

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 IX.

CONTAINING

THE TEMPLE-SERVICE:

AND

THE PROSPECT OF THE TEMPLE.

LONDON:

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SOLD BY HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; W. CLARKE, NEW BOND STREET;
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AND SON, HARLEY STREET; J. BOOTH, DUKE STREET, PORTLAND PLACE;
R. BAYNES, IVY LANE; J. PARKER, OXFORD; DEIGHTON AND SONS; AND
J. HATT, CAMBRIDGE.

MDCCCXXIII.

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MDCCCXXIII.

INSIGNISSIMO^a CELEBERRIMOQUE VIRO,
DOMINO GULIELMO LENTHALLO,

HONORATISSIMI SENATUS PARLIAMENTARI ORATORI,
SIVE PROLOCUTORI DIGNISSIMO.

CUM primum 'Templo Hierosolymitano' rebusque Templi describendis animum manumque addicerem, satis compertum habui, cum quantis et prope insuperabilibus laboribus, difficultatibus, et tædiis esset colluctandum. Templum ipsum e ruinarum suarum cineribus et pulvere erat scalpendum quasi, effodiendum, atque erigendum: cultus ibidem olim adhibitus, sub tot ætatum quæ intercesserunt, mole atque aggere sepultus, e ruinosis Judæorum monumentis, libris abstrusis, atque (ut vulgo habentur) æruginosus, erat eruendus. Operi istiusmodi atque effossioni, quantum ego impar atque impotens, effatu nostro non est opus: plus nimio loquitur misellum hoc volumen, ac abunde ipse mihi conscius. Non potui tamen non aliquid, in re tam arduâ, et supra vires licet, audere et tentare [audax nimium, quòd tantum opus, tantillus opifex, sim aggressus]; non quod sperarem me omnia indagari posse, quæ ad res illas tam antiquas, vel ad intelligendas, vel describendas essent satis; sed quod non desperarem, me aliqua exhibiturum, quæ de hisce rebus, non sæpe admodum antea tractatis, lectori vel aliquantulum satisfacerent, vel saltem parum displicerent.

Quod autem huic primæ meæ audaciæ, in opere et onere tali suscipiendo, secundam jam sim additu-

^a Not in the English folio-edition.

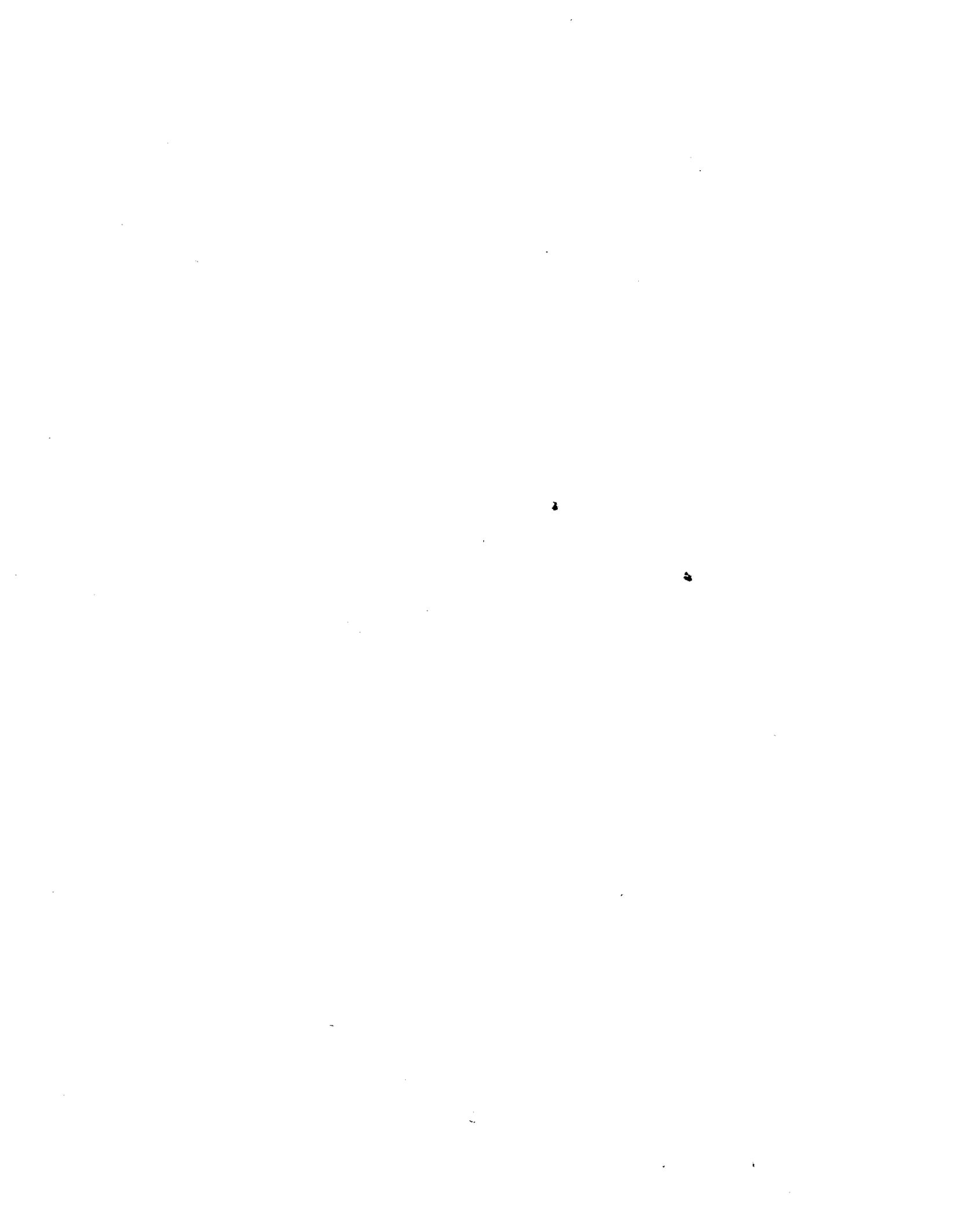
rus, dum nomini vestro, Vir clarissime, lineas tam exiles, libellum tantillum dicare ausim et offerre,—hoc habeo tantum quod dicam: opus esse libello tali patrocínio, indignus licet sit libellus tali patrono; et velle me hoc munusculum esse observantiæ meæ erga Amplitudinem vestram indicium, cùm majus aliquid non habeam quod offeram, sit licet hoc munusculum tam impar nomini vestro, ut non par sit etiam meæ observantiæ. Est tamen quod curam meam et ægritudinem de tenuitate munusculi hujus non parum soletur, quòd nempe res mihi jam sit (de oblatione literaria sollicito) cum viro bonarum literarum, præsertim vero Orientalium, egregio fautore et patrono. Liceat memorare zelum, curam, et ardorem, quo ad publicum illud commodum literarium promovendum, efferebatur Amplitudo vestra, cum nobilem illum penum librorum Hebraicorum aliorumque Orientalium Academiæ Cantabrigiensi, indulisit et largitus est honoratissimus Senatus. Quanto studio, quanta sedulitate, insigne illud opus promoveres, non opus est, et parum est, me loqui: loquitur res ipsa, loquitur Senatus, loquitur Academia, loquentur posteri. Libelli hujus dicandi audaciam [qui sub manibus tunc erat] ex illo ipso tempore, ex illo vestro erga talia studia studio, zelo, ac affectu ingenuè fateor me arripuisse. Ignoscat idem candor et affectus audaciæ isti, inde ortæ:—pergat reipublicæ literariæ bene velle et bene facere:—observantiam meam boni consulat, meque inter servos suos ascribere dignetur

