeny of some of the ten tribes returned.

SECTION XIX.

LUKE, chap. V, from the beginning to ver. 12.
MATT. chap. IV, ver. 18—22.
MARK, chap. I, ver. 16—20.

Peter and Andrew, &c. called to be Fishers of Men.

THE method and series is confirmed by the transition of Matthew and Mark: but in the order of Luke, there is some difficulty:—1. He relateth the calling of these disciples differently from the relation given by the other: for they say, Christ called Peter and Andrew, as he walked by the sea-side; but he storieth their call, when Christ was with them in the ship: they say, he called James and John at some distance beyond Peter and Andrew; but he carrieth it, as if he called

[v] Luke, ii. 36. [w] Talm. Jerus. in Taanith, fol. 68. col. 1.

them all together. But this is not contrariety, but for the more illustration; they all speak the same truth, but one helps to explain another. The story at full in them all, is thus:—As Jesus walked by the sea of Gennesaret, he saw two ships standing there; the one whereof belonged to Peter and Andrew, and the other to James and John. All these men, being partners, had been fishing all night, but had caught nothing; and were now stepped down out of their ships, to wash their nets. Christ, pressed with the multitude on the shore, entereth into Peter's ship, and thence teacheth the people. And thence putting off a little into the main, he helpeth Peter to a miraculous draught of fishes; which was so unwieldy, that he was glad to beckon up James and John from the shore, to come and help them. The draught of fishes was got up and boated; and then James and John return to the shore again, and fall to mending their net, which was rent at the helping at so great a draught. Peter, seeing what was done, adoreth Christ; and he and Andrew, being yet at sea, are called by him for fishers of men; and, bringing their ship to shore, they leave all and follow him. Christ and they, coasting a little farther along the shore, came to James and John; and he calleth them. And thus lieth the story at the full.

2. A second scruple in the order of Luke is this,— that he hath laid the two miracles of casting out a devil in Capernaum-synagogue, and the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, before the calling of these disciples; which, apparently, by this evangelist, were after. But the reason hereof may be conceived to be, especially, this:—In chap. iv, ver. 30, 31, he had related, that Jesus, escaping from Nazareth, came down to Capernaum; and being now in the mention of his being there, he recordeth these two miracles that he did there,— though not at that very time he hath brought them in,— having an eye, in that his relation, rather to the place than to the time. And so we shall observe elsewhere, that the very mention of a place doth sometimes occasion these holy penmen to produce stories out of their proper time, to affix them to that their proper place.

These disciples, hitherto, were only as private men, following Christ: and here is but the first time that they are

mentioned, to the ministerial function, to be 'fishers of men.' How, then, did they baptize before[x]? And the starting of this question, calleth to remembrance that saying of the apostle[y], "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." Is baptism administrable by private men, and is there any inconsistency betwixt baptizing and preaching? *Answer;* As baptism was in use among the Jews for admission of proselytes under the law, these two things were required to it,—1. "He that was baptized, must be baptized before three[z]." 2. "The thing required a consessus[a]," or to be done by the allowing[b] of some eldership. "And because it required this [saith Maimonides, whose words the former are also], therefore, they baptized not on the sabbath, nor on the holy-days, nor in the night. A man that baptized himself, and proselyted himself, although it were before two witnesses; or that came and said, I was proselyted in such a man's consessus, and they baptized me,—he is not permitted to come into the congregation, till he bring witness[c]." The reason of this strictness was, because of their strict niceness about conversing or matching with a heathen, till they were sure he was fully Israelited.

Christ and the apostles, in the administration of baptism, followed or forsook their custom, as they saw cause. In the case alleged, he follows it; he preacheth and calleth in disciples; and they are baptized by these disciples, but Christ chief in the action: and therefore one text tells us, that he baptized; though we are taught by another text, that he baptized not. Now the disciples are not to be looked upon as private men, since they were men of such privacy with the Messias; and not only converted by him, but called to be with him, and intended by him to be solemnly conducted into the ministerial function, when he should see time.

And, answerably, in that saying of the apostle, "I came not to baptize, but to preach," he setteth not an inconsistency between these two, which were joined by Christ in Paul's, and all ministers' commission[d]; but he speaketh according to this custom that we have mentioned, which the apostles

[x] John, iii. 22, with John, iv. 2. [y] 1 Cor. i. 17. [z] צריך לטבלו בפני שלשה
[a] הדבר היה צריך בית דין [b] "Auctoritate senatûs cujusdam:" Leusd.
[c] Maim. in Issure biah. cap. 13. [d] Matt. xxviii. 19.

followed, when disciples came in to be baptized, by multitudes,—they themselves preaching and bringing in disciples to be baptized, and others baptizing them; and they not private men neither, but fellow-labourers with them in the gospel, and ministers of it.

"Fishers of men:"—Maimonides speaks of 'fishers of the law[d].'

SECTION XX.

MARK, chap. I, from ver. 21 to ver. 40.
LUKE, chap. IV, from ver. 31 to the end of the chapter.
MATT. chap. VIII, ver. 14—17.

A Devil cast out in Capernaum-Synagogue; Peter's Wife's Mother and divers more healed.

IF the transition of Mark from the preceding story to this, be observed, it cleareth the order: for having declared there how Christ had called his disciples; "And they," saith he,—that is, Christ and his new-called disciples,—"went into Capernaum," his own city.

There, on the sabbath-day, he casteth out a devil, in the synagogue, who, by confessing Christ for the Messias, would have terrified the people with the dread of him, that they might not dare to entertain him. From the synagogue, they go to dinner to Peter's house, and there he raiseth his wife's mother-in-law from a fever: and after sun-set, when the sabbath was done, many more are brought to him, and are healed. They began their sabbath from sun-set, and at the same time of the day they ended it[e]. And their manner of observing it, briefly, was thus:—for the consideration of such a thing may be of some use, in some places of the gospel as we go along, since there is so frequent mention there about their sabbath.

The eve of the sabbath, or the day before, was called "the day of the preparation" for the sabbath[f]; and from the time of the evening sacrifice and forward, they began to fit themselves for the sabbath, and to cease from their works,—so as not to go to the barber, not to sit in judgment, &c.

[d] דייני תורה in Talm. Torah. cap. 7.
[e] Talm. Hierosolm. in Sheviith. fol. 33. col. 1. [f] Luke, xxiii. 54.

nay, not to eat thenceforward, till the sabbath came in: nay, thenceforward, they would not set things on working, which, being set a-work, would complete their business of themselves, unless it would be completed before the sabbath came. As, "they would not put galls and copperas to steep to make ink, unless they would be steeped while it was yet day, before the evening of the sabbath was entered: nor put wool to dying, unless it would take colour, whilst it was yet day: nor put flax into the oven, unless it would be dried whilst it was yet day[g]," &c.

They washed their face, and hands, and feet, in warm water, to make them neat against they met the sabbath; and the ancient wise men used to gather their scholars together, and to say, "Come, let us go meet king sabbath[h]."

Towards sun-setting, when the sabbath was now approaching, they lighted up their sabbath-candle. "Men and women were bound to have a candle lighted up in their houses on the sabbath, though they were never so poor; nay, though they were forced to go a begging for oil for this purpose: and the lighting up of this candle was a part of making the sabbath a delight: and women were especially commanded to look to this business[i]," &c.

They accounted it a matter of special import and command, "To hallow the sabbath with some words;" because it is said, "Remember the sabbath-day to hallow it:"—and, accordingly, they used a twofold action to this purpose; namely, a solemn form of words in the way of hallowing it at its coming in, and this they called 'Kidush[j]:' and another solemn form of words, in way of parting with it at its going forth; and this they called Habdala[k].

The solemnity, accompanying the hallowing of it at its coming in, was thus:—They spread and furnished the table with provision, and had the sabbath-candle burning by; and the master of the house took a cup of wine, and first rehearsed that portion of Scripture, in Gen. ii, ver. 1—3; and then blessed over the wine; and then pronounced the hallowing blessing of the sabbath; and so drank off the wine, and the rest of the company drank after him, and so they

[g] Talm. in Sab. cap. 1. [h] Maim. in Sab. cap. 36. [i] Ibid.
[j] קידוש [k] הבדלה

washed their hands and fell to eat. This helps to understand those verses of Persius[l]:

> ——————————At cum
> Herodis venere dies, unctaque fenestrâ
> Dispositæ pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ
> Portantes violas, rubrumque amplexa catinum
> Cauda natat thynni, tumet alba fidelia vino:
> Labra moves tacitus, recutitaque Sabbata palles.

They used to eat their meals on the sabbath, and thought they were bound to it in honour of the day: the first of which was this, that they ate at the very entrance of it over-night. Yea, the poor, that lived of alms, were to eat three meals that day: and those that were of ability, were to get choice provision, and always better, at the least not the same that they used on the week-days.

The morning being come, and up, they went to morning prayer in the synagogue; and when they had done there, they went home and ate their second meal: and when they had done that, they went to some Beth Midrash, or divinity lecture, and there spent the time till the afternoon was well come on; and then went home and ate their third meal: and so continued eating and drinking, till the sabbath went out.

At the going out of the sabbath, which was about sun-setting,—the master of the family again gave thanks over a cup of wine; then over his candle,—for he set up a parting candle too;—and then over some spices, which they used for the refreshing or reviving of any person, that should faint for sorrow to part with the sabbath [this is the reason they give themselves]; and then he pronounced the 'separation-blessing[m],' by way of separating between the sabbath that was now going out, and the working-day that was coming in. And so he and the company drank off a cup of wine, and fell to their victuals again.

But to return again to our evangelists. The retrograde course of Luke's method at this place, appeareth more conspicuous than before. For, in the beginning of the fifth chapter, he giveth the relation of the disciples' calling; and in the latter end of the fourth, this story, of casting out the devil in Capernaum-synagogue, which was after their call-

[l] Sat. v. [m] הבדלה

ing. Which he hath so placed, the rather [besides what was said upon this matter before], because, in the last verse of that fourth chapter, he speaketh of Christ's preaching all about in their synagogues; and, therefore, beginneth the fifth chapter with the story of the calling of the disciples, that he might show, how Christ went attended with them in that perambulation. And, in the same manner, Matthew[n] hath laid their call and that voyage close together for the very same intimation,—although other occurrences came between, which he hath laid a great way off: as, the story of Peter's wife's mother, which is brought in this section. He had said[o], "That Jesus went about all the synagogues of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness." He therefore beginneth first with his doctrine, and layeth down the sermon in the mount, and then beginneth to speak of his miracles, at chap. viii.: and first giveth the story of healing a leper, which was the first miracle he wrought in that perambulation; and then the healing of the centurion's servant, which was the first miracle he wrought after the sermon in the mount: and there, being come into mention of one miracle done in Capernaum, he also bringeth in another,—though not done at the same time, but before,—that he might despatch the works done in that place together. And thus the scope of his method is plain. And here again we see an example of what was said before,—namely, that the mention of a place doth oftentimes occasion these holy penmen, to speak of stories out of their proper time, because they would take up the whole story of that place all at once, or together.

SECTION XXI.

MATT. chap. IV, ver. 23—25.

A third Perambulation of Galilee.

THE beginning of this section, and the conclusion of the preceding, being laid together, the order appeareth plain and direct.

Christ had perambulated Galilee twice before, since he was baptized, but either altogether without, or else with very

[n] iv. 22, 23. [o] Matt. iv. 23.

little, retinue,—but now attended with his disciples, and with great multitudes: and his fame is now spread throughout all Syria. Syria was exceeding numerously inhabited by Jews, and in divers things it is set in equal privilegial pace and equipage with the land of Canaan: insomuch, that "there is a controversy amongst our wise men (saith R. Menahem[p]), whether Syria, which was subdued by David, were of the land of Israel or no."

"In three things (say they) Syria was equal with the land of Israel; and, in three things, it was equal with heathen countries: the dust defiles, as heathen countries' dust doth; and he that brings a bill of divorce out of Syria, is as if he brought it out of a heathen land; and he that sells his servant into Syria, is as he that sold him into a heathen country:—in three things it is equal to the land of Israel; for he that buys land in Syria, is as if he bought it in the suburbs of Jerusalem; and it is liable to tithes, to the year of release; and, if he can go to it in cleanness, it is clean[q]."

SECTION XXII.

MARK, chap. I, from ver. 40 to the end of the chapter.
LUKE, chap. V, ver. 12—16.
MATT. chap. VIII, ver. 2—4.

A Leper healed.

MARK and Luke do assure the order; the reason why Matthew hath placed this story as he hath done, hath been observed instantly before; which some, not having taken notice of, have supposed the story in Matthew, and in the other two evangelists, not to have been the same; but conceive they speak of two several lepers, healed at two several times: whereas the words of the leper, and the words and action of Christ, in all the three, do assert it plainly for one story:—and had the reason of Matthew's dislocation of it been observed, it would never have been apprehended otherwise.

Lepers in Israel might not come into the cities, till the priests had pronounced them clean, and so restored them again to the congregation: for the priests could not heal,

[p] On Deut. xi. [q] Tosaphta in Kelim per. 1.

but only judge of, the malady; and whom they pronounced clean, were not healed wholly of the disease, but were enlarged only from their separation. The leprosy continued still, though they were absolved from their uncleanness by the priest [a very pregnant emblem of original sin]: but the danger of infection was over, and so they were restored again to human society. If this leper had not yet been under the priest's absolution,—his faith, or his earnest desire of his recovery, or both, enforced him to break those bounds that were set him, and he straineth courtesy to come to Christ in a city[r]. If he were absolved by the priests already, from his uncleanness,—yet seeketh he to Christ to make him clean from his disease, which the priests could only pronounce him clean from: the priests could only pronounce him clean to the congregation; Christ makes him clean to himself.

SECTION XXIII.

MARK, chap. II, from the beginning to ver. 15.
LUKE, chap. V, from ver. 17 to ver. 29.
MATT. chap. IX, from ver. 2 to ver. 10.

Christ healeth a palsy Man: forgiveth Sins: calleth Matthew.

MARK and Luke do again confirm the order: but Matthew's dislocation of the same story, doth breed some scruple. For the clearing of which, let us first begin at the very conclusion of this section, and make good the order there in the end, and that will illustrate the propriety of it here in the beginning. We have parted the story of the calling of Levi, from the story of the feast that he made for Christ after his call, although all the evangelists, that handle his story, have laid them close together. The warrant upon which we have parted them, although they be so nearly joined in the text, is from these two things:—1. From undoubted evidence, by the current of the history, and the progress of the evangelists hitherto,—which makes it plain, that Levi's calling was at that time that we are now upon, or as it is laid in the end of this section. 2. From this evidence,—that his feast was not of a good while after his call, in that Matthew saith, 'while he was speaking,'—namely,

[r] Luke, v. 12.

about fasting, and putting new cloth into an old garment, &c. [which speech both the other evangelists place at Levi's feast, or presently upon it], Jairus came unto him[s]. Now it it is plain, by the process of the history of Mark and Luke, that very many things, and a good space of time, intercurred between the calling of Matthew, or Levi, and the coming of Jairus; for Levi's call is in Mark ii. 14, and Luke v. 27; and the story of Jairus's coming, is not till Matt. v. 22, and Luke viii. 41. Now, in that these words that Christ was in speaking, when Jairus came to him, Matt. ix. 18,—were spoken at Levi's feast, Luke v. 29. 33;—it is apparent, that his feast was a good space of time after his call: and hence have we warrant for the putting of those stories in the harmonizing of the evangelists. The three, indeed, that speak of these stories, do handle them together, because they would despatch Levi's story at once: and Mark and Luke do mention what occurred at his feast; but when they have done that, they return to the story and time, that properly followed, in order, after his calling.

Here, therefore, is the reason of Matthew's so far dislocating the story of the palsy man, that is before us, as he hath done;—namely, because, in that ninth chapter, he pitcheth upon the time of Levi's feast; and from that time goes on forward with the story succeeding it. And so having pitched upon the time of his feast, he also brings in the story of his call; because he would take up his whole story in one place, as the other evangelists have also done: and, with the story of his call, he hath likewise brought in the story of the palsy man, because it occurred at the same time.

Matthew is not ashamed to proclaim the baseness of his own profession, before he was called, that that grace might be magnified, that had called him. He was a publican; and, as it seemeth, at the custom-house of Capernaum, to gather custom and tribute of those that passed over the water, or that had to deal on that sea of Galilee. The Jerusalem Talmud hath this canon[t]; "A Pharisee" [or one of the religion] "that turns publican, they turn him out of his order; but

[s] See Matt. ix. 18. Mark, ii. 15. 18, 19. Luke, v. 29. 33, &c.

[t] Demai, fol. 23. col. 1. חבר שנעשה גבי דוחין אותו מחברותו

doth heleave his publicanism? They restore him to his order again:" so inconsistent did they repute this profession and religion. "Men, of whom it may be presumed that they are robbers, and of whom it may be presumed that all their wealth is gotten of rapine, because their trade is a trade of robbers, as publicans and thieves, it is unlawful to use their wealth[u]," &c. He becomes an apostle and a penman of the gospel. He wrote his Gospel first of all the four: and wrote it in Greek, though he wrote it more particularly for Hebrews; for the Hebrew tongue was so lost, that it was not ordinarily to be understood; and the Greek Bible was the readiest in the hands of the unlearned, to examine the quotations from the Old Testament, that he, or any other of the divine penmen, should allege: the prophets had been, but very lately before Matthew's time, turned into the Chaldee tongue by Jonathan Ben Uzziel, and the law by Onkelos, a little after; and the Jerusalem Talmud[v] tells of a Targum or translation of Job, which Gamaliel, Paul's master, had: and all this, because the original Hebrew was not commonly understood. And in the reading of the law and prophets in the synagogues, they had interpreters that rendered it into the Syriac, as was said a little before, because they understood not the original: therefore, it were unreasonable, that Matthew should write in Hebrew,—a language then, to the most, unknown.

SECTION XXIV.

JOHN, chap. V; all the chapter.

CHRIST'S SECOND PASSOVER AFTER HIS BAPTISM.

An infirm Man healed at Bethesda.

FOR the justifying and clearing of the order in this place, these things are to be taken into consideration:—1. That the first thing that the two evangelists, Mark and Luke, who are most exact for order, have placed after the calling of Levi, is, the disciples plucking the ears of corn. They have, indeed, interserted Levi's feast, and John's disciples questioning about fasting; but that was more for the despatching of Levi's story altogether, than for the propriety of their subse-

[u] Maim. in Gezelah. cap. 5. [v] Shabb. fol. 15. col. 3.

quence each to other; as hath been showed already. 2. In that the story of the disciples plucking the ears of corn, is joined by them next, we are to look for a Passover between; for till the Passover was over, and the first-fruits' sheaf offered the second day after, it was not lawful to meddle with any corn, to use, or to eat it[w]. 3. Christ had said[x], in the field of Sichem, that it was "then four months to harvest," that is, to the Passover, —at what time their barley-harvest began[y]. Now, casting up the time from that place and speech, taken up in the current of the story from thence hither, we cannot but conclude the four months to be now up,—and this to be the Passover, then thought upon in those words. And we may conceive, that the evangelist hath the rather omitted to call it by its proper name, or to speak it expressly, that this feast was the Passover,—because, in that speech, he had given fair intimation, how to understand the next 'feast of the Jews,' that he should speak of. He mentioneth, indeed, a Passover, in chap. vi. 4: but we shall find, by the progress of the story in the other evangelists, that that was yet so far yet to come, that it cannot, in the least-wise, be supposed to be that, which was to come within four months after Christ's being in the field of Sichem. 'The feast of the Jews,' therefore, that he speaketh of in the first verse of this chapter, must needs be that Passover, referred to, John iv. 35: and this, considered, doth clear the order.

At this Passover, a man is healed at Bethesda, who had been diseased from seven years before Christ was born. This was a pool first laid up by Solomon, as may be conjectured from Josephus, de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 13, compared with Neh. iii; and, at first, called 'Solomon's pool;' but now 'Bethesda,' or 'the place of mercy,' from its beneficial virtue. It was supplied with water from the fountain Siloam, which represented David's and Christ's kingdom[z].

The five porches about it, and the man, when healed, carrying his bed out of one of them, calls to mind the 'Entries[a],' that are so much spoken of in the treatise Erubin; the carrying of any thing out of which into the

[w] Lev. xxiii. 14. [x] John, iv. 35. [y] Lev. xxiii. 11, &c.
[z] Isa. viii. 6. [a] מבואות.

street on the sabbath-day, was to carry[b] out of a private place into a public, and was prohibited.

He is hereupon convented before the Sanhedrim, and there he doth most openly confess and prove himself to be the Messias: and he asserteth, that all power and judgment is put into his hand; and that he hath the same authority for the dispensing of the affairs of the New Testament, that the Father had for the Old. And this he doth so plainly, that he leaveth their unbelief henceforward without excuse.

The Jews speak of divers ominous things, that occurred forty years before the destruction of the city; as, "It is a tradition, that, forty years before the sanctuary was destroyed, the western lamp went out, and the scarlet list kept its redness, and the Lord's lot came up on the left hand: and they locked up the temple-doors at even; yet, when they rose in the morning, they found them open[c]." And; "Forty years before the temple was destroyed, power of judging in capital matters was taken away from Israel[d]." Now, there are some that reckon but thirty-eight years between the death of Christ and the destruction of the city; and, if that be so, then these ominous presages occurred this year that we are upon: it being just forty years, by that account, from this Passover, at which Christ healeth the diseased man at Bethesda, to the time of Titus's pitching his camp and siege about Jerusalem, which was at a Passover. But of this let the reader judge.

SECTION XXV.

LUKE, chap. VI, from the beginning to ver. 12.
MARK, chap. II, from ver. 23 to the en ; aCHAP. III, from the beginning to ver. 7.
MATT. chap. XII, from the beginning to ver. 15.

The Disciples plucking Ears of Corn: a withered Hand healed on the Sabbath.

THE words Σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον, which Luke hath used ver. 1, being rightly understood, will help to clear the

[b] מרשות יחיד לרשות רבים. [c] Jerus. in Joma, fol. 43. col. 3.
[d] Sanhedr. fol. 18. col. 1.

order of this section, and to confirm the order of the preceding.

The law enjoined, that the next morrow after the eating of the passover, should be kept holy like a sabbath[e]; and, accordingly, it is called a sabbath, Lev. xxiii. 7. 11. And there the law also enjoins, that the next day after that sabbatical day, they shall offer the sheaf of first-fruits to the Lord: and from that day they should count seven sabbaths to Pentecost, which was their solemn festival and thanksgiving for that half-harvest,—viz. barley-harvest,—which they had then inned[f]. That day, therefore, that they offered their first barley-sheaf, and from which they were to count the seven sabbaths, or weeks, forward, being the 'second day in the Passover-week,'—the sabbaths that followed, did carry a memorial of that day in their name, till the seven were run out: as, the first was called Σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον, 'the first second-day sabbath: the next, Σάββατον δευτεροδεύτερον, 'the second second-day sabbath:' the next, Σάββατον δευτερότριτον, 'the third second-day sabbath:' and so the rest of all the seven through. Now let it be observed, 1. That no corn,—no, not ears of corn,—might be eaten, till the first-fruits' sheaf was offered and waved before the Lord[g]: 2. That it was waved 'the second day of the Passover-week:' 3. That this was the first sabbath after that second day, when the disciples plucked the ears of corn;—and it will plainly evince, that we must look for a Passover before this story; and so it will show the warranty and justness of taking in the fifth of John next before it.

But the order of Matthew may breed some scruple; and that the rather,—because, that, though he hath placed this story after divers occurrences that are yet to come, yet he hath prefaced it with this circumstance, "at that time." Now this expression doth not always centre stories in the same point of time; but sometimes it hath made a transition betwixt two stories, whose times were at a good distance asunder: as, Gen. xxxviii. 1; Deut. x. 8: and so likewise the phrase, 'In these days,' Matt. iii. 1.

The latter story, about healing the man with the withered

[e] Exod. xii. 16. [f] Lev. xxiii. 15—17. [g] Lev. xxiii. 14.

hand, is so unanimously ordered by all the three, after the other, that there is no doubt of the method of it.

It was a special part of religion, which the Jews used on the sabbath, to eat good meat; and better than they did on the week-days: yea, they thought themselves bound to eat three meals on that day [as was said before]; and for this they allege, Isa. lviii. 13[i]. Compare Phil. iii. 19.

Observe how far the disciples are from such an observance, and from such provision, when a few ears of barley,—for that was the corn plucked,—must make a dinner.

The plucking of ears of corn on the sabbath, was forbidden by their canons, verbatim. "He that reapeth corn on the sabbath, to the quantity of a fig, is guilty. And plucking corn is as reaping; and whosoever plucketh up any thing from it growing, is guilty, under the notion of reaping[j]."

Christ, before his healing the withered hand, is questioned by them; "Is it lawful to heal on the sabbath-day?" Their decretals allowed it in some cases:—"Our doctors teach, The danger of life dispenseth with the sabbath. And so doth circumcision and the healing of that[k]." But, "This is a rule, saith Rabbi Akibah,—that that which may be done on the eve of the sabbath, dispenseth not with the sabbath[l]." Such was this case[m]. They accounted, that this might have been done any other day.

SECTION XXVI.

MARK, chap. III, from ver. 7 to ver. 13.
MATT. chap. XII, from ver. 15 to ver. 22.

Great Multitudes follow Christ: who healeth all that come to him.

THE connexion, that both these evangelists have at this story, doth abundantly assert the order. The Pharisees took counsel to destroy him; "but when Jesus knew it, he departed," &c. The Herodians join with them in their plotting; which seem to have been these learned and great men of the nation, who had gone into the service of Herod the Great, and now of his son, mentioned before.

[i] Vid. Kimch. ibid. et Tanch. fol. 1. Talm. et Maim. in Shab. &c.
[j] Talm. in Shab. cap. 7. et Maimon. Shab. cap. 7, 8.
[k] Tanch. fol. 9. col. 2. [l] Talm. in Shab. cap. 19. [m] Compare Luke, xiii. 14.

SECTION XXVII.

LUKE, chap. VI, from ver. 12 to ver. 20.
MARK, chap. III, from ver. 13 to the middle of ver. 19.
MATT. chap. V, ver. 1.

The twelve Apostles chosen.

LUKE and Mark do methodize and fix the time of the sermon in the mount; which Matthew hath laid very early in his Gospel, because he would first treat of Christ's doctrine, and then of his miracles.

In a mount near Capernaum, he ordaineth a ministry for the church of the gospel, and delivereth the doctrine of the gospel, as Moses at Sinai had done the like, for the law. The number of the present ministers appointed, whom he calleth 'apostles,' was twelve, agreeable to the twelve tribes of Israel: that, as they were the beginning of the church of the Jews, so are these of the Gentiles: and to both these numbers of twelve joined together, the number of the "four-and-twenty elders," the representative of the whole church, (Rev. iv and v, &c.) hath relation, Rev. xxi. 12. 14.

The text allotteth these ends of their appointment:—1. "That they might be with Christ," to see his glory[n], and to be witnesses of all things that he did[o]. 2. That he might send them forth to preach. 3. To heal diseases and cast out devils.

Before they were completed in all their divine endowments, they grew on by degrees;—they were auditors a good while, and learning the doctrine of the gospel, that they were to preach, before they set upon that work: for, though Christ chose them now, yet it is well towards a twelvemonth, before he sends them abroad a preaching, as will appear in the process of the story. So that, besides the time, that they had spent before this their choosing, they also spent that in hearing and learning from the mouth of their Master, what they were to teach, when he should employ them: so that even the apostles themselves, at the first setting forth into the ministry, did not preach by the Spirit, but what they had learned and gotten by hearing, study, conference, and meditation.

[n] John, i. 14. [o] Acts, x. 39. 41. Luke, xxiv. 48.

As the Lord, under the law, and from the first founding of that church, did set apart a peculiar order and function of men for the service of the sanctuary,—so did he, under the gospel, a peculiar order and function for the ministry of the gospel; and this no more to be usurped upon, than that. Now as, under the law, there were several sorts of men within that function,—as high-priests, chief priests, ordinary priests, and Levites, but all paled in with that peculiarity, that no other might meddle with their function;—so likewise, at the first rising of the gospel, there were apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, teachers, according to the necessity of those present times, but all hedged in with a distinctive ministerial calling, that none other might, nor may, break in upon. All the titles and names, that ministers are called by throughout the New Testament, are such as denote peculiarity and distinctiveness of order; as, "wise men and scribes[p]." Now[q], the Jews knew not, nor ever had heard, of "wise men and scribes[r]," but the learned of their nation distinguished for others, by peculiarity of order and ordination: and if they understood not Christ in such a sense,—namely, men of a distinct order,—they understood these titles, 'wise men and scribes,' in a sense that they had never known nor heard of before. Ministers in the New Testament are called 'elders,' 'bishops,' 'angels of the churches,' 'pastors,' 'teachers:' now all these were synagogue-terms, and every one of them denoted peculiarity of order, as might be showed abundantly from their synagogue-antiquities. The Jews knew no 'elders,' but men, by their order and function, distinguished from other men. A 'bishop' translates the word 'chazan[s];' 'an angel of the congregation' translates the title 'sheliach tsibbor[t];' a 'pastor' translates the word 'parnas[u];' and a 'teacher' translates the divinity reader[v].' Now these terms had never been known by any to signify otherways than men of a peculiar function and distinct order.

[p] Matt. xxiii. 34.

[q] "Nam apud Judæos חכמים וסופרים i. e. *Sapientes* et *Scribæ* doctos, ab aliis segregatos, seu peculiarem hominum ordinem, χειροθεσία separatum, semper denotant; neque enim uspiam reperire est, apud Hebræos olim dictos *Sapientes* et *Scribas* alio sensu:" Leusd.

[r] חכמים וסופרים [s] חזן [t] שליח צבור [u] פרנס [v] מורה במדרש

SECTION XXVIII.

MATT. chap. V, and VI, and VII.
LUKE, chap. VI, from ver. 20 to the end of the chapter.

The Sermon in the Mount.

THE proof of the order doth not need to be insisted upon; Luke doth manifestly assert it. It had been foretold by the prophet, "All thy children shall be taught of God[v]:" which if applied to the Gentiles, they had been taught by the devil, his oracles and idols; if applied to the Jews, they, indeed, had been taught by the Lord in his prophets, but these were but men like themselves; but this prophecy foretells the preaching of Christ, who was God himself; he, teaching and conversing amongst them,—he then the great teacher of the world[w],—doth, from the mount near Capernaum, deliver his evangelical law, not for the abolishing of the law and prophets, but for their clearing and fulfilling.

He first beginneth with pronouncing blessings, as the most proper and comfortable tenor of the gospel: and hereby he calls us to remember Gerizim and Ebal[x]. For, though Israel be enjoined there to pronounce both blessings and curses upon those mountains, yet are the curses only specified by name and number: for the curse came by the law; but He that was to bless, was to come: whichthing taketh place very comfortably and harmoniously here. Luke addeth, that he also denounced woes; as, 'Blessed be the poor:' 'Blessed are ye that hunger now,' &c. 'But woe unto you that are rich:' 'Woe unto you that are full,' &c. According to which form, the Jews[y] conceive, the blessings and curses were pronounced by Israel from those two mountains mentioned. "How did Israel pronounce the blessings and the curses? Six tribes went up to the top of mount Gerizim, and six to the top of mount Ebal: the priests, and the Levites, and the ark, stood below in the midst between; they turned their faces towards mount Gerizim, and began with blessing; Blessed is the man that maketh not any graven or molten image, an abomination to the Lord, &c. And both parties answered and said, Amen. And then turned they their

[v] Isa. liv. 13.
[w] Isa. ii. 2, and li. 4.
[x] Deut. xxvii.
[y] Talm. in Sotah, cap. 7. et Tosaph ibi. cap. 8.

faces towards mount Ebal, and began with cursing; Cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image, an abomination to the Lord, &c. And both parties answered, Amen."—And so of the rest.

2. He proceedeth laying out of the latitude of the law, according to its full extent and intention; and showeth the wretchedness of their traditional glosses, that had made the law of no effect. They understood the law, 'Thou shalt not kill,' only of actual murder, and that committed by a man's own hand; for, "if he hired another to kill him, or turned a wild beast upon him, which slew him,—this they accounted not murder for which to be questioned by the Sanhedrim," though it deserved the judgment of God[z]. But Christ shows, that the command extends to the prohibiting of causeless anger; and that that deserves the judgment of God: that the uncharitable scornings of a brother, under their usual word 'Raca,' deserved the judgment of the Sanhedrim; and especially the calling him 'Fool' [in Solomon's sense], or censuring rashly his spiritual estate,—deserved hell-fire. They construed the command, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,'—barely of the act of adultery, and that with another man's wife[a] But *He* tells, that it prohibits lustful thoughts and looks; and that looking upon a woman to lust after her, is adultery in heart. "Rabban Simeon[b] delighted to look upon fair women, that he might take occasion, by the sight of their beauty, to bless God:"—a fair excuse!

The law[c] had permitted divorces, only in case of fornication; but they had extended it to any cause, and to so loose an extent, that R. Ahiba[d] said, "A man may put away his wife, if he see another woman, that pleaseth him better than she." The law had forbidden forswearing, or swearing falsely; thereupon they had made bold to take liberty of vain swearing at pleasure, so that what they swore were not false[e].

These cursed constructions of theirs, by which they had made the law of no effect, he divinely damneth, and stateth the proper and true intent of the law in these cases.

[z] Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 9. Maimon. in Retseah, cap. 2.
[a] Trip. targ. in marg. ad Exod. xx.
[b] Tal. Jerus. in Beracoth, fol. 12. col. 3.
[c] Deut. xxiv. 1.
[d] Gittin. cap. 9.
[e] See Tal. et Maim. in Sheviith.

3. He prescribeth Christian duties; and especially rules of piety, charity, and sincerity, and condemneth the hypocritical vain-glory of the Pharisees about these things. They used, when they gave alms in the synagogue, to have it openly proclaimed and published what they gave; as if a trumpet had been sounded, for every one to take notice of their charity[f]. And they had an open proclaiming in the streets, for the calling of the poor to gather the corner of the field, that they had left them[g]. They loved to be seen praying in the streets; especially in their phylactery-prayers, morning and evening, besides other occasional orisons[h]. They used to pray those prayers often, and often other prayers, in the synagogue, apart and distinct from the prayers or service that the synagogue was then upon; and so their particular devotion was the more subject to be observed[i]. They used, on their fasting-days, to use such a carriage and demeanour in face and garb, that all might observe that it was fasting-day with them[j]. And, in all their devotions and demeanour, they hunted after the praise of men; which he condemneth, and urgeth for sincerity and care to approve the heart to God.

Throughout all this sermon,—this great oracle of divine truth doth not only show and hold out the sacred doctrines of faith, manners, duty, and eternal life; but he evidenceth, throughout, that he was thoroughly acquainted with all the learning, doctrines, and traditions, of those times. And to the explication of this divine sermon, is required quick and ready versedness in the Jews' records; for Christ hath an eye and reference to their language, doctrines, customs, traditions, and opinions, almost in every line.

SECTION XXIX.

LUKE, chap. VII, from the beginning to ver. 11.
MATT. chap. VIII, ver. 1; and then ver. 5, to ver. 14.

A Centurion's Servant healed.

LUKE's transition, "When he had ended all his sayings," doth prove the order. The four verses, that speak about the

[f] Jerus. in Demai, fol. 23. col. 2.
[g] Id. Peah cap. 4, &c.
[h] Id. Beracoth, cap. 1, 2.
[i] Ib. fol. 8. col. 3, &c.
[j] Piske Tosaph. in Taanith, cap. 1, &c.

leper, in Matthew, were taken up before, and their order spoken to then.

A proselyte captain,—that had so far affected the Jews' religion, that he had built a synagogue in Capernaum,—having seen and heard the works and words of Christ, believeth him for the Messias, and beggeth of him the healing of his servant. Which that Christ could do, he concludeth from a comparison of the power of his own word and command among his soldiers: for since they were ready to come, and go, or run, at his command,—much more, doth he conclude, was the word of Christ of power to command away the disease of his servant, if he pleased. Christ had often, in his sermon on the mount, asserted the authority of his own word, against and above the words of their traditionaries, and equalized it with that word, that gave the law. And here is a very high and seasonable confession of the authority of that word, made by this centurion,—and an evidence of the power of it, by the healing of his servant at distance. The man's faith is justly extolled, though he were a Gentile; and the casting off the Jews is clearly foretold, which Christ had not so plainly spoken out hitherto.

SECTION XXX.

LUKE, chap. VII, ver. 11—17.

The Widow's Son of Nain raised.

As Christ, yesterday, recovered a young man from the point of death, so doth he another, to-day, from death itself. The words ἐν τῇ ἑξῆς[k], do confirm the order: "The day after," &c.

Josephus[l] speaks of the village Nais, as being upon the edge of Samaria, in the way as the Galileans passed to Jerusalem. And it is not improbable, that Christ was going thitherward, at this time, to one of the festivals; most like, to Pentecost.

As he comes to Nain, he meets with a dead man carried[m] out; for they might not bury within their cities; no, nor at the Levites' cities, within the compass of that ground without the city, that was allotted for its suburbs[n]. [If Jerusalem went pa-

[k] Ver. 11. [l] Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. [m] מיטה מת in Talmudic language.
[n] Maim. in Shemitah veiobel, cap. 13.

rallel with the Levites' cities in this, as it did in other things, Christ's sepulchre will not prove so near the city, as it hath been commonly reputed.] He raiseth this dead man openly, and in the sight of all the company there present, which was very great; and yet, when afterward he raiseth Jairus's daughter, he chargeth that those that had seen him do the miracle, which were but five persons,—should tell no man what was done[o]; which prohibition was given rather in regard of the place, where it was done, than in any other respect; it being in Capernaum, against which city he had denounced a curse before.

SECTION XXXI.

LUKE, chap. VII, from ver. 18 to ver. 36.
MATT. chap. XI, from ver. 2 to ver. 20.

John's Message to Christ; Christ's Testimony of John.

THE transition of Luke from the stories before, about the raising of the dead man, and healing the centurion's servant, "And the disciples of John showed him of all these things," doth confirm the order.

John, from Machærus' Castle, where he lay prisoner, sendeth two of his disciples to Christ, to inquire of him, "Whether he were he that should come;" not that John was ignorant who he was, having had so many demonstrations of him as he had had, and having given so ample testimony of him as he had done[p]; nor that John's disciples were so wilfully ignorant of him, as not to be persuaded by their master that he was he; but his message to him seems to this purpose,—John and his disciples had heard of the great and many miracles that Christ had done, healing the sick, and raising the dead, &c. and, it may be, they thought it strange, that Christ, amongst all his miraculous workings, would not work John's liberty out of thraldom, who lay a prisoner for him, and for the gospel he preached before him: and this, may be, was the bottom of their question, "Art thou he that shall come, or look we for another?" as expecting somewhat more from the Messias, than they had yet obtained. They received a full answer to their question by the miracles they saw

[o] Luke, viii. 56. [p] John, i. 34. 36; and iii. 29, 30.

wrought, which abundantly proved that he was 'he that was to come.' But as to the expectation of his miraculous enlargement of John, his answer was, that 'his work was to preach the gospel, and that it was a blessed thing not to take any offence at him, but to yield and submit to his wise dispensations.' And, accordingly, when the messengers of John were returned, he giveth a glorious testimony concerning him to the people; but yet showeth, how far one, truly and fully acquainted and stated in the kingdom of heaven, went beyond him in judging of it, who looked for temporal redemption by it.

The method of Matthew is somewhat difficult here, but he seemeth purposely to have joined the mission of Christ's disciples and John's disciples together. I suppose Christ was at Jerusalem, when John's messengers came to him: and, if it were at the feast of Pentecost, John had then been seven or eight months in prison.

SECTION XXXII.

MATT. chap. XI, from ver. 20 to the end of the chapter.

Chorazin and Bethsaida upbraided.

BESIDES Matthew's continuing this portion to that that went before, the upbraiding of these cities is so answerable to the matter contained in the end of the former section, that it easily shows it to be spoken at the same time: see ver. 17—19, of this chapter.

When Christ saith, that, if the things, done in these cities, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, and Sodom and Gomorrha, they would have repented, and would have remained till now, —he understandeth not saving grace and saving repentance in them; but such an external humiliation, as would have preserved them from ruin: as the case was with Nineveh,—they repented, and were delivered from the threatened destruction: their repentance was not to salvation of the persons, but to the preservation of their city: as Ahab's humbling prevented the present judgment, and not his final condemnation.

SECTION XXXIII.

LUKE, chap. VII, from ver. 36 to the end of the chapter.

Mary Magdalen weepeth at Christ's Feet, and washeth them with Tears, &c.

THE continuation of this portion in Luke, to that in section xxxi, will plead for its order: and the reader will easily observe, that the interposition of the preceding section in Matthew, is so far from interrupting the story, that it is necessarily to be taken in there,—and is an illustration of it. The actings of the two several parties in this section, the Pharisee that invited Christ to eat with him,—and the woman sinner, that comes and weeps at his feet for mercy,—may seem to have had some rise from, or some occasional reference to, the speech of Christ in the two sections next preceding. In the former he had said, "The Son of man came eating and drinking;" and this, possibly, might induce the Pharisee to his invitation: and in the latter he had said, "Come unto me, ye that are weary and heavy laden;" and that might invite the woman to her address.

This woman was "Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who was also called Mary Magdalen;" of whom there is mention in the very beginning of the next chapter. That she was Mary, the sister of Lazarus, John giveth us ground to assert, chap. xi. 2, as we shall show when we come there; where we shall evidence, that these words,—"It was that Mary, which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair,"—can properly be referred to no story but this before us: and that 'Mary, the sister of Lazarus, was called Mary Magdalen,' we shall prove in the next section. Christ, in the story in sect. xxxi, when John's disciples came to him, we supposed to be at Jerusalem; and answerably it may be conceived, that this passage occurred at Bethany, where Simon the Pharisee may, not improbably, be held to be the same with Simon the leper, Matt. xxvi. 6; where this very woman again anointed him.

SECTION XXXIV.

LUKE, chap. VIII, ver. 1—3.

Certain Women that followed Christ.

LUKE again is the warrant for the order. In the former story he had spoken of one woman, that had found healing and mercy with Christ; and he speaks here of divers, and, among them, Mary Magdalen. Now, that she was Mary, the sister of Lazarus, let but these two arguments be weighed, not to insist upon more. The first is this:—If Mary Magdalen were not Mary, the sister of Lazarus,—then Mary, the sister of Lazarus, gave no attendance at Christ's death, nor had any thing to do about his burial [or, at least, is not mentioned as an agent at either]; which is a thing so incredible to conceive, that it needs not much discourse to set forth the incredibility of it. There is mention of Mary Magdalen, and Mary, the mother of James and Salome[q], and Joanna[r]; but not a word of Mary, the sister of Lazarus. She had twice anointed Christ in the compass of that very week; she had ever been as near and as zealous a woman-disciple as any that followed him; and her residence was at Bethany, hard by Jerusalem: and what is now become of her in these two great occasions of attending upon Christ's death and embalming? Had she left Christ, and neglected her attendance on him, at this time above all others? or have the evangelists, whilst they mention the other that attended, left her out? It is so unreasonable to believe either of these, that even necessity enforceth us to conclude, that, when they name Mary Magdalen, they mean Mary, the sister of Lazarus.—And, Secondly, Take this argument of Baronius; which hath more weight in it, than, at first sight, it doth seem to have; who goes about to prove this thing that we assert, and he shows how it also was the opinion of the fathers, and those in former times. His words are these[s]: "We say, upon the testimony of John, the evangelist, nay, of Christ himself,—that it plainly appears, that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, and Mary Magdalen, was but one and the same person. For when, in Bethany, the same sister of Lazarus anointed the feet of Jesus, and Judas did thereupon take

[q] Mark, xv. 40. [r] Luke, xxiv. 10. [s] In his Annals ad Annum Christi, 32.

offence,—Jesus himself, checking the boldness of the furious disciple, said, Let her alone, that she may keep it against the day of my burial. Now, that she that brought the ointment to the sepulchre for the anointing of the body of Jesus, was Mary Magdalen, is affirmed by Mark; and that she with Mary, the mother of James and Salome, did that office. When, therefore, neither in him, nor in any other of the evangelists, there is any mention of Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who was foretold by our Saviour that she should do that office, it may easily be known, that both these Maries were but one and the same."—At John xii. 7, we shall show, that that speech must be construed to such a sense, as he hath put on it, save only, that, following the vulgar Latin, he reads 'sine ut servet,' which, indeed, makes his sense the fuller; but, though not so read, yet will that sense be full enough.

It is to be objected, indeed, that Mary was called Magdalen, from the place Magdala, of which there is mention Matt. xv. 39, and in the Jerusalem Talmud[t], in this passage, "R. Jochanan in the name of R. Simeon Ben Jochai: he had two enclosures, one in Magdala, the other in Tiberias," &c. And[u] there is mention of one 'R. Juda of Magdala[v].' Now Magdala being in Galilee, as some seat it,—or over-against Galilee, beyond Jordan, as others;—it was so very far distant from Bethany, that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, whose town was Bethany, could not possibly be called 'Magdalen,' from 'Magdala.'—To which we may first give Baronius's answer, who also mentioneth this objection; That, though she were of Bethany by original, and the native seat of her father's house, yet might she also be of Magdala by marriage, or some occasional residence otherwise. And, in the second place, we may adduce what the Talmudics[w] speak of one 'Mary Magdalen,' or 'Megaddala,'—for the word[x] is of doubtful pointing,—whom they character for a notorious strumpet, in those times that Jesus of Nazareth lived: "Some man finds a fly in his cup, and takes her out, and will not drink; and this was the temper of Papus, the son of Judah, who locked the door upon his wife, whensoever he went out." The glossaries, R. Solomon and Nissim, upon

[t] In Maazaroth, fol. 50. col. 3. [u] In Beracoth, fol. 13. col. 1. [v] רבי יודה מגדליא
[w] Alphes. in Gittin fol. 605. [x] מריס מגדלא

this passage, comment thus: "Papus, the son of Judah, was husband to Mary Magdala[y]; and whensoever he went forth, he locked the door upon his wife, lest she should speak with any man, which was a usage unfitting; and hereupon there arose discord between them, and she played the whore against him." Now, they construe the latter word[z] as signifying one, that braided or plaited her hair, which ἐμπλοκὴ τριχῶν Peter[a] blames in women. The Babylonian Talmud[b] is speaking of one, that enticed to idolatry, and how he was brought to the Sanhedrim, and stoned: "And thus (say they) they did to Ben Saida in Lydda, and hanged him on the Passover-eve. Ben Saida was the son of Pandira." [They call our Saviour blasphemously by this name, Ben Saida.] And a little after; "His mother was Saida. His mother was Mary Magdalen, Mary the platter of women's hair[c]." And; "The angel of death said to his messenger, Go, fetch me[d] Mary, the broiderer of women's hair; he went and fetched Mary Magdala, or Mary, the broiderer of hair for young men[e]." Now, whether the word מגדלא be read Magdela or Magdila, a participle in Hiphil, which is most proper[f], or Megaddela in Piel: either of them, in a Greek dress, especially the former, comes so near the sound of the word in hand, that we may very well construe Mary Magdalen, in this Talmudic construction, for a woman of common infamy, and that hath this nickname of Magdila, from her lascivious dress and carriage. Observe Luke's expression, Μαρία, ἡ καλουμένη Μαγδαληνὴ, "Mary, which was called Magdalen:"—which manner of phrase is rarely used, when persons are named after their country.

SECTION XXXV.

MATT. chap. XII, from ver. 22 to ver. 46.
MARK, chap. III, from the last clause of ver. 19, "And they went into a house;" to ver. 31.

A Devil cast out: Christ called Beelzebub: Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.

THE series and consequence of this section, will require some clearing. 1. The reader here seeth, that Mark hath

[y] למרים מגדלא [z] מגדלא [a] 1 Pet. iii. 3. [b] Venet. in Sanhedr. cap. 7.
[c] Vid. etiam Schab. fol. 104. [d] מריס מגדלא שיעד משייא [e] In Chagigah, fol. 4.
[f] And so warranted by Aruch in גדל and Kelim, cap. 15.

not mentioned any thing, from the ordaining of the twelve apostles, unto this place: for the Holy Ghost, that held all their pens, did so dispose them, that sometimes one should speak the story,—sometimes, another,—and sometimes, more, or all of them together. Now, though the first clause of this section in Mark, "And they went into a house," be joined so close to the apostles' ordaining, as if that were the next thing done,—yet the current of the story, in the rest of the evangelists, doth show that it is not to be taken in, at that instant: and, indeed, the progress of the story, even in Mark himself, doth show, that this is the proper place of it; as will appear to him, that shall precisely observe it. 2. Matthew hath laid this story of casting out a devil, &c. next after two stories, that occurred before the sermon in the mount, as hath appeared in its place: the reason of which may be supposed to be, because he would take up the exceptions of the scribes and Pharisees together. That this story in Matthew lieth in juncture to these next succeeding, will readily appear in them. 3. There is a story in Luke xi, so like this, that one would think it were the very same; for there is mention of the same miracle, casting out a devil, and the same cavil of the Pharisees, and the same answer of Christ: and yet the progress of the history of Luke thither, and especially the coming off from that story, do persuade, that it was another story. For Luke chaineth such following passages to it, that cannot possibly be brought in concurrent with the current of these evangelists now before us. And we shall observe hereafter, that Christ, in his latter time, did repeat over again very many of those things, that he had spoken a good while before: as Moses's Deuteronomy was but a rehearsal of things, that had been acted and spoken in his former time. The same devilishness was in the scribes and Pharisees in all places; and it was, accordingly, to be met withal by Christ in more places than one: they had taken up a consent to beat down the dignity and authority of his miracles, by asserting, that whatsoever he did, he did by the power of magic; and this corrupt blood ran up in their veins every where, wheresoever he met them; and, therefore, it is no wonder, if the same words be in their mouths here and there, when the same rotten principle was every

where in their hearts. Observe, how scornfully they require a sign from heaven, when they had but newly seen a most heavenly sign.

The word 'Beelzebul' was taken up for the more detestation, as importing, 'The god of a dunghill;' and the sacrificing to idols they called 'dunging to an idol.' R. Jose, Ben R. Ben saith[g], "He that seeth them dunging to an idol, must say, He that sacrificeth to other gods, must be destroyed."

What Christ speaketh about the unpardonableness of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, is in direct facing of their tenet; which held, that blasphemy was atoned for by death, though by nothing else. "He (say they) by whom the name of heaven is blasphemed, repentance hath no power to save him from punishment, nor the day of expiation to atone for him; or chastisements of the judges to acquit him. But repentance and the day of expiation atone for a third part, and chastisements a third part, and death a third part. And of such it is said, If this iniquity be purged till you die; behold, we learn that death acquitteth[h]."

The Jews defamed the miracles done by Christ, as done by magic; as appeareth not only by this and other places in the gospel; but even in the Babylonian Talmud[i],—"R. Eliezer said to the wise men, Did not Ben Saida" this is a blasphemous name they give to Jesus of Nazareth, as was said a little before] "bring enchantments out of Egypt in incisions in his flesh?"

But when they saw they were not able to contradict and decry the credit of the great miracles that he did, and they saw that this would not serve their turn, to say he did them by the power of the devil; the devil taught them to betake themselves to another shift clean contrary,—and that was, to say and maintain, that when Messias came, he should do no miracles at all[j].

[g] ראה אחם מובלין לעבדה זרה Talm. Jerus. Beracoth, fo l. 12. col. 2.
[h] Talm. Jerus. Sanhed. fol. 27. col. 3. [i] Sha b. fol. 104. col. 2.
[j] Which they assert in Sanhedr. cap. Halek. and Maim. in Melachim cap. ult.

SECTION XXXVI.

MATT. chap. XII, from ver. 46 to the end.
MARK, chap. III, from ver. 31 to the end.
LUKE, chap. VIII, ver. 19—21.

Christ's Mother and Brethren seek him, &c.

THE order is cleared by the transition of Matthew, "While he yet talked," &c. Luke hath set the coming of Christ's mother and brethren, after the parable of the sower [whereas the other two evangelists have set it before, and that in its proper place]; thereby intimating the end and prosecution of the errand they came upon,—which was, to take him up from preaching: with which intention and importunity they follow him from place to place. Here is an evidence of the virgin Mary's sinfulness, as well as other women's, if going about to stop Christ's ministry were a sin, as certainly it was,—proceed that intention from what pretence soever; "His friends went to lay hold on him, for they said ἐξέστη:[k]" signify that word what it will, whether 'he is beside himself,' or 'he is faint,' or 'he is in a rapture,' &c. their errand and intention was to take him off from the course he was in: which he knew well enough; and therefore he gives so smart an answer, "Who is my mother[l]?" &c.

SECTION XXXVII.

MATT. chap. XIII, from the beginning to ver. 54.
MARK, chap. IV, from the beginning to ver. 35.
LUKE, chap. VIII, from ver. 4 to ver. 19.

The Parable of the Sower: and divers other Parables.

MATTHEW'S transition doth again clear the order here: "The same day went Jesus," &c; the same day that his mother and brethren came to him; as is apparent in the twelfth chapter. So that this consideration helpeth to methodize the order of Luke: for whereas the other two have set the coming of Christ's mother and brethren before his uttering of the parable of the sower, &c. he hath set it after; and that without contrariety, though with diversity. For both the

[k] Mark, iii. 21. [l] Compare Deut. xxxiii. 9.

occurrences were on the same day: and he hath, by this order, showed, how the mother and friends of Christ, having once found him, went along with him; whether to prosecute the intention they came upon, or better convinced to attend him and his doctrine.

Christ, speaking of parables, which he doth so exceeding much through the gospel, was according to the style and manner of that nation, which were exceedingly accustomed to this manner of rhetoric. The Talmuds are abundantly full of this kind of oratory, and so are generally all their ancient writers: and they commonly enter upon their parables with this preface, 'A parable: to what is the thing like[m]?' which style he also useth not seldom. And sometime they enter upon it more abruptly, with such an entrance as this; "To a man[n]," or "To a king of flesh and blood," &c; meaning, "It is like to a man, or like to a king," &c. I believe there are very many in the world, that have not been farther acquainted with the writings of the Jews, than what they have seen quoted by other writers, and yet are ready to censure them of lies and falsehoods [which, indeed, they are not free from], merely upon want of acquaintance with their style of parables and hyperboles.

Very good use may be made of the Talmudic treatises, Peah, Demai, and Kilaim, which treat intentionally concerning sowing and seeds,—for illustration of these parables. In Kilaim, they dispute of sowing "upon rocks, and upon stones[o]," and of mingling "wheat and tares," &c. cap. 1. In Peah[p], they speak of "a tree of mustard-seed," that one might climb into, like other trees, &c. And in divers other passages in these parables, some light may be fetched from those tracts: seeing Christ, all along, speaketh of things usual, and most particularly usual, among that nation.

[m] משל למה חדכד דומה [n] למלך בו or לאיש

[o] על גבי סלעים על גבי טרשים חיטין וזונין [p] In Tal. Jerus. fol. 20.

YEAR OF CHRIST 31.

SECTION XXXVIII.

MATT. chap. VIII, ver. 18—22.
MARK, chap. IV, ver. 35.
LUKE, chap. IX, ver. 57—62.

A Scribe will follow Christ, &c.

THE story of Christ's preparing to go over the water, is evidenced by Mark, to come in here in its proper place; for he saith, "The same day at even," &c. Matthew's laying it where he hath done, may seem to be because of its nearness to Matthew's or Levi's feast, as will appear in the following current of the story: which feast he hath laid at Matthew's call, and so hath accordingly brought here divers stories together, though far distinct in time; as some being near the time of his call, some near the time of his feast. But a greater scruple ariseth; namely, Whether this story in Matthew, of two that would follow Christ, and that in Luke ix. 57, &c. of three that would do so,—be one and the same story, or two occurrences at several times? It is well the matter is of no more chronological import; for it is hard to resolve which way to take it. The words of the persons to Christ, and his answer to them, are so much the same, that it is hard to think two several stories should run so parallel in all circumstances: and yet Luke's laying it so far out of its place, might persuade, that it is not the same story. It would be more tiresome than profitable to dispute the matter at large; therefore, to make sure and quick work, both the stories may be taken in at both places. I should rather hold them to be two stories: in both of them where it is said, by those that should follow Christ, "Let me first go and bury my father,"—it argues, not that their father was dead or very sick; but that they thought themselves bound not to leave their father, whilst he was living.

SECTION XXXIX.

MATT. chap. VIII, from ver. 23 to the end; and chap. IX, ver. 1.
MARK, chap. IV, from ver. 36 to the end; and chap. V, from beginning to ver. 22.
LUKE, chap. VIII, from ver. 22 to ver. 41.

Christ calmeth the Sea: casteth out a Legion of Devils, &c.

THE order needeth no clearing, it is so plainly asserted

by all the three: only among them, in relating the story thus ordered, there seems to be some difference:—1. Mark says, "They took him in the ship as he was;" namely, as he was now in it, having gone into it to preach to the people, as ver. 1. The other two speak of his entering into the ship now, as if he had not been in it before; because they continue not this story, to the story of his speaking of the parables out of the ship, as Mark doth, but speak of this after other stories. 2. Matthew's calling of the country beyond Jordan, whither he went, "the country of the Gergesenes," whereas the other two call it "the country of the Gadarenes," is no great scruple; since it bare two names, ancient and modern. But, 3. The main doubt lies in this; that, whereas Mark and Luke speak but of one possessed, Matthew speaks of two. So I observe, that Matthew[r] speaks of two blind men begging at Jericho, whereas Mark[s] speaketh but of one; and so likewise Matthew[t] speaks of both the thieves mocking Christ, whereas Luke[u] speaks but of one of them so doing.

It might be answered, as to this story, that it may be, that these two that Matthew speaketh of, were not alike furious: but that the impetuousness of the one was more than the other: and that Mark and Luke speak of him only, that was in the worse case. Or, for aught that Matthew's Greek prohibiteth, the two might be understood for man and wife, whom the two other evangelists treat of as one person. But, the other examples adduced, where Matthew speaking of two, Mark and Luke speak but of one, it is plain and satisfactory, that these two latter, writing after Matthew, and he having given the story before them, numbering the persons concerned in it,—they have not been curious so much to specify the number of persons, on whom the miracles were wrought, which he had done before, as careful to record the miracle done,—that none of Christ's workings might be left unrecorded, as to the nature of the thing done.

The evangelists describe the condition of these poor possessed ones, much in the same colours that the Jews do him that they call שומה, who is one of the five sorts of persons whom they seclude from all actings of import or trust; שומה,

[r] Chap. xx. 30. [s] Chap. x. 46. [t] Chap. xxvii. 44.
[u] Chap. xxiii. 39, &c.

say they [or a distract person], "is he that goes out in the night, and lodgeth among the graves, and tears his clothes to pieces, and spoils whatsoever men give him[v]."

It is of some scrupulousness to cast, how so many swine should be in those parts, since swine's flesh was such an abomination among the Jews; and those that kept and bred swine, little less abominated. Their wise men said, "Cursed be he, that brings up dogs and swine[w]." And there is a story of a woman reviling one of their Rabbies, in these words; "One of these three things is in thee; either thou art a drinker of wine, or a usurer, or one that breeds swine[x]." But even Pliny may help us to an answer and resolution in this doubt; who tells us, how rare dainties swine's flesh is accounted of by the Romans; "Neque alio ex animali numerosior materia ganiæ: quinquaginta prope sapores, cum cæteris singuli:" "Of one creature (saith he) is there made more numerous matter for luxury: almost fifty several tastes in it, whereas in other creatures there is but one." And hence those pages of the censors' laws; "Interdictaque cænis abdomina, glandia, testiculi, vulvæ, sincipita verrina;"—a Roman cook were fittest to English this. And a little after he tells, that "Solidum aprum Romanorum primus in epulis apposuit P. Servilius Rullus:" "Publius Servilius Rullus first of the Romans served in a whole swine to the table;" the father of that Rullus that promulgated the Lex Agraria, in Tully's consulship:—"Tam propinqua origo nunc quotidianæ rei est:" "A thing, now in daily use, had its beginning no longer ago." Observe, that it was of ordinary use among the Romans, to serve in 'solidum aprum' at their feasts[y]. Now, were it granted that the Gadarenes were Jews, which, for the generality, they were not,—and to find swine feeding among the heathen was no strange thing,—yet, when there might be such trading in swine as the Roman cookery and luxury caused to be, the covetousness of a Jew would strain him far for his profit; especially it being not directly against the law to deal with these cattle alive, though so strictly forbidden to eat them dead.

[v] Jerus. in Terumoth, fol. 4. col. 2.
[w] Maimon. in Niz. Mammon, cap. 5.
[x] Jerus. Shekalim, fol. 47. col. 3.
[y] Vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 51.

SECTION XL.

LUKE, chap. V, from ver. 29 to the end of the chapter.
MARK, chap. II, from ver. 15 to ver. 23.
MATT. chap. IX, from ver. 10 to ver. 18.

Levi's Feast. Concerning Fasting, &c.

MUCH needeth not to be spoken concerning the order here. Why Levi's, or Matthew's, call and feast are set together by all the evangelists that speak of them, we have observed before,—namely, because they would despatch the whole story of that man at once, or altogether. And that his call was at the place where we have laid it, the current of the story thither confirmeth past denial. Likewise, that his feast must come in here, Matthew's words, ver. 18, do make it plain: for he saith, that while "Jesus was speaking those things" concerning fasting, &c. "Jairus came to him:" whose coming the other two evangelists have clearly pitched in this place.

In Matthew the late publican's house, when Christ is invited to dinner, many publicans and sinners sit down at meat with him; a thing as far contrary to the Pharisaical discipline, as what was most contrary; for which the Pharisees challenge him and his disciples. They looked upon Christ and his disciples, as men of religion[z] and devotion, and therefore that ought to separate themselves from the vulgar sort of people; especially from such, as these were, of an infamous stamp and character: "A scholar of the wise," by their canons, "might not eat with one of the vulgar," much less with publicans and sinners,—the worst sort of all the vulgar that were.

SECTION XLI.

MARK, chap. V, from ver. 22 to the end.
LUKE, chap. VIII, from ver. 41 to the end.
MATT. chap. IX, from ver. 18 to ver. 27.

A bloody Issue healed: Jairus's Daughter raised.

MATTHEW assures the order, for he saith, "while Jesus was speaking"—those things that are recorded in the pre-

[z] חבריא.

ceding section, concerning fasting, and not putting new wine into old bottles, &c. Jairus came to him to beg the recovery of his now dying daughter.

Jairus was one of the rulers of Capernaum-synagogue; and had seen so many miracles done by Christ there, that if he were not a disciple already, yet he believes that Christ can easily recover her, though, when he came away from her, she was giving up the ghost. As Jesus goeth with him in Capernaum-streets, a woman with a bloody issue, of twelve years' continuance, cometh behind him, and toucheth him: her disease and Jairus's daughter, were born in one and the same year; for they were both twelve years old[a].

The malady of this woman was not only of the said languishing, but it was also of a great uncleanness, according to the uncleanness mentioned in the law. The Talmudic treatise Zavim, and Maimonides[b], would read a doleful lecture upon her disease, as to this point of uncleanness. And this, it may be, was one main cause, that made the woman to come trembling and fearing to Christ, when she saw she could not be hid[c]; because she had been so bold, as to touch Christ in her uncleanness.

The story of the pictures of Christ and of this woman touching him, both made in brass [of which the papists have made no small ado towards their worshipping of images], hath spoken exceeding wide and far from hitting upon the right place, where this woman and Christ met. The story, as it is related by Eusebius, Baronius, and others, is this: "That, in Cæsarea Philippi, called otherwise Paneas,—the house of this woman was to be seen: and, before the door of the house, a brazen image of a woman kneeling,—and before her, the brazen statue of a man, in a garment down to the feet, and stretching out his hand to the woman: and that there grew there a certain strange herb, which when it grew up to touch the brazen hem of his garment, it had the medicinal virtue of healing any disease."

But why all this at Cæsarea Philippi? whereas this occurrence of the woman's healing, by the touch of the hem of his garment, was in Capernaum: for Matthew tells, that

[a] Luke, viii. 42, 43. [b] In Issure biah, cap. 4—6. [c] Mark, v. 33.

when Jesus came back out of the country of the Gadarenes, "he came into his own city[d]," —hich was Capernaum: and there was Matthew's house, in which he was, when Jairus came to him. See sect. xxiii.

Before he comes to Jairus's house, his daughter is dead, and there he finds minstrels and piping in a mournful tone, for the bewailing of her. This was the custom of the Jews in such cases[e].

A good while ago he had denounced a sad doom against Capernaum[f], at sect. xxxii: "O thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell," &c; which was spoken as to the generality of the city, who, for the things they had heard and seen, were exalted to heaven, as that being Christ's own city, or the place of his habitation; yet they believed not. And this may be some reason, why, when he had raised this dead girl, he bids her parents keep the matter close: for that city had justly forfeited all such revelations of him.—Yet, for all the denouncing of that sad fate against her, he oft resorteth thither, and forsaketh not his habitation there; partly, because he had some there, who, for all the unbelief of the generality, belonged to him, and believed in him; and partly, because he had no reason to remove his habitation for their unbelief, or to pass off his dwelling for other men's wickedness; for where could he go to reside, but he should reside among some of the same temper?

SECTION XLII.

MATT. chap. IX, from ver. 27 to ver. 35.

Two blind Men, and a possessed dumb Man, healed.

THE order is clear from these two passages of connexion: "When Jesus departed thence," ver. 27; and, "As they went out," ver. 32.

Jesus, from Jairus's house, returned to his own home[g], and there two blind men come to him; whose eyes he toucheth, and saith, "According to your faith be it to you:" urging

[d] Matt. ix. 1.

[e] As is to be seen in Talm. Jerus. in Beracoth, fol. 5. col. 4. Maimonides in אישות cap. 14, &c. vid. etiam Jerus. Moed Katon, fol. 83. col. 4.

[f] Matt. xi. 23.

[g] Matt. ix. 28.

this upon them the rather, because of the general untowardness and unbelief of the place where he now was,—Capernaum: and because of the Pharisees, that were now present[g], that he might magnify faith.

As these blind men went out, they brought in a man possessed with a dumb devil; and he also was healed; which the Pharisees still ascribe to magic, &c.

SECTION XLIII.

MARK, chap. VI, ver. 1—6.
MATT. chap. XIII, ver. 54—58.

Christ at Nazareth, and Offence taken at him.

IT is said by Matthew, that, when Jesus returned back out of the land of the Gadarenes, he came into his own city[h]; that is, to Capernaum, where he himself dwelt, and Matthew, and Jairus; and the three last sections relate stories done in their three houses. Now, Mark saith, that "From thence he went out, and came into his own country,"—that is, to Nazareth: which title is used of that city again, John iv. 44.

In that synagogue he had been abused a good while ago, and his life endangered[i]; and thither he is come now to try them again; and finds not much better entertainment than before, but only not so full of danger: therefore, he did not many great works there, because of their unbelief, which Mark uttereth, "He could do no mighty works there," ver. 5: which meaneth not any want of power, but it relateth to his will, and to the rule by which he went in doing his works: such another phrase, see Gen. xix. 22.

When it is said, by the same evangelist, "He marvelled at their unbelief,"—it meaneth not, that he marvelled, because they had not saving faith,—but he marvelled, because they believed no more than they did.

SECTION XLIV.

MATT. chap. IX, ver. 35—38.

Another Perambulation of Galilee.

MATTHEW himself joins this portion to the stories in sect. xlii: and the last words of Mark in the section pre-

[g] Matt. ix. 34. [h] Matt. ix. 1. [i] Luke, iv. 29.

ceding, "He went round about the villages, teaching," are concurrent with the first words in this; and so do assert the connexion.

Christ, at his former rejection at Nazareth, begins to go abroad preaching through their synagogues, as in sect. xviii; and so he doth now: and so great multitudes resort unto him, that he now resolveth upon sending forth his disciples to preach abroad also.

SECTION XLV.

MATT. chap. X, all the chapter; and ver. 1 of chap. XI.
MARK chap. VI, ver. 7—11.
LUKE, chap. IX, ver. 1—6.

The twelve Apostles sent out to preach.

THE order in Matthew and Mark shows and clears itself.

The twelve had been ordained for apostles a great while since; and, all that while, had been with Christ as probationers, to see his works and to learn his doctrine: and since their pointing out to be apostles, it is observable, how much Christ hath applied himself to doctrine, that they might learn the gospel of the kingdom, and be stored with what to preach, when he should send them forth. Hitherto they had been learners; and, as for the gifts of the Spirit, they as yet differed nothing from the rest, that followed him; but now he gives them power of healing and casting out devils [and now is the power of miracles restored]: so that they cured diseases by the Spirit, but they preached not by the Spirit; but taught that only, which they had learned from the mouth of Christ.

He sendeth them out 'by two and two;' and so it is like the twelve spies, who divided themselves, when they went to search the land. It may be, the apostles went in these couples, that Matthew had reckoned them in.

That Christ forbiddeth them to take with them for their journey, was,—1. To inure them to depend upon his protection, and not upon their own carefulness: and, 2. He hereby intimates, that they should find such good entertainment in their ministry, that they should find safety and maintenance

wheresoever they came. Therefore, when in Luke[j], he saith, "Now take purse and scrip," &c. he thereby would not signify, that his care of them was any whit abated of what it was now; but that they should meet with worse times and worse entertainment, than they had had now.

Whereas in Matthew and Luke they are forbidden to take staves,—in Mark it is said, "they should take nothing for their journey save a staff only:" not staves for weapons, or for their defence, but a staff for their resting on, for their ease in the journey: as Gen. xxxii. 10.

They are confined to preach to Israel only, though many Gentiles dwelt intermixedly with them in their cities,—because the Lord would own the peculiarity of the nation in the first preaching of the gospel, as he had done all along in the economy of the law: when they had forfeited their privilege of being a peculiar people, by crucifying him that sent the gospel amongst them, then is the apostles' commission enlarged to go to the Gentiles[k].

SECTION XLVI.

MARK, chap. VI, from ver. 14 to ver. 30.
MATT. chap. XIV, from the beginning to ver. 13.
LUKE, chap. IX, ver. 7—9.

John beheaded: his Disciples come in to Christ.

MARK and Luke do justify the order; for both of them have laid this story next to the story of Christ's sending forth his disciples. Matthew, when he saith, 'At that time,' he useth the word in its latitude, as it is often used in Scripture, not precisely or determinately for the very day or season when a thing was done, but in the current of time then in being. And yet, in this expression, he seemeth also to have respect to the story that he had related next before, though that were some reasonable space of time before this: for there he had told, that Christ, coming into his own country, was slighted and undervalued, and they were offended in him; yet Herod was amazed at the wonders, that he heard of him.

Here are two times regardable in this section; namely,

[j] Chap. xxii. 36. [k] Matt. xxviii.

the time of John Baptist's death, and the time of Herod's hearing of the fame of Jesus: and the juncture of the stories is very close. As the disciples were preaching up and down, according to Christ's mission, Herod beheaded the Baptist: and, by their preaching in the name of Jesus, the fame of Jesus cometh to Herod's hearing; and the disciples, hearing of the murder of John, get in again to their Master. So that the story of John's death, is related here in the proper place and time, when it did occur. And from one passage in John the evangelist, in the next following section, there is the ground of a fair conjecture of the time of his beheading: for we shall see, in the beginning of the next section, that all the four do speak of Christ's departing privately into a desert place: Matthew, particularly, gives the reason,—namely, because he had newly heard, by John's disciples, of the death of their master. Now John the evangelist, in giving that story of Christ's retiring, hath inserted this passage,—"And the Jews' Passover was nigh;" whereby we may conclude, that the Baptist's death was a little before the time of the Passover. And from hence we may take up the whole space of his ministry and imprisonment. He began to preach and baptize in the year of Christ 29; at the spring of the year, or about Easter. Half a year after, Jesus is baptized by him, about the feast of tabernacles. Till after the feast of tabernacles come twelvemonth,—viz. in the year of Christ 30,—he is still abroad baptizing in Bethabara and Ænon: about October, in that year, he is imprisoned; and so lieth in restraint, till almost Easter twelvemonth, which was in the year of Christ 32. And so his story is of three years' space; the better half of which he preached at liberty, and the other half he lay in prison.

Herod, upon the hearing of the fame of Jesus, is struck with horror of conscience, upon thought of the murder of John: and, if the leaven of Herod was Sadduceism, his horror makes him deny his Sadducaical principles, and to think that John was risen from the dead.

SECTION XLVII.

MATT. chap. XIV, from ver. 13 to the end of the chapter.
JOHN, chap. VI, from beginning of chap. to ver. 22.
MARK, chap. VI, from ver. 30 to the end of the chapter.
LUKE, chap. IX, from ver. 10 to ver. 18.

Five thousand fed miraculously: Christ walketh on the Sea.

ALL the four speak the same story, of Christ's miraculous feeding many thousands in a desert: Mark and Matthew do plainly link this story to the preceding, as is conspicuous to the eye of whosoever shall view in them the last verse of the foregoing section, and the first of this.

John's disciples, with the tidings of their master's death,—and Jesus's disciples, from their preaching abroad, came in to Jesus much about the same time: and, it may be, John's disciples clave to him, and depart no more from him. Upon the tidings, Jesus withdraws into a desert place, "over the sea of Galilee[l]:" not over to the other side beyond Jordan; but he coasted by sea, from one place to another, on the same shore; namely, from Capernaum to the desert of Bethsaida: for it is said, "The people followed him afoot," and came up to him: and, when his disciples return by sea again, they are said to go over to Bethsaida[m], and from thence over to Capernaum[n], coasting still upon the same side.

John, in this story, hath mention of the Passover[o] near at hand[p]; because he only, of all the four, hath undertaken to give account of all the Passovers, betwixt Christ's baptism and his death, for the better reckoning of the time of his public ministry. It may be, the coming on of the Passover had brought all the apostles in, to attend their Master thither. They fall in at Capernaum, his own city,—whither, it is like, he had appointed them to come in at such a time.

When Christ intends to feed the multitude, he propounds to Philip, among all the disciples, "Where shall we buy bread?" for this was in the desert of Bethsaida, which was Philip's city[q].

[l] John, vi. 1. [m] Mark, vi. 45. [n] John, vi. 17.
[o] The third Passover since Christ's baptism. [p] John, vi. 4.
[q] John, i. 44.

SECTION XLVIII.

JOHN, chap. VI, from ver. 22 to the end of the chapter.

Jesus teacheth in Capernaum-Synagogue, concerning eating his Flesh, &c.

THE first words in the section, "The day following," assert the order.

Divers of those, that had been fed by Christ miraculously in the desert of Bethsaida, remained upon that ground all night, expecting Jesus to come again among them, who was departed away from them,—but, as they saw, not with his disciples: therefore, they, the next morning, follow him to Capernaum, and there find him. It was synagogue-day there; namely, either the second or fifth day of the week; and, in the synagogue, Christ speaketh of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, which seemeth a doctrine so monstrous to many, that divers, that had followed him, do now depart from him.

What would these people have? They had been fed miraculously yesterday; and yet to-day they say to him, "What sign showest thou, that we may see and believe[r]? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert[s]," &c. They looked for a continued miraculous feeding, as Moses fed Israel with manna in the wilderness: and to that the words of Christ refer[t]; "Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye ate of the loaves."

It is said, "When they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, they said, 'This is, of a truth, the Prophet that should come into the world;' and they went about to make him king[u]." They thought they saw, in this miracle, the sign of the Messias they looked for, who should feed his people miraculously, as Moses had done; and, therefore, when they now require a sign to be still showed in that nature, Christ tells them, they must expect no other food to be provided for them by him, than his own flesh and blood: which sounds so coldly in some of their ears, that they will follow him no more.

[r] John, vi. 30. [s] John, vi. 31. [t] John, vi. 26. [u] John, vi. 14, 15.

SECTION XLIX.

JOHN, chap. VII, ver. 1.

"After these things, Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him."

BETWEEN the time of this section and that preceding, we are to imagine the Passover to have passed, of which there is mention, John vi. 4. So that, after this passage in Capernaum-synagogue, Christ goeth up to the Passover at Jerusalem; and there the Jews,—that is, the Sanhedrim,—sought to kill kim. At the Passover, the last year, they convented him before them, to answer for his violation of the sabbath, in healing the man at Bethesda[v], and he plainly affirms and proves himself to be the Messias; and he comes off with safety, but after what manner is not expressed.

But now, the increase of his disciples, the spreading of his fame and doctrine by the preaching of the twelve, and, it may be, the example of the murdering of the Baptist, had so stirred them up to seek his life, that he, perceiving it, gets away from Jerusalem into Galilee, and will not yet come into Judea again.

SECTION L.

MARK, chap. VII, all the chapter; and chap. VIII, from beginning to ver. 22.

MATT. chap. XV, all the chapter; and chap. XVI, from the beginning to ver. 13.

Scribes and Pharisees' impious Traditions: the Woman of Canaan's Daughter healed: a Man dumb and deaf healed. Four thousand fed miraculously. Pharisees require a Sign, &c. Leaven of Pharisees, &c.

THESE two evangelists join this portion to the end of sect. xlvii. Now, what we have laid between, in sect. xlviii and xlix, is of so plain subsequence and order, that no more needeth to be said of this or them.

Certain scribes and Pharisees, that were sent purposely from Jerusalem [as may be conjectured, because the Sanhedrim there sought to destroy Jesus], seeking to entrap and

[v] John v.

oppose him, and to make a party against him, quarrel with his disciples for not washing before meat. Their preciseness about this matter may be seen in the Talmudic treatise Jadaim, and in Maimonides, in his tract Mikvaoth; and, occursorily, almost in every place in the Jewish writers, where they have occasion to speak of their meals, and of their manner of eating.

1. "Washing of the hands, or dipping of them, is of the institution of the scribes:" they are the words of Maimonides[w].

"Hillel and Shammai decreed about washing the hands: but R. Jose, the son of R. Ben, saith, The tradition about it had come to their hands, but they had forgot it. These, therefore, decreed but according to the mind of those that had gone before them[x]."

3. "The eating of their common meat in cleanness[y]," is very much spoken of in their writings, and most highly extolled: insomuch, that the gloss upon Chagigah, cap. 2, doth determine a man of religion by this, that "he eats his common meals in cleanness." And the Gemarists, in the place of the Jerusalem Talmud last cited, have this saying;—"Whosoever hath his dwelling in the land of Israel, and eats his common meals in cleanness, and speaks the holy tongue, and says over his phylacteries morning and evening,—that man may be confident, that he shall obtain the life of the world to come."

And again[z]: "R. Jose, in the name of R. Shabeai, and R. Chajash, in the name of Simeon Ben Lachish, say thus,—"A man should walk four miles to the washing of his hands. It is a tradition, that washing before meat is arbitrary; but after meat, it is duty. Only that, at his washing before, he says over some prayer, but after,not. R. Jacob, Bar R. Isaac hereupon retorted, Dost thou say, he washeth and saith over a prayer; and yet dost thou say, that washing is arbitrary? It is said he should go four miles to the washing of his hands; and yet, dost thou say it is arbitrary?"

How they prized this and other traditions of the elders above the word of God, and so by, and for, them, made that of no weight,—may be read too numerously in them, in such-

[w] In Mikvaoth, cap. 11.
[y] אכילת חולין בטהרה
[x] Talm. Jerus. in Shabb. fol. 3. col. 4.
[z] In Challah, fol. 58. col. 3.

like blasphemous passages as these: "The words of the scribes are more lovely than the words of the law, and more weighty than the words of the prophets."

And: "He that saith there are no phylacteries, and, in so saying, transgresseth against the words of the law,—he is not guilty: but he that saith there are five phylacteries, and, in so saying, addeth to the words of the scribes,—he is guilty[a]."

"The written law is narrow; but the traditional is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea[b]."

Our Saviour, damning these cursed traditions, doth instance only in that unnatural tenet of theirs, that extinguisheth all filial assistance to needy parents: as, if a son said to his father or mother, "It is Corban," &c. Their canons set down the duty of a son to his father; as, "to give him meat and drink, if he stood in need,—and to clothe him, to wash his hands, feet, and face; and, if he need, to lead him in and out[c]." And yet, with this superinduced tradition, they destroyed all such duty. About the word 'Corban,' in the sense in which it is used here, the Talmudic treatises, Nedarim and Nazar, and the Tosaphtoth upon them, are good explications; where it is often used.

His resolving the case about meats' not defiling the man, overthrew a great part of Pharisaism: for this washing before meat was merely out of their traditions; and it was a great part of their sanctimony. Moses, indeed, had forbidden divers things as unclean to be touched; and by the touching of which the person was legally defiled; but that with this reference,—that he was unclean as to God's service, or to the congregation: but this pretended uncleanness of theirs, for which they appointed washing before meat, had respect simply neither to the one nor the other.

Christ, to a heathen woman, that begged the dispossessing of her daughter, calls the heathens 'Dogs:' and she readily understands his meaning, as that being a common title that the Jews put upon them[d]; אומות עולם נמשלו ככלבים "The nations of the world are compared to *dogs*."

No sign given to the Pharisees when they demand one,

[a] Jerus. Beracoth, fol. 3. col. 2. [b] Tanchum, fol. 4. col. 4.
[c] Tosapht. in Kiddushin, cap. 1. [d] Midr. Till. fol. 6. col. 3.

but the sign of Jonah, the prophet: whereby Christ doth not only intimate his own burial and resurrection, but he chiefly intendeth to hint the calling of the Gentiles after his resurrection, as the Ninevites were after Jonah's; which was a thing, the Jews could not endure to hear of.

SECTION LI.

MARK, chap. VIII, ver. 22—26.

A blind Man restored to Sight at Bethsaida.

MARK's authority warrants the connexion here; especially it being considered, that, in the preceding section, Christ and his disciples are crossing over the sea; and here they are arrived at Bethsaida. A journey by sea thither they had, when Jesus fed the five thousand in sect. xlvii; and now, being come up to that place where that miracle was wrought, it was a strange construction the disciples made of the words of their Master, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees," when they thought he blamed them for not bringing bread: the very place where they were, might have confuted their misprision.

Christ openeth the eyes of a blind man, but will not do it in Bethsaida; but leads the man out of the town; nor will he suffer him to go into the town, when he is cured,—nor to tell it there. He had, a good while ago[e], as hath been said, denounced woe against Bethsaida; and, for her perverseness, he will no more strive with her for her good. He had gathered out of her those, that belonged to himself.

SECTION LII.

MATT. chap. XVI, from ver. 13 to the end of the chapter.
MARK, chap. VIII, from ver. 27 to the end of the chapter; and chap. IX, ver. 1.
LUKE, chap. IX, from ver. 18 to ver. 28.

The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given to Peter, &c.

MATTHEW and Mark establish the order.

Upon Peter's confession, that Jesus was "The Christ, the Son of the living God," 1. He promiseth to build his

[e] Matt. xi. 21.

church upon the rock of that truth, and the rock confessed in it[f]. 2. He promiseth "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" to Peter only, of all the apostles: meaning thereby, that he should be the man, that should first unlock the door of faith, and of the gospel, unto the Gentiles; which was accomplished in Acts x. And, 3. He giveth him power of "binding and loosing;" and this power, the other disciples had common with him[g].

"Binding and loosing," in the language and style most familiarly known to the Jewish nation [and it can little be doubted, that Christ speaketh according to the common and most familiar sense of the language], did refer more properly to things than to persons: therefore he saith, Ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς, and not ὃν: and in Matt. xviii. 18, Ὅσα ἂν δήσητε, not ὅσους.

The phrase, "To bind and to loose[h]," in their vulgar speech, meant, to prohibit and to permit; or, to teach what is prohibited or permitted,—what lawful, what unlawful: as may appear by these instances; a few produced, whereas thousands might be alleged out of their writings.

"[i] Our wise men say, that, in Judah, they did work on the Passover-eve till noon, but in Galilee not at all: and as for the night, the school of Shammai bound it[k];" that is, forbade to work on it; or, taught that it was unlawful: "but the school of Hillel loosed it till sun-rising[l];" or, taught that it was lawful to work till sun-rise.

They[m] are speaking about washing in the baths of Tiberias on the sabbath: and they determine how far this was lawful, in these words; "[n] They bound washing to them, but they loosed sweating:" meaning, they taught that it was lawful to go into the bath to sweat, but not to bathe for pleasure.

"They[o] send not letters by the hand of a Gentile on the eve of the sabbath, nor on the fifth day of the week. Nay, on the fourth day of the week[p], the school of Shammai bound it[q], but the school of Hillel loosed it."

[f] From Isa. xxviii. 16. Psal. cxviii. 22, &c. [g] Matt. xviii. 18.
[h] לאסור ולהתיר [i] Talm. in Pesachim, cap. 4. hal. 5. [k] בית שמאי אוסרין
[l] ובית הלל מתירין עד חצי היום [m] Jerus. in Shabb. fol. 6. col. 1.
[n] ואסרו לחן רחיצה והיתרו לחן זיעה [o] Jerus. in Shabb. fol. 4. col. 1.
[p] בית שמאי אוסרין [q] ובית הלל מתירין

"Women[r] may not look in a looking-glass, on the sabbath: but if it were fastened upon a wall[s], Rabbi loosed the looking into it; but the wise men bound it."

"[t] R. Jochanan went from Tsipporis to Tiberias; he saith, Why brought ye to me this elder[u]? for what I loose, he bindeth,—and what I bind, he looseth."

"The scribes have bound leaven[v];" that is, they have prohibited it.

"[w] They have, upon necessity, loosed salutation on the sabbath;" that is, they have permitted it, or taught that it was lawful.

Thousands of instances of this nature might be produced; by all which it is clear, that the Jews' use of the phrase was of their doctors or learned men's teaching, what was lawful and permitted, and what unlawful and prohibited. Hence is that definition of such men's office and work[x]; "A wise man, that judgeth judgment, maketh unclean and maketh clean,—bindeth and looseth:" that is, teacheth what is clean and unclean, what is permitted and prohibited. And Maimonides[y], giving the relation of their ordaining of elders, and to what several employments they were ordained, saith thus; "A wise man, that is fit to teach all the law, the Consistory had power to ordain him, to judge, but not to teach[z] bound and loose; or power to teach bound and loose, but not a judge in pecuniary matters; or power to both these, but not to judge in matters of mulct," &c. So that the ordination of one to that function which was more properly ministerial, or to teach the people their duty,—as, what was lawful, what not; what they were to do, and what not to do,—was to such a purpose, or in such a tenor, as this, "Take thou power to bind and loose, or to teach what is bound and loose;" for they use both the expressions לאסור ולהתיר and להורות באיסור והתר

By this vulgar and only sense of this phrase in the nation, the meaning of Christ using it thus to his disciples, is easily

[r] Jerus. in Shabb. fol. 7. col. 4.
[s] רבי מתיר וחכמים אוסרין
[t] Jerus. in Jom. tob. fol. 60. col. 1.
[u] דאנא שרי והוא אסר ואסר והוא שרי
[v] Maim. in Hhamets Umatsah, cap. 4. חמץ סופרים אסרוהו
[w] Tanchum, fol. 1. col. 3. מדוחק התירו שאלת שלום בשבת
[x] In Tosaphta ad Jebammoth, cap. 4. חכם שדן את הדין טימא וטיהר אסר והיתיר
[y] In Sanhedr. cap. 4.
[z] "Domus Judicii potestatem habet promovendi in judicem scilicet, non in doctorem ligati et solnti:" Leusd.

understood; namely, that he first doth instate them in a ministerial capacity to teach, what bound and loose, what to be done and what not; and this as ministers; and thus all ministers, successively, to the end of the world. But, as they were apostles of that singular and unparalleled order, as the like never were in the church again, he gives them power "to bind and loose" in a degree above all ministers, that were to follow; namely, that whereas some part of Moses's law was now to stand in practice, and some to be laid aside; some things under the law prohibited, were now to be permitted; and some things, then permitted, to be now prohibited,—he promiseth the apostles such assistance of his Spirit, and giveth them such power, that what they allowed to stand in practice, should stand,—and what to fall, should fall: "what they bound in earth, should be bound in heaven," &c.

SECTION LIII.

MATT. chap. XVII, from the beginning to ver. 24.
MARK, chap. IX, from ver. 2 to ver. 33.
LUKE, chap. IX, from ver. 28 to ver. 46.

Christ transfigured: a Devil cast out of a Child.

MATTHEW and Mark link this story to the preceding, with this link, "After six days," &c; which Luke hath uttered, "About an eight days after;" which is but the same in sense. Six days complete came between the day, that Christ had spoken the words before, and the day of his transfiguration: so that the day of his transfiguration, was the eighth day from the day when Christ said, "There are some standing here, that shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power."

This story of Christ's transfiguration, relateth to that prediction concerning the great Prophet[z], "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee," &c. "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken to my words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him."—'A prophet,'—that is, a succession of prophets, till 'the great Prophet' should come, who should seal vision and prophecy.

Christ had been sealed for 'the great Priest' at his bap-

[z] Deut. xviii. 18.

tism, when, entering into his ministry at the same age, that the priests entered into their office, he is attested from heaven, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." He is sealed for 'the great Prophet' here, by the like attestation from heaven, with the same words, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased;" but, withal, it is added, "Hear him,"—answerable to those words, "Whosoever will not hearken[a]," &c.