Amplitudinis Vestræ observantissimum

J. L.

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Subscribers are requested to direct their respective Binders to attach the following Dedication to the beginning of the ninth volume,—“*The Prospect of the Temple-Service,*” &c.



THE
TEMPLE-SERVICE,

AS IT STOOD IN

The Days of our Saviour:

DESCRIBED OUT OF THE SCRIPTURES,

AND THE EMINENTEST

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

TO
THE READER.

IT was my desire, and so it was my hope, that this poor Treatise should not have gone abroad into the world, so thinly and so lonely, as it doth, but that it would have had a mate to have gone forth with it, which was bred, and born, and grew up with it, even till the time that it should go forth: but then it stumbled at the threshold, got a lameness, and so was forced to stay at home. My design, in reference to the affairs of the Temple, when first I undertook a work of that nature, was first to describe the place, and to give the character and platform of the Temple itself, and then to have something to say about the service. And, accordingly, with no small pains and study, out of the Scripture, and the highest antiquities of the Jews, I drew up, in a large tractate and discourse,—as, also, in a very large map and figure,—a full, plain, punctual, and exact prospect and description (if I may have liberty to say so much of mine own work) of the Temple at Jerusalem, especially as it stood in those times, when our Saviour himself, in human flesh, did resort thither: its situation, dimensions, platform, fabric, and furniture, both within and without: the walls, gates, courts, cloisters, chambers, and buildings that were about it: the altar, lavers, stations for men, slaughter-places for beasts, and all the offices belonging to it: with observation of all, or most of, those places in either Testament, that speak concerning it, or any of the parts of it. A delineation so copious and plain, of all the particulars in that holy ground, that, had it had the hap to have come to the public view, I should not have feared to have made the reader the judge and censor, upon the nature and use of the thing; and whether it might have proved of any benefit and advantage, yea or no.

But that hap of becoming public, is not happened to it: for the schemetical delineation of the temple, and of the

buildings about it, in the map, and the verbal description of them in the written tract, do so mutually face, and interchangeably refer one to the other (the map helping to understand the description in the book, and the book helping to understand the delineation in the map), that they may not be sent forth into public apart, or one without the other, but must needs appear (if ever they appear) both together. For this purpose have I waited very many months, since book and map were both finished (nay, many months before I would suffer this present tract to go to the press), for the engraving or cutting of the map in brass, that it might be printed; and so it, and that treatise, and this, might have come forth at once, as it was my desire and mine intention. But I have so far failed of my desire and expectation, and find so little fruit of all my long waiting, that, to this very hour, I have not obtained so much as the least hope of the map's engraving at all, or the least probability when it will be begun. I have, therefore, laid both those aside in suppression, the one to wait for the speeding of the other (if that will ever be), and both to see how this speeds which is sent abroad, which, it may be, had been as good to have stayed at home as they do, and not to have been so forward. That rests in the reader's manner of entertainment, courtesy or censure: I shall not use many words, to court the one, or deprecate the other: learned ingenuity will be courteous, though not flattered; and proud or unlearned censoriousness will be crabbed, unless I would be a spaniel: and, it may be, I should be then kicked too. I shall only say thus much of what I have done:—I have desired to benefit, and I have spared no pains. I have walked in paths very rugged and very untrodden: if I have stumbled or erred, it is no wonder: the way full of difficulty, and I of human frailty: and as for many things, which I have left not explained, as, it may be, the reader would have desired,—it was, because I supposed all along, as I drew up this tract, that the other would have come forth with it, in which divers things, which will be thought wanting here, are more fully handled and supplied.

J. L.

London, *May* 30, 1649.

A
PROSPECT
OF
THE TEMPLE-SERVICE^a.

CHAP. I.

Of the different holiness of the several parts of the Temple.

THE degrees of the holiness of places among the Jews, by their own reckoning, were these eleven^b :—

1. *The land of Israel was more holy than other lands.* Not to mention the many appropriations, fixed to that land by them, which they will have no other land under heaven to partake of (as that the spirit of prophecy^c, ordination^d, appointing the new moons^e, &c. should be no where else), these two or three peculiarities they observe by name, as proper only to that very soil and no other :—that the omer, or first reaped sheaf, and other first-fruits that were to be offered, and the two loaves of shew-bread, which were to stand continually before the Lord,—might not be taken and made of the corn of any country under heaven, but only of the corn that grew in the land of Israel.

2. *Walled cities were more holy than the rest of the land :* for, 1. Lepers were not suffered to be in them, but were turned out, 2 Kings vii. 2, 3 : and this their turning out was called שלוח 'Shilluah^f : ' and it may be possibly, the fountain Siloam took its name from such a thing, it being without the city, a place whither such poor creatures were sent. 2. A dead body, carried out of the walls, might not be brought in again : מוסבבים בתוכה עך מזה שרצו they might carry it up and down in the city, as they thought good ; but, if it were once carried out of the gates, it might not be brought in again. 3. A dead corpse was not to be buried within the walls, Luke

^a *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 897.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 673.

^b *Kelim*, cap. 1. *Maim.* in *Beth Habbechirab*, cap. 1.

^c *R. Sol.* in *Jonah* i.

^d *Maimon.* in *Sanhed.* cap. 4.

^e *Idem* in *Kiddush h'hdosh.* cap. 1. et cap. 5.

^f *Maimon.* in *Biath Mikdash*, cap. 3.

vii. 12.—And “none [saith Rabbi Nathan^g] were buried within the walls of Jerusalem, but the kings of the house of David, and the prophetess Huldah.”

3. *Within Jerusalem was holier than within any other walled city*; for there they might eat the peace-offerings^h, the first-fruits, and the second tithe,—which they might not eat in any city else whatsoever: and there alone (while Jerusalem was theirs) did they eat the passover.

4. *The Mountain of the Temple was more holy than Jerusalem*; for זבים וזבות נדות ויולדות men or women, that had issues or fluxes,—and women, that were unclean in their ‘menstruisⁱ,’ and upon child-bearing,—might not come in thither; yet such^j were in Jerusalem continually. And the reason of this their restraint, was, because “they made that unclean, that either they sat or lay upon, yea, even the place where they stood^k;” which, in this circumstance, was a deeper defiling, than defiling by the dead; for a dead corpse might, if there were occasion, be brought in hither;—as to save the dead body of an eminent person from violence, and as they give the example of Moses carrying the bones of Joseph with him, even within the camp of Levi: but one of these unclean persons might not come in here.

5. *The חיל ‘Chel,’ or alley, was holier than the mountain of the house*; for strangers and those that were defiled by the dead, might not come within it; which they might do into the other. By ‘strangers,’ here, we are not to understand proselytes, that were circumcised and baptized; for they were as Israelites to all purposes;—but ‘strangers’ were such, as were of other nations, that were not come to that conformity with the Jews in religion; were they ‘proselytes of the gate,’ or were they strangers in the most proper sense. For we shall observe hereafter, that even Gentiles unproselyted, yea, while they were yet idolaters, might, and did sometimes, bring their offerings to the temple, and so might come into ‘the Mountain of the House;’ and hence, that is ordinarily called among Christian writers, ‘the Court of the Gentiles.’ But though they might come within ‘the Mountain of the House,’ yet might they not enter into the ‘Chel’ upon pain of death; which was signified to them by inscriptions

^g Avoth R. Nathan, cap. 34.

^h Rambam in Kelim, cap. 1.

ⁱ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 898.

^j Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 674.

^k Maimon. ubi supr.

upon pillars at the entrance into it,—as is observed in its place.

And from hence rose that tumult against Paul, Acts xxi; who being himself, and four others, attending upon their purification, in the court of the women, shaving their heads and burning their hair in the Nazarites' room, and doing what was to be done by those whose vow was out; a hubbub ariseth upon supposal, that one of the four had been a Gentile,—namely, Trophimus, an Ephesian,—whom they had seen walking with Paul in the city: and indignity was taken at this, as if Paul had brought in a stranger within the הל' hel.'

6. *The Court of the Women was more holy than the הל' :* for טבול יום 'Tibul iom' might not come in thither; that is, whosoever was defiled with such an uncleanness, as required his washing, and the sun going down, before he was clean; though he had washed, yet if the sun were not set, he or she might not come in there.

7. *The court of Israel was more holy than the court of the women^k,* for מחוסרי כפורים they might not enter into it, that were, indeed, acquitted from their uncleanness, but had not as yet their atonement made for their purification. "There^l were four sorts of these; the leper; a man that had an issue; a woman that had been in her separation; and she that had born a child." As for the women^m, they might not go into the court at all, unless it wereⁿ, when they brought a sacrifice: but men who were capable of going in at other times, yet might they not enter the court in this condition, till their atonement made.

8. *The court of the priests was more holy than the court of Israel:* for no Israelite might come in there but upon necessity: and that was on these three occasions^o,—either for the laying of his hands upon the head of the sacrifice to be slain; or for slaying of it; or for waving of some part of it being killed.

9. *Between the porch and the altar was more holy than the lower part of the court:* for even no priest might come there, that had a blemish,—or bareheaded, that is, without his bonnet, or without his veil: for they used the covering of their

^k Id. ubi supra, et Kelim, cap. 1.

^l Id. in Mechosere Kapparah, cap. 1.

^m Joseph. de Bell. 5. cap. 14.