Moses, the first prophet, had all his oracles out of a cloud: and a cloud of glory, that led Israel in the wilderness, departed at his death:—think of that, when you see a cloud here overshadowing, and a divine oracle given out of it, at the sealing of the Prophet greater than he.

Moses was the first prophet of the Jews,—and Elias, the first prophet of the Gentiles, and they both now appear to attend their Master. Christ and the three disciples were in this mount of his transfiguration all night: for Luke, ix. 37, saith, "It came to pass the next day, when they were come down," &c. Compare Christ transfigured, and his face shining, with the shining of Moses's face,—and so compare that first prophet, and this great Prophet, again together.

The disciples, that had authority and power given them over all devils[b], are not able here to cast one out: and their Master showeth a double reason why,—namely, because of their unbelief, and because that kind went not out but by fasting and prayer. Now, that their unbelief should be any more than it had been before [for they had cast out devils before this[c]], it might seem strange, but that here were some concurrents towards that, more than they had met with before now: and that we may observe, especially, in these two things:—1. There were divers diseases, which, in their own nature, were but natural diseases, which yet the Jews did, commonly, repute as seizure and possessing by the devil; especially those that distempered the mind, or did in more special manner convulse the body: and, according to this common language and conception of the nation, the language of the gospel doth speak exceeding frequently. Examples of this kind of dialect among the Jews, we might produce divers: as that in Maimonides[d]; "A man, which is troubled with an

[a] Deut. xviii. 19. [b] Luke, ix. 1. [c] Matt. vi. 13. [d] In Gerushin, cap. 2.

evil spirit, and saith, when the sickness [חולי] begins upon him, Write a bill of divorcement to my wife,—he saith as good as nothing, because he is not 'compos sui:' and so likewise a drunken man, when he comes near the drunkenness of Lot," &c. He calls the evil spirit חולי, or 'a sickness;' and by it he means lunacy, or distractedness, that had its 'lucida intervalla.'

So the Jews speak of a man "that is possessed by Cordicus[e]:" which they interpret to be, "a spirit that seizeth on him, that drinketh too much wine out of the wine-press[f]."—And, to spare more; because the story in hand is of a child, take but this example of an evil spirit, which, they conceived, did seize upon children: "Shibta[g] (say they) is an evil spirit, that seizeth upon children by the neck, even upon the sinews behind the neck, and drieth them up from their use and strength, till it kill him. And the time of it is from the child's being two months old, and the danger of it is till the child be seven years old[h]." Which seemeth to mean nothing else but convulsion-fits, or shrinking of sinews, or some such-like thing; a natural malady.

Now, in this child, there were not only these fits of convulsions, or the falling-sickness, and the like, but he was really possessed with the devil indeed; so that, though the disciples had healed several persons of maladies, which the Jews, in their language and conceptions, called possessings with evil spirits, and the evangelists speak their language,—yet this is a subject to work upon of a farther difficulty by far, the devil being bodily in this child indeed. 2. Granting [for we dare not deny] that they had cast out devils indeed before,—yet this case carried some extraordinary matter in it above other times. They were then preaching up and down, and their commission gave them power to cast out devils, to confirm their doctrine; but now they were not in that employment. They were also now set upon by the scribes and Pharisees, with a possessed person of an extraordinary example, as being possessed from an infant, purposely that they might puzzle them; and that in the fairer opportunity, when their Master, and three of the chief of their company, Peter, and James, and John, were absent. Therefore, if, by

[e] שאחזו קורדיקוס [f] Talm in Gittin. per. 7. Vid. R. Sol. and Nissim ibi.
[g] שיבתא [h] Aruch in שיבתא

all these concurrents of disadvantage, their faith were somewhat shaken, it is to be the less wondered at, by how much the more the case was more strange and unusual to them, and they had not been put to such a trial before.

SECTION LIV.

MATT. chap. XVII, ver. 24—27.

Christ payeth Money miraculously gotten.

MARK's words in the beginning of the next section, laid to the first verse of this, will be evidence sufficient for the order of both.

Christ is demanded the half-shekel, that every Israelite was bound, by the law, annually to pay for the redemption of his life[h]. The word Δίδραχμα speaks that. Now the proper time of collecting that, began a little before the Passover, as we have observed before, out of the treatise Shekalim. And though it were now almost half a year past the Passover, yet is this the first time that Jesus had been at his own house in Capernaum, since the time of gathering that money had come in. This half-shekel, that every Israelite paid yearly, went to the repair of the temple, and to the buying of things needful for the service there. Christ pays his church-duties: therefore here, though, as his own words argue, he, being the Son of the great King for whom that tribute was demanded, might have pleaded immunity,—for kings take tribute of strangers, not of their own children,—his paying it by a miraculous compassing of it out of a fish's mouth, showeth at once his divine power, that could make all things serve his ends, and his great care to discharge his due payments, and to avoid offence; and, withal, his poverty,—when he is put to a miracle for such a little sum of money; for he would not work miracles, where there was not need. His paying for Peter with him, was because he was of the same town, and so was under the same demand of payment, and he knew that he was in the same want of money. The other disciples were to pay in the places of their several houses. When Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans, Δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ'

[h] Exod. xxx. 13.

ἔτος ἀποφέρειν, "The Jews were commanded to pay this half-shekel yearly to Jupiter Capitolinus[i]."

SECTION LV.

MARK, chap. IX, from ver. 33 to the end of the chapter.
MATT. chap. XVIII, all the chapter.
LUKE, chap. IX, from ver. 46 to ver. 51.

A Dispute who greatest: one casting out Devils, and yet not following Christ: 'Dic Ecclesiæ,' &c.

THE order needeth no demonstration: the seeming difference between Matthew and Mark, in the beginning of the section, needeth animadversion rather: Mark saith, their dispute who should be greatest, was as they went in the way towards Capernaum; and, when Christ asked them, at Capernaum, what their discourse had been, they held their peace. But Matthew saith, "At the same time,"—namely, while Christ was at Capernaum,—the disciples came to him, and asked him, "Who is the greatest," &c; in which relation he briefly coucheth the two stories, that Mark speaketh of, into one,—namely, their talking by the way who would be greatest, and this question coming before Christ.

It may be, Christ's so lately taking Peter, and James, and John, into the mount, apart from the rest, gave occasion to this debate, which he determineth by setting a child in the midst, &c. They, that have held this child to have been Ignatius in his infancy, who was afterward the martyr[j], sure did not well observe his own words, if they be his own, in his epistle to the church of Smyrna, Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα: "And I do not only know, that Christ is come in the flesh, by his being born and being crucified, but I saw him in the flesh after his resurrection:" for so the Latin renders it; "Vidi eum in carne." Or be it, "I knew him in the flesh after his resurrection,"—it may seem very strange, that he, that was so very a child, as Christ to take him in his arms this year, almost at the feast of tabernacles, —and the next year, at Easter, which was but within half a

[i] Xiphilin. apud Dion. lib. 66. Joseph. de Bell. lib. 7. cap. 27.
[j] As see Niceph. lib. 2. c. 3. Baron. ad Annum Christi, 71. Marg. de la Bign. in Ignat. in Biblioth. Patr. tom. 1.

year's space, to become so intelligent, as to take notice of his being risen.

Upon Christ's speaking of receiving those that come in his name, John propounds a dubious case, of one that they had met with, that went about, indeed, in his name, and in his name cast out devils; and yet would not own himself his disciple, nor follow him: which raiseth to us a farther scruple, how this man came to this miraculous power? for that it was so, and not magical exorcising in the name of Jesus, as divers enemies of the gospel used afterward, may be gathered by Christ's answer, who calls it, doing a miracle in his name; and speaks of this man, as not being against him, but for him. Whether he did these miracles in the name of Messias, or of Jesus, we will not question: the original of this power to him, we may resolve much into the same principle from whence Caiaphas prophesied, John xi, 51; "This he spake not of himself; but being high-priest that year, he prophesied:" there is an emphasis in 'that year:' for now was the fulness of time, the year of expectation, and accomplishment of vision and prophecy, and the time of the pouring out of the Spirit, as never before: and if, in that full meal of this provision that Christ had made for his own, some crumbs fell besides the table that others gathered up, or were partakers of, it doth the more magnify the diffusion, and doth so much the more point out and give notice to observe the time. For Christ did so little leave himself without witness, and did give so clear evidence that this was the great and signal time spoken of by the prophets in all generations, that miracles wrought, not only by himself and his disciples, but even by the Jews' own children, as Matt. xii. 27, give abundant testimony to it.

Matthew's text, in this section, runs parallel with the other to ver. 10, and so far the reader may take them up together; then goeth he on with Christ's speech and the story alone.

The number of a hundred, divided into 'ninety-nine and one,' ver. 12, is according to the usual and ordinary manner of the Jews' speech, with whom this very division is very common.

"When a man is dividing nuts among the poor, though

ninety-nine call on him to divide them, and one call on him to scatter them, to him they must hearken. With grapes and dates it is not so; though ninety-nine call on him to scatter them, and one to divide them, to him they must hearken[k]," &c.

" Rab, and R. Chajash, both of them said, If ninety-nine die by an evil eye, and one by the hand of heaven. R. Chaninah, and Samuel, both of them said, If ninety-nine die by cold, and one by the hand of heaven[l]," &c.

The rules, that Christ giveth about dealing with an offending brother, were very well known in the nation; and such as were practised, at least prescribed, in their own discipline.

1. Admonition privately, betwixt the party offended and the party offending. Of such, Maimonides speaks in his treatise, Deah, cap. 6.

2. Admonition, two witnesses being present. " He that sinneth against his fellow, it is necessary that he say unto him, I have offended against thee. If he receive him, well: if not, he must bring two men, and appease him before them[m]," &c. Only, Christ raiseth his lesson to a higher charity; namely, for the offended party to try the amendment of the offending. So the jealous husband admonished his wife before two[n]; and the Sanhedrim, by two scholars of the wise, admonished an Israelitish city that fell to idolatry, before they made war upon it[o].

3. ' If he will not hear them, tell the church.'—They used the open proclaiming of an incorrigible person in the synagogue. " A woman that is rebellious against her husband, that she may vex him, and says, Behold, I will thus vex him, because he did so and so to me; they send to her from the judicatory, or bench, and say to her, Know, thou, that if thou persist in thy rebelliousness, though thy jointure be a hundred pound, thou hast forfeited it; and afterward they make proclamation concerning her in the synagogues, and in the schools, every day for four sabbaths together,

[k] Talm. in Peah, cap. 4. halac. 1, 2. [l] Jerus. in Shab. fol. 14. col. 3.
[m] Jerus. in Joma, fol. 45. col. 3. [n] Sotah, cap. 1.
[o] Maim. in Avodah Zarah, cap. 4.

saying, Such a woman rebels against her husband[p]," &c. "If a man will not provide for his children, they rebuke him, and shame him, and are urgent with him; and, if he yet will not, they proclaim him in the synagogue, saying, Such a one is cruel, and will not nourish his children[q]," &c. Here was 'telling the church,' by open proclamation.

SECTION LVI.

JOHN, chap. VII, from ver. 2 to ver. 10.

The Feast of Tabernacles.

MATTHEW[r] and Mark[s] both relate, that, "when Jesus had ended these sayings," which are contained in the preceding section, "he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judea beyond Jordan;" which is not to be understood as if he departed thither presently; but they say no more of his actions till his departure thither; and so pass over almost half a year's story in silence, which Luke and John do make up. These bring Jesus out of Galilee beyond Jordan, and presently back to Jerusalem, to his passion: but these, as we shall see, bring him twice to Jerusalem, before his last coming up; namely, this to the feast of tabernacles, and another to the feast of dedication.

33 *Christ.*

'The brethren;' that is, the kinsmen of Jesus, urge him to go up to the feast of tabernacles, that his disciples in Judea might see his works[t]:—remember here[u], his brethren themselves believed not on him[v]; and that the rather, because they thought his privacy, that he desired to keep in, was not answerable to the port and state of the Messias; therefore, they desire that he would appear in the power of his miracles, in Judea, the centre of the nation; that, if he were the Messias, he might carry it out there, as they expected the Messias should do.

[p] Maimonides in אישות cap. 14. [q] Ibid. cap. 12. [r] Chap. xix. 1.
[s] Chap. x. 1. [t] John, vii. 3. [u] John, iii. 22; and iv. 1.
[v] John, vii. 5.

SECTION LVII.

LUKE, chap. IX, from ver. 51 to the end of the chapter.
JOHN, chap. VII, ver. 10.

Christ going towards the Feast of Tabernacles.

THAT this journey of Christ towards Jerusalem, that Luke speaketh of in this section, is the same with this in John,—namely, his going up to the feast of Tabernacles,—is plain by this, that Luke mentioneth two journeys of his to Jerusalem more; namely, in chap. xiii. 22, which was to the feast of dedication,—and chap. xvii. 11, which was to the Passover and his passion.

The words of Luke, then, "When the time was come, that he should be received up, he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem," mean, that now, being come within half a year of the time of his death, he resolved to be more constant at Jerusalem than he had been; having avoided the place and country, once and again, because the Jews sought to kill him.

The stories of several men, in this section, that take upon them to follow Christ, but they had something else to do first,—have been spoken to before, at sect. xxxviii.

SECTION LVIII.

LUKE, chap. X, from the beginning to ver. 17.

The seventy Disciples sent forth.

As to the order of the story,—First, It is to be observed, that Luke saith, it was 'after these things,' mentioned in the former section; that is, after Christ was sent out from Galilee towards the feast of tabernacles. Secondly, That it is said[v], that "Jesus went up to that feast, not openly, but as it were in secret;" whereupon it may be concluded, that he had despatched the seventy disciples away, before he came there. He giveth them the same instructions that he had given the twelve, and the same power to heal the sick: only, whereas the twelve went at large to any of the cities of Israel, these were to go to those places, where Christ himself

[v] John, vii. 10.

should come, to make way for him, and to prepare the places for the receiving of him against he came: so that now, Christ disposeth for the full revealing of himself for the Messias, the seventy beforehand proclaiming him, and preaching in his name, and he afterward coming and showing himself to be he of whom they preached. The numbers twelve, and seventy, cannot but call to mind the twelve tribes, and the seventy elders, of Israel. The seventy were but a little while abroad;—for thirty-five couples would soon despatch a great deal of work;—and they return again to their Master, before he departs from Jerusalem[w].

He again accuseth Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, which he had done before at sect. xxxii; for having, at any time, occasion to speak of contempt of the gospel, they may justly be introduced as having the most tender of it, and yet despised it.

SECTION LIX.

JOHN, chap. VII, from ver. 11 to the end of the chapter.

Christ at the Feast of Tabernacles.

THE pregnancy of the order here, speaks itself: in the two preceding sections, Jesus was in the way up to the feast, and now he is come there.

Now is the year of the world 3960, and the year of Christ 33, begun: both entering in this very month, in which the feast of tabernacles was;—the great year of the world, the fulness of time, the year of redemption and pouring down of the Spirit. It was, indeed, the year of jubilee, however the Jews would jumble their account[x],—whether ignorantly, or wilfully, let them look to it. For count from the seventh year of the rule of Joshua, when the wars of Canaan ended, and jubilees began, and you have one thousand four hundred years to this present year that we are upon, just eight-and-twenty jubilees: this year the last, that Israel must ever see. It is the confession of Zohar[y], that 'the divine glory should be freedom and redemption in a year of jubilee.' Compare the sending out of the seventy disciples near upon the very

[w] Luke, x. 17. 38.

[x] As see Maimonides in Shemittah veiobel, cap. 10.

[y] In Lev. xxv.

instant, when this jubilee began, with the sounding of the trumpet for the proclaiming of the jubilee[z]; and there is a fair equity and an answerableness to that type, in that very thing.

From this feast of tabernacles to the Passover, at which time Christ suffered, was that last half year, of the last half seven, mentioned Dan. ix; which compare with the last half year of Israel's being in Egypt, in which time Moses did his miracles, and which ended also at the Passover.

Among the many varieties of solemnity and festivity used at the feast of tabernacles, of which we have given account at large in another volume, there was the pouring out of water fetched out of the fountain Siloam, with the wine of the drink-offering,—and, at night, their most transportant joyfulness, expressed by their singing, dancing, and the like jocund gestures, for that pouring out of water: which, by some[a], is interpreted to signify 'the pouring out of the Holy Ghost.' The consideration of this illustrates ver. 37, 38; where it is said, that "on the last and great day of the feast, Jesus cried, If any thirst, &c. He that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of water," &c. Upon which words many believed him, because they had seen already so fair evidence of the gifts of the Spirit, in the powerful works of himself and his disciples: and yet the text saith here, 'The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified:'—a far greater gift of that being yet behind.

The Sanhedrim would fain have been meddling with him, to have tried him for a false prophet, as may be gathered from their words, ver. 52; but his hour was not yet come.

JOHN, chap. VIII.

A Woman taken in Adultery, &c.

IT is said in the conclusion of the former chapter, that 'every one' of the Sanhedrim 'went home;' and here, 'Jesus went into the mount of Olives:' which joins the story plain enough. Not that he lodged in mount Olivet, in the open fields; but that he went to Bethany, and lodged in the house of Lazarus: of which we shall find confirmation in the next section.

[z] Lev. xxv. 9. [a] In Jerus. succah, fol. 55. col. 1.

In the morning, he comes to the temple; and in the treasury, or the court of the women, he sitteth down, and teacheth the people. For it was the custom for the teachers of the people to sit when they taught,—and those, that were taught, to stand about them. As he thus sits teaching, the scribes and Pharisees bring a woman to him taken in the act of adultery, &c.

The Syriac wants this story: and Beza doubts it; a man always ready to suspect the text, because of the strangeness of Christ's action, writing with his finger on the ground: "Mihi, ut ingenue loquar [saith he] vel ob hunc ipsum locum suspecta est hæc historia." Whereas it speaks the style of John throughout, and the demeanour of the scribes and Pharisees, and of Christ, most consonantly to their carriage all along the gospel. The snare, that they laid for him in this matter, was various. That he should condemn the adulteress; but where was the adulterer? Why brought they not him too? If he condemned her, he seemed to assume judicial power: if he condemned her not, he seemed a contemner of the law. But he, in his divine wisdom, used such a mean, as condemned their baseness, and confounded their machination against him. His writing with his finger upon the ground, may rather be construed from allusion to Num. v. 23; or from Jer. xvii. 13; or from a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud, in Megillah, fol. 74. col. 2; or from several other illustrations,—than, for that action, roughly and rudely to deny the authenticness of the story. The censuring and judging of this woman, belonged to a judicial bench at the least of twenty-three judges; and it would have carried a fair accusation against him, had he gone about to judge in such a matter. The woman was espoused, and not yet married, as see Deut. xxii. 24; for their judicials punished him, that lay with an espoused maid, with stoning[b]; but him, that lay with a married wife, with strangling[c].

Christ's words, at ver. 25, "I am even the same, that I said to you from the beginning,"—refer to his open and manifest asserting himself for the Messiah a year and a half ago before the Sanhedrim[d].

[b] Sanhedr. cap. 7. hal. 4. [c] Ibid. cap. 11. hal. 1. [d] John, v.

Their words to him, ver. 57, "Thou art not yet fifty years old," mean, 'Thou art not yet come within the compass of old age,—no, not to the first skirts of it:' for fifty years was the beginning of superannuation to the Levites at the temple[e]; and the Jews had a common opinion, that whosoever died before fifty, or at least fifty-two, died untimely, and, as it were, by cutting off.

SECTION LX.

LUKE, chap. X, from ver. 17 to the end of the chapter; And chap. XI, and XII, and XIII, to ver. 23.

THE observing of the beginning and end of this section, will clear the subsequence of this to the preceding, and the order of all the stories comprehended in it. It begins with the seventy disciples' returning from the employment, upon which their Master had sent them. Now, that they returned to him at Jerusalem, whither he was gone to the feast of tabernacles, appears by this,—that after they are come up to him, he is in Bethany, in the house of Mary and Martha[f].

This section ends with this relation,—"And he went through the cities and villages, teaching and journeying to wards Jerusalem[g];" so that in chap. x. 17, he is at Jerusalem, having come thither to the feast of tabernacles; and, in chap. xiii. 22, he hath been abroad; and is now travelling up to Jerusalem again, to the feast of dedication. Therefore, this whole section is the story of his actions from the one feast to the other.

CHAP. X.—Upon the disciples' relating that the devils were subject to them in his name, he answers, 'I saw Satan fall from heaven like lightning.' Which referreth partly to his death shortly to be, by which Satan was overthrown; and partly [if 'heaven' mean the church of the Jews, and the state of religion there, as it means not seldom] to the power of the gospel, this very year and forward, among them, casting him out. With these words of Christ, and the consideration of the time they refer to, we may fitly compare several places, which give and receive light mutually with it: as, Matt. xii. 45, where Satan, cast out of this nation, returns again; 1 Cor. vi. 3, Rev. xii. 9, and Rev. xx. 1, 2, &c.

[e] Num. iv. [f] Luke, x. 38, 39. [g] Luke, xiii. 22.

Unto a lawyer, Christ defineth who is a 'neighbour,' by the parable of the wounded man and the good Samaritan, vastly differing from the doctrine of the Pharisees in that case. Take these two or three assertions of their own schools, for some illustration of this parable.

1. They accounted none under the term 'brother,' but an Israelite by blood; and none under the term 'neighbour,' but those that were come in to their religion. "By using the word 'neighbour,' are excluded all the heathen[h]." "An Israelite, that slayeth a stranger sojourning among them, is not to be put to death by the Sanhedrim for it; because it is said, If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour[i]." By which it is apparent, they accounted not such a one 'a neighbour.'

2. They have this bloody and desperate tenet: "Heretics, that is, Israelites that follow idolatry, or such as commit provoking transgressions,—as, to eat a carcass, or to wear linseywoolsey for provocation,—this is a heretic. And Epicureans, which are such Israelites as deny the law and prophets, it is commanded that a man kill them, if he have power in his hand to kill them; and he may boldly kill them with the sword: but if he cannot, he shall subtly come about them, till he can compass their death: as, if he see one of them fallen into a well, and there was a ladder in the well before, let him take it up, and say,—I must needs use it to fetch my son from the top of the house, and then I will bring it thee again. But heathens, betwixt whom and us there is no war, as also the feeders of small cattle in Israel, and such-like, we may not compass their death; but it is forbidden to deliver them, if they be in danger of death:" [observe this;] "as, if one see one of them fall into the sea, he shall not fetch him up; for it is said, Thou shalt not stand up against the blood of thy neighbour. But such a one is not thy neighbour."

3. Of all other people in the world, they abhorred Samaritans; as appeareth by John iv. 9, and viii. 43, and by exceeding many expressions to that purpose in their own writings: and, therefore, our Saviour, urging for clear and free charity in this parable, exemplifieth in a Samari-

[h] Aruch in voce בן בריה. [i] Maim. in Retseah, cap. 2.

tan, the unlikeliest man in the world to do any charitable office for a Jew: and he 'a neighbour,' though so remote in blood, religion, and converse.

Christ is at Bethany, ver. 30, in the house of Mary and Martha. Martha was a usual woman's name in the nation: "Joshua, the son of Gamla, married Martha, the daughter of Baithus[k]." "Abba, the son of Martha[l]." "Isaac Bar Shemuel, Bar Martha[m]." And now, let the reader cast his eye back from hence; and calculate, when, or how, it was, that Christ came so acquainted with this family; and he will find no time or occasion so likely, as when the woman-sinner washed his feet, Luke vii; which, we proved there, was Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who was also called Magdalen.

CHAP. XI, ver. 2.—The Lord's prayer rehearsed: Christ had taught it almost a year and a half ago, in his sermon in the mount; and now, being desired to teach them to pray, he gives the same again. They that deny this for a form of prayer to be used, either know not, or considered not, what kind of prayers the eminent men among the Jews taught them: John had taught his to pray, after the same manner and use of the nation; and Christ, being desired to teach the disciples, as John had taught his, rehearseth this form, which he had given before. They that again deny this prayer is to be used by any but real saints, because, as they say, none but such can call God 'Our Father;' either know not, or consider not, how usual this compellation was among the nation in their devotions; and Christ speaketh constantly according to the common and most usual language of the country.

At ver. 14, and forward, there is a story of casting out a devil, so like that in sect. xxxv;—the Jews' cavil, and our Saviour's words about it, are the very same: and yet, the current of the history evinceth them for two several stories: for, as the Jews always carried the same malicious construction of his miracles,—so doth he justly always return them the same answer; as hath been observed already.

At ver. 27, there is a link that chains the time and stories,—'As he spake these things:' and another at ver. 29, if

[k] Juchas. fol. 57. [l] Id. fol. 72. and Aruch in אבא
[m] Jerus. in Shab. fol. 3. col. 4, &c.

compared with ver. 16; and again at ver. 37, where his denouncing woe against the Pharisees, although it be much the same for sense with that in Matt. xxiii; yet, that they were uttered at two several times, and upon two several occasions, will appear by that time, that we come to that chapter.

In chap. xii, he rehearseth many things that he had spoken before: the same doctrine being needful to be inculcated over and over, though to the same audience: much more, when new auditors were still coming in. Therefore, Christ, towards his latter end, did like Moses, making his Deuteronomium rehearse the doctrine, that he had taught before.

CHAP. XIII.—The first verse beareth this link of connexion, and continuance of story,—there were present 'at that season,' &c. Pilate's bloody act in mingling some Galileans' blood with their sacrifices, cannot be looked for so properly in any place, as at the temple. Josephus's story[n] is far from it.—"Siloam was in the midst of the city[o];" a place of great concourse, where the fall of the tower slew eighteen men.

SECTION LXI.

JOHN, chap. IX, and chap. X; all the chapters.

A Man blind from his Birth healed. Christ the good Shepherd. The Feast of Dedication.

THAT this healing of the blind man was at Jerusalem, appeareth by this,—that Christ sends him to the pool of Siloam to wash[p], which lay upon the western part of the city. For Christ was now come up to 'the feast of dedication[q];' so that this clears the order and time.

He cures blind eyes on the sabbath, by putting clay upon them made of his spittle,—a ready way, one would have thought, to have put seeing eyes out. "Fasting spittle is forbidden to be put so much as upon the eye on the sabbath[r]."

Maladies of children that were extraordinary, the Jews did very much ascribe to some sin of the parents: and the

[n] In Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 5. [o] Jerus. in Chagigah, fol. 76. col. 1.
[p] John, ix. 7. [q] John, x. 22. [r] Maim. in Shabb. cap. 21.

traditionaries used this conceit, as a means to awe men to the observance of their traditions. So they conceit of this man[s],—"Thou wast altogether born in sins." We alleged before, their fancy about Shibta, 'an evil spirit that seized upon children by the neck, and shrunk up their sinews.' And whence, say they, comes this? And they give this answer: 'If the mother come from the house of office, and give the child suck presently,' &c. A fetch, merely to awe women to wash after such occasions, and to put the more repute upon their traditions about washings.

The man, upon whom the miracle is wrought, taketh Jesus to be a prophet upon it,—but, as yet, doth not know him for Messias[t]. And when he saith to the Jews, "Will ye also be his disciples[u]," he speaketh it seriously, and from a good heart, urging them to own him for a prophet, as he did: and when he was vehement with them in this pious asserting, they cast him out of the synagogue. "For they had agreed already, that if any man did confess that he was the Messias, he should be cast out of the synagogue[v]." A passage very well worth observing, both towards some discovery of the nature of their excommunication, and for illustration of several matters in this divine history.

CHAP. X.—Christ, from Ezek. xxxiv, and Zech. xi, asserteth himself the great Shepherd, and condemneth the evil shepherds, that undid the flock; especially the three, that his soul loathed[w]: 'The Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.' He feeding his flock with two shepherd's staves, called 'Beauty' and 'Bands,' at the last breaketh them: his staff 'Beauty,' dissolving the covenant of peculiarity, once made with Israel, by which they alone were his people; but that peculiarity now gone, and the Gentiles taken in: and his staff 'Bands,' dissolving the brotherhood betwixt Israel and Judah, that now there is a difference betwixt a true Israelite and a Jew, and Israelites owning Christ; and they that own him not, are no more brethren.

"It was at Jerusalem the feast of the dedication[x], under the second temple, when the Grecian kings decreed decrees against Israel, and abolished their law, and suffered

[s] John, ix. 2. 34. [t] John, ix. 17. [u] Ver. 27. [v] Ver. 22.
[w] Zech. xi. 8. [x] John, ix. 22.

them not to practise the law and commandments, and laid their hands upon their goods, and upon their daughters, and went into the temple and made breaches in it, and defiled the pure things, and Israel was in exceeding great straits because of them; and they afflicted them with great affliction, until the Lord God of their fathers had pity on them, and delivered them out of their hand: and the Asmonean high-priests prevailed against them, and slew them, and delivered Israel out of their hands: and set up a king of the priests, and the kingdom returned to Israel more than two hundred years, even to the second destruction: and when Israel prevailed against their enemies and slew them, it was the five-and-twentieth day of the month Chisleu: and they went into the temple, and found not of pure oil in the sanctuary, but only one bottle; and there was not in it so much as to light above one day: yet, they lighted the lamps with it for eight days, until they had beaten their olives, and got pure oil. And because of this, the wise men, that were in that generation, ordained, that those eight days, beginning from the twenty-fifth of Chisleu, should be days of rejoicing and thanksgiving: and they light up candles on them in the evening, at the doors of their houses, every night of the eight, for the declaring and setting forth of that miracle: and those days are called The Dedication[y]," &c. See 1 Macc. iv. 59. These eight days of Chisleu, fell about the middle of our December. And so, by this intimation, John hath kept the clock of time going, that we may tell, how the story goes. Since Christ's being at the feast of tabernacles hitherto, was about two months, and somewhat more.

The three last verses of this tenth chapter, which mention Christ's going beyond Jordan, speak the same thing with Matt. xix. 1, and Mark x. 1; and might, very properly, be set collateral with those texts: but, since it was somewhat longer after Christ's departure from Jerusalem, to his arrival beyond Jordan, these may be taken in here, and understood, as spoken of his setting forth from Jerusalem, and showing whither he intended to go.

[y] Maim. in Chanucha, cap. 1.

SECTION LXII.

LUKE, chap. XIII, ver. 23, to the end of the chapter; and Chap. XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, to ver. 15.

THE order, here, is somewhat obscure, and that especially from these two things:—1. Because of the first verse of all the section, which may seem to be linked to the time of the verse preceding it in Luke. "He went through the cities and villages, teaching, and journeying towards Jerusalem. Then said one to him," &c. 2. Because of that passage in chap. xvii. 11; "And it came to pass, as he went to Jerusalem, he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee;" which might seem to be the same journey with that chap. xiii. 22; and that all the occurrences in these chapters were in that journey.

But for the proof and clearing of the order, to be as we have laid it, these things are to be observed:—1. That this story, wherewithal this section beginneth, "One said to him, Lord, are few to be saved?" &c. was on the same day that he crieth out, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem[z]," &c. Now, that this was, when Christ was no more to come up to Jerusalem, till his last coming up thither, is evident from his words[a],—"Ye shall no more see me, till the time when ye shall say, Blessed is he, that cometh in the name of the Lord:" so, that this was after his coming up to the feast of dedication. And those words were spoken, whilst he was yet at Jerusalem, before he went away thence from the feast to go beyond Jordan. The word 'Then,' therefore, wherewith this section beginneth in our English translation, doth not enforce the necessary conjunction of the times; for in the original, it is not τότε, but δέ. 2. Whereas it is said, in chap. xvii. 11, that 'as he went to Jerusalem, he passed through Samaria and Galilee,' it is to be understood, his last journey thither; and the manner of expression doth help to confirm our order, as we shall see there. Herod was now at Jerusalem,—as compare ver. 31 and 34; and, it may be, he, being ruler of Galilee, had helped forward the death of these Galileans, whom Pilate had slain as they were

[z] Luke, xiii. 31. 34. [a] Ver. 35.

sacrificing: and an intimation of such-like danger from him is given Jesus: and this may be conceived one cause, that sets him out of the city, and to go beyond Jordan, which is recorded in the last verses of the preceding section, John x. 40: and how the order of story is to be cast in the reader's thoughts, it is easy to see. Christ being at the feast of dedication at Jerusalem, one comes and asks him, 'Lord, are few to be saved[b]?' And 'the same day[c],' some Pharisees tell him of danger from Herod. He answers, that 'it was true, indeed, that he was to die at Jerusalem; for a prophet could not be tried but by the great council there[d]: but he had yet some time to walk and work miracles before;' and so he goes away from Jerusalem.

CHAP. XIV.—He healeth the dropsy on the sabbath, and pleadeth the lawfulness of the action, from their own pity to their beasts, to pull them out of a pit on the sabbath[e].

R. Abuhabh[f] hath a parable somewhat like that passage at ver. 8, and forward. "Three men (saith he) were bidden to a feast,—a prince, a wise man, and an humble man. The prince sat highest, next him the wise man, and the humble man lowest. The king observed it; and asked the prince, Why sittest thou highest? He said, Because I am a prince.—To the wise man, Why sittest thou next? He said, Because I am a wise man.—And to the humble man, Why sittest thou lowest? Because I am humble. The king seated the humble man highest, and the wise man still in his place, and the prince lowest."

CHAP. XV.—By three eminent and feeling parables, is set forth God's readiness to receive sinners, &c; in the last of which, is a clear intimation of the calling of the Gentiles.

CHAP. XVI.—The parable of the unjust steward, of the rich man and Lazarus, from Psalm xlix. 'Lazer' is used constantly in the Jerusalem Talmud for 'Eleazer.' The word signifies 'God help me,' or 'God is my help;' a fit name under which to personate a beggar.—'Abraham's bosom' is a phrase used by the Jews. 'That day that Rabbi died, R. Ada Ben Ahava said, This day he sits in Abraham's bosom[g].'

[b] Luke, xiii. 23. [c] Ver. 31. [d] Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 11.
[e] Of which, Maim. in Shabb. cap. 25. [f] In præfat. ad Ner. 7.
[g] Juchasin, fol. 77. col. 4.

That the tongues of the damned in hell thirst for water, as ver. 24, is also their conception. The Jerusalem Talmud[h] is relating a story of a good man and a bad man, that died: and the good man had no burial rites, לא איתגמל ליה חסד; but the bad man had. Afterward, one in a vision saw the good man walking in gardens, and among pleasant fountains of waters: but the bad near a river, and his tongue reaching after water, but could not reach it.

CHAP. XVII.—At ver. 11, it is said, "As he went *through* Jerusalem, he passed through Samaria and Galilee."—This meaneth his last journey thither; but the expression is somewhat strange. Had it been 'As he went *to* Jerusalem, he passed through Galilee and Samaria,' this had set his face towards Jerusalem: but uttered as it is, it seems to set his back upon it. But, by this passage, the evangelist helpeth to explain, what John and the other evangelists speak of his journey from Jerusalem beyond Jordan,—but that he went not to Jericho, and so the next way to the next place beyond Jordan; namely, that he went through Samaria, up into Galilee, and there crossed over Jordan to Bethabara, which was over-against Galilee.

From ver. 20, and forward, there is a speech of Christ much like that in Matt. xxiv, which still giveth us occasion to observe, how Christ rehearsed things over and over.

CHAP. XVIII.—By two parables, he showeth the needfulness and efficacy of fervency, constancy, and humility, in prayer. In the Pharisee's prayer[i], we may observe what kind of faith in God the Judaic faith was. He waited for good from God, but grounded this in himself, because of his 'own righteousness.' But, in the gospel, 'the righteousness of God is revealed,' and that 'from faith to faith.' In the publican's posture in his prayer, two of their canonical gestures in prayer are exhibited,—standing and looking downward. תלמיד חכם מסתדל למטה כמו שהוא עומד בתפילה[j], "A scholar of the wise must look downward, when he stands praying." The Pharisee's fasting twice a week, may be explained from the Jerusalem Taanith, fol. 64. 3; and Maim. Taanith, cap. 1.

[h] In Chagigah; fol. 77. col. 4. [i] Chap. xviii. 11. [j] Maim. in Deah, cap. 7

SECTION LXIII.

MATT. chap. XIX, from the beginning to ver. 13.
MARK, chap. X, from the beginning to ver. 13.

Christ beyond Jordan. Concerning Divorce.

MATTHEW saith, "When Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judea beyond Jordan." Which sayings, that he speaketh of, were finished a long while ago, at section lv; but because he setteth down nothing betwixt that time and this journey over Jordan,—therefore, he thus joineth their stories together. The time and actions that he hath omitted, we have seen how Luke and John have supplied.

Were there any 'coasts of Judea beyond Jordan?' Either the conjunction 'And' is to be understood, "He came into the coasts of Judea *and* beyond Jordan," as it is understood Psalm cxxxiii. 3, Acts vii. 16, &c; or by 'Fines Judææ trans Jordanem,' is meant 'Fines Judæorum,' because the Syrians also dwelt in the coasts beyond Jordan.

Moses, at the very same instant of time, gave a law to put an adulterous wife to death[k], and a law to divorce her[l]: in the former, showing the desert of the fact; in the latter, permitting to mitigate of the rigour of that law; and, as our Saviour here interprets it, to prevent those cruel effects, that their hardness of heart might have produced, had there been no mitigation. They brag of that law of divorce, as if it favoured them, as a peculiar privilege: "R. Chaijah Rabbah said, Divorces are not granted to the nations of the world[m];" meaning, not to the Gentiles, as they were to the Jews: whereas Truth here informs us, that it was permitted only because of the hardness of their hearts, and to avoid greater mischief. When permission of divorce was given, after a law to punish adultery with death, for a mitigation of it,—it requires most serious weighing, whether a law to punish adultery with death should be indispensable now, after the law of divorce given and continued by our Saviour in case of fornication.

[k] Deut. xxii. 22. [l] Deut. xxiv. 1. [m] Jerus. Kiddushin, fol. 58. 3.

SECTION LXIV.

MATT. chap. XIX, from ver. 13 to the end of the chapter.
MARK, chap. X, from ver. 13 to ver. 32.
LUKE, chap. XVIII, from ver. 15 to ver. 31.

Infants brought to Christ. A rich Man departs sorrowful.

MATTHEW and Mark do evidence the order; and, as Luke hath helped out their briefness before,—so do they also again help us out about his order.

Whose children were these, that were brought to Christ? Not unbelievers', doubtless; but the children of some that professed Christ. Why did they bring them? Not to be healed of any disease, doubtless; for then, the disciples would not have been angry at their coming; for, why at theirs, more than at all others, that had come for that end? Their bringing, therefore, must needs be concluded to be in the name of disciples, and that Christ would so receive them, and bless them: and so he doth, and asserteth them for disciples, and to whom 'the kingdom of heaven' belonged; taking 'the kingdom of heaven,' in the common acceptation of the gospel.

Observe, Mark x. 19, &c. that, mention being made by Christ of the commandments, as if he spake of the whole law, yet he instanceth only in the second table. And see the like again, Rom. xiii. 8, &c. James ii. 8—10, &c. The demeanour of men towards the second table, is a sure trial how they stand to the first.

"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle."—An expression common in the nation.—"It may be, thou art of Pumbeditha, where they can bring an elephant through the eye of a needle[n]."

SECTION LXV.

MATT. chap. XX, from the beginning to ver. 17.

Labourers in the Vineyard, &c.

THE first word, 'For,' makes plain the order and connexion, joining this speech to that before.

The Jerusalem Talmud[o] hath a parable somewhat like to

[n] Talm. Bava Mezia, fol. 38. f. 2. [o] In Beracoth, fol. 5.

this, but wildly applied to a far different purpose: "A king hired many workmen; and there was one of them hired for his work, for more than what was enough. What did the king? He took him, and walked with him up and down. At the time of the evening, the workmen came to receive their wages, and he also gave him his full wages with them. The workmen repined, and said, We have laboured all the day, and this man laboured but two hours; and thou hast given him full wages with us. The king said to them, This man hath laboured more in two hours, than you have done all day. So R. Bon laboured more in the law in twenty-nine years, than another in a hundred," &c.

SECTION LXVI.

JOHN, chap. XI, from the beginning to ver. 17.

Tidings come to Christ of Lazarus's Sickness.

AT sect. lxiii, Christ goeth beyond Jordan: the occasion of his coming back, was the message of Mary and Martha to him, to desire his help to their sick brother. The story of this, therefore, is necessary to be related before the story of his coming thence; which is the next thing, that the other three evangelists fall upon, after they have done with what is set down in the preceding sections.

The words of the second verse, "It was that Mary, which anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair," are most generally construed as pointing to that story in the next chapter, John xii. 3; "Then took Mary an ounce of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair;" which seemeth very improper and unconsonant, upon these reasons:—1. To what purpose should John use such an anticipation? It was neither material to the story that he was entering on, chap. xi,—to tell that Mary anointed Christ's feet a good while after he had raised her brother: nor was it any other than needless to bring in the mention of it here, since he was to give the full story of it in the next chapter. 2. The word Ἀλείψασα is of such a tense, as doth properly denote an action past; and is so to be rendered, if it be rendered in its just propriety—'It was Mary, which *had* anointed.'

3. Whereas, no reason can be given, why John should anticipate it here, if he meant it of an anointing that was yet to come,—a plain and satisfactory reason may be given, why he speaks of it here, as referring to an anointing past; namely, because he would show what acquaintance and interest Mary had with Christ, which did embolden her to send to him about her sick brother; for she had washed and anointed his feet heretofore. The words of John, therefore, point at an action past; and, indeed, they point at that story of the woman-sinner washing the feet of Christ with tears, and anointing them with ointment, and wiping them with her hairs[p]. It is true, indeed, that John, who useth these words that we are upon, had not spoken of any such anointing before, whereunto to refer you, in his own Gospel; but the passage was so well and renownedly known and recorded by Luke before, that he relateth to it as to a thing of most famous notice and memorial.

SECTION LXVII.

LUKE, chap. XVIII, ver. 31—34.
MARK, chap. X, ver. 32—34.
MATT. chap. XX, ver. 17—19.

Christ foretelleth his Suffering.

THE message from Mary and Martha, about their sick brother, inviteth Christ from beyond Jordan, into Judea again. He stays two days, after he had received the message, in the same place where the messenger found him; and, in the story of this section, he is set forward. And being now upon his last journey to Jerusalem, he foretelleth to his disciples, what should become of him there. They followed him with fear and amazement before, foreseeing that he went upon his own danger; and yet, when he had spoken the thing out to them at the full, they understood him not.

[p] Luke, vii.

SECTION LXVIII.

MATT. chap. XX, from ver. 20 to ver. 29.
MARK, chap. X, from ver. 35 to ver. 46.

The Request of Zebedee's Sons. They are told of their Martyrdom.

THE order is plain of itself; and yet the connexion is somewhat strange: for, in the last words before, Christ had foretold of his death; yet, the sons of Zebedee here desire to sit on his right hand and left in his kingdom. Galatius[q] resolves it thus: "Discipuli in errore aliquando fuerunt, credentes Christum illico, post resurrectionem, terreni regni sceptro potiturum: unde et quidam eorum, super cæteros primatum ambientes;" &c. "The disciples sometimes were mistaken, conceiving that Christ, presently after his resurrection, should obtain the sceptre of an earthly kingdom; whereupon, some of them, ambitious of priority above the rest, desired to sit on his right hand and left," &c. It is true, indeed, that the Jewish nation, and the disciples[r] with them, erred in judging about Messias's kingdom; but they erred as far also about Messias's resurrection, till experience had informed them better. Therefore, it cannot well be imagined, that the wife and sons of Zebedee thought of Christ's resurrection in this their request, but conceived of his temporal kingdom, according to the notions of the rest of the nation about it. What, therefore, our Saviour had spoken instantly before of his being scourged, crucified, killed, and rising again,—they understood in some figurative sense or other; but the evangelists plainly tell us, they understood it not in the sense that he spake it. It may be, his naming these two 'The sons of thunder,' gave them some blind encouragement to such a request. Christ foretells his own death, and their suffering martyrdom, under the title of baptism; in which sense the apostle also useth the word, 1 Cor. xv. 29. The Jewish baptizings, or dippings, in their purifications, was a very sharp piece of religion,—when, in frost and snow, and wind and weather, they must over head and ears in cold water; from which the phrase was used

[q] Lib. 4. cap. 1. [r] Acts, i.

to signify death and the bitterest sufferings. The Jerusalem Gemarists do tell us, that the women of Galilee grew barren, by reason of the cold in their purifyings. "R. Aba, in the name of Tanchum, Bar R. Chaia, saith, In the days of R. Joshua Ben Levi, they sought to abolish this dipping, because of the women of Galilee, which were made barren by reason of the cold. R. Joshua Ben Levi saith, Do ye seek to abolish a thing that fenceth Israel from transgression[s]?" &c.

SECTION LXIX.

LUKE, chap. XVIII, ver. 35 to the end.
MATT. chap. XX, from ver. 29 to the end.
MARK, chap. X, from ver. 46 to the end.

Blind healed.

CHRIST, in his journey from beyond Jordan to Bethany, for the raising of Lazarus, passeth through Jericho: and he healeth one blind man, as he entereth into Jericho, of which Luke speaketh,—and another, as he goeth out, of which the other two. Matthew, indeed, speaketh of two, healed as he came out of Jericho; comprehending, it may be, the story of him, that was healed on the other side of the town, and this together, in one story,—for briefness' sake: or, if there were two healed on this side of the town, Mark only mentions one; because, he rather aimeth at showing of the manner or kind of the miracle, than at the number, as we have observed the like before, at sect. xxxix.

SECTION LXX.

LUKE, chap. XIX, from the beginning to ver. 29.

Zaccheus, a Publican, converted.

THE order lies plain in ver. 1. Christ was passed through Jericho, before he met with Zaccheus, &c. Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, hath made the name Zaccai, or Zaccheus, renowned in Jewish writings. His father, Zaccai, might very well be now alive; and, for any difference of the times, might well enough be the Zaccheus before us, but that some other circumstances do contradict it. Whosoever this man

[s] Beracoth, fol. 6. col. 6.

was ,it is observable, that, though his name Zaccheus speak him a Jew, yet Christ reputes him not a child of Abraham, till he believe, ver. 19.

Ver. 11; "They thought, that the kingdom of heaven should immediately appear."—Observe this: this they had learned from Dan. ix, where the time is so punctually determined, that they that looked for the consolation of Israel, could not but observe it; and they that observed, could not but see it now accomplished.

SECTION LXXI.

JOHN, chap. XI, from ver. 17 to the end of the chapter.

Lazarus raised. Caiaphas prophesieth.

Now is Christ come up to Bethany. Whether ביתהיני, mentioned by the Babylonian Talmud[t], be the same with this Bethany,—we shall not dispute here: both a town, and some space of ground about it, was called by this name, Bethany.

As he had stayed in the place, where he was, when he heard of Lazarus's sickness, purposely, that he might die before he came to him, that God might be the more glorified by his raising, ver. 15;—so did he make sure to stay long enough after he was dead, before he came, that the glory might be the more. "He had been four days dead[u]:" compare with this, these sayings of the Jews:—"If one look upon a dead man, within three days after his death, he may know him; but, after three days, his visage is changed[v]." "Three days the soul flies about the body, as if thinking to return to it: but after it sees the visage of the countenance changed, it leaves it and gets it gone[w]."

Upon the miracle wrought, the Jews seek to kill Jesus and Lazarus both: whereupon, Jesus goeth to a city called Ephraim[x]. "Juchne and Mamre [Jannes and Jambres] said to Moses, Dost thou bring straw to Ephraim[y]?" "Juchne and Mamre were the chief sorcerers of Egypt: they, when Moses began to do miracles, thought he had done them by magic: they said, Dost thou bring straw to Ephraim? Ephraim was a place, that exceedingly aboundeth with corn;

[t] Pesachin, fol. 53. f. 1; where they speak 'of the figs of Bethany, and the dates of Tubni.'
[u] John, xi. 39.
[v] Maim. in Gerushin cap. ult.
[w] Jerus. in Moed Katon, fol. 82. col. 2.
[x] John, xi. 54.
[y] Talm. Bab. in Menachoth, fol. 85. f. 1.

and darest thou bring corn thither?" meaning, 'Dost thou bring sorceries into Egypt, that abounds so with sorceries[z]?'

"Ephraim was a city in the land of Israel, where there was abundance of corn. Where is the chiefest provision for offerings? The chiefest for fine flour are Micmash and Zanoah,—and next to them, Ephraim in the vale[a]."

JOHN, chap. XII, from beginning to ver. 12.

A Supper at Bethany: Jesus's Feet anointed.

THE connexion of this story to the preceding chapter, is plainly made by the evangelist himself: compare ver. 55 of chap. xi, and ver. 1 of this.

Though there were a proclamation out against Jesus for his life[b], yet cometh he for Jerusalem; and Lazarus, at Bethany, is not afraid to entertain him. He may well venture his life for him, who had received it from him. It was their sabbath-day, at night, when he had this supper, a time that they used to have extraordinary cheer. Mary, who had anointed his feet before[c], doth the like again.

There is a groundless and a strange opinion of some, that the supper in Matt. xxvi. 6, 7, and Mark xiv. 3, was the same with the supper in John xii:—an imagination, that I cannot enough admire at, seeing there are so many things plainly to gainsay it: but the discussion of it shall be deferred, till we come to those chapters. Only one particular here may not be omitted without observation, and which will make something at present towards the confutation of that opinion,—and that is, our Saviour's answer in the vindication of Mary's act; "Let her alone; against the day of my burial hath she kept this:" *or rather, "She hath kept it*[d]." Not that he meaneth, that this anointing of his feet, was her anointing him against his burial; but that she had kept some of this ointment yet, for that purpose hereafter. Judas repined at the expense of the ointment, that she used for the anointing of his feet; and pleaded, that it had been better bestowed upon charitable uses for the poor: 'Why? (saith Christ) she hath kept it yet and not spent all, that she may bestow it upon a charitable use,—the anointing of my body to its burial.' For, 1.

[z] Gloss. ibi. [a] Aruch in יחני [b] John, xi. 57. [c] Luke, vii. 38.

[d] The words, in italics, are not translated in Leusden's edition, and do not seem necessary to the sense.—ED.

Neither the text doth any whit assert, that she spent the whole pound that she brought; nor, indeed, in reason, was so great a quantity needful. 2. It was not so proper to apply it to his burial now, when, as he was to ride in triumph to Jerusalem to-morrow, as it was two days before the Passover [when the other supper and anointing was], which was the very night, when Judas compacted for his betraying. 3. Then Christ saith, she poured it 'upon his body[d];' which cannot be of the same sense, with pouring it upon his feet only. She, therefore, six days before the Passover, anointed his feet; which was an ordinary use among the Jews to have their feet anointed: and the Talmudists[e] give some rules about it: and this she doth in dear love and affection to him. But, two days before the Passover, she doth not so much anoint his head, as pour the ointment upon his head, that it might run all over his body; and this she did towards his burial, not only in his construction, but in her own intention: she being the first, we read of, that believed his death, as she was the first that saw him after his resurrection. Her faith and fact he foresaw; and, therefore, saith now, at the anointing of his feet, that she 'yet kept it' for the anointing of his body; which when she did, he extols the fact with this encomium,—that wheresoever the gospel should be preached, that action of hers, the example of the first faith in his death, should be published in memorial of her. Thus did this Mary [who, as hath been showed, was Mary Magdalen] anoint Christ three several times;—his feet, at her first conversion,—and his feet again at this time, six days before the Passover,—and his head and body, two days before the Passover,—even that night, that Judas first went about to make his bargain for betraying him.

SECTION LXXII.

MATT. XXI, from the beginning to ver. 17.
MARK, XI, from the beginning to the middle of ver. 11.
LUKE, XIX, from ver. 29 to the end.
JOHN, XII, from ver. 12 to ver. 20.

Christ rideth upon an Ass into Jerusalem.

JOHN maketh the connexion plain, when he saith, "On the next day," &c; and showeth, that, as Christ went up at

[d] Matt. xxvi. 12. [e] Talm. Jerus. Sanhedr. fol. 21. col. 1.

this time, in the evidence and accomplishment of that prophecy, Zech. ix. 9,—so he also went up in the equity and answering of that type, of taking up the paschal lamb on the tenth day[g]; for this was on that very day: and 'the Lamb of God' doth now go in, as giving up himself for the great Paschal.

John telleth us, that he lay at Bethany the night before this; and yet the other evangelists have related it, that "when he came to Bethphage and Bethany," he sent two of his disciples for the ass, &c. The Jews' chorography will here help us out: they tell us,

1. אלפים אמה הגרש העיר "Two thousand cubits was the suburbs of a city[h]."

2. אלפים אמה תחום השבת "Two thousand cubits were the bounds of a sabbath[i]," or a sabbath-day's journey.

3. Bethphage was of this nature: it was not a town upon mount Olivet, as it hath been very generally supposed, and accordingly placed in the most maps; but it was some buildings, and that space of ground, that lay from Jerusalem-wall, forward, towards mount Olivet, and up mount Olivet, to the extent of two thousand cubits from the wall, or thereabout; and hereupon, it was reputed, by the Jews, of the same qualification with Jerusalem, as a part of it, in divers respects.

The Babylonian Talmud [Pesachin, fol. 63. fac. 2]; "He that slays a thanksgiving-sacrifice within, while the bread, belonging to it, is without the wall,—the bread is not holy." What means 'without the wall?' R. Jochanan saith, 'Without the wall of Bethphage.' The gloss there saith, 'Bethphage was an outer place of Jerusalem.' And the same gloss useth the very same words again, upon the same tract [fol. 91. fac. 1]. And, again, in the same treatise [fol. 95. fac. 2], the Mishna saith thus,—"The two loaves and the showbread are allowable in the temple-court, and they are allowable in Bethphage." Nay, the gloss [in Sanhedr. fol. 14. fac. 1], saith, "Bethphage was a place, which was accounted as Jerusalem for all things." So that the place, so called, began from Jerusalem, and went onwards to and upon mount Olivet, for the space of a sabbath-day's journey, or there-

[g] Exod. xii. 3. [h] Maim. in Shabb. cap. 27. [i] Talm. in Sotah, cap. 5.

about; and then began the coast that was called Bethany. And hence it is, that Luke[j] saith, that Christ, when he ascended into heaven, led forth his disciples as far as Bethany, which, elsewhere he showeth, was the space of "a sabbath-day's journey[k];" which cannot be understood of the town Bethany, for that was fifteen furlongs, or very near two sabbath-days' journey from Jerusalem;—but that he led them over that space of ground, which was called Bethphage, to that part of Olivet, where it began to be called Bethany: and at that place it was, where Christ began his triumphant riding into the city at this time.

It is observable, that he is entertained with the solemnity of the feast of tabernacles; for carrying of palm-branches, and crying 'hosanna,' was never used but only at that feast, but now translated to this occasion; which may help somewhat to the explaining of Zech. xiv. 16.

Count from hence the days to the Passover, as the evangelists have reckoned them, and you will find, that this was the first day of the week [the Lord's day afterward], and this day seven-night he rose from the dead.

In the midst of his triumph, he weepeth over the city; though he knew, that, within five days, she would be his death.

SECTION LXXIII.

JOHN, chap. XII, from ver. 20 to the end of the chapter.

Greeks would see Jesus. A Voice from Heaven.

THE order is plain in the text of John, and needeth no illustration.

Christ was thrice attested from heaven, according to his threefold office,—king, priest, and prophet. At his baptism, for the great High-priest, when he was anointed and entered into his ministry:—at his transfiguration, for the great Prophet, to whom all must hear:—and now for the great King, when he had newly fulfilled this prophecy,—"Rejoice, O Sion, behold thy king cometh," &c.

The 'Bath Kol,' or 'heavenly voice,' that the Jews commonly speak of, is, in the most, if not all the instances that they give of it, but a fiction of their own brain, to bring their doctors and their doctrines into credit.

[j] Chap. xxiv. 50. [k] Acts, i. 12.

SECTION LXXIV.

MARK, chap. XI, from the middle of ver. 11 to ver. 27.
MATT. chap. XXI, from ver. 17 to ver. 23.

The fruitless Fig-tree cursed.

THE order is clear in Mark, ver. 11, 12.

Christ, after his riding into Jerusalem, having spent all the day there, goeth, at even, to lodge at Bethany; and, in the morning, going for Jerusalem again, and hungering, seeth a fig-tree, and, finding no figs on it, curseth it; and yet the evangelist telleth, that 'the time of figs was not yet.'

Why, then, should Christ look for figs, when he knew the time of the year was not yet for them?

Answ. He looked not for any figs, that, he thought, could be grown ripe and fit to eat that spring, it being now, at the farthest, but about our April; but he looked for those that grew the last summer, and had hung on the trees all winter. It is true, indeed, that some trees had shot forth their fruit by Passover-time (for so Maimonides tells us[l]), but not to ripeness; nor was the fig-tree any of them. For to those words of our Saviour[m], "When the fig-tree putteth forth her leaves, ye know summer is nigh,"—lay these of the Jerusalem Talmud[n]; "Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, From the putting forth of the fig-tree leaf, to the green figs' appearing, are fifty days; and from the first appearing of the fig, to the fall of the blossom, fifty days; and from thence to the ripe figs, fifty days more:"—five months in all.

There were several kinds of fig-trees, besides those fig-trees that were in their orchards and vineyards, in that land; as the Jews tell us in the treatises Demai and Sheviith, where they have special occasion to treat of that matter. As, 1. שיתין which, they say, were 'figs of the wilderness.' 2. בנורת שקמורת which were baser figs, likewise. 3. פרסאורת fig-trees, that brought their fruit to ripeness but once in two years. And, 4. בנות שוח which, they say, grew in the fields, and bare white figs, לשלש שנים from three years to three years. The Gemarists dispute, "What! Do they bear

[l] In Kiddush Hhodesh, cap. 4. [m] Matt. xxiii. 32.
[n] In Sheviith, fol. 35. col. 4.

their fruit every year, or only once in three years? They bear their fruit every year; but it is not ripe till three years' end. How doth a man know its time [or what year it is with it]? R. Jonah saith, By binding a list about it: it is a tradition of Samuel, that he hung some pendants upon it."—The meaning of the matter is this:—There was a fig-tree growing in the fields of this nature, that the figs that it shot forth one summer, it was two summers more before they came to ripeness; so that they hung upon the tree, unless hands or wind hindered, three summers and two winters before their maturity. Now, because the strange nature of this tree, different from others, caused that the seventh year, or year of release, could not so easily be remembered and observed concerning it, as concerning other trees; therefore, they tied some cords or lists about it; or hung something upon it, that might give notice, and keep in remembrance, what year it was with it, and whether the fruit, if any, were of the first, second, or third year's growth. So, likewise, the fig-trees mentioned before, called פרסאורת, were two summers in ripening their fruit; so that, of such a tree as one of these, Christ might well look for figs of the last year's growth; old figs under new leaves, if so be the leaves were new. Yet could not this properly be called *καιρὸς σύκων* [as there are that would change the reading of the original, and instead of *οὐ γὰρ ἦν*, 'for the time of figs was not yet,' would have it read (but I question whether with the consent of any one copy in the world), *οὗ γὰρ ἦν*, 'for where he was, was the time of figs']: for that phrase, 'The time of figs,' meaneth the common time, that, generally, figs were ripe,—which was ordinary and commonly known, and which was not of well near five months after Passover-time.

Christ cometh to the temple, and casteth out buyers and sellers, as he had done three years before: this was four days before the Passover. At even, he goeth and lodgeth in Bethany.

In the morning, he cometh again to Jerusalem. This was three days before the Passover. As they came, the disciples observe the fig-tree withered; whereupon he saith, "Have faith in God; for, verily, I say unto you, That whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and cast into

the sea, and shall not doubt in his heart, but believe that those things which he saith, shall come to pass,—he shall have whatsoever he saith." In which words, he neither warranteth nor encourageth any to look for a faith, that should remove mountains; but, 1. He speaketh hyperbolically, for the magnifying of the power and excellency of faith[o]. Hyperboles, with which the Scripture abounds, are not to be taken according to the letter; but the thing intended is to be taken at the higher pitch. As, to instance but in one example, and that about this very mountain that Christ pointed at, Zech. xiv. 4; which meaneth not, literally, Olivet's cleaving, indeed, or removing, but great concussions to the people, and open way made for the enemy. 2. Christ, in this expression, speaks the Jews' own language; and, by the very phrase that they ordinarily used to magnify their own abilities by, he magnifieth faith. When they would speak of the high parts and qualities of their great ones, they used to say, "He is a remover of mountains." The Babylonian Talmud; "Sinai, and the remover of mountains, whether of them sent first, &c. Now, R. Joseph was Sinai, and Rabbah was the remover of mountains[p]." Why so named? The gloss upon the place resolves us thus,—"They called R. Joseph, Sinai, because he was most expert in deep explications; and they called R. Bar Nachman, 'a remover of mountains,' because he was most acutely learned,"&c. The same Talmud, also[q], saith thus,—"Rabba saith, Behold, I am like Ben Azzai, in the streets of Tiberias." The gloss, thereupon, saith thus,—"Ben Azzai taught profoundly in the streets of Tiberias, and there was no man in his days, that was a remover of mountains like him:"—by 'removing of mountains' meaning, how able men they were, and how they could overcome the greatest difficulties in divinity. Which common phrase Christ useth, to face[r] that wretched boasting of theirs, of their own parts and worth,—and to set up faith in its proper dignity, as that that is only able for all things.

[o] As Mark, ix. 23. [p] Beracoth, fol. 64. col. 1. [q] In Erubin, fol. 29.
[r] "Perstringens:" Leusd.

SECTION LXXV.

MATT. chap. XXI, from ver. 23 to the end of the chapter.
MARK, chap. XI, from ver. 27 to the end; and chap. XII, from the beginning to ver. 13.
LUKE, chap. XX, from the beginning to ver. 20.

Christ, in the Temple, posing them about John's Baptism. The Parable of the Vineyard, &c.

THE continuation of the order is apparent.

Christ cometh again from Bethany into the temple; and there being questioned, by what authority he did what he did, he stops their mouth by proposing a question again,—What they thought of John's authority, by which he made that great change in religion that he did,—and entraps them in such a dilemma, as they are not able to get out of.

He proposeth the parable of the vineyard and husbandmen; and by it showeth the privileges, and yet the perverseness, of the Jewish nation, and their destruction, from Isa. v, &c[r].

SECTION LXXVI.

MATT. chap. XXII, from the beginning of the chapter to ver. 15.

The Parable of the Wedding-Supper.

THE order is plain of itself. The parable setteth forth the Jews' despising of the means of grace, and evil usage of those, that were sent unto them, ver. 5, 6: and, for this, their destruction, and ruin of their city, and the calling of the Gentiles, &c.

SECTION LXXVII.

MATT. chap. XXII, from ver. 15 to the end; and chap. XXIII, all the chapter.
MARK, chap. XII, from ver. 13 to ver. 41.
LUKE, chap. XX, from ver. 20 to the end of the chapter.

Tribute to Cæsar. The Resurrection asserted in the Law. The great Commandment. Christ how David's Son. Woe against the Scribes and Pharisees.

THE evangelists are so clear in their order, both here and a good way forward, that there can be no scrupling in it.

[r] See R. Tanchum, fol. 54. col. 4.

The question proposed, whether it were lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, proceeded from that old maxim among them, upon mistake of Deut. xvii. 15; that "they ought not to be subject to any power or potentate, which was not of their own blood or religion:" the holding to which maxim, cost them the ruin of their city and nation.

His answer, from the image of Cæsar upon their coin, was according to their own concessions. The Jerusalem Talmud[s] doth personate David and Abigail talking thus: "Abigail said, What evil have I done, or my children, or my cattle? David saith to her, Because thy husband vilified the kingdom of David. She saith, Art thou a king, then? He saith to her, Did not Samuel anoint me king? She saith to him, עדיין מנויטה דמרן שאול קיים The coin of our lord Saul is yet current."—"A king that cuts down the trees of any owner, and makes a bridge of them, it is lawful to go over it, &c. How is this to be understood? Of a king whose coin is current in these countries; for the men of the country do thereby evidence, that they acknowledge him for their lord, and themselves his servants: but if his coin be not current, then he is a robber[t]," &c.

The topic, from whence he argueth the resurrection, against the Sadducees, is also acknowledged by the writers of that nation: "The holy blessed God doth not join his name to the saints while they are alive, but when they are dead: as it is said, To the saints which are in the earth, &c. But, behold, we find that he joins his name to Isaac [meaning, he calls himself the God of Isaac], while he was alive[u]," &c. "Whence is their proof, that the righteous are called 'living,' when they are dead[v]," &c.

He poseth the Pharisees, in their very catechism: they used it as a common name for the Messias, to call him 'the son of David;' and yet, when they are put to it to observe, that David calls him 'Lord,' they are so far nonplust, that they have not only not what to answer, for the present, but this silenceth them from future disputes. Now, therefore, he falls upon them with their deserved character and doom; and as, in Matt. v, he had pronounced beatitudes,—so here,

[s] In Sanhedr. fol. 20. col. 2.
[t] Maim. in Gezelah, cap. 5.
[u] Tanchum, fol, 13. col. 3.
[v] Jerus. in Beracoth, fol. 5. col. 4.

in Matt. xxiii, he denounceth woes, and curseth these men, from Isa. lxv. 15, &c.

This chapter, as it is a speech to, and of, the scribes and Pharisees,—and treateth of their doctrines and demeanours; so, from their own pandects and authors, may it be explained from point to point; those speaking out their doctrines and practices to the full.

Their 'sitting in Moses's chair' (ver. 1), meaneth them as magistrates, to whom Christ enjoineth all lawful obedience[w].

Their 'heavy burdens' (ver. 4), translates their חומרי תורה of which they speak so much, and so highly.

Their 'Tephillin' are called 'phylacteries' (ver. 5); which meaneth, not only 'observatives,' because they were memorials of their duty and devotions [being four portions of the law, written in two parchments, and the one worn upon their forehead, and the other upon their left arm]; but 'preservatives;' as being reputed by them a fence against evil spirits: "A man hath need to say over his phylacteries every evening in his house, to fright away evil spirits[x]."

"They loved to be called, Rabbi, Rabbi" (ver. 7): "R. Akibah said to R. Eliezer, Rabbi, Rabbi[y]." And yet they had this rule against it,—"Love the work; but hate the Rabbiship[z]."

"Call no one father" (ver. 9);—in that sense, as they owned their doctors by the title אבותנו, relying upon the authority of human doctrines.

Their permitting and practising to "swear by the temple" (ver. 16),—came into a common custom; "Baba Ben Bota sware by the temple, and so did Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel; and this was a custom in Israel[a]."

Their "tithing mint, anise, and cummin" (ver. 23),—explained in the Talmudic treatises 'Demai:' "whited sepulchres" (ver. 27); Shekalim, cap. 1. hal. 1,—"In the month Adar they whited the sepulchres." And the reason is given by the Gemarists, that people hereby might have the better discovery of them, the better to avoid defilement

[w] Vid. Sanhedr. cap. 1. hal. 6.
[x] Jerus. Beracoth, fol. 2.
[y] Jerus. Moed Katon, fol. 81. 1.
[z] Maim. in Talm. Torah, cap. 3.
[a] Juchas. fol. 50. col. 1.

by them; which, well observed, sets on Christ's invective against these wretches the more[b].

"Their decking of sepulchres," in honour of those, that lay in them (ver. 29),—handled in the Jerusalem Talmud[c].

He concludeth his speech, with the intimation of what shame and guilt lay upon them for the blood of the former prophets slain by their fathers, filled up by their own wickedness, in persecuting those, that he did, or should, send to them. He calleth them 'serpents,' from Gen. iii. 15; and teacheth us to look upon them as 'the' seed of the serpent, in an eminent degree, if any degree of that nature may be called eminent. He dooms all the prophets' blood to be required of that generation; because they, by their transcendent abuse of those whom God sent, even of Messias himself,—did justify and exceed all the evil their fathers had done against the prophets: yea, all the blood shed before the blood of Zacharias, and his, though they held that to have been satisfied for by the destruction, slaughter, and captivity, by the Babylonians[d]. He changeth the name of his father[e]; and concludes, with a sad denunciation of destruction; and that they should no more see him, till they should say, "Blessed be he, that cometh in the name of the Lord:"—which very words he had uttered, also, a great while before this[f]; and the multitude had said, "Blessed be he, that cometh," &c. when he rode into Jerusalem upon an ass. But the same words, now uttered by him, are of somewhat doubtful interpretation; whether they mean, their no more seeing of him till the night and time of the Passover [for at the paschal meal every company rehearsed this saying, 'Blessed be he, that cometh,' &c. in their great Hallel, as they called it]; or that they should no more see him at all, because they had not learned to entertain him, as coming from God[g].

[b] Gemar. utriusq. Talm. in loc. et Jerus. in Maazar Shen. fol. 55. 3.
[c] In Moed Katon, fol. 80. col. 3, 4. [d] Jerus. in Taanith, fol. 69. col. 2.
[e] And so doth Targ. in Lament. cap. ii. ver. 20. [f] Luke, xiii. 34, 35.
[g] See John, v. 43.

SECTION LXXVIII.

MARK, chap. XII, ver. 41—44.
LUKE, chap. XXI, ver. 1—4.

The poor Widow's Mites.

THE Jews, before their prayers in the temple or their synagogues, used to give something by way of alms or offering, that charity and piety might go together[g]. Now, in 'the court of the women,' at the temple [as we have observed elsewhere, in the description of that place], there were several chests, which the Jews call 'Shopharoth,' into which the people put the money they offered,—some to buy one thing for the service of the temple, some another, &c.

SECTION LXXIX.

MATT. chap. XXIV; all the chapter.
MARK, chap. XIII; all the chapter.
LUKE, chap. XXI, from ver. 5 to the end of the chapter.
And, after these, MATT. chap. XXV, all the chapter.

Christ foretelleth the Destruction of Jerusalem,—the Signs and Miseries preceding and accompanying it.

THE Talmud[h] tells us, that there was a place upon mount Olivet, just in the face of the temple, where the priest slew and burnt the red cow into the ashes of purification;—and, as he sprinkled the blood, he looked directly upon the temple-door. This was the last sermon, that Christ made upon mount Olivet; and he makes it as he sits upon that mount, just facing the temple[i]. And that text, that he had taken in tears but two or three days ago, weeping over the city and foretelling the destruction of it[k], he now preacheth upon at large, declaring the misery, and foreshowing the forerunners, of that destruction.

The aim of his speech, or to what time and purpose it refers, may be discerned by the question of the disciples, to which it is an answer: "When shall these things be?" viz. that one stone of the temple shall not be left upon another[l]. And so it relates plainly to the destruction of the temple and city. But Matthew hath added; "And what

[g] Maim. in Mattanath Anijim, cap. 6. [h] Middoth, cap. 1, &c.
Matt. xxiv. 3. [k] Luke, xix. 44. [l] Mark, xiii. 4. Luke, xxi. 7.

shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" from whence it is conceived by some, that the speech doth aim at the end of the world, and Christ's last coming unto judgment. It is true, indeed, that the close of his speech in Matt. xxv, doth speak plainly of the last judgment,—and that many of those terrible things, mentioned Matt. xxiv, may very well typify the terrors of the last day; but the prime and proper scope of the speech in that twenty-fourth chapter, is to set forth the destruction of Jerusalem, and the rejection and misery of the Jewish nation; as may be observed by these particulars:—

1. Because, in Matt. xxiv. 15, 16, he points directly to time and place, when and where these things shall be; viz. when the temple shall be profaned, then these things come, &c.

2. Especially consider ver. 34: "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled."—'This generation;' not meaning 'Generatio Evangelica,' as some do harshly interpret it; but,—as it means in Matt. xxiii. 36, Luke xi. 31, 32, and abundance of other places in the New Testament,—'the generation then in being.'

3. The destruction of Jerusalem, is phrased in Scripture[m] as the destruction of the whole world; and Christ 'coming to her in judgment,' as his coming to the last judgment[n].

Therefore, those dreadful things, spoken of in ver. 29, 30, 31, are but borrowed expressions, to set forth the terrors of that judgment the more. Ver. 29: "The sun shall be darkened," &c. shows the decay of all glory, excellency, and prosperity, in that nation, and the coming in of all sadness, misery, and confusion[o]. Ver. 30: "Then shall they see the sign of the Son of man," &c. not any visible appearance of Christ, or of the cross, in the clouds [as some have imagined]; but, whereas the Jews would not own Christ before for the Son of man, or for the Messias, then, by the vengeance that he should execute upon them, they and all the world should see an evident sign, that he was so. This, therefore,

[m] Jer. iv. 23. Isa. lxv. 17.
[n] Matt. xvi. 28. John, xxi. 22. Matt. xix. 28. Rev. i. 7, &c.
[o] As Isa. xiii. 10. Joel, ii. 10.

is called 'his coming,' and 'his coming in his kingdom[p];' because this did first declare his power, glory, and victory, on that nation that had despised him. Ver. 31: "He shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet," &c. that is, his ministers with the trumpet of the gospel, to fetch in his elect from among the Gentiles, when the Jews were now destroyed and cast off. And the false Christs, and false prophets, that should arise, ver. 5. 24,—arose in that nation in those 'last days' of it; as is abundantly evident, both in the New Testament, and in Josephus: and those "wars and rumours of wars, and nation rising against nation," &c. [ver. 6, 7], were accomplished, not only in the horrid civil wars among the Jews, but also in the great concussions in the Roman empire, in the wars betwixt Otho and Vitellius, and betwixt Vitellius and Vespasian [of which the Roman historians, especially Tacitus, are very large]; the like to which, there had not been before, even to the sacking of Rome itself, and the burning of the Capitol.

SECTION LXXX.

MATT. chap. XXVI, from the beginning to ver. 14.
MARK, chap. XIV, from the beginning to ver. 10.
LUKE, chap. XXII, ver. 1, 2.
And, after these portions, read JOHN, chap. XIII, from the beginning to ver. 27.

Christ's Head anointed at a Supper at Bethany, two Nights before the Passover: at the same Supper he washeth his Disciples' Feet: giveth Judas the Sop, and the Devil entereth into him.

THE proof of the proper order here will require some dispute, not so much in regard of any obscurity or difficulty of the order itself, but in regard of needless and groundless difficulties, that are put upon it. There are two strange opinions we meet with here: the one is, that holdeth, that this supper, mentioned by Matthew and Mark, was the same supper which is mentioned in John xii, which was "six days before the Passover:"—and the other is, that holdeth, that this supper, in John xiii, was the supper on the Passover-night: so that, for the showing and asserting of the order as we have laid it, these three things are to be done:—

[p] Matt. xvii. 28.

First, It is to be proved, that the supper in John xii, and the supper in Matt. xxvi, and Mark xiv, were not one and the same supper; but two suppers, at some days' distance. Secondly, That the supper, in John xiii, was not on the Passover-night, but before the Passover-night. And, Thirdly, That the supper in John xiii, was the same supper with that in Matt. xxvi. 6, and Mark xiv. 3,—two days before the Passover.

First, That the supper in John xii, and the supper in Matt. xxvi, and Mark xiv, were two different suppers [to which something hath been said before], appears by these observations:—1. The supper, in John xii, was in the house of Lazarus,—unless we will unwarrantably strain the construction of the story; but the supper, in Matt. xxvi, and Mark xiv, was in the house of 'Simon, the leper.' 2. At the supper in John xii, Christ's feet were anointed; but his head was anointed at the supper in Matt. xxvi, and Mark xiv. 3. The supper in John xii, was six days before the Passover; but the supper in Matt. xxvi, and Mark xiv, was but two days before: for observe Mark xiv. 1; "After two days, was the feast of the Passover:" and then, ver. 3; "And Jesus being at Bethany," &c. Here, they that hold the opinion that we are confuting, will not acknowledge the order of the evangelists direct, but say there is a dislocation; so that though 'two days' be mentioned before, yet the story following was six days before the Passover. But the method of Matthew and Mark hath been so direct hither, through the story of Christ's actions, since his last coming to Jerusalem,—that no reason possible can be given, why they should invert the order here. They had punctually mentioned his actions, five, four, three days before the Passover; and now they come to speak of two days before, and under that account bring in this supper; and what sense or reason can there be to surmise, that it was six days before? They had showed you Christ five days before the Passover, at Bethany[q]; and four days before the Passover, at Bethany[r]; and three days before the Passover, at Bethany[s]; and then they come and speak of two days before the Passover;

[q] John, xii. 1. 12. Mark, xi. 1. 11. [r] Mark, xi. 12. 15. 19. 20.
[s] Mark, xi. 20. 27. and xiii. 3.

and they speak also of Christ's being at Bethany; and yet would the opinion under confutation apply the reckoning of the 'two days' only to point at the high-priest's assembling: and Christ's being at Bethany, to be jumped backward over all the story before, even to beyond Matt. xxi, Mark xi:—an opinion, that, by its improbability, is confutation enough to itself.

A second thing to be cleared is, that the supper, in John xiii, was not on the Passover-night, but before: which may be evidenced by these arguments instead of more:—1. Because John saith expressly, ver. 1, that it was Πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς, "before the festival of the Passover;" for so the word ἑορτὴ constantly signifies, not the meal of the paschal, as some would construe it here, but the whole festival. 2. The disciples, when Jesus said to Judas, "What thou doest, do quickly," thought he spake about buying something against the feast, ver. 29; by which it appears, that the feast was not yet come.

Thirdly, Luke showeth, that the entering of Satan into Judas [which was at the supper, John xiii], was before the Passover-day came: for observe his order[t]; "Then entered Satan into Judas; and he went and communed with the chief priests," &c; and then[u], "Then came the day of unleavened bread:" upon all which considerations, it is apparent, that this supper, in John xiii, at which Satan entered into Judas [whereupon, he went and compacted for his Master's betraying], was not on the Passover-night, but some space before the Passover-day came. There is, indeed, a passage in John xiii. 38, which may seem to bring that supper to the Passover-night; which is, when Christ saith at the supper to Peter, "The cock shall not crow, till thou hast denied me thrice;"—which seemeth to carry it, as if this supper were on that very night, when Peter denied him. For answer to which, let it be observed,—1. That Peter denied Christ but once before the cock crew; Mark xiv. 68—70: and it will teach us to expound the words of Christ, John xiii. 38, and Matt. xxvi. 34, not as meaning that he should deny him three times over, before any cock crew; but that he should deny him thrice, in the time of cock's-crowing, which time was a fourth part

[t] Luke, xxii. 3. [u] Luke, xxii. 7.

of the night[u]: and that it meaneth in such a sense, is yet more apparent by Mark xiv. 30, where he utters it, "The cock shall not crow twice." 2. Let it be observed, that, in John xiii. 38, it is only said, 'The cock shall not crow;' but, in Matt. xxvi, Mark xiv, when the speech refers to the very night when his denial was, it is said, 'This night,' before the cock crow; and, 'This day, even this night,' before the cock crow, &c. And so it is understood, that Christ useth that speech to Peter, twice over; and in it, he doth twice refute his presuming upon his own strength, which Peter twice showed:—First, at the supper, in John xiii, which was two days before the Passover; and there the emphasis of the speech lieth, especially, in the word 'thrice;' as if he had said to him, "Art thou so confident of thy strength and standing for me? I tell thee, the time will be, when thou shalt deny me *thrice* in the time of cock's-crowing." The second was at the Passover-supper; and then Christ puts the emphasis upon the word, 'This night:' "Art thou so confident? I tell thee, *this night* thou shalt deny me," &c.

Thus having showed, that that supper, in John xiii, was not on the Passover-night, but before;—a third thing is to show, that it was two days before the Passover, and the same with that supper, mentioned by Matthew and Mark, in Bethany. And for the proof of this, we need go no farther, than this observation: That both the evangelists, Matthew[v] and Mark[w], do begin the treason of Judas from that supper in Bethany; for as soon as they have related the story of that supper, they presently tell, "Then one of the twelve, called Judas, went to the chief priests," &c. Now, it is apparent, that he began the acting of his treason from the time of Satan's entering into him with the sop,—which was at that supper, John xiii; and so it concludeth that to be the same supper with that in Matt. xxvi. 6.

The texture of the story, then, lieth thus:—Six days before the Passover, Christ suppeth and lodgeth in Bethany: five days before the Passover, he rideth in triumph to Jerusalem; and, at even, cometh and lodgeth in Bethany again: —four days before the Passover, he goeth to Jerusalem again; and, at night, cometh to Bethany again to lodge.

[u] Mark, xv. 33. [v] Chap. xxvi. 13, 14. [w] Chap. xiv. 9, 10.

The third day before the Passover, he goeth again into the city; and, at even, cometh to Bethany again: and that night he suppeth in the house of Simon the leper, it being now two days to the Passover: as he sits at supper, 'Mary, the sister of Lazarus,' called also 'Mary Magdalen,' anoints his head, &c: and he, before the table was taken away, ariseth from the table, and washeth the disciples' feet; and, after, sits down, and gives Judas the sop.

SECTION LXXXI.

JOHN, chap. XIII, ver. 27—30.
MATT. chap. XXVI, ver. 14—16.
MARK, chap. XIV, ver. 10, 11.
LUKE, chap. XXII, ver. 3—6.

Satan entereth into Judas: he compacts for the betraying of his Master.

THE continuation of the story, in John, cleareth the connexion. "He dipped the sop, and gave it to Judas; and, after the sop, Satan entered into him." This was at a supper, in Bethany, two days before the Passover, as hath been showed: from thence, though it were night, Judas trudgeth to Jerusalem, acted entirely by Satan, and agreeth with the Sanhedrim, for his Master's betraying. They had met purposely to contrive the apprehension and death of Christ; but had resolved, that it must not be at the feast, for fear of tumult; but Judas, coming in, undertakes to deliver him up, though at the feast, yet quietly enough in the absence of the people: and they bargain to give him thirty pieces of silver; the price of a servant[x]. So Maimonides[y]; "The price of servants, whether great or little, whether male or female, is thirty selas of good silver; be he a servant worth a hundred pounds, or be he a servant but worth a penny." Now, the same author[z] rateth 'sela' at three hundred and eighty-four barley-corns' weight, in silver.

[x] Exod. xxi. 32. [y] In Niske Mammon, cap. 11. [z] In Shekalim, cap. 1.

SECTION LXXXII.

JOHN, chap. XIII, from ver. 31 to the end, and chap. XIV, all the chapter.

Christ's Speech to comfort his Disciples, &c.

THE first words, "Therefore, when he was gone out," continue the story. When Judas was gone out about his cursed work, and the hour was now come when Christ's passion was beginning [for we may justly take his being sold, for a part of his sufferings], he giveth his disciples divers lessons; some of admonition, some of instruction, some of comfort. For the better judging of the time of this speech [besides the connexion which joins it to Judas's going forth, upon the devil's entering into him with the sop], these two things are observable:—1. That the last words of the fourteenth chapter, are, "Arise, let us go hence;" by which it is plain, that the speech contained in this present section, and the speech in John xv, and xvi, and xvii, were spoken at two several times, and in two several places: *that*, at the Passover-supper; for John tells[a], that, when Jesus had finished that speech, he went over the brook Kidron: but *this*, before, and in another place, because, upon the ending of it, it is plain Jesus removed to another place, by his saying, "Arise, let us go hence." 2. That Christ saith, "Yet a little time I am with you," chap. xiii. 33; "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more," chap. xiv. 19; "Hereafter I shall not talk much with you," ver. 30; which intimate some space of time yet to come, and not so sudden a parting, as the space was betwixt his rising from his last supper, and his apprehension. This speech, therefore, was spoken at Bethany, after Judas's going out: and the section contains the sum of Christ's discourse with his disciples, while he stayed there; which was the night that Judas received the sop, and the next day and night, and till towards the evening of the day after: and the last words, "Arise, let us go hence," intimate his removal from Bethany to Jerusalem, on the Passover-day. Judas, either that night that he had received the sop, or the next day, layeth the plot, with the high-priests, for the delivering up of his Master at the feast; and, having so done, he return-

[a] John, xviii. 1.

eth to his Master, to Bethany, again. And the next day, which was the Passover-day, Christ sendeth Peter and John from thence, to prepare the passover for him; and when he saw time, he calls, 'Arise, let us go hence;'—and so he setteth for Jerusalem with the rest of the disciples, and Judas in the company.

SECTION LXXXIII.

MATT. chap. XXVI, from ver. 17 to 30.
MARK, chap. XIV, from ver. 12 to 26.
LUKE, chap. XXII, from ver. 7 to 24.

Christ eateth the Passover: ordaineth the Lord's Supper, &c.

PETER and John, who were sent to prepare the passover, had this work to do:—They were to get a room fitting; to that their Master directs them by a sign: they were to get a lamb, and to bring him into the temple, and there to have him killed, and his blood sprinkled, under the name of a paschal, for thirteen persons. For no lamb could be eaten for a paschal, whose blood was not sprinkled at the altar, and that לשם פסח "in the name of a paschal," and למנוי "by count," for such a number of persons as had agreed to be at the eating of him[b];—as Christ died but for a certain number.—Which shows [had not the evangelists done it otherwise], that Christ ate his passover on the same day that the Jews did theirs [which some, upon misunderstanding of John xviii. 28, have denied]; nay, that it was not possible otherwise; for how impossible was it to get the priests to kill a paschal for any, upon a wrong day?

Having got the lamb thus slain at the temple, they were to bring him home to the house, where he was to be eaten, to get him roasted, and to get bread and wine ready, and what other provision was usual and requisite for that meal.

At even, Jesus cometh and sitteth down 'with the twelve:' and, as he ate, he gave intimation of the traitor, who was now at the table, and eating with him. Which might seem to make this story the same with that in John xiii. 21, 22; and so might argue, that this, and that, were but one and the same supper. But herein is an apparent difference in the

[b] Talm. in Pesachin, cap. 5.

stories :—1. At the supper, in John xiii, Christ giveth only a private signification of the traitor, by a token given secretly to John; but here he points him out openly. 2. There he gives him a sop; here he only speaks of dipping with him in the dish. Only there is some diversity in the evangelists, in relating this story: Matthew and Mark have laid this taxation and discovery of the traitor before the administration of the Lord's supper, but Luke after.

And there is the like variety in their relating the time of these words of Christ, "I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine," &c. for Luke hath brought them in, as spoken before the sacrament,—but the other two, after. In both which, first, the main intent of the relation is to be looked after; and then, may we better state the time. The intent, in the former, is to show Judas at the table, and at the table all the time both of the paschal and the Lord's supper,—those symbols of love and communion,—yet he such a wretch as to communicate in both, and yet a traitor. The two, Matthew and Mark, would show that he was at the table; and so, the mention of that they bring in upon Christ's first sitting down and beginning to eat: and Luke makes the story full, and shows that he was at the table all the time, both at Passover and sacrament; and the words of Christ upon the delivering of the cup, "But, behold the hand of him that betrays me," &c. cannot possibly be mitigated from such a construction. As to the latter, the meaning of Christ in the words, "I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine," &c. is,—that the kingdom of God was now so near, that this was the last meat and drink, or the last meal, that he was to have, before that came: by 'the kingdom of God,' meaning his resurrection and forward, when God, by him, had conquered death, Satan, and hell. And whereas he saith, 'Till I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God,' he did so, eating and drinking with them after his resurrection. This, therefore, being the aim of his speech, it was seasonable to say so, any time of the meal, "This is the last meal I must eat with you, till I be risen again from the dead:" and hereupon, the evangelists have left the time of his uttering of it at that indifferency, that they have done. And, indeed, these two passages had such reference one to another, that the one might bring on

the other; and both of them might very well be spoken by Christ twice. The observing of the direct order of Christ's actions at this meal, which the evangelists have related, will help to clear this matter.

When he was set down with them, he first saith, "'I have desired to eat this passover with you, before I suffer,' for this is the last I must eat with you, before the kingdom of God be come." And thereupon, he taketh the first cup of wine, that was to be drunk at that meal; and drinks of it, and gives it them, and bids, "Divide it among yourselves; for I shall not drink of the fruit of the vine," &c. meaning, 'this is the last time I shall eat and drink with you,' &c. And this speech properly brought in the other, "One of you shall betray me:" as, paraphrased, speaking thus,—'I shall no more eat with you; for there is one now at the table with me, hath compassed my death.' Hereupon, they question, who it should be, &c. After this passage, they eat the paschal lamb after its rite,—and after it, he ordaineth the Lord's supper: bread to be 'his body' henceforward, in the same sense that the paschal lamb had been his body hitherto; and the cup to be 'the New Testament in his blood,' now, under the gospel, as the blood of bullocks had been the Old Testament in his blood[c]: and after the administering of the cup, he tells them again, that that was the last that he must drink; for the hand of him that betrayed him, was at the table.

SECTION LXXXIV.

LUKE, chap. XXII, from ver. 24 to ver. 39.

A Contest among the Disciples about Priority.

LUKE himself is a clear warrant of the order: and withal, the joint consideration of the story before will help to confirm it. The question among themselves about the traitor, helpeth to draw on this other question about priority,—an unseasonable, and a very unreasonable quarrel: to which their Master giveth closely this twofold answer, besides proposing his own example of humility:—1. That let not them stand upon priority, for he would equally honour them in

[c] Exod. xxiv.

his kingdom, &c. 2. That this was not a time to stand upon such business as seeking to be preferred one before another; for this was a time of sifting; and a time when all the care, they could take for their safety, should be little enough: therefore, they had now something else to do, than to look after precedency.