ⁿ Tosapha in Erachim, cap. 2.

^o Piske Tosaph. ad Mid.

heads as one most solemn rite in their greatest devotions, as shall be showed afterward.

10. *The Temple was more holy than that:* because none might go in thither, unless with washed hands and feet: which up and down the court they might more tolerably do with both unwashed, if they did not meddle with some part of the service.

11. *The oracle, or within the veil, was most holy of all:* because that none might go in thither, but only the high-priest; and that but one day in the year only.

Thus many risings and degrees of holiness were in that land, and in these places,—now, and many hundreds of years ago, raked up in as many, and many more degrees of misery, defilement, and desolation: the blinded nation despising the life and marrow of those holy things, whereby these places received all their holiness and honour; and so losing the things, places, and holiness itself.

The Jews do parallel Jerusalem and the Temple, to the camp of Israel in the wilderness and the tabernacle, in these proportions:—“From^p the gates of Jerusalem to the Mountain of the House, was the camp of Israel. From the gate of the Mountain of the House, to the gate of Nicanor, the camp of Levi: and from the gate of Nicanor inward, the camp of the divine Glory.”

SECT. I^a.

How the unclean were kept from the temple.

UPON the observation of what persons were prohibited access to the temple, lest they should defile it, two things methodically do come to hand, to be considered thereupon, as referring to it; and those are, 1. What course was taken for the prohibiting of the unclean from coming there: and, 2. What was the penalty of those^r that were in their uncleanness, yet would dare to come.

The former inquiry is not of so easy resolution as is the latter; and the reason is, because thousands of persons might come, that were not in a fit case to have come thither; and yet it was impossible, without immodesty and incivility, unless it were by oath, to discover in what case they were.

^p R. Sol. in Kelim, cap. 1. Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 7.

^q English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 899.

^r Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 675.

There were, indeed, porters and guards at the gates; but thousands of unclean persons might pass them, and they never the wiser, unless they should have put the passengers to an oath; which, I believe, was never yet dreamed of by any writer, that hath handled the Jews' customs. Men in issues of blood or seed, and women in their ordinary or extraordinary fluxes, could neither be discerned by their face in what case they were; nor do we find, that they were ever at all examined, much less sworn or searched. They might repel and keep back, indeed, what or whosoever carried with them visible defiling,—as, one that appeared to be a leper, one that came with things about him, that might not be brought into the temple: or they might keep back those, that would go beyond their bounds: or they might have an eye to any, that came suspiciously either to steal or to disturb the service: or they might check those, that showed any lightness at their coming in, or being entered: or they might direct those, that were not well acquainted with the place, what to do and how to behave themselves there: or they might admonish all that came, to take heed of coming there, if they were unclean: but as for keeping out all, that were in any uncleanness, and such as whereby the place might receive defilement,—it was a thing so far impossible, that it is far from being imaginable. A man might have touched a dead corpse; or might have touched a woman in her separation; or suffered gonorrhœa in the night; or twenty such-like cases as these;—and he cometh to enter into the temple,—and no one in the world knew, how the case was with him but himself: how should this man be possibly discovered or restrained, unless it were by the spirit of prophecy, or by giving him an oath? which power we never read the porters to have had; nor is there any ground or colour to suppose such a thing.

The security of the place, therefore, from such pollutions, lay more in the severity of the penalties, that were sentenced against and inflicted upon those, that were apprehended offenders in this kind,—than it did in any possible care, or practical prevention, they could use, that they should not come there: and as the rigour and strictness of laws, and execution upon offenders, in other cases, is the surest prevention of such offences, the like was the way of caution and prevention here.

SECT. II.

*Penalties doomed upon unclean persons found in the Temple :
Death by the hand of Heaven ; and Cutting-off.*

FOUR sad and severe punishments [for ‘punishments’ I cannot but call them all] were severally allotted, two in sentence or doom, and two in execution, upon those, that, presumingly, by their uncleanness, did violate the holiness of the place and service; some, upon one degree of offending; and some, upon another. And those were these :

מיתת ביד שמים death by the hand of Heaven.

כרת cutting-off.

מלקות whipping.

מכות מרדות the rebel’s beating.

1. There is a penalty, of which the Jews do speak exceeding often, due, as they hold, to divers sorts of offenders; and, amongst other, to some of those, that we are speaking of,—namely, such as, being unclean, yet would, for all that, go into the temple; and they do call it, ‘death by the hand of Heaven’ [or ‘by the hand of God’s,’ for they do very commonly call ‘God’ ‘Heaven’]. “An unclean person (saith Maimonides^t), that serveth in the sanctuary, profaneth his service, and is guilty of death by the hand of Heaven, though he stay not there.” And again^u; “A priest, that serveth and washeth not his hands and feet in the^v morning, he is guilty of death by the hand of Heaven.”—And again^w: “Men or women with fluxes, women in their separation and upon childbirth, or one unclean by a creeping thing or by a carcass, or the like, may not deal with the service, nor go into the court: but if they do, they are liable to cutting-off for their going in thither, and to death by the hand of Heaven for their serving.” And divers other instances and examples might be given in other delinquencies and offences, to which ‘death by the hand of Heaven’ is doomed as the proper punishment of them; but these may be sufficient to our present purpose.

2. There is likewise as frequent mention, if not more, among the Hebrew writers, of another doom or penalty upon divers offenders [and, amongst others, upon those of whom we are speaking, who would go into the temple in

^{*} Vid. Eli. Levit. in Tisbi in שמות.

^t Maimon. in Biath Mikdash, cap. 4.

^u Ibid. cap. 5.

^v English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 900.