SECTION LXXXV.

JOHN, chap. XV, XVI, XVII.

Christ's last Words to his Disciples, and a Prayer for them.

JOHN, in chap. xviii. 1, informs us, that, when Jesus had spoken the words contained in these chapters, he went over the brook Cedron: by which it appeareth, that they were spoken at his last supper, instantly before he rose and went to the garden, where he was apprehended. At their Passover-suppers, they used large discourses, seasonable and agreeable to the occasion: and, especially, in commemorating what God had done for that people. Whatsoever Christ had spoken upon that subject, is not recorded, but this,—which was more needful for the disciples' present condition, most agreeable to the great occasion now at hand, and most beneficial for the church in time to come.

SECTION LXXXVI.

MATT. chap. XXVI, from ver. 30 to the end; and chap. XXVII, all.
MARK, chap. XIV, from ver. 26 to the end; and chap. XV, all.
LUKE, chap. XXII, from ver. 39 to the end; and chap. XXIII, all.
JOHN, chap. XVIII, and chap. XIX; all the chapters.

Christ's Apprehension, Arraignment, Death, and Burial.

THERE is no difficulty in the connexion of the beginning of this section to the preceding, but only this,—that the rest of the evangelists make mention of Christ's singing of 'a hymn,' as the last thing he did, before his setting out for the mount of Olives; but John maketh his speech and prayer to be last, and speaketh not of his singing a hymn at all. Which, indeed, is neither contrariety nor diversity of story, but only variety of relation for the holding out of the story more complete. The three former evangelists have recorded, how Christ did celebrate the Passover, and ordain the sacra-

ment at the end of it; and, therefore, they properly speak of his singing a hymn; for that was ever an inseparable piece of service at the Passover-supper, and constantly used at the conclusion of that meal. But John had made no mention of the Passover-supper or sacrament at all; and, therefore, it was not only not needful, but also not proper, that he should mention the singing of any hymn at all: but he relateth the last speech and prayer of Christ, which the other had omitted. And whether this speech, recorded by him,—or the hymn, mentioned by them,—were last done by Christ, is not much material to the order of the story. I suppose the speech was latter: the hymn that they sung, was Psalm cxv, cxvi, cxvii, and cxviii; which was the latter part of 'the great Hallel,' as they called it, which was constantly sung at the Passover, and their other great solemnities; and, with this latter part, was this solemnity concluded.

His Prayer in the Garden.

CHRIST, rising from supper, goeth forth of the city over the brook Cedron to the mount of Olives [compare David's case and journey, 2 Sam. xv. 23]. Judas, when they rose from the table, slips away into the city; and there hath his cut-throats, laid ready by the chief priests, for the cursed design that they had compacted about. As Christ goeth along, he telleth the eleven, that were with him, of their trouble that night by his apprehension, and their scattering from him: but he would be in Galilee before them, and there they should meet again. And so he directeth them which way to betake themselves after the feast, and what to do when their Master should be taken from them by death. He foretelleth Peter again of his denial of him that night: which Peter, now armed with a sword, cannot hear of, but promiseth great matters.

He cometh to Gethsemane, 'a place of oil-presses,' at the foot of Olivet, into a garden. The Talmudists speak of the gardens here; and tell how the gardeners used to fatten their grounds with the scouring of the sink, that carried the blood and filth of the temple-court into that valley. Leaving eight disciples behind, he taketh Peter, and James, and John, with him, and imparteth to them the fears and sorrows,

that now seized upon him; and leaving them, also, about a stone's cast behind, charges them to watch and pray: he prays thrice for the removal of this cup, if possible, &c; and, in an agony, he sweats drops like blood [remember Adam's fall in a garden, and the first doom, 'In the sweat of thy brows,' &c]. Now was 'the power of darkness[d]; all the power of hell being let loose against Christ, as it was never against person upon earth before or since; and that from the pitching of this field of old[e], "Thou shalt bruise his heel." So that it was not so much for any pangs of hell that Christ felt within him, as for the assaults of hell, that he saw enlarged against him,—that he was so full of sorrow and anguish. His desiring the removal of the cup, was 'puræ humanitatis;' but his submitting to the will of God, 'puræ sanctitatis.'—As when a gangrened member is to be cut off, 'pura natura' relucts against it, but right reason yields to it. He prayed thrice; and, after every time, came to his three disciples, and still found them sleeping.

His Apprehension.

HE had scarce awakened them at the third time, when the traitor and his assassins are upon him, to apprehend him. At their first approach,—Judas, according to the sign given, that his fellow-villains might know Jesus from the rest, steppeth to him, and kisseth him. And thereupon the rest draw up near him. Jesus steppeth forward to meet them, and asketh, "Whom seek ye?" they say, "Jesus of Nazareth:" he saith, "I am he:" and thereupon they went backward, and fell to the ground. And his thus confounding them with a word, showed, that none could take his life from him, unless he laid it down of himself. While they lie on the ground, and he hath them thus under him, he indents for the dismission of his disciples; and having agreed for their safety and discharge, he yields himself. So up they got, and lay hold upon him: and Peter, to show some of his promised stoutness, cuts off Malchus's ear; but Christ heals the wound. With this wretched crew, that apprehended him, there were some of their masters, that set them on[f]. To all

[d] Luke, xxii. 53. [e] Gen. iii. 15. [f] Luke, xxii. 52.

together he telleth, that "it was plain, it was now their 'hour, and the power of darkness;' for that they had him so oft among them in the temple, that they were never able to lay hands on him till now." Upon these words, the disciples think it time to shift for themselves; and one flees away naked.

His Appearance before Annas.

BESIDES the ill account that these men could give of this night's Passover [no sooner eaten, but their hands in blood]; and besides the horrid offence they committed against the Lord and against his Christ, in this fact that they were upon,—they doubly transgressed against their own canons: namely, in arraigning and condemning a person upon a holiday, for such a day was now come in; and arraigning and judging a person by night,—both which are directly forbidden by their laws.

They first bring Christ to Annas; and why? for he was neither chief magistrate, but Gamaliel; nor the high-priest, but Caiaphas: he was, indeed, Sagan, and father-in-law to Caiaphas; but by neither of these relations had he judicial power, as a single man. But as the chief priests had a special hand in this business, and Annas was chief among them by his place and relation to Caiaphas, and so had had, no doubt, a singular stroke in contriving this business that was now transacting,—so, upon his apprehension, he is first brought thither, to show that they had the man sure, whom he so much desired to be secured, and to take his grave advice, what farther to do with him. He was brought bound to him; and, so bound, he sends him to Caiaphas.

His Arraignment before the Sanhedrim.

AT Caiaphas's house was the Sanhedrim now assembled: whether we take this for his lodgings in the temple, or his house in the city, it is not much material. Peter follows thither; and by another disciple, that was acquainted there, he is helped into the hall, and sits with the servants by the fire. The chief-priest and elders were busy to find out witnesses, that might accuse him; and though many "false

[s] Tal. in Jom. tobh. cap. 5. hal. 2.

witnesses[h]" come in, yet all will not do: for it was not possible to touch him of any offence. He all this while standing silent[i], Caiaphas abjures him to tell, whether he were the Christ or no; he confesseth it; and withal tells them, that the time should come, that they should find the truth of this by experience, when he should show his power and vengeance in his judgment against them, and their city, "coming in clouds," &c. This confession and words they account blasphemy: and that they might have the surer impression of so construing them, "Caiaphas rent his garments," and by that action would, as it were, force them to agree with him that it was so, when his garments had paid so dear for the confirming of it. Their custom and reason of renting their clothes upon the hearing of blasphemy, is handled in Jerus. in Sanhedrim, fol. 25. col. 1, and 2; and in Maimonides, in Avodah Zarah, cap. 2; where those two canons being observed, "Every one that hears God's name blasphemed, is bound to rent his garments;" and, "The judges, hearing blasphemy, must stand upon their feet, and must rent their clothes, and may not sew them up again;"—it will cause us to observe something in it, that the high-priest only rent his clothes, and not the rest of the bench with him: which though they did not, yet they vote with him, that it was blasphemy, and therefore he was guilty of death: which, had it been executed, must have been by stoning[k]. And now they begin to spit on him, to buffet him, and abuse him.

Peter's Denial.

HERE Peter first denies him: for being challenged, as he sat by the fire, by the damsel-porter, for one of his company, he denies it, and shrinks away into the porch; and then the first cock crew. Luke saith, that the maid came to him, as 'he sat by the fire:' Matthew and Mark, that he was now 'beneath in the palace,' and 'without in the palace;' meaning, beneath or without from that place or room, where the bench sat. Betwixt this first denial and the second, there was but a little while[l]: in the space between,

[h] זוממים in Talmudic language.
[i] Isa. liii. 7.
[k] Sanhedr. cap. 7. hal. 4.
[l] Luke, xxii. 55.

the high-priest is questioning Jesus of his disciples and doctrine; and because he answers, "Ask them, that have heard me," &c. an officious officer smites him, as if he had not answered with reverence enough. Peter, this while, was in the porch, where he was when the cock crew after his first denial: and there another maid sees him, and brings him to the company that stood by the fire, and challenges him for one of his disciples; and now he denies with an oath. And about an hour after[m] [which space of time the bench took up in examining Christ about his disciples and doctrine], a kinsman of Malchus challengeth him; and tells the company, he saw him with Jesus in the garden; and he, pleading the contrary, is discovered to all the company to be a Galilean by his dialect,—but he denies with execrations: and presently the second cock crew: and Jesus looking back upon him, he remembers what he had done, and goes out and weeps bitterly. And so, presently after the second cock, the bench riseth, and leaveth Jesus in the hands of their officers, by whom he is taunted, stricken, and shamefully used.

His being delivered up to the Roman Power.

IN the morning, the Sanhedrim met formally in their own council-chamber, and again question Jesus [brought there before them, and they resolved to put him to death], 'Whether he were the Messias or no?'—he giveth the same answer as before; that, 'though they would not believe him, if he told them he was, which was the truth,—yet the time was coming, when they should find it true.'—They question him again, "Art thou the Son of God?" which he not denying, they judge him a blasphemer again and deserving to die, and so deliver him up to the secular power. It is observable in both these questionings of him upon this point, both in the night, and now in the morning,—how convertible terms "the Son of God," and "the Son of man," are made. In the night they question him, "Art thou the Son of God?" He answers, "Ye shall see the Son of man[n]," &c. And now, in the morning, again he saith, "Ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power:" and they reply, "Art thou then the Son of God[o]?"

[m] Luke, xxii. 59. [n] Matt. xxvi. 63, 64. [o] Luke, xxii. 69, 70.

Judas's Recantation and Ruin.

JUDAS, unquiet in mind for what he had done in betraying, attends the trials, and waits the issue: and when he now saw that he was condemned by the bench to be delivered up to the heathen power, he steps in, and offers his money again, and confesseth he had betrayed innocent blood; and this, probably, as Christ stood by. Having received a surly answer again from them, he flings down his money in the temple where they sat [Gazith or Hhanoth, it is not seasonable to question here], and, departing, is snatched by the devil, who was bodily in him, into the air, and there strangled, and flung down headlong to the earth, and all his bowels burst out. With the thirty pieces of silver, his wages of iniquity, the priests consult to buy the potter's field. And here a quotation of Matthew[p] hath troubled expositors so far, that divers have denied the purity of the text. His words are these,—"Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, And they took the thirty pieces of silver," &c: whereas those words are not to be found in Jeremiah at all; but in Zechariah[q] they are found.

Now Matthew speaks, according to an ordinary manner of speaking, used among the Jews, and by them would, easily and without cavil, be understood, though he cited a text of Zechariah, under the name of Jeremy: for the illustration of which matter, we must first produce a record of their own. The Babylon Talmud[r] is discoursing concerning the order, in which the books of the Old Testament were ordered and ranked of old. And, first, they show, that there was this general division of it, into אוריתא נביאים כתובים 'the law,' 'the prophets,' and 'the hagiographa.' By the last meaning, the "Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, Ruth, Esther," &c. Then do they tell, that the books were particularly thus ranked:—the five Books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings: and then 'the prophets,' among whom Jeremiah was set first; and then Ezekiel; and after him Isaiah; and then the twelve. But they object, Was not Isaiah long before Jeremiah and Ezekiel in time? Why should he, then, be set after them in order? And they

[p] Chap. xxvii. 9. [q] Chap. xi. 13. [r] In Bava Bathra, fol. 14. f. 2.

give this answer, "The last Book of Kings ends with destruction, and Jeremiah is all destruction: Ezekiel begins with destruction and ends with comfort; and Isaiah is all comfort. סמכינן חורבנא לחורבנא ונחמתא לנחמתא Therefore, they joined destruction and destruction together, and comfort and comfort together." And thus, in their Bibles of old, Jeremiah came next after the Book of Kings, and stood first in the volume of the prophets. So that Matthew's alleging of a text of Zechariah, under the name of Jeremy, doth but allege a text out of the volume of the prophets, under his name that stood first in that volume: and such a manner of speech is that of Christ[s], "All things must be fulfilled, which are written of me in the law, and the prophets, and the Psalms:" in which he follows the general division that we have mentioned,—only he calleth the 'whole third part,' or 'hagiographa,' by the title 'the Psalms,' because the Book of Psalms stood first of all the books of that part. In that saying, Matt. xvi. 14, "Others say Jeremias, or one of the prophets," there is the same reason, why Jeremiah alone is named by name,—viz. because his name stood first in the volume of the prophets; and so came first in their way, when they were speaking of the prophets.

Christ's Arraignment before Pilate.

THE chief priests and elders bring Jesus to Pilate, but would not go into his house [the house of a heathen], "lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover[t]." Why? They had eaten the passover over-night, at the same time that Jesus ate his:—and well they had spent the night after it.—But this day that was now come in, was ראייה וחגיגה "their day of presenting themselves in the temple, and offering their sacrifices and peace-offerings," of which they were to keep a solemn feasting; and this, John calls the Passover: in which sense Passover-bullocks are spoken of, Deut. xvi. 2; 2 Chron. xxx. 24; and xxxv. 8, 9. "The school of Shammai saith, Their appearing was with two pieces of silver, and their chagigah with a meah of silver: but the school of Hillel saith, Their appearing was with a meah of silver, and their chagigah with two pieces of

[s] Luke, xxiv. 44. [t] John, xviii. 28.

silver. Their burnt-offerings, at this solemnity, were taken from among common cattle; but their peace-offerings from their tithes. He that keepeth not the chagigah on the first day of the feast, must keep it all the feast[u]," &c.

Pilate conceives him brought to him as a common malefactor; and, therefore, he bids them take him back, and judge him by their own bench and law: and, in these words, he meant really, and according as the truth was, that it was in their power to judge and execute him, and needed not to trouble him with him. And when they answer, "We may not put any man to death[v]," they speak truly also, and as the thing was indeed; but the words of Pilate and theirs were not 'ad idem:' תני קודם ארבעים שנה עד שלא חרב הבית נישלו דיני נפשות "It is a tradition, that, forty years before the temple was destroyed, capital judgments was taken away from them[w]." But how? Not by the Romans; for they permitted them the use of their religion, laws, magistracy, capital and penal executions and judgments, in almost all cases, as freely as ever they had; and that both in their Sanhedrims, within the land, and in their synagogues, without, as far as the power of the synagogues could reach at any time:—as might be proved abundantly, if it were to be insisted on here.

The words, then, of these men to Pilate, are true indeed, 'That they could put no man to death;' but this was not, as if the Romans had deprived the Sanhedrim of its power; but, because thieves, murderers, and malefactors, of their own nation, were grown so numerous, strong, and heady, that they had overpowered the Sanhedrim's power; that it could not, it durst not, execute capital penalties upon offenders, as it should have done. And this their own writings witness; Juchasin, fol. 21: "The Sanhedrim flitted forty years before the destruction of the temple; namely, from that time that the temple-doors opened of their own accord, and Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, rebuked them, and said, O temple, temple, Zechary, of old, prophesied of thee, saying, Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may enter, &c. And also, because that murderers increased, and they were unwilling

[u] Chagigah, cap. 1. [v] John, xviii. 31.
[w] Jerus. in Sanhedr. fol. 18. col. 1.

to judge capital matters, they flitted from place to place, even to Jabneh," &c: which also is asserted in Shabb. fol. 51; Avodah Zarah, fol. 8.

When they perceive, that Pilate no more received the impression of their accusation of him as a malefactor, like others,—they then accuse him of treason, as forbidding to pay tribute to Cæsar, and as saying, that he himself was a king; and this they thought would do the business. Pilate, hereupon, takes him into his judgment-hall [for hitherto the Jews' conference and his had been at his gate], and questions him upon this point; and Jesus plainly confesseth, that he was a king, but his kingdom not of this world;—and, therefore, he needed not, from him, to fear any prejudice from the Roman power:—and so well satisfies Pilate, that he brings him out to the gate again, where the Jews stood, and professeth, that he found no fault in him at all. Then the Jews lay in fresh accusations against him, to which he answereth not a word.

Brought before Herod.

PILATE, by a word that dropped from them, understanding that he was of Galilee, Herod's jurisdiction,—sent him to Herod, who was now at Jerusalem: partly, because he would be content to have his hands shut of him; and partly, because he would court Herod, towards the reconciling of old heart-burnings between them. And now Jesus sees the monster, that had murdered his forerunner. Herod was glad to see him, and had desired it a long time; and now hoped to have got some miracles from him; but he got not so much as one word, though he questioned him much; and the Jews, who followed him thither, did vehemently accuse him. The old fox had sought and threatened his death before[x]; and yet now hath him in his hands, and lets him go,—only abused, and mocked, and gorgeously arrayed;—and so sends him back to Pilate, that so he might court him again, more than for any content he had that he should escape his hands[y].

Before Pilate again.

PILATE, at his gate, again talks with the Jews, and motions

[x] Luke, xiii. 31, 32. [y] See Acts, iv. 27.

the release of the prisoner, and whether him or Barabbas; and leaves it to their thoughts, and goeth to his judgment-seat again. By this time is his lady stirring; and, understanding what business was in hand, she sends to him about her dream. He goes to the gate again, inquires what is their vote about the prisoner's release:—they are all for Barabbas. He puts it to the vote again, and they are the same still:—he urgeth a third time, and pleadeth the innocence of Jesus; but they still urge for his crucifying. Then calls he for water, and washeth his hands, but instantly imbrues them in his blood.

By this time it was "the third hour of the day;" or, about nine o'clock, the time of the beginning of the morning-sacrifice. Hence, Mark[z] begins to count; namely, from the time that Pilate delivered him up. He is whipped by Pilate; led into the prætorium by the soldiers; crowned with thorns [remember the earth's first curse, Gen. iii. 18]; arrayed in scarlet, and a reed put into his hand for a sceptre; and, in this garb, Pilate brings him forth to the gate to them again, and publisheth again, that he found no fault in him. They urge, that he ought to die, because he said, he was "the Son of God." This startles Pilate, and in he takes him again, and re-examines him; but he would give him no answer, but only, "Thou couldest have no power over me, unless it was given thee from above," &c. Hereupon he goes out to the gate again, and urgeth for his release more than ever. They answer, "Then he is no friend of Cæsar;" and this knocks the business dead. In, therefore, he goes again, and brings out Jesus, and sits down upon another tribunal in public; and Jesus standing before him in his scarlet robes and thorny crown, he tells the Jews, "Here is your king:"—"Our king! (say they) away with him, crucify him."—"What! (saith he) shall I crucify your king?"—They answer, "We have no king, but Cæsar." Compare Zech. xi. 6; where their destruction is threatened to be by their king, Cæsar;—as it was, by Vespasian.

Then he delivers him up to be crucified; and "it was the preparation of the Passover, and about the sixth hour;" John, xix. 14. John seemeth the rather to have added this

[z] Chap. xv. 25.

circumstance, not only to state the time,—which, indeed, was of weighty concernment,—but also to brand these Jews' impiety, and neglect of their religion, for the satisfying of their malice. This day was a very high day of their appearance in temple, and their chagigah, as we touched before: and, in the morning, they durst not go into Pilate's palace, for fear of defiling, and lest they should be prevented of these great devotions; and yet the day is thus far spent, and nothing done, but only they have purchased the shedding of so innocent blood.

But John, in this passage, lays two visible scruples before us: *Quest.* 1. How is it possible to reconcile him and Mark together, when Mark[a] saith, "It was the third hour, and they crucified him;" whereas, he tells us, "It was the sixth hour, when Pilate delivered him up?" *Answ.* 1. If we cast up in our thoughts, how many things were done this day, before his nailing to his cross, it cannot be imaginable, that they were all done before the 'third hour' of the day. The Sanhedrim meet,—sit in council,—examine the prisoner, and vote him guilty;—bring him to Pilate's palace,—there have manifold canvasses with Pilate, *pro* and *contra*, about him;—bring him to Herod, where he is questioned about many things;—his garments changed, and gorgeous robes put upon him,—and sent back to Pilate again. Then a fresh canvass, about him or Barabbas to be released,—and Pilate puts them to a three-times deliberation upon it:—then, overcome with their importunity, he washeth his hands,—scourgeth him,—and delivers him up to them to be abused. The soldiers lead him into the hall,—make a crown of thorns,—divest and vest him anew,—and make sport with him at pleasure. Pilate again brings him forth,—and anew seeks and labours his release;—brings him in again, and enters a new serious examination of him, hearing mention of his being 'the Son of God:'—goes out again, and labours all he can for his deliverance;—but, being taxed, that then he could not be Cæsar's friend, he goes to the bench, and formally passeth sentence upon him,—writes the title of his cross,—the Jews, in the meanwhile, abusing him. Then he is led forth out of the city, bearing his cross, and brought to

[a] Chap. xv. 25.

the place of execution, which was a good way off,—stripped,—hath wine, mingled with myrrh, given him to drink, which he refuseth,—is nailed to the cross,—his garments parted: and then Mark brings this in, "And it was the third hour, and they crucified him."—Now, this great multitude of various passages can hardly be conceived possible to have been gone through by the third hour of the day; or, nine of the clock in the morning:—no, not though the Jews had bent themselves to despatch before that time, which was far from their thoughts. 2. Mark, therefore, in that calculation of the time, takes his date from the first time that Pilate gave him up to their abusings; and his phrase may be taken of so comprehensive an intimation, as to speak both the time of his first giving up, 'at the third hour' of the day, and the time of his nailing to his cross, 'the third hour' from that. And, much after the same manner of account that our Saviour's six hours' suffering, from Pilate's first giving him up, to his dying, are reckoned, so the four hundred and thirty years of sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt[b], are computed; namely, the one half before they came into Egypt, and the other half after. *Quest.* 2. But it may justly move a second 'quære;' "How Christ could be on his cross, and darkness begun, from the sixth hour," as the other evangelists record it,—when John saith, that it was but 'about the sixth hour,' when Pilate delivered him up? Which words of John, as they raise the scruple, so they may give the answer: for, it might very properly be said, and that according to the usual speech of the nation,—that it was 'about the sixth hour,' when the sixth hour was but now beginning; and, by the time that it was completed, all that might be despatched, that passed betwixt his sentencing and his being raised upon the cross.

Crucified.

SENTENCE of death was passed upon him, as he stood in his scarlet robes and thorny crown: and when the Jews have now their desire, they mock him, suddenly strip him, and put on his own clothes. Then taking him away to the place of execution, they lay his cross upon him:—such engines of

[b] Exod. xii.

death, doubtless, lay always ready about the judgment-hall:—and so, as Isaac in the figure, he first bare the wood, that afterward must bear him[c]. The place of execution was without the city, חוץ לשלשה מחנורת as the Talmudists do determine, in Talm. Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 42. 2.—See how the apostle applies this to his suffering for the Gentiles, Heb. xiii. 12.

By the time he was come out of the city-gates, they observe, that he is overburdened with his cross; and thereupon, they force Simon, a Cyrenian,—some noted disciple belike,—to bear the end of it after him.

They come to the place of execution, commonly called 'Golgotha,' not the place of graves, but 'the place of skulls:' where though, indeed, there were some burial of the executed, yet was it in such a manner, that the place deserved this name rather than the other: "For they buried not an executed person in the grave of his fathers: but there were two places of burial for such: one for them, that were slain with the sword and strangled; and the other for them, that were burnt and stoned: and when the flesh was wasted, the bones were gathered, and buried in the graves of their fathers" [Talm. ubi sup. fol. 46. 1]. The proper writing and pronunciation of the word had been 'Golgolta;' but use had now brought i tto be uttered Golgotha; which very pronunciation the Samaritan version useth, in Num. i.

They first strip him, and then offer him intoxicating wine; which, when he tasted, he refused to drink. היוצא ליהרג משקין אתו קורט של לבונה בכוס של יין כדי שתטרף דעתו "When any person was brought forth to be put to death, they gave him to drink some frankincense in a cup of wine, that it might stupify him: as it is said, 'Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts.' And there is a tradition, that the gentlewomen of Jerusalem afforded this of their good will," &c. [Tal. Bab. ibid. fol. 43. 1.] And let it not be impertinent to add that, which immediately follows in the same page: "A crier went before him, that was to be executed, which proclaimed, N. the son of N. is going to execution, because he hath committed such a fact; and N. and N. are witnesses against him; if there be any that can clear him, let them speak." And instantly

[c] Gen. xxii. 6. 9.

after: "There is a tradition, that they hanged Jesus on the eve of the Passover; and a crier went before him forty days,—Such a one goes to be put to death, because he hath bewitched, deceived, and perverted Israel: if any one can say any thing for his clearing, let him come, and speak: but they found no clearing of him; therefore, they hanged him upon the eve of the Passover," &c.

He is nailed to his cross, hands and feet; and so the Jews[d] themselves confess Abel, his figure, to have been wounded by Cain; and Isaac, to have been bound on the altar[e]. And with him are crucified two malefactors [compare Joseph betwixt two offenders[f]]. Λησταὶ, in Josephus's construction, will help us to understand the sense of the word here.—Four soldiers part his garments, and cast lots for his coat; and sit down to watch him.

Over his head was his cause written; in the expression of which, the variety of the evangelists shows their style, and how where one speaks short, another enlargeth, and what need of taking all together to make up the full story. Mark hath it, 'The King of the Jews:' Luke, 'This is the King of the Jews:' Matthew, 'This is Jesus, the King of the Jews:' John, 'Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews:' where the main thing regarded is, that he was condemned for taking on him to be 'King of the Jews,' as they pretended; which was also pretended to be treason against Cæsar: and to this point all the evangelists speak alike,—and their variety is only in wording this for the reader's understanding: and he that spake shortest, spake enough to express the matter of his accusation; and the rest, that speak larger, are but a comment upon the same thing. The three tongues, in which this was written, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, are thus spoken of in Midras Tillim, fol. 25. col. 4: "R. Jochanan saith, There are three tongues: the Latin tongue, for war; the Greek tongue, for speech; and the Hebrew, for prayer."

All sorts of people had followed him to the execution: some openly wept for him and bewailed him, which was not a thing usual in such cases. In the Talmudic tract last cited, fol. 46. 2, there is this strange doctrine; לא היו מתאבלין אבל אוננין שאין אנינות אלא בלב "They bewailed not him, that

[d] Tanch. fol. 8. col. 4. [e] Idem. fol. 12. col. 2. [f] Gen. xl.

went to be executed, but only mourned inwardly for him." And what think you was the reason? The gloss tells you thus; "They bewailed him not, because his disgrace might be his expiation:"—meaning, that whereas they accounted, that the more shame and punishment a condemned person suffered, the more these tended to his expiation,—they therefore would not openly bewail him; for that would have been some honour to him, and so would have abated of his expiation; but none lamenting for him, it was the greater disgrace; and the greater the disgrace, the better was his sin [as they thought] expiated and atoned for. This strange custom and opinion, doth set forth this public bewailing of Christ the more remarkably.

Others, when he was now raised upon his cross, reviled him; among whom were the chief priests, scribes, and elders: who had so little to do, or rather their malice so much, as to attend the execution. They were, at first, in some hesitancy, whether he would not deliver himself by a miracle: but when they saw he did not, then they triumph and insult at no measure. Nay, the thieves, that were crucified with him, spared him not; for so Matthew and Mark tell us: but at last one of them becomes a convert, and receives assurance of being that day with him in paradise. [בנן עדן a phrase very usual with them.] Compare the case of Joseph's fellow-prisoners[g],—the one desiring him to remember him, and escaping,—and the other not.

It may be, the darkness, now begun in an extraordinary and dreadful manner, was some means of working upon this thief, for his conviction that Jesus was the Messias: for instantly upon his raising upon his cross, it was now 'the sixth hour,' or high noon complete; and the darkness began, and continued till three o'clock afternoon: the very space of time of the day, that Adam lay in darkness without the promise, from the time of his fall, till God came and revealed Christ to him.

By the cross stood the mother of Jesus, now a widow, and, as it seemeth, destitute of maintenance; therefore, he commendeth her to the care and charge of his beloved disciple, John. אלמנה ניזונית מנכסי יורשין "A widow was to be

[g] Gen. xl.

maintained out of the estate of her husband's heirs, until she received her dowry[h]." But the poverty of Joseph and Mary afforded neither heritage nor dower; nor had they any children but Jesus, who was now dying. If those that are called 'the brethren of Jesus,' were the sons of Joseph by another wife, as some have thought them,—they had been fittest to have been charged with the maintenance of the widow.

About the ninth hour Jesus crieth out, 'Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani;" that is, "My God, my God, why hast thou left me?" Not *forsaken* him, as to the feeling of any spiritual desertion; but why *left* to such hands, and to such cruel usage? Some said, hereupon, 'He called Elias:' but was this said in mockery? or, indeed, did they think his words 'Eli, Eli,' meant 'Elias?' Two things might make them really think so: the unusualness of the word 'Eli,' or 'Elohi,' in their Syriac tongue,—the word 'Mari' being it, by which they commonly expressed the sense of that. And, 2. The common opinion and legends that they had of Elias's coming to comfort and resolve men in distress and perplexity; of which their Talmuds give not a few examples.

Complaining of thirst, he had vinegar given him; which having tasted, and feeling the pangs of death come upon him, he saith, "It is finished;" and giving up a great cry, and committing his spirit to God, he dieth,—at the time of the evening-sacrifice. At which instant, there was an earthquake, which rent the rocks: and the vail of the temple was then also rent in the middle. The priest, that offered incense that evening-sacrifice time, could bring an amazed testimony of this, when he came forth. The renting of the rocks light in such a place, as where were the graves of many saints hewn out, which now were opened;—and showed the conquest over the grave;—and at another earthquake, at which Christ's grave was opened on the morning of his resurrection, the mouldered bodies of these graves revived; and, after his rising, they came out of the graves also, and came into "the holy city." Observe, that Matthew, xxvii. 53, calls Jerusalem 'The holy city,' when it hath now murdered Christ. How great a matter must it be, that must unchurch a nation!

[h] Maim. in אישות cap. 18.

The centurion and the company present, at the sight of what strange things had occurred, return much affected, and full of thoughts about what was done. As the evening grew on, the Jews desire and obtain, that the legs of them might be broken; so to hasten their end, that they might not hang on the cross all night. This despatched the penitent thief [howsoever it did the other]; as we may conclude from the words of Christ, that told him of being that day in paradise: but, Christ being dead already, they brake no bone of him; but one with a spear pierceth him; and out of his side cometh water and blood, distinct and discernible, the one from the other.

At even, Joseph of Arimathea, Samuel's town[i], a priest or a Levite, one of the לשכת בולווטא 'council-chamber of the temple,' begs the body of Jesus; which, otherwise, should have been buried in the common graves of malefactors,—and entombs it in his own tomb, Nicodemus joining with him: and the women, observing where he was laid, go and prepare spices for his farther embalming, when the sabbath was over: all showing their love to him,—but, in this very action, showing their little expecting his resurrection.

SECTION LXXXVII.

MATT. chap. XXVIII, from the beginning to ver. 16.
MARK, chap. XVI, from the beginning to ver. 12.
LUKE, chap. XXIV, from the beginning to ver. 13.
JOHN, chap. XX, from the beginning to ver. 19.

Christ's Resurrection: his first appearing; viz. to Mary Magdalen.

As for the subsequence of this section to the preceding, there can be no scruple; but it requires some heedfulness to lay the story in it, in its proper currency, because of some seeming diversities in the four, in their relating the story of it.

The Lord of life was under death about thirty-six hours; and so long was that day, wherein the sun stood still in the time of Joshua: as Kimchi saith[k], it is the acknowledgment of the Jews.

[i] 1 Sam. i. 1. [k] On Josh. x.

Christ himself calleth this space 'three days and three nights[l];' whereas it was but two nights and one whole day, and two small parts of two more. And yet herein he speaketh warrantably, even by the known and allowed dialect of the nation. Both the Talmuds, in the treatise Shabbath, cap. 9, do dispute about the 'three days,' that Israel separated from their wives before the giving of the law[m]; and, among other things, they have these passages: "R. Akibah made the day a עונה, and the night a עונה; and so did R. Ismael. But this is a tradition, R. Eliezer Ben Azariah saith, יום ולילה עונה ומקצת עונה בכולה. A day and a night make a עונה, and a part of a עונה is accounted as the whole."—Observe these last words to the purpose that we are upon: three natural days, by this rule, were three עונות, and any part of any of these, was accounted as the whole of it.

The evangelists seem to differ somewhat in the mention of the time of the women's coming to the sepulchre. John saith, 'Mary Magdalen came, while it was yet dark:' Matthew, 'when it began to dawn:' whereas Mark saith, 'she and the other women came thither at sun-rising:' all which together speak the story to the full to this tenor:—That at the dawning, and while it was yet dark, the women, as soon as they could see [at the least Mary Magdalen], set out to go to the sepulchre: and that was at the very instant of Christ's rising, when there was a great earthquake; and an angel came, and rolled away the stone. Mary Magdalen came from Bethany, from her brother Lazarus's house,—if she came from her own home; and the other women were at their several lodgings; and to get them all together [for they were to go about this work all together], would spend some time: so that though Mary were so early stirring, yet, before they were all got together to the sepulchre, it was sun-rising. These women little knew of the watch, that was set over the grave, and the sealing of the stone, which was done on the morning of the sabbath; for all their care is, how to get the stone rolled away. When they come there, they find that done already; and the watch was fled; and the angel, that had rolled it away, sitting on it on the right hand

[l] Matt. xii. 40. [m] Exod. xix. 15.

of the entering in; and when they were entered in, they saw another angel, which both told them of his being risen. And thus Matthew and Mark, that mention but one angel, are to be reconciled to Luke, who speaketh of two.

The women return, and tell the disciples what they had seen; "but their words seem to them as idle tales:" yea, Mary herself yet believed not, that he was risen. It is worth studying upon the faith of the disciples: it was a saving faith in Christ; and yet they believed not, that he should die, till he was dead; nor believed that he should rise again,—no, not when he was now risen.

Peter and John run to the sepulchre, and Mary Magdalen follows them: they see the body gone, and the clothes lying there [and John proves the first that believes his resurrection], and they return home; but Mary stays there weeping still: and, looking in, she sees two angels, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body had lain [like the two cherubims at either end of the ark]: and, looking behind her, she seeth Jesus, and thought it had been the gardener; but presently knew him, and comes away to bring the disciples word. Here Matthew speaks short: for he mentioned but one journey of the women to the grave, and back; and saith, that, as they came back, Jesus met them: whereas Mary had two journeys; and it was she alone that met him, and that in her second return. As she returned, now, the watchmen are come into the city, and bribed to deny that he was risen; and so the chief priests and elders give money, to hire the nation into unbelief.

SECTION LXXXVIII.

LUKE, chap. XXIV, from ver. 13 to ver. 36.
MARK, chap. XVI, ver. 12, 13.

His second appearing; viz. to Peter and Alpheus, going to Emmaus.

THE same day, in the afternoon, two of them went to Emmaus, a town sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half, from Jerusalem. Josephus placeth it at the very same distance, De Bello, lib. 7. cap. 27; calling it there 'Ammaus,' and relating how Vespasian, after the destruction of Jeru-

salem, gave it for the habitation of some of the Roman soldiery left there. But, in Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 12, he calls it 'Emmaus,' and relates how it was fired by Varus, &c. It lay in the way towards some part of Galilee; and, it may be, these two men were now returning home thither, and intended to lodge at Emmaus the first night: but now they stop their journey, and return thence, the same night, to Jerusalem. The two were Peter and Alpheus, the father of three apostles, who also was called Cleophas. See ver. 18. 34.—Of this appearance to Peter, Paul speaks, 1 Cor. xv. 5.

And that Alpheus and Cleophas were but one and the same person, may not only be conjectured from the nearness of the sound, and from their being written in Hebrew with the same letters, חלפי; but it is made plain in John, xix. 25, where she is called 'Mary, the wife of *Cleophas*,' who, in the other evangelists, is clearly evidenced to be 'Mary, the wife of *Alpheus*,' the mother of James and Joses[n], &c.

SECTION LXXXIX.

LUKE, chap. XXIV, from ver. 36 to ver. 49.
JOHN, chap. XX, from ver. 19 to ver. 26.
MARK, chap. XVI, ver. 14.

His third appearing; viz. to the Eleven.

THE connexion is plain in John and Luke: for the former saith, "The same day, at evening, being the first day of the week," &c: and the other, that as they were speaking of his appearing to the two at Emmaus, he came in among them. "The first day of the week" is an ordinary Judaic phrase, אחד בשבת; and so they reckon the days forward שני בשבת "The second day of the week:" שלשי בשבת "The third day of the week," &c. They that are now so very punctual to have the days so named, and no otherwise, mistake that for a phrase purely evangelical, which, indeed, is a phrase purely Judaical.

As they sat at supper, Jesus cometh in among them; shows them his hands and side; eateth with them; openeth the Scriptures, and their understandings; breatheth upon them, and saith, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," &c. "Whose

[n] Matt. xxvii. 56. Mark, xv. 40.

soever sins ye remit," &c. This was to interest them in a power and privilege, peculiar and distinct from any they had received yet,—and distinct from that they were to receive on Pentecost-day; viz. this invested them in power of life and death, to inflict death, or corporal plagues, miraculously, upon the enemies or disgracers of the gospel; or to spare them, as they should be directed by the Holy Ghost, which they here received. The death of Ananias and Sapphira, was a fruit of this power, as is observed at that story.

Thomas was not present at this time, and yet Mark saith, "He appeared unto the eleven, as they sat at meat:"—and so Luke, xxiv. 33; "Peter and Cleophas found the eleven gathered together," &c. Nay, 1 Cor. xv. 5, "He was seen of the twelve:" the title of the whole chorus being used, though all were not present.

SECTION XC.

JOHN, chap. XX, from ver. 26 to the end.

His fourth appearing: Thomas now present.

JOHN saith, this was "after eight days," which, reckoning the days current, was that day seven-night, or the first day of the week again: a second establishment of that day for the Christian sabbath. Thomas, upon seeing, believes; but "blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." See 1 Pet. i. 8.

"R. Simeon Ben Lachish saith, A proselyte is more lovely in the sight of God, than all that company that stood at mount Sinai. Why? Because they, if they had not seen the thunder, and lightnings, and fire, and the mountains trembling, and the sound of the trumpet, they would not have received the law: but a proselyte, though he see none of these things, yet he comes and gives up himself to God, and takes upon him the kingdom of heaven[o]."

[o] Tanchum, fol. 8. col. 1.

YEAR OF CHRIST 33.

SECTION XCI.

JOHN, chap. XXI; all the chapter.
MATT. chap. XXVIII, ver. 16: "Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee."

A fifth appearing; to seven of the Apostles at the Sea of Tiberias, &c.

CHRIST, before his death, had told them of his meeting with them in Galilee, after his resurrection: and when he was risen, he appoints them to a mountain there. They are now come up into the country; and while they wait the time of his appointment, Peter, and six other of the apostles, go a fishing: not as their trade now,—for they never had been all of them fishers before; but either for a present supply of provision for themselves, or for present employment, till their Master should dispose of them. He had, at first, revealed himself to three of these seven [nay, four, if Andrew were here], by a miraculous draught of fishes; and so he doth to them all now: and who can tell, whether they had not some thoughts of that, and some expectation of the like appearing now, which did the rather urge them to this work?

At sea, he helpeth them to a marvellous draught of one hundred and fifty-three great fishes [so many thousands were the proselytes, that wrought for the temple, only six hundred over[p]]; and at land, he had provided them a dinner against they came ashore, and dines with them. And 'this (saith John) was the third time that he showed himself to his disciples:' which asserts the order of this section; and showeth that this was before his appearing to the whole number at the mountain, where he had appointed them: the two times that he had appeared to them before this, this evangelist giveth account of before;—namely, one time when Thomas was not present,—and another time, when he was.

After dinner, he putteth Peter to a threefold confession, answerable to his threefold denial, and foretelleth his martyrdom; but telleth that John should live, "till he should come:"—meaning in that sense, as his 'coming' and 'coming in glory' is oft used in the gospel;—namely, his 'coming to take vengeance of the unbelieving Jewish nation:' Peter should be martyred by them; but John should live to see them receive their deserts.

[p] 2 Chron. ii. 17.

SECTION XCII.

MATT. chap. XXVIII, from ver. 17 to the end.
MARK, chap. XVI, ver. 15—18.
LUKE, chap. XXIV, ver. 49.

A sixth appearing; at the Mountain in Galilee, to all the Eleven, and five hundred more.

HIS appointing them into Galilee to such a mount [it is like to that mount near Capernaum, where he had chosen the apostles and made his sermon[q]], was not barely to appear to the eleven,—for that had he done before, and that could he have done at Jerusalem,—but it was an intended meeting, not only with the eleven, but with the whole multitude of his Galilean and other disciples; and, therefore, he published this appointment so oft, before and after his resurrection: and we cannot so properly understand his being "seen of above five hundred brethren at once," of which the apostle speaketh[r], of any other time and place as of this: he had appointed the place; and the concourse argueth, that he had appointed the time too; or, at least, this concourse waited at the place, till his time should come. And here may we conceive, that he kept the Lord's day, on the first day of the week, for the Christian sabbath, with this multitude of his disciples; revealing himself clearly to them, and preaching to them of the things that concerned the kingdom of God.

Particularly, he gives command and commission to "go and disciple all nations:" for whereas hitherto he had confined to preach only to Israel, now must they preach to "every creature[s]:" *πάσῃ κτίσει* [see Col. i. 23]: לכל הבריות is the Jews' ordinary language; that is, 'to all men.' מודיע לבריות עיון ומעשה "Solomon, in his Proverbs, makes known theory and practice to the creatures[t]." משרה רוח הקדש על הבריות "He causeth the Holy Ghost to dwell upon the creatures[u]." "Nimrod made idols ומטעה הבריות and caused the creatures to err[v]." "The Lord requires that בריות the creatures should pray before him[w]." In which, and a hundred other instances that might be given, the word 'creatures,' signifieth

[q] Matt. v. [r] 1 Cor. xv. 6 [s] Mark, xvi. 15.
[t] Kafvenaki in Prov. i. [u] Midr. Til. in Psal. 135.
[v] Tanch. fol. 8. 4. [w] Id. fol. 16. 4.

only 'men:' and their charge and commission to preach the gospel to 'every creature,' means 'to all men,'—the Gentiles as well as the Jews.

Warrant, then, and charge, is given for the fetching of them in [the great mystery[w]], who had lain subject to vanity of idolatry, and under the bondage of all manner of corruption, ever since their casting off at Babel, two thousand two hundred and three years ago. They had been taught of the devil, his oracles and delusions, &c; but now "they must all be taught of God[x]," by the preaching of the gospel. They had, in some few numbers in this space, been taught by Israel to know the Lord, and proselyted into their religion; but now, such proselyting should not be needed; for all must come to the knowledge of God[y], the gospel carrying the knowledge of him, and it being carried through all nations. Those of them, that had come into the church of Israel and the true religion, had been inducted and sealed into it, by being baptized[z]. And so that proselyte sacrament, as I may so call it, must be carried and continued among all nations, as a badge of homage and subjection to Christ, to whom "all power is given in heaven and earth;" and of the profession of the true God, "the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," against all false gods and false worship. Infants, born of Christian parents, are to bear this badge, though, when they undertake it, they understand not what they do; because none in Christian families should continue without the note of homage to Christ's sovereignty, and this distinctive mark against heathenism, that worshippeth false gods; as no male among Israel, after eight days old, must be without the badge of circumcision.

'Discipling' was not of persons already taught; but to that end, that they should be taught: and if the disciples understood this word in Christ's command after any other sense, it was different from the sense of the word, which the nation had ever used and only used; for, in their schools, a person was made תלמיד 'a scholar,' or 'disciple,' when he gave in himself to such a master, to be taught and trained up by him: and in the discipling of proselytes to the Jews' religion, it was of the very like tenor. That sense, therefore, that

[w] Eph. iii. 4. 6. [x] Isa. liv. 13. [y] Heb. viii. 11. [z] Talm. in Jebam. cap. 4, &c.

many put upon these words,—viz. that none are to be baptized but those that are thoroughly taught,—is such a one, as the apostles and all the Jewish nation had never known or heard of before.

That wretched and horrid opinion, that denieth the Godhead of Christ, and the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, little observeth, or at least will not see, why the administration of baptism among the Gentiles must be in the name of "the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;" whereas, among the Jews, it was only in the name of 'Jesus[a],'—namely, for this reason; that as, by that among the Jews, Jesus was to be professed for the true Messias, against all other; so, by this, among the Gentiles, who had worshipped false gods,—"the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," should be professed the only true God. And it would be but a wild, as well as an irreligious, paraphrase, that that opinion would make of this passage,—"Go, preach the gospel to every creature;" and baptize them in the name of the Son, a creature,—and the Holy Ghost, a creature.

He promiseth the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost to them, that should believe [not to all, but to some, for the confirmation of the doctrine]; and chargeth the disciples to return to Jerusalem, and there to stay, till he should pour down the Holy Ghost upon them, to enable them for this ministry among all nations, to which he had designed them. Mark and Luke do briefly add the story of his ascension, because they will despatch his whole story; but that is related more amply, Acts i.

A seventh appearing; to James.

AFTER the appearing to above five hundred brethren at once,—which we suppose, and not without ground, to have been that last mentioned,—the apostle[b] relateth, that "he was seen of James, and then of all the apostles:" which doth plainly rank this appearance to James between that to the five hundred brethren on the mountain, in Galilee, and his coming to all the apostles, when they were come again to Jerusalem. Which James this was, Paul is silent of; as all the evangelists are, of any such particular appearance. It is most like, he means James the Less, of whom he speaks oft

[a] Acts, ii. 38. [b] 1 Cor. xv. 7.

elsewhere; and so doth the story of the Acts of the Apostles, as one of the specialer note in the time of Paul's preaching among the Gentiles. We read oft, in the Gospels, of Peter, and James, and John, three disciples of singular eminency, in regard of the privacy that Christ vouchsafed to them at some special times, more than to the other apostles; and in that he badged them with a peculiar mark of changing their names, and did not so by any of the others. But that James was the son of Zebedee: now, when he was martyred[c], you find that James, the son of Alpheus, called James the Less, came to be ranked in the like dignity with Peter and John, and was minister of the circumcision, in special manner with them[d]; they, to the Jews scattered abroad,—and he, residentiary in Judea[e]. If we question how he, of all the rest of the apostles, came in, to make up that triumvirate, when the other James was gone,—we cannot tell where so pregnantly to give an answer as from hence; in that Christ vouchsafed thus particularly to appear to him,—which was not only an argument, but might carry the virtue of a command, to bring him into that rank, office, and employment, when the other James had run his course.

[c] Acts, xii. [d] Gal. ii. 9. [e] See Acts, xv. 13, and xxi. 18. Gal. ii. 13.

THE

HARMONY, CHRONICLE,

AND ORDER,

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Second Part:

Viz.

THE CHRONICLE AND ORDER

OF

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, THE EPISTLES,

AND

THE REVELATION.

THE

HARMONY

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT

Second Part.

ACTS, chap. I.

FROM Galilee, where Christ had last appeared to his disciples, he remandeth them back to Jerusalem, 33 *Christ.* and there cometh again to them: where, among other conference, they question him, whether he would, "at that time, restore the kingdom to Israel?" His summoning them again to that place, the metropolis, it may be, gave them occasion to move that question; they, as yet, with the rest of the nation, conceiting the Messias a temporal deliverer; and possibly not fully understanding what he meant by 'the promise of the Father.' His answer, "It is not for you to know the times and seasons," intimates not, that ever there should be such a restoration; but it smartly checketh their curiosity, as erroneous and needless; and sets them to look off earthly longings, to mind the business they had to do,—viz. to preach him through the world. He leadeth them out as far on mount Olivet, as where it began to be called Bethany; and there, about the place where he had begun his triumphant riding upon an ass into Jerusalem, he now rides triumphantly into heaven in a cloud.

The disciples,—having seen his ascension, and two angels that told them of his coming again, in like manner as he went,—return to Jerusalem, and there go up into an upper room, and their number is summed up a hundred and twenty. עליה 'An upper room' was ordinarily chosen by the learned of the Jews for their meeting-place, to discuss

and determine matters of learning and religion. "These are the articles, that the schools of Shammai and Hillel discussed בעליית in the chamber, or upper room, of Chananiah Ben Hezekiah[a]," &c. עליית בית ארוכם בלוד "The upper room of Beth Arum, in Lydda[b]," &c.

A hundred and twenty were not all the present professors in Jerusalem; but these, spoken of, were they, that were of Christ's constant retinue, and "companied with him all the time that he went in and out among them[c];" and who, being constant witnesses of his actions, and auditors of his doctrine, were appointed by him for the ministry. These are they that the story meaneth all along in these passages: "They were all together[d]."—"They went to their company[e]."—"Look ye out among yourselves[f]."—"They were all scattered abroad except the apostles[g]."—"They which were scattered abroad, preached[h]," &c. The Jews say, "Ezra's great synagogue, was of a hundred and twenty men[i]." And their canons allow not the setting up of a Sanhedrim of three-and-twenty judges, in any city, but where there were a hundred and twenty men fit, some for one office and employment, some for another[j].

The activity of Peter in the work of the gospel, mentioned more along this story, than of any of the others, was not only enjoined, but also enlivened, by that saying of his Master, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:"—and he, that had fallen so foul, as he had done, had need of all industry to evidence his recovery, and to get ground again.

The phrase, in ver. 25, "Judas is gone to his own place," may properly be compared with the opinion of the nation, about a traitor:—"He that betrayeth an Israelite, either body or goods, into the hands of the heathen, hath no portion in the world to come[k]:" and with the gloss of Baal Turim upon these words, in Num. xxiv. 25; "Balaam went to his own place;"—"They mean (saith he), that he went to hell."

[a] Shab. cap. 1. hal. 4. [b] Jerus. Pesachin, fol. 30. col. 2.
[c] Acts, i. 21. [d] Chap. ii. 1. [e] Chap. iv. 23. [f] Chap. vi. 3.
[g] Chap. viii. [h] Chap. xi. 19. [i] Aboth R. Nathan, cap. 4. Juchasin, fol. 13.
[j] Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 1. and Maimonides in his treatise of the same name, cap. 1.
[k] Maim. in Chobel Umazzik, cap. 8.

ACTS, chap. II.

THE expectation of the nation, grounded from Dan. ix, that the Messias should appear about this time[l], had brought multitudes of Jews out of all nations to see the issue: and Pentecost having brought up also all the country of Judea to celebrate that feast;—in this double conflux of people, the Holy Ghost is given, and cometh down upon the hundred and twenty disciples, in the likeness of fiery tongues: at which very time of the year, and in fire, the law had been given, one thousand four hundred and forty-seven years ago. The Jerusalem Gemarists in Taanith[m], have a saying, "That as Jerusalem was destroyed by fire, so should it be rebuilt by fire." And in Jom Tob[n] and Chagigah[o] they say, that "David died at the feast of Pentecost." Both passages regardable at this place.

As the confusion of tongues at Babel had caused the casting off of the Gentiles, by severing them from the participation of the true religion [which was only professed and known in the Hebrew tongue], so was the gift of tongues to be a needful means, to bring them into religion again; when every one may hear of the things of God in his own language. The disciples were doubly endowed by this gift, as to the matter of language; for they were hereby enabled to speak to every nation in their own tongue: and not that only,—but they were enabled to understand the originals of Scripture, which they understood not before. Their birth and breeding had not allowed them so much learning as to understand any Bible, that was then extant, either Hebrew or Greek; but here is the first operation of this gift of the Spirit upon them, that they are first made able to understand the originals of Scripture, and then able to unlock them to any one in their own tongue. And here should they begin, that take on them to expound the Scriptures by the Spirit,—namely, to unlock the difficulties of the original languages [for therein the mainest difficulty of the Scripture lodgeth], according as was the method of the Spirit's operation in the apostles.

Pentecost was a time of rejoicing; and at all such festi-

[l] Luke, xix. 11. [m] Fol. 65. col. 3. [n] Fol. 61. col. 3. [o] Fol. 78. col. 1.

vities, the Jews had ever good store of wine stirring: so that these men conclude, that they had drunk too much, and spoke as men distract: which Peter confutes, by telling them, it was "not yet the third hour of the day," or nine o'clock. For, upon their sabbaths and holidays, they used not to eat or drink, till their synagogue-service was done[p];—which was not of a good while after nine o'clock.

His alleging of Joel, "In the last days I will pour out my Spirit," &c. teacheth us how to construe the phrase, "The last days," in exceeding many places both of the Old Testament and the New[q]; namely, for the last days of *Jerusalem* and the Jewish state. For, to take his words in any other sense [as some do for "the last days of the *world*"], is to make his allegation utterly impertinent and monstrous.

Three thousand, converted, are baptized "in the name of the Lord Jesus[r]," which no whit disagreeth from the command, "Baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son[s]," &c. For the form of baptism in those first days of the gospel, of which the New Testament giveth the story, may be considered under a threefold condition:—1. John the Baptist baptized in the name of Messias, or Christ, that was then ready to come; but that Jesus of Nazareth was he, he himself knew not, till he had run a good part of his course[t], as was observed before. 2. The disciples, baptizing the Jews, baptized them 'in the name of Jesus,' upon this reason,—because the great point of controversy then in the nation about Messias was, 'whether Jesus of Nazareth were he or no.' All the nation acknowledged a Messias; but the most of them abominated, that Jesus of Nazareth should be thought to be he: therefore those, that, by the preaching of the gospel, came to acknowledge him to be Messias, were baptized into his name, as the critical badge of their embracing the true Messias. But, 3. Among the Gentiles, where that question was not afoot, they baptized 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' And so that baptizing 'in the name of Jesus,' was, for a season, for the settling of the evidence of his being Messias; and

[p] Maim. in Shab. cap. 30.
[q] As, Isa. ii. 2. 1 Tim. iv. 1. and 2 Tim. iii. 1. 1 Pet. iv. 7. 1 John, ii. 18, &c.
[r] Acts, ii. 38. [s] Matt. xxviii. 19. [t] John, i. 31.

when that was thoroughly established, then it was used no more, but baptism was in the name "of the Father and Son," &c. Of the same cognizance were those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, evidences of Jesus's being the Messias, and means of conveying the gospel through the world; and when both these were well established, then those gifts ceased for ever.

"All that believed, were together, and had all things common[u]." The children of those that believed, must come under the title of 'believers' too, or they must famish. For this community of goods being for the relief of the poor, as we shall show at the fourth chapter,—the children, babes, and infants, of believing parents that were poor, must be taken in under this expression, "All that believed," &c,—or how did they for support? If the community of goods reached them as well as their parents, the title must reach them too:—when a master of a family was baptized,—his children, were they ever so young, were baptized with him; and hence the mention of baptizing 'whole households[v].' They, that, pleading against infants' baptism, do cavil, that, it may be, there were no infants in those families that are mentioned,—bewray that they little understand the manner of administering baptism in its first use. For the stress of the business lies not in this, whether it can be proved that there were infants in those families, where it is recorded, that 'whole households were baptized,'—but the case is this, that, in all families whatsoever, were there ever so many infants, they were all baptized, when their parents were baptized. This was the constant custom among the Jews for admission of proselytes; and thence this canon, "That a woman, proselyted and baptized, when she was great with child, her child needed not then to be baptized, when it was born[w]." For, if he had been born before she was baptized, he must have been baptized with her. And the New Testament gives so little evidence of the altering this custom, at those first baptizings under the gospel, that it plainly, on the contrary, shows the continuance of it, when it speaketh of the apostles' baptizing 'whole households.'

[u] Acts, ii. 44. [v] Acts, xvi. 15. 33. [w] Maim. in Issure biah, cap. 13.

YEAR OF CHRIST 33.

ACTS, chap. III, IV.

PENTECOST-FEAST lasted eight days, as well as their other feasts, Passover, Tabernacles, and Dedication, did[x]. The occurrences of the very day of Pentecost itself, are related already: now, whether the healing of the cripple, and the consequences upon that, contained in the third chapter, befel upon the same day, in the afternoon,—or on the next day after, which was the day when all the males appeared before the Lord in the temple,—or farther in the feast,—is not certain: but that they were within the compass of the feast, is more than probable, by the great multitude that was converted at one sermon.

Peter and John go into the temple at "the ninth hour, the hour of prayer." "The daily sacrifice of the evening was killed at the eighth hour and a half, and offered at the ninth hour and a half[y]." Δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, πρωί τε καὶ περὶ ἐννάτην, &c. "Twice a day,—namely, in the morning, and about the ninth hour,—they offered on the altar[z]." There, as they go in, at the east gate, that led into 'the court of the women,' they find and heal a cripple, which had been so from his birth. The Jews looked upon this miracle, as wrought by their own holiness, as appears by the apostle's answer to them, ver. 12. For such a conceit walked among the nation, that extraordinary holiness might attain to miraculous workings. R. Phineas Ben Jair[a], saith, "Industry bringeth to purity, purity to cleanness, cleanness to holiness, holiness to humbleness, humbleness to fear of sin, fear of sin to partaking of the Holy Ghost."

Yet are they imprisoned that night, and, the next morning, convented before the council. Among others which are named of the council, which were priests, Alexander and John, mentioned ver. 6, seem to be Alexander Alabarcha, or his son,—and Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai,—the latter, vice-president at this time, under Rabban Gamaliel.

They, dismissed, come to their own company, and related what had occurred; and, upon joint prayer, the place is shaken, and they are again filled with the Holy Ghost. Why?

[x] Jerus. in Moed Katon, and Chagigah at large.
[y] Talm. in Pesachin, cap. 5.
[z] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.
[a] Jerus. Shab. fol. 3. col. 3.

What could be added to them, they having been so filled with the Holy Ghost before? In their prayer, they petitioned these two things,—that God would give them boldness to speak his word; and that healings, and signs, and wonders, might be done in the name of Jesus: and the power of both these falls now upon them: and, especially, it may be conceived, that wonder of wonders, upon the twelve,—power to bestow the Holy Ghost.

'The community of goods,' with the mention of which, the second and the fourth chapters conclude, may be considered under these two animadversions:—1. That although persecution, as yet, for the gospel, had brought none to poverty, yet it is manifest, that there were poor amongst them. And some come to the more poverty for the gospel's sake too. For if they were poor, before they received the gospel,—then the synagogue, of which they were, provided for them: but now they were destitute of that provision, they having forsaken the synagogue; or, at the least, the synagogue them, because of their forsaking of their Judaism. For the evangelical church, therefore, that was now begun, to provide for her poor, it had not only the synagogue for an example, but would have had it for a reproach, if they had neglected so needful a duty, which that took care for so constantly and tenderly. 2. This having of all things common, therefore, was not an extinction of propriety, and of 'meum et tuum,' as if one rich man should have as good interest in another rich man's estate as himself, but it was intended mainly for the relief of the poor: not to bring any that had estates, to voluntary poverty, not to level estates, but to relieve those which stood in need[b]. Distribution was made "to every man, as he had need:" to them that preached the word, for their maintenance,—and to the poor, for their relief.

ACTS, chap. V.

ANANIAS and Sapphira, set up as everlasting monuments to all generations, of God's just indignation against the despisers of the Spirit of Christ. רוחו של משיח "The Spirit of Messias" was in honourable mention and esteem in the nation, in their common speech; though they would not

[b] Chap. ii. 45, and iv. 35.

know him, when he was revealed. Now the sin of this couple was, first, covetousness,—but, especially, presuming to play false, and yet thinking to go undiscovered of that Spirit, which wrought so powerfully in the apostles. That cursed opinion, that denies the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, runs parallel with this sin of Ananias and Sapphira to a hair.

Peter's warrant for this execution we may read in that passage, "He breathed on them and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they are remitted,—and whose sins ye retain, they are retained[c]." How? To forgive sins absolutely? this belongs only to God. Was it to forgive them declaratively? this seems too low a construction, and too restrained. It seemeth, therefore, the most proper meaning of this donation, that he now endued them with power, to avenge what sins the Holy Ghost [now received] should direct them, to avenge with bodily plagues, giving up to Satan, or with death: and again, to remit such penalties, as they should be directed to remit, and they should be remitted. The Holy Ghost, whom they had received then with so peculiar a power, Ananias and Sapphira do here plainly vilify, and affront directly; therefore, an execution of such power upon them was as proper and direct. But be it whether it will, that Peter took his warrant originally from thence, or had it instantly by some immediate revelation,—as the judgment was fearful, so his executing of it was remarkable; showing, at once, his assurance of the pardon of his own lying against his Master, when he can, and dare, thus avenge a lie against the Holy Ghost: and also his just zeal and activity for the honour of his Master, whom he had denied.

It is said, in ver. 12, "They were all in Solomon's porch," which was the east cloister of the mount of the temple; and in part of it did the Sanhedrim now sit, and the apostles not afraid to act so near them: but at last they are apprehended and imprisoned, but miraculously enlarged, and preaching in the temple again: and, thereupon, convented before the council. Gamaliel, Paul's master, was now president, and continued in this dignity till within eighteen years of the destruction of the city. He pleadeth here for the apostles, not out

[c] John, xx. 22, 23.

of any love to their persons or doctrine, for he lived and died a downright Pharisee: but partly, because he saw the Sadducees at present the chief agents against them,—and chiefly, because the miracles they wrought, were so plain and convincing, that he could move no less than what he did. And yet, for all the fairness of this man at this time, yet did he afterward ordain and publish that prayer called ברכת מינים "The prayer against heretics," meaning Christians; framed, indeed, by Samuel Katon, but approved and authorized by this man, president of the Sanhedrim [then at Jabneh], and commanded to be used constantly in their synagogues; in which they prayed against the gospel and the professors of it[d].

ACTS, chap. VI, VII.

THE seven deacons [as they are commonly called] chosen by occasion of the 'Hellenists' murmuring against the 'Hebrews,' about neglect of their widows. The 'Hebrews' were Jews, the inhabitants of Judea; and the 'Hellenists' those Jews, that lived in other countries dispersedly among the Greeks: not only in Greece, but almost in all other countries, which the conquests of Alexander, and the continuance of the Syro-Grecian monarchy after him, had filled with Greeks, as all countries also were filled with Jews.

In all the Jews' synagogues there were פרנסין 'Parnasin,' deacons, or such as had care of the poor, whose work it was to gather alms for them from the congregation, and to distribute it to them. שני גבתי צדקה ועוד אחד כדי שיהיו ג' להלק צדקה "There were two, that gathered alms for them; and one more added, to distribute it to them[e]." "R. Chelbe, in the name of R. Ba Bar Zabda, saith, They appoint not less than three Parnasin. For if judgment about pecuniary matters were judged by three, much more this matter, which concerneth life, is to be managed by three[f]." That needful office is here translated into the Christian church: and the seven are chosen to this work, out of the number of the hundred and twenty, that are mentioned chap. i. 15:—and that company only was the choosers of them, and not all the believers

[d] Taanith, fol. 65. 3. Maim. in Tephil. cap. 2. [e] Maim. in Sanhedr. cap. 1. [f] Jerus. in Peah, fol. 21. col. 1.

in Jerusalem. The reason why the Hebrews neglected the widows of the Hellenists, may be supposed, either because they would stick to their old rule, mentioned once before, "that a widow was to be maintained by her husband's children[g]" [compare 1 Tim. v. 4]; or, because the Hebrews of Judea had brought in more into the common stock for the poor, by sale of their goods and lands, than those that had come from foreign countries, had done, they not having goods and lands so ready to sell. All that had been brought in hitherto, had been put into the apostles' hands, and they had been burdened with the care and trouble of the disposal of it: but now they transfer that work and office to the seven, solemnly ordaining them, by imposition of hands, into it; and here, only the imposition of the apostles' hands confers not the Holy Ghost; for these men were full of the Holy Ghost before.

Stephen, an eminent man among them, is quarrelled by certain of the Libertines, and the Hellenists' synagogue. 'Libertini' משוחררים are exceeding frequently spoken of in the Jews' writings. And the Alexandrian synagogue [one of the Hellenists'] is mentioned in Jerus. in Megillah[h], and Juchas[i]. who tell, that "R. Eliezer Bar Zadok took the synagogue of the Alexandrians, that was at Jerusalem, and employed it to his own use."

When they are not able to overpower him by argument and disputation, they take a ready way to do it, by false accusation, and conventing him before the Sanhedrim: where, being accused of vilifying Moses, and speaking of the destruction of that place, he is vindicated, even miraculously, before he pleadeth his own cause, by his face shining like the face of Moses, and bearing an angelical aspect and majesty; for, indeed, he spake but what was spoken by the angel Gabriel[j].

In his apology, he speaketh to the heads of his accusation, but somewhat abstrusely; yet so as to them to whom he spake, to be well understood,—his discourse being according to their own rhetoric and logic: to what was laid to his charge, for vilifying Moses, and saying, his customs should

[g] Talm. in Chetub. cap. 2 Maim. in אישות cap. 18. [h] Fol. 74. col. 4.
[i] Fol. 26. [j] Dan. ix. 26, 27.

be changed,—he rehearseth, in brief, the whole history of Moses, and shows he was orthodox to him: but yet he driveth all to this,—that, as the times before Moses were still moving and growing on to settlement in Moses; so, when Moses himself had settled all he had to do, yet he pointed them to a Prophet yet to come, to whom they should hearken as the ultimate oracle, which was this Jesus, that he preached to them. And whereas, he was accused for speaking of the destruction of the temple,—he first shows, that fixedness to this or that place, is not so much to be stood upon; as appears by the flitting condition of the patriarchs [whose flittings he giveth the story of at large], and by the moving condition of the tabernacle, before the temple was built: and when the temple was built, it was not because God would confine himself to one place, for "the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands," ver. 48, &c.

He inserteth two or three sharp and true accusations of them, whereas theirs of him had been but false and causeless. As, that their fathers had persecuted those that foretold of Christ, as they did him for now preaching him, and they followed their fathers' steps: nay, went farther; for they had murdered Christ, whereas their fathers had but murdered his prophets. And whereas they were so punctual, about the ceremonious rites given by Moses, they neglected the moral law, which was given by the disposition of angels.

This cuts them to the heart, that they pass a rancorous and furious sentence of death upon him: but he hath a sight of the high bench of heaven,—God, and Christ at his right hand, their judge and his: a most fit prospect for the first martyr.

They cast him out of the city, and stone him for blasphemy. For these were to be stoned:—"He that went in to his mother, or to his father's wife, or to his daughter-in-law, or to a male, or to a beast: and he that blasphemed, or that committed idolatry, &c. And the place of stoning was out from the place of judgment" [nay, out of the city, as the Gemarists resolve it], "because it is said, Bring him that cursed, out of the camp." And, "a crier went before him that was to die, proclaiming his fault[k]."

[k] Sanhedr. cap. 6, 7.

"When he was come within four cubits of the place of stoning, they stripped him naked: only covered his nakedness before[l]."

And, being come to the very place, first the witnesses laid their hands upon him[m]; and then, stripping off their coats, that they might be more expedite for their present work, first one of them dasheth his loins violently against a stone, that lay for that purpose: if that killed him not, then the other dasheth a great stone upon his heart, as he lay on his back: and, if that despatched him not, then all the people fell upon him with stones[n].

Stephen, in the midst of all this their fury, and his own anguish, gets on his knees and prays for them: and, having so done, 'he fell asleep.' The Jews do ordinarily use the word דמך to signify 'dying,' which properly signifies 'sleeping,' especially when they speak of a fair and comfortable death: which word Luke translates here.—כל הנסקלין נתלין "All that were stoned, were also hanged up upon a tree[o]." Whether Stephen were so used, is uncertain; but it is evident, that he had a fair burial, and not the burial of a malefactor.

ACTS, chap. VIII.

A GREAT persecution followeth the death of Stephen: in which Saul was a chief agent, scholar of
34 *Christ.* Gamaliel, president of the Sanhedrim, and, it may be, the busier for that. In the Babylonian Talmud[p], they say, 'Jesu had five disciples, Mathai, Nakai, Netser, Boni, and Thodah;' and they are urging reasons there, why they should all be put to death, &c.

All the hundred and twenty ministers, mentioned chap. i. 15, are scattered abroad [only the twelve stay at Jerusalem, as in the furnace, to comfort and cherish the church there in so sad a time]; and they preach all along as they go:—and so Satan breaks his own head by his own design; for by persecution, by which he had contrived to smother the gospel, it spreads the more.

The first plantation of it mentioned, is in Samaria, and that according to Christ's own direction and foretelling;

[l] Sanhedr. cap. 6, 7. [m] Maim. in Avodah Zarah, cap. 2.
[n] Talm. ubi sup. [o] Ibid. [p] Sanhedr. fol. 43. col. 1.

"Ye shall be witnesses to me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria[q]," &c. He had forbidden them before, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans do not enter[r];" but now that partition-wall, that had been between, is to be broken down. Of all nations and people under heaven, the Samaritans were the most odious to the Jews; and a main reason was, because they were Jews' apostates. For though the first peopling of that place, after the captivity of the ten tribes, was by heathens[s]; yet, upon the building of the temple on mount Gerizim, such multitudes of Jews continually flocked thither, that generally Samaritanism was but a mongrel Judaism. They called Jacob their father,—expected Messias,—had their temple, priesthood, service, Pentateuch, &c. And, to spare more, take but this one passage in the Jerusalem Talmud; "The Cuthæans, all the time that they celebrate their unleavened bread-feast with Israel, they are to be believed concerning their putting away of leaven: if they do not keep their unleavened bread-feast with Israel, they are not to be believed concerning their putting away of leaven. Rabban Gamaliel saith, All the ordinances that the Cuthæans use, they are more punctual in them than Israel is[t]." It is an unhappy obscurity that the Hebrew writers have put upon the word 'Cuthæans:' for, though it most properly signify 'Samaritans,' yet have they so commonly given this name to 'Christians,' as the most odious name they could invent to give them,—that, in the most places that you meet with it, you cannot tell, whether they mean the one or the other. In the place cited, it seemeth indeed most likely, that it means the Samaritans; because it speaks of their keeping the feast of unleavened bread, and using the ordinances of Israel: unless it speak of those Jews, that had received the gospel and become Christians, and were fallen to their Judaism again, and joined that with their Christianity, which very many did,—as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter.

Simon Magus taketh upon him to believe, and is baptized: the naming of him calls to mind the mention of one Simon, a magician, that Josephus speaks of[u]; who was a

[q] Acts, i. 8. [r] Matt. x. 5. [s] 2 Kings, xvii.
[t] Pesachin, fol. 27. col. 2. [u] Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5.

means to entice Drusilla from her former husband, to go and marry Felix, the governor of Judea: this might very well be that man. And it minds of a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud[v]: בני סימוניא אתון לגבי רבי I cannot but render it, "The Simonians came to Rabbi, and said to him, We pray thee give us a man, to be our expositor, judge, minister, scribe, traditionary, and to do for us all we need." I know what סימוניא ראנמא is in the Babylonian Talmud[w]. But certainly בני סימוניא means some people; but whence so named, there is no disputing here.

Philip baptized Samaria, and did great wonders among them, but could not bestow the Holy Ghost upon them: that power belonged only to the apostles; therefore, Peter and John are sent thither for that purpose. "They laid their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost:" not upon all; for what needeth that? or what reason was there for it? The gifts of the Holy Ghost that were received, were these miraculous ones,—of tongues, prophecy, &c[x]. Now of these, there were but these two ends:—1. For the confirmation of the doctrine of the gospel, such miraculous gifts attending it. And, 2. For instruction of others:—for tongues were given, indeed, for a sign; 1 Cor. xiv. 22: but not only for a sign, but for edification and instruction; as the apostle also showeth at large in the same chapter. Now both these ends were attained, though they that received the Holy Ghost, were not all, but only a few and set number. Nay, the latter not conceivable of all; for if all were enabled miraculously to be teachers, who were to be taught? The imposition, therefore, of the apostles' hands, mentioned here and elsewhere, and those passages, "These signs shall follow those that believe,—they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with tongues," &c[y]: "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost[z];"—were not upon all that believed the gospel, and were baptized: but upon some certain number, whom they were directed, by the Holy Ghost, to lay their hands upon, as those men that God had appointed and determined for preachers and ministers to the people,—and who, by the imposition of the apostles' hands,

[v] In Jebammoth, fol. 13. col. 1. [w] In Cholin, fol. 15.
[x] Acts, x. 46, and xix. 6. [y] Mark, xvi. 17. [z] Acts, ii. 38, &c.

receiving the Holy Ghost, were, by those gifts, enabled to understand the language and sense of Scripture, and to be instructers of the people, and to build them up.

Candace's eunuch, having been at Jerusalem, to worship, —and returning back, is converted by Philip.—Of Candace, queen of Meroe, in Æthiopia, see Strabo, lib. 17.—He met with him in the way, that led from Jerusalem to Gaza, the desert. Of this place, Strabo again, lib. 16, speaketh thus: "Then is the haven of the Gazæans; above which, some seven furlongs, is the city, once glorious, but ruined by Alexander, *καὶ μένουσα ἔρημος*, and it remaineth desert." Diodorus Siculus calls it, *Γάζα παλαιὰ*, The old Gaza[a]; for another was built at the haven, by the sea-side, called sometimes Maiuma[b],—and afterward, Constantia, named so by Constantine, after the name of his sister: as saith Eusebius[c]; or, as Sozomen, of his son Constantius.

Whether this eunuch were a Jew or a proselyte, is scarce worth inquiring; his devotion is far more worth spending thoughts upon, which brought him so long a journey, and employed him so well in his travel, as in reading the Scripture. He is baptized in the name of Jesus, ver. 37; and, as it may well be conceived, takes ship at Gaza, and is the first, that we find, that carried the profession of Jesus into Afric. The mention of which, may justly call our thoughts to consider of the temple built in Egypt, by Onias, and the vast numbers of Jews that were in that and the countries thereabouts. And yet, how little intimation there is, in the New Testament story, by whom, or how, the gospel was conveyed into those parts.

Philip is rapt by the Spirit from Gaza to Azotus, which were two hundred and seventy furlongs, or thirty-four miles, asunder, as Diodorus Siculus[d] measures.

ACTS, chap. IX, from the beginning to ver. 23.

THE conversion of Paul, a monument of mercy[e]: a Pharisee, a persecutor, a murderer,—yet become a Christian, a preacher, an apostle.

He consented to Stephen's death; and, after that, he gets

[a] Lib. 19. [b] Sozom. Eccles. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 3.
[c] De Vit. Constant. lib. 4. cap. 28. [d] Ubi supra. [e] 1 Tim. i. 14. 16.

a commission from the chief priests, and makes desperate havoc in Jerusalem[f].

We find, all along this book, that the chief priests are not only the busiest men in persecuting of the gospel, but, in many places, it is related so, as if they were the only men, and had entire power in their own hands, as a peculiar court, to give commissions, to judge, condemn, and execute: as it hath been, and is, the opinion of some, that there was an ecclesiastical Sanhedrim distinct from the civil.

It is true, indeed, that there was in the temple, a consistory only of priests, which sat in the room called, 'Parhedrin,' and 'Liscath Bouleute,' 'the chamber of the council:' but these sat not there, as magistrates over the people, but only as a consistory, to take care of the service and affairs of the temple, that nothing should be wanting, nor nothing slacked, that was required about it, or that conduced to the promoting of the service of it; and their power extended not beyond that verge. Any other consessus, or consistory, of priests alone, than this, I believe cannot be showed in any records of that nation; and this is far from the power and constitution of a Sanhedrim. The Talmud[g], indeed, speaketh of a 'Beth Din,' or 'consistory of the priests,' "which required four hundred zuzims in dower, or jointure, for a virgin:" which seemeth to assert this as a peculiar court, invested with distinct power from the other. But the Gemarists, especially the Babylonian, do make it plain, that no such thing can be inferred from this action: for they tell us, that the priests determined this business of "four hundred zuzims' dower to their own daughters," only for the honour of their tribe and blood: so that this was not any act of judicial power binding others, but an act of consent among themselves, to keep up the credit of their function and families. But here is not time and place to discuss this point [a matter of no small controversy], farther than what may give illustration to the subject before us.

How to understand, therefore, this judicial activity of the chief priests throughout this book, the evangelist hath given us a rule betime in the story, chap. iv. 5: where he shows, that the whole Sanhedrim is to be understood,—of which, the

[f] Acts, viii. 2, and xxii. 4, and xxvi. 10. [g] In Chetuboth, cap. 1. hal. 5.

priests were a great, if not the greatest, part; and were, in this cause, the busiest men. In case of necessity, there might be a Sanhedrim, though never a priest or Levite was of it, for so is their own canon,—namely, if fit men of either rank were not to be found; but, in common carriage and experience, they were the greatest and most potent number, as whose profession and function bespake studiousness, and pleaded honour. In all the New Testament, we meet but with these men by name, of all the Sanhedrim: Annas, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, Gamaliel, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea. And how many of these were not priests? Gamaliel, indeed, was of the tribe of Judah, and of the progeny of David, being grandchild of Hillel. But as for all the rest, some of them were undoubtedly of the priesthood, and the others more probably so too, than of any other tribe: of Annas and Caiaphas, there is no question. And if John[h] be the eminentest John that was then among them, it means Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, who was now vice-president of the council; and he was a priest, as Juchasin tells us. And if Nicodemus be the same with the eminentest Nicodemus of those times, of whom Aboth R. Nathan[i], and the Babylonian Talmud[j], make mention [as we have no cause to think otherwise], then was he, by their plain description, a priest likewise. And so was Joseph of Arimathea, if his style and title Βουλευτὴς be to be understood, according to the common speech of the nation; as there can be no reason, why it should not be so understood. And as for Alexander, of whom is least evidence, it is not worth spending so much time upon as to discuss; since these, already mentioned, may be witness enough.

In all the busy stirring, therefore, of the priests, in this story of the Acts of Apostles,—as, chap. vii. 1, and xxiii. 2; and about this commission of Saul,—we are not to take them as a distinct and separate power from the Sanhedrim, but as a part of it; and such as whose function and interest, as they thought, did, most of all the other, urge them to look to the prevention of this growing evil of the gospel, as they did, as heartily, as erroneously repute it: and, therefore, the story doth more especially pitch upon them, as the most stirring

[h] Acts, iv. 6. [i] Cap. 6. [j] In Chetuboth, fol. 66.

men. And so Paul, himself, doth help to interpret Luke's relation. For whereas, chap. ix. 1, 2, it is said, "Saul went to the high-priest, and desired of him letters to Damascus;" he, who best could tell how this should be understood, explains it thus, chap. xxii. 5;—"Of the high-priest, and of all the estate of the elders, I received letters to the brethren," &c. The words 'of all the estate of the elders,' determine the point we have in hand; and the other words, 'to the brethren,' call us to the consideration of another: and that is, how far the Sanhedrim's decrees and injunctions had power and command over the Jews in foreign lands. By producing the words of one of their acts, we shall better judge of this matter, and understand the words 'to the brethren,' both at once.

In the Jerusalem Talmud[k] they say thus; "For the three countries, they intercalated the year for Judea, and beyond Jordan and Galilee. For two of them together they did it,—for one alone, they did it not. There is a story of Rabban Gamaliel and the elders, that they sat at the going up to the temple, and Jochanan the scribe sat before them: Rabban Gamaliel saith to him, Write לאחנא בני דרומא עילאה to our brethren, that dwell in the upper south country; ולאחנא בני דרומא ארעיא and to our brethren, that dwell in the lower south country, Peace be multiplied to you: We give you to understand, that the time of setting forth your tithes is come, &c. ולאחנא And to our brethren of Galilee the upper, and Galilee the lower, Peace be multiplied unto you: We give you to understand, that the time of setting forth your tithes is come, &c. ולאחנא And to our brethren of the captivity of Babel, of Media, of Greece, and the whole captivity of Israel, Peace be multiplied unto you: We give you to understand, that since the lambs are yet little, and young pigeons small, and the time of the first ripe ears is not yet come, that it seemeth good to me, and to my fellows, to add thirty days unto this year." And the very same is related again in Maazar Sheni[l]. By which we see, that when Luke saith, that Saul had the Sanhedrim's letters 'to the brethren,' he speaks but the very language, that such letters used to speak in: and by this, we see also, that their letters missive to their brethren in foreign

[k] Sanhedr. fol. 18. col. 4. [l] Fol. 56. col. 3.

lands, were rather declarations than commands: for it was not so much the awe of the Sanhedrim's power, reaching to those remote places, that kept the whole nation to obedience to their decrees,—as it was their innate and inured ambition to be held and kept a peculiar, and distinct, and conform people; and their devotedness to their law and worship, the great oracle of which they held the Sanhedrim to be, in all ages. Such letters, may we conceive, were these to the synagogues at Damascus,—not imperious, but declarative and persuasive: which before Saul had delivered [who was now שליח סנהדרי גדולה 'Apostolus Synedrii magni'], he is converted, and designed for an apostle of Jesus Christ.

He saw Christ, ver. 17, though he saw him not[m]: for as Israel at Sinai saw the Lord,—not in any representation, but only his glory,—so[n] did he Christ in his glory, and a voice. And so they that travelled with him, heard the voice, ver. 7, in its terrible sound, but they heard it not[o] in its articulate utterance, so as to understand it; the like to that in John, xii. 29.

At three days' end he receiveth his sight, and baptism, and was filled with the Holy Ghost, ver. 17, 18. But how he received the last, is somewhat obscure: whether before his baptism or upon it, by immediate infusion, as they did, chap. x. 45; or by imposition of Ananias's hands; which if he did, as it was extraordinary for any, besides an apostle, to confer the Holy Ghost,—so could not Ananias do, or think of doing, this, without an extraordinary warrant. Whether way it was, he is now so completely furnished with all accomplishments for his ministry, that "he confers not with flesh and blood," that is, not with any men,—nor "goes he up to Jerusalem," no, not to confer with the apostles[p]; but hath the full knowledge of the gospel, and full assurance of his knowledge that it was right: And so he begins to preach in Damascus.

35, 36 *Christ.*—These two years Paul spendeth in Damascus and Arabia, and Damascus again[q].

[m] 1 Cor. ix. 1.
[n] "Ita ipse Christum loquentem, i. e. Christi gloriam, vidit;" Leusd.
[o] Acts, xxii. 9. [p] Gal. i. 16, 17. [q] Gal. i. 17.

ACTS, chap. IX, from ver. 23 to ver. 32.

AFTER three years from his conversion, he cometh to Jerusalem; being driven from Damascus by a
37 *Christ.* machination of the Jews, who had wrought with the governor to apprehend him,—but he is let over the wall in a basket[q].

He goeth up to Jerusalem to see Peter[r]; but, at his first coming thither, the disciples are afraid of him, till Barnabas makes way for his entertainment[s]: his going to see Peter is to confer with the minister of the circumcision, himself being appointed minister to the uncircumcised. And how Barnabas, who was to be his fellow, should come to be acquainted with him before any of the rest, we can hardly find out any other way to resolve, than by conceiving he had some intimation from God of his own apostleship among the Gentiles, and Paul's with him.

He stayeth at Jerusalem but fifteen days, and seeth none of the apostles, but Peter and James the Less[t]. He preacheth boldly there, and disputes so vehemently with the Hellenists, that they go about to kill him[u]; but why him, rather than Peter, James, Barnabas, and others, that were now at Jerusalem? We may answer, Because he himself was a Hellenist, one once of their own college; and the more zealous he was now against them, the more incensed were they against him, for an apostate, as they accounted him: and now he, that, with them, had contrived the death of Stephen, is forced by them to fly for his own life.

ACTS, chap. IX, from ver. 32 to the end; and chap. X, all; and chap. XI, to ver. 19.

THE stories succeeding to ver. 19 of chap. xi, as they are of a doubtful date, because neither the
38—40 *Christ.* historian here, nor any other part of Scripture, hath fixed the determinate time of their occurring,—so is not the limiting of them to their year or time so very needful: if only it be secured, that they follow in time to those preceding, that we have spoken to; and that

[q] 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33. [r] Gal. i. 18. [s] Acts, ix. 27.
[t] Gal. i. 18, 19. [u] Acts, ix. 29.

we may be assured of their order, though we cannot be of their precise time. And this is easy to resolve upon, without much debate. The last verse of the former section, informs us of a peace and rest come to all the churches; and the beginning of this, brings in Peter,—as in this calm,—passing through all quarters, preaching and confirming them. And that this could not be but after the times of the stories mentioned hitherto, appeareth by this;—that though it is true, indeed, that Peter was abroad in Samaria upon the conversion of it, yet he was returned again to Jerusalem[v], and was there three years after, when Paul comes up thither.

This, therefore, is a new voyage, in which he doth three great things:—healeth Æneas of palsy, at Lydda; raiseth Dorcas from the dead, at Joppa; and openeth the door of the gospel to the Gentiles, in Cæsarea.

Æneas is a name that we find in the Jewish writers. אינייא ב"ר שמואל ר" 'R. Samuel, the son of R. Æneas,' is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud[w]: and 'Lod' or 'Lydda' they speak exceeding frequently of, and produce remarkable stories and memorials of it. And, indeed, the quarters of Peter's present walk, compared with the Hebrews' records concerning these places, may well claim some observation. For when he is at Joppa, he is in the middle, as it were, of those places, which, in a little time after this [nay, it may be, at this very time], were two of their greatest and eminentest schools.

At Jabneh[x], on the one hand of Joppa, did the great Sanhedrim sit long, both before the destruction of Jerusalem and after: for when it began to be unsettled, and to flit up and down forty years before the destruction of the city, its first removal from Jerusalem was hither: and here sat Gamaliel, Paul's master, with his Sanhedrim, a good space of time; and, for aught can be said to the contrary, it might very well be there at this time, when Peter was at Joppa.

Now, as the Jews called that place 'Jabneh,'—so the Gentiles called it 'Jamnia;' and how near it was to Joppa, you may guess from these words of Strabo[y]: "This place" [speaking of Joppa] "was so populous, that out of the neighbour

[v] Chap. viii. 25. [w] Jebammoth, fol. 6. col. 2. [x] Or Jafna. [y] Lib. 16.

town, Jamnia, and other places thereabout, it was able to raise forty thousand men."

At Lydda, on the other hand of Joppa, were most famous schools, and eminent men, as well as at Jabneh. Λύδδα κώμη, πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσα· "It was a town, that wanted little of the bigness of a city[y]." It lay west of Jerusalem, a day's journey off; as the Talmud seats it and measures, in Maazar Sheni[z]. It was in Judea: "And thereupon four-and-twenty of the school of Rabbi came thither to intercalate the year; but an evil eye came in upon them, and they died all at one time[a]." For they might not intercalate the year but in Judea[b]; but upon this mischance, they removed that business into Galilee. Here it seems the Sanhedrim sat, also, sometimes; or, at least, they had a great bench of their own, for there is mention of "stoning Ben Satda, at Lydda, on the eve of the Passover[c]." To reckon the stories and eminent men belonging to this place, were endless,—at the least, it is needless here.

But the mention and gender of Saron, which is also named with Lydda, Acts ix. 35, may plead excuse, if we allege one or two Talmudic passages for the clearing of it:—"From Bethoron to Emmaus was hilly,—from Emmaus to Lydda, plain,—and from Lydda to the sea, vale[d]."

"R. Jochanan and R. Eliezer went from Jabneh to Lydda, and met with R. Joshua in בקיעין Bekin[e]."

"He that bringeth a bill of divorce from a heathen country, must be able to say, 'In my presence it was written, and sealed in my presence:' Rabban Gamaliel saith, Yea, he that brings one from Rekam and Chagra. R. Eleazer saith, Yea, he that brings one from Caphar Lodim to Lod[f]." Rabbi Nissim, upon the place, saith thus: "Caphar Lodim was out of the land, near to Lod, which was within the land; and it was so called, because Lyddans were always found there."

"They brought a chest full of bones from Caphar Tebi, and set it openly at the entering into Lod: Tudrus, the physician, came, and all the physicians with him[g]," &c.

[y] Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5.
[z] Cap. 5. hal. 2.
[a] Jerus. Sanhedr. fol. 18. col. 3.
[b] Maim. in Kiddush. Hodesh, cap. 4.
[c] Ibid. fol. 25. 4.
[d] Jerus. in Sheviith, fol. 38. 4.
[e] Idem. in Sotah, fol. 18. 4.
[f] Gittin, cap. 1. hal. 1.
[g] Jerus. in Beracoth, fol. 3. 1.

Besides observing, that 'Tebi' is the name of a man, [Rabban Gamaliel's servant[h]],—as Tabitha is the name of a woman in the story before us; the word 'Saron' being of the masculine gender, it plainly tells us, that it is not the name of a town, but of the plain or flat, where divers towns stood; and, among others, it may be these mentioned.

ACTS, X, all the chapter; and XI, to ver. 19.

LITTLE inferior to these places for learned men, was 'Cæsarea upon the sea,' and beyond them, for other eminencies. רבנין קיסרין "The doctors of Cæsarea" are of exceeding frequent, and exceeding renowned, mention in both Talmuds: and, by name, 'R.Heshaiah, the great; R. Achavah, R. Zeira, R. Ada, R. Prigori, R. Ulla, R. Tachalipha, and several others.' It was anciently called, Πύργος Στράτωνος 'Straton's tower;' but sumptuously built and beautified by Herod the Great: in honour of Cæsar, it was called 'Cæsarea.' It was mixedly inhabited by Jews and Gentiles, and much of an equal number; and, most commonly, well fraught with Roman soldiers, because the governor's residence was ordinarily here.

Of some of these bands was Cornelius a captain,—a man come to an admirable pitch of piety, and it is hard to imagine how he came by it: for that he was not so much as a proselyte, is apparent, in that they at Jerusalem cavil at Peter for going to him, as to a heathen. And whether he were גר תושב 'a sojourning stranger,' as they called some, is not much material; since, by their own judgment, גר תושב כנוי לכל רבר "a sojourning stranger was a Gentile to all purposes[i]." Whencesoever he learned faith in Christ, his full knowledge of Christ he learned from Peter: he having a warrant, by vision, to send for Peter,—and he a warrant, by vision, to go to him.

Here 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' committed to Peter so long ago[j], do their work: opening the door of faith first to the Gentiles, which never was shut since, nor ever will be, whilst there is a church to be upon the earth. Jonah at Joppa, and Simon Bar Jona there, both sent to the Gentiles, compare together.

[h] Beracoth, cap. 2. hal. 7. [i] Jerus. Jebammoth, fol. 8. col. 1. [j] Matt. xvi.

Upon Peter's preaching, the Holy Ghost falls upon those Gentiles, that were present, to the amazement of those of the circumcision, that had come with Peter: for they had not only not seen the like before, but had been trained up, while in their Judaism, under a maxim of a clean contrary tenor; which taught them, "That the Holy Ghost would dwell neither upon any heathen, nor upon any Jew in a heathen country." Cæsarea was, as the Jews reputed, בין התחומות "between the borders:" that is, a place disputable, whether to account within the land or without,—or, indeed, both[k]. And so were, also, other places upon this western border of the land, the great sea-shore: as, Acon, or Ptolemais[l], Ascalon[m], and divers others; but all things computed, no fitter place in the land could have been chosen for the beginning of this great work of bringing Jews and Gentiles together into one bound, than this: not only because this city was both Jew and Gentile, within the land and without,—but also, because here was the Roman court, the chief of the Gentiles: and the mentioning of Cornelius's being of the Italian band, hinteth such an observation.

The Holy Ghost, at this its first bestowing upon the Gentiles, is given in the like manner, as it was at its first bestowing upon the Jewish nation[n],—namely, by immediate infusion; at all other times you find mention of it, you find mention of imposition of hands used for it. But here it may be observed, withal, that whereas the fruit of this gift of the Holy Ghost was, that "they spake with tongues[o]," it confirmeth that which we spake at chap. ii; viz. that the first fruit of this gift of tongues was, that they that had it, were enabled to speak and understand the originals of the Scripture: and here it appeareth more plainly than there: and more plainly, still, in those twelve at Ephesus[p], and those that spake with tongues in the church of Corinth[q]. For to what purpose was it for them to speak there with tongues, where they all understood the same language? It was not to gibber and talk in strange language, that men might admire but not understand; but it was for edification of others,—yea, and for

[k] Juchas. fol. 74. [l] Jerus. Challah, fol. 60. col. 2.
[m] Idem, Sheviith, fol. 36. 3. [n] Acts, ii. [o] Ver. 46.
[p] Acts, xix. 6. [q] 1 Cor. xiv.

edifying of himself that so spake[r]. "He that speaketh a tongue, edifieth himself:" how? What could he speak in any strange language to his own edification, which he might not as much edify himself by, had he spoken it in his own native tongue? But only that this is meant, his ability, by the gift of tongues, to understand and speak the original language of the Scripture, was both for his own edification and the edification of others. Suppose one in the church of Corinth could speak Persic, Arabic, Ethiopic, &c. and did chatter these languages among them; he could not possibly speak any thing in those tongues [though interpreted] that could edify the people any more, than if he spake it in his mother-tongue: but if he spake, and understood, and uttered, the original language of Scripture,—that, if interpreted, would edify: and he could not speak in his mother-tongue, unless he took from thence, what he might speak.

Peter, returning to Jerusalem, is taken to task by some of the circumcision, for going in to the Gentiles, and eating with them: a thing of unspeakable detestation to the Jews: hence those allusions: "Let him be to thee as a heathen[s]:" "With such a one, no, not to eat[t]." We find not any such quarrel at Peter and John for going down to Samaria, though the Samaritans were as odious to the Jewish nation as people could be; but they were neither uncircumcised, nor idolaters: both which, especially the latter, bred their detestation of the heathen.

ACTS, chap. XI, from ver. 19 to the end of the chapter.

As Cæsarea, the seat of the Roman governor of Judea, first seeth the door of faith opened to the Gen-
41 *Christ.* tiles,—so Antioch, the seat of the Roman governor of Syria, first heareth the name 'Christian.' Those of the hundred and twenty ministers[u], that had fled upon the persecution raised against Stephen, went preaching up and down, first, as far as the bounds of Judea extended; then some of them stepped out, as far as into Phœnice, Cyprus, and Syria; but all this while dealing with the Jews only. At last, some of them at Antioch ἐλάλουν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστὰς "spake to the Hellenists," ver. 20. Here the

[r] 1 Cor. xiv. 4. [s] Matt. xviii. [t] 1 Cor. v. [u] Mentioned Acts, i. 15.

word 'Hellenists' is of doubtful interpretation: only this is doubtless in it, that it means not Jews, as the word doth, Acts vi. 1; for it is set in opposition to them, ver. 19.—Doth it mean proselytes, then? That it cannot, neither; for they were reputed as Jews to all purposes. Means it heathens? Yes, that is undoubted it doth, both by the scope of the story here, and by the quarrel, urging these believers at Antioch to be circumcised[v]. But why, then, should they be called 'Hellenistæ,' rather than 'Hellenes?' Some conceive, because they were become גרי תושב 'proselyte sojourners;' meaning, that they had forsaken their idolatry: as Cornelius had done his, though he were not גר צדק 'a proselyte circumcised.'—But, what! if these were native Syrians, by pedigree and language,—could they then for that be called 'Hellenists' or 'Greeks?' The word, therefore, must mean, that they were such as were Syro-Grecians; Antioch itself, indeed, having been once the head of the Syro-Grecian empire: 'Hellenes,' or 'purely Greeks,' they could not be called [though it will not be denied they spake that language]; because they were not only no inhabitants of that country, but not altogether of that blood: but such as were of a mixture of Syrian and Greek; the progeny of the old plantations and enfranchisements of the Syro-Grecian monarchy. Whatsoever their title 'Hellenists' includeth,—they being undoubtedly heathens,—it showeth, that these ministers who preached to them, understood of the liberty given to preach to the Gentiles, and the passage betwixt Peter and Cornelius[w], or they durst not have been bold to have gone beyond the partition-wall, without their warrant. And the readiness of the church at Jerusalem to send Barnabas to them, shows, that they also were satisfied in this matter:—and so this evidenceth, that this story was after that about Cornelius.

Their sending Barnabas, and his fetching Saul to the same work with him, giveth some confirmation of that, which was touched before; namely, that it is very probable, that Barnabas knew of his own being designed for a minister to the uncircumcision, and of Paul's being joined with him in that work, a great while before they were sent away from An-

[v] Chap. xv.

[w] "Quicquid denotet vox '*Hellenistæ*,' fuere sine controversiâ Ethnici. Hinc constat, ministris, qui ipsis prædicabant, licentiam, Ethnicis prædicandi factam, innotuisse, et ea, quæ inter Petrum et Cornelium fuerant transacta:" Leusd.

tioch upon it.—They now spend a whole year in the church there; and there the name 'Christian' is first taken up, and that in a Gentile church. Antioch, of old, had been called 'Hamath;' but now it bare the name of one, that had been as bloody a persecutor of the church and truth, as the church of Israel had ever seen,—'Antiochus.' The very name of the place may raise a meditation.

ACTS, chap. XII, XIII.

HERE we meet with some scruple in chronology, and about the precedency of the story, in these two chapters. For though the actions in chap. xii, be laid first, and that very properly,—that the story of Peter may be taken up together, and concluded, before the story of Paul come in, which is to be followed to the end of the book,—yet, there may be just question, whether the sending of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch, to preach among the Gentiles, which is handled in the beginning of chap. xiii, were not before some, if not all, those things, related in chap. xii. And the question ariseth from these two scruples:—1. Because it is doubtful, in what year of Claudius the famine was, that is spoken of, chap. xii. 28. And, 2. Because it is obscure, how long Paul and Barnabas stayed at Antioch after their return from Jerusalem[w], before they were sent away among the Gentiles. But about this we need not much to trouble ourselves; since, as to the understanding of the stories themselves, there can be little illustration taken from their time: save only as to this, that the public fast in the church of Antioch, may seem to have some relation to some of the said stories mentioned before, as coincident with them, or near to them; namely, either the famine through the world[x], or the persecution in the church[y]. We shall not, therefore, offer to dislocate the order of the stories, from that wherein they lie; the Holy Ghost, by the intertexture of them, rather teaching us, that some of them were contemporary, than any way encouraging us to invert their order. Only these things cannot pass unmentioned, towards the stating of their time and place, partly of coincidency, and partly of their succeeding one the other, and which may help us better to understand both.

[w] Acts, xii. 25. [x] Chap. xi. 28. [y] Chap. xii.

1. That, whereas Dion, the Roman historian[z], hath placed a sore famine [at least at Rome] in the time of Claudius, in his second year,—Josephus carries it[a], as if the bitterness of it, at Jerusalem, were in his fourth; which Eusebius[b] determines positively: both may be true; for, for famines to last several years together, is no strange thing in history, divine or human, nor in experience in our own age.

2. That Herod Agrippa's murdering of James, and imprisoning of Peter, could not be before the third year of Claudius; for Josephus, a witness impartial enough in this case, informs us, that Claudius, in his second consulship,—which was, indeed, the second year of his reign,—made an edict in behalf of the Jews, and sent it through the world, and, after that, sent Agrippa away into his own kingdom. Now, his consulship beginning the first of January, it was so next impossible that those things should be done at Rome, and Agrippa provide for his journey, and travel it, and come to Jerusalem, and murder James, and apprehend Peter, and all before the Passover (unless he hasted as it had been for a wager); that he, that can believe Peter to have been imprisoned in Claudius's second year of consulship and reign, must exceedingly straiten the time of these occurrences, to make room for his belief.

3. In the third year of Claudius, therefore, are those stories in chap. xii to be reputed; only the last, about Herod's death, in the beginning of his fourth;—for a Passover in his fourth, Herod lived not to see.

4. It may be observed, that Luke hath placed the going up of Paul and Barnabas, with the alms of the church of Antioch to the poor of Judea, before the murder of James[c]; but their return thence, not till after that, and Herod's death[d]: not that, thereupon, we are necessarily to think that they stayed there so long, as while all those things in chap. xii were acting; but that, by that relation, the story of Paul and Barnabas is begun again; and we may very well conceive, for all that postscript of Luke after the story of James's martyrdom, Peter's imprisonment, and Agrippa's death, their return to Antioch, and going from thence

[z] Lib. 60. [a] Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. [b] In Chronic. [c] Acts, xi. 30. [d] Acts, xii. 25.

among the Gentiles, chap. xiii, to have been at that time, while some of the things, in chap. xii, occurred.

We will, therefore, take the chapters up in the order in which they lie, and only carry along with us, in our thoughts, a supposal, that some of the stories in either might concur in time. And, because we have found here some need to look after the years of the emperor, which we have not had before, and shall have much more, forward, especially when we come up to the times of Nero,—it may not be amiss to affix their years also, as they went along, concurrent with the years of our Saviour.

42 *Christ.* 2 *Claudius.*—The famine begun: the church of Antioch send relief into Judea.

ACTS, chap. XII, from the beginning to ver. 20.

JAMES beheaded by Herod; for so doth the Jews' pandect help us to understand these words, "He
43 *Christ.* slew James with the sword." "They that
3 *Claudius.* were slain by the sword, were beheaded, which also was the custom of the kingdom[e];" that is, of the Romans.

The ceremonious zeal of Agrippa, in the Jewish way, bending itself against the church, may be construed as a Jewish act, wicked, as upon the score of that nation's wickedness and guilt.

The underling condition, in which they had lain all the time of Caius [he having no good affection to that people], being now got loose and aloft, knows no bounds; and being somewhat countenanced by the edict of Claudius, they cannot be content with their own immunities, unless they seek also the suppression of the Christian church; though Claudius's proclamation had this special clause and caveat, *μὴ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐξουθενίζειν*, "that they should not go about to infringe the liberty of other men's religion." This unbounded encroaching of theirs, did, within a little time, cause the emperor, who had now made a decree for them, to make another against them.

Peter, designed by the murderer for the like butchery,

[e] Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 7. hal. 3.

escapes by miracle; and the tyrant, before that time twelvemonth, comes to a miraculous, fearful end.

ACTS, chap. XIII, from beginning to ver. 14.

THE divine historian, having hitherto followed the story of the church and gospel, as both of them were dilated among the Jews, and therein pitched, more especially, upon the acts of Peter and John, the singular ministers of the circumcision, more peculiarly Peter's;—he doth now turn his pen, to follow the planting and progress of the gospel among the Gentiles:—and here he insisteth, more especially, upon the story of Paul and Barnabas, the singular ministers of the uncircumcision,—more peculiarly Paul's.

There were now, in the church of Antioch, five men, which were both 'prophets' and 'teachers;' or, which did not only instruct the people, and expound the Scriptures, but had also the prophetic spirit, and were partakers of revelations. For, though prophets and teachers were, indeed, of a distinct notion[f], and their abilities to teach were, accordingly, of a distinct original,—namely, the former by revelation, and the latter by study,—yet, κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν [which phrase may not pass without observation], "according to the state of the church then being," they not only had prophetic teachers, but there was a kind of necessity they should have such, till time and study had enabled others to be teachers; which, as yet, they could not have attained unto, the gospel having been so lately brought among them.

Among these five, the names of Barnabas and Saul are no strangers to the reader, but the other three are more unknown.

1. "Simeon, who was called Niger." If the word 'Niger' were Latin, it might, then, fairly be conjectured, that this was Simon of Cyrene, the Moorish complexion of his country justly giving him the title of Simeon 'the black;' but since the patronymic, Cyrenean, is applied only in the singular number to the next man, Lucius; and since the word נגר was then used among the Jews, in several significations, as may be seen in Aruch,—we shall rather conceive this man

[f] 1 Cor. xii. 28. Ephes. iv. 11.

a Cypriot, from chap. xi. 20; and as Barnabas also was, chap. iv. 36; and his surname, 'Niger,' whatsoever it signified, used to distinguish him from Simon Peter, and Simon the Canaanite.

2. 'Lucius of Cyrene:' held by some, and that not without some ground, to be Luke the evangelist; which, it is like, hath been the reason, why antiquity hath so generally held Luke to be an Antiochian. True, in regard of this his first appearing there, under this name, Lucius,—though originally a Cyrenian, and educated, as it may be supposed, in the Cyrenian college, or synagogue, in Jerusalem, chap. vi. 9, and there first receiving the gospel. In Rom. xvi. 21, Paul salutes the Roman church in the name of Lucius; whereas, there was none then, in Paul's retinue, whose name sounded that way, but only Luke, as we shall observe there.

3. "Manaen, who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch." Juchasin[g] mentioneth one Menahem, who was once vice-president of the Sanhedrim, under Hillel, but departed to the service of Herod the Great, with fourscore other eminent men with him, of whom we gave some touch before. It may be, this was his son, and was called 'Manaen,' or 'Menahem,' after the father: and, as the father was a great favourite of Herod the Great, the father,—so this was brought up at court, with Herod the tetrarch, the son.

As these holy men were at the public ministration with fasting and prayer, the Holy Ghost gives them advertisement of the separating of Paul and Barnabas, for the ministry among the Gentiles; a mission, that might not be granted, but by such a divine warrant; considering how the Gentiles had always lain behind a partition-wall to the Jews: for although Peter, in the case of Cornelius, had opened the door of the gospel to the heathen, yet was this a far greater breaking down of the partition-wall, when the gospel was to be brought into their own lands, and to their own doors. When God saith, "Separate them to the work, whereunto I have called them;" it farther confirmeth, that it was, and had been, known before, that they should be ministers of the uncircumcision.

The Romish glossaries would fain strain 'the mass' out of

[g] Fol. 19.

the word Λειτουργούντων: and the Rhemists think they have done us a courtesy, that they have not translated it to that sense; whereas, besides that the word naturally signifieth any public ministration,—the Holy Ghost, by the use of it, seemeth to have a special aim; namely, to intimate to us, that this was a public fast, as well as another public ministration. Public fasts were not ordinary services, and they were not taken up, but upon extraordinary occasions; and what the present occasion might be, had been a great deal better worth studying upon, than how to make the Greek word speak 'the mass,' which it never meant.

How public fastings and days of humiliation were used by the Jews, and upon what occasions, there is a special treatise in the Talmud upon that subject, called Taanith,—and the like in Maimonides, that beareth witness: and it was no whit unsuitable to the gospel, upon the like exigencies, to use the like kind of service and devotion: and the present famine, that was upon all countries, might very well minister occasion to this church at Antioch, at this present, for such a work; for we cannot but suppose, that the famine was now in being.

Whatsoever the occasion was,—the Lord, in the midst of their humiliation, pointeth out Paul and Barnabas, for an employment of his own, who were but a while ago returned from an employment of the church's: and so the other three,—Simeon, Lucius, and Menaen,—understanding what the Lord meant, and having used another solemn day in fasting in prayer,—lay their hands upon them, and set them apart by ordination:—according as the ordaining of elders among the Jews was by a triumvirate, or by three elders[h].

This is the second imposition of hands since the gospel began, which did not confer the Holy Ghost with it; for these two were full of the Holy Ghost before: and this is the first ordination of elders since the gospel, that was used out of the land of Israel. Which rite the Jewish canons would confine only to that land[i]. Which circumstances well considered, with the employment that these two were to go about, and this manner of their sending forth,—no better reason, I suppose, can be given of this present action, than that

[h] Sanhedr. cap. 1. hal. 3. [i] Maim. Sanhedr. cap. 4.

the Lord hereby did set down a platform of ordaining ministers in the church of the Gentiles to future times.

Paul and Barnabas, thus designed by the Lord, and ordained and sent forth by this triumvirate, and guided by the Holy Ghost, first go to Seleucia: most likely, Seleucia of Pieria, of which Strabo saith, that "it is the first city of Syria from Cilicia[j];" to which Pliny assenteth, when he measureth the breadth of Syria, from Seleucia of Pieria to Zeugma upon Euphrates[k]. The reason of their going thither may be judged to be, that they might take ship for Cyprus, whither they intended; for that this was a port, appeareth by what follows in Strabo, when he saith, "That from Seleucia to Soli, is about a thousand furlongs sail:" and so it is plain in Luke's text, when he saith, "They departed unto Seleucia, and from thence they sailed to Cyprus:" where let us now follow them.

Cyprus was a country so exceeding full of Jews, that it comes in for one in that strange story, that Dion Cassius relates in the life of Trajan. "The Jews (saith he) that dwelt about Cyrene, choosing one Andrew for their captain, slew the Greeks and Romans, and eat their flesh, and devoured their inwards, and besmeared themselves with their blood, and wore their skins. Many they sawed asunder, from the head downward; others they cast to wild beasts: many they made to slay one another: so that there were two hundred and twenty thousand destroyed in this manner. There was the like slaughter made in Egypt and Cyprus, where there also perished two hundred and forty thousand. From whence it is, that a Jew may not since come into Cyprus: and if any, by storms at sea, be driven in thither, they are slain. But the Jews were subdued by others; but especially by Lucius, whom Trajan sent thither."—This was the native country of Barnabas[l].

Although these two apostles were sent to the Gentiles, yet was it so far from excluding their preaching to the Jews, that they constantly began with them, first, in all places where they came.

They begin at Salamis, the place next their landing,

[j] Geogr. lib. 14. [k] Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 12. [l] Acts, iv. 36.

" and there they preached in the synagogues of the Jews," having John Mark for their minister.

From thence they travelled, preaching up and down in the island, till they come to Paphos, which was at the very farther part of it, towards the south-west angle. There they meet with a magical Jew called Bar-jesus, and commonly titled Elymas, which is the same in sense with Magus. Such Jewish deceivers as this went up and down the countries to oppose the gospel, and to show magical tricks and wonders, for the stronger confirming of their opposition. Such were the " vagabond Jews, exorcists[m];" and of such our Saviour spake[n]; and of some such we may give examples out of their own Talmudical writers. And here we may take notice of a threefold practice of opposition, that the Jews used in these times, and forward, against the gospel, and the spreading of it, besides open persecution unto blood.

1. Much about these times, was made the prayer that hath been mentioned, which was called ברכת מינים " The prayer against heretics;" which became, by injunction, one of their daily prayers. Maimonides speaketh the matter and intent of it in his treatise Tephillah[o], in these words: " In the days of Rabban Gamaliel, heretics increased in Israel" [by 'heretics,' he meaneth those, that turned from Judaism to Christianity]; " and they troubled Israel, and persuaded them to turn from their religion. He, seeing this to be a matter of exceeding great consequence, more than any thing else, stood up, he and his Sanhedrim; and appointed a prayer, in which there was a petition to God, to destroy those heretics: and this he set among the common prayers, and appointed it to be in every man's mouth; and so their daily prayers became nineteen in number." So that they daily prayed against Christians and Christianity.

2. The Jews had their emissaries every where abroad, that, to the utmost in them, cried down the gospel, preached against it, went about to confute it, and blasphemed it, and Christ that gave it: of this there is testimony abundant in the New Testament, and in the Jews' own writings.

And, 3. They were exceeding many of them skilled in magic, and, by that, did many strange things; by such false

[m] Acts, xix. 13. [n] Matt. xxiv. 24. [o] Cap. 2.

miracles, seeking to outface and vilify the divine miracles done by Christ and his apostles: and striving to confirm their own doctrines, which opposed the gospel, by backing them with such strange and wondrous actings. Juchasin speaks of Abba Chelchiah, and Chamin, and Chamina Ben Dusa, מלומדים בניסים "men skilled in miracles[p]:" and the Jerusalem Talmud speaks of their enchantings, and magical tricks[q],—nay, even of their charming, "in the name of Jesu[r]."

Paul miraculously strikes Elymas blind, and enlightens Sergius Paulus with the light of the gospel. This was at Paphos, where old superstition dreamed of the blind god, Cupid. Doting Elymas, grope for thy fellow. The first miracle, wrought among the Gentiles, is striking a perverse Jew blind; which thing may very well become an allegory.

From Paphos, they go to Perga, in Pamphylia; and there John departs from them, and returns to Jerusalem: but what was the occasion, is hard to conjecture. Whether it were, that he heard of Peter's trouble and danger, that he had been in at Jerusalem, and desired to see him,—for that he had some special interest and familiarity with Peter, may be collected from 1 Pet. v. 13; and in that Peter was so well acquainted at his mother's house, Acts xii. 12, &c:—or whether in regard of this his relation to Peter, the minister of the circumcision, he made it nice to go among the Gentiles, into the thickest of which he saw they were coming every day more than other. For at Paphos, where they had last been, was a temple of Venus,—and at Perga, where they now are, was a temple of Diana[s]:—or, whatsoever the matter was, his departure was so unwarrantable, that it made a breach betwixt him and Paul for the present,—nay, it occasioned a breach betwixt Paul and Barnabas afterward. And so we leave him in his journey to Jerusalem; whither when he came, he stayed there, till Paul and Barnabas came thither again.

ACTS, chap. XII, from ver. 20 to ver. 24.

HEROD'S death was in the beginning of this year, the fourth of Claudius, or near unto it, according
44 *Christ.* as Josephus helpeth us to compute; who testi-

[p] Fol. 20. [q] In Shabb. fol. 8. col. 2, 3. Sanhedr. fol. 25. col. 4.
[r] Shabb. fol. 14. col. 4. [s] Strab. lib. 14. Pomp. Mela, lib. 1. cap. 14.

4 *Claudius.* fieth, that the third year of his reign was completed a little before his death[t]. He left behind him a son of seventeen years old, in regard of whose minority, and thereby unfitness to reign, Claudius sent Cuspius Fadus to govern his kingdom. His daughters were Berenice, sixteen years old, married to Herod, king of Chalcis, her father's brother; and Mariam, ten years old; and Drusilla six, who afterward married Felix.

ACTS, chap. XIII, from ver. 14 to the end of the chapter; and chap. XIV.

AT the fifteenth chapter, we have some fastness of the time, viz. in what year, the council at Je-
45—49 *Christ.* rusalem, as it is commonly called, did
5—9 *Claudius.* occur: which certainty we have not of the times of the occurrences henceforward thitherto. So that since we cannot determinately point any passage to its proper year, we must cast them in gross under this gross sum of years, and distribute them to their proper seasons, by the best conjecture we can.

From Perga, in Pamphylia, Paul and Barnabas come to Antioch, in Pisidia; and, on the sabbath-day, going into the synagogue, are invited by the rulers of the synagogue, after the reading of the law and prophets, to speak a word of exhortation to the people. But how could the rulers know, that they were men fit to teach? It may be answered, By former converse with them in the city; and it is very like, that the rulers themselves had drunk in some affection to the gospel by converse with them, which made them so ready to urge them to preach. For it is not imaginable, that this was the first time that they had seen them, nor that they came to town that very day; but that they had had some converse before.

Paul preacheth: and, the synagogue broke up and the Jews gone out, the Gentiles desired, that the same words might be preached to them in the week between, εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον: namely, on the 'second and fifth days of the week' following, which were synagogue-days, on which

[t] Vid. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 7.

they met in the synagogues as on the sabbath-day: and which days, their traditions said, were appointed for that purpose by Ezra[u]. Their preaching on those days had so wrought, that, on the next sabbath, almost all the city was gathered together to hear the word: and many of the Gentiles receive it; but the Jews stirred up some female unbelieving proselytes against them, and some of the chief of the city, so that they drave them out of those coasts; and they, shaking off the dust of their feet against them, go to Iconium. This ceremony, enjoined them by their Master[v], was not so much for any great business, put in the thing itself; as that, even from a tenet of their own, they might show how they were to be reputed of. It was their own maxim, That "the dust of a heathen country or city did defile, or make a person unclean." Tosaphta, ad Kelim, cap. 1, hath this saying; "In three things, Syria was like unto any heathen land: the dust of it made a person unclean, as the dust of any other heathen country did," &c. So that their shaking off the dust of their feet against them, was to show, that they reputed them and their city as heathenish.

ACTS, chap. XIV.

AT Iconium they continue long, and with good effect; but at last, they are in danger of stoning, and thereupon they slip away to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and "to the region that lieth round about." That region, Strabo describeth, lib. 12; where, among other particulars, he tells, that Derbe lay coasting upon Isauria; and, in his time, was under the dominion of Amyntas. At Lystra, or Derbe, Paul converteth Lois, and Eunice, and Timothy; and, as some will tell you, here, or at Iconium, he converteth Tecla. For healing a cripple, they are first accounted gods; but presently, by persuasion of some Jews, Paul is stoned; but, being reputed dead, recovereth miraculously. From thence they go to Derbe, and return to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, and ordain elders in those churches. Χειροτονήσαντες, ver. 24, is improperly rendered here, "Per suffragia creantes presbyteros:" for so they could not do; there not being a

[u] Talm. in Bava Kamma, cap. 7. R. Sol. and Nissim in Chetuboth, cap. 1. in Alphes. [v] Matt. x. 14.

man, in all these churches, fit to be chosen a minister, or qualified with abilities for that function,—unless the apostles, by imposition of hands, bestow the Holy Ghost upon them, which might enable them. For the churches being but newly planted, and the people but lately converted, it would be hard to find any among them so thoroughly completed in the knowledge of the gospel as to be a minister: but by the apostles' hands they receive the Holy Ghost, and so are enabled. It is true, indeed, the Greek word, in the first sense, denoteth suffrages, but that is not the only sense. And so doth the word סמך, in the proper sense, signify 'laying on of hands,'—yet there was סמיכות ordination that was without it. כיצד היא הסמיכת לדורות "How is ordination to be for perpetuity? Not that they lay their hands on the head of the elder; but call him Rabbi, and say, Behold, thou art ordained[w]," &c.

ACTS, chap. XV.

We are now come up to the council at Jerusalem. The occasion of which was, the busy stirring of some, who would have brought the yoke of Mosaic observances upon the neck of the converted Gentiles. Multitudes of the Jews that believed, yet were zealous of the law[x]; and it was hard to get them off from those rites, in which they had been ever trained up, and which had been, as it were, an inheritance to them from their fathers: this bred this disturbance at the present, and, in time, an apostasy from the gospel of exceeding many. Antiquity hath held, that Cerinthus was the chief stickler in this business; but whosoever it was that kindled it, it was a spark enough to have fired all, had it not been timely prevented.

50 *Christ.*
10 *Claudius.*

Paul and Barnabas, who had chiefly to deal in the ministration to the Gentiles, are sent from Antioch to Jerusalem, to consult the apostles about this matter. This is the same journey and occasion that is spoken of, Gal. ii. 1, 2; "Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus with me. And I went up by revelation," &c. Not but that he was sent by the church, as Luke hath asserted

[w] Maim. in Sanhedr. 4. [x] Acts, xxi. 20.

here, ver. 2; but that the church was directed, by revelation, to take this course for the settling of the question,—namely, to send up to the apostles at Jerusalem. And hence we may fix the time of this business, if it be resolved, from whence the beginning of these fourteen years is to be dated,—namely, whether he mean fourteen years after his first conversion, or fourteen after his former journey to Jerusalem, mentioned Gal. i. 18; which he took three years after his conversion. The latter is the more undoubted, upon these two observations:—1. It were exceeding obscure, and is exceeding unagreeable to Scripture-accounting, to reckon the latter sum, of fourteen years, from the time of his conversion, and not from the number or time that went next before,—which was his being at Jerusalem three years after he was converted. 2. His scope in that his discourse is, not to show barely what journeys he took to Jerusalem after his conversion; but to show how long he preached among the Gentiles and abroad out of Judea time after time; and yet, when he came to the apostles to Jerusalem, they found no fault with him, nor with the course he took in his ministry. 'After I was converted I went not to Jerusalem to consult the apostles; but went into Arabia, and back again to Damascus, and so preached up and down, one utterly unknown by face to the apostles; yet when, after three years thus doing, I came up to Peter, the minister of the circumcision,—he was so far from contrarying the course that I had gone, that he gave me fifteen days' entertainment. And, after that time, I went through Syria and Cilicia, and abroad among the Gentiles; yet, after fourteen years' employment in this kind, when I went up to Jerusalem again, I found fair respect with the apostles, and they gave me the right hand of fellowship.' This drift of the apostle being observed in that place, which cannot be denied, if his main purpose through the whole Epistle be observed,—it evidently stateth the time of this journey to Jerusalem to be seventeen years after his conversion.

When Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem, they applied themselves singularly[y] to Peter, James, and John, the ministers of the circumcision,—and imparted to them the doc-

[y] Κατ' ἰδίαν.

trine, and manner of dealing, that they had used among the Gentiles[z]. And this they did, that they might clear themselves of all false rumours, that might be laid to their charge [as if they crossed the doctrine and mind of the apostles]; and that they might have their judgment and concurrence along with them. With Paul there was Titus, who hitherto had been uncircumcised, all along in his attending and accompanying Paul: and even now at Jerusalem, though he were before the apostles of the circumcision, yet was he not forced to be circumcised there neither; because there were some false brethren, who lay upon the catch to observe and scandal the liberty of the gospel, that the apostles used; and they were unwilling to give way to them in any such condescension, lest they should have wronged the gospel. For though Paul allowed the circumcision of Timothy,—and though even these apostles persuaded Paul to use some of the Mosaic ceremonies[a], for avoiding offence to the weak, and for the more winning of those that were well satisfied; —yet would they not yield an inch in any such thing to these catchpoles, that lay upon the lurch, to spy out something, if it might have been, whereby they might have disgraced the gospel.

Well: the result of the apostles' conference is, that the three of the circumcision, neither detracted from what the two of the uncircumcision had done already, nor added any more things to be done by them hereafter: but they agree, that Paul and Barnabas should go to the heathen, and they themselves to the circumcision: desiring only, that, though they went among the Gentiles, yet they would remember the poor of the circumcision;—which they consented to, and all was well concluded betwixt them.

But they that urged for the imposition of Moses's yoke, would not be so satisfied, but the matter must come to a public canvas; and so the elders also met together with those apostles to consider of it.

Peter would have none of Moses's burdens laid upon the Gentiles, because he himself had seen them to have been partakers of the Holy Ghost, in as free and full a measure, as they had been, that had been most Mosaical. Paul and

[z] Gal. ii. 2. [a] Acts, xxi. 24.

Barnabas affirmed, that they had seen the like; and, therefore, what needed the Gentiles to be troubled with these observances, seeing they were so eminent in gifts of the Spirit, as well as they of the circumcision; and what could these add to them? But James findeth out a temper betwixt those that would have all these yokes imposed, and those that would have none,—that so the Jews might have the less offence, and the Gentiles no burden neither: and that was, that the Gentiles might be required to refrain from eating things offered to idols, and strangled, and blood, and fornication. The three first were now become things indifferent, however strictly they had been imposed by the law before; Christ having, by his death, done down the partition-wall, and laid these things aside as useless, when there was to be no distinction of meats or nations any more: yet, because the Jews were so glued to these things, that the tearing of them away suddenly, would, in a manner, have fetched up skin and flesh and all,—therefore, the whole council, upon the motion of James, think it fit, that the Gentiles should thus far Judaize, till time and fuller acquaintance with the gospel might make both Jews and Gentiles to lay these now needless niceties aside.

The Jews, about these things, had these canons, among many others:—

"These things of idolatry are forbidden, and their prohibition meaneth the prohibition of their use:—Wine and vinegar, used in idolatry, which at first was wine, &c. And flesh that was brought in for idolatry, is permitted to be used" [viz. before it was offered]; "but what is brought out, is prohibited[b]."

"And bottles and cans used in idolatry, and an Israelite's wine put in them, are prohibited to be used."

"A beast, offered to an idol, is forbidden for any use: yea, even his dung, bones, horns, hoofs, skin: yea, though there were only a hole cut in the beast to take out the heart, and that alone offered[c]." Divers other things, used in idolatry, are mentioned and prohibited.

The observing of all which helpeth to clear the distinction of the words used in the text,—namely, ἀλισγήματα τῶν

[b] Avodah Zarah, cap. 2. [c] Maimon. in Avodah Zarah, cap. 7.

εἰδώλων and εἰδωλόθυτα, for these properly were not one and the same thing; for every ἀλίσγημα τῶν εἰδώλων was not εἰδωλόθυτον; but, 'e contra,' every εἰδωλόθυτον was ἀλίσγημα. For divers things were used at an idolatrous offering, which themselves were not offered,—as knives, dishes, and the like, which cannot be called εἰδωλόθυτα; and yet, by these traditions, were profane and unclean, and prohibited to be used.

About 'not eating of blood,' they expounded the prohibition of the law in that point, unto this purpose; "He that eats blood to the quantity of an olive, if presumptuously, he is to be cut off; and if ignorantly, he is to bring a sin-offering[d]."

By 'things strangled,' their canons understood any thing that died of itself, or that was not killed as it ought to be. "And he that eat, to the quantity of an olive, of the flesh of any cattle that died of itself, or of any beast, or any fowl, that died of itself,—was to be whipped; as it is said, Ye shall eat no carcass: and whatsoever was not slain as was fitting, is reputed as if dying of itself[e]." Therefore, they had their rules about killing any beast, that they were to eat; of which the Talmudic treatise Cholin discusseth at large.

Now, as concerning 'fornication;'—it is controverted, first, whether it mean bodily or spiritual: and, secondly, how it cometh to be ranked among things indifferent [as the other named were]; itself being of no such indifferency, whethersoever is meant, the one or the other. The former, certainly, is not meant; for the word ἀλισγήματα εἰδώλων reacheth that to the full, and more needed not to be spoken to that point: the latter, therefore, is meant: but why named here with things indifferent? Not because it was indifferent, as well as they: nor because it was so very offensive to the Jews, as were the other: for they made but little of fornication themselves, according to the common taking of the word 'fornication:' but 'fornication' here seemeth to translate their word עריות, that meaneth with them, 'marriages in degrees prohibited:' which the Gentiles made no matter about: and so the apostles would bring the convert Gentiles under obedience of the law[f].

[d] Talm. in Cherithuth, cap. 1. and 5. Maim. in Maacaloth Asuroth, cap. 6.
[e] Talm. in Zebachin, cap. 7. Maim. ubi supra, cap. 1. [f] Lev. xviii.

Before we part from this council, as it is commonly called,—we may thus far take notice of the nature of it, as to observe, that it was not a convention premeditated and solemnly summoned, but only occasional and emergent; and that it was only of those apostles and elders, that were at Jerusalem at the instant, when the matter from Antioch was brought thither: and the other apostles, that were abroad, were not fetched in,—nor, indeed, needed any such thing: for the message from Antioch required not so much the number of voices, as the resolves of those apostles, that had especially to deal with the circumcision: and whom the Antiochian church doubted not to find ready at Jerusalem.

The matter being determined, letters are despatched, with the decrees, unto the churches, by Paul and Barnabas, and Judas and Silas: they come to Antioch, and there abide a while: and at last go their several ways; Judas to Jerusalem, —and Paul, Barnabas, and Silas, away among the Gentiles.

It was the agreement between Paul and Barnabas, on the one party,—and Peter, James, and John, on the other,— that those two should go among the Gentiles, and these three among the circumcision[g]. James abode at Jerusalem, as the residentiary apostle of that country[h]; and there, at last, he suffered martyrdom. Peter and John went abroad among the Jews dispersed in foreign parts: so that, at last, you have Peter at Babylon, in the east,—and John at Patmos, in the west:—and by this we may guess, how they parted their employment between them.

When Paul and Barnabas are to set forth, they disagree about Mark's going with them. Barnabas, being his uncle, would have had his company; but Paul denied it, because of his departure from them before. Mark, it seemeth, was at Antioch at this time [and it may be a query, whether Peter were not there also[i]]:—and when the contest betwixt Paul and Barnabas was so sharp, that they part asunder,—Barnabas taketh Mark, and Paul Silas, and go their several ways; and it is questionable, whether they ever saw one another's faces any more. Only Paul and Mark were reconciled again, and came into very near society; as we shall observe afterward.

[g] Gal. ii. 9. [h] Gal. ii. 13. Acts, xxi. 18. [i] Gal. ii. 11.

ACTS, chap. XVI.

PAUL and Silas, having travelled through Syria and Cilicia, come to Derbe and Lystra: there he
51 *Christ.* circumciseth Timothy, whom he intended to
11 *Claudius.* take along with him, and to breed him for his successor in the ministry after his death. Timothy was a young man of very choice education, parts, and hopes; and some remarkable prophecies and predictions had been given concerning him, what an instrument he should prove in the gospel,—which made Paul to fix upon him, as one designed for him from heaven.

They set forth and travel Phrygia and Galatia; and, when they would have gone into Asia and Bithynia, the Spirit forbade them, because the Lord would hasten them into Macedonia unto a new work, and such a one as they had not meddled withal till now; and that was, to preach to a Roman plantation, for so the text doth intimate that Philippi was, ver. 12, and ver. 21: and so saith Pliny[j]. Paul had, indeed, been always in the Roman dominions; but still among other nations,—as Jews, Greeks, Syrians, and the like; but we read not, that he was in any city of Romans till here. And his going to preach to that people is so remarkable, that the text seemeth to have set two or three notable badges upon it. For that nation lieth under so many sad brands in Scripture, and lay under so great an abominating by the Jews, that the gospel's entering among them, hath these three singular circumstances to advertise of it:—1. That the Spirit diverted Paul from Asia and Bithynia, to hasten him thither. 2. That he was called thither by a special vision, the like invitation to which he had not in all his travels to any other place. 3. The penman doth not join himself in the story till this very time. For hitherto, having spoken in the third person, 'he' and 'they,'—as, '*He* came to Derbe,' ver. 1. '*They* went through the cities,' ver. 4, &c;—he cometh now to join himself, and to use the word *we* and *us:* "After he had seen the vision, immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us;*" ver. 10.

[j] Lib. 4. cap. 11.

Yet was this city mixed also of abundance of Jews living among them, as that people was now dispersed and sowed in the most places of the empire, from Rome itself eastward, however it was on this side.—On the sabbath, by a river-side, where the women, it seemed, used their bathings for purification, and where was a synagogue, they preach and convert Lydia a proselytess; and she is instantly baptized, and her household, before she go home, for aught can be found otherwise in the text: from whence we may observe, what believing gave admission to baptism to whole households. In this Roman colony, it is observable, that the synagogue is called 'proseucha,' and that it is out of the town.

Paul casteth out a spirit of divination, and is, thereupon, beaten and imprisoned, he and Silas; but enlarged by an earthquake: and the jailor is converted; and he and his family instantly baptized. After a little while, Paul and Silas depart, having laid the foundation of a very eminent church, as it proved afterward: from which Paul, in his Epistle thither, acknowledgeth as many tokens of love received, as from any church that he had planted: and to which he made as many visits afterward. When he departeth, he had ordained no ministers there, for aught can be gathered from the text; and, it may be, he did not, till his return thither again; which was the course he had used in other churches[k]. He speaketh of divers fellow-labourers, that he had there in the gospel, both men and women[l]; which cannot be understood of preaching, but that these being converted, they used their best endeavour, to persuade others to embrace the same religion, &c.

ACTS, chap. XVII.

PAUL and Silas, or Silvanus, and Timothy, come to Thessalonica, where they make many converts, but, withal, find very much opposition. In three weeks' space, or very little more, they convert some Jews, many proselytes, and not a few of the chief Gentiles,—women of the city: which number, considered with the shortness of the time in which so many were brought in, and the bitterness they endured from

[k] Acts, xiv. 23. [l] Phil. iv. 3.

the unbelieving, made their piety to be exceedingly renowned all abroad[m].

Persecution driveth the apostles to Beræa, another town of Macedonia[n]: there they found persons better bred, and better learned, than that rabble, mentioned ver. 5, that they had met withal at Thessalonica. The Jews called their learned men בני חורין, 'filii nobilium:' it may be Luke's εὐγενέστεροι (ver. 11), translates that.—The rabble from Thessalonica brings the persecution hither also, so that Paul is glad to depart to Athens; but Silas and Timothy abide at Beræa still.

At Athens, there was a synagogue of Jews and proselytes (ver. 17); so that it is undoubted, the scholars of the university had heard from them the report of the true God: therefore, Paul is not so much cried out upon, for telling them of the true God, in opposition to the false, as for preaching of Jesus crucified, risen, and glorified, which neither they, nor even the Jews' synagogue there, had ever heard of before: for this he is convented before their great court of Areopagus, where his discourse converts one of that bench, Dionysius.

ACTS, chap. XVIII.

FROM Athens, Paul cometh to Corinth. "Urbs olim clara opibus, post clade notior, nunc Romana colonia," saith Pomp. Mela[o]. A little view of the city may not be useless. It stood in the isthmus, or that neck of land, that lay and gave passage betwixt Peloponnesus and Attica: upon which isthmus the sea pointing in, on either hand, made Corinth a famous and a wealthy mart-town, by two havens that it had at a reasonable distance from it on either side it,—the one Lechæum, at which they took shipping for Italy, and those western parts; and the other Cenchrea, at which they took shipping for Asia: merchandise arriving at these ports, from those several parts of the world, was brought to Corinth, which lay much in the middle between them; and so this city became the great exchange for those parts. It lay at the foot of a high promontory, called, Acrocorinthus, or the 'Pike of Corinth.' The compass of the city

[m] 1 Thess. i. 6—8. [n] Plin. l. 4. c. 10. [o] Lib. 2. cap. 3.

was some forty furlongs, or five miles about, being strongly walled. In it was a temple of Venus; so ample a foundation, that it had above a thousand nuns [such nuns as Venus had] to attend upon it. The city was sacked by L. Mummius, the Roman general, as for some other offence that it had given to that state,—so, more especially, for some abuse showed to the Roman ambassadors there. But it was repaired again by the Romans, and made a colony[p].

Paul, coming hither, findeth Priscilla and Aquila, lately come from Italy, because of Claudius's decree, which had expelled all the Jews from Rome. Of this decree, Suetonius speaketh, as he is generally understood[q]: "Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes, Roma expulit:" "Claudius expelled the Jews out of Rome, who continually tumultuated because of Christ."—In some copies it is written 'Christo;' but so generally interpreted by Christians in the sense mentioned, that we shall not at all dispute it. The same quarrel was got to Rome with the gospel, that did attend it in all parts of the world, where it came among the Jews, they still opposing it, and contesting against it, and so breeding tumultuousness.

The apostle, here, in a strange place, and out of moneys, betaketh himself to work with his hands for his subsistence, as also he did in other places upon the same exigent. His work was to make tents of skins, such as the soldiery used to lodge in, when they were in the field: hence the phrase, 'Esse sub pellibus.' This trade he learned before he set to his studies. It was the custom of the Jewish nation to set their children to some trade,—yea, though they were to be students. "What is commanded a father towards his son? To circumcise him, to redeem him, to teach him the law, to teach him a trade, and to take him a wife. R. Judah saith, He that teacheth not his son a trade, does as if he taught him to be a thief. Rabban Gamaliel saith, He that hath a trade in his hand, to what is he like? He is like to a vineyard that is fenced[r]." So some of the great wise men of Israel had been cutters of wood[s]. And not to instance in

[p] Vid. Strabo, lib. 8. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 4.
[q] In Claudio, cap. 25. edit. Wolf. vol. 2. p. 48.
[r] Tosapht. in Kiddushin, cap. 1. [s] Maim. in Talm. Torah, cap. 1.

any others, as might be done in divers; "Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, that was, at this instant, vice-president of the Sanhedrim, was a merchant four years, and then he fell to study the law[t]." Paul had power and warrant to challenge maintenance for preaching, as he intimateth many times over in his Epistles; but there was not yet any church at Corinth to maintain him; and when there was, he would take nothing of the Gentiles, for the greater honour and promotion of the gospel[u].

He frequenteth the synagogue every sabbath, and there reasoneth and persuadeth divers, both Jews and Greeks. "But when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, he was pressed in spirit, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ;" they having brought him tidings of the great proficiency and piety of Macedonian churches,—namely, the Philippian and Thessalonian[v]: upon whose example he was the more earnest to bring the Jews of Corinth on; but they oppose and blaspheme: whereupon, he, and Silas, and Timothy, set to work to build up the Gentiles there. The converts in this place were, Crispus and Gaius, and the household of Stephanas[w], and Epenetus[x]. He is called "the first-fruits of Achaia," and so is "the household of Stephanas[y];" converted at his first coming thither. He now sets upon a new task, having the Lord's encouragement by a vision by night; and so he stayeth at Corinth a year and a half.

In the time of this his abode there, he writeth

The FIRST EPISTLE to the THESSALONIANS,

which was the first Epistle that he wrote.

The postscript, affixed to that Epistle, doth date it from Athens [as it seemeth] because of that passage in chap. iii. 1; "We thought it good to be left at Athens alone:" whereas, 1. There was a church in Achaia, when Paul wrote this Epistle[z]: now there was none there, while Paul was at Athens; for from thence he went to Achaia, and began to plant the church at Corinth. 2. Timothy and Silas were

[t] Juchasin, fol. 21. [u] See 1 Cor. ix. 6. 11, 12.
[v] See Acts, xvii. 14. 1 Thess. i. 8, and iii. 6. [w] 1 Cor. i. 14, &c.
[x] Rom. xvi. 5. [y] 1 Cor. xvi. 15. [z] Chap. i. 7.

joint writers with the apostle of this Epistle[a]. Now, if they were with him at Athens, whilst he abode there, which, it may be, they were, at least one of them[b],—yet was not the Epistle then written: for it is questionable, whether Silas was there; and Timothy went a messenger thither, and returned again, before this was written[c]. The time of its writing, therefore, was, when Timothy and Silas with him returned from Macedonia, and came to Paul at Corinth[d]; and Timothy, who had been sent thither purposely, gives a comfortable account of their faith and constancy. So that this Epistle was written from Corinth, somewhat within the beginning of the first year of Paul's abode there.

In it, among other things, he characterizeth the condition of the unbelieving Jews[e]; for the Thessalonian church, from its first planting, had been exceedingly molested with them.

He saith, "The wrath is come upon them to the utmost:" which whether it mean passively, that the wrath of God lay so heavy upon them,—or actively, that in their vexation and anger against the Gentiles, that was come upon them, that was foretold for a plague to them[f],—it showeth, that that nation was now become unrecoverable: and so he looks upon it as the 'antichrist' in the next Epistle, as we shall observe there.

Paul abiding still at Corinth, a tumult is raised against him, and he is brought before the tribunal of Gallio, the proconsul; who, refusing to judge in matters of that nature [because the Jews themselves had power to judge such matters in their own synagogue], the people become their own carvers, and beat Sosthenes even before the tribunal. This Gallio was brother of Seneca, the famous court-philosopher, Nero's tutor: and of him, Seneca giveth this high encomium, in the preface to his fourth book of Natural Questions: "I used to tell thee" [saith he, to his friend Lucius], "that my brother Gallio, whom no man loves not a little, if he can love no more, is not acquainted with other vices; but this of flattery he hates. Thou hast tried him on all hands. Thou hast begun to praise his disposition,—he would go

[a] Chap. i. 1. [b] 1 Thess. iii. 1. [c] Chap. iii. 6. [d] Acts, xviii. 5.
[e] 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16. [f] Deut. xxxii. 21.

away. Thou hast begun to praise his frugality,—he would presently cut thee off at the first words. Thou hast begun to admire his affability and unaffected sweetness,—for there is no mortal man so dear to any, as he to all;—and here also he withstood thy flatteries; insomuch, that thou criedst out, That thou hadst found a man impregnable against those snares, that every one takes into his bosom." And again, in Epist. 104, "Gallio (saith he), when he was in Achaia, and began to have a fever, he presently took ship, crying out, That it was not the disease of the body, but of the place."—To him he dedicates his treatise 'de Beata Vita.' See more of this Gallio, Tacit. Annal. 15. sect. 11.

From Corinth, in the time of his present abode there [but whether before this tumult before Gallio, or after, is not much material], Paul writeth

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS,

whilst he, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, were there together[g], as they had been at the writing of the First.

The exceeding much trouble and persecution that this church had suffered from the unbelieving Jews, from its first planting[h], gave the apostle just occasion, whilst he was present with them, to discourse with them, and to inform them, concerning the condition, and carriage, and end, of that nation: that they might be settled, and resolved to bear all whatsoever they should suffer from that accursed people and generation: and here he taketh up the same discourse again for their farther establishment.

Besides outward molestation, and affliction of their bodies, there were false teachers, that troubled their minds, and especially with these two puzzles:—1. To make them to doubt, what became of them that died in the faith and profession of Jesus: for whereas the apostle handles the matter of the resurrection in the former Epistle[i], I cannot suppose, that he doth it to them as to men of the Sadducee opinion, denying the resurrection,—or as to men, that had never heard of the resurrection before; for all the Jews, set the Sadducees aside, did assuredly believe it: but because that the opposers

[g] 2 Thess. i. 1. [h] Acts, xvii. 5, &c. 1 Thess. i. 6, and ii. 14. and 2 Thess. i. 4.
[i] Chap. iv. 14.

of the gospel, had buzzed to them their lost condition after death, for their revolting from the Jewish religion, and becoming apostates [as they reputed it] to the gospel. The tenth chapter of the treatise 'Sanhedrim,' that names certain sorts of people, that must not inherit the world to come, gives us good cause to suppose, that this was no small terror, that those envious opposers would perplex the minds of those withal, who had forsaken the Jewish religion, and betaken themselves to the profession of Christ. The Talmudic place, cited, speaketh thus: "All Israel hath a share in the world to come; as it is said, Thy people shall all of them be righteous: but these have no share in the world to come,—he that saith, The resurrection is not taught in the law; and that the law is not from God; and Epicurus." Now, by 'Epicurus' they mean not 'luxurious ones,' as the word 'epicure' is commonly used by us; but, as the Gemara explains it there, "המבזה תח "One that despiseth their doctors:" and elsewhere they yoke it with משומדים "apostates;" המשומדין והאפיקורוסין "apostates and epicures[j]:" and so they brought all, that started from the vain doctrine of their traditionaries, under this title, and under that terror of having no share in the world to come. 2. They went about to perplex the mind of these converts with urging, how near "the day of the Lord" was. The Scripture and the apostle had spoken of "the day of the Lord's coming;" when he should come to take vengeance of the Jewish nation, for their wickedness and unbelief: and these would terrify this church with inculcating the nearness of it; pretending, for this, partly, revelation,—and partly, the words or writing of the apostle. The aim, in this terror, was to amaze the new believers, and to puzzle them about what to hold, and what to do, in that sad time, which, they pretended, was ready to fall upon their heads. The apostle resolves, that there was some good space of time to be before; for there was first to be "a falling away," and "the man of sin" to be revealed.

The phrase, "the man of sin and child of perdition," is plainly taken from that place, Isa. xi. 4; "With the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked one:" and the apostle

[j] Rosh hashanah, cap. 1.

makes it clear that he referreth to that place, by using the very words of the prophet, at ver. 8: "Whom the Lord shall consume with the breath of his mouth." The Jews put an emphasis upon that word in the prophet, 'the wicked one:' as it appeareth by the Chaldee paraphrast, who hath uttered it ארמילום רשיעא "He shall destroy the wicked Roman:" and so the apostle puts an emphasis upon it, and translates it "the man of sin:" and in that Christ is introduced in the prophet, as having a special quarrel and vengeance against him, he is called "the son of perdition," or he, that is so certainly and remarkably to be destroyed. It is true, this meaneth the Roman,—as the Chaldee, and our protestant divines, by the warrant of John in the Revelation, do interpret it: but, in the first place and sense, it meaneth the Jewish nation, which proved antichrist, as well as Rome ever did, and as far as Rome ever did, and before Rome ever did, and as long and longer than Rome hath yet done. As Jews and Rome joined in the murder of Christ,—so are they joined in this character of antichrist; but the Jews to be understood first: see ver. 7; "The mystery of iniquity was already working," when the apostle wrote this Epistle, which cannot possibly be understood but of the Jewish nation; and so it is explained again and again[k].

The several characters, that the apostle gives of "the man of sin," agree most thoroughly to that generation and nation; and so the Scripture plainly applies them to it.

1. There was "a falling away" in that nation of multitudes, that had embraced the gospel. See, Matt. xxiv. 12, Christ foretelling it; and Paul from thence[l], by "the latter times," that he there speaks of; meaning, the last days of Jerusalem and the Jewish state, as the phrase is used in that sense abundantly. Such apostasy may be observed hinted in the Epistle to the Galatians, to the Hebrews, Colossians, Rev. ii. 4, 2 Tim. i. 15; and, to spare more, observe the conclusion of that parable, "So shall it be with this wicked generation[m]." The devil was once cast out of it by the gospel, but returned by their apostasy.

[k] 1 John, ii. 18, and iv. 3. and 2 John, ver. 7, &c.

[l] 1 Tim. iv. 1.

[m] Matt. xii. 43—45.

2. How this nation was the ὁ Αντικείμενος, 'the great opposer' of the gospel, needeth no instance to any, that hath read the New Testament. And he, that reads the Jewish records, shall find evidence enough of it; of which we have given some brief account, at Acts xiii.

3. Ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα. "Which exalts himself against every thing that is called God, or worshipped:" were it ἐπὶ θεὸν, "against God," it were most true, to the very letter; their scribes, in the temple of God itself, sitting and setting up their traditions above the commands of God[n]. But how they exalted themselves against every thing called God, or the magistracy, and those that were set over them, we may observe in such passages as these,—"They despise government[o]," &c. "They despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities[p]," &c. and in their own stories to endless examples.

4. As for the fourth mark, mentioned ver. 9,—namely, his "coming after the working of Satan," with all magical power and delusion, our Saviour had foretold it of that generation; Matt. xxiv. 24, compared with ver. 34 of that chapter: and it is abundantly asserted by Scripture, by Josephus, and other of their own writers; as we have given some examples before.

Now, what the apostle meaneth, when he speaketh of one "that letted" [ver. 6, "And now ye know what withholdeth;" and, ver. 7, "He who now letteth, will let"],—is of some obscurity; we may, without offence, give this conjecture: As the term 'The day of the Lord,' is taken in Scripture, especially in this double sense, for 'his day of judging the Jewish nation,' and for 'his day of judging all the world;'—so are we to understand 'a falling away,' and 'a man of sin,' of the Jewish nation before the former; and 'a falling away' and 'antichrist,' betwixt the former and the latter. This last is readily concluded upon, to be the papacy;—and 'he that letted,' to mean the imperial power: but what was he that letted in the former, that the antichrist among the Jews was not revealed sooner? I should divide this stake betwixt Claudius the emperor [who, by his decree against the Jews in Rome[q], gave a check, by the appearance of his

[n] Matt. xv. 6. [o] 2 Pet. ii. 10. [p] Jude, ver. 8. [q] Acts, xviii. 2.

displeasure, to all the Jews elsewhere, that they durst not tyrannize against the gospel, whilst he lived, as they had done], and Paul himself; who, by his incessant travailing in the gospel, and combatting by the truth every where against the Jews, did keep down very much their delusions and apostasy, whilst he was at liberty and abroad: but when he was once laid up, then all went to ruin; as see Acts, xx. 29; 2 Tim. i. 15, &c.

Paul, when he departs from Corinth, leaves a church fairly planted there; but how soon, and how miserably, it grew degenerate, we shall meet with cause to observe, before it be long. He cometh to Ephesus; and, striving to get up to one of the feasts at Jerusalem, he leaves Priscilla and Aquila there. Thither, ere long, cometh Apollos, an excellent Scripture-man, but one that knew only the baptism of John; but they instruct him better. Not that these tent-makers turned preachers; but that, having had so much converse with Paul, they were able, in private conference, to inform Apollos better than yet he knew, from what they had learned from Paul.

ACTS, XIX, from ver. 1 to ver. 9.

Others at Ephesus there were, that were no farther gone in Christianity neither, than the knowledge of the baptism of John: Paul asks them, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost?" they answer, "We have not yet so much as heard, whether the Holy Ghost be." In which words, they refer to a common and a true tenet of the nation, which was, that 'after the death of Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the Holy Ghost departed from Israel and went up[r]:' and they profess, they had never yet heard of his restoring. And it is very probable, that they had never heard of Jesus; whom when Paul had preached to them, they embrace; and the text saith, "They were then baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus." Not that they were rebaptized; but that, now coming to the knowledge of the proper end of John's baptism,—namely, to believe in Jesus; as ver. 4,—they own their baptism to such an end and construction. For, 1. What need had they to be rebaptized, when, in that first baptism

[r] Juchas. fol. 15.

they had taken, they had come in to the profession of the gospel and of Christ, as far as the doctrine that had brought them in, could teach them? It was the change of their profession from Judaism to Evangelism, that required their being baptized; and not the degrees of their growth in the knowledge of the gospel, into the profession of which they had been baptized already. How many baptisms must the apostles have undergone, if every signal degree of their coming on to the perfect knowledge of the mystery of Christ, might have required,—nay, might have admitted,—a new baptizing? 2. If these men were rebaptized, then must the same be concluded of all that had received the baptism of John, when they came to the knowledge of Jesus: which as it is incredible, because there is not the least tittle of mention of such a thing,—so is it unimaginable in the case of those of the apostles, that were baptized by John; for who should baptize them again in the name of Jesus, since Jesus himself baptized none[s]? 3. These men had taken on them 'the baptism of repentance,' and the profession of Christ, in the baptism of John, that they had received: therefore, unless we will suppose a baptism of faith, different from the baptism of repentance,—and a baptism in the name of Jesus, different from the baptism in the name of Christ,—it will be hard to find a reason, why these men should undergo a new baptizing.

And if it should be granted [which is against reason to grant], that these men were really rebaptized, yet were not this a warrantable ground for rebaptization now, in regard of these main differences, betwixt the case then and now:—1. That great controversy then on foot, about, 'Whether Jesus were the true Messias or no,' which caused their rebaptization, if they were rebaptized. 2. The visible conferring of the Holy Ghost upon them, upon their baptism, if they were rebaptized: as being a main induction of such a thing, if such a thing were, that the name of Jesus might be so apparently glorified, upon their being baptized in the name of Jesus: which, indeed, was equally glorified, when they received those gifts upon their acknowledging of Jesus, and owning their baptism that they had of old been baptized

[s] John, iv. 3.

with, as a badge of that acknowledgment, though not baptized again.

ACTS, XIX, from ver. 9 to ver. 21.

THE apostle hath a long time to stay at Ephesus: in which he first begins, for the space of a quarter of a year, to dispute in the synagogue: and then, when divers were hardened and believed not, he separated the disciples, and disputed daily in the school of Tyrannus. Hitherto, what converts there were to the gospel, they resorted still to the public service in the synagogue, where Paul reasoned daily for the truth of the gospel: but finding dangerous opposition, he gets away the disciples from thence; and, in the school of one Tyrannus, they are a particular congregation.

53, 54 *Christ.*
13, 14 *Claudius.*

In these great towns, where there were many Jews, both in Judea and elsewhere, they had a synagogue and a divinity-school. This divinity-school they called 'Beth Midrash;' and thither they used to go every sabbath-day, after they had been at the synagogue: whereupon, they had this for a common proverb, מבית מקדש לבית מדרש: "From the synagogue to the divinity-school." In the synagogue, they had prayers and reading of the law, and plain sermons of doctrine, exhortation, and comfort: in the divinity-school, were discussed and taught dogmatical and controversial points concerning the difficulties of the law, and other high matters. And hence, it may be, those different titles and administrations of 'pastor' and 'teacher[t],' and "He that teacheth, and he that exhorteth[u]," took their pattern: if 'pastor' mean one of the ministerial function.

In the time of this stay of Paul at Ephesus, "He fought with beasts there, after the manner of men[v]:" which seemeth to be understood, of a proper θηριομαχία, or 'fighting with wild beasts' in the theatre; as was the barbarous and bestial custom of the Romans of those times. For, 1. Observe, in the hubbub of Demetrius, Paul's companions are haled presently into the theatre, ver. 29; as[w] if there the people had that, that would take a course with them. 2. Observe, that

[t] Eph. iv. 11. [u] Rom. xii. 7, 8. [v] 1 Cor. xv. 32.
[w] "Tanquam ad supplicii locum:" Leusd.

the 'Asiarchæ,' or 'theatre-officers,' are Paul's friends; as having knowledge and acquaintance of him and with him before. 3. Demetrius's uproar, which was the greatest danger that Luke hath mentioned of him, was not, till after he had written his Epistle to Corinth; in which he speaks of fighting with beasts; and, therefore, that could not be meant. 4. The phrase, κατ' Ἄνθρωπον, doth seem clearly to distinguish it from any combat in a borrowed sense. 5. The trouble that befel him in Asia, by which he was pressed above measure, and even despaired of life[w], cannot be understood so well of the tumult of Demetrius; for we read not of any hand laid upon Paul in it, as of some other danger nearer death.

In the latter year of these two above-written, which was part of Paul's last year at Ephesus, on the thirteenth day of October of that year, Claudius, the emperor, dieth, and Nero succeedeth him: a wretch, whose memory is not worth looking after, unless it be for detestation: yet must we, in our farther progress of viewing the actions of Paul, and ranking his Epistles, be beholden to the chronical observation of his years.

Paul himself saith to the elders of Ephesus, "By the space of three years" I ceased not to warn every one[x]; and yet Luke, in this chapter, specifieth only two years and a quarter, ver. 8. 10. The comparing of which two sums together, doth help us to measure the time of his abode there, mentioned from ver. 20 and forward;—namely, that he spent three months in disputing in the Jews' synagogue; and two years in the school of Tyrannus; and three quarters of a year after, in going up and down Asia. The expiration of his three years was about Pentecost, in the first year of Nero.

ACTS, chap. XIX, ver. 21, 22.

21. *"After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, When I have been there, I must also see Rome.*
22. *"So he sent into Macedonia, two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season."*

PAUL's thoughts of going to Rome, do argue the death

[w] 2 Cor. i. 8, 9. [x] Acts, xx. 31.

55 *Christ.* 1 *Nero.* of Claudius, who had banished all the Jews from thence[y], and that, by the coming in of Nero, a new emperor, that decree was extinct, and freedom of access to Rome opened to them again: for it can be little conceived, that Paul should think of going thither, when he could neither find any of his nation there, nor he himself come thither without certain hazard of his life: as the case would have been, if Claudius and his decree were yet alive. It is, therefore, agreeable to all reason, that the death of Claudius, and the succession of Nero, was now divulged; and Paul, thereupon, knowing that it was now lawful again for a Jew to go to Rome, intendeth to take a farewell journey and visit to Macedonia, Achaia, and Jerusalem; and then to go and preach there.

Claudius died the thirteenth day of October, as was said before; and Nero instantly succeeded him. A prince of so much clemency and mansuetude in the beginning of his reign, that Titus, the emperor, afterward used to say, that the best princes exceeded not the five first years of Nero, in goodness. And Seneca, if he flatter not the prince or his own tutorage of him, gives him this among many other encomiums of him, Lib. de Clementia[z], which he dedicates to him: "Potes hoc, Cæsar, prædicare audacter, omnium, quæ in fidem tutelamque tuam venerunt, nihil per te, neque vi, neque clam, reipublicæ ereptum. Rarissimam laudem, et nulli adhuc principum concessam, concupisti, innocentiam. Nemo unus homo uni homini tam charus unquam fuit, quam tu populo Romano, magnum longumque ejus bonum."

It must be some space of time, before Claudius's death could come to be reported at Ephesus: it is like, the new year, after the Roman account, might be stepped in. Whensoever it was that Paul heard the news, and that a door of access to Rome was opened for the Jews again,—he sets down his determination to stay at Ephesus till Pentecost, and then to set for Macedon, and back to Jerusalem, and then to Rome. Upon this resolution, he sendeth Timothy and Erastus into Macedon, before him: appointeth them to call at Corinth in

[y] Acts, xviii. 2. [z] I. 5. Ruhkopf, vol. ii. p. 435.

the way, and intends himself to stay at Ephesus, till they should come thither again to him[a].

Between ver. 22 and ver. 23 of this nineteenth chapter of the Acts, falleth in the time of Paul's writing

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS;

he being now at Ephesus, and having set down the time of his removing thence,—namely, at Pentecost coming[b]. He had now been at Ephesus well towards three years, and had met with many difficulties; yet had so prevailed by the power of the gospel, that not only, all along hitherto, many people were continually converted,—but even now alate, many conjurers, and such as used magical arts, devoted themselves to the gospel, and their books to the fire, and became the renewed monuments of the power and prevalency of the divine truth. This was that "great and effectual door" opened to him, of which he speaketh, 1 Cor. xvi. 9; and which occasioned his stay at Ephesus still, when he had sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia[c]. In the time of which stay there, Stephanas, and Fortunatus, and Achaicus, come from Corinth[d], with letters from the church to Paul[e]; and he, upon their return, returns his answer in this Epistle, sent by Titus and another[f]. Some postscripts have named Timothy for the bearer, antedating his journey to Corinth, which was not in his going to Macedon, but in his return back, and when this Epistle had already given them notice of his coming that way[g].

Apollos, when Paul wrote this Epistle, was with him at Ephesus, and was desired by Paul to have gone along with the brethren to Corinth, but he would not[h]; it may be, because he would not countenance a faction there by his presence, which was begun under his name. The church was exceedingly broken into divisions, which produced very doleful effects among them. These several enormities raged in that church, though so lately and so nobly planted; and all originally derived from this first mischief of faction and schism.

[a] 1 Cor. xvi. 10, 11. [b] 1 Cor. xvi. 8. [c] Acts, xix. 21.
[d] 1 Cor. xvi. 17. [e] 1 Cor. vii. 1. [f] 2 Cor. xii. 18.
[g] 1 Cor. xvi. 10. [h] 1 Cor. xvi. 11.

1. A member of the church had married his father's wife,—yea, as it seemeth[g], his father yet living: which crime, by their own law and canons, deserved death: "For he that went in to his father's wife, was doubly liable to be stoned; both because she was his father's wife, and because she was another man's wife, whether he lay with her in his father's lifetime, or after his death[h]." And yet they, in the height of the contestings they had among themselves, did not only not take away such a wretch from among them, nor mourn for the miscarriage,—but he had got a party that bolstered him up, and abetted him: and so, while they should have mourned, they were puffed up. His own party in triumph, that they could bear him out against the adverse;—and the other in rejoicing, that, in the contrary faction, there was befallen such a scandal: or both, as taking this libertinism as a new liberty of the gospel. The apostle adviseth his giving up to Satan, by a power of miracles which was then in being. So, likewise, did he give up Hymeneus and Alexander[i]. The derivation of this power we conceived, at Acts v [in the case of Ananias and Sapphira], to be from that passage of Christ to the disciples[j], "He breathed on them, and said, Whose sins ye retain, they are retained," &c: and so were the apostles endued with a miraculous power of a contrary effect or operation. They could heal diseases, and bestow the Holy Ghost; and they could inflict death or diseases, and give up to Satan. Now, though it may be questioned, whether any in the church of Corinth had this power,—yet, when "Paul's spirit, with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ," went along in the action, as chap. v. 4, there can be no doubt of the effect.

2. Their animosities were so great, that they not only instigated them to common suits at law, but to suits before the tribunals of the heathen; which, as it was contrary to the peace and honour of the doctrine of the gospel,—so was it even contrary to their Judaic traditions: which required their subjection and appeals, only to men of their own blood, or of their own religion. The apostle, to rectify this misdemeanour, first calls them to remember, that "the saints should judge the world;" and this he mentioneth as a thing known to them[k];

[g] 2 Cor. vii. 12. [h] Talm. in Sanhed. cap. 7, and Maim. in Issure Biah, cap. 1, 2
[i] 1 Tim. i. 20. [j] John, xx. 22. [k] 1 Cor. vi. 2.

and it was known to them from Dan. vii. 18. 27; "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High." —How miserably this is misconstrued by too many of a fifth monarchy, when saints shall only rule,—is to be read in too many miseries, that have followed that opinion. The apostle's meaning is no more but this; "Do you not know, that there shall be a Christian magistracy?" or, that Christians shall be rulers and judges in the world? and, therefore, why should you be so fearful or careless to judge in your own matters? Observe in what sense he had taken the word 'saints' in the former verse; namely, for 'Christians' in the largest sense, as set in opposition to the heathen. And he speaks in the tenor of Daniel, from whence his words are taken,—that though the world and church had been ruled, and judged, and domineered over, by the four monarchies which were heathen; yet, under the kingdom of Christ under the gospel, they should be ruled and judged by Christian kings, magistrates, and rulers. Secondly, He minds them, "Know ye not, that we shall judge angels?" [ver. 3.] Observe, that he says not as before, 'Know ye not that *the saints* shall judge angels,' but, *we*. By 'angels' it is uncontrovertedly granted that he meaneth 'evil angels,' the devils. Now 'the saints,'—that is, all Christians that professed the gospel,—were not to judge devils; but we, saith he, that is, the apostles and preachers of the gospel; who, by the power of their ministry, ruined his oracles, idols, delusions, and worship, &c. Therefore, he argueth, since there is to be a gospel-magistracy to rule and judge the world, and a gospel-ministry, that should judge and destroy the devils, they should not account themselves so utterly incapable of judging in things of their civil converse, as, upon every controversy, to go to the bench of the heathens, to the great dishonour of the gospel. And, withal, he adviseth them, "to set them to judge, who were less esteemed in the church," ver. 4. Not that he denieth subjection to the heathen magistrate, which now was over them, or encourageth them to the usurpation of his power; but that he asserteth the profession of the gospel, capable of judging in such things; and, by improving of that capacity, as far as fell within their line, he would have them provide

for their own peace, and the gospel's credit. We observed before, that, though the Jews were under the Roman power, yet they permitted them to live in their own religion, and by their own laws to maintain their religion: and it may not be impertinent to take up and enlarge that matter a little here. As the Jews, under the Roman subjection, had their great Sanhedrim, and their less, of three-and-twenty judges, as appears both in Scripture, and in their records,—so were not these bare names, or civil bodies without a soul; but they were enlivened by their juridical, executive power, in which they were instated of old. So that though they were at the disposal of the Roman power, and religion, and laws, and all went to wrack when the emperor was offended at them, as it was in the time of Caligula,—yet, for the most part, from the time of the Romans' power first coming over them, to the time of their own last rebellion, which was their ruin,—the authority of their Sanhedrims and judicatories was preserved in a good measure entire; and they had administration of justice of their own magistracy, as they enjoyed their own religion. And this both within the land and without,—yea, even after Jerusalem was destroyed, as we shall show in its due place. And, as it was thus in the free actings of their Sanhedrims,—so also was it in the actings of their synagogues, both in matters of religion and of civil interest; for, in every synagogue, as there were rulers of the synagogue in reference to matters of religion and divine worship,—so were there rulers or magistrates in reference to civil affairs, which judged in such matters. Every synagogue had 'Beth din shel sheloshah,' a 'consistory' or 'judicatory,' or what you will call it, 'of three rulers,' or magistrates, to whom belonged to judge between party and party in matters of money, stealth, damage, restitution, penalties, and divers other things, which are mentioned and handled in both Talmuds, in the treatise Sanhedrim[l]: who had not power, indeed, of capital punishments, but they had of corporal; namely, of scourging to forty stripes save one. Hence it is, that Christ foretells his disciples, "In the synagogues you shall be beaten[m];" and hence had Paul his five scourgings[n]. So that, in every synagogue, there were elders, that ruled in civil affairs,—and

[l] Cap. 1. [m] Mark, xiii. 9. [n] 2 Cor. xi. 24.

elders, that laboured in the word and doctrine.—And, all things well considered, it may not be so monstrous, as it seems to some, to say it might very well be so in those times in Christian congregations. For since, as it might be showed, that Christ and his apostles, in platforming of the model of Christian churches in those times, did keep very close to the platform of the synagogues; and since the Romans, in those times, made no difference betwixt Jews in Judaism, and Jews that were turned Christians, nor betwixt those religions; for as yet there was no persecution raised against Christianity;—why might not Christian congregations have and exercise that double function of ministry and magistracy in them, as well as the Jewish synagogues? And if that much-controverted place, 1 Tim. v. 17, should be interpreted according to such a sense,—it were neither irrational, nor improbable; nor to interpret Paul speaking to such a tenor here. Only his appointing of *τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξουθενημένους*, 'the less esteemed in the church' to be appointed for that work, is of some scruple: what if it allude to ב"ד שלא מומחין "a committee of private men?" Of which, there is frequent mention among the Hebrew doctors[o].

3. It was the old Jewish garb, when they went to pray, to hide head and face, with a veil, to betoken their ashamedness and confusion of face, wherewithal they appeared before God: and hence is the conjunction of these two words so common in their writings התעטף והתפלל "He veiled himself and prayed."—And this for a current rule, "The wise men and their scholars may not pray, unless they be veiled[p]." To which, let us add that of Suetonius[q]: "Lucius Vitellius had an excellent faculty in flattering: he first set afoot the worshipping of Caius Cæsar for a god: when returning out of Syria, he durst not go to him but with his head veiled; and then, turning himself about, he fell prostrate."

Again, it was the custom of the Jewish women, to go veiled, or their faces covered, whensoever they went into public: "A woman (saith Maimonides[r]) may not go into public ואין עילה רדיד if she have not a veil on." And this the Talmudists call דת יהודית "The Jewish law:" and,

[o] See Maimon. in אישות fol. 253. col. 1.
[p] Maimon. in Tephillah, cap. 5.
[q] C. 2. ed. B. Crus. vol. 2. p. 244.
[r] In אישות cap. 24.

מנהג צניעות "The garb of modesty." Chetuboth, cap. 7. and Alphes. ibid. Where they say, that those women transgress the Jewish law, that go forth unveiled, or that spin in the streets, or that talk with every man."

Now, in this church of Corinth, the men retained the Jewish custom, that they prayed veiled, or with their head and face covered: but the women transgressed their Jewish law; for they went unveiled and barefaced into the public congregation;—and their reason was, as it seemeth by the apostle's discourse, because they, in regard of their beauty and comely feature, needed less to be ashamed before God in his worship than the men. The apostle reproves both; and argues, that if the man pray veiled, who is the image and glory of God,—then much more should the woman, who is but the glory of the man. But he cries down the man's praying veiled, as dishonouring his head; and exhorts, that "the woman have power on her head, because of the angels[t]." The word רדיד which, we observed instantly before out of Maimonides, signified 'a woman's veil,' doth also signify 'power' or 'dominion:' and, accordingly, the apostle speaketh, "Let the woman have power on her head:" but what means he by, "because of the angels?" I should answer, "because of the devils:" for these he had called 'angels,' also, a few chapters before; viz. chap. vi. 3. And his words may be construed to this sense,—that 'women should not expose their faces openly in the congregation, lest the devil make a bait of their beauty; and thereby entangle the eyes and hearts of the men, who should be then better employed, than gazing and longing after beauty.' There are, that by 'angels' understood the ministers; and interpret it, that 'women should be veiled, lest the ministers' eyes should be entangled by their faces:' which exposition if it be admitted, it may speak for the admission of that, also, which we give,—which provides for the eyes of the whole congregation, as well as of the ministers'.

4. In the same eleventh chapter, he also blameth their disorder, in receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper, in the height of their heats and contestations: wherein, they did not only not discern the Lord's body, a symbol and tie of communion; but they even transgressed that rule, now

[t] Chap. xi. 10.

Christians, which those of them that were Jews, would not have done in their Judaism. It was then a canon, current and binding amongst them, "That none should eat and drink in their synagogues, and none should sleep[u]:" but now, as they ate and drank the bread and the cup in the sacrament, in their churches, and that warrantably,—so did they also presume, unwarrantably, to eat their own common suppers there; and that only in defiance, one of another; the rich to outface the poor, and one party another, with their good commons; some banqueting and feasting to the full, whilst others sat hungry by and looked on. [See how Μεθύειν, ver. 21, signifies in the LXX, Gen. xliii. 34, Cant. v. 1.] Thus did they eat and drink judgment to themselves in the sacrament, whilst they would receive the symbol of communion; and yet show such signs and evidences of disunion, at the very instant. And the Lord, accordingly, overtook some of them with evident judgments, weakness, sickness, and death, avenging at once upon them, the indignity done to his sacrament, and the indignity done to their brethren. Much like surfeiting Nabal's case and end.

5. And, as the people were thus irregular in this part of worship, in their public assemblies,—so were their ministers faulty in others; namely, about the managing of spiritual gifts there. The pretence to the Spirit [where, indeed, it was not] hath always been the great usherer in of all error and delusion; and to this the very unbelieving Jews pretended, and often backed their pretences with magical impostures: and of this the apostle speaks, 1 Cor. xii. 3; "No man, speaking by the Spirit of God," as these men took on them to do, "can call Jesus accursed," as they called him. And, on the other hand, some that had spiritual gifts, indeed, failed in the using of them to the edification of the church,—but put them forth, sometimes, for their own vainglory; and such was their miscarriage, which he taxeth chap. xiv. They that, from that chapter, would ground a preaching by the Spirit now, sure do little observe, what they do to build upon an example which the apostle reproveth; and they infer from a place much mistaken.

[u] Jerus. in Megill. fol. 74. col. 1. Maim. in Tephill. cap. 11; and Gloss. in Maim. in Shabb. 30.

There were, indeed, the extraordinary gifts of tongues and prophecying in the church of Corinth: but who had them, and what had they in having them, and how used they them? 1. It was not every, or, indeed, any private, member of the congregation, that had them, but the ministers only; and, by these very gifts, and imposition of the apostles' hands, by which these gifts were conferred, they were inducted into the ministry, and enabled to it. The learned reader will observe the difference, that, in ver. 16, is made betwixt him that spake with the tongues, and ἰδιώτης, הדיוט a 'private man,' that sat by. 2. It was not to gabble with any tongue, that is called 'speaking with a tongue;' for, to what edification possible could it be, for any minister, in Corinth, to speak Persic, Coptic, Gallic, or any other strange language, in that congregation, where all of them understood one and the same language? But, it was to understand and speak the originals of Scripture,—as was touched before,—and to be able to unfold them, and so to prophesy or preach to the people. Observe these passages in the chapter: "He that speaketh with a strange tongue, edifieth himself," ver. 4; and, "I would you all spake with tongues." Now, how could a man edify himself by speaking in some strange remote language, when he might speak or understand the very same thing in his own mother-tongue? And, what were they better, if they all so spake; unless it were, that, thereby, they were the fitter to look into all human learning? But he, or all of them, that were able to understand and speak the original language of Scripture, might, thereby, edify themselves, and therein speak, and understand, what they could not in their mother-tongue. 3. It appears, by the apostle's discourse, that these men used these gifts irregularly, confusedly, and for their own vain-glory, which he rebukes and rectifies.

6. There were also in, or crept into, this church, those that were either downright Sadducees, in denying the resurrection,—or that, though with the Pharisees they acknowledged it, yet denied it of those, that had forsaken their Judaism; and so would exclude all Christians from it. Upon this the fifteenth chapter discourseth so fully and divinely, that nothing can be more.

Those that this church sent to visit Paul at Ephesus, brought with them a letter from the church, in the which they desired to be resolved about some doubts. As,

1. About marriage, and a single life; what they should do in that case, since their Judaic laws had always laid marriage upon them as a binding command. This they reckon the first command of the six hundred and thirteen[v]: and this their canons did so strictly bind on as a duty, that they say, that "He that lives to such an age, and marries not, transgresseth a preceptive law[w]." In this case, the apostle saith, "Præceptum non habeo;" that he accounted it no such command; but every one was left to his liberty, according as he could contain, or not contain. And, in his stating this case, how he speaks the language of his nation, and how far he comes towards their opinions, or goes from them, the learned may observe, by comparing the beginning of this chapter with Maimonides, in his treatise נשים; especially fol. 251, and 248, and 249.

2. About cohabitation of man and wife, when the one party was a believer, or a Christian, and the other party an unbeliever, or a heathen. And here he concludes, that "the children," if either parent were a Christian, "were holy" [ver. 14]; that is, Christians, and not to be reputed as heathen children. It is the very phrase, that his nation used about the children of proselytes, that were born after they were proselyted; they were said to be born בקדושה 'in holiness;' that is, 'within the religion,' not in heathenism.

3. About eating things sacrificed to idols, and communicating in such things; a dangerous stumbling-block of old, and particularly forbidden by the council at Jerusalem. Of this he speaketh at large; and, from the nature of idol-sacrifices, and from the nature of the sacraments, he showeth how far they should be separate from such communion with idolatry. He speaketh of all Israel's being baptized unto Moses in the cloud and sea, and so separate from all Egyptian and other idolatry and profaneness; and our baptism speaks the like separation. The Jews say, "Moses was

[v] Vid. marg. ad tripl. Targ. ad Gen. i.

[w] Maim. in אישות cap. 1.

sanctified by the cloud[x];" and Paul speaks here the same of all Israel, chap. x. 2.

4. About ministers' maintenance under the gospel, chap. ix; which he confirmeth; and showeth, that Peter, and the rest of the apostles, and their wives and families, were so maintained; chap. ix. 5, &c.

He concludes the Epistle with a sad execration upon "Whosoever loveth not the Lord Jesus Christ; let such a one be anathema, Maran-atha[y];" that is, 'let him be accursed,' or destroyed: 'Our Lord cometh.' In which, that he, in the first aim and intention, meaneth the unbelieving Jews, may be observed upon these four considerations:—1. Because the Jews, of all men under heaven, were, and are, the greatest haters of Christ. Pagans, indeed, do not love the Lord Jesus, because they know him not; but, again, because they know him not, they hate him not. The Turks love not Christ, as Christians love him; but, again, they hate not Christ, as the Jews hate him. The word 'Jesus,' here, carries the emphasis, to level this execration at them: they pretended to love 'Messias,' or a 'Christ;' but openly profess hatred of Jesus. 2. Because the apostle here useth such dialect, as that he speaketh in the very Jews' language, in the words Maran-atha. He had spoken in Greek all along the Epistle, and Greek all along his Epistles; and that here alone he should use a Syriac phrase, and not translate it, it doth evidently show, that his speech referreth, more especially, to the Jewish nation. So Jeremiah[z], threatening and cursing the Chaldean idolatry, doth in the Chaldean language; one clause of which he useth not throughout his prophecy beside. 3. The Jews, of all men, did chiefly, or only, call Jesus 'anathema;' as, chap. xii. 3, and as they are not ashamed openly to confess in their Talmud; therefore, against them, of all men, first and chiefly, is this anathema aimed. 4. This is agreeable to what the Scripture speaks copiously in other places; as, "You shall leave your name for a curse to my chosen[a]," &c. "Lest I come and smite the land with a curse[b]," &c. The most pious and charitable apostle could wish himself to be

[x] Jerus. in Joma, fol. 28. col. 2. [y] Chap. xvi. 22.
[z] In chap. x. 11. [a] Isa. lxv. 15. [b] Mal. iv. 6.

'anathema' for that nation, on condition that they might believe, and be saved[c]: but, since they will not believe, and do refuse salvation, and hate the Saviour, he forgets consanguinity, for the love of Christ; and, dooming and devoting all whomsoever, that loved not the Lord Jesus Christ, to destruction, he intends them, in the first place, who were his chief haters.

The words, Maran-atha, are held by some to be of the form of the highest excommunication; "Sic signatur," say they, "species extremi anathematis, ac si diceretur, Maledictus esto ad adventum et in adventu Domini:" and, withal, that 'Maran-atha' is the same in sense with 'Shammatha;' but this utterly without the warrant of any Jewish antiquity [whose language it is] at all. I believe it is impossible to show 'Maran-atha,' for a form of excommunication, or execration, in any of their writings; nay, very hard, if not next impossible, to show the words 'Maran-atha' in their writings at all, in any sense.

The phrase in the apostle refers, first, to Christ's coming in vengeance against Jerusalem and the Jewish nation, as the execration is first to be pitched upon them: 'Maran-atha,' 'Our Lord cometh.' Many and dreadful things are spoken of this his coming in the Scripture, of which we have spoken in several places, as we have come along. So that in this sentence, he doth both justly doom this unbelieving and wretched nation to their deserved curse; and doth withal, in this phrase, intimate, that the doomed curse was near approaching, in the Lord's coming in vengeance against them. Now, though we construe the words in such an application to the Jews, it is not exclusively; but that their sense reacheth also to every one that loveth not the Lord Jesus of what nation soever, and the Lord will come in time to make him an anathema.

There is some obscurity in a passage in chap. v. 9, both of sense and history: "I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators:" 10, "Yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world," &c. Where, first, we have to inquire, what it is that the apostle doth here forbid them; and then, when it was that he wrote this epistle that he

[c] Rom. ix. 3.

speaketh of. There are two things, that are here prohibited; one, when he wrote that which he speaketh of,—namely, that they should "not company with fornicators;" and the other, now when he writes this Epistle,—viz. that they should "not eat with such:" the latter he had permitted till now, though he prohibited the former:—which let them well observe, that understand by 'eating' the 'receiving of the sacrament.'

Besides what communion was among the Jews 'in sacris,' there was a twofold companying or communicating among them in civil things; the one more common, the other more near and peculiar. Their more common was, eating together at the same common table: for even such eating they accounted of, as of a communion, under a rule: and hence no eating with Gentiles, for any Jew[d],—nor with publicans and sinners, for any that were of the stricter sort of religions: therefore, Christ is cavilled at for it, so oft in the gospel. The other was that communion of associating, which they called שתוף and עירוב; the former of which comprehended their near joining in partnership, deputations, and the like, of the which the triple Talmudic tract Bava, and Maimonides of Shittuphin and Shilluchin, do treat at large:—the latter comprehended their combining in joint interest and association, in the use of any common court or cloister, where many dwelt together: of which the treatise Erubin is a large discourse, and obscure enough. Now, the apostle, in the former prohibition Μὴ Συναναμίγνυσθαι, seems to forbid this nearer communion: that if any that is called 'a brother,' or a Christian, be a fornicator, &c. they should not associate with him in any such conjunction as partnership, deputation, employment, cohabitation, or common interest, &c. But upon the hearing of this horrid fact and example of the incestuous person, he heightens his prohibition; and now forbids, that they should not use so much as that common society with them, as to eat with them at common tables: which was to set them at the utmost distance, even at the same that the Jews did the very heathens; for with them they might not eat.