^w Maimon. cap. 4:

their uncleanness, knowing how the case was with them], which they call כרת 'kereth,' or 'cutting-off.' And the Talmud, in the treatise Kerithuth, which bears the name from this very subject, doth reckon up six-and-thirty offences, to which, if wilfully committed, this penalty accrued. It may not be amiss to give the matter at large in their own words; and that the rather, because we have not only some occasion to look after them now, but shall have again also^w, when we come to treat concerning sin-offerings, which were a part of their service;—and which, as we shall see then, and even in the words now before us, had somewhat to say to the matter of 'cutting-off.' Their words^x are these:

“ There are six-and-thirty cuttings-off in the law: He that lieth with his mother, or his father's wife, or his daughter-in-law, or with a male, or with a beast: or a woman lying with a beast: or a man lying with a woman and her daughter, or with another man's wife, or with his own sister, or his father's sister, or his mother's sister, or his wife's sister, or his brother's wife, or his father's brother's wife, or with a woman in her separation: or he that blasphemeth, or committeth idolatry, or giveth his seed to Molech, or useth sorcery, or profaneth the sabbath, or eateth holy things in his uncleanness, or that cometh into the sanctuary, he being unclean: or that eateth fat or blood, or what is left of the sacrifice, or any sacrificed thing not offered in season, or that killeth or offereth up a sacrifice out of the court, or that eateth leaven at the Passover, or that eateth aught on the day of expiation, or doth any work on it: or that makes oil or incense like the holy, or that anoints with holy oil: that delayeth the Passover or circumcision, for which there are affirmative precepts: all these, if done wilfully, are liable to 'cutting-off;' and, if done ignorantly, then to the fixed sin-offering: and, if it be unknown, whether he did it or no, then to a suspensive trespass-offering: but only he that defiles the Sanctuary and its holy things; for he is bound to an ascending or descending offering.”

Now, that we may the better understand, what 'death by the hand of Heaven,' and 'cutting-off' mean,—we are first to take notice, that neither of them was any penalty inflicted by the hand or sentence of man, but both of them do import a liableness to the wrath and vengeance of the Lord,

^w *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 676.

^x *Kerithuth*, cap. 1.

in their several kinds. And the Jews do ever account 'cutting-off' to be the higher and more eminent degree of divine vengeance: as, to spare more evidences of this, which might be given copiously, this passage of Maimonides is sufficient; and it is remarkable, when he saith^y, "Is it possible for a priest, that serveth in his uncleanness, to stay so little in the court שלא יתחייב כרת אלא מיתה ביד שמיים בלבד, as that he should be guilty of 'death by the hand of Heaven' only, and not guilty of 'cutting-off?'" He had had those words but a little before, which were cited even now: "An unclean person, that serveth in the sanctuary, profaneth his service, and is guilty of 'death by the hand of Heaven,' although he stay not there:" and then he comes on; "and is it possible (saith he), that he should stay so little, as to be guilty only of 'death by the hand of Heaven,' and not to be guilty of 'cutting-off?'" Apparently showing, that 'cutting-off' was the deeper degree and dye of guilt and vengeance by the hand of God, and divine indignation.

By 'death by the hand of Heaven' in their sense, therefore, is to be apprehended some such a sudden avengeful stroke, as the Lord showed upon Nadab and Abihu, or Ananias and Sapphira, to take them away. And this may the better be collected by two passages usual in the Rabbins about this matter: First, In that they give up the offence of the priests' drinking wine before they went to serve [which is held to have been the offence of Nadab and Abihu^z], to "death by the hand of Heaven;" which argues, that they mean such a kind of stroke, as they two had. And secondly, In that wheresoever the law enjoineth Aaron and his sons, and the people, about the affairs of the sanctuary, "they shall, or they shall not, do thus or thus, lest they die;" they interpret this of 'death by the hand of Heaven.'

But what to understand by 'cutting-off,' is not so readily agreed among them: Kimchi^a allegeth it, as the opinion of their doctors, "That dying before fifty years old, is death by cutting-off." [Compare John viii. 57.] Rabbi Solomon^b saith, "It is to die childless, and to die before his time." Baal Aruch giveth this distinction between 'cutting-off,' and 'death by the hand of Heaven,'—that^c 'cutting-off' is 'of himself and of his children;' but 'death by the hand of

^y Maim. in Biath Mikdash, cap. 4.

^z Ibid. cap. 1.

^a Kimchi in Isa. xxxviii.

^b R. Sol. in Gen. xvii.

^c Aruch in כרת

Heaven,' is of 'himself, but not of his children.' But, mean it which of these you will, or all these together, or [which may have good probability to conceive] a liableness^c to cutting-off from the life of the world to come; both this, and 'death by the hand of Heaven,' were held by that nation, with whom the phrases were so much in use, to mean, not any censure or punishment inflicted by man, but an impending vengeance of God, and a continual danger and possibility, when indignation should seize upon him, that was fallen under these guilts: he was 'Anathema Maran Atha,' one under a curse, whensoever the Lord shall come to inflict it: as John iii. 18. 36.

SECT. III.

Penalties inflicted upon unclean persons found in the Temple:

Whipping and the Rebel's beating.

IT was not a small awe, that this might work in the hearts of the people, towards their restraining from going into the sanctuary in their uncleanness, to have this impressed and inculcated upon them [as it was continually], that such a venture^d did hazard them both body and soul; and brought them, 'ipso facto,' into God's dreadful displeasure, and into undoubted danger of accruing judgment.