Now how to understand ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, is of some difficulty. Some conceive it means an epistle, which

[d] Acts, xi. 3.

was sent before this, and which was lost:—which is an exposition somewhat hard to digest. Certainly it is gentler and more warrantable,—yea, even by the rules of grammar,—to render ἔγραψα to such a sense as this, 'I wrote,' or 'had written,' or 'was writing,' in this Epistle, that you should not company with fornicators, &c: but now, hearing and weighing this high offence of the incestuous person, and the danger of such an example, I sharpen my style,—and now forbid, not only your near associating with such, but even the common fellowship of eating together at common tables; which was as much as that which is spoken, "Let him be to thee as a heathen man[e]."

ACTS, XIX, from ver. 23 to the end of the chapter.

PAUL had determined to stay at Ephesus till Pentecost, because of a great and effectual door that was opened to him; and he was earnest to embrace that opportunity[f]: but, before his determined time of departure thence came,—and, as it seemeth, not long before,—Demetrius, with the rest of the silversmiths, raise a tumult against him, as the great impairer of their profit, by crying down the worship of Diana, and other idols. These men used to make 'silver temples of Diana,' Ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς, or little models, as it seemeth, made after that temple-fashion: which they, that came to Ephesus to worship, bought, either to consecrate to the goddess, and to leave there in her temple,—or, rather, to take away with them home, in memorial of that goddess. Tully, in Verrem, speaks of 'Ædes Minervæ posita in fano Apollinis.' And Dion Cassius, lib. 36, of Νεὼς Ἥρας βραχὺς, &c. "A little temple of Juno, set upon a table looking towards the east, did of itself turn towards the north." And, in lib. 40; Ὁ γὰρ Ἀετὸς ὠνομασμένος [ἐστί δε νεὼς μικρὸς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς, &c. "The eagle" [saith he, meaning the Roman ensign] "was a little temple, and in it was set a golden eagle: such a one pitched in every one of the Roman legions, and it never stirred out of the winter-quarters, till the whole camp did remove: this eagle, fixed on the top of a spear, one man carried: the lower end of the spear being sharp, that it might be stuck into the ground." So that it

[e] Matt. xviii. 17. [f] 1 Cor. xvi. 9.

seems, the Roman eagles were not flying colours like ours, but a golden eagle, medal-wise, enclosed in a little fabric like a temple. Of such a kind were these 'silver temples of Diana;' namely, a little silver shrine, made after the fashion of the temple, and the goddess in it.

This great temple was reputed one of the seven wondrous fabrics of the world: it was hundreds of years in building, at the charge of all Asia, before it came to its last excellency and perfection. And, as hither had been the conflux of the cost of all Asia towards the building of it,—so, when it was built, hither was the conflux of all Asia's superstition. And, as from hence it may be gathered, how great a work it was to plant the gospel in this centre of idolatry,—so doth Demetrius readily observe, how great a detriment is like to accrue to him and his fellows, by the gospel's destroying that idolatry,—as daily it did. Hereupon, they raise a tumult against Paul; which is not only promoted by the idolatrous heathen, but by the Jews also, though upon another score. In the hubbub, there is mention of Alexander, "whom they drew out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And he beckoned with the hand, and would have made his defence unto the people; but when they knew he was a Jew, they would not hear him," ver. 33, 34. And Paul, in his Second Epistle to Timothy[s], who was at Ephesus when he wrote to him, saith, "Alexander the copper-smith did me much evil." I think, there is little question to be made, but that Alexander, mentioned in both places, is one and the same man: especially if we consider, that he that Paul speaks of, was of Demetrius's profession,—a 'copper-smith.' Now, whereas Luke saith, the Jews put him forward, and he would fain have made a speech in his defence to the people,—it is easy to guess what the subject of this speech would have been: namely, that whereas the heathens every where looked upon the Jews as the great opposers and enemies of their idolatry; and the Jews and Alexander were very apprehensive, that the eyes of the Ephesians were on that nation, as the enemy of their Diana, and so they feared the tumult might have fallen upon them,—they put forward Alexander to make their apology;

[s] Chap. iv. 14.

who, if he had had liberty to have spoken, would have laid the load upon Paul and his company, and have excused the Jews: but thus it pleased God to provide for the apostle's safety, that the tumultuous people would not hear what Alexander would have said: which would have laid all the blame on Paul.

ACTS, chap. XX.

Ver. 1. "*And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia.*

2. "*And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece;*

3. "*And abode there three months: and when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia.*"

IT was his resolution to have stayed at Ephesus till Pentecost, had he had no disquieture or disturbance there[h]. Now, though it be not certain, how long it was before the time that he had fixed for his departure, that the tumult there did pack him away; yet this is apparent, that when he came thence, he had the whole summer before him, and, in that summer, he travelled these journeys;—and thus was his progress.

1. From Ephesus, he setteth for Macedonia [ver. 1, and 1 Cor. xvi. 5]; from whence, though he had been driven some five years ago by persecution[i], as he is now from Ephesus,—yet had he received so many evidences of the Macedonians' faith towards God, and pledges of their tenderness and love towards himself[j], that he is not only resolved to venture himself again amongst them, but he holds himself engaged to revisit them, and to bestow his pains again among them, for their farther proficiency in the gospel. At his departure from Ephesus, he leaveth Timothy there behind him, though in a dangerous place and time; yet necessity, by reason of false teachers that were ready to break out, so requiring it[k].

2. By the way as he goes, he makes some stay at Troas:

[h] 1 Cor. xvi. 8. [i] Acts, xvi. [j] Phil. iv. 15, 16. [k] 1 Tim. i. 3, 4.

where, though he had fair success in his ministry, yet, not finding Titus, whom he expected to have met withal from Corinth, he makes not long stay there, but sets away again speedily for Macedonia[l].

3. It was in his thoughts whilst he was at Ephesus, to have touched at Corinth, in this his journey, and to have made some stay there[m]; but thus missing of Titus at Troas, and neither from him, nor yet from any other, receiving intelligence, how his Epistle, that he had written thither, took with them,—he thought it best to go by, and not to call there at this time, because he doubted he should have a heavy and comfortless meeting with them[n].

4. Being come into Macedonia, he finds some troubles there: 'fightings without,' either from false brethren, or from open enemies; and fears and unquietness within, lest all should continue at Corinth, as he had heard of it: but at last, Titus cometh, and refresheth him with the desired and welcome tidings, that all was well there, and that his Epistle had had that happy issue and effect among them that he longed for[o].

5. Whilst he stayeth in Macedonia and those parts, he preacheth especially in those places, where he had been before,—namely, Thessalonica and Philippi. And now was the time also, that he dispersed the gospel as far as to Illyricum; of which he speaketh in Rom. xv. 19.

6. At this time, whilst he was employed in these Macedonian climates, he writeth, as may be concluded upon these observations,

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

1. IT is apparent, from 1 Tim. i. 3, and iii. 15, that that Epistle was written after Paul's setting out from Ephesus for Macedonia, and yet when he was in some thoughts of returning shortly for Ephesus again.

2. Now, it cannot be conceived to have been written, when he was going towards Macedonia; for then was he but newly parted from Timothy; and it is not likely he would so write to him, when he was but newly come from him.

[l] 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.
[m] 2 Cor. i. 15, 16.
[n] 2 Cor. ii. 1, 2.
[o] 2 Cor. vii. 5, 6.

3. Nor can it be conceived to be written, when he was coming back again from Macedonia into Greece: for then he was going to Ephesus in his own determination, and might have been his own messenger, and had needed no epistle sending at all. And besides, he intimates, in chap. iii. 16, that, it might be, he might stay a little longer before he came to him. Therefore, it cannot but be concluded, that this Epistle was written, whilst he was in Macedonia, or the parts thereabouts, at this time that we are upon.

It is something strange, that there should be so various and roving conjectures about the time and place of the writing of this Epistle, where there is so plain a demonstration thereof, in the Epistle itself, if studiously compared with these times and voyages of Paul that are before us. The Arabic dateth it 'from Athens:' supposing it, belike, at the time of his perambulation of Greece, of which there is mention, in ver. 3 of this chapter: the Syriac, 'from Laodicea:' some Greek copies add, from 'Laodicea Pacatiana:' which mistake, belike, grew, because there is mention of an epistle from Laodicea, Col. iv. 16; of which we shall speak, and show the mistake, when we come to the time of that Epistle. The Rhemists suppose, this Epistle to Timothy was written at Paul's first imprisonment in Rome, when he was dismissed and set at liberty; but how erroneously, will appear, when we come to observe the time of the Second Epistle.

Paul had bestowed much pains and a long time, with the church of Ephesus, being present with it: and he takes much care of it, now he is gone thence: partly, because of the eminency of the place; and partly, because of the fickleness of some, who were ready to warp from the sound truth and doctrine received, to heresy and foolish opinions. For the keeping down of these, therefore, that they should not overgrow the church, he leaveth Timothy there, when himself departeth; choosing him for that employment, above all other his followers, because [as was said before] some prophetic predictions had sealed him for a singular and extraordinary instrument in the gospel[p].

He had two works to do in that city: first, to prevent rising errors and heterodoxies; and secondly, to direct and

[p] 1 Tim. ii. 14.

order the orthodox aright, in worship and discipline; not as any diocesan bishop [for he stayed but a while there, and what he did, he did but by the apostle's direction], but as one that Paul had found sound, bold, blameless, painful, and faithful.

Among the Jewish churches that received the gospel, there grew, in time, a very epidemical and dangerous apostasy, either totally from the doctrine of the gospel, or partially from the purity of it, as we have frequent occasion to observe upon several passages that we meet withal, as we go along:—and this backsliding, from the doctrine and profession of Christ, once received, was the topping up of the iniquity of that nation, and was a forerunner and a hastener of their destruction and casting off.

The first principles, whereby their false teachers did prison them towards this recidivation, were, puzzling them with idle fables, intricate genealogies, and, especially, nice curiosities, and needless obligations of the law: their fables that were likeliest to serve their turn for this purpose [as near as one may guess upon view of the whole heap in their Talmudic records], may be supposed to have been those strange legends, that they related of the wondrous sanctity, devotion, and facts, of some of their Pharisaical and legal righteous ones, and the wondrous gallantry and golden days, that they conceited in a carnal construction of the times of Messias.

Their endless genealogies, which the apostle speaketh of, Tit. iii. 9, and mentioneth together with these fables, 1 Tim. i. 4,—were not any of the genealogies of Scripture, holy and divine, but their long and intricate pedigrees, that they stood upon, to prove themselves Jews, Levites, priests, and the like; thereby to interest themselves in claim to all those brave things, that they persuaded themselves belonged to a Jew, as a Jew, upon that very account: and to these we may add the long genealogy and pedigree of their traditions, which they derived by a long line of succession through the hands of I know not how many doctors; of which, the Talmudic treatise, Avoth, is as a herald. And if we will construe the word יוחסין 'Juchasin,' 'Genealogies,' in the עשרה יוחסין 'Aserah Juchasin,' 'Ten lineages,' that they speak of, that came out of Babel at the return of the captivity,—I am sure we

may find endless questions, wherewithal they puzzled men's minds about them[q].

And as for their making their baits of the law, for the catching and withdrawing of simple souls, either totally from the acknowledging, or, at least, from the simplicity, of the gospel,—it is very obvious, in the Epistles of Paul, and the other Epistles, how they wrought, and how they prevailed: the witchery of old customs, and long use, and the gaudiness of a ceremonious religion, helping them to speed in their designs, and forwarding their deceivings.

Such canker began to break out in the church of Ephesus: whose creeping and infecting, it is the first and great work of Timothy to prevent, and to fill the ears of his hearers with sound doctrine and admonitions, which might keep such deceit and infection out. And, answerably, it must be his care to settle the church in such a salubrious constitution of worship, ministry, and government, as that it should not be ready to sway and incline to such dangerous seductions. Hereupon doth the apostle lay a divine directory before him, concerning their manner of praying, choosing and ordaining of ministers, approving deacons, admitting widows, and regulating the people,—that nothing could be wanting to the healthful temper of that church, if they receive and embrace these applications: in the most of which prescriptions, he useth exceeding much of their synagogue-language, that he may be the better understood; and reflecteth upon divers of their own laws and customs, that what he prescribeth, may imprint upon them with the more conviction. He calleth the minister, 'episcopus,' from the common and known title 'the chazan,' or 'overseer,' in the synagogue[r]: he prescribeth rules and qualifications for his choice, in most things suitable to their own cautions, in choosing of an elder[s]: he speaketh of "elders ruling only, and elders ruling and labouring in the word and doctrine:" meaning, in this distinction, that same that he had spoken of in chap. iii, 'bishops and deacons.'—Both these, in the common language, then best known, were called, 'elders,' and both owned as 'rulers.' Yea, the very title, that they usually termed, 'deacons' [Parnasin], was the

[q] Vid. Talm. in Kiddushin, per. 4. Alphes. ibid. cap. &c.
[r] Aruch in חזן. [s] Maim. in Sanhedr. cap. 4.

common word that was used to signify, 'a ruler.' The Jerusalem Talmud[t], speaking of the three 'Parnasin,' or 'deacons,' that were in every synagogue, hath these two passages, which may be some illustration to two passages in this Epistle:—"They appoint not less than three Parnasin in the congregation: for if matters of money were judged by three, matters of life much more require three to manage them." Observe, that the deacon's office was accounted as an office that concerned life; namely, in taking care for the subsistence of the poor. According to this, may that in chap. iii. 12, be understood: "For they that have used the office of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree:" a good degree towards being intrusted with souls, when they have been faithful in discharge of their trust concerning the life of the body. The other passage is this: "R. Haggai, whensoever he appointed Parnasin [deacons], he urged the law upon the people, saying, All rule that is given, is given from the law," &c. And here you may likewise observe, that deaconship is called 'rule.'

We observed before, that it were not so monstrous as it might seem, if by 'elders that ruled only,' we should understand, a civil magistracy, or bench, in every congregation, as there was in every synagogue. But since the apostle nameth only 'bishops and deacons,' his interpretation here is best taken from and within himself; and to understand the 'elders that ruled only' of the deacons, which were called both 'elders and rulers,' as well as the ministers; and, in the Jews' synagogues, were professed scholars. The Talmudic place, now cited, tells us, that R. Eliezer, one of their greatest rabbins, was a 'Parnas,' or 'deacon' in a synagogue. The 'episcopi,' or 'ministers,' are titled, *οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ*, "that laboured in the word and doctrine:" which most properly is to be understood distinctly thus, "which laboured in the word, and which laboured in teaching:" and the former to denote their laboriousness in study, to enable them to teach,—and the latter, their laboriousness in teaching. *Κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ* is but the common phrase of the Jews turned into Greek, לעי בתורה [see the Syriac here]; by which they mean 'a great student in the law.' Among multitudes of

[t] In Peah, fol. 21. 1.

instances that might be alleged, I shall produce but this one out of the Jerusalem Talmud[v]: "R. Jonah paid his tithes to R. Acha Bar Ulla, not because he was a priest אלא מישום והוה לעי באורייתא but because he laboured in the law;" that is, was a great student, and an able teacher. They that suppose, that the tithes, under the law, were paid only at the temple, and to maintain the priests in the ceremonious worship there, and, upon this conceit, look upon them only as Levitical,—are far deceived: for, as some were, indeed, paid at the temple upon such an account,—so others, and that the greatest part, were paid to the priests and Levites, in their forty-eight universities[w], to maintain them, whilst they were studying there, to enable them for the ministry, and to teach the people, for which they were designed[x]: and when they were dispersed through the land, into the several synagogues, to be ministers in them, tithes were also paid for their maintenance there.

He speaketh of provision to be made for poor widows, even much according to the Jews' own rules, that they went by in their synagogues, which herein were good. The Talmudic treatise, Jebammoth, speaketh of this matter at large; and see Maimonides in אישות[y] The widows he allows to be taken in, to be maintained of the public stock, he would have not to be widows by divorce, nor widows young, but of sixty years of age, and of grave and holy qualifications: not that these were to vow the vow of continency [as see what a miserable ado the Rhemists make upon the place]; but that they must be such, as were likely to bring no more charge than themselves upon the church, nor bring any shame or reproach by the lightness of their lives to it; and might be serviceable in their places, to attend upon strangers, to wash their feet, &c. But as for younger widows, their age and those times were dangerous; when the Nicolaitan doctrine without [which taught communicating with things of idolatry, and fornication, and mixing and marriage indifferently with heathen], meeting with the heat of youth within, might make such to wax wanton against Christ, and deny the faith, and marry with

[v] In Maazar Sheni, fol. 56. col. 2.
[w] Josh. xxi.
[x] Deut. xxxiii. 10. Mal. ii. 7.
[y] Cap. 18. 20.

heathens; or, at least, to bring charge upon the church, if they continued in it.

He enjoins prayers to be made for all sorts of men; whereas the Jewish custom was, to curse the heathen, and to pray for none but themselves and their own nation. He calls the church 'the pillar and ground of truth,' chap. iii. 15;—the very title, by which the great Sanhedrim was ordinarily styled[z]; the observing of which may be of good use for the explanation of it here.

After some stay in Macedonia, and preaching up and down in those parts, Paul turns back again, and goes for Greece[a]; and, by the way, visiteth Crete, and there leaveth Titus[b],—thinking that he should, presently after a little stay in Greece, have set towards Jerusalem; and that Titus should have stayed there till farther time. For if what hath been spoken lately concerning Titus, be considered;—how Paul sent him with his First Epistle to the Corinthians; and that, after their parting at Ephesus upon that occasion, they never met till Titus cometh up to him, when he was come from Ephesus to Macedonia[c],—it will readily resolve, that, in that first journey to Macedonia, he left him not in Crete; for Titus and he were not yet met again since their parting at Ephesus. And that he left him not there at his second coming up to Macedonia [namely, after his travelling in Greece, and when he was prevented of his intended journey into Syria[d]], it is apparent also by this,—that instantly upon his returning from Greece and from his prevented journey, he sendeth for Titus to come to him upon warning[e]: which two particulars, jointly observed, do make it plain, that he left Titus in Crete, when he came back from Macedonia, in his journey into Greece; and when he intended, after his perambulation of Greece, to have gone for Syria:—but the lying in wait of some Jews for his life, turned him again to Macedonia.

In his return thither, or upon his coming there, he writeth

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

IT is not much material to controvert, whether he sent this Epistle in the way, as he went towards Macedonia; or

[z] Vid. Maim. in Mamrin, cap. 1. [a] Acts, xx. 2. [b] Tit. i. 5.
[c] 2 Cor. vii. 5, 6. [d] Acts, xx. 2, 3. [e] Tit. iii. 12.

when he was come up into Macedonia: it is enough to know, that it was in the scantling of time, either in his journey thither, or instantly upon his coming there. The postscript hath dated it from Nicopolis, because of his words in chap. iii. 12; "Come unto me to Nicopolis, for there I have determined to winter:" from which words, as the affixer of the postscript hath gathered some ground to date it thence,—so others have gathered better ground, to hold, that it was not dated thence; because he saith not ἐνταῦθα, 'here,' but ἐκεῖ, 'there,' I have determined to winter: as if he were not yet come thither.

Who first planted the gospel in Crete, may be an endless inquiry: certain it is, that some Cretans were present at the first pouring forth of the Holy Ghost in the gift of tongues[f]; but whether they embraced the gospel, and returned with it into their own country, is an inquiry as endless. Whether Barnabas ever preached there, we may question also; but when we have done all, we can never resolve. It is more than probable, that Paul was there himself, from that expression, "I left thee in Crete;" but his stay there, when he left Titus, could not be long, as is easily cleared from the time of his journeys lately mentioned.

Whether he had been there some time before, or whether he had sent the gospel thither by some of his ministers, or however it came there,—there wanted something to the constituting of the church, which he leaveth Titus to accomplish. And his work is just the same, that he left Timothy at Ephesus for; as is easily seen by laying together the two Epistles,—viz. to stop the mouth of the heterodox, and to direct and advise the orthodox in doctrine and discipline, and to ordain elders and ministers in the churches.

This matter of ordaining elders, hath made the postscripts of the Epistles to these two men to entitle them bishops, the one of Ephesus, and the other of Crete:—who how little they stayed or settled in either of these places, he readeth but dimly, that seeth not.

The apostle, in this Epistle, urgeth him to despatch the business that lay before him, that, upon notice from him, he

[f] Acts, ii. 8.

might be ready to come up to him to Nicopolis; a city, that bare the name and badge of the victory, that Augustus obtained against Antony[g].

Titus, according to his appointment, came to him; and, when winter began to draw over, and Paul began now to think of journeying, ere it were very long,—he sends him upon an employment to another place; which because it was, when winter was going off, we must place it in another year.

A new year being now entered, and Paul intending for Syria as soon as the spring was a little up,—
56 *Christ.* he sendeth Titus beforehand to Corinth, to
2 *Nero.* hasten their collections for the saints in Judea, that they might be ready, against Paul should come thither. And, with Titus, he sendeth two other brethren; and by them all, he sendeth

The SECOND EPISTLE to the CORINTHIANS.

The proof that it was written and sent at this time, and in this manner, is plain by these places and passages in it: "I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia: yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain; lest haply they of Macedonia come with me[h]," &c. "Behold, the third time I am coming to you[i]." "This is the third time I am coming to you[j]." And, "But thanks be unto God, who put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you:"—"Being more forward of his own accord he went unto you:"—"And with him we have sent the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel:"—"And we have sent with them our brother, whom we have oftentimes proved diligent in many things[k]," &c.

Who these two nameless persons should be, will require some inquiry. The latter I suppose was Erastus, both because his diligence had been approved before[l]; and also because it is said, "Erastus abode at Corinth[m];" yet he not named among Paul's retinue, when he set out for Asia[n], because he was gone to Corinth before.

[g] Dion. Cass. p. 426, and 443. [h] 2 Cor. ix. 2—4. [i] Chap. xii. 14.
[j] Chap. xiii. 1. [k] Chap. viii. 16—18. 22. [l] Acts, xix. 22, &c.
[m] 2 Tim. iv. [n] Acts, xx. 4.

As for the other brother, "whose praise" is said to be "in the Gospel," that very phrase and expression hath caused many to conceive, that it was Luke; and that the words mean, "Who is famous in all the churches for the Gospel he hath written:" whereas [besides that groundless strictness that is put upon the words, limiting them to the writing of a Gospel, which, according to that most usual manner of speech, are rather to be understood of his renown in preaching the gospel] it is apparent, by the words of Luke himself, that he went not either before Paul to Corinth, as this brother spoken of did,—nor did he go before Paul to Troas, as the rest that are named by him, did;—but he went in Paul's company: for observe his speech, "These tarried for us at Troas: and we sailed away from Philippi," &c. The words *us* and *we* do plainly associate the penman himself with Paul at his setting out, and show that he was none of those, that were sent before.

Others, therefore, do guess, that this brother that went along with Titus, was Silas, because it is said, "Who also was chosen by the churches to travel with us," &c. Which very thing, which they use for an argument to prove it Silas, proves against it; for Silas was not chosen 'by the churches' to go with Paul, any more than Timothy or Titus was; but he was chosen by Paul alone, as they also were[o].

That clause, then, "who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us," doth deal the matter betwixt Barnabas and Mark; for none other can be named, to whom the words can be so properly applied, as to one of them; and of the two, most properly to Mark; and he, I doubt not, is the man, that is here intended: for, 1. The words, 'with us,' join Paul and Barnabas together in their travel; and the third man who was chosen to travel with them, was none but Mark: for, 2. He was chosen by the church, at Jerusalem, for that purpose[p], and by the church at Antioch[q]; as these words, "he was chosen by the churches," do well explain those verses. 3. It is true, indeed, that Paul had taken distaste at Mark, and so bitter, that Barnabas and he had parted upon it[r]; yet, in his Second Epistle to Timothy[s], he desire

[o] See Acts, xv. 40. [p] Acts, xii. 25. [q] Acts, xiii. 5.
[r] Acts, xv. 39. [s] Chap. iv.

" Timothy to bring Mark to him, for that he is profitable to him for the ministry;" by which it appears, that he was not only reconciled to him, but also that he had made use of him, and found him useful. When it was that they knit into amity and employment again, is not discoverable; but that they had done so, the passage, newly alleged, doth make past denial; and, if his employment of Mark were not now, or before, he can no more employ him, before he himself become a prisoner. When we come to the time and order of the Second Epistle to Timothy, we shall have occasion to speak to this matter again, and shall find something there to help the confirmation of this assertion,—nay, to raise it higher than yet it hath spoken; namely, that Mark was not only sent by Paul to Corinth, at this time, but also that he was at Corinth, when Paul sent for him to come to him to Rome: and thus, if these words, " Whose praise is in the Gospel," were to be understood of one that had written a Gospel,—here is a subject to apply them to in that sense; for this Mark wrote a Gospel as well as Luke.

The apostle, in his Second Epistle to Corinth, doth first excuse his not coming to them, according as he had promised in his First Epistle[s], clearing himself from all lightness in making, and all unfaithfulness in breaking, that promise, and pitching the main reason upon themselves and their present condition; because he had not yet intelligence, when he went first into Macedonia, of any reformation among them of those enormities that he had reproved in his First Epistle, —therefore, he was unwilling to come to them in heaviness, and with a scourge. This his failing to come according to his promise, had opened the mouths of divers in his disgrace; and false teachers took every occasion to vilify him; which he copiously satisfies, and vindicates himself, all along the Epistle.

His exceeding zealous plainness with them, and dealing so home and thoroughly against their misdemeanours, as he did,—was one advantage, that false teachers and his ill-willers took to open their mouth against him, and to withdraw hearts from him; and, withal and mainly, because he was so urgent against the works of the law as to justification, and

[s] 1 Cor. xvi. 5.

those rites, which the Jews, even the most that were converted to the gospel, too much doted on. About the former, their taunt and scorn against him was, "His letters are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and speech contemptible[t]." A poor, contemptible fellow, say they, to be so sharp and supercilious in his letters; this is more than he durst speak if he were here! &c. 'But let such know, says he, that what I am by letters in absence, I will be by words, and in deed, in presence.' Concerning both this and the latter named, they passed Festus's censure upon him[u], "that he was beside himself." This he mentions and answers[v]; "Whether we are beside ourselves, it is for God; or whether we be sober, it is for your cause. For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead," &c. Since Christ died for all,—that is, for Jews and Gentiles both,—he could not but conclude that all were dead, the Jew as well as the Gentile; therefore, he could not but so urgently call upon the Jew to look off his own righteousness, and the works of the law, and to look for justification, by faith in Christ. Another scandalous opinion and reproach they also took up of him, "That he walked after the flesh[w]" [a strange slander of Paul]; but this was but an appendix to that before: because he was not Pharisaically precise about their trivial rites of the law [which too many of them mixed with the gospel], but cried them down,—therefore, they cried him up for carnal. His answer to this is, that his ministry may witness the contrary for him[x]; the end of which, and the abundant effect of which, was to beat down such carnal affections and actions, as were such indeed. His expression of the weapons of his warfare being strong to pull down strong holds, expounds that[y] "of Christ's smiting the corners of Moab, and destroying all the sons of Seth." And he gives this for a second answer,—that, if they would be but obedient, they should see how his apostolic power was ready to avenge disobedience.

Since he hath such back friends, and open enemies in this church, it is no wonder, if he write so doubtingly of

[t] 2 Cor. x. 10. [u] Acts, xxvi. 24. [v] 2 Cor. v. 13.
[w] Chap. x. 2. [x] Chap. x. 3—5. [y] Num. xxiv. 17.

them, how he should find them; and that he stayed no longer with them, when he came to them, as his stay was very little. His former Epistle, as it is apparent by several passages in this, had wrought them into a reasonable good temper; but mischief, now, was crept on them again; at least, there were some, that were tampering to bring it on. In regard, therefore, of that vilifying, that these false teachers, enemies of him and God, did set him at, and sought to make him odious and contemptible in the eyes of the church,—he is put to it to make his vindication, and that, as the matter required, with much largeness and earnestness. He, therefore, copiously discourseth, what God had done by him,—what he had suffered for God,—and what he had done for the churches; in any of which things, let any of these that reviled him, come near him if they could. In relating the passages of his life, he mentioneth many things, of which there is no mention in his story in the Acts of the Apostles; and, frequently, in his discourse, he speaketh of his folly in boasting; as[z], 'Bear with me a little in my folly;' and see ver. 16, 17: because, indeed, man's boasting of himself is folly, and they would be ready to censure his so,—therefore, he styles his by that title, though it were not folly in him, but a needful and a holy vindication of himself, and of his ministry.

After he had sent away this Epistle by Titus, Erastus, and Mark, if our conjecture fail not, and had given notice to the Corinthians of his speedy coming to them, and warning to get their collections ready against he came,—he provideth for his journey into Syria, which he had intended so long; partly to visit the churches in these parts, and partly to bring up the collections that he had got for the poor of Judea; which he had promised to the three ministers of the circumcision,—Peter, James, and John,—that he would be careful of[a].

[z] Chap. xi. 1. [a] Gal. ii. 10.

ACTS, chap. XX.

Ver. 4. " *And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus.*

5. " *These going before, tarried for us at Troas.*

6. " *And we sailed away from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread.*"

THE story, as hath been said, hath brought us to another year, the beginning of which,—that is, from the
56 *Christ.* entrance of January, and forward, even till Easter,
2 *Nero.* —Paul spent in Macedonia, still wintering there, viz. in Nicopolis, Philippi, &c; and, after Easter, he sets for Jerusalem[b]; therefore, we have superscribed it, the second of Nero, and of Christ the fifty-sixth.

When we come to speak of the Epistle to the Romans, which we shall meet with in our way very shortly, we shall say something of the names of these men [for many of them will meet us there]; only, we cannot meet Timotheus here, without some notice taken of him, and some query how he came here. The last year, Paul left him at Ephesus, when himself came thence; and, being come thence into Macedonia, he sends him an Epistle, with his earnest desire in it, that he would stay there still, upon that needful employment upon which he was left[c]:—how, then, is Timothy now got to him into Macedonia, so that he is with him at his setting away from Philippi? We have not, indeed, any intimation, that Paul sent for him away, as we have of his sending for Titus, whom he left in Crete, intendedly for a longer time; but it is very probable, that Paul, designing to have sailed for Syria, came near to him; and, there discovering the danger, that was laid in his way by the Jews, which might also have enfolded Timothy,—he brought him away back again with him, and so both returned into Macedonia; and now winter is over, they are setting for Asia again.

But when Paul, and this his company, are all going for Asia together, why should they not set out together; but

[b] Acts, xx. 6. [c] 1 Tim. i.

these go before, and tarry at Troas, and Paul, and some other of his company, come after? Nay, they were all to meet at Troas, as it appeareth, ver. 6; why might they not then have gone all together to Troas?

The reason of this was, because Paul himself was to go by Corinth; and, not minding to stay there but very little, because he hastened to Jerusalem, he would not take his whole train thither, but sends them away the next way they could go to Troas, himself promising and resolving to be speedily with them there. He had promised a long time to the church of Corinth, to come unto them; and he had newly sent word, in that Epistle, that he had lately sent, that now his coming would be speedy: "Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you[d];" and, "This is the third time, I am coming to you[e]." Not that he had been there twice before; for, since his first departing thence [when he had stayed there a long time together, at his first planting of the gospel in that place], there is neither mention nor probability of his being there again; but this was the third time 'that he was in coming,' having promised and intended a journey thither once before, but was prevented[f]. But now, he not only promiseth by the Epistle that he will come, but staketh the three brethren that he had sent thither, for witnesses and sureties of that promise[g]; that, in the mouth of those witnesses, his promise might be established and assured.

Now the time is come, that he makes good his promise; and whilst the rest of his company go directly the next cut to Troas, he himself, and Luke, and whom else he thought good to retain with him, go about by Corinth.

And now, to look a little farther into the reason of their thus parting company, and of Paul's short stay at Corinth when he came there,—we may take into thoughts [besides how much he hastened to Jerusalem] the jealousy, that he had that he should not find all things at Corinth so comfortable to himself, and so creditable to them, before those that should come with him, as he desired. He hath many passages in the Second Epistle, that he wrote to them, that

[d] 2 Cor. xii. 14. [e] Chap. xiii. 1. [f] 2 Cor. i. 15—17.
[g] 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2.

glance that way: for, though, as to the general, there was reformation wrought among them upon the receiving of his First Epistle, and, thereupon, he speaketh very excellent things of them,—yet were they not a few that thought basely of him[h], and traduced him and his doctrine[i]; and gave him cause to suspect, that his boasting of that church to the churches of Macedonia, might come off but indifferently, if the Macedonians should come with him to see how all things were there[j]. And, therefore, it was but the good policy of just fear, grief, and prudence, to send them by another way; and he had very just cause to stay but a while, when he came there.

From Corinth, in his short stay there, he writeth

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS;

as hath been well supposed by some of the ancients,—is asserted by the postscript,—and may be concluded from these observations:—

1. That he saith, that he is now going to Jerusalem to bring to the saints that benevolence, that they, of Macedonia and Achaia, had collected for them[k]. The word 'Achaia' tells us, that he now was sure of the Corinthian contribution; which he was not sure of, till he came there.

2. That he commendeth to the Romans, 'Phœbe, a servant of the church of Cenchrea[l];' which Cenchrea, was a place belonging to Corinth, as was observed before, though at some few miles' distance.

3. That he calleth Erastus, 'chamberlain of the city[m];' of whom it is said, "Erastus abode at Corinth[n]."

4. That he calleth Gaius, 'his host,' or the man with whom he lodged; 'and the host of the whole church,' or in whose house strangers had their entertainment[o]; who was a Corinthian[p]. And hence it appeareth, that Gaius, of Derbe, who was one of those that were gone before to Troas, was one man,—and Gaius, of Corinth, was another.

It is true, indeed, that the greetings of some men, were sent in this Epistle, which were not with Paul at this pre-

[h] 2 Cor. x. 1, 2. [i] Chap. xi, and xii. [j] 2 Cor. ix. 4.
[k] Rom. xv. 26. [l] Rom. xvi. 1. [m] Rom. xvi. 23.
[n] 2 Tim. iv. [o] Rom. xvi. 23. [p] 1 Cor. i. 14.

sent in Corinth: as Timothy's[q], who was gone to Troas: and Sosipater's, who was gone thither also [for he, I suppose, is the same with Sopater of Berea[r]]: and this might seem to infringe the truth of this opinion, that holdeth that this Epistle was written from Corinth. But when it is considered, how lately Paul and these men parted, and that it is past doubt that he would acquaint them, before their parting, of his intentions to send to Rome,—it is no difficulty to conceive, how their salutations came inserted into that Epistle.

There are, indeed, some, that confess that it was written from Corinth, but not at this time, but at another; namely, in that time when Paul travelled Greece, of which journey there is mention, Acts xx; in which time, among other places, they conceive he came to Corinth, and there wrote this Epistle. But, 1. It may very well be questioned, whether he were at Corinth, in these three months' travels, or no. For, whereas he had promised to call on them, as he went to Jerusalem[s] [which he intended, when he travelled those three months, but that he discovered that the Jews lay in wait for him], he excuseth himself for not coming according to that promise[t]. And if it were granted, that he was at Corinth at that time,—yet, 2. He could not write this Epistle at that time; because, when he wrote it, he knew the contribution of the Corinthian church was then ready[u]; which, when he travelled Greece, either indeed was not so, or at least he knew not that it was; as appeareth copiously in his Second Epistle to that church.

The apostle, in this most sublime Epistle, clears fully and divinely, the two great mysteries of the gospel, 'righteousness by faith,' and 'the calling of the Gentiles.' And, in the handling of these, he handles the great points, original sin, election, and casting off of the Jews. He lays this position down concerning the first[v]: That "in the gospel is revealed the righteousness of God, justifying,"—as in the law was revealed his righteousness or justice 'condemning;'—and that "from faith,"—of immediate innixion upon God, as was Adam's before his fall; and, as was that, which the Jews

[q] Rom. xvi. 20. [r] Acts, xx. 4. [s] 1 Cor. xvi. 7. [t] 2 Cor. i. 16, 17.
[u] Rom. xv. 26. [v] Rom. i. 17.

owned in God,—"to faith," in the righteousness of another; namely, Christ. This way of justification he proveth, first, by showing how far all men, both by nature and action, are from possibility of being justified of, or by, themselves; which he cleareth, by the horrid sinfulness of the heathen, chap. i [a large proof of which might be read at Rome, at that very instant]; and little less sinfulness of the Jews, though they had the law, chap. ii and iii; and therefore concludeth, chap. iii. 30, that God justifieth the circumcision by faith [and not by works, as they stood upon it], and the uncircumcision through faith [for all their works that had been so abominable, and that seemed so contrary to justification]. In chap. iv, he taketh up the example of Abraham, whom the Jews reputed most highly justified by his works; for they had this saying of him, אברהם קיים את התורה כלה "Abraham performed all the law, every whit:" but he proveth, that he found nothing by his own works,—but, by believing, he found all. In chap. v, he proves the imputation of Christ's righteousness for justification, by the parallel of the imputation of Adam's sin for condemnation: not at all intending to assert, that as many, as were condemned by Adam, were freed from that condemnation by the death of Christ; but purposely and only to prove the one imputation by the other.

It was a strange doctrine, in the ears of a Jew, to hear of being justified by the righteousness of another; therefore, he proves it by the like, men's being condemned for, and by, the unrighteousness of another. Two close-couched passages clear what he aimeth at: the first is in ver. 12; Διὰ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ, &c. "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world," &c. The word ὥσπερ, *as*, properly requireth a *so* to follow it, as you may observe it doth, in ver. 15. 18, 19; but here there is no such thing expressed; therefore, it is so to be understood; and the apostle's words to be construed to this sense:—"Wherefore it is," or the case is here as it was in Adam, "as by one man sin entered into the world," &c. there imputation, so here. The second is ver. 18, in the original 'verbatim' thus:—"As by the transgression of one, upon all men to condemnation,—so by the righteousness of one, upon all men to justification of life." What! upon all men? Our translation hath added some words to

clear the sense, but the shortness of the apostle's style doth better clear his intent; namely, to intimate imputation: as speaking to this purpose;—"As, by the transgression of one, there was that, that redounded to all to condemnation, —so, by the righteousness of one, there is that, that redoundeth to all to justification of life." And, to clear that he meaneth not, that all, that were condemned by Adam's fall, were redeemed by Christ,—he at once showeth the descent of original sin, and the descent of it for all the death and righteousness of Christ, "Quæ tamen profuerunt, antequam fuerunt." Ver. 13: "For till the law, sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed, where there is no law. Nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses." By what law was sin sin, and did death reign, when the law was not yet given? namely, by that law that was given to Adam, and he brake; the guilt of which violation descends to all.

Having, to the end of the fifth chapter, stated and proved justification by faith,—in chap. vi, vii, and viii, he speaks of the state of persons justified; which though they be not without sin, yet their state, compared with Adam's, even whilst he was sinless, it is far better than his: he, invested in a created, finite, changeable, human righteousness; they, in the righteousness of God, uncreate, infinite, unchangeable: he, having the principles of his holiness and righteousness in his own nature,—they, theirs conveyed from Christ: he, having neither Christ nor the Spirit, but left to himself and his natural purity; they, having both. See chap. viii. 1, 2. 9, 10, &c.

At the nineteenth verse of chap. viii, he begins upon the second mystery that he hath to treat upon,—the calling of the Gentiles; whom he calls πᾶσα κτίσις 'the whole creation,' or 'every creature:' by which title they also are called, Mark xvi. 15, Col. i. 23: and he shows, how they were subject to vanity of idolatry, and the delusions of the devil; but must, in time, be delivered from this bondage, for which deliverance they now groaned: and not they only, but they of the Jews also, which had received the first-fruits of the Spirit, longed for their coming in, waiting for the adoption,—that is, the redemption of their whole body: for the church of the Jews was but the childlike body; and, accordingly,

their ordinances were according to the childlike age of the church: but the stature of the fulness of Christ's mystical body, was in the bringing in of the Gentiles. Being to handle this great point of the calling of the Gentiles, and rejection of the Jews, he begins at the bottom, at the great doctrine of predestination, which he handles from ver. 29 of chap. viii, to chap. ix. 24: and then he falls upon the other;—that Israel stumbled at Messias and fell, seeking indeed after righteousness, but not his, but their own; and that they are cast away, but not all; a remnant to be saved, that belonged to the election of grace. As it was in the time when the world was heathen, some of them that belonged to the election, came in and were proselyted to the worship of the true God; so some of these, while all the rest of their nation lie in unbelief. And in this unbelief must they lie, till the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and then all God's Israel is completed.

The most that he salutes in the last chapter, appear to have been of the Jewish nation, and the most of them, though now at Rome, yet sometime to have been of Paul's company and acquaintance in some other place. The expulsion of the Jews out of Rome, by Claudius's decree, might very well bring many of them into his converse; as well as it did Priscilla and Aquila, whom he names first among them. Epenetus was one of his own converts of Achaia; Mary had bestowed much labour on him, yet he, hitherto, had never been near Rome. He that would dispute the point of the first planter of the gospel at Rome, might do well to make the first muster of his thoughts here. And whereas the apostle speaks of the faith of the Roman church, as spoken of throughout the world[w];—it is very questionable, whether he look to the times before the decree of Claudius,—or those since Claudius's death, when all the scattered were returned again, and many of those that had come out unbelieving Jews, had returned Christians thither; as I believe the case was of Aquila and Priscilla: and some, converted in other places, had now taken up their residence there, as Epenetus, Andronicus, and Junia, &c.

Those whose salutations he sendeth thither, may be the

[w] Chap. i. ver. 8.

better judged of, who they were, by observing who were of his retinue at this time, which are named, Acts xx. 4; as, 1. Timothy. 2. Lucius, who seemeth to be Luke, called now by a Latin name, in an Epistle to the Latins. He was with Paul at Corinth, at the sending away of the Epistle: for having mentioned the others that were gone to Troas, 'these,' saith he, stayed 'for us;' joining himself in Paul's company now going to Corinth. 3. Jason seemeth to be he, that is called 'Secundus,' Acts xx. 4: the one his Hebrew name, and the other the same in Latin; for Secundus is said to be a Thessalonian, and so was Jason[x]. 4. Sosipater here, in all probability, is he that is called Sopater of Berea there. 5. Tertius, that wrote out the Epistle, it may be, was Silas: a Hebrician will see a fair likelihood of the one name in the other, it being written in Hebrew letters שלש: and the Hebrew names to the Romans are rendered in the Roman idiom. 6. Gaius, the same in Greek with the ordinary Latin name Caius: it appears that he was a Corinthian[y], and in that Paul here calls him, "Mine host, and the host of the whole church:" to the understanding of which, the observing of a custom of the Jews may give some illustration. Maimonides, in his treatise concerning the Sabbath, speaking about that rite that they used of hallowing the sabbath with a set form of words at his coming in, hath this saying[z]: "This hallowing of the sabbath may not be used, but only in the place where they eat: as, for example, he may not use the hallowing words in one house, and eat in another. Why then do they use the hallowing word in the synagogue? because of travellers, that do eat and drink there." Where the gloss upon the place comments thus; "It is evident, that they did not eat in their synagogues at all [as it is apparent in the eleventh chapter of Maimonides' treatise of Prayer], but in a house near the synagogue: and there they sat at the hearing of the hallowing of the sabbath," &c. It may be observed from hence, that strangers and travellers were entertained in a place near the synagogue [compare Acts xviii. 7], which was a public Xenodochion, or receptacle of strangers, at the charge of the congregation: which laudable custom, it is almost apparent, was transplanted into the Chris-

[x] Acts, xvii. 7. [y] 1 Cor. i. 14. [z] Cap. 30.

tian churches in those times: as compare such passages as those, Heb. xiii. 2; Acts, xv. 4. And possibly those 'Agapæ,' or 'feasts of charity,' spoken of in the Epistles of the apostles, are to be understood of these loving and charitable entertainments of strangers. "These are spots in your feasts of charity; when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear[a]." False teachers,—travelling abroad undiscovered, and being entertained in these public receptacles for strangers, and at the public charge,—would find there a fit opportunity for themselves to vent their errors and deceptions. In this sense, may Gaius very properly be understood, 'the host of the whole church,' as being the officer, or chief overseer, employed by the Corinthian church for these entertainments: in which, also, it was almost inevitable, but some women should have their employment: according to which custom, we may best understand such places as these; "Phœbe, a servant of the church at Cenchrea, she hath been a succourer of many;"—"Mary bestowed much labour on us;" Rom. xvi. 1. 6; and see 1 Tim. v. 9, 10, &c. He speaketh also of other women, of whom he giveth this testimony, that they 'laboured much in the Lord;' as "Tryphena, and Tryphosa, and Persis[b];" which may either be understood in the like sense: or, if not so, of their great pains some other way for the honour and promotion of the gospel, and benefit of the saints and themselves: as, by visiting and relieving the poor and sick, taking pains in following the ministers of the gospel, and venturing themselves with them: hiding and cherishing them in times of danger, and so venturing themselves for them: and so, he saith, "Priscilla and Aquila for his life laid down their own necks," &c. He salutes three of his own kinsmen, Andronicus, and Junia, and Herodion: the two first were converted before him, and were of note among the apostles: either being of the number of the seventy disciples, or eminent converts, and close followers of Christ, or of the apostles in those first times. He calls them his "fellow-prisoners:" but if he had called them his prisoners, it had been easier to have told when and how. For they were in Christ, whilst he was a persecutor: but when they were imprisoned with

[a] Jude, ver. 12. [b] Rom. xvi. 12.

him, after his conversion, is hard to find out. Among all that he salutes so kindly, where is Peter? If he were now at Rome, how was he forgotten?

ACTS, chap. XX, ver. 6.

" And we came to them to Troas in five days: where we abode seven days."

And so to ver. 17 of chap. XXI.

FROM Philippi, after Easter, he setteth away for Corinth; where he stayed so little, that he came to Troas within five days after the company was come thither, which had gone before: for so are the 'five days' to be understood: not that Paul, in five days, went from Philippi to Corinth and Troas; but that his company, which was set out with him, but set directly for Troas, had stayed but five days at Troas, before he came up to them.

There he celebrates the Lord's day, and the Lord's supper, and preacheth and discourseth all night [a thing not altogether strange in the Jewish customs; " R. Mair was teaching profoundly all the night of the sabbath in the synagogue of Chamath[c]"]. So that Eutychus sleeps, and falls, and is taken up dead, but recovered by miracle. The change and beginning and end of the Christian sabbath, may be observed here.

When he goes now from thence, it is most likely, it was the time when he left his cloak, books, and parchments, with Carpus[d]. 'His cloak:' for he was now going among his own nation in Judea; and there he was to wear his Jewish habit: and he left his Roman garb here, till he should come into those Roman quarters again. It may be, 'the parchments' were the originals of those Epistles, that he had already written: for that he sent transcripts, and reserved the original copies, may be collected from these passages; " I Tertius, who wrote out this Epistle[e];" " The salutation of me Paul with my own hand[f]," which was, " the token in every epistle[g];" for all the Epistle beside was written with another hand.

From Troas, by several journeys, he cometh to Miletum:

[c] Jerus. Sotah, fol. 16. 4. [d] 2 Tim. iv. 13. [e] Rom. xvi. 22.
[f] 1 Cor. xvi. 21. Col. iv. 18. [g] 2 Thes. iii. 17.

and thither he sends for the elders of the church of Ephesus, which city was near at hand. But who were these? Not Timothy and Trophimus; for they were in his company already, and had been with him in his journey hither: but these twelve men, upon whom he had laid his hands, and bestowed on them the Holy Ghost, and so fitted them for the ministry[h]; and whomsoever besides Timothy had ordained into the ministry, whilst he was there.

Although the Ephesian, and the rest of the Asian churches, were but in an ill case at this time, in regard of false doctrines, and much apostasy that had corrupted and cankered them,—yet doth the apostle foresee, that the case will be worse and worse with them still, and that grievous wolves should yet break in upon them. And this he concludeth, not only from the boldness that he was assured false teachers would use and assume to themselves, when he was gone,—but from those predictions of Christ, that had foretold what sad apostasy should occur, and what false teachers should arise, before the great day of Jerusalem came, which was now coming on apace.

ACTS, chap. XXI, ver. 17.

"And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly." &c.

PAUL is now got to Jerusalem: and the first thing that we have to do about his story there, is, to calculate the time, and consider what year it was, when he came thither: and to prove, if we can, that it was the second year of Nero, according as we have superscribed that year: for this is of import, as to the fixing of those chronicle observations, that we are to take up hereafter.

The common consent in all times, hath fixed his coming to Jerusalem, and apprehension there, to this year; and yet, amongst all that have so concluded upon it, there is none that hath given any one clear proof or evidence at all for such an assertion. Eusebius, Ado, Cassiodore, Baronius, Lorinus, and divers others, are of this mind; yet, whereupon they grounded their opinion, is hard to find; nay, it is hard

[h] Acts, xix. 6.

to find, among many of them, any that goeth about to show any groundwork for it at all. It would, therefore, save a great deal of labour, to take their consent without any more ado; and it might carry good credit with it, to go along with so general a tenet upon the word of so many learned men: yet, that we may not go altogether led blindfold by others, let these things towards the proof of it be taken into consideration. And, first, let us draw a chronicle of Nero's time.

NERO.

1
2
3
4 Poppæa becomes Nero's paramour.
5 Nero slays his mother Agrippina.
6
7
8 Poppæa becomes Nero's wife. Pallas dieth.
9
10 Albinus is governor of Judea.
11 Florus cometh in governor instead of Albinus.
12 The first beginning of the wars of the Jews.
13
14

Although these things, affixed to the several years of Nero, may seem very heterogeneal to the thing we have in hand,—yet we shall find them of good use, when we have first cleared their truth and certainty.

1. That Poppæa became Nero's minion in his fourth year, is apparent by Tacitus, Annal. lib. 13, sect. 13: where he placeth the beginning of their adulterous acquaintance A.U.C. 811, under the consulship of Nero III. and Valerius Messala.

2. That Nero slew his mother Agrippina in his fifth year, the same Tacitus also asserteth, lib. 14, sect. 1; placing that fact A.U.C. 812, under the consulship of C. Vipsanius and Fonteius Capito.

3. The marrying of Poppæa to Nero, as his wife, he placeth in his eighth year; Annal. lib. 14, sect. 9; viz. A.U.C. 815,

under the consulship of P. Marius and L. Asinius: and in the same year he placeth the death of Pallas.

4. The beginning of the wars of the Jews, in Nero's twelfth, and the entrance of Gessius Florus into the government, the year before, is confirmed under this testimony of Josephus[i]: Καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλώρου: δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς. Out of which, how Baronius can bring the beginning of Florus's government to be in the tenth of Nero, as he doth, I understand not; for if the twelfth year of Nero were Florus's second, then the eleventh was his first.

And now let us take in some things more, which we must apply to these times mentioned, to help us in the inquest we are about.

1. Josephus saith, that "when Portius Festus came into Felix's room in the government of Judea, the chief of the Jews of Cæsarea went to Rome to accuse Felix; and he had been certainly punished for his unjust dealing with the Jews, had not Nero been very favourable to him, at the entreaty of his brother Pallas, who was then very much in Cæsar's esteem[j]."

2. The same Josephus, also, speaking of the government of Festus in Judea, he first mentioneth, how he found the country infested with rebels and robbers, whom he overthrew: then he relateth, how king Agrippa built his palace so at Jerusalem, as that it overtopped the temple-courts: which the Jews disliking, built a counter-wall, to hinder the prospect, that it should not view their service and actions in the temple. At this, Agrippa and Festus took distaste, and Festus commanded that the wall should be pulled down: but the Jews desired they might send agents to Rome about this matter, which they did. And when Nero heard the case, οὐ μόνον συνέγνω περὶ τοῦ πραχθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεχώρησεν, οὕτως ἐᾷν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν· τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππαίᾳ, (θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν) ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεηθείσῃ χαριζόμενος. "He did not only pardon the thing done, but he also consented to suffer the building so to stand: vouchsafing this at the entreaty of his wife Poppæa, for she was devout[k]," &c.

[i] Antiq. lib. 20. cap. ult. [j] Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 7. [k] Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.

Observe the last words, "At the entreaty of his wife Poppæa."

3. The same Josephus again relateth a journey of his own to Rome, in these words: "When I was six-and-twenty years old, I went to Rome upon this occasion. When Felix was governor of Judea, he sent certain priests, my near acquaintance, and very good men, for a small cause, to Rome, to appear before Cæsar. For whose deliverance I, desiring to find some means, went to Rome; and there, by means of a certain Jew, Ποππίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωσθείς, I came to be known to Poppæa, Cæsar's wife."

Baronius doth revile Josephus here, as if he had forgot his own age: "Videas in his [saith he] quæ suæ ætatis sunt, suo ipsius testimonio convinci, annorum sex turpiter errantem." And wherein? "Quia affirmat se, agentem annum supra vigesimum sextum, sub Felice, Judææ præside, Romam venisse." But Josephus saith no such word. He saith, indeed, that he went to Rome to labour the deliverance of some men, that Felix had sent thither in the time of his government; but that Felix was in his government when he went thither, he saith not at all.—

And now, to take up what we have to observe upon these things, that have been spoken:—

1. It is true, indeed, as Tacitus witnesseth, that Pallas, the brother of Felix, who had been Claudius's great favourite, and so Nero's also in Claudius's time,—did wane and decrease somewhat in his favour, in a very short time after his entrance into his reign: but he was not utterly laid flat, and out at all, till after Poppæa came into favour and amorousness; who forwarded the death of Agrippina, and the bringing down of those, that were of her party,—as Pallas was. Therefore, the power of Pallas with the emperor seemeth to be expired in Nero's fifth year, in which Agrippina was slain. And, by this account, we cannot extend Felix's escape, for his brother Pallas's sake, beyond Nero's fourth year. For considering Poppæa's prevalency with the emperor, when once she became his paramour; and considering her detestation of Agrippina and her faction, of which Pallas was the chief,—we cannot cast Felix's discharge, for Pallas's sake, beyond Nero's fourth.

2. Paul lay two years prisoner at Cæsarea under Felix: "After two years, Portius Festus came into Felix's room[1]." Many are the conjectures about these two years. Baronius saith, it was 'Expleto biennio Neronis.' Magister 'Historiæ Scholasticæ,' saith it was 'Biennium ab accusatione Felicis a Judæis.' A Lapide cares not to think, that "Biennium hoc inchoandum a præfectura Felicis in Judæa, nam ante illud præfuerat Trachonitidi Batanææ et Gaulonitidi," &c. But it is most proper to hold, that these 'two years' mean the time of Paul's being a prisoner under Felix; from the time of his apprehension under Lysias, the chief captain, till Felix's going out of his government: and so it is held by Beda, Beza, Salmeron, Onuphrius, and others. And this is so proper and suitable to the intent and discourse of Luke, that it needeth no illustration or proof of it: and it is most agreeable to the Scripture's manner of accounting in all other places.

These two things, then, being thus concluded on, it will follow, that Paul's apprehension was in Nero's second, and Felix went out of office in Nero's fourth, before Poppæa was yet got into her potency: and the accounting of Paul's two years' imprisonment under Felix to be thus;—At Pentecost, in Nero's second, he is apprehended; and, at Pentecost, in Nero's third, he had been a year prisoner: and, at Pentecost, in Nero's fourth, his two years are up: and that spring it was, that Felix went out of office, and went to Rome to make his answer; and Pallas, his brother, not yet utterly out of favour, makes his peace. And now let us draw up the chronology of Nero's time to the full, according to these evidences, and as referreth to our occasion:—

CHRIST.	NERO.	
55	1	Paul at Ephesus: goeth to Macedonia, Crete, Greece; to Macedonia again, and wintereth in Nicopolis.
56	2	Paul at Macedonia till Easter: then goeth up to Jerusalem, and is apprehended at Pentecost; and from that time till the year go out, is a prisoner.

[1] Acts, xxiv. 27.

YEAR OF CHRIST 56.

CHRIST.	NERO.	
57	3	Paul a prisoner all this year, under Felix.
58	4	Felix removed. Festus cometh in: Paul shipped towards Rome, but wintereth by the way.
		Poppæa in Nero's eye, and becomes his minion.
59	5	Festus governor of Judea. Paul, after wintering in his journey, cometh to Rome: and this is the first year of his imprisonment there. Nero killeth his mother Agrippina.
60	6	Festus governor of Judea. Paul's second year's imprisonment at Rome.
61	7	Festus governor of Judea.
62	8	Festus governor of Judea. Nero marrieth Poppæa.
63	9	Festus governor: it may be, Albinus came in some time this year: and then was James the Less slain this year.
64	10	Albinus governor of Judea.
65	11	Florus governor of Judea.
66	12	Florus governor of Judea. The wars begin.
67	13	
68	14	Nero dieth, having reigned thirteen years and eight months.

ACTS, XXI, from ver. 17 to the end of the chapter.

PAUL cometh to Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost, when the city was now full of conflux to that festival. He resorteth instantly to James, the residentiary apostle of the circumcision, for holding correspondency sake; and there he shows him the manner and fruit of his ministry among the Gentiles. Which, both by James and the elders that were with him, is well approved of, as to the thing itself: but they certify him of what complaints they heard from the Jews against him, for crying down the rites of Moses, especially circumcision; "That thou teachest all the Jews, which are among the Gentiles, to forsake Moses, saying, That they ought not to circumcise their children," ver. 21.

Now, because thousands of the Jews which believed, were yet zealous of the law, this gave much offence. But did Paul teach thus or not? No doubt he did, and it behoved him so to do: nor does, nor can, James except against the doctrine: for though it is true, that he, and Paul, and the other apostles, permitted compliance with some of the Jewish rites for peace' sake for a while, as there is an example in this very place,—yea, Paul himself circumcised Timothy upon that reason;—yet the use of circumcision, as these that stood upon it, used it, was utterly inconsistent with the gospel. Hear this apostle's doctrine: "Behold I, Paul, say unto you, That if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law[m]." A converted Jew would have his son circumcised: Paul asks him a reason; what can he answer, but it looks after some justification by it? as their own authors speak their thoughts: "He that is circumcised, is perfect:"—and; "He that is circumcised, shall not go to Gehinnom:"—and; "I said unto thee, In thy blood live[n]; this is the blood of circumcision[o]," &c.

They looked, indeed, upon circumcision as an admission into the covenant: and thereupon the father of the child, at his circumcision, constantly used these words; "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and commanded us to bring the child into the covenant of our father Abraham." And they that stood by said, As thou hast brought him into the covenant, so bring him into the law and into the bridechamber[p]." But, withal, they looked upon this covenant as a covenant of works; for, as we observed before, they reputed Abraham himself so justified. Good cause, therefore, had Paul to stand out against the convert Jews' circumcising their children, as whereby the doctrine of justification by faith was utterly enervated and made of no effect. And here, by the way, let us conceive we heard Paul and one of these parents disputing upon this point. 'Circumcise not thy child (saith Paul); for, if thou dost, thou layest an obligation upon him

[m] Gal. v. 2. [n] Ezek. xvi. 6. [o] Tanchum, in Gen. xvii and xviii, &c.
[p] Jerus. in Beracoth, fol. 13. col. 1.

to observe the whole law:' and this may note to us, that the sacrament carried an obligation with it, and obliged an infant, though he knew not what law or obligation meant: baptism is for obligation as well as this, and a child capable of the obligation, though he understood not what it means. 'Aye but (says the parent), I will not look upon it, as in way to justification; I will only use it for the child's admission into the covenant of grace.'—If infants' baptism were not now in use for such a purpose, let one that denies it, tell me, what Paul had to answer.

James urgeth not Paul at all to any public recantation of his doctrine; but adviseth him, by purifying himself and Judaizing a little in the temple, to give some public testimony for their satisfaction, that he was not such an enemy to Moses, as he was reported: which he agreeth to. For the temple-rites might have better plea, while the temple stood, than circumcision, which was none of them. On the second or third day of his purification, some Asian Jews raise a tumult against him. It is not so properly rendered, "And when the seven days were almost ended" [ver. 27], as rather, "And as the seven days were to have been accomplished:" the computing of these twelve days, mentioned chap. xxiv. 11, enforce, that they should be so interpreted.

They found him in the second court of the temple, 'the court of the women,' whither no heathen came [though they might come into the outer court, called 'the mountain of the house']; and thither they supposed and pretended that he had brought a Gentile,—Trophimus, an Ephesian: for which he is fallen upon with that they called מכות מרדות 'The rebel's beating,' stripes without number, the people falling pell mell upon him. Which was the way [as the Jews' records inform us], that the priests were dealt withal, that came into the next court above this, when any of them was deprehended there in their uncleanness: they never stood upon it, to bring him to judicial trial; but his fellows fell upon him, with the fagot-sticks of the altar, or what came to hand, and mauled him with blows without measure, even unto death. And so had Paul been served now, had not the Roman commander come and been his rescue. Yet did

he suppose him an offender; and questions him whether he were not that Egyptian, that, not long before that time, had made an insurrection. Josephus giveth this story[q] thus: "At that time, there cometh one to Jerusalem, out of Egypt, pretending himself to be a prophet: and he counselled the common people, that they should go with him to mount Olivet, and that there he would show them, how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem would fall: But Felix understanding this, sent some horse and foot against them, and slew four hundred of them" [our text here says four thousand], "and took two hundred prisoners."

ACTS, chap. XXII.

PAUL apologizeth to the people: telleth his education, conservation, and conversion: and relating how, by a divine vision, he was appointed to go to the Gentiles, they begin a new commotion, which the chief captain again pacifieth; but yet thinks Paul some notable villain; or else, that there would never have been so terrible cries against him: he would now have scourged him, but that he understood he was a Roman: therefore, he turns to another course, and the next day brings him before the Sanhedrim. The sitting of that bench was little at Jerusalem now: for, as we have observed, they were unnested from Jerusalem divers years ago, and their most constant residence at present was at Jabneh: only they were now come up to the festival.

ACTS, chap. XXIII, and XXIV, to ver. 27.

RABBAN Simeon, the son of Rabban Gamaliel, Paul's master, was president of the great council at this time; for Gamaliel was dead some two or three years ago. Of him, the Jews have this saying[r]: "From the time that old Rabban Gamaliel died, the honour of the law ceased; for till then they read and learned the law standing,—but after his death, sitting." Onkelos, the Targumist of the law, burnt a great quantity of frankincense for him at his obsequies[s]. Whether Rabban Simeon, the president, were present at this session or no, Ananias the high-priest is as busy, as if

[q] Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 6. [r] In Sotah, cap. 9. [s] Juchasin, fol. 53.

he had been chief president himself: but Paul cares for him as little, as he busied himself much. He calls him 'whited wall,' or arrant painted hypocrite: and when he was checked for reviling God's high-priest, "I know not, brethren (saith he), that he is high-priest:" for, if I took him for such a one, I would not so have spoken to him; since it is written, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of my people."—It is not possible, that Paul should not know who and what Ananias was: but it is very indifferent, whether we understand this, as not owning this man for a lawful high-priest, or not owning any lawful high-priesthood now at all. The man, base and usurping; and the function of the high-priesthood disanulled by the great High-priest, who had accomplished all that it typified,—and the place of the high-priesthood being become a common merchandise, obtained by money, and favour, and despatching one another.

By a holy policy he divides the council, and professing himself by education a Pharisee; and of that belief in the point of the resurrection, he not only sets Pharisees and Sadducees to a hot contestation between themselves, but he makes the Pharisees, so far as to that opinion, to take his part. It had been possible to have set the Hillelian and Shammean party together by the ears, by a bone handsomely cast between them; for the council had these factions in it, and their feud was as deadly; but Paul could own no article of their divisions, that was worth his owning,—they were so trivial, and below his cognizance. It is the confession of the Jerusalem Gemarists[t], "That the fault of their great ones under the second temple, was love of money, and hatred one of another."

Paul, in the hubbub, is rescued again by the soldiery; and, that night, by revelation, is warranted to appeal to Cæsar, by being informed he must go to Rome. A conspiracy of a pack of cut-throats to murder him, is prevented, and he is sent to Cæsarea to Felix, where he lies prisoner two years. By such packing and combining of murderers, it may easily be conjectured, what temper the nation was now in. Josephus's character of it at these times is, "That the affairs of the Jews grew every day worse and worse, and that the

[t] In Joma, fol. 38. col. 3.

country was full of thieves and sorcerers; but Felix was daily picking them up to penalty after their desert;" the greater thief, the less; for his character yields him no better. Tacitus says enough of him, when he speaks but this, "Antonius Felix, per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit[u]:" upon which, Josephus will give you a large comment, of his intolerable covetousness, polling, cruelty, sacrilege, murdering, and all manner of wickedness. His injuriousness to Paul, in the story before us, and the very naming of his wife Drusilla, may be brand enough upon him: for her, by enticements and magical tricks, he allured to himself from her husband, and married her: and him he kept prisoner two years wrongfully, because he would not bribe him. In his pleading before him, he makes him tremble; but it is but a qualm and away.

Paul is a prisoner, this year, at Cæsarea, under Felix. A great city of Jews and Greeks mixedly: the
57 *Christ.* place where the first spark of Jews' wars kindled
3 *Nero.* afterward. A famous university of Jews in time, if so be it was not so at this time.

ACTS, chap. XXIV. ver. 27.

PAUL still a prisoner at Cæsarea, under Felix, for the first part of this year: then cometh Festus
58 *Christ.* into the government; and Felix packeth to
4 *Nero.* Rome to answer for his misdemeanours.

ACTS, chap. XXV, and XXVI.

PAUL answereth for himself, first before Festus alone; then before Agrippa and his sister Bernice. This Agrippa was his son, whose death is related Acts xii: he, by the favour of Claudius the emperor, succeeded his brother-in-law-uncle, Herod [for such relations did that incestuous family find out], in the kingdom of Chalcis. For Bernice his sister had married Herod, king of Chalcis, her uncle and his, who was now dead; and this Agrippa succeeded him in his kingdom, being also king of Judea. Of this Agrippa, as it is most probable, there is frequent mention among the

[u] Histor. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Hebrew writers; as particularly this,—that king Agrippa reading the law, in the latter end of the year of release, as it was enjoined, and coming to those words, "Thou shalt not set a stranger-king over thee, which is not of thy brethren[v]," the tears ran down his cheeks [for he was not of the seed of Israel]; which the congregation observing, cried out, "Be of good comfort, O king Agrippa, thou art our brother."—He was of their religion, though not of their blood, and well versed in all the laws and customs, as Paul speaks, chap. xxvi. 3.

Bernice, his sister, now a widow, lived with him, and that in more familiarity than was for their credit; afterward she fell into the like familiarity with Titus, the son of Vespasian, when he came up to the Jews' wars. There is mention in Jerusalem, in Taanith[w], and again in Megillah[x], of "the scribes or learned Jews of Chalcis, against whom the people rose and tumultuated." [In the one place it is written כולקים, in the other כלקים.] It may be, they were of this Agrippa's planting there.

As Paul pleads for himself, Festus takes him to be beside himself: but Agrippa, better acquainted with those kind of things that he spake of, was much moved; and concludes, that had he not appealed to Cæsar, he might have been quit. What he did in this appeal, was not a small thing; and it is very questionable, whether ever Jew had appealed from their own Sanhedrim, to the heathen tribunal before. But for this he had a divine warrant.

ACTS, chap. XXVII.

PAUL shipped for Rome; and Luke with him, and Aristarchus, a Thessalonian. Paul calls him his fellow-prisoner[y]; whether now, or not till he came to Rome, is a question: Trophimus, an Ephesian, is also now with him[z], whom he leaves sick at Miletum, as he passeth by those coasts of Asia; and there likewise he leaves Timothy[a]. Who else of those, that went with him to Jerusalem[b], were now with him, is uncertain. It was now far in the year, and winter entering,

[v] Deut. xvii. 15. [w] Fol. 66. col. 1. [x] Fol. 70. col. 3.
[y] Col. iv. 10. [z] Acts, xxi. 29. [a] Acts, xxvii. 2. 2 Tim. iv. 20.
[b] Acts, xx. 4.

for the feast of expiation was over; so that they met with a tempestuous journey, and at last suffer shipwreck, and swim for their lives, and do all escape. The reader, by the time of the writing of the Second Epistle[c] to the Corinthians, which he hath passed, will easily see, that what he speaks there, "A day and a night have I been in the deep," cannot be understood of his shipwreck now, but refers to some time a good while ago.

ACTS, XXVIII, from the beginning to ver. 30.

PAUL and his company are, the three winter months, in Malta: where he doth some miracles. And
59 *Christ.* when winter was now drawing over, they put
5 *Nero.* to sea again, in an "Alexandrian bottom, whose badge was Castor and Pollux:" or the picture of two young men on white horses, with either of them a javelin in his hand, and by him half an egg and a star: whom heathenish folly and superstition conceited to have been twins, begotten by Jupiter, and deities favourable to those that sailed on the sea. And this seemeth to have been the reason, why Luke doth mention this circumstance; because he would intimate the men's superstition, as expecting better sailing under this badge, than they had had.

From Melita they sail to Syracuse, in Sicily, and there abide three days: from thence to Rhegium, in Italy, and from thence to Puteoli: there they find Christians, and stay with them seven days; and then set away for Rome. At Appii Forum, about fifty miles from the city, some of the Roman Christians, hearing of their coming, come to meet them: and at the 'Tres Tabernæ,' thirty-three from the city, they met with more: and so they enjoy the society of one another some space together, as they travel along; which was no small refreshing to Paul, who had desired, so much and so long, to see them.

[c] 2 Cor. xi. 25.

ACTS, XXVIII.

Ver. 30. *"And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him,*

31. *"Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him."*

JULIUS the centurion, that had brought him and the rest of the prisoners from Judea, had been his friend and favourer, from their first setting out[d]; and so continued, even to the time of his settling in Rome: obtaining him this liberty, that he might take lodgings of his own,—and there he was kept under a restraintless restraint. After three days he sends for the chief of the Jews, and lays open his case before them; and, upon a day appointed, he asserteth and expoundeth the truth and doctrine of the gospel; whereupon some believe, but others do the rather become his enemies.

His accusers, that were come from Judea to lay in his charge against him [for we can hardly suppose otherwise, but that some such were come], would be urgent to get their business despatched, that they might be returning to their own homes again; and so would bring him to trial as soon as they could: and that his trial was reasonable early this year, it appeareth by his own words in the Second Epistle to Timothy, where he speaketh of his answer that he had been at, and requireth Timothy to come to him before winter[e].

As he appealed to Nero himself, so Nero himself heard his cause[f] [and here, it was possible, Paul and Seneca might see each other]; at which time, all that had owned him before, withdrew themselves for fear, and durst not stand by him, or appear with him in this danger.

Tacitus[g] mentioneth a case much like his, which had been tried two years before,—namely, of Pomponia Græcina, a noble lady of Rome,—concerning a strange religion. "Superstitionis externæ rea, mariti judicio permissa. Isque prisco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famaque

[d] Acts, xxvii. 3. [e] 2 Tim. iv. 16. 21. [f] Phil. i. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 16.
[g] Annal. xiii. 32. ed. Valp. vol. 2. p. 141.

conjugis cognovit, et insontem nuntiavit." This that he calleth 'externa superstitio,' cannot well be understood of any religion, but either Judaism or Christianity: for any heathen superstition did relish so well with them, that it could hardly have brought her into danger. If her peril of life, then, were because of Christianity, as very well it might, it was a terrible example that lay before the Christians there: and if it were not, then this trial of Paul being of a doubtful issue and consequent, and full of danger,—it made poor Paul's friends to shrink aside in this his extremity, and to be to seek, when he had most need of them. "At my first answer (saith he), none stood with me, but all forsook me." In which words, he doth not so much refer to what or how many more answers he was called to [as the postscript of that Epistle seemeth to construe it], as he doth intimate, that, even at the very first pinch and appearance of danger, all that should have been his assistants, started from him. It may be 'Demas's embracing of the present world[h],' signifieth in this sense,—that he forsook Paul, and shifted for himself, and skulked, to avoid the danger: or if it be taken, that he returned to his worldly employment again, or that he returned to his Judaism again,—mean it what it will, we shall see in the story of the next year, that he returned to Paul, and to his station again. So that his failing was but as Peter's denial of his Master,—repented of and recovered. It was a hard case and a great trial with the apostle, when, in so signal an encounter, and so imminent danger of his life, none of the church that was at Rome, nor any of those that were of his own retinue, durst own him, or stand by him, in his exigent: but the Lord was with him, and brought him off safe from the lion's mouth. He, being assured, by this providence of God to him and for him, in his great danger, that he was reserved for the farther benefit of the church and propagating of the gospel, applieth himself to that work the best way he can, considering his condition of imprisonment; and whereas he cannot travel up and down to the churches, to preach to them as he had done, he visiteth divers of them with his Epistles. And, first, he writeth

[h] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

and sendeth it by Crescens, as may be conceived from 2 Tim. iv. 10. For though Demas, and Crescens, and Titus, their departure from Paul be reckoned altogether in that verse,—yet, the reason of their departure cannot be judged to have been alike: for, however Demas started upon some carnal respect, yet Crescens and Titus are not so branded; nor will the eminent piety of the latter suffer us to have any such opinion of him: and the judging of him doth also help us to judge of Crescens, who is joined with him. The post-script of this Epistle, both in the Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and divers other translations, doth generally date it from Rome; Beza, from Antioch; Erasmus, from Ephesus,—but all upon conjecture; for there is no intimation, in the Epistle itself, of the time or place of its writing. Beza, upon these words, in chap. i, ver. 2, "And all the brethren which are with me," saith thus, "Puto sic totum Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterium significari, et inde scriptam hanc Epistolam," &c. "I think by this he meaneth the whole presbytery of the church of Antioch, and that this Epistle was written from thence, at that time that passed between Paul and Barnabas their return into Asia, from their first journey forth, and the coming of those troubles to Antioch, Acts, xiv. 28." But that apostasy in the churches, which the apostle crieth out against in this Epistle, and in others, was not then begun; and, moreover, it may well be questioned, whether the churches of Galatia were then planted. And the former answer may likewise be given to the opinion, that this Epistle was written from Ephesus;—namely, that, at the time of Paul's being at Ephesus, the apostasy, which ere long did sorely and almost epidemically infest the churches, was but then beginning. And this is one reason, why I suppose it written from Rome, at this time that we are upon; because that gangrene in the eastern churches was now come to ripeness, as it appears by the Second Epistle to Timothy, which was written this same year: see 2 Tim. i. 15.

False teachers had brought back the Galatians from the simplicity of the gospel, to their old ceremonious performances again, and to reliance upon the works of the law for

justification: which miscarriage, the apostle taketh sharply to task, in this Epistle. And, first, he vindicates his apostleship, as no whit inferior to Peter, and James, and John, the ministers of the circumcision, and those that chiefly seem to be pillars: and he shows how those approved of him and it: and then he most divinely states the nature of the law, at which was the great stumbling; and especially speaks to that point that they most stood upon, their living in it.

The Lord had laid a stone in Sion, which the Jews could not step over, but stumble at, even to this day: and that is that which is said in Lev. xviii. 5, Ezek. xx. 11, and in other places, which the apostle also toucheth in this Epistle[i]; from whence they concluded that there was no living, no justification, but by the works of the law. The apostle, in the third chapter of this Epistle, lays down two conclusions that determine the case, and resolves all into faith. The first is in ver. 17; namely, that the law was not given to cross the covenant of grace, but to be subservient to it. The second in ver. 10; that the law did plainly show, of itself, that no man could perform it, but it left a man under the curse. Observe, that he saith not, 'As many *as fail* of the works of the law,' but 'as many *as are* of the works of the law:' showing, that the law did not only denounce a curse upon all that performed it not, but plainly demonstrated that none could perform it, and so left all under a curse: and these words, "Cursed is every one, that continueth not in all things," &c. conclude both. So that the law was not given for justification, but to be subservient to the covenant of justification; not to cross the covenant, but to serve it;—not purposely to leave under the curse, but to show the curse, and to drive men to get from under it. So that men might live *in* it, but not *by* it. It was the way, in which men were to go seek for justification; but it was not the cause or means, whereby they were justified. See Gal. iii. 5.—The Jews made the moral law cross to the covenant of grace, whilst they sought to be justified by works: and they made the ceremonial law cross the moral, whilst they resolved all duty into ceremony: and so the law, which in itself was holy, and pure, and good, they turned to death unto themselves by their abuse. They might

have lived *in* the moral law, had they used it aright, though not *by* it: for the more a man sets himself to the exact performance of it, the more he sees he cannot perform it; and therefore he is driven the more to Christ.—But they resolved all into ceremonious performance, and so lost sincerity towards the moral:—and, hereupon, the ceremonial law, good in itself, became to them "statutes not good, and judgments wherein they could not live[j]."

From Rome, also, and reasonable early this year, Paul wrote

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY;

and in it urgeth Timothy to come to him before winter.

Timothy was now at Ephesus, when this Epistle was directed to him; as may be observed out of the Epistle itself, by these collections:—

1. In that he willeth him to salute the household of Onesiphorus[k], who was an Ephesian[l].

2. In that he biddeth him take Troas in his way, as he comes to him[m]; which had been the way that Paul himself had gone from Ephesus[n], and to Ephesus again, Acts xx. 5.

3. In that he warneth him of Alexander[o], who was an Ephesian[p].

There is one passage in this Epistle, which hath caused some to doubt about the time of its writing [for about the place there is no doubt]; and that is, "I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand[q]:" which would make one think, that he was now ready to be martyred, and taken away; and it hath made some believe, that this was the last Epistle that ever he wrote: but when we compare his own words again,—in ver. 17, 18, and Phil. i. 25, and Philem. ver. 22,—it maketh it past controversy, that he speaketh not of his sudden martyrdom, but that he is to be understood in some other sense. But what is that? Baronius giveth this gloss; "The words of Paul, concerning his speedy death, seem not possibly otherwise to be understood, than that God had revealed it

[j] Ezek. xx. 25. [k] 2 Tim. iv. 19. [l] Chap. i. 16. 18.
[m] 2 Tim. iv. 14. [n] 2 Cor. ii. 12. [o] 2 Tim. iv. 14.
[p] 1 Tim. i. 20. Acts, xix. 33. [q] Chap. iv. 6.

to him, that he should suffer death under Nero. For that time might very well seem near, which was to be fulfilled under the same prince." Aye, but Nero, for his age, might have reigned fifty or sixty years after the apostle's writing of this Epistle; and so the last words of this gloss are but a very poor salving. And, indeed, the resolution of the difficulty lieth open and conspicuous in the text itself. Paul looked upon Timothy as the prime and choice man that was to succeed him in the work of the gospel, when he himself should be dead and gone: as being a young man, not only of singular qualifications for that work, but of whom there had been special prophecies and predictions to such a purpose[r], as was observed before. He exhorts him, therefore, in this place, to improve all his pains and parts to the utmost, to do the work of an evangelist, and to make proof of his ministry to the full; for that he himself could not last long, being now grown old and worn with travel,—and, besides all this, in bonds at present, and so in continual danger: therefore, must Timothy be fitting himself daily to take his work up when he was gone.

With Timothy, he desires that Mark may come along with him to Rome, whom we observed to be at Corinth at Paul's last coming thither: and one clause in this Epistle seemeth also to speak to that matter: "Erastus abode at Corinth, but Trophimus I left at Miletum sick[s]."—'Erastus abode at Corinth;' why, that Timothy knew without any information, for he was with Paul all along that journey, when Erastus went to Corinth and stayed there. "And Trophimus I left at Miletum sick:"—why, Timothy could not but know that too, without Paul's telling him so from Rome, Miletum and Ephesus were so very near together; nay, it is more than probable, that Timothy was left at Miletum too, when Trophimus was left there. But when was he left? Not when Paul went towards Jerusalem, and sent for the elders of Ephesus to Miletum[t]; for Trophimus went, and was with him at Jerusalem[u]: but it was, when Paul returned from Jerusalem in bonds to Rome, as hath been said, though it be not particularly mentioned, that he touched there. Some would have the word 'Miletum' to be read

[r] 1 Tim. i. 18. [s] 2 Tim. iv. 20. [t] Acts, xx. [u] Acts, xxi. 19.

'Melita;' among whom is Beza; who is ever one of the forwardest to tax the text for corrupt, when he cannot clear it. "Potius conjicio legendum ἐν Μελίτῃ" [saith he] "quod vocabulum facile fuit in Μιλήτῳ depravare." Luke saith plainly, that, at Paul's coming away from Judea, in his voyage to Rome, it was their resolution to sail by the coasts of Asia[x]; which had been a far fairer ground to have concluded upon, that Paul was at Miletum in that voyage,—since that was a part of those Asian coasts,—than to change 'Miletum' into 'Melita' upon no ground at all. And, certainly, the very scope of the apostle, in that passage, will not admit of that change: for he is not telling Timothy of Erastus's abode at Corinth, or of Trophimus's sick stay at Miletum, as things unknown to him, but as things very well known, yet mentioned to him as making to the apostle's present purpose: he had sent for Timothy and Mark to come away to him to Rome; and to forward them to that journey, he doth these two things:—1. He showeth how all his company was scattered from him[y]; and, therefore, he had need of them in that destitution. 2. He telleth how supply might be made in their places, though they came away; for though Mark should come from Corinth, yet Erastus might be a supply, for Erastus 'abode' there: and Timothy come away from Ephesus, yet Trophimus is there ready to supply his place, for "Trophimus I left at Miletum, sick."

By Tychicus, who was the bearer of this Epistle to Timothy[z], Paul also sendeth

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS;

for it is apparent, that he was in bonds, when he sent that Epistle[a], and that he sent it by Tychicus[b]: "That ye may know mine affairs and how I do,—Tychicus, a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose."

In this Epistle, he addresseth himself more especially to the convert Gentiles of the Ephesian church, to establish and settle them in the truth, against that warping and wavering that was now too common: and he setteth himself

[x] Acts, xxvii. 2. [y] 2 Tim. iv. 9, 10. [z] Chap. iv. 12.
[a] Ephes. iii. 1. [b] Ephes. vi. 21.

to unfold the mystery of the gospel in its full lustre, and discovery in a more special manner, and that especially in the two first chapters,—as he himself professeth in the third[c]: "By revelation God made known unto me the mystery, as I wrote afore in few words; whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ."

He speaketh much of the mystery of the Gentiles' calling, and calleth the Jews and Gentiles, knit in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, "A perfect man, and the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ[d]." In chap. v[e], speaking of Christ's washing the church, that he might present it to himself "without spot or wrinkle," &c. he seemeth to allude to the Jews' exceeding great curiousness in their washings for purification. "There must be nothing to interpose between the person that is washed, and the water; for if there be any thing interposing betwixt him and the water,—as, if any clay or dough stick to his flesh,—he is unclean as he was, and his washing profits him nothing[f]." And a little after: "If there be upon the flesh of a man, or upon a vessel, any of those things that may interpose, as dough, pitch, or the like, though it be no more than a grain of mustard-seed, and he take it to thought, his washing profits him nothing."

What he saith, in ver. 29, "So ought men to love their wives, even as their own bodies," is agreed to even by the Jews' doctrine. "Our doctors teach, He that loves his wife as his own body, and he that honours her more than his own body, and he that maketh his sons to walk in a right way, &c; of such a one the Scripture saith, Thou shalt know that peace shall be in thy tabernacle[g]," &c.

We are now come to the second year of Paul's imprisonment: in which he had the changeable and different occurrences, of loving-visits and salutes from some churches abroad, and cross dealing from some ill-willed at home: some sadness of heart, by the sickness of Epaphroditus near unto death, but comfort and reviving again by his recovery. The church of Philippi had sent him to visit Paul in their

60 *Christ.*
6 *Nero.*

[c] Ver. 3, 4. [d] Chap. iv. 13. [e] Ver. 26, 27.
[f] Maim. in Mikvaoth, cap. 1. [g] Alphes. in Gittin, cap. ult.

name, and to bring him some tokens of their love for his support and maintenance in his imprisonment; and the good man fell sick in Rome very like to die: upon his recovery and return home again, Paul sendeth by him

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS,

written in his name, and in the name of Timothy, who, according to his appointment, was now come to him. He showeth in this Epistle, that as there were some, which preached the gospel of sincerity,—so were there other, that preached of envy and contention, and so added affliction to his bonds. He was yet in bonds, but in some good hopes of deliverance, as he showeth in chap. ii. 24; for he saith he hoped ere long to send Timothy to them, and himself to come with him: but we shall observe ere long, that when Paul hath got his liberty, Timothy is got into prison, and so his journey for the present stopped.

He saluteth no church in the platform of bishops and deacons, but only this: not but that there were bishops and deacons in other churches as well as here; but, it may be, he doth it here the rather, because of the contribution, that the bishops and deacons had gathered for him and sent to him; or because he would show the platform of office and order in this church of Philippi, which was purely Gentile, agreeable to that of the believing Jews' churches.

He giveth warning to beware of the heretical and unbelieving Jews, whom he calls 'dogs' and 'the concision:' and now the name they used to give to the Gentiles, 'dogs,' is light upon themselves. The very Talmudists speak as evil of that generation, in which Messias should come, as the Scripture doth, 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c; and, among other things, they say thus: "When the son of David cometh, the synagogues shall become stews: Galilee shall be destroyed: Gablan shall be desolate" [the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch doth constantly render Seir, *Gablah*]; "and the men of the border of Israel shall go from city to city, and the wisdom of the scribes shall be abominated, and religious persons shall be scorned: and the faces of that generation shall be as dogs[h]." He calls them Κατατομὴν,

[h] Talm. Bab. in Sanhedr. fol. 97.

'the concision:' the word signifies such superstitious, and vain, and impious cuttings in the flesh, as heathens used[i]. No more doth he make of their circumcision: the Greek word is used by the LXX, Lev. xxi. 5.

He speaketh of one in Philippi, whom he calleth his 'true yokefellow:' alluding, it may be, either to the word חבר, by which the Jews did ordinarily express great professors of religion: חבריא רבנין a most ordinary phrase in the Jerusalem Talmud: or the word זוגות 'yokes' or 'couples;' whereby they expressed the president and vice-president of the Sanhedrim, those famous couples, Shemaiah and Abtalion, Hillel and Shammai, &c. Of whom it is that he speaketh, is undeterminable; Barnabas or Silas might best bear the title. Whosoever it was, it seemeth it was some worthy person, who was, at this time, in that church, whom he entreats to compose some differences, that were then afoot,—and to be helpful in some occasions and cases, that he knew needful. It is not to be doubted, but Epaphroditus had acquainted him particularly with the state of the church; and he applies his exhortations accordingly.

As the church of Philippi had sent Epaphroditus to visit him,—so did the church of Colossi send Epaphras, one of their ministers, to do the like[j]; whereupon, by Tychicus, who had been the last year at Ephesus to fetch Timothy, and returned with him to Rome[k],—and by Onesimus, a Colossian[l], Paul and Timothy send

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

THE naming of Mark now with him [chap. iv. 10] doth state the time of writing this Epistle, and fixeth it to this year; or else it would be easier for Tychicus's travel, to have supposed, that he brought it the last year, when he came to Timothy to Ephesus,—and Colosse was not far off: but the observing of Mark's being now at Rome, puts the matter out of doubt. And whereas it might be thought more likely, that Epaphras, that came with the visit from the church, should bring this return of Paul back again, it appeareth, by chap. iv. 12, that he stayed still with Paul, and was fellow-prisoner now with him[m].

[i] As 2 Kings, xviii. 28, &c. [j] Col. i. 7, 8. [k] Col. iv. 7.
[l] Col. iv. 9. [m] Philem. ver. 23.

The Colossians had never seen Paul's face, no more had the Laodiceans; for no less can be gathered from his own words, chap. ii. 1; yet had he been a means, by some of his agents, to plant these churches, or at least to afford them plentiful watering. The apostles had subordinate ministers under them, that they employed to this purpose. I know not how the word 'helps' [1 Cor. xii. 28], can be better understood.

The Laodiceans had sent him an epistle [as the Corinthians had also done[n]]; and this is that epistle, that he speaketh of, chap. iv. 16; "See that ye read likewise the epistle from Laodicea." Not that he had written any epistle from thence, which is now lost,—as is conceived by some,—for he was never there; but it meaneth that epistle, which the Laodiceans had sent to him: not that he would have it read, as of equal divine authority with his own, but as a good copy and example to the Colossians. If any be not satisfied with this construction, we shall offer another, when we come to the Epistles of John, rather than conceive, that any Epistle of Paul is lost, that was once read in the churches.

Among those whose salutations he sends, he nameth 'Demas:' who, the last year, was departed from him, and 'embraced,' as he thought, 'the present world[o]:' but now is come in a good man again. The sparks of grace, once kindled, can never be quenched,—yea, though not discernible to the eye of a Paul; which, however raked up under the ashes by vehement temptation or corruption,—yet, covered with an everlasting decree of everlasting love, are unextinguishable. The act of grace, it is true, may be in a swoon, and seem dead to the eyes of a Paul himself, whilst yet there is the habit in life: I mean, that gracious changedness, which by regeneration is wrought in the soul, the stony heart turned into flesh, which though it may congeal into ice again, yet can never again congeal into the stone it was. 'Fides qua apprehendens,' its hand may slip; but 'fides qua apprehensa,' his hand cannot slip, that hath laid hold upon it.

[n] 1 Cor. vii. 1. [o] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

By these same bearers, Tychicus and Onesimus, by whom he sends the Epistle to the Colossians, he also sends

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

For he was a Colossian, as appeareth by this, that Paul calls Onesimus, his servant, "one of the Colossians[p]:" and Archippus, which was minister at Colosse[q], seemeth to have been Philemon's son; or, at least, to have sojourned in his house, Philem. ver. 2. In this Epistle, he sendeth salutations from the persons he did in the Epistle to the Colossians; Epaphras, Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas; only, there is this difference about two of them,—that here, he calls Epaphras his 'fellow-prisoner,' which there he did not,—and there, Aristarchus his 'fellow-prisoner,' which here he doth not. This doing of the apostle needeth to breed no scruple; but it may rather justly be inquired, how these men came prisoners. Aristarchus set out with Paul from Jerusalem, and he only is named of all his company[r]; either because he was a prisoner then, as Paul was,—or because the rest with Paul were his attendants and ministers, constantly with him; and, therefore, needed not to be named. Or, if Aristarchus were not committed to prison till now, the consideration of Epaphras's case will include his. Epaphras came from Colosse but very lately[s]; and how, and for what, is he now got into prison? For answer to this, we may properly take in something out of the Roman story. Suetonius, in the life of Nero[t], speaking of those times of his that carried some moderation, in which he was not broke out to his extreme wickedness; and mentioning some things that he did and enacted, that looked somewhat like a reformation,—he saith thus: "Multa sub eo et animadversa severe, et coercita, nec minus instituta: adhibitus sumptibus modus: publicæ cœnæ ad sportulas redactæ: interdictum ne quid in popinis cocti, præter legumina aut olera, veniret, cum antea nullum non opsonii genus proponeretur. Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ." This last particular is it that we have to deal

[p] Col. iv. 9. [q] Col. iv. 17. [r] Acts, xxvii. 2.
[s] Col. i. 7, 8. [t] Cap. 16. ed. B. Crus. p. 105.

with; "The Christians were put to punishment, a sort of men of a new religion," &c.

Tacitus, in the life of the same tyrant[u], telleth of a dreadful fire, that befel in Rome in the tenth year of his reign [of which we shall speak when we come there], which, common report buzzed and rumoured up and down, that he had kindled. "Abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus *Christianos* appellabat: Nero, to stop that report, brought in, as guilty, those, who were called *Christians*, and tortured them with exquisite torments. The author of that name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death by Pontius Pilate. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio, rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam; quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur," &c. For the Englishing of this, the words "repressa in præsens" will breed some dispute; as doubtful, whether they mean, that the Christian religion was suppressed by Nero at that time,—when he inflicted those tortures upon them, pretending them guilty for firing the city,—which was in his tenth year, but it brake out again after, for all that suppression;—or that they mean, that that religion had been suppressed in former time, but now, by that tenth year of Nero, was broken out again, and he falls upon it anew. The words you may wind to whether construction you will, construing them either, "That dangerous superstition, suppressed for the present, broke out again:" or, "That dangerous superstition, having been suppressed for a time, was broke out again;" or, "that had been suppressed till the present." Now, though there be this dubiousness in that phrase, yet the observation of these things may state it, that there was some such suppression of Christianity, before that open persecution, that broke out in his tenth year:—1. Because Suetonius speaks of "his afflicting the Christians," as done in his way of reformation of religion; and that, in his good times, when he was not grown a monster, and not by way of crimination of them, or for the salving of his own

[u] Annal. xv. 44. Oberlin. Lond. ed. vol. 1. p. 675.

credit, as he did in his tenth year. 2. There is mention of Pomponia Græcina, tried for her life, about the beginning of Nero's reign, for matter of religion, as we mentioned before. 3. This imprisonment of Epaphras, and, it may be, of Aristarchus, at this time, and certainly of Timothy presently after, may also confirm it: for, what should these men be imprisoned for, but for religion? It is very probable, therefore, that Nero had, by some act or edict, suppressed Christianity, not only at Rome, but also in Judea, as it seemeth by that clause in Tacitus, "Rursus erumpebat non modo per Judæam," &c; and, if so, that might be a forwarder of that defection, that was so general in the churches of the Jews, that had received the gospel; they falling to Moses again, or joining the adhesion to the law, with the profession of the gospel; for, thus hiding their Christianity, they might retain their liberty of their Christianity such as it was, the religion of the Jews not being at all suppressed by him. However, if there were such a suppression at Rome, as it is very like there was, Paul's deliverance from the lion's mouth was the more remarkable, since he was to answer, not only to his accusers about his profession, but before a judge that was prejudiced against it so deeply.

But since we have heard of no stirring at Rome, of all this time, to such a tune, nor any mention of any imprisoning but only of Paul,—how comes the matter to wax so hot now, since Nero's heat against any Christianity seemeth to have been some years, or, at least, a good while, ago? Here we cannot but remember that passage in the Epistle to the Philippians[v], so lately written: "Some preach Christ, even of envy and strife; and some also, of good will: the one preach Christ, of contention, not sincerity, supposing to add affliction to my bonds." By which it may be conjectured, that some enemies of Paul's, and his company's, taking opportunity of Nero's declaration against Christianity, did bustle and make ado in preaching the gospel, aiming at nothing more than this,—that hereby the ringleaders in the gospel, Paul and his company [as, no doubt, they were noted so to be], might be the more narrowly looked after: and this might well be some occasion of the imprisonment of

[v] Chap. i. 15, 16.

Epaphras and Timothy, at this time, and of Aristarchus, if so be he were not a prisoner before.

This year is Timothy a prisoner, and Paul himself at liberty; for his two years' imprisonment expired the latter end of the last year, or the beginning of this. You have intimation of this, Heb. xiii. 23; where he saith, "Know ye, that our brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you;" for, I cannot interpret the word Ἀπολελυμένον, otherwise than in reference to restraint; and then we may, out of this passage, observe that Timothy had been a prisoner, and that the Hebrews had known of his imprisonment; but now he was at liberty, and Paul too ready to come away with him, when he should come. He had written to the Philippians[w], that he hoped shortly to send Timothy to them; and to Philemon[x] to provide a lodging for him, for he hoped, ere long, to come into those parts; by which we may conclude, that, upon his enlargement, he intended not to have stayed long at Rome; or, that Timothy, at the least, should not have been long from them; but that his imprisonment, as it proved, hindered them both. Therefore, we may not cast his commitment beyond this year; but how long he lay under restraint, we cannot tell; only, we may conceive him at liberty the next; for, in that year, we suppose the writing of 'the Epistle to the Hebrews,' which speaks of his enlargement.

61 *Christ.* 7 *Nero.*

In our thoughts about Nero's suppressing Christianity, and these men's bonds thereabout, we may also look with admiration at the wondrous workings of God: observe, that, even at these times, there was Christianity in Nero's household[y].

This year, some occurrences befalling in this our own country of England, though they are besides the argument that we are upon, yet may they not unfitly be taken into mention, for country's sake. Suetonius Paulinus was now general for the Romans here. He assails to take the Isle of Man; "Incolis validam et receptaculum perfugarum," saith Tacitus[z]: "Strong in the inhabitants, and a refuge for fugi-

[w] Chap. ii. 19. [x] Ver. 22. [y] Philem. 4. 22.
[z] Annal. xiv. 29.

tives." He, bringing on his men near the shore, finds an army guarding, and ready to forbid his landing. Among the men, there were women, running up and down, "In modum Furiarum, quæ veste ferali, crinibus dejectis, faces præferebant:" "Like furies, in a dreary garb, with their hair about their ears; and they carried torches." The Roman soldiers, for a while, stood amazed at such a sight; but at last, falling on, they enter and destroy them, and possess and garrison the island. "Excisique luci sævis superstitionibus sacri; nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et fibris hominum consulere Deo fas habebant:" "And they cut down the groves, that were devoted to bloody superstition; for they used to sacrifice captives at their altars, and to look into their inwards, by way of auguration.

It is a remarkable and true saying of Pliny[a], concerning Italy or Rome, that it was a country, "Quæ sparsa congregaret imperia, ritusque molliret, et tot populorum discordes ferasque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, et humanitatem homini daret;" which, in short, is this, "that it civilized the world, and taught barbarous nations humanity." A strange assertion, if we consider the barbarous bloodiness and superstitions of the Romans themselves: —yet, if we look upon the thing itself, it is very true; they being a people of learning, discipline, and education, and planting these wheresoever they got footing. And this was one means in the Lord's providence,—whose ways are past finding out,—to harrow the world's ruggedness, and to fit it the better for the sowing of the gospel. In what temper our land of Britain was, as to civility, before they came in, may be guessed by this garb of the Isle of Man, so near relating to it, if we had no more evidence.

While Suetonius was thus busied here, he hears of a revolt and rebellion in Britain, caused, partly, by the cruel exaction of Decimus Catus, the governor, who revived some impositions, that Claudius the emperor had remitted;—partly, by the grinding usury and exactions of Seneca; who, having put them, even unwilling, to take vast sums of money of his, on most unsufferable usury, he now called it and the use in, with all extremity and mercilessness: and partly, by

[a] Nat. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 5.

an unhappy obsequiousness of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, or, at least, by an unhappy abusing of his obsequiousness: for he dying, and leaving Nero and his own two daughters his heirs by will; the Roman centurions, as in claim to Nero's legacy, ransack and catch all they can, and pull his kingdom all to pieces, and abuse his wife and two daughters barbarously and inhumanly; and spare not either his friends, kindred, or nobles. This stirs all to commotion, which is eagerly prosecuted by Bondicea[a], or Bunduica, the widow of the king deceased; insomuch, that they destroy the colony at Camulodunum, the Roman garrison and associates at London, and the like at Verulam: in all, to the number of seventy thousand persons. Suetonius at last comes in, and fights them, they being near upon two hundred and thirty thousand in arms, under Bunduica; he routeth them,—slays about eighty thousand of them: Bunduica, for vexation, poisons herself: and the Roman destroys with fire and sword all the towns before him, that were of the adverse party, or adhered to it. Divers prodigies are mentioned by the historians, that relate these bloody occurrences as presages of it: as, the sea bloody,—strange voices and howlings heard,—sights seen in the Thames, of houses under water,—a colony overturned, &c.

62 *Christ.*
8 *Nero.*

Paul, in the Epistle to the Colossians[b], intimateth, that Mark, who was then with him at Rome, was likely, ere long, to come to them into the east; and he willeth them to receive him as from him, though there had once been disagreement betwixt Mark and him. Whether Timothy's imprisonment delayed Mark's journey, may be some question: for Paul having sent for them two to come to him together[c], it is like he could ill part with the one, when the other was made useless to him by restraint: and so we have some cause to suppose, that, while Timothy was in prison, Mark remained with Paul. However, whensoever it was, that he went for the east,—we have this reason to think, that Paul wrote, and sent by him,

[a] See Oberlin's Tacitus, vol. i. p. 603. Lond. ed. last line of the first column.
[b] Chap iv. 10. [c] 2 Tim. iv. 11.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS:

And that he, having delivered it where Paul had appointed him, went away to Peter to Babylon in Chaldea; because Peter there mentioneth Mark now with him, 1 Pet. v. 13;—and this Epistle, 2 Pet. iii. 15.

It is observable, that these two great apostles, Peter and Paul, the several ministers of the circumcision and uncircumcision, had their interchanged agents: Silvanus or Silas, Paul's minister, resident with Peter, and employed by him to carry his First Epistle[d]; and Mark, Peter's minister, resident with Paul[e], and, very probably, employed by him to carry this 'Epistle to the Hebrews.' And thus, in the interchanged agencies of their ministers,—the parties, with whom they had to deal, might own the joint agreement of both the apostles.

Although we dare not punctually assert either the bearer of this Epistle, or the exact time of its writing,—yet, that it was written and sent about these times that we are upon, may be observed by these two boundaries, that shut it up within some reasonable compass of the time hereabout:—First, 'A parte ante,' or that it could not be written much sooner than this,—may be concluded by this; that Timothy had gone through his imprisonment, and was now enlarged before its writing[f]; and, secondly, 'A parte post,' or that it could not be written much after this time, may be observed from that passage[g], "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood." For, presently after this, bloody times came on.

That it was written by Paul, hath not only the concurrent consent of all copies and translations, but even this proof for it,—that none can be named "a prisoner[h]," and "in Italy[i]," and in so near converse with Timothy[j] [as the author of this Epistle was], so likely as Paul.

His not affixing his name to this, as he had done to his other Epistles, doth no more deny it to be his, than the First Epistle of John's, is denied to be John's, upon the same account: especially considering, that the name of 'the apostle of the uncircumcision,' would not sound so well before an

[d] 1 Pet. v. 12. [e] 2 Tim. iv. 11. Col. iv. 10. [f] Heb. xiii. 23.
[g] Chap. xii. 4. [h] Chap. x. 34. [i] Chap. xiii. 24. [j] Chap. xiii. 23

Epistle to the circumcised: and yet the more still, because he sent it by Mark [for so we cannot but suppose], who was a minister of 'the minister of the circumcision,' and who could easily inform them of the writer.

Unto what part of the Jewish nation he sendeth the Epistle, under the indorsement 'To the Hebrews,' and why that indorsement 'To the Hebrews,' rather than 'To the Jews,'—may be a useful and a needful query. It cannot be imagined, but that he sendeth it to be delivered at a certain place within some reasonable compass; because it was impossible for the bearer, whosoever he was, to deliver it to all the Jews' dispersion; and because, in chap. xiii. 23, he saith, that, when Timothy came, he would come with him, and see them. Therefore, the title 'The Hebrews' must determine the place, since there is nothing else to determine it. A double reason may be given, why he so styleth them, rather than Jews;—namely, either because the name 'Jew' was now beginning to become odious; or rather, because he would point out the Jews, that dwelt in Judea, or the land of Israel. And this sense doth the Holy Ghost put upon the title "the Hebrews," Acts vi. 1; where it is said, "There was a murmuring of the Hellenists against the Hebrews:" by 'the Hellenists,' meaning the Jews, that dwelt in foreign countries among the Greeks; and by 'the Hebrews,' those that dwelt in Judea. And so it is most proper to understand the inscription of this Epistle; namely, that Paul directs and sends it to the believing Jews of Judea: a people, that had been much engaged to him for his care of their poor, getting collections for them all along his travels; and Mark [whom we suppose the bearer of this Epistle] had come in to his attendance, and to the attendance of his uncle Barnabas, when they had been in Judea to bring alms unto those churches[k].

It is not to be doubted, indeed, that he intendeth the discourse and matter of this Epistle to the Jews throughout all their dispersion [and, therefore, Peter[l], writing to the Jews of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Asia, applies it as written to them]; yet doth he indorse it, and send it chiefly to 'The Hebrews,' or the Jews of Judea, the prin-

[k] Acts, xi and xii. [l] 2 Pet. iii. 15.

cipal seat of the circumcision,—as the properest centre whither to direct it,—and from whence it might best diffuse, in time, to the whole circumference of their dispersion.

He hath to deal in it mainly with those things, that the Jewish writers commonly call חוקות תלויות בארץ "Ordinances affixed to the land;" or such ceremonious part of their religion, as, while it stood, was confined to the land; as temple, sacrifice, priesthood, &c. Therefore, it was most proper to direct his speech, in its first bent, to those that dwelt in the land, and were most near to those things,—and who, in those apostatizing times that then were, had the nearest occasion and temptation to draw them back from the purity of the gospel to those rites again.

Unto that doubtfulness, that some have taken up about the original tongue of this Epistle, as thinking it very improper that he should write in the Greek tongue to the Hebrews, especially to the Hebrews in Judea,—we need no better satisfaction than what the Hebrews themselves, yea, the Hebrews of Judea, may give to us,—I mean, the Jerusalem Gemarists,—from several passages that they have about the Greek language.

In Megillah[m] they say thus; "There is a tradition from Ben Kaphra, God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem: for they shall speak the language of Japhet in the tents of Shem." The Babylon Gemara, on the same treatise[n], resolves us, what tongue of Japhet is meant; for having spoken all along before, of the excellency and dignity of the Greek tongue, it concludes, יופיותו של יפת יהא באוהלי שם[o] "The very beauty of Japhet shall be in the tents of Shem."

Our men, first named, say farther thus: "Rabbi Jonathan, of Beth Gubrin, saith, There are four languages brave for the world to use, and they are these; the Vulgar, the Roman, the Syrian, and the Hebrew,—and some also add, the Assyrian." Now the question is, What tongue he means by 'the Vulgar?' Reason will name the Greek as soon as any; and Midras Tillim makes it plain, that this is meant; for[p], speaking of this very passage [but alleging it in somewhat

[m] Fol. 71. col. 2. [n] Fol. 9. col. 2.

[o] Instead of the two last words of this Hebrew quotation, Leusden's edition reads וגו

[p] Fol. 25. col. 4.

different terms], he nameth the 'Greek,' which is not here named. Observe, then, that the Hebrews call the Greek 'the Vulgar tongue.'

They proceed[p]; "It is a tradition; Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, In books they permitted not that they should write, but only in Greek. They searched, and found, that the law cannot be interpreted completely, but only in the Greek. One once expounded to them, in the Syriac, out of the Greek. R. Jeremiah, in the name of R. Chaijah Ben Ba, saith, Aquila the proselyte interpreted the law, before R. Eliezer, and before R. Joshua. And they extolled him, and said, Thou art fairer than the children of men."

And the same Talmud[q] hath this record: "Rabbi Levi went to Cæsarea, and heard them קריין שמע אלוניסתין rehearsing their phylacteries Hellenistice;" or, in the Greek tongue. A passage very well worth observing: for if, in Cæsarea, were as learned schools, as any were in the nation; and if their phylacteries [picked sentences out of the law] might, above all things, have challenged their rehearsal in the Hebrew tongue, as their own writers show,—yet they say them over in Greek,—Paul might very well write to the Hebrews in Judea, in the Greek tongue, when that tongue was in so common a use, even in a university of Judea itself.

To these testimonies for the Greek tongue, might be added, that which is spoken in the treatise Shekalim[r]: "Upon the three treasure-chests of the temple were written, Aleph, Beth, Gimel. But Rabbi Ismael saith, It was written upon them in Greek,—Alpha, Beta, Gamma." They that hold, that this Epistle, and the Gospel of Matthew, were written in Hebrew, should consider, how that tongue was now a stranger to all but scholars,—and, how God, in his providence, had dispersed and planted the Greek tongue throughout all the world, by the conquest of Alexander, and the Grecian monarchy; and had brought the Old Testament into Greek, by the Septuagint.

As this apostle, in all his Epistles, useth exceeding much of the Jews' dialect, language, learning, allusion, and reference to their opinions, traditions, and customs,—so doth he more singularly in this:—and he doth, moreover, in a more

[p] Ibid. col. 3. [q] In Sotah, fol. 21. col. 2. [r] Cap. 3. hal. 2.

peculiar manner, apply himself to their manner of argumentation and discourse. For his intent is, if he can, to argue them into establishment against that grievous apostasy, that was now afoot: so many revolting from the purity of the gospel, either to a total betaking themselves to Moses again,—or, at least, mixing the ceremonious rites of the law, with the profession of the gospel. Comparing his style here, with the style of discourse and arguing in the Talmuds, Zohar and Rabboth, and such-like older writings of the Jews,—you might easily tell with whom he is dealing, though the Epistle were not inscribed in syllables, 'To the Hebrews:' and the very style of it may argue a scholar of Gamaliel, but now better taught, and better improving his learning, than that master could teach him.

He first begins to prove the Messiah to be God, and Jesus to be he: about the former of which, the Jews mistook,—and about the latter, they blasphemed. In proving the former, he, among other places of Scripture, produceth that of Psal. cii. 25; "Thou, Lord, in the beginning, hast laid the foundation of the earth," &c. To which a Jew would be ready to answer, 'Aye, but this is to be understood of God the Father;' and how could this objection be answered? *Answ.* Even by their own confessions, upon which he argueth in this place. For they understood that in Gen. i. 2, "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," of the Spirit of Christ; and so do they interpret it ה רוחו של מלך המשיח 'This is the Spirit of Messias:' as their mind is spoken in that point by Zohar, Bereshith Rabba, and divers others. If the Spirit of Christ, then, was the great agent in the creation, by their own grant,—they could not but grant this allegation to be proper.

He showeth Christ, therefore, greater than angels, as in other regards, so into whose hands was put "the world to come[s]:" and here the phrase is used in the Jews' dialect, for 'the kingdom of Messias',—as we mentioned before.

He proveth him a greater lawgiver than Moses, a greater priest than Aaron, and a greater king and priest than Melchisedek: he showeth all the Levitical economy but a shadow, and Christ the substance, and the old covenant to be

[s] Heb. ii. 5.

abolished, by the coming in of a better: by the old or first covenant, meaning the 'covenant of peculiarity,' or the administration of the covenant of grace so, as whereby Israel was made a peculiar and distinct people. This covenant of peculiarity they brake, as soon almost as they had obtained it, by making the golden calf; and thereupon follows the breaking of the two tables in sign of it: for though the law, written in the two tables, was moral, and so concerned all the world,—yet their writing in tables of stone for Israel, and committing them to their keeping, referreth to their peculiarity. To his handling[t] of the fabric and utensils of the tabernacle, and contents of the ark, the Jerusalem Talmud[u] may be usefully applied, for illustration. He hinteth the apostasy now afoot, which was no small induction to him of the writing of this Epistle, and showeth the desperate danger of it[v]. In which his touching of it, we may see, how far some had gone in the gospel, and yet so miserably far fallen from it; as that some of them had had the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, and yet now sinned willingly and wilfully against it. In describing their guilt, one of his passages that he useth, is but harshly applied by some[w];—"Hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing,"—when they say, that this horrid apostate wretch, that treads Christ under foot, was once sanctified by the blood of Christ: whereas the words mean, Christ's being sanctified by the blood of the covenant; according to the same sense that Christ is said, to be brought again from the dead, by the blood of the covenant,—in this same Epistle[x]. And the apostle doth set forth the horrid impiety of accounting the blood of the covenant a common thing, by this,—because even the Son of God himself was sanctified by it, or set apart as Mediator. And so should I understand the words, "He hath trodden under foot that Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant, by which he the Son of God was sanctified, an unholy thing." He magnifieth faith, against those works, that they stood upon and sought to be justified by; and showeth, that this was

[t] Chap. ix. [u] In Shekalim, fol. 49. col. 3, 4. and Sotah, fol. 22. col. 3.
[v] Hebr. vi. 4, 5, &c. and chap. x. 26, 27, &c. [w] Chap. x. 29.
[x] Hebr. xiii. 20.

the all in all, with all the holy men both before the law and under it. When he gives them caution, "Lest there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau[y]," &c, he doth not only speak according to the common tenet of the nation, that Esau was a fornicator, as see Targ. Jerus. in Gen. xxv; but he seemeth to have his eye upon the Nicolaitan doctrine that was now rife, that taught fornication: to which he seemeth also to refer, in those words[z], "Marriage is honourable," &c.

And now, henceforward, you have no more story of this apostle: what became of him after the writing of this Epistle, it is impossible to find out by any light, that the Scripture holdeth out in this matter. The two last verses but one of this Epistle, trace him as far forward as we can any way else see him, and that is but a little way neither: "Know ye, that our brother Timothy is set at liberty; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you." By which words these things may be conjectured:—1. That, after his enlargement out of bonds, he left Rome, and preached in Italy. He mentioneth, in his Epistle to the Romans, xv. 24, his desire and intent to go preach in Spain; but that was so long ago, that he had now found some just cause [so much time intervening] to steer his course another way. For, 2. It appears, that, when he wrote this Epistle to the Hebrews, he intended very shortly to set for Judea,—if so be he sent the Epistle to the Jews of Judea, as hath been showed most probable he did. So that, trace him in his intentions and hopes, and you find him purposing to go to Philippi[a]; nay, yet farther, to Colosse[b]; nay, yet farther, into Judea. It is like, that the apostasy and wavering, that he heard of in the eastern churches, showed him more need to hasten thither than to go westward. 3. He waited a little to see, whether Timothy, now enlarged, would come to him in that place of Italy, where he now was: which if he did, he intended to bring him along with him: but whether they met and travelled together, or what farther became of either of them,—we shall not go about to trace, lest, seeking after them, we lose ourselves.

[y] Heb. xii. 16. [z] Chap. xiii. 4. [a] Phil. ii. 23, 24. [b] Philem. ver. 22.

It hath been observed before, how probable it is, that Albinus came into the government of Judea in
63 *Christ.* Festus's room, in this ninth year of Nero.—And
9 *Nero.* if so, then was James the apostle, who was called James 'the Less,' martyred this year. Josephus gives the story of this[c]:—"Cæsar, understanding the death of Festus, sendeth Albinus governor into Judea. And the king [Agrippa] put Joseph from the high-priesthood, and conferred it upon Ananus, the son of Ananus. Now this Ananus junior was extreme bold and daring; and he was of the sect of the Sadducees, which, in judging, are most cruel of any of the Jews. Ananus, therefore, being such a one, and thinking he had got a fit opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was not yet come,—he gets together a council, and bringing before it James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and some others, as transgressors, he delivered them up to be stoned: but those in the city that were more moderate, and best skilled in the laws, took this ill, and sent to the king privately, beseeching him to charge Ananus that he should do so no more. And some of them met Albinus as he came from Alexandria, and showed him how it was not lawful for Ananus to call a council without his consent. Whereupon, he writeth a threatening letter to Ananus. And king Agrippa, for this fact, put him from the high-priesthood, when he had held it but three months,—and placed Jesus, the son of Damneas, in his room."

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

ALTHOUGH, therefore, the certain time of his writing this Epistle cannot be discovered,—yet, since he died in the year that we are upon, we may, not unproperly, look upon it as written not very long before his death. And that the rather, because, by an expression or two, he intimates the vengeance of Jerusalem drawing very near[d]: "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh;" and, "Behold, the Judge standeth before the door." He, being the apostle residentiary of the circumcision in Judea, could not but, of all others, be chiefly in the eyes of those, that maliced the gospel there, and

[c] Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8. [d] James, v. 8, 9.

the ministers of it. So it could not but be in his eye, to observe those tokens growing on apace, that his Master had spoken of, as the forerunners and forewarners of that destruction coming: false prophets,—iniquity abounding,—love waxing cold,—betraying and undoing one another; that he could not but very surely conclude, that the Judge and judgment was not far from the door.

Among other things, that our Saviour foretelleth, should precede that destruction, this was one: "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come[e]." And so did the gospel reach all the twelve tribes, as well as other nations, even the ten tribes, as well as the other two. Therefore, James, a minister of the circumcision, doth properly direct this Epistle, "To all the twelve tribes scattered abroad."

The whole nation was, at this time, some, at the very height of unbelief and crossness against the gospel,—and others, at the very depth of suffering for it: therefore, he comforts the one[f], and denounceth their just doom against the other[g]. He striveth to beat down four things especially, which were not only unbecoming the Christian profession, but even enemies against it. The first was, estimating men according to their gorgeous outside; and so the poor preachers and professors of the gospel were contemned. Secondly; Their having many masters or teachers, whereby errors and schisms were easily scattered and planted among them, and much mischief done by unbridled tongues. Thirdly; Their reliance upon their historical faith, they thinking that enough, and neglecting to bring forth the fruits of a faith, saving and lively. And, lastly; Their common and vain oaths, to which the Jewish nation, and that by the lenity and toleration of their own canons, was exceeding loose.

In the close of the Epistle, he speaketh of "the elders anointing the sick with oil[h];" which may receive some explication from these things, observed in their own writings:

1. That anointing with oil was an ordinary medicinal application to the sick. "R. Simeon, the son of Eleazer, permitted R. Meir to mingle wine and oil, and to anoint the

[e] Matt. xxiv. 14.
[f] James, i.
[g] James, iv and v.
[h] James, v. 14.

sick on the sabbath. And he was once sick, and we sought to do so to him, but he suffered us not[i]."

"A tradition. Anointing on the sabbath is permitted. If his head ache, or if a scall come upon it, he anoints with oil[j]."

"If he be sick, or a scall be upon his head, he anoints according to his manner[k]," &c.

Now, if we take the apostle's counsel, as referring to this medicinal practice, we may construe it, that he would have this physical administration to be improved to the best advantage; namely, that whereas 'anointing with oil,' was ordinarily used to the sick, by way of physic,—he adviseth that they should send for the elders of the church to do it; not that the anointing was any more in their hand, than in another's, as to the thing itself, for it was still but a physical application,—but that they, with the applying of this corporal physic, might also pray with and for the patient, and apply the spiritual physic of good admonition and comforts to him. Which is much the same, as if, in our nation, where this physical anointing is not so in use, a sick person should send for the minister at taking of any physic, that he might pray with him, and counsel and comfort him. Or,

2. It was very common among the Jews, to use charming and anointing together, of persons that were sick of certain maladies: of this the Jerusalem Talmud speaketh, in Shab. fol. 14. col. 3; זה שהוא לוחש נותן שמן על גבי ראשו ולוחש "A man that one charmeth, he putteth oil upon his head and charmeth." And a little after is related, what they charmed for; as, "for an evil eye, serpents, scorpions," &c. And, in col. 4, is mentioned, how "one charmed over a sick person, in the name of Jesu Pandira." Now, this being a common, wretched custom, to anoint some that were sick, and to use charming with the anointing,—this apostle, seeing anointing was an ordinary and good physic, and the good use of it not to be extinguished for that abuse,—directs them better; namely, to get the elders, or ministers of the church, to come to the sick, and to add, to the medicinal anointing of him, their godly and fervent prayers for him, far more available and

[i] Talm. Jerus. in Beracoth, fol. 3. col. 1. [j] Id. in Maazar Sheni, fol. 53. col. 3.
[k] Talm. Bab. in Joma, fol. 77. 2.

comfortable, than all charming and enchanting, as well as far more warrantable and Christian.

This year [C. Lecanius and M. Licinius being consuls] befel that sore fire in Rome [of which some touch
64 *Christ.* was given before]; the sorest that ever had be-
10 *Nero.* fallen the city, and which made such desolation, "That, whereas the city was divided into fourteen great wards" [they are the words of Tacitus], "only four of the fourteen stood sound; for three were clean burnt down to the ground; and as for the other seven, they were all tattered, and half consumed, and but a few relics of houses remained."

It was commonly thought and talked, that Nero himself had the chief hand in kindling and carrying on of this mischief; instigated thereunto, either by his own inhuman and barbarous temper, which delighted in nothing more than in destroying; or, by a tickling humour he had, to build the city anew, that it might bear his name. He, to stop the mouth of the clamour and to salve his credit, brought the Christians, that were in the city, to examination and execution, as if they had been the only, and the all, in the breeding of this mishap. "Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt," &c. "Therefore, they were first laid hold on, that confessed themselves Christians: and then, by their discovery, a vast multitude was convicted, not so much for real guilt of kindling that fire, as because of the general hate of men against them. And, moreover, there were scorns added to their deaths, for they were cast, wrapped in beasts' skins, to be devoured of dogs; or, they were crucified, or burnt, and served for lights by night, when the day was gone. Whereupon, they were pitied, seeing that they were thus destroyed, not for the public benefit, but only for one man's cruelty."—Thus Tacitus. Ann. xv.

What havoc may we think this doleful persecution made? As among other Christians at Rome, so particularly among those eminent ones, that Paul, in his Epistle[1] thither, saluteth by name,—of whom, many, no doubt, were alive till now, and now despatched. He himself, and Timothy, and Luke, with

[1] Rom. xvi.

other of his retinue, may well be supposed to have been got away, before this storm came,—because, in several places of his Epistles, written a good while ago, as we have observed,—he speaketh of his setting away with what speed possible and convenient. How escaped Peter, if he now sat bishop at Rome, as Rome asserteth?

Whether this persecution were circumscribed within the bounds of Rome or Italy, or whether it was carried by the command of the tyrant through all other countries[m], we need not to be much solicitous to go about to decide: certainly, though it were not enforced by any edict or command, yet, such a copy would be taken for a warrant, especially by those, that, without either command or copy, had been forward enough to do mischief to the professors of the gospel, already,—and had taken, nay, had made, any occasion to undo or destroy them. The Jews, at this mastery, were the busiest men of any; and that "mystery of iniquity" was ever working, but could not strike their full stroke, because something hindered[n]. If he that hindered, were Claudius, who, by his expulsion of the Jews out of Rome, showed a frown upon the whole nation, and suffered them not to rage, as they would have done,—he was taken away about ten years ago; and they felt their chain much slackened at the coming in of Nero: who, in his best years, though he broke not out to destroy all before him, as he did afterward,—yet was he destructive enough to Christianity, as we have observed,—and loose and careless of the administration of affairs, and regarded not how things went, so that he might have his ease, luxury, and pleasure, which his tutors, Seneca and Burrhus, made but unworthy advantage of. But now that he, himself, hath given so visible, bloody, and cursed, an example, —the Jews, that stood barking at their chain-end all this while, finding themselves so far let loose, as such an example might loose them, which was too far,—would fall on without mercy. They had been mischievous enough always against the professors of the gospel; but from henceforward, they exceeded,—and the more they grew towards their desolation, the more did the devil make them bestir themselves, knowing the shortness of his time there.

[m] Vid. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. c. 24. Oros. lib. 7, &c. [n] 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7.

YEAR OF CHRIST 65.

This tenth of Nero, there was a blazing star, horrid lightnings and thunders, and divers monstrous births.

This year,—the eleventh of Nero, Silius Nerva and Atticus Vestinus being consuls,—very many eminent and gallant men of Rome, were cut off by the tyrant, as the last year he had cut off many eminent and worthy Christians. The Christians he destroyed, by a plot laid against them by himself; the Romans, for a plot laid by them against him. The names of those that perished, now best known among us, were Seneca, the philosopher, Nero's tutor,—and his nephew, the poet Lucan. Both of them very renowned for their writings; but both of them very ignominious, for a several miscarriage. Seneca, for unparalleled covetousness, usury, and oppression, mentioned before; and Lucan, for betraying his own mother. Let him bear Tacitus's brand: "Lucanus, Quinctianus, et Senecio diu abnuere. Post, promissa impunitate corrupti, quo tarditatem excusarent, Lucanus Atillam matrem suam," [observe that]—"Quinctianus Glicium Gallum, Senecio Annium Pollionem, amicorum præcipuos, nominavere:" "Lucan, Quinctianus, and Senecio, were long before they would confess any thing: but, at last, being corrupted by the promise of impunity, that they might make amends for their slowness, Lucan accused his mother, Atilla," &c.—Hereupon, Atilla was wracked one day; and would confess nothing: and the next day, being carried to the wrack again,—for she was so disjointed that she could not go,—she made a shift, as she sat in the cart, to strangle herself: choosing so to die, rather than either to endure the wrack again, or to impeach any:—an indelible blot to her son, Lucan, for ever. Nor did his base shift serve his turn, for he suffered death too, by having his veins cut, and so bleeding to death: which was the end of his uncle, Seneca, also.

65 *Christ.*
11 *Nero.*

The wars of the Jews are now drawing on apace,—for they began the next year; and the horrid civil wars of the Romans are not far off. So that here we may properly take notice of that prediction[o] ready now to take place: "Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, &c. All these are the beginnings of sorrows. Then shall they

[o] Matt. xxiv. 7—9.

deliver you up to be afflicted, and then shall they kill you:" which Luke[p] hath expressed, "But, before all these, shall they lay their hands upon you, and persecute you:" which seemeth to carry some difference,—as if the one evangelist showed, that the persecution of the disciples to death, should be before these troubles; and the other, as if they should not be, till these troubles were begun: but they may be well reconciled by observing, that in the words, that Christ is there speaking, in both evangelists, there is the intertexture of two stories; namely, what miseries should befal the Jewish nation before their ruin,—and what miseries should befal the disciples in the midst of those miseries: and so the word *then* in Matthew, and *before* in Luke, are but as a transition from the one history to the other: and yet they are not insignificant neither, as to the pointing out of the time; the one, speaking the beginning of that persecution foretold,—and the other, the continuance.

A fitter period of time, whence to begin the punctual taking place of that prediction, we can hardly point out, than this very year that we are upon, a centre between two critical years: the year before, beginning the persecution of Christians at Rome,—and the year following, beginning of the wars of the Jews in Judea.

Although, therefore, we cannot positively assert the very time of the writing of

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER:

yet, observing the chronical hint of some passages in it, this year may as fairly lay claim thereunto, as any other year that can be asserted. For, to omit that clause[q], "The end of all things is at hand" [referring to the desolating of the Jewish commonwealth and nation],—the mention of the "fiery trial[r]," and "the time now come when judgment must begin at the house of God[s]," is but as a comment and accomplishment of that prediction before alleged, "Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted," &c. It is true, indeed, that the church had never wanted persecution since the gospel arose; and some, for its sake, had suffered death, as Stephen; and some, at that time, the two Jameses; and some, at

[p] Chap. xxi. 12. [q] Chap. iv. 7. [r] Ver. 12. [s] Ver. 17.

the time of both their deaths: but in the countries out of Judea, where the stroke of their Sanhedrim could not reach so well, nor light so heavy, there was tumultuousness indeed enough, and beating and bitterness against it, but rare effusion of blood, till the cursed example set last year by the tyrant at Rome, and now forward in the confusions of the Jewish nation; when a madness was come upon them among themselves, and a desperate fury against all, that would not be as they were. And that not only in Judea, the seat of the war,—but even through the whole world, as far as they durst, and were able to stir. Those words of Dion[t] are very remarkable, when, speaking of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, he saith, "That the Jews that were in foreign countries, not only within the Roman empire, but also without, did send help to their brethren in Judea."

When Cyrus gave leave to the Jews, after the seventy years' captivity, to return to their own country, multitudes of them found themselves so pleasingly seated, and, by continuance of time, rooted in Babylonia, that they would not remove their habitation, but fixed there. There, in time, they grew to so great a nation, and distinct a people, that they had רישׁ גלותא "A prince of the captivity" of their own blood over them, and three famous universities, Nehardea, Pombeditha, and Soria, which yielded very many eminent scholars in the Judaic learning.

In the division of the employment of the three ministers of the circumcision, Peter, James, and John,—Peter's lot fell here; and from Babylon itself, the very centre of those parts, he sends this Epistle. He directs it to the dispersed Jews in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia; in which parts the apostasy from the faith had been exceeding prevalent, and, accordingly, the trouble of those, that stuck to the faith, the most bitter. And in his inscribing it to 'the elect,' he seemeth to have his eye upon those words of his Master[u] about this apostasy; "They shall deceive, if it were possible, the very elect."

Among the many divine lessons that he reads to them, he teaches[v] them and us, who is the Rock upon which the church is built; and how, accordingly, to understand "super hanc

[t] Lib. 66. [u] Matt. xxiv. 24. [v] Chap ii. 4, &c.

Petram[w]." He exhorts them with all earnestness to yield obedience to superior powers[x]; and that the rather, because of that spirit of the Zelotæ, that, walking among the nation in all parts, urged them not to submit to any heathen power.

He magnifieth baptism as a badge and pledge of preservation of those, that had received it and stuck to it, from that vengeance that was coming upon that wicked nation[y]. It is something a strange recoiling that he makes, leaping back, from mention of the death of Christ[z], over all the story of the Old Testament, and lighteth on the generation that was swept away by the flood: and showeth how Christ's Spirit preached unto them. Why, had not the same Spirit preached in all the times between? Why, then, are not those times named as well as these? Because the apostle doth purposely intend to compare that old world then destroyed, with the destruction of the Jewish nation shortly coming: and to show, that as Noah and his family were then saved by water[a], so, Αντίτυπον ἡμᾶς, they that had received baptism, were the antitype to that; and baptism was a pledge and means of their deliverance *now*, they sticking closely to it. And this very thing John Baptist taught in that question, "Who hath forewarned you to flee from the wrath to come?" Therefore, when he calls Συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεὸν, "An asking of a good conscience towards or after God," he makes not this its definition, as if none but those so qualified were to be baptized; but he characters its difference from circumcision, which put away the filth of the flesh, in one sense,—and legal Pharisaical washings, which did it in another. His whole comparison runs to this tenor:—The old world was disobedient to the Spirit of Christ preaching in the mouth of Noah, and therefore they perished. The Jews, whose state the Scripture also calleth 'an old world,' were disobedient to Christ, preaching by his Spirit in the mouth of his apostles, and even visibly and audibly in his own person; therefore, they must needs perish. But Noah and his family, that hearkeneth after God [whilst others said to the Lord, "Depart from us[b]"], were preserved by water: even "so doth baptism now preserve us, the antitype of that figure." For baptism

[w] Matt. xvi. [x] 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. [y] Chap. iii. 21. [z] Ver. 18.
[a] Ver. 20. [b] Job, xxii. 16, 17.

was not barely a washing of the body from filth, as the common legal washings were; but it was an owning and asking after God, conscientiously, out from a perverse and wicked generation: and, therefore, not to be started or revolted from. This, then, being one end of baptism, and that end taught to them that assumed it; viz. to badge and mark of safety from approaching vengeance,—it may very well raise an argument for infants' baptism; whereas this text is commonly produced against it: for if these parents, that came in to be baptized, sought hereby to "flee from the wrath to come," they would be careful to bring their children under the same badge of security.

When he judgeth those, that perished in the waters of Noah to be now "in prison[c]," he knew he had the consent of his nation in it: for thus they say[d],—"The generation of the flood have no portion in the world to come: neither shall they stand up in judgment; for it is said, My Spirit shall no more judge with man[e]." Peter teacheth us, that the Spirit, that strove with the old world, was the Spirit of Messias.

He sends this Epistle by Sylvanus, Paul's old attendant, but now with Peter: he styles him, "A faithful brother to you, as I suppose:" not as doubting, but assured. He was to bring this Epistle to the circumcision, who himself had been a minister of the uncircumcision: therefore, this attestation is the more needful and material, ὡς λογίζομαι, "I repute" him a faithful brother to you of the circumcision; and do you also so repute him.

His naming of Mark with him, calls our thoughts back to what hath been mentioned of Mark heretofore: his being with Paul at Rome, and his coming from him into the east. To suppose two Marks, one with Peter and another with Paul, is to breed confusion where there needeth not,—and to conceive that, for which the Scripture hath not only no ground, but is plain enough to the contrary. It is easily seen, how John Mark came into familiarity both with Paul and Peter; and other Mark we can find none in the New Testament, unless of our own invention. His being in these latter times with Peter and Paul, may turn our thoughts to consider how his uncle Barnabas and he parted, since Paul

[c] 1 Pet. ii. 19. [d] In Sanhedr. cap. 10. hal. 3. [e] Gen. vi. 3.

and Barnabas parted about him. He it was, that wrote the Gospel, it may be, being with Peter,—as Luke did the like, being with Paul. In his Gospel, he is most exact of all the four in observing the proper time and series of the stories recorded.

66 *Christ.* 12 *Nero.* Προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τοῦ Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. "The wars of the Jews began in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, in the month of May[f]."

If we take a view of the nation, as it was at the present, and as it had been for thirty or forty years backward,—we shall find, that, besides the ordinary and common wickedness that was among them, they had these four additions of iniquity, monstrous and unparalleled, and in which they did, as it were, exceed themselves:—1. In regard that the appearance of the Messias was expected to be about the time that Christ appeared,—very many, taking advantage of the time and of that expectation, took upon them, some to be Christ,—others, to be prophets attending, and relating to his coming[g]. Upon which Josephus, and other writers of that nation, will give us a very full commentary of experiences. 2. There were multitudes of the Zelotæ, and of the sect of Judas, the Galilean, which would not yield any homage or subjection to be due to the Roman power, which was now over them: and neither would they now themselves, nor would they suffer others, as far as they could hinder, to submit unto them. 3. The unbelieving Jews were generally sworn enemies and prosecutors of those that believed. And, 4. Which we have observed before, multitudes of those, that had believed and embraced the gospel, fell away, and became either seduced, or the greatest seducers, and brought in horrid heresies and pollutions. So that, in these various and malignant distempers of men, there had been continual confusions, tumults, firings, murderings, and plunderings, among them for many years; and they had been the unquietest, and most tumultuous nation that had been under heaven; and they had often provoked the Roman power against themselves; yet, till this year, had they never

[f] Joseph. de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 25.
[g] Matt. xxiv. 24.

so visibly and professedly taken up arms and open war against that power.

The first spark kindled in Cæsarea upon the sea, about an encroachment, that a Gentile there made upon the way that went to the Jews' synagogue; and from thence it grew into a flame so fast through the whole country,—Florus, the governor, helping it on, that, by the sixteenth of May, his soldiers, by his commission, have plundered Jerusalem, and slain three thousand six hundred persons: and even Bernice, sister to king Agrippa, escaped very narrowly with her life.

The Jews and Romans have divers skirmishes: Massada castle taken, and the Roman garrison put to the sword. The temple, and several parts of the city, made garrisons for several parties, and suffer much by fire and battery. Twenty thousand Jews slain in Cæsarea upon a sabbath: whereupon, all the nation rise about to avenge this slaughter; and in Syria, Phœnicia, Samaria, Peræa, and all round about, destroy towns, cities, and persons, all before them. Cestius, the governor of Syria, rises with his forces, and destroys the Jews again, and their towns, all before him; and, on the thirtieth of October, enters Jerusalem, and fires a good part of the city.

Yet do the Jews give him a brush upon his march away, and cut off above four thousand of his men: with which success they are so fleshed, that they resolve to fight it out; and, accordingly, platform themselves into the model and posture of a long war: and the country is only full of fire, sword, war, and destruction.

"The abomination of desolation[h]," had now begun to stand in the holy place, when the temple is made a garrison, and filled with slaughter; Antonia, the castle of the temple, besieged, taken, and the Roman garrison put to the sword. The חניות "Tabernæ," or part of the buildings at the east wall of the mountain of the house [the place where the Sanhedrim had once sitten], fired and burnt down[i]; and, in a word, the temple, from this time forwards, never but a garrison, and full of slaughter and confusion, till it be raked up in ashes.

Now it was time for those that were in Judea, who be-

[h] Matt. xxiv. 15. [i] Jerus. in Peah, fol. 16. col. 3.

lieved Christ's prediction, "to get into the mountains," and to shift for themselves; for now begins the tribulation beyond parallel, "such as was not since the beginning of the world, nor ever must again[j]." It is commonly asserted[k], that the Christians fled to Pella, a city beyond Jordan: which how to reconcile with Josephus, who saith[l] Pella was one of the cities that the Jews destroyed in avengement of the slaughter of the twenty thousand in Cæsarea, let the learned find.

About these times, therefore, we may well conceive to have been the writing of

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER:

And that the rather, from what he speaks in chap. i. 14: "I know, that I must shortly put off this tabernacle, as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me." In which words, his thoughts reflect upon what Christ had spoken to John and him about their ends[m]; where he not only gave intimation to Peter that he should be martyred[n], but that he should be so, before his coming in judgment against Jerusalem, which John must live to see, but he must not[o]. He, therefore, in Babylon, understanding how affairs went in Judea, and with the Jewish nation all thereabout, and reading therein, from the words of his Master[p], that the desolation was drawing on apace, concludes, that his time was not long: and, therefore, improves the time he hath remaining, the best he can, not only in teaching those amongst whom he was; but, by writing this Epistle, instructeth those, that were remote and at distance from him; in which he doth more especially give them caution against false teachers; and characters the terror of the judgment coming, and exhorts to vigilancy and holiness.

The first character that he gives of the false teachers is, that "they bring in damnable heresies, denying the Lord that bought them[q];" which he speaketh from Deut. xxxii; from whence also he useth other expressions: "Is not he thy father that hath bought thee[r]?" not meaning, that these wretches were redeemed by Christ, yet became such wretches,

[j] Matt. xxiv. 21. [k] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 5.
[l] De Bell. lib. 2. cap. 33. [m] John, xxi. [n] Ver. 18.
[o] Ver. 22. [p] Matt. xxiv. [q] 2 Pet. ii. 1. [r] Deut. xxxii. 6.

as some would interpret it; but by *buying* is meant his buying out of Egypt this people for a peculiar people: which these wretches boasted and stood upon; yet, by their introducing and practising the profane principles they did, of fornication, and communicating with idols,—they denied the true God, which bought that people for his peculiar. He calls them *spots* [ver. 13], from Deut. xxxii. 5; and parallels them with the old world, Sodom, Balaam, nay, the very fallen angels.

He sets forth the destruction of that cursed nation, and their city, in those terms that Christ had done[s], and that the Scripture doth elsewhere[t]; namely, as the destruction of the whole world, "the heavens passing away, the elements melting, and the earth burnt up," &c. And, accordingly, he speaks of "a new heaven, and a new earth," from Isa. lxv. 17: a new state of the church under the gospel among the Gentiles, when this old world of the Jews' state should be dissolved.

He citeth Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, and giveth an honourable testimony to that, and to the rest of his Epistles: but acknowledgeth, that, in some places, they are hard to be understood, and were misconstrued by some unlearned and unstable ones, to their own ruin; yet neither doth he nor Paul, who was yet alive and well knew of this wresting of his Epistles, clear or amend those difficulties, but let them alone as they were: for the Holy Ghost hath so penned Scripture as to set men to study.

And here is the last, that we hear in Scripture of this great apostle, Peter. His martyrdom he apprehends to be near; and it was to be, before Jerusalem was destroyed; which was not now full four years to come. We may well conceive him to have been put to death by the Jews in Babylonia, where he now was: a madness having come upon that nation in all parts; and a singular raging against the gospel, the devil bestirring himself in them, now he knew their time was so short.

[s] Matt. xxiv. [t] Deut. xxxii. 22—24. Jer. iv. 23.

THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.

As the Second Epistle of Peter, and this of Jude, are very near akin, in style, matter, and subject,—so it is fairly conjecturable in them, that they were not far removed in time, speaking both of wicked ones and wickedness at the same height and ripeness. They are one to another as the prophecy of Obadiah, and Jer. xlix. 14, &c; speaking the same thing, using the same manner of arguing, and oftentimes almost the same words. It may be, Jude stands up in his brother James's charge among the circumcision of Judea, and directs his Epistle to all those, that were "sanctified and preserved" in those apostatizing times, as his brother had done to all the twelve tribes in general.

In citing the story of "Michael the archangel contending with the devil about the body of Moses[u]," he doth but the same that Paul doth in naming Jannes and Jambres; namely, allege a story, which was current and owned among the nation, though there were no such thing in Scripture; and so he argueth with them from their own authors and concessions. It is harsh to strain Zech. iii. 1, 2, to speak such a story; when neither the name Michael is mentioned, nor any thing like the body of Moses, or akin to it. But, among the Talmudics, there seems to be something like the relics of such a matter; viz. of Michael and the Angel of Death disputing or discoursing about fetching away the soul of Moses.

His alleging the prophecy of Enoch, is an arguing of the very like nature; as citing and referring to some known and common tradition, that they had among them, to this purpose. [The book 'Sepher Jesher,' a Hebrew writer, speaketh of Enoch after such a tenor.] And in both these he useth their own testimonies against themselves: as if he should thus have spoken at large: "'These men speak evil of dignities,' whereas they have and own a story for current, that even 'Michael the archangel' did not speak evil of the devil, when he was striving with him about the body of Moses, &c. And whereas they show and own a prophecy of Enoch, of God coming in judgment, &c; why, these are

[u] Jude, ver. 9.

the very men, to whom such a matter is to be applied," &c. It is no strange thing, in the New Testament, for Christ and the apostles to deal and argue with the Jews upon their own concessions.

THE THREE EPISTLES OF JOHN.

AMONG all the apostolic Epistles, there is none about whose time of writing we are so far to seek, as we are about these. And it is neither satisfactory to remove their place, nor is it satisfactory to take their time, according to their place; or to conceive them to be written after the Epistles of Peter, because they are placed after them. Any conjecture that is to be had of them, may best be taken from the Third Epistle.

Gaius, to whom that Epistle is directed, by that encomiastic character that John giveth of him, seemeth to be "Gaius, the Corinthian, the host of the whole church[v];" for since he is commended for entertainment and charity both to the church and strangers, particularly to those who had preached among the Gentiles, taking nothing of them,—we know not where to find any other Gaius, to whom to affix this character, but only this; and we have no reason to look after any other. And, upon this probability, we may observe these other:—

I. That that Third Epistle was written, when those that preached to the Gentiles and took nothing of them, were still abroad upon that employment; for he urgeth him to bring them forward on their journey[w]. Now, under that expression of "taking nothing of the Gentiles," we can understand none but Paul and Barnabas, and those, that were of their several companies; for the Scripture hath named none other. And if it refer to Paul and his company [for we find not that Barnabas had any thing to do with Gaius], then we must conclude, that it was written a good while before this time that we are upon: unless we will suppose Paul, after his freedom from imprisonment at Rome, was got travelling and preaching in those parts again. But I should rather suppose, that John sent this Third Epistle to Gaius to Corinth, by Timothy from Ephesus, who was

[v] Rom. xvi. 23. [w] 3 John, ver. 6.

setting away thence for Rome, upon Paul's sending for him to come to him thither[x]. In which journey, as we have showed before, he was to call at Corinth, and to take Mark along with him, who was there. And of them may John's advice to Gaius be well understood, "Whom if thou bring forward on their journey, thou shalt do well:" for, for his sake, they went out, taking nothing of the Gentiles; Mark with Barnabas, and Timothy with Paul.

II. Before John wrote this Epistle to Gaius, he had written another Epistle, to some church,—it may be, that of Corinth, of which Gaius was. "I wrote (saith he) unto the church; but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence, receiveth us not." This must needs be understood of the First Epistle of John; unless we will conceive, unwarrantably,—that I may say no worse,—that any of John's writings are lost.

III. Upon and with the forementioned supposal, that John sent his Epistle to Gaius by Timothy from Ephesus,—we cannot but also suppose, that John spent some time in the Asian churches, to which afterward from Patmos he writes his Epistles. And if any one be not satisfied with that interpretation that was given before[y], about 'the epistle from Laodicea[z],' let him rather understand it of 'the First Epistle of John,' as written by him from Laodicea, than think it was an Epistle written by Paul from Laodicea, and that that Epistle is lost. In both his latter Epistles, he intimateth his hopes and purpose shortly to come to them: from which we may construe, that his intention was to travel from Asia the Less, where he now was, and from whence he wrote all his three Epistles westward into Greece; and in this journey you have him got into Patmos[a], from whence he writes back to Asia again.

In all his Epistles, he exhorteth to love, and constancy in the truth,—a lesson most needful in those divided and apostatizing times. He giveth notice of many antichrists now abroad; and these he showeth to have been such as had once professed the truth, but were apostatized from it: "They went out from us, but they were not of us," &c.—And this

[x] 2 Tim. iv. 9. 11. 21.
[z] Col. iv. 16.
[y] P. 300 of this volume.
[a] Rev. i.

apostasy he calleth 'the sin unto death.' To such he adviseth they should not so much as say, 'God speed:' אישר in their vulgar language. "The Rabbins saw a holy man of Caphar Immi, and went to him, and said, אישר 'God speed;' but he answered them nothing[a]." "R. Chinna Bar Papa, and R. Samuel Bar Nachman, went by a man that was ploughing on the seventh year" [the year of release]: "R. Samuel saith to him, אישר 'God speed.' R. Chinna saith, Our master did not teach us thus: for it is forbidden to say 'God speed,' to one that is ploughing on the seventh year[b]."

John styleth himself 'an elder,' and so doth Peter[c]; not as laying aside their apostolical power, but as dealing with those, to whom they write, in a ministerial way: and by this very title, that they assume to themselves, they closely intimate, that thenceforward the extraordinary function and gifts apostolic must not be expected, but the ministerial, in the ordinary way of elders or ministers, as the title had been long and vulgarly known. And yet, when he speaks of Diotrephes and his abusiveness, he then threatens to show his apostolic power, and himself 'A son of thunder,' against him.

THE REVELATION OF JOHN.

As it will be easily admitted, to place this book last of all the New Testament, because it stands so in all Bibles,—so on the other hand it will be cavilled at, that I have brought in the writing of it so soon, as before the fall of Jerusalem; since it hath been of old and commonly held, that it was penned in the reign of Domitian, far after these times that we are upon. But the reasons, by which I have been induced thereunto, will appear out of some passages in the book itself, as we go through it.

As God revealed to 'Daniel, the man greatly beloved,' the state of his people, and the monarchies that afflicted them, from his own time, till the coming of Christ; so doth Christ to 'John, the beloved disciple,' the state of the church, and story in brief, of her chief afflicters, from thence to the end of the world. So that where Daniel ends, the

[a] Jerus. Taanith, fol. 64. col. 2. [b] Id. in Sheviith, fol. 35. 2. and 36. 1.
[c] 1 Pet. v. 1.

Revelation begins; and John hath nothing to do with any of the four monarchies that he speaketh of, but deals with a fifth, the Roman,—that rose, as it were, out of the ashes of those four, and swallowed them all up.

The composure of the book is much like Daniel's in this,—that it repeats one story over and over again, in varied and enlarged expressions; and exceeding like Ezekiel's, in method and things spoken. The style is very prophetical, as to the things spoken; and very Hebraizing, as to the speaking of them. Exceeding much of the old prophets' language, and matter adduced to intimate new stories: and exceeding much of the Jews' language, and allusion to their customs and opinions, thereby to speak the things more familiarly to be understood. And as Ezekiel wrote concerning the ruin of Jerusalem, when the ruining of it was now begun,—so, I suppose, doth John of the final destruction of it; when the wars and miseries were now begun, which bred its destructions.

REVELATION, I, II, III.

The three first chapters refer to that present time, when John wrote: and they contain the story of his obtaining this Revelation, and of the condition of the seven churches of Asia at that time,—declared in the Epistles directed to them.

John, travelling in the ministry of the gospel up and down from Asia, westward, cometh into the isle Patmos, in the Icarian sea[r], an island about thirty miles' compass[s]: and there, on the Lord's day, he hath these visions; and an angel interprets to him all he saw.

He seeth Christ, clothed like a priest, ποδήρη[t] [see the LXX in Exod. xxviii. 4], and girded over the paps, as the priests used to be, with the curious girdle. His appearance, full of majesty and gloriousness, described in the terms of Daniel[u]. Amongst other his divine titles, he is called, 'Alpha and Omega,' terms ordinarily used by the Jews [only uttered in their Hebrew tongue] to signify 'the beginning and the end, or the first and the last.' "Abraham and Sarah per-

[r] Vid. Strab. lib. 10.
[s] Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12.
[t] Rev. i. 13.
[u] Dan. vii. 9; and x. 5, 6.

formed all the law, from Aleph to Tau[u]." "He that walks in integrity, is as if he performed all the law, from Aleph to Tau[v]."

He directs epistles to be sent to 'the seven churches of Asia;' who are 'golden candlesticks,' though very full of corruptions [it is not a small thing that unchurches a church]; and inscribed to 'the angels of the churches.' This phrase translates שליח צבור 'Sheliach Tsibbor,' the title of the minister in every synagogue, who took care for the public reading and expounding of the law and prophets: and these epistles are sent, accordingly, to the ministers of the several churches, that they might be read openly in their congregations.

There are seven several epistles, to the several churches, dictated immediately and sent by Christ; and another general one from John, to them all, in which he shows the warrant and way of writing those seven.

He terms the Holy Ghost, 'the seven spirits,' according to the Jews' common speech, who, from Isa. xi. 2, speak much of 'the seven spirits of Messias.' And, speaking of Christ's 'coming with clouds[w], from Dan. vii. 13, and from the words of Christ himself[x], he at once teacheth that he takes at Daniel, and speaks of Christ's coming and reigning, when the four monarchies were destroyed; and especially referreth to the first most visible evidence of his power and dominion, in coming to destroy his enemies, the Jewish nation, and their city. And here is one reason that induceth me to suppose this book written, before that city was destroyed.

Coming to read the present condition of these Asian churches, in the epistles written to them, we may pertinently think of that saying of Paul[y], "This thou knowest, that all they that are in Asia, are turned from me:" a great apostasy: of which there is too much evidence in these churches, as also mention of some sad fruits of it, and means and instruments inducing to it. As, 1. Unbelieving Jews, which the Holy Ghost, all along, calls, 'a synagogue of Satan:' with these, the church of Smyrna was pestered,—and, more especially, Pergamus, where their mischievousness is styled, the very throne, or 'seat of Satan:' and where they had murdered

[u] Midr. Tillim, fol. 47. 2. [v] Marg. tripl. Targ. in Deut. xviii. 13.
[w] Rev. i. 7. [x] Matt. xxiv. 30. [y] 2 Tim. i. 15.

Antipas, a faithful martyr, already. 2. False apostles and seducers: some that pretended apostolic power and commission, and, it may be, coloured their pretences with magical wonders, that they might act more apostle-like. These the church of Ephesus was troubled with, but had discovered their delusions and found them liars. 3. Other seducers, that, it may be, came not in the demonstration of such devilish power; but answered that, by their horrid devilish doctrines, 'the doctrines of the Nicolaitans,' which taught to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication. In Thyatira, a woman-seducer cried up this doctrine, a whore and witch, a Jezebel: wherefore, she and her children,—that is, her disciples,—are threatened to be destroyed by the plague; the vengeance upon the fornicators with Baal-Peor.

REVELATION, IV, V.

Now cometh a second vision. That before, was of 'things then being[z];' but this, and forward, of 'things to come[a].' "A door open in heaven, and the voice of a trumpet talking with John," out of it.

The scene of John's visions, said to be 'in heaven,' is according to the scheme of the temple and the divine glory there. And hence you have mention of the altar, candlesticks, sea of glass [the brazen laver made of the women's looking-glasses], the ark of the covenant, and the like. And as, at the opening of the temple-doors, a trumpet sounded,—so is the allusion here. The door in heaven opened, and a trumpet calls John to come in and see what was there. "And immediately he was in the spirit[b]." Why, was he not in the spirit before[c]? and was he not in the spirit, in seeing the door in heaven opened? &c. But we may observe a double degree in rapture; as inspired men may be considered under a double notion; viz. those that were inspired with prophecy, or to be prophets and to preach,—and those that were inspired to be penmen of divine writ, which was higher. John hath both inspirations or revelations to both ends, both in the vision before, and this: then he was in the spirit, and saw the vision; and was in the spirit, and inspired to pen

[z] Chap. i. 19.
[a] Chap. iv. 1.
[b] Chap. iv. 2.
[c] Chap. i. 10.

what he saw, and what to be sent to the churches. And, in the first verse of this chapter, he is in the spirit, or hath a revelation; and, in ver. 2, he is in the spirit; and is inspired so as to take impression and remembrance of these things, to write them also.

He seeth Christ enthroned in the middle of his church, in the same prophetic and visionary emblem that Ezekiel had seen[d]; and this is a commentary and fulfilling of that scene that Daniel speaketh of[e]. In Ezekiel, the Lord,—when Jerusalem was now to be destroyed, and the glory of the Lord that used to be there, and the people were to flit into another land,—appeareth so enthroned, as sitting in judgment, and flitting away, by degrees, to another place: as, compare Ezek. i and x, well together. So Christ here; when the destruction of Jerusalem was now near at hand, and his glory and presence to remove from that nation, now given up to unbelief and obduration, to reside among the Gentiles,—he is seated upon his throne, as judge and king, with glorious attendance, to judge that nation, for their sins and unbelief, and stating the affair of his church, whither his glory was now removing.

The scheme is platformed, according to the model of Israel's camp:—1. The tabernacle was in the middle there; so is the throne here. 2. There, the four squadrons of the camp of Levi next the tabernacle; so here the four living creatures. 3. Then the whole camp of Israel; so here, twenty-four elders, representatives of the whole church, built from twelve tribes, and twelve apostles.

In the hand of him, that sat on the throne, was a book, sealed, which no creature could open. This justly calls us back to Dan. xii. ver. 4, where "words are shut up, and a book sealed unto the time of the end:" and now, that that is near drawing on, the book is here opened.

REVELATION, VI.

THE opening of the six seals in this chapter, speaks the ruin and rejection of the Jewish nation, and the desolation of their city; which is now very near at hand.

The first seal, opened[f], shows Christ setting forth in battle-

[d] Ezek. i, and x. [e] Dan. vii. 9, 10. 22. [f] Rev. vi. 2.

array and avengement against them, as Psal. xliv. 4, 5. And this the New Testament speaketh very much and very highly of; one while calling it, 'his coming in clouds;' another while, his 'coming in his kingdom;' and sometime, his 'coming in power and great glory,' and the like. Because his plaguing and destroying of the nation that crucified him, that so much opposed and wrought mischief against the gospel, was the first evidence, that he gave in sight of all the world, of his being Christ: for till then, he, and his gospel, had been in humility, as I may say, as to the eyes of men,—he persecuted whilst he was on earth, and they persecuted after him; and no course taken with them, that so used both; but now he awakes, shows himself, and makes himself known by the judgment that he executeth.

The three next seals, opening, show the means by which he did destroy,—namely, those three sad plagues, that had been threatened so oft, and so sore, by the prophets,—'sword, famine, and pestilence.' For,

The second seal, opened, sends out one upon a red horse, to take peace from the earth, and that men should destroy one another; he carried 'a great sword[g].'

The third seal, opening, speaks of famine, when corn for scarcity should be weighed, like spicery, in a pair of balances[h].

The fourth seal sends out one, on a pale horse, whose name was Death [the Chaldee very often expresseth the 'plague,' or 'pestilence,' by that word מותא: and so it is to be taken, Rev. ii. 23]; and hell, or hades, comes after him[i].

The opening of the fifth seal, reveals a main cause of the vengeance,—namely, the blood of the saints which had been shed, crying, and which was to be required of that generation[j]. These souls are said to cry from under the altar, either in allusion to the blood of creatures sacrificed, poured at the foot of the altar,—or according to the Jews' tenet, That 'all just souls, departed, are under the throne of glory.' Answer to their cry is given, that the number of their brethren, that were to be slain, was not yet fulfilled; and they must rest till that should be;—and then avengement in their behalf should come. This speaks suitable to that which we observed lately, that now times were begun of bitter perse-

[g] Ver. 4. [h] Ver. 5, 6. [i] Ver. 8. [j] Matt. xxiii. 35, 36.

cution, 'an hour of temptation[k];' the Jews and devil raging, till the Lord should something cool that fury by the ruin of that people.

The opening of the sixth seal [ver. 12, 13], shows the destruction itself, in those borrowed terms, that the Scripture useth to express it by; namely, as if it were the destruction of the whole world[l]: the sun darkened, the stars falling, the heaven departing, and the earth dissolved; and that conclusion [ver. 16], "They shall say to the rocks, Fall on us," &c. doth not only warrant, but even enforce, us to understand and construe these things in the sense that we do; for Christ applies these very words to the very same thing, Luke xxiii. 30. And here is another, and, to me, a very satisfactory reason,—why to place the showing of these visions to John, and his writing of this book, before the desolation of Jerusalem.

REVELATION, VII.

IN the end of the former chapter, was contained the intimation of the desolation of Jerusalem; and, in the beginning of this, the ceasing of prophecy, under the similitude of the four winds restrained from blowing upon the earth[m]; only a remnant of Israel are sealed unto salvation, and not to perish by that restraint; and, with them, innumerable Gentiles. Ezekiel helpeth here to confirm the explication, that we have given of the chapter before; for he hath the very like passage, upon the first destruction of the city, Ezek. ix, x, and xi. Compare the marking in the foreheads here, with Exod. xxviii. 38. Dan not mentioned among the tribes in this place: idolatry first began in that tribe[n].

REVELATION, VIII.

THE opening of the seventh seal, lands us upon a new scene; as a new world began, when Jerusalem was destroyed, and the Jews cast off. The six seals, in the two former chapters, have showed their ruin, and the appearing of the church of the Gentiles; and now the seven trumpets, under the seventh seal, give us a prospect, in general, of the times

[k] Rev. ii. 10, and iii. 10. [l] Matt. xxiv. 29, 30.
[m] Compare Cant. iv. 16. Ezek. xxxvii. 9. [n] Judg. xviii. 1 Kings, xii.

thenceforward, to the end of all things. I say, *in general;* for, from the beginning of the twelfth chapter, and forward, to the end of the nineteenth, they are handled more particularly.

"Silence in heaven for a while," and seven angels with seven trumpets, may call our thoughts to Josh. vi. 4. 10; and intimate, that the prophetic story is now entered upon a new Canaan, or a new stage of the church, as that business at Jericho was, at Israel's first entering on the old: or, it may very properly be looked upon as referring and alluding to the carriage of things at the temple, since this book doth represent things so much according to the scheme and scene of the temple all along.

And, in this very place, there is mention of the altar, and incense, and trumpets, which were all temple-appurtenances. It was, therefore, the custom at the temple, that, when the priest went in to the holy place, the people drew downward from the porch of the temple; and there was a silence whilst he was there [yea, though the people were then praying], incomparably beyond what there was at other times of the service, for the priests were blowing with trumpets, or the Levites singing. The allusion, then, here, is plain. When the sacrifice was laid on the altar, a priest took coals from the altar, went in to the holy place, and offered incense upon the golden altar, that stood before the vail, that was before the ark; and, this being done, the trumpets sounded over the sacrifice. Here, then, is first intimation of Christ's being offered upon the altar; then his going into the holy place as mediator for his people; and then the trumpets sounding, and declaring his disposals in the world. His taking fire off the altar, and casting it upon the earth, ver. 5, is a thing not used at the temple, but spoken from Ezek. x. 2; which betokeneth the sending of judgment, which the trumpets speak out.

The seven trumpets, and the seven vials, in chap. xvi, in many things run very parallel; how far they synchronize, will be best considered, when we come there.

The first trumpet sounding, brings hail, and fire, and blood, upon the earth, and destroys grass and trees, a third part of them. "Fire and hail" was the plague of Egypt[o];

[o] Exod. ix. 23.

but, " fire and blood, with hail," is a new plague. By these seemeth to be intimated, what plagues should be brought upon the world, by fire, sword, dreadful tempest, unnatural seasons, and the like.

The second trumpet sounds, and a great burning mountain is cast into the sea, and the third part of it becomes blood. The ' sea,' in the prophetic language, doth signify ' multitudes of people;' as Jer. li. 36. 42: and Babylon, that was monarch, was ' a burning mountain,' in the same chapter, ver. 35: so that the imperial power seemeth to be the mountain here, which made bloody and mischievous work, not only by the persecution of Christians, but even among their own people. As Nero at present, Vitellius instantly after, Domitian, Commodus, and, indeed, generally all of them, either bloodily destroy their own people;—or, at least, for their covetousness, ambition, revenge, or humour, bring disquietness, oppression, misery, wars, and blood, upon all the world, in one place or other.

The third trumpet brings the star ' Wormwood,' upon the rivers and fountains of waters; which seemeth to denote the grievous heresies, that should be in the church, which should corrupt and embitter the pure springs of the Scripture, and fountains of truth. ' A star,' in the language of this book[p], is a church-man [Ben Cochab was such a wormwood-star among the Jews, called, most properly, Ben Cozba, the liar]; and the phrase, " A star falling from heaven," alludes to Isaiah[q], " How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer!" &c.

The fourth trumpet shows the darkening of the sun, and moon, and stars, for a third part. By which seems to be understood, the wane and decay, both in the glory of the church, by superstition,—and of the empire, by its divisions within, and enemies from without; and this, before the rising of the Papacy, which appears under the next trumpet: and these things were great advantages to its rising. The darkening of the heavenly luminaries, in the prophets'[r] language, signifieth the eclipsing of the glory and prosperity of a kingdom or people. How it was with the church and empire in these respects, before that time that the Papacy

[p] Chap. i. 20. [q] Chap. xiv. 12. [r] Isa. xiii. 9, 10. Joel, ii. 10.

appeared,—he is a stranger to history, both ecclesiastical and civil, that remembereth not upon this very hint.

The three trumpets coming, are the trumpets of "Woe, Woe, Woe." Though these things past, were very woful; but those much more, that are to come.

REVELATION, IX.

A DESCRIPTION of the Papacy, under the fifth trumpet. Another star falling from heaven, and that a notable one, indeed; the 'He,' that hath 'the key of the bottomless pit' committed to him. A vast difference from the keys given Peter, 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' The setting of these in their just distance and opposition, will illustrate the matter before us. When the world is to come, out of darkness and heathenism, to the knowledge of the gospel,—Christ gives Peter 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' to open the door, and let light come in among them; for he first preached to the Gentiles[s]. The world under the Papacy returns, as it were, to heathenism again [and not undeservedly, for its contempt of the gospel, and unproficiency under it]; which is very fitly described, by hell opened, by the keys of the bottomless pit, and darkness coming and clouding all. The claviger, or turnkey, is "the child of perdition, Abaddon and Apollyon,"—a destroyer, and one that is surely and sorely to be destroyed. "Chittim" [Italy, or Rome] "afflicting and perishing for ever[t]." Antichrist, of the second edition, much augmented and enlarged; the Jews the first, as we observed at the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians,—and this the second antichrist, at his full stature. It is true, indeed, that heathen Rome is one part of him; but observe how little a part reputed in comparison of Papish Rome, 'the star fallen from heaven:' so that, though that did woful things, yet you see the 'first woe' is fixed here.

The way of his bringing woe upon the earth, is, by filling the world with smoke, and darkness of ignorance, and human traditions and inventions; and, out of this smoke, come his locusts, or his votary orders. The locusts described,

[s] Acts, x, and xv. 7. [t] Num. xxiv. 24.

much like those in Joel i, for their terror and destroying; only, their having the faces of men, speaks them men-caterpillars; and their Nazarite-like hair, long as the hair of women, speaks them votaries, or such as take on them vowed religion. Their trading is not with grass, or the green things of the earth, as other locusts do, but with men; and they are locusts in name, but scorpions in action, wounding with the sting of their tails [the teacher of lies is the tail[u]], but not killing; leaving men, indeed, in a religion and a profession of Christ, but no better than a venomed and dying one. The time of their tormenting is five months, the time of locusts' ravening ordinarily, from the spring well shot forth, to harvest.

This is the first Woe.

These locusts' stings mind me of a story or two in the Roman history; which let me mention here, though I cannot apply them hither. Dion, in his story of the life of Domitian, saith thus; "About that time, divers began to prick many whom they pleased, with poisoned needles, whereof many died, hardly feeling what was done to them. And this was practised, not only at Rome, but almost through all the world."

And again, in the life of Commodus: "About that time, there was so great a mortality, that oft-times there died two thousand in Rome, in one day; and many, not only in the city, but also through the whole Roman empire, were killed by mischievous men,—who, poisoning needles, pricked others with them; as also it had been in Domitian's time; and so innumerable people died by this means. But there was no greater plague than Commodus himself," &c.

The sounding of the sixth trumpet begins another Woe. Four angels loosed, which were bound in Euphrates,—and come with a terrible army, and horses breathing fire, and smoke, and brimstone, and having stings in their tails, &c. The Turks and Mahometans, coming as a plague upon the eastern part of the world, as the Papacy on the western. These hurt with their tails [false doctrine], as well as the other did in the former trumpet: but these have also heads

[u] Isa. ix. 15

in their tails, which the other had not; for these hold out another head and saviour,—Mahomet.

REVELATION, X.

A LITTLE book in the hand of Christ, speaketh the restoring of religion and truth, after all the darkness and confusions mentioned before. The words in ver. 6, 7, do help to state the intent of this vision: "He sware by him that liveth for ever, that there should be delay of time no longer, but in the days of the seventh trumpet, the mystery of God should be fulfilled." 'The mystery of God,' is his gathering in of his elect, more especially of the Gentiles[v]; and hitherto, there had been great hinderance by heathen Rome, by heresies, Papacy, Turcism; but at last Christ swears, that there should be 'no more delay:' the word χρόνος must be taken so here: and not unconsonant to the signification of the word, and very consonant to the context, and to the place from whence this verse is taken: that is, Dan. xii. 7; where the angel is brought in swearing, as here, that the trouble of Antiochus, and his persecution and hinderance, should be so long, and there should be no delay farther, but there should be a restoring. That place laid to this, and Antiochus looked upon as a figure of antichrist, the construction of this place is easy. Only the great angel would have the speech of the seven thunders, which refer to these times, to be concealed. The prophecy in general intimates the restoring of the gospel in these latter times, which is handled in the next chapter, but very generally, and very briefly. John's eating of the little book[w], and the words to him, "Thou must prophesy again before many people and nations, and tongues and kings,"—do not so much infer John's going abroad after this to preach to many nations himself, as it doth the progress of the truth that he preached, through nations and people, which had been suppressed so long: aiming at these times, when the gospel last broke out from under Popery. The passage is parallel to the last words in the book of Daniel; "Go thy way till the end be, for thou shalt rest, and stand in the lot, at the end of days." Not that Daniel

[v] Rom. xvi. 25, 26. Ephes. iii. 5, 6. [w] As Ezek. ii. 8.

should live till the end of those miseries by Antiochus; but that his doctrine, and the truth, should stand up and be restored in those times. The phrase is such another, as when Christ telleth his disciples, that 'they should sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel;' which is not meant of their personal sitting to judge, but that their doctrine should judge and condemn that unbelieving nation.

REVELATION, XI.

THE vision of this chapter, is in order to the accomplishing of the 'mystery of God,' which was spoken of chap. x. 7. As Ezekiel's measuring of a new temple, showed the restoring of religion, and of the Lord's people, and foretold of the new Jerusalem, and calling of the Gentiles;—to the same purpose, is the measuring of the temple here. The church was under the mystical Babylon [chap. ix], as the Jews were under the eastern, when Ezekiel wrote those things: now, as that description of the measures of the temple, was a prediction and pledge of their coming forth, so this speaketh to the same tenor. John is commanded to leave out the court, which is without the temple, and not to measure it, "Because it was given to the Gentiles, and they should tread the holy city forty-and-two months." Not in a hostile way, but as the flock of the Lord tread his courts, there worshipping him; as see the phrase, Isa. i. 12; Psal. cxxii. 2: and the meaning seemeth to be this,—'Measure not the court of the Gentiles; for their multitudes that come to attend upon the Lord, shall be boundless and numberless.'

The 'two-and-forty months,' and 'a thousand two hundred and sixty days[x],' and 'a time and times and half a time[y],' are but borrowed phrases from Daniel: who[z] so expresseth the three years and a half of Antiochus's persecution, and treading down religion; and they mean times of trouble, and are used to express that, but not any fixed time. The Jews themselves have learned to make the same construction of it, when they say, "Adrianus besieged Bitter three years and a half[a];" and this also [that comfort might stand up against

[x] Ver. 3, and chap. xii. 6. [y] Chap. xii. 14. [z] Dan. vii. 25, and xii. 7. 11.
[a] Jerus. Taanith, fol. 68. col. 4.

misery] was the time of our Saviour's ministry, when he restored decayed and ruined religion, in so happy a manner[b]. And this the Jews also have observed in that saying we have mentioned before, "The divine glory shall stand upon mount Olivet three years and a half, and shall preach," &c. So that, according to this interpretation of the numbers, the things they are applied unto, are facile: 'The Gentiles shall tread the Lord's courts forty-two months; and the two witnesses shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and sixty days, clothed in sackcloth:' meaning, that the Gentiles shall worship God, and attend upon him in a gospel-ministry;—and for that, allusion is made to the space of time that Christ administered the gospel: but this ministering and attending, shall not be without persecution and trouble;—and for intimation of that, allusion is made to the bitter times of Antiochus.

'Two witnesses,' is a phrase taken from the law: "In the mouth of two or of three witnesses, every word shall stand:" and it means, that all should bear witness to the truth in the times spoken of:—but more especially the ministry, which is charactered by the picture of 'Moses and Elias,' the two great reformers in their several times: the former, the first minister of the Jews,—the latter, of the Gentiles. These are 'two olive-trees[c],' and 'two candlesticks[d];' gracious in themselves, and having light, and holding it out to others. They must finish and accomplish their work, that they had to do; and then be overcome by antichrist, and slain.

Their case is clearly paralleled with Christ, their Master's; by comparing it with which, it is best understood. He preached three years and six months in trouble and sorrow; so they in sackcloth: he, having finished his ministry, was slain; so they: he revived and ascended; so they likewise.—Now this that especially states the case, and the counting of the progress of proceedings intended here, is this: that as Christ laid the foundation of the gospel, and when he, having finished his ministry, was slain, risen, and ascended, the gospel was not extinct with him, but increased more and more by the ministry that followed after;—so seems this that alludes thereunto, to be understood: As, that the two wit-

[b] Dan. ix. 27. [c] See Zech. iv. 3. Rom. xi. 17. 24. [d] See Rev. i. 20.

nesses should mean the first ministry, and bearing witness to the truth at the first breaking of it out of Popery, which was followed with horrid persecutions, and multitudes of martyrdoms: but these first witnesses having so done their testimony, and vast numbers of them having sealed it with their blood, and being gone to heaven,—yet the gospel increased and shook down a part of Rome, even at these first beginnings.

"Their dead bodies must be cast in the streets of the great city, where our Lord was crucified." The term 'the great city' resolves, that Rome is meant, if there were no other evidence: which see explained, chap. xvii, xviii. And by her power and sentence, our Lord was crucified; and for a quarrel of hers, being accused and condemned by Pilate as a traitor to the Roman power, for saying he was a king. This is the rather mentioned, now there is speech of Rome's last bloodiness against Christ's witnesses; that it might be showed, that it persevered the same to his, that it had been to him,—and that to the last;—and that these witnesses drunk but of the same cup, that their Master had drunk before them.

"She is called spiritually [דרך משל as the Jews speak] Sodom and Egypt:" *Sodom*, for filthiness; and *Egypt*, for idolatry and mercilessness. Never did place under heaven wallow in fleshly filthiness, and particularly in the sodomitic bestiality, as Rome did about those times that John wrote: and how little it hath been mended under the Papacy, there are records plain enough that speak to her shame. He that reads Martial and Juvenal [to name no more], may stand and wonder, that men should become such beasts: and it had been better that those books had been for ever smothered in obscurity, than that they should have come to light,—were it not only for this, that they and others of the like stamp, do give that place her due character, and help us the better to understand her description. It is observable, what Paul saith[e]; that because the heathen had brutish conceptions concerning God, abasing him, he gave them over to brutish abasing their own bodies by bestiality,—or, indeed, by what was above bestial. And so he shows plainly, that God's

[e] Rom. i. 21—24.

giving up men to such filthiness, especially sodomy, was a direct plague for their idolatrous conceptions of God, and their idolatry. And to this purpose, it may be observed, that, when the Holy Ghost hath given the story of the world's becoming heathenish at Babel, for and by idolatry[f]; he is not long before he brings in mention of this sin among the heathen, and fearful vengeance upon it[g]. Apply this matter to the case of Rome, and it may be of good information.

'The casting their dead bodies in the streets,' speaks the higher spite and detestation against them: and, in this particular, they are described different from their Master. And as they had prophesied three years and a half,—so they lay unburied three days and a half: till there was no apparent possibility of their recovery. But they revive and go to heaven: and a tenth part of the city falls by an earthquake, and seven thousand perish: but the rest of that part of the city that fell, who perished not, gave glory to God. Nine parts of the city left standing still: whose ruin is working still from henceforward, by the gospel that these witnesses had set on foot: which brings in the kingdoms to become the kingdoms of Christ, &c.

REVELATION, XII.

As Daniel[h] giveth a general view of the times, from his own days, to the coming of Christ, in the mention of the four monarchies [in the four parts of Nebuchadnezzar's visionary image], which should run their date, and decay, and come to nothing, before his coming;—and then[i] handles the very same thing again in another kind of scheme, and something plainer;—and then[j] doth explain at large, and more particularly, some of the most material things, that he had touched in those generals: so doth our Apocalyptic here, and forward. He hath hitherto given a general survey of the times from his own days to the end: and now he goes over some of the chief heads again with explanation.

And, first, he begins with the birth of Christ, and the Christian church: and the machination of the devil to destroy both. The church of the Jews bringeth forth her chief

[f] Gen. xi. [g] Gen. xix. [h] Chap. ii. [i] In chap. vii. [j] In chap. viii. x, xi, and xii.

child, and the devil seeketh to destroy him. He is pictured, 1. "A great red dragon." Old Pharaoh, who sought to devour new-born Israel, is much of the like character[k]. 2. "With seven heads:" so many had the persecuting monarchies[l],—the lion one, the bear one, the leopard four, and the fourth beast one. 3. "And ten horns;" parallel to the Syro-Grecian persecutors[m]. 4. "With his tail he drew and cast down the third part of the stars:" as the tyrant Antiochus had done[n]. So that by these allusive descriptions and phrases of old stories fetched to express new, is showed the acting of the devil now, by his mischievous and tyrannical instruments, with as much bitterness and bloody-mindedness, as he had done in those. The woman's fleeing into the wilderness, alludes to Israel's getting away into the wilderness from the dragon Pharaoh[o]; and her nourishing there a thousand two hundred and sixty days, speaks Christ's preservation of that church in the bitterest danger and days, like the days of Antiochus. This vision aims at the great opposition and oppression the church and gospel underwent from the first rising of it, to the ruin of Jerusalem: and their preservation in all that extremity.

The battle betwixt Michael and the dragon, is of the same aim and time with the former; but it speaks thus much farther, that the church is not only preserved, but the dragon conquered and cast to the earth. 'Heaven' all along in this book is the 'church;' the 'earth,' therefore, may be properly understood of the 'world;' and here more especially of that part of worldly ones, the unbelieving Jews; and that the rather, because the Gentiles here are called 'the wilderness,' as they be also in several other places in Scripture. The devil, therefore, is cast out of the church by the power of Michael, the Lord Christ, that he cannot nestle there; and he goes into the rest of the nation, that did not believe: much like the tenor of that parable, Matt. xii. 43—45. The woman hath eagles' wings [alluding to Exod. xix. 4], and gets into the wilderness;—the persecuted church and gospel gets among the Gentiles. The devil casts venom as a flood after the woman-church, and "the earth swallows it up:" the un-

[k] Isa. xxvii. 1. Psal. lxxiv. 13, &c. [l] Dan. vii. [m] Dan. vii. 7, &c. [n] Dan. viii. 10. [o] Exod. xiv, &c.

believing Jews do, as it were, drink up all the poison of the devil; and together with raging against the church, they grow enraged one against another, and against the Romans, till they become their own destroyers. And, indeed, though it were a most bitter time with the church, while she was among the combustions, that that nation had within itself,—yet their raging one against another the more it increased in their particular quarrels, the more it avenged her quarrel, and turned their edge from off her, upon themselves. The devil, seeing this, betakes himself to fight against the woman's seed, the church of the Gentiles: and the treatise of that begins in the next chapter.

REVELATION, XIII.

WHEN Rome hath slain Christ and destroyed Jerusalem, Satan gives up his power and throne to it; and that deservedly, as to one most like to be his chief and most able agent to act his fury. She is described here, a beast bearing the shape of all the four bloody monarchies[p], in power and cruelty matching, nay, incomparably exceeding, them all. There is but little reason to take Rome for the fourth monarchy in Daniel; and the so taking it, bringeth much disjointing and confusion, into the interpreting of that book and this, and into the stating of affairs and times spoken of in them. The Jews like such a gloss well, as whereby they do conclude, that the Messias is not yet come; 'because the fourth monarchy, the Roman, say they, is not yet utterly destroyed.' And truly I see not, how they can conclude less, upon such a concession. For it is plain in Daniel, that the four kingdoms, there spoken of, must come to nothing before the first appearing of Messias; and that the Roman is not, is most plain,—since this book makes Rome, heathen and papal, but as one.

The Holy Ghost, by Daniel, shows the four monarchies, the afflicters of the church of the Jews till Messias's first coming,—the Babylonian, the Mede-Persian, the Grecian, and the Syro-Grecian: and John now takes at him, and shows a fifth monarchy, the afflicter of the church of Jews and Gentiles till his second coming. Daniel, indeed, gives a hint

[p] Dan. vii.

of the Roman, but he clearly distinguisheth him from the other four, when he calls him "the prince, that was to come[q]," beyond and after those four that he had spoken of before. Him John describes here, as carrying the character of all those four. "A beast with ten horns;" such a one had been the Syro-Grecian[r]: like a leopard, as the Grecian was[s]: his feet as a bear's; such the Persian[t]: "his mouth like a lion;" such the Babylonian[u]. This, therefore, could not be any of those, when it was all: and by this description of it by characters of them all, it shows the vast power and incomparable cruelty and oppression of it equalling them all; nay, it infinitely went beyond them put all together, in extent of dominions, power, continuance, and cruelty, both to the church and to the world. Balaam, long before Rome was in being, doth set it out for the great afflicter[v]: 'Ships shall come from the coasts of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber." That 'Chittim' means 'Italy,' or 'Rome,' is granted even by some Romanists themselves; it is asserted by the Jews, and confirmed by other places of Scripture, and even proved by the very sense and truth of that place. It afflicts both the afflicted and the afflicter, Eber and Asshur: and that hath been the garb of it since its first being. How may this be read in her own stories? In her bloody conquests over all the world: in the titles of honour [but which speak oppression], Britannicus, Germanicus, Africanus, and the like. And to take up all in epitome, and that you may conjecture 'ex ungue Leonem,' what whole Rome hath done in all her time for slaughter, oppression, and destroying, take but the brief of one of her commanders, Pompey the Great; of whom Pliny speaks to this purpose[w]; "He recovered Sicily: subdued Afric: subjected eight hundred and seventy-six towns about the Alps and coasts of Spain: routed and slew two million one hundred and eighty-three thousand men: sunk and took eight hundred and forty-six ships: took in one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight fortified places; and triumphed from his conquest of Asia, Pontus, Armenia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Judea, Albania, Iberia, Crete, and Basterna." What hath Rome

[q] Dan. ix. 26. [r] Dan. vii. 7. [s] Ver. 6. [t] Ver. 5.
[u] Ver. 4. [v] Num. xxiv. 24. [w] Nat. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 26.

done by all her agents in all her time? And she is, this year, 1654, two thousand four hundred and eight years old.