But did they let the offender thus alone, that had offended, as if he was fallen under the guilt of 'death by the hand of Heaven,' or under the guilt of 'cutting-off,' that they had no more to do with him, but leave him to the justice of God, and to judgment, when it should fall upon him? Many a wretch would make slight of this matter; and, because sentence upon his evil work was not executed speedily, his heart would be fully set in him to do so again, as Eccles. viii. 11. Therefore, they let not the delinquent so escape; but as he had fallen under the wrath of God, so they also brought him under a penalty by the hand of man. And this penalty was twofold, either מלקות or מכות מרדות 'whipping' by the appointment of the judges, or 'mawling' and beating by the people.

1. There was the penalty of מלקות 'whipping' or scourging, upon the censure of the judges, according to the law, Deut. xxv. 2, where he was to receive forty stripes: but

^c English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 901.

^d Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 677.

their tradition brought it to forty save one, 2 Cor. xi. 24. And the reason of this was, because they would make a hedge to the law; and whereas that commands that they should not give to a delinquent, that was whipped, above forty stripes, "lest their brother should seem vile unto them," they abated one of forty to make sure to keep within compass. The measure and manner of their whipping is largely described in the treatise Maccoth, thus in their own words^d: "How many stripes do they give him? [saith the Misna there.] Why, forty lacking one: as it is said by a certain number, forty stripes; that is, a number near to forty. Rabbi Judah, saith, He is beaten with full forty. And where hath he the odd one above thirty-nine? Between his shoulders. They allot him not stripes, but so as they might be triplicated: they allot him to receive forty: he hath had some of them, and they say he is not able to bear forty; then he is quit: they allot him to receive eighteen; and, as he is in whipping, they say he is able to bear forty, yet he is quit. How do they whip him? His hands are tied to two pillars or posts, and the officer of the court lays hold of his garments, and rip or rent, it is no matter; he pulls them down, till he have bared his breast. Now there was a stone lay behind him, upon which the officer of the court stood, with a whip of whit-leather in his hand, platted four plats, and two lashes hanging by it; the handle was a handbreadth long, and the whip a handbreadth broad, and the end of it raught to his belly. A third part of his stripes he gave him before [on his belly], two parts behind: and he beats him not standing nor sitting, but bowed down, as it is said, 'The judge shall cause him to lie down:' and he strikes him with one hand with all his might. And in the mean while, one standing by, reads or says these portions of Scripture: 'But if thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law, &c. then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed,' &c. Deut. xxviii. 58, 59. 'And, therefore, ye shall keep the words of this covenant,' &c. And he concludes with, 'But he, being full of compassion, forgives iniquity, and destroyeth not:'" Psal. lxxviii. 38.

This was the manner of their scourging, a very sharp penalty; thirteen lashes with a three-lash whip; which, by that triplication, arose to forty save one; or if the number

^d Maccoth, cap. 3.

allotted were less, yet it was as many stripes as, they conceived, the party could bear.

2. There was the penalty of *מכות מרדות* 'the rebel's beating,' the beating or the mawling by the people; which was a terrible rugged beating by all the people, without any sentence of the judges passed upon him at all, and without any measure. As, in divers cases, if a man were deprehended faulty in such or such an offence, the people made no more ado, but fell upon him pell-mell, with fists, staves, or stones, and mawled him unmeasurably, and very often to death. Rabbi Nathan describes it thus^e: "The beating according to the law is, of those that transgress against negative precepts; and it is by measure, and for admonition, and with a three-corded whip. But he that transgresseth against affirmative precepts, they beat him till his life depart, and not with a threefold whip. And likewise, whosoever transgresseth against the words of the Wise men, they beat him without number and measure, and they call it *מכות מרדות*, 'the rebel's beating,' because he hath rebelled against the words of the law^f, and against the words of the Scribes." —"The reason of this beating [saith another Jew^g] is, because he transgressed against a prohibition of theirs, in a thing which hath its foundation in the law, and he is *בן מרדות* 'a son of rebellion.'" The frequent taking up of stones by the people to have stoned our Saviour, and that incursion upon him, Matt. xxvi. 67,—and upon Stephen, Acts vii. 57, 58, for blasphemy, as they would have it,—and upon Paul, Acts xxi. 31, for defiling the temple, as they supposed,—were of this nature.

Thus, he that committed a transgression, for which he became liable either to 'death by the hand of Heaven,' or to 'cutting-off,' he did not escape barely with that liableness; but either he was to be whipped, or thus mawled, or, in some cases, was to suffer death by the sentence^h of the judges. "Every negative precept [saith Maimonidesⁱ], upon which they become liable to 'death by the hand of Heaven,' they are beaten for it:" much more where there is a liableness to 'cutting-off,' which is the greater guilt. And the same author^j reckons eighteen offences, that fell under liableness to

^e Aruch. in *מרד*

^f *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 902.

^g Gloss. in Maim. in Sabbath, cap. 1.

^h *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 678.

ⁱ Maim. in Biath Mikdash, cap. 4.

^j Id. in Sanh. cap. 19.

' death by the hand of Heaven,' and for which the offenders were whipped: and twenty-one that fell under liability to ' cutting-off;' and for which the offenders were also whipped, and were not put to death by the judges.