She is described here, "with seven heads and ten horns:" as the dragon, whose deputed she is, is pictured, chap. xii. 3; the horns crowned with power,—and the heads with blasphemies.

One of his heads had been wounded to death, but his deadly wound was healed: this seemeth to mean her monarchical or kingly power, which was extinguished with the Tarquins, but revived in the Cæsars. And hereby is given intimation from whence to account the beginning of this fifth monarchy; namely, from Rome's beginning again to be monarchical: and we may well take a hint of this from Luke ii; where, at the birth of Christ, all the world is taxed by Cæsar Augustus. Not that monarchical government is therefore the worse, because thus abused by Rome heathen, no more than religion is the worse for being abused by Rome papal.

Another beast ariseth, like this for power and cruelty, but far beyond him in cozenage and delusion. Heathen Rome dealt always openly, and in downright terms of bloodiness, professedly setting itself to destroy religion: but papal Rome is "a mystery of iniquity:" it goes to work by deceiving, and carrying fair pretences: therefore it is said, that it spake as a dragon, but had horns like a lamb. It revives the tyranny of Rome heathen and imperial, and none must thrive before it, that will not bear its badge: either some mark, or its name, or the number of its name: which number was the number of a man, and his number is six hundred and sixty-six. In Hebrew numerals,—'Sethur' [the name of a man in Num. xiii. 13] comes just to this number: and which being interpreted signifies 'hidden,' or 'mystery:' the very inscription of Rome itself[x]. In Greek, Λατεῖνος fits it, which is the old name of the Roman. And, in genealogical arithmetic, the number of Adonikam's family suits with it, Ezra ii.13;—which man's name signifies, 'A Lord rising up.'

REVELATION, XIV.

The warring betwixt Michael and his angels, and the dragon and his angels, and the dragon's making war with the

[x] Chap. xvii. 5.

seed of the woman[y], receiveth illustration in the thirteenth chapter, and in the beginning of this. For in chap. xiii, he resigns his power and throne to the beast Rome, and makes him chief leader in his wars; and his angels are men, that receive his mark. Here the Lamb upon mount Zion is Michael, and his angels and followers are marked with his Father's name in their foreheads, as chap. vii.

And now, as in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, the relation is concerning those things, that should be against the church,—from henceforth the prophecy is more especially of things, that make for the church, and against her enemies. As, 1. The preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles[z]. 2. The proclaiming of the ruin of the mystical Babylon: proclaimed even from its first rising up a persecutor: as Isaiah did prophesy against the eastern, even before its tyrannical being. 3. The ministry of the word giving caution, against joining with the beast and his image,—and the danger and damnation that should follow upon joining with him,—and the torments described[a]. Here the patience of the saints tried[b]; and John, by a voice from heaven, commanded to write them "blessed that die in the Lord, from thenceforth[c];" at once showing the bitterness of the persecution caused by the beast, that even death should be desirable to deliver the saints from that trouble; and encouraging to stand out against the beast and his image even to the death.

These bitter dealings against the church, ripen the sins of the world ready for cutting down: and, thereupon, Christ is described coming as against Egypt[d], riding upon a cloud, and with a sickle in his hand to reap the earth; as Joel iii. 13, betokening his vengeance against his enemies: so the earth is reaped, harvest, and vintage, and all. This is a general intimation of God's judgment and vengeance, which is more particularly handled in the pouring out of the vials[e].

It is observable, that the word for reaping of the earth comes out from the temple: yea, though Christ have the sickle in his hand, yet an angel out of the temple calls to him to reap: and another angel comes out of the temple with a sickle; and a third out of the temple calls to him to

[y] Rev. xii. [z] Rev. xiv. 6, 7. [a] Ver. 9—11. [b] Ver. 12. [c] Ver. 13. [d] Isa. xix. 1. [e] Rev. xvi.

reap. As this may be understood to doctrinal information, that the cries and urgencies of the church to Christ, stir him up to avenge them on their enemies[f],—so the expressions may be explained by allusive application. The putting in of the first sickle, to reap the first corn in Judea, was by the word and warrant of the priests and rulers sitting in the temple; and they that were to reap, when they were come to the corn, put not in the sickle, till the word was given, *Reap*. The manner and managing of this business,—viz. the reaping of the first sheaf,—is recorded and related by the Talmud[g]: "These three men, say they, that were appointed by the Sanhedrim to reap, went out into the valley of Cedron, with a great company following them, on the first day of the Passover-week, when now it grew towards evening, with three sickles and three baskets. One, when they came to the place, said to them, On this sabbath, on this sabbath, on this sabbath, In this basket, in this basket, in this basket, With this sickle, with this sickle, with this sickle, Reap: to whom the three answer, Well, well, well, I will reap. The other says, Reap then. Then they reap," &c. Thus phrases, taken from known customs, do speak the plainer.

And so is the expression taken from common speech and opinion, when it is said, in ver. 30, "The wine-press was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the wine-press even to the horse-bridles. Here is treading a wine-press of blood, as Christ treadeth in Edom[h]:—Edom is the common name, by which the Hebrew writers call the Romans.—"The wine-press was without the city:" alluding to the wine and oil-presses, which were without Jerusalem at the foot of mount Olivet.—"Blood came up to the horse-bridles:" an hyperbole, by which they expressed great slaughter and effusion of blood. So the Jerusalem Talmud[i], describing the woful slaughter that Hadrian made of the Jews at the destruction of the city Bitter, saith שקע הסוס בדם עד חוטמו "The horses waded in blood up to the nostrils, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs." Of that space and extent doth R. Menahem[k] reckon the largeness of the land of Israel.

[f] Luke, xviii. 7. [g] Menachoth, cap. 10. and in Tosaphta, ibid.
[h] Isa. lxiii. 1. 3. [i] In Taanith, fol. 69. col. 1. [k] On Gen. fol. 60.

REVELATION, XV.

WHAT was spoken in general, in the conclusion of the preceding chapter, concerning the treading of the wine-press of God's wrath,—is here more particularly prosecuted, in the story of the seven vials. At the beginning of which, John again calls us to reflect upon the scheme of the temple in heaven: which all along speaks according to the platform of the temple at Jerusalem. "Here is a sea of glass mingled with fire, and harpers harping by it, &c. singing the song of Moses:" which, as it calls to mind Moses and the people's singing upon the Red Sea shore, upon their delivery from Egypt[l],—so doth it plainly allude to the music at the temple, by the laver, or sea; and which, standing near the altar, was as "a sea of glass mingled with fire."

Moses and Israel sing after the destruction of Egypt; for their deliverance was by her destruction: but those here, that have got victory over the beast, sing before he is destroyed; for they are delivered from him and prevail against him, though he stand in his strength, and his destruction be not yet come. The gospel grew; and 'sanguis martyrum' was 'semen ecclesiæ,' do Satan and antichrist what they can.

After this song, "The temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened[m]." All the whole building upon mount Moriah was called the temple,—the courts, and cloisters, and chambers, &c. But the very house itself, 'The holy, and holy of holies,' was, only and properly, 'The temple of the tabernacle of testimony:' and the song mentioned before[n], is represented as being in the court, near the altar and laver; but now the very house itself is opened: parallel to what is spoken, chap. xi. 19; "The temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple, the ark of his covenant." The Lord, in pouring out vengeance upon antichrist, will manifest his judgments [as ver. 4], and open his counsels and covenant: for, while the enemy raged, and raved, and destroyed those that would not worship him,—and when even all the world, in a manner, did worship him,—the Lord's judgments were hid, and his covenant with his people,

[l] Exod. xv. [m] Rev. xv. 5. [n] Ver. 2.

as it were, out of sight, or as if no such thing had been: but when this vengeance shall come, then all will be plain.

The seven angels, that pour out the seven vials, are charactered in the garb of priests, coming out of the temple, in white linen, and girded over the breasts, as the priests were. One of the living creatures gives the vials into their hands: the very same sense and carriage with that, Ezek. x. 7.

REVELATION, XVI.

WERE the stage, where the things of this book were to be acted, and the time of their acting, of as little compass as was that of the things of Daniel,—one might, with more probability, allot the several things, mentioned, to their several times, as the things in him may be done. But, since the scene here is as large as all the world, where the gospel was to come, and the time as long as time shall be [one thousand six hundred years past already, and how much behind, none knoweth]; to undertake to apply every thing in this book, to its particular time, place, and occasion, is to run a hazardous undertaking. In some places, indeed, the things are so plain, that they speak themselves; but, in many, so obscure, that he that will venture to bring them to particular application, doth it more upon his own venture, than upon any good textual warrant: and, amongst those obscurities, these vials are not the least. Take them in a general interpretation [as I believe they are intended], and their meaning is easy to be understood; but to come to allot them severally to this or that time, or place, is but to do that, that when you have done all you can, will come to no surer bottom to rest upon, than your own conceit and supposal.

The matter of them is expressed, as to the most part, by allusion to the plagues of Egypt,—as biles, blood, darkness; and so it clears the thing intended,—namely, in general to show how the mystical Egypt[o], after all her oppression and persecution of the Israel of God, should, at last, come to receive her just reward, as old Egypt had done: and that God would follow her with plagues, till he had destroyed

[o] Rev. xi. 8.

her. They are somewhat like the plagues of the seven trumpets; some of which, as we observed, did, in general, speak the state of the world till the rising of antichrist: and these vials may be understood as the general description of his plagues and ruin. We observed, in chap. vi, and that upon good Scripture ground,—that the six seals did all but speak one effect; namely, the destruction of the Jewish nation, but brought to pass by several judgments; and the like interpretation may be made here.

The first vial brings a noisome bile upon the worshippers of the beast: this was the sixth plague of Egypt, but here the first: for that plague in Egypt came home to Jannes and Jambres, the magicians, that they could not stand before Moses[p]; and that both this and all the rest might be showed to reach home, even to the veriest deceivers and ringleaders of mischief in antichristian Egypt, this is justly set in the first rank.

The second and third, here, refer to the one plague of blood, in Egypt, and these exceed that: for there, all the rivers and ponds were, indeed, turned into blood, but the Egyptians digged for water, about the river, to drink[q], and found it; and it was not turned into blood. The question and answer of Aben Ezra is pertinent:—It is said, "There was blood throughout all the land of Egypt: and the magicians did so with their enchantments. Now, how could the magicians turn water into blood, when there was no water left, but all was blood?" and he answers, "Aaron only turned the waters, that were above ground, into blood; not those, that were under ground:" but here, sea, and rivers, and fountains, and all, are become blood: still to show, how thoroughly the plagues should come home.

At these plagues, there is mention of 'the angel of the waters[r];' which, since all the angels here are charactered in the garb of priests, as hath been said,—may also be understood as alluding to that priest, whose office it was to have care of the waters, and to look that there should be water enough, and fitting, for the people to drink, that came up to the three festivals. Among the offices of the priests at the

[p] Exod. ix. 11. [q] Exod. vii. 24. [r] Rev. xvi. 5.

temple, this was one[s]: and Nicodemus, whom the Talmud speaks of, was of this office[t].

The fourth vial, poured into the sun, brings scorching heat: this seems to allude to Joshua's or Deborah's day, when the stars from heaven fought: the sun, standing still so long, did not only give light to Israel, but probably heat and faintness to the Canaanites; and Psal. cxxi. 6 seems to refer thither,—"The sun shall not smite thee by day."

As, in the fourth, they are plagued by the sun,—so, in the fifth, by want of it. The seat of the beast darkened; as Pharaoh's throne and kingdom was: and this darkness bringing horror and pains; as Egypt's did, through dreadful apparitions in the dark.

The drying up of Euphrates for the kings of the east, under the sixth vial, seems to speak much to the tenor of the sixth trumpet, the loosing of the four angels, which were bound at Euphrates. Those, we conceived the Turks, to plague Christendom; these, we may conceive enemies, to plague antichrist. The allusion, in the former, seems to be to the four kings from beyond Euphrates, that came to scourge Canaan[u]; this, to the draining of Euphrates, for Cyrus and Darius to take Babylon. For having to treat here of a Babylon, as ver. 19,—the scene is best represented, as being laid at the old Babylon. Now, the historians, that mention the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, tell us, it was by draining the great stream of Euphrates, by cutting it into many little channels.

The Egyptian plague of frogs is here translated into another tenor, and that more dangerous; three unclean spirits, like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, beast, and false prophet: spirits of devils working miracles, &c. This is named betwixt the sixth and seventh vial [though the acting of the delusions, by miracles, were all the time of the beast and false prophet], because of the judgment now coming: for, though all deluders and deluded received their judgments in their several ages, yet, being here speaking of the last judgments of antichrist, they are all summed together. He is here called, "the false prophet," as being the great deluder of all. The fruit of all these delusions is to set

[s] Maim. in Kele Mikdash, cap. 7. [t] Aboth, R. Nathan, cap. 6. [u] Gen. xiv.

men to fight against God: whose end is set forth by allusion to the army of Jabin, king of Canaan[v], broken at "the waters of Megiddo." The word 'Armageddon' signifies, 'a mountain of men cut in pieces.' Here that solemn caution is inserted, "Behold, I come as a thief: blessed is he, that watcheth and keepeth his garments." The priest, that walked the round of the temple-guards, by night, had torches borne before him: and if he found any asleep upon the guard, he burnt his clothes with the torches[w].

The seventh vial concludes the beast's destruction. The great city is said to be divided into three parts: either as Jerusalem was[x],—a third part to pestilence, a third part to the sword, and a third part to dispersion, and destruction in it: —or, because there is mention[y] of an earthquake, this speaks its ruining in general. A tenth part of it fell before[z]; and now, the nine parts remaining, fall in a tripartite ruin.

REVELATION, XVII.

MYSTICAL Babylon, pictured with the colours of the old Babylon: Rome so called, as being the mother of idolatry, as Babel was the beginning of heathenism, and the mother of persecution: Babylon destroyed Jerusalem; so did Rome, and made havoc of the church continually.

She is resembled to a woman decked with gold[a], &c. sitting upon a seven-headed and ten-horned beast; as Rev. xiii. 1: "Which beast was, and is not, and yet is; it shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and shall go to perdition." Rome, under the Papacy, was not the same Rome it had been,—and yet it was: not heathen and imperial Rome, as it had been before; and yet, for all evil, idolatry, persecution, &c, the same Rome to all purposes. It is plainly described as sitting upon seven hills; upon which, there is hardly a Roman poet or historian, but makes a clear comment. The seven heads denoted, also, seven kings or kinds of government, that had passed in that city:—"Five are fallen[b];" kings, consuls, tribunes, dictators, triumvirs: and one then was, when John wrote,—namely, emperors:—and one not yet come, Christian emperors,—which continued but a short space, before

[v] Judg. v. 19. [w] Middoth, cap. 1. hal. 2. [x] Ezek. v. 11, 12.
[y] As Zech. xiv. 4, 5. [z] Rev. xi. 13. [a] As Isa. xiv. 4. [b] Rev. xvii. 10.

the beast came, "which was and is not. He is the eighth, and is of the seven." They that hold Rome to be the fourth monarchy in Daniel, cannot but also hold in this place, that that monarchy is not yet extinct. The ten horns upon the beast, in Dan. vii. 24, are ten kings, arising and succeeding one another in the same kingdom: but here, at ver. 12, they are ten several kingdoms, all subject to the beasts, both imperial and papal; but, at last, shall rise up against the mystical whore, and destroy her. It is like, there must yet be conversion of some kingdoms from the Papacy, before it fall.

REVELATION, XVIII, XIX, to ver. 11.

AN elegy and a triumph upon the fall of Babylon. The former chapter, xviii, almost verbatim from Isa. xiii, xiv. xxi, and xxxiv. and Jer. li, and Ezek. xxvii. The latter also, chapter xix, the phrase taken from the Old Testament, almost every word. The triumphant song begins with Hallelujah, several times over. The word is first used at the latter end of Psal. civ; where destruction of the wicked being first prayed for, "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more,"—he concludes with, "Bless thou the Lord, O my soul. Hallelujah."

The observation of the people's saying over 'the great Hallel' at the temple [or their great song of praise], doth illustrate this. The Hallel consisted of several Psalms,—viz. from the hundred and thirteenth to the end of the hundred and eighteenth; and at very many passages in that song, as the priests said the verses of the Psalms, all the people still answered, Hallelujah. Only here is one thing of some difference from their course there; for here is, Amen, Hallelujah[c]; whereas, "It is a tradition, That they answered not Amen in the temple at all: what said they then? Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever[d]." But the promises of God, "which are Yea and Amen," being now performed,—this is justly inserted; as Christ, for the same cause, in this book, is called Amen[e].

The marriage of the Lamb is now come, and his wife is ready[f]: the church now completed.

[c] Rev. xix. 4.
[d] Jerus. in Beracoth, fol. 13. col. 3.
[e] Rev. iii. 14.
[f] Rev. xix. 7.

REVELATION, XIX, from ver. 11 to the end of the chapter.

HERE begins a new vision, as it appeareth by the first words, "And I saw heaven opened:"—and here, John begins upon his whole subject again, to sum up in brief what he had been upon before. Observe what is said, in ver. 19: "I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army:"—and observe withal, that there is the story of the destruction of the beast before, chap. xviii: and of the marriage, and marriage-supper of the Lamb before, chap. xix. 7—9: therefore, the things, mentioned here, cannot be thought to occur after those: this, therefore, is a brief rehearsal of what he had spoken from the twelfth chapter hither, about the battle of Michael and his angels, with the dragon and his angels.

REVELATION, XX.

THE preceding section spake what Christ did with the beast, and with those that carried his mark: he fought against them always, and, when he saw his time, destroyed them: here the Holy Ghost tells us, what he did with the devil, that set them on. You heard of Christ fighting with the dragon[s]: and the dragon, foiled and cast out, sets to prosecute the woman's seed; but what course takes he for that? He resigns his throne, and power, and authority, to the beast, Rome; and it must do, and it did his business for him, chap. xiii. 3; and how thoroughly it did its master's work, is showed all along from that place forward. But what becomes of the old dragon, the master of mischief? He sits by, as it were, and looks on, while his game is played, and hisses on his deputy, Rome,—first imperial, then papal. They, at the last, receive their due wages for their work; imperial and papal go to perdition. But what must become of the dragon, that set them on? It would be very improper to tell so largely of the fearful vengeance and destruction upon the agents, and to say nothing of the principal and chief mover.

[s] Chap. xii.

That, therefore, is done here, and this chapter takes at chap. xiii. 3; and tells you, what became of the old dragon after the resigning of his throne to the beast: namely, that he sat not at his own quiet, as if Michael had nothing to do with him, or let him alone, having so much to do with his instruments; but that he curbed and destroyed both principal and agent, and cast them both together into the bottomless pit.

The devil had two ways of undoing men; the church, by persecution,—the world, by delusion of oracles, idolatry, false miracles, and the like. His managing of the former, by his deputies, the former chapters have related, and how they sped in his service: and this comes to tell, how he speeds about the other. The great angel Michael, the Lord Christ, who hath the key of the bottomless pit in his hand[i], chains him by the power of the gospel, "that he should no more deceive the nations for a thousand years." Weigh the phrase, "Not deceive the nations:" it is not "not *persecute*," but "not *deceive*;" nor is it "the *church*," but "the *nations*." His persecuting of the church hath been storied before: and here is told, how he is curbed for deceiving the nations; and, indeed, when he deputed Rome, and let that loose for the former, he was chained up as for the latter. It is easily construed, how Satan "deceived the nations" by idols, which are called "a lie[j];" by his oracles, in which was no light[k],—and by magical miracles, which were mere delusion. Hence the world, for the time of heathenism, is said to be in his kingdom of darkness[l]. Now, the spreading of the gospel through the world ruined all these before it, and dissolved those cursed spells and charms of delusion, and did, as it were, chain up Satan, that he could no more "deceive the nations," Ἔθνη, "the heathen," as he had done,—by these deceits: so that the words speak the ending of Satan's power in heathenism, and the bringing in of the Gentiles to the knowledge of the truth, out of darkness and delusion.

The date of this his chaining up was "a thousand years." Now the Jews counted the days of the Messias, 'a thousand

[i] Chap. i. 18. [j] Isa. xliv. 20. Rom. i. 25. [k] Isa. viii. 20. [l] Acts, xxvi. 18. Col. i. 13, &c.

years;' as we touched before. The Babylon Talmud[m] doth show their full opinion about the days of Messias; and, amongst other things, they say thus; as Aruch speaks their words, in voce צדק; "It is a tradition of the house of Elijah, that the righteous ones, that the blessed God shall raise from the dead, they shall no more return to their dust; but those thousand years that the holy blessed God is to renew the world, he will give them wings as eagles, and they shall flee upon the waters." The place in the Talmud is in Sanhedrim, fol. 92; where the text, indeed, hath not the word 'thousand;' but the marginal gloss hath it, and shows how to understand "the thousand years." And Aruch speaks it as a thing of undeniable knowledge and entertainment. And so speaks R. Eliezer[n]; "The days of the Messias are a thousand years."

As John, all along this book, doth intimate new stories by remembering old ones, and useth not only the Old Testament phrase to express them by, but much allusion to customs, language, and opinion, of the Jews, that he might speak, as it were, closer to them and nearer their apprehensions,—so doth he here and forward. This latter end of his book remembers the latter end of the Book of Ezekiel. There is 'a resurrection[o],' 'Gog and Magog[p],' and 'a new Jerusalem[q],' and forward: so here "a resurrection[r]," "Gog and Magog[s]," and "a new Jerusalem[t]."

There a resurrection, not of bodies out of the grave, but of Israel out of a low captived condition in Babel. There a Gog and Magog, the Syro-Grecian persecutors, Antiochus and his house: and then the description of the new Jerusalem, which, as to the place and situation, was a promise of their restoring to their own land, and to have Jerusalem built again,—as it was, indeed, in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah: but by the glory and largeness of it [as it is described, more in compass than all the land of Canaan], they were taught to look farther,—namely, at the heavenly or spiritual Jerusalem, the church through all the world.

Now the Jews, according to their allegorical vein, applied

[m] In Sanhedrim, in the chapter Helek. [n] In Midras Tillim, fol. 4. col. 2.
[o] Ezek. xxxvii. [p] Ezek. xxxviii and xxxix. [q] Ezek. xl.
[r] Rev. xx. 5. [s] Ver. 8. [t] Chap. xxi and xxii.

these things to the days of Christ, thus:—that first there should be a resurrection, caused by Messias, of righteous ones; then he to conquer Gog and Magog; and then there must come עתיד חלד 'The brave world to come,' that they dreamed of. Besides what they speak to this tenor in the Talmudic treatise last cited, there is this passage in the Jerusalem Megillah[u]: they are applying particular parts of the great Hallel to particular times [what the great Hallel was, we showed a little before]: "And that part (say they), 'I love the Lord, because he hath heard me,'—refers to the days of Messias: that part, 'Tie the sacrifice with cords,' to the days of Gog and Magog: and that, 'Thou art my God, and I will praise thee,' refers to the world to come."

Our divine Apocalyptic follows Ezekiel with an allegory too, and, in some of his expressions, alludes to some of theirs,—not as approving them, but as speaking the plainer to them by them. Here is a resurrection too; but not of bodies neither, for not a word of mention of them, but of souls. "The souls of those that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, lived and reigned[v];" and yet this is called, "The first resurrection[w]."

The meaning of the whole let us take up in parts. There are two main things here intended:—First, To show the ruin of the kingdom of Satan; and, secondly, The nature of the kingdom of Christ. The Scripture speaks much of Christ's kingdom, and his conquering Satan, and his saints reigning with him; that common place is briefly handled here. That kingdom was to be especially among the Gentiles, they called in unto the gospel. Now, among the Gentiles had been Satan's kingdom most settled and potent; but here Christ binds him, and casts him into the bottomless pit, that he should deceive no more [as a great cheater and seducer cast into prison]; and this done by the coming in of the gospel among them. Then, as for Christ's kingdom, "I saw thrones (saith John), and they sat upon them[x];" &c. Here is Christ and his enthroned and reigning. But how do they reign with him? Here John faceth the foolish

[u] Fol. 73. col. 1. [v] Rev. xx. 4. [w] Ver. 5. [x] Ver. 4.

opinion of the Jews, of their reigning with the Messias in an earthly pomp; and shows that the matter is of a far different tenor: that "they that suffer with him, shall reign with him;" they that stick to him, witness for him, die for him,—these shall sit enthroned with him. And he nameth 'beheading' only of all kinds of deaths; as being the most common: used both by Jews and Romans alike, as we have observed before, at Acts xii, out of Sanhedrim, cap. 7. hal. 3. And the first witness for Christ, John the Baptist, died this death. He saith, that 'such live and reign with Christ the thousand years;' not as if they were all raised from the dead at the beginning of the thousand years, and so reign all together with him those years out, as is the conceit of some [as absolute Judaism as any is, for matter of opinion]; but that this must be expected to be the garb of Christ's kingdom all along, suffering and standing out against sin, and the mark of the beast, and the like: whereas they held it to be a thousand years of earthly bravery and pompousness.

"But the rest of the dead lived not again, until the thousand years were finished: this is the first resurrection." —Not that they lived again, when the thousand years were finished; but it means, that they lived not in this time, which was the time of living, when Satan was bound, and truth and life came into the world. The Gentiles, before the gospel came among them, were 'dead,' in Scripture-phrase, very copiously[y]; but that revived them[z], 'This is the first resurrection,' in and to Christ's kingdom:—the second is spoken of at the twelfth verse of this chapter that we are upon. Paul[a] useth the same expression to signify the same thing,—namely, a raising from darkness and sin by the power of the gospel. Now, when this quickening came among the Gentiles, Satan going down, and Christ's kingdom advanced, and the gospel bringing in life and light[b],—those that did not come and stick close to Christ and bear witness to him, but closed with the mark of the beast, sin, and sinful men,—these were dead still; and lived not again, till the thousand

[y] Ephes. ii. 1, 2; and iv. 18, &c.
[a] Rom. xi. 15.
[z] John, v. 25.
[b] John, i. 4.

years were finished,—that is, while they lasted, though that were a time of receiving life.

"Blessed, therefore, and holy are they, that have part in this first resurrection; for on them the second death hath no power[c]." The 'second death' is a phrase used by the Jews. Onkelos renders Deut. xxxiii. 6, thus; "Let Reuben live, and not die the second death."—And Jonathan, Isa. lxv. 6, thus; "Behold, it is written before me, I will not grant them long life, but I will pay them vengeance for their sins, and deliver their carcasses to the second death." And, ver. 15, "The Lord will slay them with the second death."

Observe, in the prophet, that these verses speak of the ruin and rejection of the Jews, now a cursed people, and given up to the second death: and, in chapter lxvi[d], is told how the Lord would send and gather the Gentiles to be his people, and would make them his priests and Levites: and then, see how fitly this verse answers those. Instead of these cursed people, these are blessed and holy, and might not see the second death; and Christ makes them priests to himself and his Father.

In this passage of John, scorn is put again upon the Jews' wild interpretation of the resurrection in Ezekiel. They take it literally, and think some dead were really raised out of their graves, came into the land of Israel, begat children, and died a second time: nay, they stick not to tell, who these men were, and who were their children[e].

After the thousand years are expired, Satan is let loose again, and falls to his old trade of the deceiving the nations again, ver. 8. Zohar[f] hath this saying: "It is a tradition, that, in the day, when judgment is upon the world, and the holy blessed God sits upon the throne of judgment, then it is found that Satan that deceives high and low, he is found destroying the world, and taking away souls." When the Papacy began, then heathenism came over the world again, and Satan as loose and deceiving as ever: then idolatry, blindness, deluding oracularities and miracles as fresh and plenteous as before: from the rising of the gospel among the Gentiles these had been beaten down, and Satan fettered and

[c] Rev. xx. 6. [d] Ver. 19—22. [e] Talm. Babyl. in Sanhedr. ubi supra.
[f] Fol. 72. col. 286.

imprisoned deeper and deeper every day: and though his agent, Rome, bestirred itself hard to hold up his kingdom, by the horrid persecutions it raised, yet still the gospel prevailed, and laid all flat. But when the Papacy came, then he was loose again; and his cheatings prevailed, and the world became again no better than heathen. And if you should take the thousand years fixedly and literally, and begin to count either from the beginning of the gospel in the preaching of John; or of Peter to Cornelius, the first inlet to the Gentiles; or of Paul and Barnabas their being sent among them,—the expiring of them will be in the very depth of Popery: especially begin them from the fall of Jerusalem, where the date of the Gentiles more peculiarly begins, and they will end upon the times of pope Hildebrand; when if the devil were not let loose, when was he?

He calls the enemies of the church, especially antichrist, 'Gog and Magog:' the title of the Syro-Grecian monarchy, the great persecutor[g]. [Pliny[h] mentions a place in Cœlosyria, that retained the name Magog.] So that John, from old stories and copies of great troubles, transcribeth new, using known terms from Scripture, and from the Jews' language and notions, that he might the better be understood. So that this chapter containeth a brief of all the times from the rising of the gospel among the Gentiles, to the end of the world, under these two sums,—first, the beating down of idolatry and heathenism in the earth, till the world was become Christian; and then the Papacy arising doth heathenize it again. The destruction of which is set down, ver. 9, by fire from heaven, in allusion to Sodom, or 2 Kings, i. 10. 12; and it is set close to the end of the world: the devil and the beast [imperial Rome], and the false prophet [papal Rome], are cast into fire and brimstone, ver. 10; where John speaks so, as to show his method, which we have spoken of. "The devil was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are:" he had given the story of the beast and false prophet, the devil's agents, and what became of them[i]; and now the story of the devil himself:—for it was not possible to handle these two stories but apart: and now

[g] Ezek. xxxviii and xxxix. [h] Lib. 5. cap. 23. [i] Chap. xix. 20.

he brings the confusion of all the three together, and the confusion of all with them that bare their mark, and whose names were not written in the book of life.

REVELATION, XXI.

'THE Jerusalem from above' described. The phrase is used by Paul[j]; and it is used often by the Jews: "Rabbi Aba saith, Light is ירושלם עלאה 'Jerusalem which is above,' which the holy blessed God gives for a possession, where blessings are given, by his hand, in a pure land: but to an impure land, no blessings to be at all[k]." Compare Rev. xxi. 27, and xxii. 15. "Jerusalem is built as a city, that is compact together. R. Jochanan saith, The holy blessed God said, I will not go into Jerusalem that is above, until I have gone into Jerusalem that is below[l]," &c.

Ezekiel's Jerusalem, as we observed, was of a double signification,—namely, as promising the rebuilding of the city after the captivity, and foretelling of the spiritual Jerusalem, the church under the gospel, and that most especially. At that, John taketh at here, and that is the Jerusalem that he describeth; and, from Isa. lxv. 17, 18, joineth the creating new heavens and a new earth; and so stateth the time of building this new Jerusalem,—namely, at the coming in of the gospel, when all things are made new[m]; a new people, new ordinances, new economy, and the old world of Israel dissolved. Though the description of this new city be placed last in the book, yet the building of it was contemporary with the first things mentioned in it, about the calling of the Gentiles. When God pitched his tabernacle amongst them, as he had done in the midst of Israel[n], that tabernacle is pitched in the fourth and fifth chapters of this book: and now all tears wiped away, and no more sorrow, death, nor pain[o]; which if taken literally, could refer to nothing but the happy estate in heaven,—of which, the glory of this Jerusalem may, indeed, be a figure; but here, as the other things are, it is to be taken mystically, or spiritually, to mean the taking away the curse of the law, and the sting of death and sin,

[j] Gal. iv. 26. [k] Zohar, fol. 120. col. 4. [l] Midras Till. in Psal. cxxii.
[m] 2 Cor. v. 17. [n] Lev. xxvi. 11, 12. [o] Rev. xxi. 4.

&c: "No condemnation to be to those, that are in Christ Jesus."

The passages in describing the city, are all in the prophets' phrase, Ezekiel and Isaiah: as compare these, 'The bride, the Lamb's wife,' ver. 9: "Sing, O barren" heathen, "that didst not bear," &c. "Thy Maker is thine husband; thy Redeemer," &c. Isa. liv. 1. 5.

Ver. 10: "He carried me away in the spirit, to a great and high mountain." Compare Ezek. xl. 2.

"That great city, holy Jerusalem," &c. This refers to the great dimensions of Ezekiel's Jerusalem; as also to the squareness, the three gates of a side, &c. The glory of it described from thence, and from Isaiah[p]. The wall of it, twelve thousand furlongs square, or fifteen hundred miles upon every quarter, east, west, north, and south, three thousand miles about: and fifteen hundred miles high:—"Wall of salvation[q]."

The foundations of the walls garnished with twelve precious stones[r], as the stones in the ephod, or holy breast-plate: three upon every side, as these were three and three in a row. The first foundation-stone here is the jasper, the stone of Benjamin, for Paul's sake, the great agent about this building of the church of the Gentiles. The Jerusalem Talmud[s] saith expressly, that the jasper was Benjamin's stone; for it saith, "Benjamin's jasper was once lost," out of the ephod; "and they said, Who is there that hath another as good as it? Some said, Damah, the son of Nethina, hath one," &c.

"And I saw no temple therein," &c. ver. 22. Here this Jerusalem differs from Ezekiel's: that had a temple,—this, none: and it is observable there, that the platform of the temple is much of the measures and fashion, that the second temple was of; but the city, of a compass larger than all the land: which helpeth to clear what was said before of the double significancy of those things; they promised them an earthly temple, which was built by Zerubbabel; but foretold a heavenly Jerusalem, which is described here.

[p] Chap. lviii. 8. lx. 2, 3. liv. 11, 12, &c.
[q] Isa. xxvi. 1, and lx. 14.
[r] See Isa. liv. 11.
[s] In Peah, fol. 15. col. 3.

REVELATION, XXII.

FROM Ezekiel, chap. xlvii, and from several passages of Scripture besides, John doth still magnify the glory, happiness, and holiness, of the new Jerusalem: lively waters of clear doctrine, teaching Christ, and life by him flowing through it continually[t]. The tree of life lost to Adam, and paradise shut up against him, to keep him from it, here restored. Then a curse,—here "there shall be curse no more,' ver. 3[u]. חרם לא יהיה עוד "Anathema non erit amplius," &c. He concludeth, "These sayings are faithful and true;" so he had said before, at the marriage of the Lamb[v]; and again at his beginning of the story of the new Jerusalem[w]; referring to the several prophecies that had been of these things; and now all those sayings and prophecies were come home, in truth and faithfulness. He is commanded not to seal his book, as Daniel was[x]; because the time of these things was instantly beginning; and Christ's coming to reveal his glory in avengement upon the Jewish nation, and casting them off, and to take in the Gentiles in their stead, was now at the door, within three and a half, or thereabout, to come,—if we have conjectured the writing of this book to its proper year. There are two years more of Nero, and one of confusion in the Roman empire, in the wars of Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian; and, the next year after, Jerusalem falls.

And thus, if this book of the Revelation were written last of the books of the New Testament, as, by the consent of all, it was,—then may we say, Now was the whole will of God revealed and committed to writing, and from henceforth must vision, and prophecy, and inspiration, cease for ever. These had been used and imparted all along, for the drawing up of the mind of God into writing,—as also the appearing of angels had been used, for the farther and farther still revealing of his will; and when the full revelation of that was completed, their appearing and revelations to men, must be no more. So that this Revelation to John, was the topping up and finishing of all revelations. The Lord had promised[y], that "in the last days" of Jerusalem "he would pour down

[t] Ezek. xlvii. 1. 9. Cant. iv. 15. [u] See Zech. xiv. 11. [v] Rev. xix. 9.
[w] Rev. xxi. 5. [x] Dan. xii. 4. [y] Acts, ii. 17.

of his Spirit upon all flesh;" and Christ[y] promised to his apostles, that he would lead them into all truth. To look for, therefore, the giving of those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit beyond the fall of Jerusalem, there is no warrant: and there is no need; since, when the inspired penmen had written all that the Holy Ghost directed to write, 'all truth' was written.

It is not to be denied, indeed, that those, that had these extraordinary gifts before the fall of Jerusalem, if they lived after, had them after, for the promoting of these ends for which they were given; but there is neither ground nor reason, whereupon to believe, that they were restored to the next generation, or were, or are to be, imparted to any generation for ever. For as it was in Israel, at the first settling of their church,—so was it in this case, in the first settling of the gospel. The first fathers of the Sanhedrim in the wilderness, were endued with divine gifts,—such as we are speaking of[z]; but when that generation was expired, those that were to succeed in that function and employment, were such, as were qualified for it by education, study, and parts acquired. So was it with this first age of the gospel, and the ages succeeding. At the first dispersing of the gospel, it was absolutely needful, that the first planters should be furnished with such extraordinary gifts; or else, it was not possible it should be planted. As this may appear by a plain instance:—Paul comes to a place, where the gospel had never come; he stays a month or two, and begets a church; and then he is to go his way, and to leave them. Who now, in this church, is fit to be their minister? they being all alike but very children in the gospel: but Paul is directed, by the Holy Ghost, to lay his hands upon such and such of them; and that bestows upon them the gift of tongues and prophesying; and now they are able to be ministers, and to teach the congregation. But, after that generation, when the gospel was settled in all the world, and committed to writing, and written to be read and studied,—then was study of the Scriptures the way to enable men to unfold the Scriptures, and fit them to be ministers to instruct others: and revelations and inspirations neither needful nor safe to be

[y] John, xvi. 12, 13. [z] Num. xi. 25.

looked after, nor hopeful to be attained unto. And this was the reason, why Paul, coming but newly out of Ephesus and Crete, when he could have ordained and qualified ministers with abilities by the imposition of his hands, would not do it,—but left Timothy and Titus to ordain, though they could not bestow those gifts: because he knew the way, that the Lord had appointed ministers thenceforward to be enabled for the ministry, not by extraordinary infusions of the Spirit, but by serious study of the Scriptures; not by a miraculous, but by an ordinary ordination. And, accordingly, he gives Timothy himself counsel to study[a], though he were plentifully endued with these extraordinary endowments[b]. And Paul himself had his books for study, or he had them to no purpose[c].

And, indeed, it had been the way of God; he hath instructed his people by a studious and learned ministry, ever since he gave a written word to instruct them in. 1. Who were the standing ministry of Israel, all the time from the giving of the law, to the captivity into Babel? not prophets, or those inspired men [for they were but occasional teachers, and there were often long spaces of time wherein no prophet appeared], but the priests and Levites, that became learned in the law by study[d]. And for this end, as hath been touched, they were disposed into forty-eight cities of their own, as so many universities, where they studied the law together, and from thence were sent out into the several synagogues, to teach the people: and had the tithes paid them for their maintenance, whilst they studied in the universities, and for their preaching in the synagogues. And it may be observed, that even they that had the prophetic spirit, did not only study the Scriptures themselves[e], but sent the people for instruction to the priests who were students, and the standing ministry[f]. 2. If you consider the times under the second temple, then it was utterly impossible, that the people should be taught but by a studious and learned ministry: for the spirit of prophecy was departed, and the Scriptures were then in an unknown tongue, to all but stu-

[a] 1 Tim. iv. 13. [b] 1 Tim. iv. 14. [c] 2 Tim. iv. 13.
[d] Deut. xxxiii. 10. Hos. iv. 6. Mal. ii. 7. [e] Josh. i. 8. Dan. ix. 2.
[f] Hag. ii. 11. Mal. ii. 7.

dents. And hence they had an interpreter, in every synagogue, to render into the vulgar, what was read in the law and the prophets in the original. So that the Spirit of God inspired certain persons, whom he pleased, to be the revealers of his will, till he had imparted and committed to writing what he thought fit to reveal under the Old Testament; and when he had completed that, the Holy Ghost departed, and such inspirations ceased. And when the gospel was to come in, then the Spirit was restored again, and bestowed upon several persons for the revealing farther of the mind of God, and completing the work he had to do, for the settling of the gospel, and penning of the New Testament: and that being done, these gifts and inspirations cease, and may no more be expected, than we may expect some other gospel yet to come.

PARERGON

CONCERNING

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM,

AND

The Condition

OF THE JEWS IN THAT LAND AFTER.

PARERGON,

&c.

BEING come so near to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, as that it is but three years and a half, and a little more, from the time we have concluded with, unto it; and having so frequent occasion to mention that destruction, and vengeance upon that nation, as we have had;—it may not be amiss to drive so far farther, as to take a view of such a spectacle. Not that we go about to write the history of their wars and ruin, which were but to transcribe Josephus, who is in every man's hand; but to take a brief account of the times thither, and of the condition of the nation in that land afterward, the history of which is not altogether so obvious as the other: by both which, we may not only see the performance of those threatenings of vengeance, that had been so abundantly given; but may the better judge, wherein that vengeance did chiefly consist.

In this thirteenth year of Nero, therefore, Vespasian cometh general into Judea, to undertake that war: a second Nebuchadnezzar; an instrument of the Lord, raised up to execute his vengeance upon that nation, now the nation of his curse, and to destroy their city and temple, as the other had done. And as several strange occurrences befel that destroyer, recorded in the Book of Daniel,—so did divers strange things also befal this, recorded by the Roman historians with one consent. As, Nilus flowing a handful higher on that day, that he came into Alexandria,—than ever it did in one day before;—a vision that he had in the temple of Serapis, of his servant Basilides, who was known to be, at that instant, fourscore miles off, sick: and, especially, his healing of a blind man's eyes, by anointing them with his spittle,—and curing a lame man's hand, by treading upon it with his foot. To which may be added those, that were accounted the presages of his

67 *Christ.*
13 *Nero.*

reigning; as, a cypress-tree in his ground, clean rooted up by the winds over-night, grew straight up again, and well in the morning. An ox came, and laid him down at his feet, and laid his neck under his feet, at one time, as he sat at meat; and a dog came, and brought him a dead man's hand, at another. Now, not to dispute, whether all these things were true or no, nor by what power they were wrought,—certainly they set the man, in the eyes of men, as a man of rarity: and as he was designed by God for a singular work, so did these things make him to be a man looked upon as one of some singular omen and fortune.

His work in the Jewish wars, this year, was more especially in Galilee: where first coming to Ptolemais, the men of Sipphoris, the greatest city there, come peaceably and yielding to him; and they had done so, indeed, before, to Cestius Gallus. Josephus, who afterward wrote the history of these wars, was now a great party in them, having fortified many cities and places in Galilee, and being the chiefest that, in those parts, stood against the Romans. First, he finds them work at Jotapata, which endures a very sharp siege, and puts the Romans to very sharp service, before it be taken: at last, after about fifty days' siege, Vespasian enters it, July 1. There Josephus himself is taken,—and foretells Vespasian, that he should be emperor. Joppa taken presently after, and Tiberias yielded, and Tarichæa taken, and six thousand five hundred slain there. Gamala gained, October 23; and divers other places brought in this year either by storm or surrender, which Josephus recordeth the story of, 'de Bello,' lib. 3, through the whole book; and lib. 4, to the end of the ninth chapter; which he concludes, Γαλιλαῖα μὲν οὕτως ἑάλω πᾶσα, 'Thus was all Galilee subdued.'

Vespasian, therefore, having subjected, and settled Galilee, he falls this year to work in Judea; and, indeed, there the Jews fall to bitter work among themselves. For all the unquiet spirits, whom the war had prosecuted and hunted from other parts, or whose turbulency desired to be in action, were flocked hither; so that Jerusalem and Judea were filled full of men and trouble: and quickly full of famine, blood, and all manner of misery. The doleful story Josephus gives at

68 *Christ.*
14 *Nero.*

large, as also what the Romans did among them this year, 'de Bello,' lib. 4; whither the reader may have recourse.

This year Nero died by his own hand, to escape public and more shameful execution. In him, ended the blood and family of the Cæsars: and now that mystery of state was discovered, "that an emperor could be made, though not of that blood, and elsewhere than at Rome:" and the misery of the state accrued by that discovery, when the longest sword did make the emperor; and the trying which was the longest, undid the empire. The soldiery in Spain proclaimed Galba to succeed him: against whom riseth up Otho, and cuts him off, when he was now reigning but in his seventh month, having only brought the royalty into his family,—and himself to misery and ruin by it. When he was slain, a common soldier cut off his head, and putting his finger into his mouth [for he was bald, and therefore he could not bear it by the hair], he carried it to Otho; who gave it to the scum and blackguard of the camp; and they, fixing it upon a pole, carried it up and down in derision.

Otho.

Otho was scarce set in the throne, when Vitellius riseth up against him: and the determination of this competition, was not so speedy and insensible, as was that betwixt Galba and Otho: for Otho slew Galba without any noise, and when himself had but three-and-twenty associates, at his first conspiring against him: but the present quarrel shook a good part of the empire, with sidings and preparations; and came to a pitched battle, before it came to an end. Otho's men lost the field; and when tidings of his defeat came to him, he resolved to strive no longer, but to render up his empire and life together, and so slew himself. He reigned, if it may be called a reign, but ninety-five days.

69 *Christ.*

Vitellius.

Vitellius is now lord of all; who, indeed, is not master of himself. A man of that intemperance and luxury, that few equalled him: and divers, that did follow him and his course, died of surfeits. Divers men and cities were undone by his riotous excesses, and the soldiers became effeminate by his example. In the time of his reign, which ended before this year was out, there were divers prodigies:—a comet: two suns at the same time, one

in the east, another in the west: the moon twice eclipsed unnaturally. In the Capitol, the footsteps seen of many and great demons coming down from thence: and Jupiter's temple opened of its own accord, with horrid noise. And let this be reckoned for a prodigy too; Maricus, a man of an ordinary extraction among the Boii, raised a considerable number of men, and proclaimed himself a god. He was soon overthrown, and thrown to the wild beasts; whom when they rent not in pieces, it heightened the people's opinion in thoughts, that he was a god indeed; but Vitellius found another way to put him to death, and so his godship was spoiled.

There were divers petty mutinies of the armies, and destroying of towns in Italy, and other parts, before Vespasian stirred: but when he stood up, there were concussions, that made all the empire to shake, as it had hardly ever done before. He was then in the east, about the wars of the Jews, as we have touched instantly before: and there the armies in Egypt, Judea, and Syria, swear fealty to him, in the month of July: and, in a short time, all the provinces even to Achaia did the like. The legions in Mæsia, Illyricum, Pannonia, fall to him; and letters are sent into Britain and Spain, to move them to the like, and they prevail with them.

Vitellius, this while, follows his riotous courses; and marches towards Rome, with sixty thousand men in arms, but in no discipline,—and a rabble of ruffians, that were of his roaring humour, exceeding that number. And these numbers were made numberless, by the conflux of all sorts of people, out of the city, to meet him. Corn was trod down: the soldiers quarrelled: the people were abused, wounded, and slain; and they had the face of a war among themselves. In such a confused march, they come into the city; and there take up their quarters, but in all looseness, luxury, and security.

At last, Vespasian's party breaks into Italy, and gives them a thorough alarm: in a short time, they come to a battle at Cremona, where that poor town is ruined, and left as a monument of those combustions: and another memorial not to be omitted,—a son on the one party, killed his father on the other; and perceived and deplored what he had done, as soon as he had done it. And thus these tumults grew on to that

height, that, in fine, they fight it out in Rome itself, fire the Capitol, plunder the city, slay Vitellius, subdue his party, and Vespasian becomes conqueror and emperor. Think here of Matt. xxiv. 7.

Vespasian, all this while, was in Egypt: at Alexandria, he receives tidings of his party's success; and thither is such conflux of friends, ambassadors, and allies, to congratulate and homage him, that that city, though the second in the empire, was little enough to entertain the company gathered thither. Vitellius's fall was in December, the latter end of the last year; and Vespasian did wait in the beginning of this, but till he could settle affairs there where he was, and till he might have good weather at sea,—and then he sets for Italy: and Titus, his son, parting with him at Alexandria, sets for Judea, to make some end of those wars.

70 *Christ.*
1 *Vespasian.*

And here we cannot but take in two passages for chronology sake, which help well to measure the time that we are just now upon. The one is this of Dion Cassius, in the life of Vespasian: "From the death of Nero to the reign of Vespasian, there intercurred but one year and two-and-twenty days. And I write this, lest any should misreckon; giving the whole time to every one that reigned. For they did not succeed one another, but one reigned in the time of another: so that their years are not to be counted by their succeeding one another, but according to the exact course of the time itself."

The other is out of Josephus[a], who once again tells, that the fall of Jerusalem was "in the second year of Vespasian." And yet, in recording the story and times of the sacking of it, he doth plainly place it in that year, that the Roman annals write Vespasian's first: as it will be obvious to observe, to any that peruseth them and him. His computation, therefore, must be cast by his own counters: for he accounteth the beginning of his reign from the time that the armies in the east proclaimed him, and swore fealty to him; which was in July: and, in September twelvemonth after, Jerusalem was taken; at which time Vespasian was entered, indeed, upon a second year from the time of his proclaiming; and

[a] De Bell. lib. 6. cap. 47, &c.

according to this calculation it is, that Josephus reckoneth: —whereas, Vitellius was alive, and fought it out many months, after Vespasian was proclaimed: therefore, the Roman Fasti do very properly begin his first year from the beginning of January, this year that we are upon.

Titus, coming into Judea, and there gathering all his forces together, marcheth against Jerusalem, and pitcheth his siege against it, when now the Passover-festival had called all the people of the country in thither. For as the turbulencies and intestine commotions in the bowels of the empire, itself, the last year, had given the Jews some respite from the Roman armies,—so had they given them some boldness and security, seeing Vespasian and his forces were now forced to turn their faces another way; and they hoped they would hardly have turned towards them again. How much they were deceived,—Titus without, and famine and all miseries within, did soon show them. What were the passages in this siege, and what famine, pestilence, civil slaughters, and various kinds of death, the besieged suffered in it, are so largely described by Josephus, that it were but a needless rehearsal to speak of them. The end was, that the temple and city were raked up in ashes: eleven hundred thousand perished in the siege; almost a hundred thousand taken prisoners, and the nation ruined from what they had been. That this desolation is phrased in Scripture, as 'the desolating of the whole world' [as we have had occasion to observe divers times by several passages, that we have met withal, referring thereunto], it will appear no wonder, if we consider, that it was the destroying of the old peculiar covenanted people; of the Lord's own habitation, ordinances, and place chosen by him above, nay, alone, of all the places of the world, to put his name there: a people, once highest in his favour, now deepest in his displeasure; once blessed with his greatest dignations, above any, nay, above all the people under heaven,—and now fallen under his heaviest indignation: a people of his curse, and who have left their name for a curse to his chosen: and a new world [as it were] now created, a new people made the church, a new economy, and "old things past, and all things become new[b]."

[b] 2 Cor. v. 17.

We are now upon a very remarkable and eminent period; where should I write an ecclesiastical history, I should begin, as at the beginning of a new world: not but that the calling of the Gentiles had begun before; for the gospel was now gone through all the world: and the Jews were also given up before, as to the generality of them, when the Holy Ghost calls them 'dogs,' and 'a synagogue of Satan:' but their state and economy was not till now rooted up, nor the divine ordinances, once planted among them, till now extinguished: and their casting off, sealed by the ruin of their city, dispersion of their nation, and their final obduration.

SECTION I.

The Desolation of the Temple and City.

THE temple was burnt down, as Josephus, a spectator, setteth the time, Ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ Λώου μηνὸς, "On the tenth day of the month Lous:' which, he saith, was a fatal day to the temple, for it had been burnt down by the Babylonians, before, on that day[c]. And yet his countrymen, that write in the Hebrew tongue, fix both these fatalities to the ninth day of that month, which they call the month Ab; and they account that day fatal, for three other sad occurrences besides: "On the ninth day of the month Ab (say they), the decree came out against Israel, in the wilderness, that they should not enter into the land: on it was the destruction of the first temple, and on it was the destruction of the second: on it the great city, Bitter, was taken, where there were thousands and ten thousands of Israel, who had a great king over them" [Ben Coziba], "whom all Israel, even their greatest wise men, thought to have been Messias: but he fell into the hands of the heathen, and there was great affliction, as there was at the destruction of the sanctuary. And on that day, a day allotted for vengeance, the wicked Turnus Rufus ploughed up the place of the temple, and the places about it, to accomplish what is said,—Sion shall become a ploughed field[d]."

It is strange, men of the same nation, and in a thing so signal, and of which both parties were spectators, should be at such a difference: and yet, not a difference neither, if we

[c] De Bell. lib. 6. cap. 27. [d] Talm. in Taanith, cap. 4. hal. 6. Maim. in Taanith, cap. 5.

take Josephus's report of the whole story, and the other Jews' construction of the time. He records, that the cloister-walks, commonly called, 'the porches of the temple,' were fired on the eighth day, and were burning on the ninth; but that day, Titus called a council of war, and carried it by three voices, that the temple should be spared: but a new bustling of the Jews caused it to be fired, though against his will, on the next day[e]. Now their calendar reckons, from the middle day of the three, that fire was at it, as from a centre: and they state the time thus: "It was the time of the evening, when fire was put to the temple; and it burnt till the going down of the sun of the next day. And behold, what Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai saith: If I had not been in that generation, I should not have pitched it upon any other day, but the tenth,—because the most of the temple was burnt that day. And, in the Jerusalem Talmud, it is related, that Rabbi, and Joshua Ben Levi, fasted for it the ninth and tenth days, both[f]."

Such another discrepancy, about the time of the firing of the first temple, by Nebuchadnezzar, may be observed in 2 Kings xxv. 8, 9; where it is said, that "In the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, came Nebuzar-adan, captain of the guard, and burnt the house of the Lord." And yet, in Jer. lii. 12, it is said to have been, "In the fifth month, on the tenth day of the month." Which the Gemarists, in the Babylonian Talmud, reconcile thus: "It cannot be said, On the seventh day, because it is said, On the tenth: nor can it be said, On the tenth day, because it is said, On the seventh. How is it then? On the seventh, the aliens came into the temple, and eat there, and defiled it, the seventh, eighth, and ninth days,—and that day, towards night, they set it on fire: and it burnt all the tenth day;—and this was the case also with the second temple[g]."

The ninth and tenth days of the month Ab, on which the temple was burnt down, was about the two and three-and-twentieth of our July: and the city was taken and sacked the eighth day of September following[h]: that day being their sabbath-day[i].

[e] Joseph. ubi supr. cap. 23—25. [f] Gloss. in Maim. in Taanith, cap. 5.
[g] Taanith, fol. 29. [h] Joseph. ubi supr. cap. 47. [i] Dion. fol. 748.

After eleven hundred thousand destroyed and perished in the siege and sacking, and ninety-seven thousand taken prisoners,—Titus commanded city and temple to be rased to the ground; only three of the highest towers left standing, Phasaelus, Hippicus, and Mariamne, and the western wall of the city: those, that they might remain as monuments of the strength of the place, and, thereby, of the renown of the Roman conquest: and this, that it might be of some use to the Roman garrison that was left there, which was the tenth legion. Their chief captain was Terentius Rufus, a man of exceeding frequent mention in the Hebrew writers; but his former name a little shortened, yet a little added, which makes it long enough, for they constantly call him טורנוס רופוס הרשע "Turnus Rufus, the wicked one." There are endless disputes betwixt him and R. Akibah mentioned, about the Jews' law and religion; and when he died, R. Akibah married his widow, now become a proselytess.

Amongst those that perished in the fate of the city, the names most famous were Jochanan, Simeon, and Eleazar, the three ringleaders of sedition, names famous for faction. But the person of the best rank that perished, was Rabban Simeon, the president of the Sanhedrim, a man educated, with Paul, at the foot of Gamaliel, his father. The Sanhedrim had sitten at Jabneh a long while; but the feast of the Passover had now brought them up to Jerusalem, and there he is caught. The Babylonian Talmud, in the place lately cited, relates, that he was once in danger, but one of the Roman commanders was a means of his delivery: but at last he was caught and slain; and, in the Jews' martyrology, he is set the first of הרוגי מלכות "The ten slain by the kingdom:" meaning, ten eminent ones, that were put to death by the Romans. All the ten are reckoned by Midras Tillim[j]: "He forgetteth not (saith he) the cry of the poor: that is, he forgetteth not the blood of Israel, to require it of the nations: nor the blood of those righteous ones that were slain; viz. Rabban Simeon, the son of Gamaliel,—Rabbi Ismael, the son of Elisha,—R. Ishbab the scribe,—R. Hospith the interpreter, R. Jose,—R. Judah Ben Baba,—R. Judah Hannachtom, R. Simeon Ben Azzai,—R. Hananiah Ben Tera-

j Upon Psal. ix. fol. 10. col. 3.

dion,—and R. Akibah." But the author of Tsemach David, reckoning up these, next after Rabban Simeon, nameth Ananias the sagan, or the second priest,—and saith, that he was slain at the destruction of the city, when Rabban Simeon was slain. Of this Ananias sagan there is mention in the Talmud text several times: we will take but one instance[k]; "There were thirteen worshippings or bowings in the temple; but the house of Rabban Gamaliel, and the house of Ananias sagan, made fourteen." The 'sagan' was, as it were, vice-high-priest, the next to him in dignity and office, and is sometimes called 'the high-priest[l].' And, it may be, this was the man, and bare that title[m], the enemy of Paul; and whose character and doom he reads, that he was a whited wall, and God would smite him: accomplished, when he perished in the fall of the city.

We may not omit the calculation of the time, that the Jews make farther, of the temple's burning: "When the first temple was destroyed (say they), it was the evening on the ninth of Ab; it was the going out of the year of release, and it was the going out of the sabbath: and so was it with the second temple[n]." Observe, by their confession, the temple was burnt down upon the Lord's day, or on the Christian sabbath. Fire put to it upon their sabbath, and it burnt all ours: and so the city fell upon their sabbath, as was mentioned out of Dion even now.

SECTION II.

The Face and State of the Country after the City's Ruin.

We will first begin at Jerusalem itself. It was laid so desolate, ὡς μηδὲ πώποτε οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προελθοῦσι, "That travellers by could see no sign, that it had been ever inhabited:" they are the words of Josephus[o]. The friars there, and the maps here with us, that point out places so punctually, as to tell you, Here was Pilate's palace,—here the high-priest's,—here the dolorous way, &c. must receive more courtesy from your belief, than they can give proof to their assertion.

It appears, by the constant and copious testimony of the

[k] Shekalim, cap. 6. hal. 1. [l] Luke, iii. 2. [m] Acts, xxiii. 2. 4.
[n] Tal. Bab. ubi supr. [o] De Bell. lib. 7. cap. 1.

Jews, that the city and temple were not only laid flat by fire, ruin, and demolishment, but that Turnus Rufus brought a plough over them, to make good that prophecy,—"Zion shall be ploughed as a field."—The ploughman would find but rugged work: they allot it, as observed before, to have been on the same day of the year; and so a twelvemonth, at the least, must intercede.

What the beauty of the place had been, needs no rhetoric to set it forth, nor what the populousness: the temple, if there had been no other goodly structures, was enough to speak the one,—and the multitude of their synagogues, the other: their own records sum them up to four hundred and threescore. "R. Phinehas, in the name of R. Hoshaiah, saith, there were four hundred and sixty synagogues in Jerusalem; and every one had a house for the book of the law, for the public reading of that, and a house for the public teaching and explaining the traditions:" Jerus. Chetub. fol. 35. col. 3:—which, in Megillah, fol. 73. col. 4, and in R. Solomon, upon the first of Isaiah, are reckoned up to four hundred and fourscore. But now, not one relic left, of temple, synagogue, midrash, house, or any thing else but rubbish and desolation. Her people used this custom while she stood, that, "on all other days of the year, the unclean walked in the middle of the street, and the clean by the house-sides; and the unclean said unto them, Keep off: but on the days of the festivals, the clean walked in the middle of the street, and the unclean by the house-sides, and then the clean bid, Keep off[p]." But now, where is that company, that niceness, nay, where are the streets? Titus, himself, sometime after the desolation, coming that way, could not but bemoan the fall of so brave a city, and cursed the rebels, that had occasioned so fatal a destruction[q].

How the country near about was wasted with so long and terrible a siege, and, indeed, the whole country, with so dreadful a war, it is easier conceived than expressed. Josephus tells particularly much of it, and this thing for one;—that all the timber, twelve miles about the city, was cut down, and brought in to make forts and engines for the siege[r].

We may take a view of the whole country, as to the surface and situation of it, in this prospective of their own:

[p] Jerus. Shekalim, fol. 51. col. 1. [q] Joseph. de Bell. lib. 7. cap. 15. Lib. 6. cap. 40.

"The land (say they), that Israel possessed that came out of Babylon, was these three countries,—Judea, Galilee, and beyond Jordan; and these were severally tripartite again: there was Galilee the upper, and Galilee the nether, and the vale. From Caphar Hananiah upward, all that bears not sycamores, is Galilee the upper; and from Caphar Hananiah downward, all that doth bear sycamores, is Galilee the lower; and the border of Tiberias is the vale. And in Judea, there is the mountainous, and the plain, and the vale. And the plain of Lydda, is as the plain of the south,—and the mountainous thereof, as the mountain-royal: From Bethoron to the sea is one region[s]." The Jerusalem Gemarists do add thus; "What is the vale in Galilee? The vale of Gennesaret and the adjoining. What is the mountainous in Judea? This is the mountain-royal; and the plain thereof, is the plain of the south, and the vale is from En-gedi to Jericho. And what is the mountainous beyond Jordan? R. Simeon Ben Eleazar saith, The hills of Macvar and Gedor: and the plain thereof, Heshbon and all her cities, Dibon, Bamoth Baal, and Beth Baal Meon. And the vale is Beth Haran, and Beth Nimrah[t]."

It were endless to trace the footsteps of the war, particularly in all these places; let Josephus be consulted for that. We may say in short, that hardly any considerable place escaped, but such as were peaceable, or such as were inaccessible. Of the latter sort, "the mountainous of Judah" was the chiefest place[u]; הר המלך "The mountain-royal," as the Hebrew writers do commonly call it [a place incredibly populous, as they testify, Jerus. Taanith, fol. 69. col. 1]. Hither Christ[v] gives his disciples warning beforehand to flee, when these evils should come: which warning we cannot judge but they took; and so planted here, as in a place of safety, by his warrant.

Though, therefore, the country were extremely wasted, with so long and so furious a war,—yet, was it not utterly waste, nor the nation destroyed from being a people, though it were destroyed from being what it had been. Those places and persons that had quietly submitted to the Roman power, if they had escaped the fury of their own seditious ones, were permitted to live in quiet, yea, to enjoy their own reli-

[s] Sheviith, cap. 9. hal. 2.
[t] Sheviith, fol. 38. col. 4.
[u] Josh. xiv. 12. Luke, i. 39.
[v] Matt. xxiv. 16.

gion and laws; they, in the mean while, demeaning themselves as peaceable subjects, to that power that had brought them under. And for one acknowledgment of that subjection, they were enjoined to pay that didrachma, or half-shekel, that they usually paid to the temple for their lives, to Jupiter Capitolinus[w].

Their Sanhedrim continued in the same lustre and state, as it had done for many years before the city fell: and their synagogues in the same posture, and their religion in the same condition, save only those parts of it, which were confined to Jerusalem, which was now in the dust. And, generally, the places and people, that had escaped the war, if they would live quiet, did enjoy their quietness,—as well as men could do in a land in such a condition, as into which it was now brought.

SECTION III.

The Sanhedrim sitting at Jabneh: Rabban Jochanan, Ben Zaccai, President.

Although Rabban Simeon, the president of the council, was caught in Jerusalem, as in a trap, and so lost his life,—yet Rabban Jochanan, Ben Zaccai, his vice-president, and who was also then in the city with him, made a shift to escape. He spake and acted for Cæsar, as much and as long as he durst; and when he saw he could no longer be in safety in the city, he caused his scholars, R. Joshua and R. Eleazar, to carry him forth upon a bier, as a dead corpse; for a dead corpse might not rest in Jerusalem all night; and so he escaped, and was brought to Cæsar. Thus R. Nathan tells the story[x]. This Rabban Jochanan, forty years ago, when the temple-doors flew open of their own accord, foresaw its ruin in that presage; and, accordingly, applied that saying of the prophet Zechariah, "Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars." Therefore, when he saw the enemy now so straitly besieging the city, and such forerunners of ruin apparent, it is no wonder, if he used all persuasion to the people to yield and to save their city, as the same author also tells us he did, and if he went and gave himself up to him, that, he knew, should be conqueror. Nor needed he any prophetic spirit to foresee these things;

[w] Xiphil. apud Dionem, pag. 743. [x] Aboth, cap. 4.

but the very sickly condition and distemper of the nation might plainly enough tell him, that her death could not be far off.

He, finding favour with Cæsar, petitioned of him, that the Sanhedrim might repair to its old place Jabneh, and there settle; and he obtained it. Jabneh was near unto Joppa, upon the sea-coast: there is mention of it, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. Here had the Sanhedrim sitten, as we have mentioned, many years before the temple fell, a good part of Gamaliel's time, and all Rabban Simeon's, his son.

He sat president here five years: and these are the men of note that sat with him;—Rabban Gamaliel, son to Rabban Simeon, that was slain at the fall of the city: R. Zadok, one who had spent his body with extreme fasting, since the temple-doors had opened of their own accord, taking that for an omen of its ruin approaching: R. Eliezer, his son: R. Judah and R. Joshua, the sons of Betirah: R. Eliezer Ben Hyrcanus, the author of Pirke Eliezer: R. Joshuah: R. Eliezer Ben Erech: R. Ismael: R. Jose: R. Simeon Ben Nathaniel: R. Akibah: and divers others, who outlived Rabban Jochanan, the most of them a long time. They made many decretals in his time, especially about those things, that had had immediate reference to the temple[y].

SECTION IV.

TheSanhedrim still at Jabneh; Rabban Gamaliel President.

When Rabban Jochanan died, Rabban Gamaliel succeeded him in the presidency, seven years. He is commonly called, by the Hebrew writers, רבן גמלאל דיבנה "Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh." But for the right stating of his presidency there, two things are to be observed. The first is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud[z], where all the flittings of the Sanhedrim are reckoned in the Gemara, thus: "From the room Gazith it flitted to the Taberna" [in the mountain of the temple]; "from the Taberna into Jerusalem,—from Jerusalem to Jabneh,—from Jabneh to Osha, or Usha,—from Osha to Shepharaam,—from Shepharaam to Beth-shaaraim,—from Beth-shaaraim to Tsipporis,—and from Tsipporis to Tiberias." Now the marginal gloss teacheth us how to understand these removes:—"When the president was in

[y] As see Rosh hashanah, cap. 4. Shekalim, cap. 1, &c.
[z] In Rosh hashanah, fol. 31. col 1, 2.

any of these places (saith it), the Sanhedrim was with him; and when he or his son went to another place, it went after him. It was at Jabneh in the days of Rabban Jochanan; at Usha in the days of Rabban Gamaliel; but they returned from Usha to Jabneh again: but in the days of Rabban Simeon, his son, it went back again [to Usha]." So that the time that Rabban Gamaliel sat at Jabneh instantly upon Rabban Jochanan's death, was not long, but he went to Usha; and his time at Usha was not long neither, but to Jabneh again. And, as we are to observe thus about his time and place, so there is a second thing to be taken notice of about him,—and that is, the mixture of his presidency.

The Talmudists do speak oft כד הושיבו ר' אליעזר בן עזריה "Of placing R. Eliezer, the son of Azariah, in the presidency." Tsemach David speaks it out thus; "R. Eliezer Ben Azariah was a priest, and was exceeding rich: he was made president in the room of Rabban Gamaliel; but afterward they were joined in the presidency together:" which is still obscure enough; but the Jerusalem Gemarists give the full story[a] in these words: "A certain scholar came and asked R. Joshua, What is evening prayer? He answered, A thing arbitrary. The same scholar came and asked Rabban Gamaliel, What is evening prayer? And he said, A bounden duty. He saith to him, But R. Joshua saith, It is a thing arbitrary. He saith to him, To-morrow, when I come into the congregation, stand forth and ask this question. So the scholar did ask Rabban Gamaliel, What is evening prayer? He answered, A bounden duty. How then, saith the scholar, doth R. Joshua say, It is a thing arbitrary? Rabban Gamaliel saith to R. Joshua, Art thou he that saith it is a thing arbitrary? He answered, No. He says to him, Stand upon thy feet, that they may bear witness against thee. R. Joshua stood upon his feet, whilst Rabban sat and was expounding, so that all the congregation repined at him [for making him to stand so]. And they said to R. Hospith the interpreter, Dismiss the people; and they said to R. Zinnum the minister, Say, Begin; and they said all Begin, and stood upon their feet too. And they said to him [Rabban Gamaliel], Against whom hath not thy mischief passed con-

[a] In Taanith, fol. 67. col. 4.

tinually? They went presently, and made R. Eliezer Ben Azariah president, who was but sixteen years old, but very grave. R. Akibah sat by, and took it ill, and said,—It is not, because he is better studied in the law than I, that he is thus preferred; but because he is nobler born than I. Happy is the man, who hath ancestors to privilege him: happy is the man that hath a nail to hang upon. And what was the nail that R. Eliezer Ben Azariah had? He was the tenth from Ezra. How many benches of scholars were there sitting there then? R. Jacob Bar Susi saith, Fourscore, besides the people that stood behind them. R. Josi Ben R. Bon saith, Three hundred. Rabban Gamaliel went presently to every one at his own home, and sought to pacify him," &c. So that, by this, it appears, how, and why, Gamaliel was outed of his presidency; namely, for his pride and passion,—of which we might show you other examples also; but he was restored again to be partner in the dignity with R. Eliezer, whom they promoted now.

There is exceeding much mention of this Gamaliel in the Talmuds, and he is a very busy man there: the reader there meets with him, as oft as with any one man whosoever. He had a servant named Tobi, very oft spoken of, whose eye he struck out, and let him go free for it: when he died, he much bemoaned and commended him[b]. Whilst he sat at Jabneh, in his curiosity for the exquisite taking of the new moons, he had scored upon his wall several forms and appearances of it; and those that came to bear witness, that they had seen the new moon, he brought thither, and asked, "How saw you it? In this form, or this, or the other[c]," &c.

SECTION V.

The Sanhedrim still at Jabneh; R. Akibah President.

THE twelve years of Rabban Jochanan and Rabban Gamaliel, reached from the second year of Vespasian, when the Sanhedrim was first settled at Jabneh, to the second year of Domitian: there begins R. Akibah's presidency, and sat forty years,—namely, to the time of the sacking of the town Bitter, or 'Beth-tar,' which the Jews generally fix fifty-two years after the fall of the temple, or, at most, fifty-

[b] Beracoth, cap. 2. hal. 6. [c] Rosh hashanah, cap. 1. hal. 8.

five: so that he sat all the time of Domitian and Trajan, to the fifth, or at most the eighth, year of Hadrian.

His time was a troublesome time with the Jews. In Domitian's days, "Judaicus fiscus præter cæteros acerbissime actus, Above all others, the Jews were plagued with taxes and confiscations:" Sueton. in Domit. cap. 12, where he adds, "I remember when I was a boy, I was present, when a man of ninety years old was searched, before a great company, whether he were circumcised or no."

In Trajan's time was that horrid insurrection of the Jews, mentioned by Dion[e], about Cyrene; where they murdered Romans and Greeks, to the number of two hundred and twenty thousand; eat their flesh, devoured their entrails, and daubed themselves with their blood. And the like insurrection they made in Egypt and Cyprus, and murdered to the number of two hundred and forty thousand. Tsemach David makes Ben Coziba a chief leader in this business: who, if he were, received his just reward in the time of Hadrian. He took on him to be Messias; made himself a king; stamped coin of his own: מטבע של בן כוזיבא[f] brought the Romans against him, who destroyed him and the city Bitter, and multitudes of thousands of Jews with him. The Jews commonly write it ביתר, but in the Jerusalem Talmud[g] it is written ביתתר "Beth-tar:" which properly signifies 'the house of spies.' And there a story is told, that makes it no better,—of the great ones that had escaped at the ruin of Jerusalem, and dwelt here, and entrapped any man that they saw go towards Jerusalem. Eusebius[h] calls it 'Betheka,' and saith it was not far from Jerusalem: which Baronius boldly translates 'Beth-lehem.' The Jews do character the doleful slaughter at this place, as the saddest stroke that ever they received, but the fall of Jerusalem. Rabbi Akibah himself perished in it, dotingly having become armour-bearer to Ben Coziba, as holding him to be the Messias. You may observe, what kind of a Messias they expect.

Dion tells that, in this war, Severus, whom Hadrian had sent to quell them, took fifty of their strongest garrisons, and destroyed nine hundred fourscore and five fair towns. And, "he also destroyed all the olive-trees in Judea[i]." How

[e] Lib. 68. [f] Jerus. Maazar Sheni, fol. 52. col. 4.
[g] Taanith, fol. 68. col. 4. [h] Hist. lib. 4. cap. 6.
[i] Jerusal. Peah, fol. 20. col. 1.

they themselves record the slaughter at Beth-tar, may be seen in the Jerusalem Talmud[j], and the Babylonian[k].

Whence their first tumultuating took its rise, is of some obscurity; only it may be resolved into God's just judgment upon them, to stir to their own ruin. Yet Spartianus, speaking of their stirring in the time of Hadrian, saith, it was because they were forbidden circumcision: "Moverunt ea tempestate et Judæi bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia[l]." Trajan put a restraint upon Christianity, and persecuted it[m]. It may be, he did the like upon Judaism, and that might move them to an insurrection. The horrid massacres that they committed in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus, might be looked upon as a just judgment for his persecution of Christianity,—if multitudes of Christians did not also perish in those slaughters,—if Ben Coziba were ringleader in them: for Justin Martyr[n] saith, that "Barchochebas brought Christians only to torture, unless they would deny Christ and blaspheme him." And Eusebius[o], "Chochebas, the ringleader of the Jews, put to death, with all exquisite torture, those Christians, that would not assist him against the Romans." That is worth observing, which is spoken by the Jerusalem Talmud[p]: "There were many, that had retracted their foreskin in the days of Ben Coziba, were circumcised again:" which R. Nissim speaks out more at large; "There were many circumcised ones, in the days of Ben Coziba, who had retracted their foreskin perforce, in the town of Bitter; but the hand of Ben Coziba prevailed, and reigned over them two years and a half, and they were circumcised again in his days." Their "retracting their foreskin perforce," [in Alphes. in Jebam[q].] speaks much like to that, which was mentioned before out of Spartianus.

In these times, also [of Trajan, I suppose], there was an edict against the Jews' ordination, upon pain of death to him that did ordain, and him that was ordained, and ruin of the place where any ordination should be[r].

And from the time of these tumults forward, that began to take place, which is spoken in the Jerusalem Talmud[s]; "That in the days of R. Simeon Ben Jochai [who was now alive], the judging even in pecuniary matters was taken away."

[j] In Taanith, the place cited above. [k] In Gittin, fol. 57. 2.
[l] In vit. Hadrian. [m] Plin. Epist. lib. 10. ep. 97. [n] Apol. 2.
[o] In Chron. [p] Jebam. fol. 9. col. 1. [q] Fol. 428.
[r] Talm. Bab. Avodah Zarah, fol. 8. 2. [s] Sanhedr. fol. 24. col. 2.

In fol. 18. col. 1, this is said to have been "in the days of Simeon Ben Shetah:" but that is a mistake, which is corrected in the place cited.

Upon these wars and tumults, Hadrian forbids the Jews to go to Jerusalem, or so much as to look upon it from any hill where it might be seen[t].

Tryphon, the Jew, that hath the long dispute with Justin Martyr, fled from these wars[u]:—he might very well be R. Tarphon, a great associate with R. Akibah, and one much mentioned in the Talmuds.

SECTION VI.

The Sanhedrim at Usha and Shepharaam אושא ושפרעם. *Rabban Simeon President.*

THUS did the just vengeance of God follow the nation: but far were they from being rooted out, and as far from laying to heart any plague, that light upon them. Besides R. Akibah, we can hardly name you another of note, that perished in all those deadly combustions, though some of them were in the thickest of the danger; but reserved, as it seemeth, as a farther plague for the seduction of their nation. Some of their expressions about the sad slaughter at Bethtar, or Bitter, are to this purpose: The horses waded in blood up to the nostrils: there were slain four hundred thousand: and Hadrian walled a vineyard, of sixteen miles about, with dead bodies, a man's height. And there were found the brains of three hundred children upon one stone, and three chests full of tattered phylacteries, containing three bushels every chest. "Rabban Simeon Ben Gamaliel saith, There were five hundred schools, and to the least there belonged five hundred scholars; and they said, If the enemy should come against us, we could prick out their eyes with our pens: but when it came to it, they folded them all up in their books and burnt them; and there was not one of them left but only I." Not that he reckons himself in the number of the children, for he was now well in years; but that none of all that great university was left but himself: and yet, besides the eminent men that we have named, there were R. Meir, a great speaker in the Talmud, but most commonly against the common vote: R. Simeon Ben Jochai, and Eleazar his son,

[t] Euseb. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 6. [u] Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.

the first authors of the book Zohar: R. Nathan, the author of Aboth: R. Josi Galileus, and his son Eleazar: R. Jochanan Ben Nuri: Ben Nanas: R. Joshua Ben Korcha: R. Eliezer Ben Chasma: and why should we reckon more, when Bereshith Rabba makes this 'summa totalis' on Gen. xxv,—That 'R. Akibah had twenty-four thousand disciples?' Of some decretals, made at Usha, you may read Jerus. in Rosh hashan. fol. 58. col. 3; Chetub. fol. 28. col. 3.

In these times of Hadrian, which we are yet upon, Aquila the proselyte was in being, and in repute. In Jerus. Chagig. fol. 77. col. 1, he is introduced discoursing with Hadrian, about the universe being supported by a spirit. In Megil. fol. 71. col. 3, it is said, that "Aquila, the proselyte, interpreted the law before R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, and they highly commended him for it, and said, Thou art fairer than the children of men." By which it may be conjectured, what a translation this was, when these men so extolled it. The Jerusalem Gemarists do cite his version, Megil. fol. 73. col. 2,—Succah, fol. 53. col. 4,—Joma, fol. 41. col. 1,—and several other places.

Rabban Simeon, now president, sat about thirty years,—namely, from about the sixth or eighth of Hadrian, to the fifteenth or sixteenth, or thereabout, of Antoninus Pius: the honour and power of that bench growing low, and in the wane, every day more than other. This Rabban Simeon you have a great spokesman in the Talmud: his grandfather, of the same name, that died with Jerusalem, is seldom introduced speaking there: once you have him swearing by the temple[v].

SECTION VII.

The Sanhedrim at Beth-shaaraim, Tsipporis, and Tiberias; R. Judah President.

Upon the death of Rabban Simeon,—his son, Rabbi Judah, succeeded him: a man of note equal with, if not above, any named before him: he bare not the title of Rabban, as his ancestors had done for five generations before him, yet had he those appellations, that dignified him equal with it: he was called sometimes eminently 'Rabbi,' and no more: sometimes, 'R. Judah the holy:' sometimes, 'our holy Rabbi:' sometimes, 'R. Judah the prince:' and oft, in the Jerusalem

[v] Cherithuth, cap. 1. hal. 7.

Talmud, 'R. Judan[w].' There are innumerable stories of him: we shall only pick up those, that are most pertinent to our present subject. Juchasin[x] tells us, that he was with the seventy of the Sanhedrim in Beth-shaaraim, Tsipporis, and Tiberias; and Tiberias was the tenth and last flitting that the Sanhedrim had. How long in Beth-shaaraim is uncertain, and little is mentioned of that place: but 'Tsipporis' צפורי is famous: it was the greatest city of Galilee[y]; a place planted in a fruitful situation; for sixteen miles about it, saith the Jerusalem Talmud, was a land flowing with milk and honey[z]. Rabbi Judah sat here seventeen years; and he applied that to himself, "Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and Judah lived in Tsipporis seventeen years." There are two memorable stories of this place: That a butcher cozened the Jews here with carcasses and beasts torn, and made them eat them; nay, he made them eat dogs' flesh[a]. And divers of Tsipporis were glad to wear patches on their faces to disfigure them, that they might not be known when inquisition was made after them[b]. The numerous passages about the doctors, and disputes, and scholastic actions, in this place, would be too tedious to mention, though with the briefest touch we could.

From Tsipporis the Sanhedrim removed to Tiberias, upon the brink of the lake of Gennesaret. This was about eight or nine miles from Tsipporis[c]. The Jews hold it to be the same with Rakkath, in Josh. xix. 35[d]: and that Hammath, there mentioned also, was a place that joined to it[e]: so called, from the hot-baths there[f]. How long Rabbi sat here, is uncertain.

Their records do make him exceedingly in favour with Antoninus, the emperor, but whether Pius or Philosophus, they name not: it is generally held to be Pius: whethersoever it was, there are abundance of discourses betwixt R. Judah and him dispersed in their writings: and they stick not to tell you, that he became a proselyte; and "when the proselytes of righteousness shall come, in the world to come, Antoninus shall come in the head of them[g]." Anto-

[w] Vid. Jerus. Sanhedr. fol. 30. col. 1, where it speaks of all his titles.
[x] Fol. 2. [y] Joseph. de Bell. lib. 3. cap. 3.
[z] Biccurim, fol. 64. col. 2. [a] Jerus. Trumoth, fol. 45. col. 3.
[b] Id. Jebamoth, fol. 15. col. 3; and Sotah, fol. 23. col. 3.
[c] Id. Sanhedr. fol. 21. col. 1. [d] Megil. fol. 70. col. 1.
[e] Erubhin, fol. 23. col. 4. [f] Bab. Megil. fol. 6. 1. [g] Jerus. Megil. fol. 74. col. 1.

ninus Philosophus or Marcus Aurelius was the likelier to converse with scholars: R. Judah outlived them both, and Commodus also.

Two famous things, as that nation reputed it, did this man in his time. First, He gathered up, and compiled into one volume, all the traditional law that had run from hand to hand to his time [the Misna, that we have now in our hands], which is the Jews' great pandect, according to which they live: he saw their state wane daily more and more; and though they had now many learned schools, yet their Cabala, or great stock of traditions, he thought might fail and be lost, now the Sanhedrim failed; therefore he thought to make sure work, and committed it to writing, that it might be preserved to the nation,—and so he helped to rule them. And a second thing that he did, was, that "he took care that there should be ספריא ומתנייניא scribes and teachers of the traditions, in all the cities in the land of Israel:" Jerusalem Chagigah, fol. 76. col. 3. In the same tract[h], it is reported of him, that, at six portions of the Scripture, when he came to read them, he wept. He compiled the Misna about the year of Christ 190, in the latter end of the reign of Commodus: or, as some compute, in the year of Christ 220, a hundred and fifty years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

SECTION VIII.

The Schools and learned after the Death of Rabbi Judah.

BESIDES the places where the Sanhedrim had sitten, which yet continued schools when it was removed, there were divers other places that were great schools, and copiously furnished with learned men, both in Galilee and Judea: and hence that distinction, that the reader of the Jerusalem Talmud will meet with, of בן דרומם and בן גליל "a southern man and a Galilean[i];" that is, a scholar of the one, or of the other. Hence, there is mention of R. Jacob דרומיא "the southern man[j]," and "the elders of the south[k];" "R. Joshuah of the south[l]." Of all the places in Judea, next Jabneh and Bitter, Lydda was most eminent, where R. Akibah sat as president of a school, before he was of the Sanhedrim at Jabneh[m]; and this continued a school all along to these

[h] Fol. 77. [i] Chagig. fol. 79. col. 3. [j] Erub. fol. 24. col. 2.
[k] Ibid. col. 3. [l] Challah, fol. 57. col. 2. [m] Rosh hashanah, cap. hal. 7.

times of Rabbi Judah. In Galilee, there was Magdala, Hammath, and Cæsarea, if you will reckon that in Galilee, besides others.

R. Judah left two sons behind him, Rabban Gamaliel and Rabbi Simeon: Rabban Gamaliel was promoted in his father's lifetime: but after R. Judah was dead, Rab. Chaninah sat chief, and that by R. Judah's appointment; and with him, were R. Chaiia, R. Hoshaiah Rabba, R. Joshua Ben Levi, Kaphra, Bar Kaphra, Rabh, and Samuel, which two last went away to the university in Babylonia. This generation is the first of the Gemarists, explaining the Misna, and producing the opinions of the ancients upon it.

After R. Chaninah, who sat ten years,—R. Jochanan was president eighty years. He compiled the Jerusalem Talmud, as is generally held, in the year of Christ 230, or thereabout,—which was about the middle of the reign of Alexander Mammææ; yet there is that in the Talmud itself, that would make you believe, that you meet with the name of the emperor Dioclesian there. כד סליק דוקליטינוס מלכא להכא "When king Docletinus" [to speak it according to the letters] "came hither, R. Chaiia Bar Abba was seen getting upon a grave to see him[n]." דיקליטיאנוס אעיק לבני פנייס "Dicletianus afflicted the men of Paneas[o]," &c. In Kilaim[p] and Chetuboth[q], they say the land of Israel was encompassed with seven seas, and the last of them they name, is ימא דאפמיא "the sea of Apamia." [The Samaritan version, on Num. xxxiv. 10, 11, renders Sepham, Apamia.] "Now this (they say) is the sea or lake Mahaz:" דוקליטיאנוס הקווה נהרות ועשאו "Docletianus gathered the rivers, and made it."—And it might very well be, that Rabbi Jochanan, that compiled the Talmud, might live beyond the times of Diocletian: but in Trumoth[r], this Dicletianus, they speak of, is plainly asserted to be in the days of Rabbi Judah Haccadosh, in this story: "The sons of Rabbi Judah Princeps, beat Diclot the swine-herd, who afterward was make a king. He comes to Paneas, and sends letters to the Rabbins, See ye be with me at the going forth of the sabbath, &c. When they come to him, he says to

[n] Beracoth, fol. 6. col. 1. [o] Sheviith, fol. 38. col. 4.
[p] Fol. 38. col. 3. [q] Fol. 35. col. 2. [r] Fol. 46. col. 3.

them, You despise the kingdom: They answer him, Diclot, the swine-herd, we despise; but Diocletianus, the king, we despise not:" which is far from meaning Diocletian the emperor. If this were a place to dispute about the exact time of writing this Talmud, we might also take into examination the meaning of דינר גורדיינון spoken of in Chagigah[s], whether it mean Denarius Gordiani, or no; but we shall not insist upon that here.

After the compiling of this Talmud, there is little farther mention of the schools or scholars of Judea, or Galilee, the university in Babylonia from henceforward bearing all the renown: yet were they not utterly extinct; and out of them, at last, ariseth the famous R. Hillel, grandchild of R. Judah, who stated the Jews' almanack into that posture, in which it stands at this day: and Jerome had for his help, in the Hebrew tongue, a learned man of Tiberias.

SECTION IX.

The Posture and Temper of the People.

HAVING taken this brief account of their scholastic and magistratic history, as also of some general occurrences that befel the nation in these times,—let us a little observe the carriage and temper of the men, for the better discerning of the Lord's dispensing in reference to them, as a people of his curse, rejection, and abhorring. They themselves little thought it, but were yet as proud and self-confident of their being the only people of God as ever; and, unless it were in their plague by Ben Coziba,—a stander-by would hardly think they lay under those curses, that had been so oft and so terribly denounced against them: and it may yet appear the more strange, when we do consider the settled way of their religion, in which they walked with as much confidence and security as ever. The land full of synagogues,—these frequented every sabbath, and the second and fifth days of the week,—their paying tithes,—observing purifyings, clean and unclean meats and drinks,—and, in a word, all their rites, but what inseparably belonged to the temple, in as settled a course as they had done before the temple fell. But in this very thing was their misery, and the vengeance upon them; and that which they accounted was their happiness,

[s] Fol. 79. col. 4.

and with which they sweetened their captivity and desolation of their city,—was that very thing, that was their unhappiness and undoing.

A double badge of reprobation they visibly carried, though themselves could not see it,—namely, their doting upon their wretched traditions, and their rancour and enmity against the gospel; besides what other brands of a curse may be read upon them.

He that reads their Talmuds, may observe this mark of perdition upon them in every page,—that the generations, after the destruction of Jerusalem, were more mad, if possible, after their foolish and wicked rites and traditions, that made faith and the word of God of no effect, than the generations before had been. A man, that reads there, may stand amazed, to see a people of a lost and languishing condition, yet building up, of those toys and trifles, an airy structure, as if they were building an everlasting kingdom. It speaks a palpable blindness upon them, that they took so little advertisement by the fall of their city, of the fall of their carnal and beggarly rites, that they set them up more zealously than ever before. Let any man observe, who they are that make the greatest noise in the Talmuds, and they will see this plain. This minds me of a fancy of the great women among them, a ridiculous way that they used for the remembrance and mourning for Jerusalem,—namely, by wearing a golden crown upon their heads, wrought in the fashion of a city, which they called עיר זהב 'the golden city.' It is spoken of in Jerusalem[t], where they are disputing, whether the women might go forth with this ornament upon their heads on the sabbath; and there they tell, that "R. Akibah made a golden city for his wife; and when Rabban Gamaliel's saw it, she was envious at it." A pretty way of mourning by pride, and to carry Jerusalem in gold on their heads, when Jerusalem lies in ashes under their feet. Much like did they by their ceremonies and traditions; when, at the ruin of the city, they should, by right, have been all buried in ashes with it, they enhanced them, and made them more high and gallant than ever before.

It is needless to instance their derision and detestation of Christ and Christianity, their blasphemy against his blessed name, their hatred and mischievousness against the profes-

[t] Shabb. fol. 7. col. 4.

sors of it: their writings proclaim their impiety; and when many of the ancient fathers have been put to write against the Jews, it argues, they were busy and stirring as far as they might. They had continual opposings among themselves; yet they all agreed, like Simeon and Levi, "brethren in evil," to oppose, vilify, and blaspheme, the gospel. Hardly one of the grandees, that we have named, but he had פר פלוגתיה "his opposite," one or the other that stood out in contestation of opinion with him. Nay, they went sometimes to it by the ears; as R. Eliezer and R. Josi are so struggling together, that they rent the book of the law betwixt them[u]; and, as we observed before, the Shammeans and Hillelians fought it to blood and death. Rabban Gamaliel, at Jabneh, deposed R. Akibah from his rectorship, at Lydda[v]. And divers such bickerings, which still ended in a unanimous consent to oppose Christianity as much as possible.

We spake, before, of the commonness of magic amongst them, one singular means whereby they kept their own in delusion, and whereby they affronted ours. The general expectation of the nation of Messias coming when he did, had this double and contrary effect: that it forwarded those that belonged to God, to believe and receive the gospel; and those that did not, it gave encouragement to some to take upon them they were Christ, or some great prophet; and to others, it gave some persuasion to be deluded by them. These deceivers dealt, most of them, with magic; and that cheat ended not when Jerusalem ended, though one would have thought, that had been a fair term of not farther expecting Messias; but since the people were willing still to be deceived by such expectation, there rose up deluders still, that were willing to deceive them. The Jerusalem Talmud will furnish us with variety of examples of this kind; and I cite it the oftener, because it was made among these men we are speaking of, the Jews in Judea.

To begin with dreamers, and interpreters of dreams, which was a degree of delusion with them. In Maazar Sheni[w], there is mention of Rabbi Josi Ben Chalpatha, of this trade, and R. Ismael Ben Rabbi Josi, and R. Lazar, and R. Akibah; and there are many dreams recorded, that they interpreted:

[u] Jerus. Shekalim, fol. 47. col. 1. [v] Rosh hashan. fol. 57. col. 1.
[w] Fol. 45. col. 2, 3.

and it seemeth, by a passage in the place, that they taught their scholars this trick, as a piece of their learning. And finding of R. Akibah in this catalogue, we cannot but think, how well Ben Coziba and he were met; for, if the one were a cheater in one kind, the other was a deceiver in another. If that of the apostle Jude, in his Epistle[x], "these filthy dreamers," should be construed in this literal sense,—it would find enough in those times to make it good.

In Shabbath[y], it speaks of an apparition to one of their religious men, that was studying the law.

Ibid[z]. There is mention of several charmings; as, reading some verses over a wound; laying the book of the law, or phylacteries, upon a sick person; charming against serpents and an evil eye, &c. And now we are speaking of an evil eye, or witchery, we may take in that, "Four-and-twenty of the school of Rabbi Judah, came to Lydda, to intercalate the year; and an evil eye came in among them, and they all died[a]."

In Sotah[b]; A story related of R. Meir, and an enchantress, and he proving hard enough for her.

In Sanhedrim[c], there are three stories of magical feats done by מינים 'heretics,'—one at Tiberias, and two at Tsipporis; but R. Joshua outvying one of them; and a fourth at Rome, and he making his part good there too. What may be meant by 'heretics,' must be divided betwixt Samaritans, and some wretches, that had forsaken their Judaism, and professed Christianity, but were such as the apostle calls 'false apostles.'

And, to conclude all, the many stories they have, of 'Bath kol,' or 'a voice from heaven' [most commonly coming for the magnifying of some of their doctors[d]], are either forgeries; or, if there were any such seeming voices, they were forged upon the anvil of magic. How can a nation but carry the visible mark of perdition, when vain traditions are their standing religion, and magic and enchantments a common practice?

To this kind of legerdemain, we may add another, not altogether indeed of so deep a die, yet that which came from the same father; and that was, the loud legends they invented of their great rabbins, thereby to awe the people to the

[x] Ver. 8. [y] Fol. 3. col. 2. [z] Fol. 8. col. 2. 3, and fol. 14. col. 3.
[a] Sanhedr. fol. 18. col. 3. [b] Fol. 16. col. 2. [c] Fol. 25. col. 4.
[d] As see Sotah, fol. 24. col. 2.

reverence of their persons, memories, and doctrines: and of others, devoutly zealous in their doting religion, of whom they tell strange wonders for the magnifying of it. I shall name none, for shame: these are they, that do most disgrace their writings, and make them most ridiculous.

A last thing to be named, that they did towards the entailing folly, unbelief, and obduration, upon their nation to all posterity, is their engaging them to their canons and traditions, as they delivered them; especially to the Misna, when Rabbi Judah had published it,—and to the two Talmuds, when they came forth, especially the Babylonian, which stands as a standard to all the nation for her rule and religion to this day: they being generally Pharisaical, and scarce a Karaite, that we hear of, amongst them.

SECTION X.

How far these Jews, in the first Generation of Christianity, might infect or infest it.

We need not speak of their crossing the gospel, and persecuting and mischieving the professors of it, when it lay in their power; that needs no clearing. A twofold infection, more especially, they diffused into the Christian church, which tainted many, and, where it caught, proved pestilential enough, even that which was the least dangerous: and these were, that out of this sink rose the desperate heresies of the first ages of the gospel, and from these men came the allegorizing of the Scriptures, which was but one degree less profitable, if not less deadly, than their traditions.

How damnable heresies arose from among them in the apostles' times, we have seen copiously, as we have come along through the Epistles,—some unbelieving Jews and some apostates diffusing poison so deadly and so affluent, that it undid multitudes by backsliding. The venom was of a contrary malignity; yet both extremes met alike in this point,—that they proved most deadly. The unbelieving Jews, standing upon the strictness of the law, perverted divers to turn from the gospel, to the precise course of their Judaism, to seek justification by works: and the apostatizing, as far misjudging of the liberty of the gospel, introduced all manner of licentiousness and heedlessness of their ways; as, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication. These were the most notorious, as striking directly at the

root of justification by faith, and of holiness of life:—but these were not all; but other roots of gall and wormwood growing upon the same soil; as, denying of the resurrection altogether, as did the Sadducees,—or denying the resurrection of those, that started from Judaism, and worshipping of angels; and whatsoever else, the apostles speak of this gangrene in their Epistles, which though they grew and were at full ripeness before Jerusalem fell, yet did they fade but little, when she was down.

As the first wretched stock of heretics that rose, Simon, Cerinthus, Meander, Ebion, Basilides, &c. appeared either in Judea; or, at least, there, where there were multitudes of Jews, as Basilides at Alexandria;—so the most of those damnable opinions that they sowed, and which grew for a long while after, had some root or other in Judaism, or received some cursed moisture from thence, to nourish them. By Judaism, I here understand, the body of the Jews' religions, though differing within itself, yet all contrary to Christianity. Look upon Palestine; and you have it thus stocked in the times that we are upon:—

1. With Pharisees of seven sorts[e].
2. With Sadducees; at the least, of two sorts, if not more.
3. With Samaritans.
4. With Essenes. Baithusæans you may reckon with Sadducees or Samaritans, whether you will. Now the variety, nay, contrariety of opinions, that was among this mixture, would afford nourishment to any evil weed of doctrine, that could be sowed; these being as Manasseh against Ephraim, and Ephraim against Manasseh, but all against the gospel. We have mention of the Baithusæans going about to put a gull upon the Sanhedrim, about the great business of stating the beginning of the year[f]: the Sadducees laughing the Pharisees to scorn, about washing the candlesticks of the temple[g]: the Pharisees and Sadducees crossing one another in disputes[h]; and the Samaritans perpetually at enmity with the Jews in all stories. Now all these being alike enemies to Christianity, what mischief might not they, severally, do, in poisoning and seducing those, that were not sound in it? We find the names of some arch heretics men-

[e] As they be reckoned up, Beracoth, fol. 13. col. 2. Sotah, fol. 20. col. 3.
[f] Rosh hashan. fol. 57. col. 4. [g] Chagig. fol. 79. col. 4.
[h] Judaim, cap. 4. hal. 7.

tioned in the Talmuds, though we cannot say they were the same men; as, דוסית Dositheus[i]; אביון Ebion[j]; סומכוס Symmachus[k]; and Papias, also, is a Talmud name,—of which name there was one so zealous of traditions[l].

We observed, at the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, that the Jews,—partly the unbelieving, and partly the apostatized,—were the first part of antichrist, "the mystery of iniquity," that was then working, when the apostle wrote: and now we may observe, how they continued bodied together, as a corporation of iniquity, in Judea, till the times of Constantine the Great, where the succession of their schools is plainly to be read: as we have showed in little. And when they wanted there, then did they flourish in their three universities in Babylonia: and the succession of the schools and names of the learned men known there, not only till the signing of the Babylon Talmud, which was about the year of Christ 500; but even till the other part of "the mystery of iniquity," the papal antichrist, arose at Babylon in the west. And, as these two parts make one entire body of antichrist,—and as the latter took at the first to do the work that they had done, to deface the truth and oppose it, and that under the colour of religion,—so did it, in great measure, take his pandect of errors from these his predecessors. Traditions, false miracles, legends, ceremonies, merit, purgatory, implicit faith, and divers other things, are so derived from this source, as if left by legacy from the one to the other.

A second taint we mentioned, that these primitive Jews set not only upon their own posterity, but too much also upon the church of Christ, was the turning of the Scriptures all into allegory: which, as it is well known, how it was used by divers of the fathers, to their great loss of time, and little profiting of the church,—so it is easily to be known from whence it comes, by any that reads Philo Judæus, and the Jewish Derushim. The Talmuds, indeed, are, for the most part, upon disputes; but sometimes, they bring in how such or such a doctor did 'darash' [mystically expound] such or such a place of Scripture: and then, you have directly such stuff as this. Philo, in his discourse concerning the Therapeutæ, or Essenes, relateth, that they had used this mystical

[i] Orlah, cap. 2. hal. 5. [j] Jerus. Joma, fol. 4. col. 3.
[k] Jebam. fol. 11. col. 3. Chetub. fol. 25. col. 3. [l] Euseb. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 39.

kind of exposition of old. And how near the Christians of Judea, that fled from the ruin of Jerusalem, might be supposed thenceforward to be planted to the Esseni, we might observe from Pliny and Mela, who place the Esseni along the vale that coasted upon the dead sea [the old habitation of the Kenites]; and from considering, that the mountains, to which Christ warns those that were in Judea, to flee, were "the mountainous of Judea," as was touched.

SECTION XI.

That the Jews, for all their Spite to Christianity, could not impose upon us a corrupted Text.

HERE we cannot but clear them, as for matter of fact, of what some lay to their charge—[but they do it for their own ends], that they foisted a corrupt text of the Old Testament upon Christians, and so befooled them in the very foundation of their religion. So did their ancestors by Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and so, what these men would have done, if they could, it is easy to conjecture; but they did not, they could not, so impose.

1. It was their great care and solicitousness, as to themselves and their own use, to preserve the text in all purity and uncorruptness; and what our Saviour says, of "not one Iota, or one tittle, of the law" perishing, they were of the same mind, and endeavoured to maintain and assert that for true, with all industry. It were too long here to speak of the work of the Masorites, for this purpose; who altered not, added not, invented not a tittle, but carefully took account of every thing as they found it, and so recorded it to posterity, that nothing could be changed. We shall only bring in their own expositions, which will attest the truth of both those words that our Saviour hath, Ἰῶτα ἓν, καὶ μία κεραία: Ἰῶτα ἓν: it is little to be doubted, that Christ, speaking in their language, meaneth the letter 'Jod,' which is far the least of all their letters. And about this letter the Jerusalem Talmud hath this passage[m]: "The book of Misna Torah [Deuteronomy] came and prostrated itself before God, and said unto him,—O Lord everlasting, thou hast written thy law in me. A testament, that fails in part, fails in the whole. Behold, Solomon seeks to root Jod out of me [viz.

[m] Sanhedr. fol. 20. col. 3.

in לא ירבה נשים He shall not multiply wives]. The holy blessed God saith to it,—Solomon, and a thousand such as he, shall fail, but a word of thee shall not fail. R. Houna, in the name of R. Acha, said,—The Jod, that the blessed God took from the name of our mother Sarah, was given half of it to Sarah, and half to Abraham. There is a tradition of R. Hoshaiah: Jod came and prostrated itself before God, and said,—Lord everlasting, thou hast rooted me out from the name of a righteous woman. The holy blessed God saith to it,—Heretofore, thou wast in the name of a woman, and in the end of it; henceforward, thou shalt be in the name of a man, and in the beginning. This is that which is written,—Moses called the name of Hoshea, Jehoshua."—Μία κεράια: 'one tittle:' it most properly means, those little Apiculi, that distinguish betwixt letters that are very like one to another. You may have the explanation of this in this pretty descant of Tanchuma[n]:—" It is written (saith he), לא תחללו את שם קדשי, You shall not profane my holy name. He that makes the ח a ה, destroys the world: for he makes this sense, You shall not praise my holy name. It is written כל הנשמה תהלל יה, Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord: he that makes the ה a ח, destroys the world: for he brings it to this sense, Let every thing that hath breath profane the Lord. It is written יכחשו ביהוה, They lied to the Lord: he that maketh the ב a כ, destroys the world: for he maketh this sense, They lied like the Lord. It is written אין קדוש כיהוה, There is none holy like the Lord: he that makes the כ a ב, destroys the world: for he maketh this sense, There is no holiness in the Lord. It is written יהוה אלהנו יהוה אחד, The Lord our God is one Lord: he that makes the ד a ר, destroys the world: for he bringeth the sense to this, The Lord our God is a strange God," &c. In Chagigah[o] they speak more of the letter Jod, and so doth Midras Tillim, in Psal. cxiv. In Deut. xxxii. 18, this little letter is written less than itself, in the word תשי, and yet preserved in that quantity, and not altered, and observed so by the Masorites.

2. Yet could they not, for all their care, but have some false copies go up and down amongst them, through heedlessness or error of transcribers. In Shabbath[p] they are disputing, how many faults may be in a part of the Bible, and yet it lawful to read in. " The books of Hagiographa (say

[n] Fol. 1. [o] Fol. 77. col. 3. [p] Fol. 15. col. 2.

they), if there be two or three faults in every leaf מתקנו וקורא בו He may mend it, and read." The books of Hagiographa, they read not in their synagogues, as they did the law and the prophets; therefore, this is to be understood of a man's private reading, and of his own Bible,—which if faulty, there were true copies, whereby he might mend it, and so read. Nay, in Taanith[q], there is mention of a faulty copy, that was laid up in the public records: "They found three books in the court of the temple. The book מעוני, the book זעטוטי, and the book היא. In one they found written מעון אלהי קדם, and in two it was written מעונה אלהי קדם[r]: and they approved the two, and refused the one. In one they found written וישלח את זעטוטי בני ישראל, and in two it was written וישלח את נערי בני ישואל[s]: they approved the two, and refused the other. In one they found written תשע היא, and in two it was written אחת עשרה היא: they approved of the two, and refused the other." That alteration זעטוטו, which is the second mentioned,—the Babylonian Gemarists, and Massecheth Sopherim[t], say, was one of the thirteen alterations, that the Septuagint made in the law for Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Which seems to argue, that, as they translated the Bible into Greek, in which they made thousands of alterations from the text,—so that they copied a Hebrew copy for him, and in that made these; and this, that was found in the court of the temple, was a transcript of that copy.

3. In every synagogue, they had a true copy: and it was their care every where to have their Bible as purely authentic as possible; as may be seen by the curious rules that are given to that purpose in Massecheth Sopherim, newly cited, and Megillah. For this they accounted their treasure and their glory: and, in the reading of the law and the prophets in the synagogue, it was their great care, that not a tittle should be read amiss: and for this purpose, the minister stood over those that read, and oversaw that they read aright: and from this, as Aruch tells us, he was called Chazan, that is, Episcopus, or overseer. In the Jerusalem Talmud[u], the Samaritans are blamed by the Jews for wilfully corrupting their own Pentateuch: "R. Eliezer Ben R. Simeon said,—I said to the scribes of the Samaritans, You have falsified your law, and yet reap no advantage by it: for you have written

[q] Fol. 68. col. 1. [r] Deut. xxxiii. 27. [s] Exod. xxiv. 5. [t] Cap. 1.
[u] Sotah, fol. 21. col. 3.

in your law, 'By the plain of Moreh, which is Sichem;' and was it not manifest enough without that addition, that it was Sichem? But you construe not, 'a pari,' as we do. It is said here, 'The plain of Moreh,' and it is said elsewhere, 'The plain of Moreh:' there it is no other but Sichem; no more must it be here." [The addition cavilled at, 'which is Sichem,' is so in the Samaritan Pentateuch now extant, at Deut. xi. 30.] But, amongst all the wickedness that Christ and his apostles laid to the charge of the Jews, yet you never find them blamed in the least degree for this,—that they went about to corrupt the letter of the text: the sense, indeed, they spoiled with their glosses, and so made the word of God of no effect; and this they hear of thoroughly; but not a word of their spoiling the letter of the text.

4. Had they been ever so desirous to have imposed upon Christians, by falsifying the text, they could not possibly do it. For,

First; Every synagogue, in the world, having the purest copy that possibly was to be got, how impossible was it such legerdemain should be, when there were so many thousand copies to discover it [unless they were all corrupt alike]! and multitudes out of the synagogues, rulers, and people, were converted to the gospel.

Secondly; As learned men as any they had among them, and that as well understood what text was pure, what corrupt, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, Paul, and multitudes of the priests, embraced the gospel; and so multitudes of pure copies were in the hands of Christians, upon the first rising of the gospel; and multitudes, that had such copies in their hands, were converted daily.

5. To which may be added, that the same power and care of God, that preserves the church, would preserve the Scriptures pure to it: and he that did, and could, preserve the whole,—could preserve every part, so that not so much as a tittle should perish.

SECTION XII.

Concerning the Calling of the Jews.

By what hath been spoken concerning the state of the Jews in their own land after the fall of their city, it may be observed, wherein it is that the Lord's vengeance upon that

nation doth especially consist,—namely, in his rejection of them from being his people, and in their obduration. The unspeakable miseries and slaughter, that they endured in the siege and ruin of Jerusalem, speak as dreadful punishment as ever fell upon a nation; and yet this was but short and small, in comparison of that fearful blindness and hardness that lies upon them, and hath done for this sixteen hundred years together. Seventy years, in bodily bondage in Babel, did finish the punishment of their forefathers, for all the idolatry, bloodshed, and impiety, that they had committed: but these, after above twenty times seventy years, under dispersion and obduration, have now as little appearance of amendment of their hearts and of their condition, as there was so many hundred years ago: the same blindness,—the same doting upon traditions,—the same insisting upon their own works for salvation,—the same blind confidence, that they are God's only beloved people,—the same expectation of Messias to come,—the same hatred of Messias already come,—and the same opposition against the gospel, is in them still, that was in that first generation, that crucified the Lord of life. That generation is plainly and often asserted, by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament, to be antichrist; and the very same antichristian spirit hath continued in all the generations of them, ever since, even to this day.

Into the thoughts, therefore, concerning their calling after so long and so extreme crossness against the gospel and the Lord of it, I cannot but take these things into consideration.—For, though I am unwilling to recede from that charitable opinion of most Christians, that there shall once be a calling of them home,—yet see I not how that supposal of the universal call of the whole nation, as of one man, which some entertain, can be digested, without some allay and mitigation.

1. That all Israel, both Jews, and they of the ten tribes, have had as full an offer of the gospel as any of the Gentiles have had, both in the time of the apostles, and since. Of the two tribes, there can be no scruple: and of the ten, almost as little,—if their sin, that cast them off the place of their seating, when carried out of their own land, and the carriage of the gospel through the whole world, be well considered. Now, that their refusing of the gospel, so offered to them, in that manner as they have done, should be fol-

lowed with so universal a call and conversion, is somewhat hard to believe: especially, when it is observed, that the Gentiles, despising the gospel, are doomed to the everlasting deprivation of it, and to a worse condition than Tyre and Sidon.

2. It is true, indeed, that God's covenant with their fathers, is of special weight and observation in this business, and the apostle toucheth it in this question[v]; but how is this to be understood? God made a twofold covenant with their fathers,—viz. the covenant of grace, and the covenant of peculiarity; and the latter was but a manner of the administration of the former. The covenant of grace was made with Adam, and belongs to all the seed of Christ, before the law, under it, and after it, Jews and Gentiles. Now the economy of Moses was such an administration of this covenant of grace, as made Israel a peculiar people. This effect of the covenant with their fathers,—namely, that they still are, and ever shall be, God's peculiar,—is their conceit all along, but is little warrant for us to hold it; since, under the gospel, there is no distinction of Jew and Gentile. And as for the other, that many of them yet belong to election and the covenant of grace made with their fathers,—it is not to be doubted; which yet doth little make for so general a calling.

3. It was a good sign of the general conversion of the heathen once to be, in that there were multitudes of them proselyted daily, before the general call by the gospel came [a hundred three and fifty thousand in the days of Solomon, and that, when religion was then in a very narrow compass]: but of these, how few, in comparison, have come in, in all this long time, though they have had incomparably more means and opportunity, than ever those had! Their sin, that cast them off, was more horrid than the sin that cast off the heathen; and so their blindness and obduration is beyond theirs. And, which deserves observation, the sin of the two tribes was beyond the sin of the ten.

4. Since the New Testament doth ordinarily style that first generation 'antichrist,'—and since, as is apparent, the very same spirit is in the nation to this day,—I see not how we can look upon the conversion of the Jews, under a lower notion than the conversion of a brood of antichrist. Therefore, can I no more look for the general calling of them, than

[v] Rom. xi. 28.

I look for the general call of the antichristian brood of Rome. We see, indeed, by happy experience, that several nations have fallen off from the Roman antichrist, as the Protestant countries that are at this day: but antichrist is yet in being and strong; and his end will be, not by conversion, but perdition. So can I not but conceive of the Jewish nation; that although numerous multitudes of them may, at the last, be brought in to the gospel, as the Protestant party hath been,—yet that, to the end, numerous multitudes also shall continue in the antichristian spirit of unbelief, and opposition, and blaspheming: and both parts of antichrist, the Roman and this, so to perish together. Nor doth this opinion any whit cross any place of Scripture, that is produced about the calling of the Jews, but rather settle its sense, and explain it. That eminent place of the apostle, Rom. xi, carrieth such a limitation throughout: and the very intent of his discourse speaketh to such a tenor all along: for his drift, in that chapter, is not to determine, whether all the Jews should be once called; but whether all the Jews were wholly cast off: and this he states, that "there is a remnant[w];" that "the election hath obtained, but the rest are blinded[x];" and "that blindness in part is happened to Israel[y]," &c. And this is the mystery, that he there speaketh of: and not, as some would wrest it, their universal conversion. A mystery, indeed, that God should cast off his old covenanted people, and that they, that had always had the light, and only seen of all the nations of the world,—should now sit in darkness and be blind; and that the Gentiles, by their blindness, should come to see. It is remarkable, in this place, and others of the apostle's Epistles, that, though the destruction of Jerusalem were the most signal time and evidence of God's casting them off, yet that they were, indeed, cast off long before; as, to spare more allegations, may be observed in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians[z]; which was the first Epistle that the apostle wrote. Whence punctually to date their rejection, whether from the death of Christ, or from the first sending the gospel among the Gentiles, is not much material to inquire after here: it is enough, for our present purpose, to observe, that they are given for cast-off so early in the dispersion of the gospel: so that the apostle doth clearly include their conversion, even at that first spreading of the gospel, as well as

[w] Ver. 5. [x] Ver. 7. [y] Ver. 25. [z] Chap. ii. 15, 16.

their conversion in future times. He saith, "Their casting off was the riches of the Gentiles, and the reconciling of the world;" and their fulness should much more enrich the Gentiles, and be as life from the dead. By their 'fulness,' not meaning the whole number of their nation, but the full number of God's elect of them, when they should be brought in. The casting off the nation enriched the Gentiles, in that they came in to be the Lord's people in their stead; but much more shall it be an enriching to them, when the full number of them that belong to God, shall come in also, and be joined to the Gentiles, and help to make their body up. This is, apparently, the drift of the apostle in those words; which that opinion is exceedingly wide of, that holds that the calling of the Jews shall not be, till the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. It is true, indeed, that he saith, that "blindness in part is happened to Israel till that time[a];" and so our Saviour saith, that "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled[b];" but this means her final desolation, and the final blindness of that part that is blinded: not that Jerusalem should be built again, when the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, which the Jews conceit: nor that then the Jews should be unblindfolded, and become a gospel-church, as the Gentiles had been: for what a strange world doth such a supposal imagine? and how often doth the gospel gainsay any such distinctiveness and peculiarity? As we need not to go far, for instance; that very place of the apostle, that is under our hands, doth hold out all along, that the Gentiles and the Jews, that belong to the election of grace, do make up but one body. And that very passage, that is chiefly pleaded for their universal call, "and so all Israel shall be saved," means no other. Therefore, though it may be hoped that God hath multitudes of them yet to be brought in, from under their antichristian darkness and opposition of the gospel,—yet, that they shall be generally called, and no antichristian party left behind, and that not till antichrist of Rome be fallen, and the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, as some circumstantiate the thing,—needeth clearer evidence of Scripture to evince, than yet hath been produced.

[a] Ver. 25. [b] Luke, xxi. 24.

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TO

THE BOOKS AND CHAPTERS,

WHICH ARE

EXPOUNDED AND ELUCIDATED

IN THE

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DISSERTATIO[a],

QUA VENTILATUR QUÆSTIO,

AN CŒNA, IN QUA JUDAS ACCEPIT OFFULAM, FUERIT CŒNA PASCHALIS,

EX TEXTU

JOHAN. XIII. 27. 30.

"*Post sumtam offulam, ingressus est in illum Satanas: Ille igitur, accepta offula, statim exivit.*"

NON[b] solum omnibus innotescit, sed etiam creditur, brevem hanc historiam juxta seriem temporis hoc modo concipiendam esse: Judas cum Servatore nostro, in ultimo ejus Paschate, accumbebat, et Cœnæ Paschalis erat particeps: sed, ante institutionem Cœnæ Dominicæ, Dominus ei porrexerat offulam; qua accepta, "Satanas in illum ingressus est, et ipse exiit," ita ut illic non remanserit, usquedum Sacramentum Cœnæ Dominicæ institueretur, ac proinde illius non tantum non fuerit particeps, sed nec institutionem ejus oculis suis viderit. Verba auctorum, sic sentientium, citare supervacuum et infiniti laboris esset; et citandis illis liceat supersedere, cum, quid velint, abundè liqueat.

Cœnam autem hanc, in qua Judas offulam accepit, non fuisse Cœnam Paschalem, sed ordinariam, Bethaniæ duabus ante id tempus noctibus habitam,—ex sequentibus argumentis liquido constat.

I. Johannes Evangelista, cum historiam Cœnæ hujus, in qua Judas buccellam accepit, narrare orditur, ait eam contigisse "Bethaniæ ante festum diem Paschæ," comm. 1. Non possum non mirari, illos, qui volunt Judam ipsa nocte Paschæ offulam accepisse, non observasse hanc temporis designationem in initio ejusdem capitis, quo hæc historia nar-

[a] See Leusden's edition of Lightfoot, vol. 3. p. 141.
[b] See Section lxxx, p. 142 of this volume.

rari incipit, à Johanne fuisse annotatam; aut, si id observarunt, quo pacto horum verborum sensum, salvo conceptu suo, explicare queant? Sanè designatio hujus circumstantiæ, quæ tempus spectat, non potest aliud, nisi Cœnam, quam immediatè subjungit, respicere. "Ante festum autem diem Paschæ, sciens Jesus venisse horam digrediendi ex hoc mundo," &c. Quid tunc? Quid faciebat eo tempore? "Cœna peracta, surgit Jesus, et lavat Discipulorum suorum pedes;" dehinc denuò considet, et "dat Judæ offulam." Indubium enim est, neminem hanc temporis circumstantiam, "ante diem festum Paschæ," velle referre ad 'dilectionem suorum usque ad finem,' (quam incongruum id esset, nemo non perspicit!) sed eam referendam esse ad historiam et acta Christi, quæ Cœnam immediatè sequebantur: ita ut si meipsum rogem, 'Quando Christus à Cœna surrexit, et Discipulorum suorum pedes lavit,'—necessario mihi respondendum erit, 'id factum ante diem festum Paschæ.' Iterum, 'Quando, denuò accumbens, Judæ offulam dedit?' Responsum erit, 'id factum est eodem tempore, ante diem festum Paschæ, non ipso die Paschæ.' Sic enim intelligenda est illa temporis assignatio in initio hujus capitis, "Ante festum autem diem Paschæ," ut quæ historias, quæ eodem tempore contigerunt et illic recensentur, respicit: neque mihi constat, quî fieri possit, ut verba hæc in alium sensum transferantur.

Attamen forsan, qui suam tuentur opinionem, objicient per denominationem 'Paschæ' hôc non strictè intelligendum esse 'tempus agni Paschalis,' sed 'tempus subsequentis festivitatis,' quod subinde nomine 'Paschæ' venit. Sed his respondeo; 1. Si verba "ante diem festum Paschæ" significare debent 'post festum Paschæ, aut saltem 'post tale festum Paschæ,' quod ipsorum opinioni videtur favere, et non 'ante tale festum Paschæ,' quod ipsis adversatur,—tunc quicquid lubet, ex Scriptura poterit extorqueri. 2. Verum quidem est, bovem illum, qui comedebatur die proximè sequenti illum, quo agnus comedebatur, etiam appellari 'Pascha,' Joh. xviii. 28. Conf. Deut. xvi. 2. Interim in tota Scriptura nunquam mentio fit 'festi Paschæ,' quin vespera decimi quarti diei, qua agnus Paschalis comedebatur, includi et subintelligi debeat; quod S. Scripturæ testimoniis probatum dare supervacaneum foret. Producant, qui contrarium censent, unum tantum exemplum, quo sua nititur

sententia, sic videbuntur aliquod habere suæ sententiæ fulcimentum. 3. Quam inepta, horrida, quin et quam monstrosa hæc foret contradictio, et interpretatio verborum evangelistæ, " Ante diem autem festum Paschæ,"—si ea significent, ' Postquam autem agnus Paschalis esset esus, antequam mensa cœnæ esset remota, id est, antequam proximo die bos Paschalis esset esus, lavit Jesus discipulorum suorum pedes,' &c. Dicant nunc et pronuncient, qui huic sententiæ favent,—an hoc sit Scripturam, juxta verborum proprium, genuinum, et clarum sensum, interpretari, vel non.

II. Narrat evangelista, comm. 29, quosdam discipulorum (postquam Jesus Judæ offulam dederat, addito mandato, " Quod facis, mox facito") putasse Jesum Judæ dixisse, " Eme, quibus nobis ad festum opus est." Hoc certe dictum fuit ante festum: secus quem sensum his verbis affingent, qui aliter sentiunt? 1. Petrus enim et Johannes missi sunt ipso die Paschæ, ut sibi de omnibus, quibus ad festum opus erat, providerent[a]. 2. Supponamus verba hæc eo sensu, quo volunt, esse accipienda, discipulos (post agni Paschalis esum, aut post cœnam habitam nocte Paschali, quando Judas acceperat offulam, et Christus ipsi exeunti dixerat, " Quod vis facere, fac cito") putasse Christum Judæ mandasse, ut " ea, quibus ad festum opus erat, emeret:"—quæso, ' quod festum' hîc indigitatur? Non illud, quo agnus Paschalis edebatur; tempus enim edendi illius agni jam erat præterlapsum, aut saltem jam erat serius, quam ut necessaria ad festum possent coëmi: neque illud, quo bos Paschalis comedebatur, illo enim tempore quicquam ad festum illud celebrandum coëmere illicitum erat: nam, comm. 30, indicatur noctem fuisse, quando Judas exibat; quod si autem nox hæc fuit illa, qua celebrabatur Pascha, alia Scripturæ loca nobis indicant, Sabbatum jam sumsisse initium suum: hoc enim nomine proximus dies appellatur[b]; adeoque illicitum erat emere aut vendere. Præterea cum Judæi ea nocte apprehenderint Christum, concilio suo congregato noctem transegerint, et die proximo eum crucifixerint, certè id omne eo die fieri nequiit:—quin et si Jesus violati Sabbati accusari potuisset, discipulorum crimen tantò fuisset conspectius; verum aliud docti erant Christi discipuli, quam ut ipso Sabbati die aut emerent aut venderent.

III. Ex horum hominum suppositione, ' Satanas in Ju-

[a] Luc. xxii. 8. 12, 13. [b] Levit. xxiii. 11.

dam non est ingressus, nisi post esum agnum Paschalem, aut non ante ipsam noctem Paschæ.' Lucas autem clarè satis indicat, Satanam jam ante id tempus in Judam fuisse ingressum. Nam Luc. xxii. 3. narratur "Satanam in Judam introiisse," et, commate 4, eum "abiisse, et cum primariis sacerdotibus, &c. collocutum esse;" ubi, comm. 5, subjungitur "eos cum ipso de danda pecunia fuisse pactos," et, 6, "ipsum spopondisse, et opportunitatem eum ipsis absque turba tradendi quæsivisse." Interim, comm. 7, notatur "advenisse diem azymorum." Quomodo autem hi, qui dictæ sententiæ favent, possunt asserere Judam cum Christo in cœna Paschali accubuisse, offulam accepisse, et ante institutionem sacramenti exiisse, cum, secundum Johannem, Satanas post sumtam offulam in Judam sit ingressus? Judas autem pactum iniit abinde cum sacerdotibus de proditione magistri sui, et opportunitatem ipsum tradendi quæsivit, antequam dies azymorum advenisset. Considerent, quæso, hi homines hunc textum Lucæ, et videant, an ullo modo sua cum illo sententia conciliari queat.

IV. Consideretur modo harmonia quatuor evangelistarum, seu series hujus historiæ, prout cum præcedentibus cohæret, in enarratione omnium evangelistarum, et indubiè exinde liquebit, cœnam illam, in qua Judas offulam accepit, non fuisse cœnam Paschalem, sed aliam, quæ nocte alia jam fuerat habita.

Repetamus historiam ab introitu Christi Hierosolymam. Sexto ante Pascha die Christus cœnabat Bethaniæ, et eo tempore "Maria unxit pedes Jesu[c]." Erat autem tunc vespera, finito Judæorum sabbato. Proximo die, solenniter pullo asinæ insidens, Hierosolymam introiit[d]. Quod factum est primo die hebdomadæ, qui nobis dies Solis dicitur. Sub noctem Jesus regressus est Bethaniam[e].

Subsequente die, Jesus revertebatur Hierosolymam, ficui in via maledicebat[f], et in templum ingressus, iterum eos, qui emebant et vendebant, expellebat[g]. Hoc contigit secunda die hebdomadæ, qui nobis est dies Lunæ. Sub vesperam ejus diei urbe exiit[h].

Proximo die rursus veniebat Hierosolymam[i]; ubi scribæ et Pharisæi ejus auctoritatem in dubium trahebant[j]; quibus

[c] Joh. xii. 3. [d] Matt. xxi. 1—11. Marc. xi. 1—11. Luc. xix. 29—45. Joh. xii. 12. [e] Matt. xxi. 17. Marc. xi. 11. [f] Matt. xxi. 18, 19. Marc. xi. 12—14. [g] Marc. xi. 15—18. [h] Marc. xi. 19. [i] Marc. xi. 20. 27. Matt. xxi. 20. 23. [j] Marc. xi. 27, 28. Matt. xxi. 23. Luc. xx. 1, &c.

respondebat proposita quæstione de baptismo Johannis. Hoc tempore proponebat parabolam de vinea, &c. Matt. xxi. 28. usque ad finem capitis. Marc. xii. 1, &c. Huc pertinent quæ à Christo prolata sunt, et vicesimo secundo et tertio capitibus Matthæi,—et apud Marc. xii. 13. usque ad finem,—et Luc. xx. à versu 20. ad versum quintum capitis xxi. usque,—leguntur. Hic dies hebdomadæ tertius, nunc dies Martis, erat.

Sub noctem egressus, versus Bethaniam in monte Olivarum adspiciebat templum, et proferebat quæ continentur capitibus xxiv et xxv. Matthæi,—Marc. cap. xiii,—et Lucæ capite xxi. à versu 5. ad finem usque. Ea nocte cœnabat Christus Bethaniæ in domo Simonis leprosi[k]. Hæc autem cœna eadem illa erat, cujus Johannes, capite decimo tertio, mentionem facit, in qua Judas offulam à Christo datam accipiebat. Nam ex collatione evangelistarum liquet,—1. Judam cum primariis sacerdotibus pactum fecisse de prodendo Jesu, cum nondum advenisset festum azymorum panum[l]. 2. Eum de hoc negotio nihil tractasse, antequam Satanas in ipsum esset ingressus[m]. 3. Eum, cum Satanas tempore hujus cœnæ in ipsum ingressus esset, exiisse ad ineundum cum sacerdotibus contractum, tunc cum Jesus in ædibus Simonis leprosi cœnabat[n]: ac proinde series hujus historiæ non est concipienda, ut aliter sentientes necessario debent concipere, videlicet, Christum post cœnam Paschalem surrexisse, et discipulorum suorum pedes lavisse; deinde rursus consedisse, et Judæ intinctam offulam dedisse, qua accepta Satanas in ipsum ingressus esset, et ipse mox exiisset ante institutum sacramentum, et eo tempore, quo sacramentum instituebatur, et ea, quæ Johannis xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, narrantur, pronunciabantur, et hymnus canebatur,—de prodendo Christo cum sacerdotibus collocutus fuisset; et accepta cohorte, quæ Christum caperet, Jesum in confinio montis Olivarum invenisset. Quam enim improbabile, imo quam impossibile esset supponere hæc tam brevis temporis spatio transacta esse,—præsertim cum textus nos doceat, isthæc omnia (modo excipias militum assumptionem) ante diem Paschæ peracta fuisse.

Sed totius hujus historiæ series concipienda est hoc modo:—Christus Bethaniæ in ædibus Simonis leprosi biduo ante Pascha cœnabat; hîc loci mulier quædam alabastrum unguenti gravis pretii in caput accumbentis Jesu effundebat,

[k] Matt. xxvi. 2, &c. Marc. xiv. 1, 2, &c. [l] Matt. xxvi. 17. Marc. xiv. 10. 12.
[m] Luc. xxii. 3, 4. [n] Matt. xxvi. 14. Marc. xiv. 10.

quod, aliquot de unguenti hujus perditione querentibus, Jesus probabat. Post cœnam Jesus, à mensa surgens, discipulorum suorum pedes lavabat; ac denuo accumbens, priusquam mensa esset remota, Judæ dabat offulam intinctam; qua accepta, Satanas in ipsum ingrediebatur, et Judas à mensa surgens exibat, et, utut esset nox, se conferebat Hierosolymam, quæ duobus præter propter milliaribus (Anglicis) inde distabat. Illic, condicto pretio, sacerdotibus se magistrum suum proditurum pollicebatur, quo facto ipsa illa nocte, et die sequenti, qui hebdomadæ dies quartus, nunc Mercurii, erat, deliberabat, quo pacto posset, ad promovendum scelus suum, Bethaniam reverti, et festivitatis Paschalis cum Christo particeps esse. Veniebat igitur Bethaniam[o], et cum ipso accumbens agnum Paschalem comedebat[p]; nec de mensa surgebat, priusquam Sacramentum institutum, et panis et poculum distributa essent[q].

Hæc series et concatenatio est hujus historiæ, quæ, ex evangelistarum collatione ritè instituta, ultro sese offert; unde his et illis, quæ jam recensita sunt, in unum collectis, summa huc redit. Videlicet,

I. Cœna, in qua Judas accepit intinctam offulam, et mox exiit, fuit ante Pascha[r]:—

II. Et quidem eo tempore, quo ea, quibus ad celebrandum festum opus erat, commodè emi potuissent[s].

III. Restabat aliquod temporis spatium, priusquam esset Pascha; cum diabolus in Judam ingressus est[t].

IV. Quæ ante traditionem Christi dicta et acta sunt, majus interstitium, quam quod inter tempus Paschæ et ejus apprehensionem in horto intercessit, exigunt.

Judicet nunc, si sic loqui fas est, ipsum præjudicium, an ullo modo verosimile aut rationi consentaneum videatur, Judam tempore, intermedio inter cœnam Paschalem et sacramentum cœnæ Dominicæ, offulam accepisse et exiisse.

[o] Marc. xiv. 17. [p] Matt xxvi. 20, 21. Marc. xiv. 18. [q] Luc. xxii. 19—21.
[r] Joh. xiii. 1. [s] Joh. xiii. 29. [t] Luc. xxii. 3. 7.

DISQUISITIO[a],

AN

JOHANNES,

APOSTOLUS ET EVANGELISTA, LIBRI, QUI 'APOCALYPSIS' VOCATUR, AUCTOR SIT.

DIONYSIUS, episcopus Alexandrinus, teste Eusebio[b], librum Apocalypseos summa cum reverentia quidem agnovit esse canonicum; attamen eum à Johanne evangelista, qui evangelium conscripsit, et Epistolarum sub nomine Johannis auctor est, conscriptum esse pernegabat: alium enim, huic cognominem, ejus auctorem fuisse censebat, nixus his præcipuè rationibus.

1. Quoniam evangelista Johannes nullibi, neque in evangelio, neque in epistolis suis, nomen suum exprimit, ut quidem auctor Apocalypseos, qui sæpius seipsum sic denominat, "Ego Johannes." Verum ratio hujus est in promptu: nam nominis in epistolis exprimendi nulla erat causa; sed in hoc libro illud ipsum erat necessarium, ubi historia, seipsum magna ex parte concernens, erat enarranda.

II. Quoniam evangelium et epistolæ, quoad stylum et materiam, maximè conveniunt; cum 'Revelationis liber' stylo et verbis planè differentibus conscriptus sit. Sed et hîc est facilis, quin facilior, responsio,—inter subjectam materiam hujus libri et modo memoratorum scriptorum maximam esse differentiam; unde stylus et phrases ab iisdem necessario debuerunt differre.

III. Postremo loco objicit, hujus Apocalypseos dialectum, si cum ea, quæ se in evangelio et epistolis prodit, conferatur, barbaram et rudem esse: postquam enim priorum voluminum elegantiam et accuratam connexionem commen-

[a] See Leusden's edition of Lightfoot, vol. 3. p. 145.
[b] Eccl. Hist. lib. 7.

darat, non dubitat de hoc libro pronunciare,—*Διάλεκτον μέν τοι καὶ γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἑλληνίζουσαν αὐτοῦ βλέπω, ἀλλὰ ἰδιώμασι βαρβαρικοῖς χρώμενον, καί που συλοικίζοντα*: id est, "Video dialectum et phrases ejus non accuratè Græcas esse, sed eum uti vocibus barbaris, et subinde solœcismis." Verum sic de dialecto et phrasiologia judicat, qui neutram callebat,—et id, quod hunc librum maximè commendat, ceu vituperium culpat. Johannes enim *Θεοδίδακτος*, passim in sua Apocalypsi, veteris Testamenti stylum assumebat; hic autem, qui Hebrææ linguæ erat ignarus, id omne, quod Dei dialectus erat, solœcismo imputabat,—et quod intelligere nequibat, barbarum esse credebat.

Interim, misso hoc Dionysio, et qui cum eo sentiunt, suis præconceptis opinionibus, asserimus, ex unanimi consensu et historia scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum cujusvis ævi, Johannem,—qui evangelium conscripsit, qui Jesu dilectus erat discipulus, et apostolus,—eundem fuisse qui, in conscribendo et edendo hujus Apocalypseos libro, Christo à manibus erat.

Sic testantur patres, concilia, et interpretes omnium seculorum.

TRACTATUS

DE

SPIRITU PROPHETIÆ.

I. Adamus Propheta, aliique, longa serie, ad Templum secundum. II. Urim et Thummim. III. Origo Traditionum. IV. Prophetia rediviva, atque ejus simia magia. V. Excidium Hierosolymitanum, nobilissima Epocha in Paginis Sacris. VI. Quonam anno Vespasiani Excidium istud. VII. Compendium anni cladis Hierosolymitanæ.

§ I.

Adamus Propheta, aliique, longa serie, ad Templum secundum.

In ipsissimo eodem capite Epistolæ ad Corinthios primæ decimo quarto, unde desumta est occasio differendi de lingua in lectione Scripturarum in synagogis usitata, oritur etiam similis occasio aliquid dicendi de prophetia et divino afflatu. De qua re non tam dicentur omnia quæ dici possunt, quam quæ non sunt adeo vulgariter dicta.

I. Erant prophetæ ab initio mundi[a]. Chorum duxit ipse Adamus, non dum esset innocuus, et ante lapsum (nam tunc temporis nec spiritum sanctificationis habuit, nec spiritum prophetiæ, sed perfectione creationis tantum est nixus, et quoad sanctitatem, et quoad scientiam); sed cum jam peccaverat, facta ei promissione Christi, data est ei fides in promissione, et sanctificatus est per spiritum sanctitatis, et per spiritum afflatus.

Hinc nomen 'Evæ' ab eo inditum prophetico dictamine, quod 'Vitam' sonat; sic LXX; Ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ζωή:—et quod melioris vitæ per Christum se participem factum sentiret, et quod semen Christi crediturum nosceret, cujus matrem pronuntiavit 'Evam.' Ei jam credenti versa omnia in bonum sentit, etiam quæ amara et acerbissima in censura sua de eo Deus denuntiaverat: male-

[a] Luc. i. 70.

dictionem terræ, ut respiceret cœlum : inimicitiam serpentis, ut amicitiam Dei : expulsionem e terrestri paradiso atque ab arbore vitæ, ut ad cœlestem anhelaret, et arborem vitæ Christum in medio paradisi Dei.

II. Ut eodem afflatu prophetico donati et ditati fuerint patriarchæ, ab Adamo ad Mosen, non opus est demonstrare. Additum ei est donum miraculorum, prophetisque subsequentibus, edendorum, cum foret opus.

III. Non cessavit divina ista dos in captivitate Babylonica, sed in Ezechiele, Daniele, aliisque floruit nobilissimè. Veritus est sanctissimus Habbacucus, nè, migrante populo, migraret ab eo etiam hoc donum. Hinc ista precatio[b]; " Domine, opus tuum vivifica in medio annorum ; in medio annorum notum fac." Medium istud annorum erat spatium septuaginta annorum captivitatis: quod ante se habuit septies septuaginta annos ab initio Samuelis, qui singulari ratione nominatur[c] ut primipilaris prophetarum, et post se septies septuaginta annos ad mortem Christi, quando consignata est visio et prophetia.

IV. Rediit etiam divinus iste afflatus cum reducibus in terram Israeliticam; viguitque in prima ista generatione. Redierunt enim è Babylone prophetæ plurimi, atque affuit prophetia inter populum, usque dum consignaretur canon Veteris Testamenti. Claruit " synagoga," ut vocatur, " Ezræ magna" vatibus pluribus et insignibus. Et hic memorabile est illud Hierosolymitanum, quod[d] " Octoginta quinque seniores (quorum plures, quam triginta, erant prophetæ. *Quod notetur.)* dimicabant contra statutum Estheræ et Mardochæi de festo Purim, ac si foret innovatio. At tandem illuxit illis Deus," &c. Nota in synagoga ista, quæ dicitur constitisse è centum et viginti senioribus, plures quam triginta fuisse prophetas, majoremque Synhedrii partem institutionem 'Purim' non approbâsse, donec iis tandem foret a Deo satisfactum.

At detur vacillare aliqua ex parte fidem hujus traditionis, notum tamen satis et exploratum est, viguisse spiritum propheticum primo isto ævo a reditu è Babylonia super varios, qui et amanuenses facti sunt isti spiritui. Ita ut non pauci de libris sacris isto sæculo conscriberentur, et, quod non prætereundum, lingua Hebræa, cum ea apud vulgus admodum desuesceret.

[b] Cap. iii. 2. [c] Act. iii. 24. [d] Megill. fol. 70. 4.

V. Defunctis ultimis istis prophetis, cessavit et prophetia; et recessit, ut fatentur ipsi Judæi, a populo: et successit illi, si iis fides, Bath Kol. Nam sic illi; "Quinque[e] hæc defuerunt in templo secundo, quæ adfuerunt primo: Ignis *(de cælo);* Arca; Urim et Thummim; Oleum unctionis; et Spiritus Sanctus. Secundum quod scribitur, ארצה בו ואכבדה[f] Scribitur אכבד, deficiente ה litera" (numerum quinarium denotante) "ob quinque hæc, quæ defuerunt sub templo secundo."

Ignis cœlestis, Arca, et Oleum unctionis, nunquam apparuerunt sub templo secundo; at de Urim et Thummim potest quæri. Et de Spiritu Sancto sic iterum iidem Judæi: "A morte[g] prophetarum posteriorum, Haggæi, Zachariæ, et Malachiæ, desiit ab Israele Spiritus Sanctus. Nihilominus usi sunt Bath Kol." Priorem partem traditionis nemo jure negaverit: at posteriori de Bath Kol non æqua fides. Sed istam rem hic non discutimus: sed de Urim et Thummim mox dicentur pauca.

Continuatum igitur est donum prophetiæ, usque dum perfectus foret signatusque canon Veteris Testamenti, et exinde desiit. Ita ut nos opinamur de desitione donorum Spiritus Sancti, cum perfectus foret canon Testamenti Novi. Hoc obiter de priori non possumus non notare. Sententiam istam de LXX. interpretibus, eos scilicet divino afflatu doctos ductosque versionem suam conflâsse, non solum non adeo tutæ esse consequentiæ, sed et cum § ii. duplici pugnare Judæorum axiomate, viz. "Desiit Spiritus post mortem Malachiæ:" et, "Non habitat super quemvis extra terram Israeliticam."

§ II.

Urim et Thummim.

I. Quam variæ sint sententiæ de oraculo per Urim, tædio foret recitare. Contra istam de literis in rationali, in syllabas et verba extuberantibus, quibus legi posset oraculum exhibitum, objiciunt ipsi Gemaristæ, quod literæ Tsade et Teth[h] non afforent inter literas nomina tribuum compingentes: quarum si usus foret in responso exhibito, quomodo defectus iste suppleretur? Atque objici etiam insuper potest, si iste modus foret edendi oraculi, quare cessavit oraculum per Urim sub templo secundo? Nam affuit pecto-

[e] Hieros. Taanith, fol. 65. 1. [f] Hagg. i. 8. [g] Hieros. Sotah, fol. 24. 2.
[h] Bab. Joma, fol. 73. 2.

rale cum margaritis, et nominibus tribuum, ita ut sub templo primo.

II. Quænam autem erat ejus rei ratio? 1. Legitima successione derivatus est summus pontificatus a patre ad filium per aliquot generationes, eo modo quo sub templo primo. "Summus[i] pontifex ministrat in octo vestimentis: et sacerdotes privati in quatuor: in tunica, femoralibus, cidari, balteo. Summus sacerdos addit, pectorale, ephod, pallium, laminam. Et in his scitantur per Urim et Thummim." 3. Aderant et gemmæ in pectorali. Hinc historia de[k] jaspide Benjaminis e pectorali deperdita. Cui similem habuit Dama Ben Nethinæ: quorum pactum est de ista coëmenda centum denariis, &c. 4. Aderant et eædem causæ scitandi, quæ olim. Et quare tandem non investigatio per Urim, ut olim?

Resp. Fateor inter omnia, quæ de hac re dicuntur, mihi maximè arridere ea, quæ dicuntur a magistris loco antè citato. Ajunt illi, כל הכהן שאינו מדבר ברוח הקדש ושכינא שורה עליו אין שואלין בו:[l] "Ab isto sacerdote non scitandum erat [*per Urim*], qui non loqueretur per Spiritum Sanctum, et super quem non habitaret divinus afflatus." Verissimè quidem, quantum ego judico. Nempe quod responsum a Deo foret sacerdoti de re aliqua sciscitanti, non visibili aliquo indicio, nec quidem audibili aliquo sono, sed divino afflatu.

Atque hinc silentium oraculi per Urim et Thummim sub templo secundo, quia non erat pontifex afflatus. Non aderat Urim, quia non aderat Spiritus Sanctus. Huc tendunt ista Neh. vii. 65: "Usque dum exsurgat sacerdos cum Urim et Thummim." Josuam Josedechi afflatum Spiritu Sancto non negatur. At post eum, quemnam pontificem dixeris ita afflatum? Quæ comminiscuntur Talmudici[m] de Simeone Justo, et Josephus[n] de Hyrcano, et sua fide solum nituntur, et non benè cum traditione quadrant, de cessatione prophetiæ a morte Malachiæ. Inde ergo iste scrupulus de quibusdam, qui puritatem sanguinis sui sacerdotalis non potuerunt manifestare, an illis de sacris comedere liceret, non erat solubilis, quia non aderat pontifex afflatus, qui a Deo responsum de hac re reportaret. Erat pontifex, qui rationale, margaritas, et nomina tribuum in pectore gestaret, quique in templo coram arca se sistere potuit, ut de hac re quæreret:

[i] Bab. Joma, fol. 71. 2.
[k] Hieros. Peah, fol. 15. 3.
[l] Bab. Joma, fol. 73. 2.
[m] Hieros. Joma, fol. 42. 3.
[n] Antiq. l. 13. c. 18.

et quare ei non responsum est per Urim? Nempe quod ille non donatus esset spiritu prophetico. Inde etiam illustratur illud de Caiapha; "Cum pontifex esset istius anni, prophetavit°." *Istius anni* miraculosi, et in quo consignanda erant visio et prophetia, effundendusque Spiritus Sanctus modo et mensura inauditis. Eum tunc invadit spiritus prophetiæ pro tempore, quem afflatum non norant senserantque antecessores ejus pontifices, per plurima retro sæcula.

§ III.

Origo Traditionum.

Defunctis prophetis, et recedente jam a populo spiritu prophetiæ, novum oracularitatis genus excogitavit pater mendaciorum, grande scilicet istud mysterium traditionum. Nam gens prophetiæ sueta, et divinis vatibus, non benè se habuit, oraculis istis orbata, et privata privilegiis. Fuerat, cum recurrere potuit ad hunc aut illum prophetam, vel de futuris quæsitura, vel de abstrusis. At jam evanuit genus istud doctorum cœlestium, et non ultra est in rerum natura. Hic opportunitatem nactus est figmentorum cusor, populum, decipi facilem, decipere ultro, et perfecta deceptione. Per ministros ergo suos suadet, traditam fuisse in montem Sinai legem oralem, oracularem, divinissimam, quæ a Mose ad ista usque sæcula a manu ad manum tradita, incorrupta permanserit perveneritque, cum lege scripta æqualis dignitatis, auctoritatis, puritatis.

Absorpsit hoc venenum natio, quæ nesciit carere oracularitate, pleno gutture,—deceptione sua adeo contenta, ut jam videretur quidem non opus habere ulterius veris prophetis, nec Satanas ipse certè falsis. Nam quamvis magni isti traditionum patres spiritum prophetiæ in iis tradendis sibi non adrogarent, eas tamen ipsas pro oraculis venditabant, receptis a monte Sinai. Atque hinc minus mirum, quod in tota ista temporis intercapedine, a morte prophetarum ad adventum Christi, vix foret, qui se pro propheta venditaverit, cum patres traditionum oracula effarentur, atque infallibilitate quasi inflata magisterialiter pronuntiarent.

Non miror Chaldæum paraphrasten vocabulum נביא prophetam toties reddere per ספרא scribam; cum ipsi scribæ æquali auctoritate cum sanctissimis prophetis, cum ipso Mose, sua traderent. Et mutuo eum scabunt quoque scri-

° Johan. xi. 51.

bæ, dum ejus interpretationem eadem etiam auctoritate adstruunt, ut receptam ab ore[p] Haggæi, Zachariæ, et Malachiæ, prophetarum.

Hinc prima mali labes, ac pariter ultima, ruinæ Judaicæ Alpha et Omega, toxicon a primo isto, per omnia, ad hoc usque sæculum imbibitum, quo dementantur; ut traditiones divinis oraculis coæquent, imò præferant, et verbum Dei per eas inane reddant. Hinc prima populi istius rejectio, atque hinc pariter ejus obduratio in hunc usque diem.

Summa hujus sectionis hæc est. Post discessum Spiritus Sancti increbuit gradatim nox traditionum, quibus ut oraculis dum crederet gens fatua, et religione sua excidit, et favore Dei. " Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me: frustra autem colunt me, docentes doctrinas, mandata hominum[q]."

§ IV.

Prophetia rediviva. Ejus simia Magia.

Exoriente aurora evangelii, exorta est etiam lux prophetica, et rediit Spiritus Sanctus, radiis quam unquam antea illustrioribus. Nec mirum, cum eluceret ' Sol justitiæ,' et in divino suo lumine et vigore prodiret, gentes omnes illuminaturus.

Non necesse est de donis Spiritus effusis sub temporibus apostolorum loqui, cum ea omnibus sint notæ sacris paginis. Ea imitari nixus est pater deceptionum falsis suis miraculis et oraculis, per Ψευδοχρίστους, Ἀντιχρίστους, et Ψευδοπροφήτας suos editis: de quibus prædixerat veritatis oraculum, Dominus Jesus, et post eum apostoli.

Nam tot et tanta et talia docuerant traditionum patres de regno Christi terreno, pomposo, et fastu terreno turgenti, de excussione tunc temporis jugi Ethnici, et florenti statu Judæorum; ut, cum jam afforet tempus Messiæ a prophetis definitum, exsurgerent plurimi, nomen et titulum prophetarum, imo ipsius Messiæ, sibi vindicantes, populo gaudia promittentes, et ambientes libertatem gentis a jugo Romanorum, et promissa sua miraculis magicis diabolicisque roborantes. Exemplis hujus rei innumeris scatent paginæ sacræ, et Talmudicæ. Quæ ipsissima res contra ipsos testimonio esse possit, tunc exsurrecturum verum Messiam, quum

[p] Bab. Megil. fol. 3. 1. [q] Mat. xv. 8, 9.

Beatissimus noster Jesus appareret. Nam cum, a cessante multis retro sæculis prophetia, non fuisset qui se sub titulo prophetæ venditaverit, eccur tandem isto sæculo protruserunt se tot sub isto nomine, nisi quod inde opportunitatem se nactos esse sunt opinati, quod tunc temporis expectabatur credebaturque adventus Messiæ?

Prodeunte ergo evangelio, comitata est prophetia; increbuitque indies, donec tandem consignaretur canon Novi Testamenti: et exinde evanuit ut non necessaria, cum jam illuminâsset splendor evangelicus universum terrarum orbem.

§ V.

Excidium Hierosolymitanum, celeberrima Epocha apud Paginas Sacras.

Cum de Spiritus Sancti decessu ab ecclesia Judaica quædam locuti simus, et quemadmodum eam inundarunt traditiones putidæ,—de desolatione ejus infanda, meritò et fataliter sequente, aliquid insuper addere visum est.

Deum habitationem urbemque suam, loca sibi dilectissima olim, tam dira et fatali demolitione diruere, populumque proprium, supra omnes mortales olim carum amatumque, plagis supra mortalium omnium plagas feralibus et tremendis sic exscindere,—non mirum, si hæc a paginis sacris coloribus depingantur atris admodum et luctuosis.

I. Inter quos præcipuus est, et qui oculos animumque maximè afficit, cum describitur istud excidium ac si excidium foret totius universi, et dissolutio compagis totius machinæ mundi in die extremo.

Talia cœlestis oratoriæ schemata sunt ista: "Adspexi terram, et erat תהו ובהו vacua et informis; et cœlos, et non erat lux in eis. Vidi montes, et ecce movebantur, et omnes colles conturbati sunt. Intuitus sum, et non erat homo, et omne volatile cœli recessit[r]." Crederes totum mundum ad pristinum suum chaos et informitatem relabi; cum nihil aliud hæc verba sibi velint, quam perditionem istius gentis solum et urbis, ut patet lucidissimè in sequentibus. "Adspexi, et ecce Carmelus desertus, et omnes urbes ejus destructæ sunt a facie Domini," &c.

Matt. xxiv. 29, 30: "Sol obscurabitur, et luna non edet splendorem, et stellæ cadent de cœlo, et potestates cœlorum concutientur. Tunc apparebit signum Filii Hominis in cœlo,"

[r] Hierem. iv. 23.

&c. Hæc, inquies, planè dissolutionem totius universi eloquuntur, et extremum judicium. At perpende benè inter alia vers. 34, et extra controversiam est, hæc dici solum de excidio Hierosolymitano: "Amen, dico vobis, Nequaquam præterierit hæc generatio, usque dum hæc omnia fiant."

Ejusdem styli et rhetorices sunt ista, 2 Petr. iii. 10: "Cœli cum stridore præteribunt, elementa vero æstuantia solventur, terraque et quæ in ea sunt opera exurentur," &c. Quis hæc absque omni dubio non intellexerit de conflagratione mundi in die judicii? At confer Deuter. xxxii. 22: "Ignis succensus est in furore meo, et ardebit usque ad inferni novissima: devorabitque terram cum germine suo, et montium fundamenta comburet."—Hagg. ii. 6: "Adhuc unum modicum est, et ego commovebo cœlum, et terram, et mare, et aridam."—Heb. xii. 26: "Ego movebo non solum terram, sed et cœlum." Et observa per elementa intelligi Mosaica, Gal. iv. 9. Col. ii. 20; ut et de quibusnam temporibus apostolus loquatur; et tum non dubitaveris eum non loqui, nisi de conflagratione Hierosolymorum, subversione gentis, et annihilatione œconomiæ Mosaicæ.

Paria sunt ista Apoc. vi. 12, 13: "Sol factus est ut saccus cilicinus, et luna tota facta est ut sanguis; et stellæ cœli ceciderunt: et cœlum recessit, sicut liber convolutus," &c. Ubi si observaveris plagas antecedentes, quibus Deus, secundum frequentissimas comminationes suas, gentem istam perdidit; 'gladium' scilicet, vers. 4; 'famem,' vers. 5: et 'pestem,' vers. 8: contulerisque verba ista, "Et dixerunt montibus et petris, Cadite in nos," &c. cum "Tunc dicere incipient montibus, Cadite in nos, et collibus, Cooperite nos[s]:" elucebit satis per phrasiologias istas intelligi istius gentis et urbis tremendum judicium et excidium.

II. Huic gemina est forma ista loquendi, qua dies tempusque vindictæ istius, et excidii, vocatur 'Dies Domini,' et 'Adventus Christi in nubibus, et gloria,' ac si de extremo judicio foret sermo.

Actor. ii. 20: "Priusquam veniat dies Domini magnus et terribilis." Observetur, ut prophetiam istam Joelis applicet Petrus ad ista tempora, et absque commentario videbis, quid sibi velit per istum 'diem Domini.'

Eodem sensu sumendum est et illud 2 Thess. ii. 2: "Ac si dies Christi appropinquaret."—Nam loquitur apostolus

[s] Luc. xxiii. 30.

illic loci de apostasia grassatura ante excidium gentis, et antichristo Judaico vivis coloribus patefaciendo.

Eodem pertinent hæc et hujusmodi, Mat. xvi. 28: "Sunt ex hic stantibus, qui non gustabunt mortem, donec videant Filium Hominis venientem in regno suo."—Et cap. xix. 28: "Cum sederit Filius Hominis in throno gloriæ suæ, sedebitis et vos in thronis," &c. Et cap. xxiv. 30: "Tunc videbunt Filium Hominis venientem in nubibus," &c. Et Johan. xxi. 22: "Si velim, ut maneat, donec ego veniam, quid illud ad te?"

Idem volunt et ista Heb. x. 37: "Adhuc enim modicum quantumcunque, et qui venturus est, veniet."—Jacob. v. 9: "Ecce Judex stat præ foribus."—Apoc. i. 7: "Ecce venit in nubibus."—Et cap. xxii. 20: "Ego certe venio cito."—Et plura istiusmodi, quæ omnia ad adventum Christi in vindicta contra gentem Judaicam sunt intelligenda.

III. Hisce phrasiologiis consona est ista, qua tempora, excidium istud antecedentia, vocantur אחרית הימים 'ultimi dies,' aut 'ultima tempora,' id est, ultimi dies aut tempora œconomiæ et gentis Judaicæ. Nam illo sensu intelligenda est ista forma locutionis in plerisque sacræ paginæ locis, ubicunque occurrit, si quidem non in omnibus. Ut Isai. ii. 2; Hos. iii. 5; et 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 2 Pet. iii. 3; Atque alibi infinities. Testem provoco Sanctum Petrum, verba Joelis interpretantem, "In ultimis diebus effundam de Spiritu meo," &c. 'Hoc nunc adimpletur,' inquit Petrus; et neutiquam referendum est ad dies ultimos mundi, sed ad dies ultimos Hierosolymæ. Quærisne etiam quinam ultimi isti dies, de quibus apostoli Paulus et Petrus 2 Tim. iii. 1; et 2 Petr. iii. 3? Respondet Sanctus Johannes [1 Johan. ii. 18]; "Multi antichristi jam sunt: unde scimus quod ultimum tempus est."—Et vide 1 Pet. i. 20: "Christus manifestatus est in temporibus hisce ultimis."

Huc spectant etiam ista et istiusmodi: 1 Cor. x. 11; "In nos fines sæculorum devenerunt:"—1 Pet. iv. 7; "Omnium finis imminet," &c.

IV. Pari consonantia tempora, excidium Hierosolymitanum subsequentia, vocantur 'nova creatio,' et 'novi cœli et nova terra.'—Isai. lxv. 17; "Ecce creo novos cœlos et novam terram." Quandonam illud? Perlege caput, et comperies Judæos excisos et rejectos; et exinde est nova ista creatio, mundi videlicet evangelici inter Gentiles. Vide et Isai. li. 16.

Ejusdem sensus sunt ista 2 Petr. iii. 13: "Nos vero, secundum promissionem ejus, expectamus novos cœlos et novam terram:" i. e. 'Conflagratura sunt cœlum et terra, ecclesiæ et Reip. Judaicæ; et elementa Mosaica igne absumentur: at nos, istis absumptis, secundum promissionem istam per Isaiam, expectamus novum sæculum, et novam creationem, status evangelici inter Gentiles: in quo habitabit justificans justitia: cum per fidem justificabuntur illi, qui olim tam longe erant a justitia.' Idem vult Apoc. xxi. 1: "Vidi autem novum cœlum, et novam terram: primum enim cœlum et prima terra præterierunt." Et illud Rom. viii. 19, 20, &c. de mundo Ethnico anhelante et suspirante ad partum novæ creaturæ.

Huc pertinent ea, quæ dicuntur de עולם הבא 'mundo futuro,' cum ad tempora Messiæ referuntur. Nam erat excidium Hierosolymæ τέλος τοῦ αἰῶνος[t], "finis sæculi Judaici' (vel עולם istius, per quod duratura erant Mosaica, de quibus dicitur quod futura erant לעולם) et exinde exordium novi mundi et sæculi, regnante Christo inter Gentiles; et universis gentibus sub sceptro evangelii sui sese submittentibus.

Hic igitur obiter notemus, duriorem esse istam interpretationem, quæ 'in ultimis diebus' vagè et generaliter reddit, 'in diebus evangelii;' ex quo scilicet incepit prædicatio ad finem usque mundi. Durior, inquam, est interpretatio tempora ista, quæ 'novi mundi,' aut 'novæ creationis' titulo insigniuntur, vocare 'ultimos dies.'

§ VI.

Quonam Anno Vespasiani excidium Urbis.

Facile decipi potest lector a verbis Josephi istis; 'Εάλω μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔτει δευτέρῳ τοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἡγεμονίας[u]: "Capta est Hierosolyma anno imperii Vespasiani secundo." Nam non periit Hierosolyma anno Vespasiani secundo, secundum computum, quo anni ejus inscribuntur fastis consularibus; sed secundo jam inchoato anno, ex quo ab exercitu declaratus fuerat imperator.

Et cautè etiam de hoc anno legendus est Tacitus. Fronti libri ejus quarti Historiarum hæc inscribuntur: "Hæc gesta illo ipso anno, cujus pars postrema et consules habuit imp. Vespasianum II. et Titum F."—Et hæc referuntur cap. ix. ad annum U. C. 823; "Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus consulatum absentes inierunt."—Quæ ut planius intelligas,

[t] Matt. xxiv. 3. [u] De Bell. l. 7. c. 47.

retrosilias paulum per spatium anni et dimidii ad mortem Neronis. Nam turbida ista tempora, quæ intercesserunt inter obitum Neronis et imperium Vespasiani, non solum totum orbem bellis et tumultibus inquietarunt, sed et ipsos fastos confusis numeris et nominibus. Unde cautè, et ut historicum decuit, Dion Cassius[v]: "A morte Neronis usque ad principatum Vespasiani annus intercessit, diesque viginti duo. Ἔγραψα δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ μή τινας ἀπατηθῆναι, &c. Quod idcirco scribendum putavi, ne errore ducerentur ii, qui numerum temporis ad eos, qui principatum obtinuerunt, referrent. Non enim sibi successere invicem; sed vivo adhu et regnante altero, quisque eorum se tum imperatorem esse credidit, quum primum in ipsum quasi prospectâsset imperium. Itaque dies eorum non ex successione mutua numerandi sunt, sed accurata exactaque ratione temporis."

Extinctus[w] igitur est Nero quarto Idus Junii, sub Coss. C. Silio Italico et Marco Valerio Trachalo[x]. "Non minus mirum ostentum cognovit nostra ætas anno Neronis supremo, pratis oleisque intercedente via publica in contrarias sedes transgressis, in agro Marrucino, prædiis Vectii Marcelli, res Neronis procurantis."

Galba eum excipiens, secundum Dionem, regnavit menses ix. dies xiii; hoc est, ab eo tempore, quo primum declaratus est imperator ab exercitu, vivente adhuc Nerone. At accuratius, secundum Suetonium et Eutropium, periit mense imperii sui septimo: ipso scilicet initio novi anni, mense Januario. Et turbidus hic annus tria habuit consulum paria, et quatuor imperatores.

Initium anni insignitum est Coss. Serg. Galba imp. II. et Tito Vinio Crispino: at statim ab initio anni perit Galba.

Galba occiso, atque Othone et Vitellio pro imperio conflictantibus, substituuntur consules, Quinctius Atticus, et Cn. Cæcilius Simplex.

Regnavit Otho dies nonaginta; et, devictus a Vitellio, propria manu se confodit, circa finem Aprilis. Et jam securum se de imperio arbitratur Vitellius, cum calendis Julii Vespasianus declaratur imperator a legionibus in Ægypto, et V. Julii in Judæa.

Et jam conquassatur bello civili totum imperium. Diripitur ipsa Roma; et incendio perit Capitolium. At tandem perit etiam Vitellius, Decembr. iii.

[v] Dion Cass. l. 66. [w] Vid. Baron. An. Christ. lxx. [x] Plin. l. 2. c. 88.

Suffecti illico sunt Coss. Vespasianus et Titus absentes. Et exacto isto mense, et calendis Januariis jam adventantibus, continuatur consulatus eorum in annum sequentem. Iste ergo annus Fastis inscribitur 'annus primus Vespasiani.'

Verè itaque dicitur quidem a Josepho, quod excisa est Hierosolyma anno ejus secundo; nempe ex quo declaratus est imperator. Ast annus ejus erat primus post mortem Vitellii, et secundum computum fastorum.

§ VII.

Compendium anni cladis Hierosolymitanæ.

Istius anni, istiusque cladis hoc accipe compendium.

Orto[x] jam vere, Vespasianus et Titus Alexandria discedunt; ille Romam versus, hic ad bellum Judaicum.

[y] April. 8. lux prodigiosa altare circumfulget nocte.

[z] Obsessæ ad festum paschatis Hierosolymæ. Vacca vitulum enixa ad altare. Porta templi orientalis *αὐτομάτως* aperta.

[a] Mai. 7. primus murus capitur.

[b] Maj. 12. incipiunt Romani *χώματα* conficere.

[c] Maj. 21. currus et phalanges apparent in æthere.

[d] Maj. 25. Rabban Simeon, præses Synhedrii, et R. Ananias, sagan sacerdotum, interficiuntur, si modo interfecti hoc anno. Ananiam istum ego eundem esse suspicor cum acerbo judice Pauli. Actor. xxii.

[e] Jun. Festo Pentecostes auditur vox è templo, "Migremus hinc."

[f] Jul. 1. a prima urbis obsidione ad hunc diem, efferuntur ab una porta 115880 mortui. [g] Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai vivus effertur ac si mortuus, et sic aufugit ad Cæsarem.

[h] Jul. 5. arx Antonia capitur.

[i] August. 9. conflagrat templum vesperi, et10. absumitur.

[j] Septembr. 8. urbs perit, [k]die sabbati. Et referentibus Judæis, a Turno, aut Terentio Rufo, foditur tandem aratro.

[x] Joseph. de Bell. l. 4. c. 42. [y] Ibid. l. 6. c. 31. [z] Ibid. l. 5. c. 11.
[a] Ibid. c. 20. [b] Ibid. c. 30. [c] Ibid. l. 6. c. 31.
[d] Juchas. fol. 57. [e] Ibid. l. 6. c. 30. [f] Ibid. l. 6. c. 37.
[g] Avoth R. Nathan. c. 4. [h] Jos. ubi ante, l. 6. c. 6. [i] Ibid. c. 22, 23.
[j] Ibid. c. 24. [k] Dion Cass. l. 66.

ACADEMIÆ*

JAFNENSIS HISTORIA

CHRONOLOGICÈ DISTRIBUTA.

Fragmentum.

[See pp. 388—391.]

Excisis Hierosolymis, a Tito victore impetravit Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, ut Jabneh Synhedrium iterum reciperet, retineretque. Quo ab eo concesso, præsedit illic primo ipse Jochanan; et post eum Rabban Gamaliel secundus, Simeonis filius; ac post eum R. Akibah. Claruitque hic locus præ omnibus Academiæ sedibus, excepta solum novissima Tiberiade.

Ita ut כרם ביבנה[a] "Vinea Jafnensis" in adagium abierit. שהיו וישבים שורות שורות ככרם "Quòd consideant seriatim instar vineæ." Referturque[b] "tercentenas scholarium classes illic extitisse, vel ad minimum octoginta." Distabat Jabneh (de qua etiam mentio 2. Paralip. xxvi. 6.) ab Azoto duabus Parsis, id est, octo milliaribus: vocataque est tandem איבלין Ivolin[c]. Quem titulum civitati Gath attribuunt nonnulli.

Liceat hic aliquantum exspatiari in historiam Jafnensem, et syllabo brevi tempora Synhedrii illic stati compaginare.

Christi 70. *Vespas.* 1.—Flammis perit templum ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ Λώου μηνὸς, "Die[d] decima mensis Augusti." Quod tamen scriptores Hebraici uno ore כתשעה באב[e] 'Ad nonum mensis Ab' adscribunt, non ad decimum. Quem nodum sic solvit Gemara Babylonica: [f]"Nono (inquiunt), cum jam advesperasceret, flammas templo admoveret, quæ per totum diem decimum exarserunt. Ecce etiam quid dicat Rabban Jochanan, Si ego non vixissem in isthoc ipso sæculo, non adjudicassem nisi ad diem decimum, in quo maxima pars templi est absorpta." Quæ et adducit glossator in Maimonidem, hæc insuper addens: [g]"Apud Talmud quoque Hierosolymitanum Rabbi N. et R. Joshua Ben Levi jejunarunt diebus et decima et nona."

* This tract is taken from Leusden's edition of Lightfoot, vol. 3. p. 87.

[a] Jebamoth, cap. 8. et R. Sal. ibi. [b] Hieros. Taanith. fol. 67. 4.

[c] R. Benjamin, in Itinerario. [d] Joseph. de Bello lib. 6. 26.

[e] Taanith. cap. 4. hal. 7. et Maimon. ibi. cap. 5. [f] Bab. in Taanith. fol. 29. 1.

[g] Gloss. in Maim. in Taanith. cap. 5.

Excisa est urbs[g] octavo Septembris[h], die sabbati.

Christi 71. *Vespas.* 2. *Jochanan* 1.—RABBAN JOCHANAN[i] Ben Zaccai.—Johannes, Actor. iv. 6.

Synhedrium magnum collocatur in Jabneh, [j]impetrante illud Rabban Jochanane a Tito.

Turnus[k] Rufus (Josepho[l], Terentius Rufus Ἄρχων τῆς στρατιᾶς) aream urbis et templi fodit aratro.

Periclitatur Rabban Gamaliel, filius Rabban Simeonis, in excidio urbis pereuntis. De qua re historiam habes miram, si modo veram, in locis[m] ad marginem notatis.

Rabban[n] Jochanan instituit cantum tubæ in Jabneh in initio anni.

Christi 72. *Vespas.* 3. *Jochanan* 2.—Considerent et versantur cum Rabban Jochanane in Jabneh,

I. Filii[o] Betiræ, ætate maximè provecti; si modo iidem illi fuere, [p]qui Hillelem in principatum præfecerunt, quod creditur.

II. Rabbi Eliezer Ben Erech. De quo[q] alta encomia eduntur a Rabban Jochanane, et interpretantem eum audierunt mystica de curru divino Ezechielis.

III. Rabbi[r] Eliezer filius Hyrcani; auctor libri, qui inscribitur 'Pirke Eliezer;' ubi eorum nomina invenias, qui cum eo coætanei fuere, et qualis fuerit tunc temporis Judæorum theologia.

Uxorem[s] is duxit Imma Shalom, filiam Rabban Simeonis, qui periit in excidio. Uxorique prædixit mortem discipuli cujusdam coram se docentis: quod et evenit.

IV. Rabbi Joshua Ben Hananiah, Levita[t] et præcentor olim in templo: dissentiens ut plurimum a R. Eliezer.

V. R. Zadok, et R. Eliezer filius ejus. Iste R. Zadok nimiis jejuniis se confecit, ex eo tempore, quo portæ templi per se sunt apertæ. Medicis Titi usus est, impetrante illud Rabban Jochanane.

VI. Ben Bucri. Introducitur ille cum Rabban Jochanane colloquens in Jabneh, loco ad marginem[u] allegato.

VII. R. Ismael, R. Josi, R. Simeon Ben Nathaniel, pluri-

[g] Joseph. de Bello, lib. 6. 42.
[h] Dion Cass. lib. 66.
[i] See Section iii, of the Parergon, p. 387 of this volume.
[j] Aboth R. Nathan. cap. 4.
[k] Taanith. cap. 4. hal. 7.
[l] Joseph. de Bell. lib. 7. cap. 7.
[m] Bab. Taanith. fol. 29. 1. Juchas. fol. 53. 2.
[n] Rosh Hashanah. cap. 4. hal. 1.
[o] Juchas. fol. 14.
[p] Hieros. Pesachin. fol. 33. 1.
[q] Hieros. Chagig. fol. 77. 1.
[r] Pirke Eliezer, cap. 1, &c.
[s] Hieros. Gittin. fol. 43. 3.
[t] Juchas. fol. 59.
[u] Shekalim, cap. 1. hal. 4.

mique alii, de quibus auctor Juchasin sparsim, et Tsemach David, aliique.

Christi 73—5. *Vespas.* 4—6. *Jochanan* 3—5.—De tempore præfecturæ Rabban Jochananis controvertitur. Sunt, qui[v] duos tantum annos ei attribuant: suntque qui[w] quinque. Quibuscum et nos pedibus in sententiam imus.

Liceat verba ejus jam morientis addere, prout recitatur historia a suis: " Cum[x] jam languesceret Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, accesserunt discipuli eum visitatum. Quos videns ille, incepit flere. Cui illi, 'ô Candela Israelis, Columna dextra, Mallee strenue, unde illæ lacrymæ?' Quibus ille, 'Si me adducturi essent coram rege carnis et sanguinis, qui hodie hic est, et cras in sepulchro, si ille mihi irasceretur, ira ejus non est sempiterna: si ille me in vincula conjiciat, vincula ejus non sunt æterna: si me occidat, occisio ista non est æterna: possemque forsan aut verbis placare, aut mollire munere. At me adducturi sunt coram Rege regum, Domino Sancto Benedicto, qui vivit et permanet in sæcula, atque in sæcula sæculorum. Qui si mihi succenseat, ira ejus est æterna; si me vinciat, vinculum ejus est æternum; si me occidat, occisio ejus est æterna. Quemque non possum vel verbis placare, vel mollire munere. Atque insuper sunt coram me duæ viæ, altera ad paradisum, altera ad Gehennam: nescio ego qua via sint me ducturi. Nonne igitur flerem?'" Ah miseram ac languentem Pharisæi in morte fiduciam!

Christi 76. *Vespas.* 7. *Gamaliel* 1.—Rabban Gamaliel[y] de Jabneh. Quare ille ab interprete Tsemach David vocetur 'Rabban Gamaliel Dibanah,' apertè profiteor me non attingere; ipse loquatur.

Hujus Rabban Gamalielis infinita mentio apud Talmudicos. Occidendus[z] cum patre suo R. Simeone, intercedente R. Jochanane Ben Zaccai liberatus est. Quæsitus[a] etiam ad necem, cum Turnus Rufus aream templi aratro foderet, liberatus est more vix credendo.

Christi 77. *Vespas.* 8. *Gamaliel* 2—In[b] Jabneh sedens, pragmaticum admodum se exhibuit, et severum: ita ut R. Akibam, præfectum tunc temporis scholæ Lyddensis, præfectura sua amoveret.

Christi 78. *Vespas.* 9. *Gamaliel* 3.—Amotus est ipse tandem præfectura sua; aut saltem effrænatæ illius superbiæ, se-

[v] Vid. Juchas. fol. 20. 22. [w] Tsemach David.
[x] Bab. Beracoth. fol. 28. 2. [y] See Section iv, p. 388 of this volume.
[z] Juchas. fol. 53. 2. [a] Bab. Taanith. fol. 29. 1. [b] Rosh Hashanah. cap. 1. hal. 7.

veritati, ac πολυπραγμοσύνῃ injecta sunt lora,—pro eo, aut supra eum, in Synhedrio collocato R. Eleazaro Ben Azariæ. De qua re exstat historia [b] loco ad marginem notato.

Obit Vespasianus, anno imperii sui decimo, VIII. kalend Julii, cum decem annos regnasset, 6 diebus minus[c].

Christi 80. *Titi* 1. *Gamaliel* 5.—Vespasiano defuncto, succedit in imperio filius ejus Titus.

Christi 81. *Titi* 2. *Gamaliel* 6.—Obit Titus idib. Septembr.; quem excepit frater ejus Domitianus.

Christi 82. *Domitian.* 1. *Gamaliel* 7.—Conclamatum est de Rabban Gamaliele: ut et de præfectura R. Eleazari Ben Azariæ. Nam hinc porro adscribuntur anni R. Akibæ. Juvenis admodum jam fuit Eleazar ben Azariæ, at senilis valde gravitatis, [d] imo et canorum, si referentibus fides: vixitque diu post hæc tempora. At absorptus est temporum ejus calculus inter tempora R. Akibæ.

Sub Gamaliele prodiit execranda ista orationis formula, quam ברכת מנים "Orationem contra Hæreticos" nuncuparunt, a Samuele Parvo inventa, at sancita a Gamaliele. Est ubi ברכת עדוקין 'Oratio in Sadducæos' vocatur, at sapit nimium in Christianos esse confectam.

RABBI AKIBAH[e].

Christi 83. *Domitian.* 2. *Akibah* 1.—Computum temporum hic sic colligimus. Constans[f] est Judæorum sententia, periisse civitatem 'Bitter' (ut vulgo scribitur) anno post excidium templi quinquagesimo secundo. Atque æque constans est sententia, sedisse R. Akibam[g] præfectum annos quadraginta, atque obiisse cum civitate Bitter. Hinc est quod duodecim tantum annos præfectis prænominatis attribuimus, ut quadraginta suos habeat R. Akibah. De eo infinita mentio apud Talmudicos. Nos hæc pauca excerpemus: "R. Akibah, filius Joseph proselyti justitiæ, fuit maximus inter sapientes: fuit è posteris Siseræ. Ministravit Nachumo Gamzu annis viginti duobus[h]," &c.

[b] Hieros. Taanith, fol. 67. 4.
[c] Dion.
[d] Gloss. in Bab. Beracoth. fol. 12. 2.
[e] See p. 390 of this vol.
[f] Juchas. fol. 35. 2.
[g] Id. Ibid.
[h] Juchas. fol. 38 et 66.

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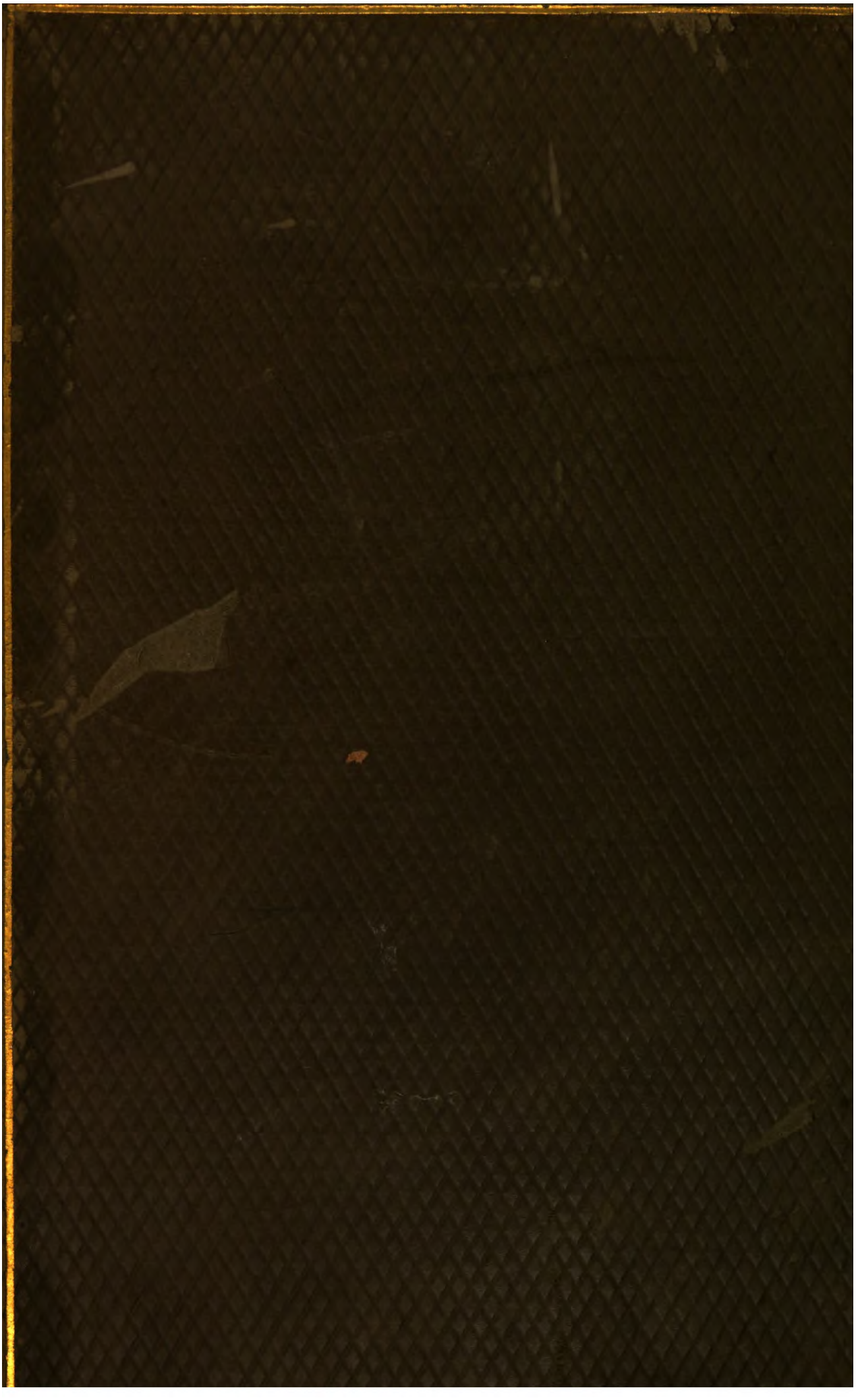
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