Amongst those transgressions, that deserved these penalties, ' going into the sanctuary in uncleanness,' fell under as many of them, as any one offence whatsoever. It were too tedious to insist upon all particulars; let us take up these few, and guess and conjecture of the rest by them. A priest, or any other, that went into the court, being unclean,—fell under the guilt of being ' cut-off;' and if they served there in their uncleanness, the priest at the altar, and any other person in laying on of his hands on the sacrifice, or waving any part of it, they then became liable to ' death by the hand of Heaven.' And such a priest being apprehended thus faulty, they never brought him before the Sanhedrim^j; but " the young men of the priests thrust him out of the court, and dashed out his brains with the billets^k." And the like they did by the other persons. A leper, that entered into the Mountain of the House, was beaten with eighty stripes: he that was defiled by the dead, or unclean for a day, if he went into the court of the women, he was to be beaten with the ' rebel's beating.' And so was he that came in, having eaten or drunk any unclean thing; or, after a seven days' uncleanness, would go into the court of Israel, before his atonement was made. And he that brought in a vessel, or came in any clothes, which one, that was defiled by the dead, had touched,—was to be whipped. And, not to multiply particulars, whosoever came within the holy ground, being unclean, and knowing of it, and yet would come in, he incurred the guilt of ' cutting-off' ipso facto; and if he were discovered, and the matter proved by witness, he was sure either to be whipped, or else to be mawled with the ' rebel's beating;' the former always most terrible, the latter deadly very oft. It is, indeed, a common saying among the Talmudic writers, that for such or such offences, " though a man be not whipped, yet is he beaten with the rebel's beating;" as if the latter were the gentler castigation. They do not mean, that the ' rebel's beating' was the less penalty; but they intend this,—that, though there be no express in the law, that appoints his whipping,

^j Id. in Biatb Mikd. ubi supr.

^k Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 9.

yet the decrees of the wise men which he hath broken, appoint him to be beaten: "Whosoever^l had incurred the guilt of being cut-off,—after he is whipped, is acquitted from that guilt: as it is said, Lest thy brother be vile in thine eyes: behold, after he is whipped, he is thy brother again." But the 'beating with the rebel's stripes,' very ordinarily cost the life.

This then was the sure guard of the temple, that kept it from defilement and pollution,—the dreadful penalties, that were sure to light upon those, that were discovered to be unclean; and to know so much, and yet to have dared to enter there. Nay, he that knew not of his uncleanness, if he came in there, was not so entirely excused by this his ignorance, but that, whensoever he came to know in what case he was, he was bound to bring an offering for this his sin; and so was he to do in the other cases, whose witting and wilful committing them, deserved 'cutting-off,'—if he did any of them unwillingly and not knowing. Did he eat fat or blood, and not know what he ate; or come into the sanctuary in uncleanness, and not know that he was unclean; or commit any of the other transgressions mentioned, and not know that he transgressed;—there was an offering appointed to atone for him, which he was to bring, as soon as he came to know, that he had misdome. But he, that, knowingly and wilfully, would run into those faults, there was no sacrifice to atone for him; but he fell under the indignation of God, and liableness to divine vengeance, and human penalty, and expectation when it would seize upon him. And to this the apostle, writing to the Hebrews, who were very well acquainted with these things, seemeth to allude in those words; "If we sin wilfully, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there is no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful looking-for of judgment and fiery indignation," &c. Heb. x. 26, 27.

CHAP. II^m.

Of the several ranks of Priests, and several officers of the Temple.

THE distinction of the priests, that attended the temple-service, was into these several ranks and degrees:—

1. The high-priest, of whom there is so known and common mention in the Scripture.

Talm. in Maccoth, cap. 3.

^m English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 903.

2. The^m 'saganⁿ' or second priest, as Jer. lii. 24, where the Chaldee paraphrast useth the word 'sagan;' and which word, in this sense, is most ordinary in all Jewish writers; betokening the vice-high-priest, or one next substitute to him.

3. There were two *Katholici* קתוליקין, which were substitutes to the sagan, as the sagan was to the high-priest.

4. There were seven *amarcalin* אמרכלין: the word is used by the Chaldee paraphrasts exceeding often.

5. There^o were three *gizbarin* גוברין or *treasurers*: these were in a manner under the amarcalin.

6. The ראש המשמר *chief priest of every course*, that served interchangeably its week.

7. The ראש בית אב *chief of any family*, that served in that course.

8. And lastly, there was כהן הדייט *an ordinary priest*; or one, that was of none of these ranks, but an inferior.

Now these degrees were one above another, as they are named; the *high-priest* above the *sagan*; the *sagan*, above the *katholici*; the *katholici*, above the *amarcalin*; the *amarcalin*, above the *gizbarin*; the *gizbarin*, above the *chief of any course*; and the *chief of the course*, above the *head of any family*.

These several ranks [of the five first especially] were as a constant and standing council, for the continual regulating and ordering of the affairs of the temple-service and attendance there.

These are those, that are called the Beth din shel cohanim, the 'consensus' or 'consistory of priests,' spoken of by the Talmud, in the treatise Cetuboth, in these words, אחת אלמנת ישראל ואחת אלמנת כהן כתבתה מנה בית דין של כהנים "It^p is all one, whether she be the widow of an Israelite, or the widow of a priest, her contractive dower is a maneh: the consistory of priests demanded four hundred zuzims for a virgin; and the wise men did not contradict them." Which may be confirmed by that passage of Maimonides^q: who relating, how women, after fluxes and childbearing, brought money to buy turtles and pigeons, and put it בשופר into the treasury, אין בית דין של כהנים עומדים משם עד שכלו, &c, saith, "that the consistory of priests departed not thence, till they had taken

^m Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 679.

ⁿ Vide Maim. in Kele Hammikdash, cap. 4.

^o Talm. in Shekalim, cap. 5.

^p Cetuboth; cap. 1.

^q Maim. in Mechosere Caparah, cap. 1.

out all the money, and offered turtles and pigeons answerable to it."

And these also we may well understand to be the זקני כהונה 'elders of the priesthood,' to whom the high-priest was delivered by the Sanhedrim, that they might prepare him for the service of the day of expiation: and these were the בלויטי 'counsellors' of the temple, of which we have had occasion to speak elsewhere.

Besides these, there were fifteen 'overseers' ממונין, or 'presidents' over fifteen several companies, in so many several employments.

1. ממונה על זמנים 'The overseer concerning the times:' he, or one of his deputies, when it was now time to begin the service, cried aloud, "O ye priests, to your service; O ye Levites, to your desks [to sing]; and O ye Israelites, to your station:"—and all of them, upon his proclamation, went to their several duties.

2. על נעילת שערים 'The overseer for shutting of the doors:' by whose appointment they were opened and shut,—and by whose appointment the trumpet sounded, when they were opened. He was some one appointed by the 'amarcalin' for this care; for they seven had the keeping and disposing of the keys of the seven court gates.

3. על השומרים 'The overseer of the guards.' This was called איש הר הבית 'the man of the mountain of the house.' He went about among the Levites' guards every night, walking, as it were, the round; and if he found any one asleep, he cudgelled him, and set fire on his coat.

4. על המשוררים 'The overseer of the singers.' He appointed, who should be every day's songs-men, and blowers of the trumpets.

5. על הצלצל 'The overseer of the cymbal music:' as the other appointed the voices, trumpets, and strung instruments,—so did this take care for the music by the cymbal, which was of another kind; as shall be showed ere long.

6. על הפייסות 'The overseer of the lots:' who, by lots, every morning, designed the priests their several services at the altar.

7. על הקינים 'The overseer about birds:' he provided turtles and pigeons ready; that those that needed them, might

^r Joma, cap. 1.

^s Vid. Shekalim, cap. 6. Maim. in Kele Hammikdash, cap. 7.

^t English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 904.

have them for their money; and he gave account of the money to the treasurers.

8. על החותמות 'The overseer of the seals:' these seals were such kind of things, as the tickets or stamps, that ministers have used to give to those, they admitted to the sacrament. There^v were four kinds of these seals or tickets; and they had four several words written or stamped on them: on one, was עגל a 'calf;' on another, זכר a 'male;' on a third, גדי a 'kid;' and on the fourth, חוטא a 'sinner.'

Now the use of them was this: Any person that brought a sacrifice, to which he must have a drink-offering, went to this overseer of the ticket. He^w looked what his sacrifice was; and so, upon the sight of it, considered what drink-offering was assigned by the law to such a sacrifice. Thereupon he gave him a seal or ticket, whose inscription was suitable to his sacrifice:—as, was it a ram? He gave him a ticket with זכר a male: was it a sin-offering? Then the ticket חוטא a sinner; and so of the others. And, for the ticket, he received from the man as much money, as his drink-offering would cost. With this ticket the man went to

9. על הנסכים 'the overseer of the drink-offerings,' who took care to provide them ready, and delivered them out to every man according to his ticket; for by that he saw what nature his sacrifice was of, and what drink-offering it required; and so he suited them therewith accordingly. And, at night, this overseer of the drink-offerings, and the overseer of the seals, reckoned together what one had received, and the other had given out.

10. על החולים 'The overseer of the sick:' the attendance of the priests at the altars bare-footed and thin-clothed, and their eating much flesh, which in those parts was not so very agreeable, made them subject to colds, colics, and other diseases: therefore was a skilful man appointed to look to such as were ill, and to give them physic.

11. על המים 'The overseer of the waters:' who was to look and take care, that wells, cisterns, and conduits, should be digged and made, that the temple and Jerusalem might never want water: and more especially that there might be no such want at the three festivals, when all Israel was gathered thither together. Nicodemus^x, if he be the same

^v Shekalim, cap. 5.

^w Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 680.

^x Avoth, R. Nathan, cap. 6. Taanith, fol. 19.

with Nicodemus mentioned in the Talmud; seemeth to have been of this employment; for it relateth a strange story of him tending to such a purpose.

12. The overseer of the making of the shew-bread.
13. The overseer of the making of the incense.
14. The overseer of the workmen, that made the veils.
15. The overseer for the providing of garments for the priests.

CHAP. III.

Of the High-priesthood.

1. THE high-priesthood still descended to the first-born: for so was Eleazar to Aaron, when Nadab and Abihu were dead: which Rabbi Solomon pertinently observes upon those words, in 1 Chron. xxiv. 1: "Nadab and Abihu died, and had no sons; therefore Eleazar and Ithamar executed the priest's office: for [saith he] if Nadab or Abihu had left sons, they had had the high-priesthood before Eleazar or Ithamar. And so Jozedek and Ezra were the sons of Seraiah, the high-priest; but Jozedek was the high-priest after him, and not Ezra; for Jozedek was the first-born." And as the first-born in the family of any tribe, was priest before the law was given [and accordingly doth the Chaldee Targum, on Gen. xlix. 3, paraphrase the words of Jacob to this sense, "Reuben, thou art my first-born, and to thee belonged three portions, the birthright, the priesthood, and the kingdom"], so the first-born in the chief family of Aaron, was high-priest lineally descended, and by succession. And, therefore^y, when Simeon the Just, having two sons, Shimei and Onias, would have put Shimei the eldest by the high-priesthood, and put Onias the younger in,—he could not do it, but Shimei obtained his right; and Onias was put to flee into Egypt, where he built a sumptuous and a famous temple.

And, by this necessity of succession, it came to pass, that sometimes the high-priest proved to be but meanly qualified for such an office; as appears, amongst other evidences, by that passage in Joma^z, where it is related, how, against the expiation-day, some elders were appointed to attend the high-priest; and they said to him, "Sir high-priest, read thou thyself; it may be, thou hast forgotten; or it may be, thou hast not learned." And a little after it is said, "If he

^y Juchasin, fol. 15.

^z Cap. 1.

was a wise man, he expounded; if not, they expounded before him^a." And to this purpose is that proverb or problem, ממוזר ת"ח השוב מכנ" עם הארץ "A scholar^b, though he be a bastard, is of more value than an unlearned high-priest." This showeth that the function was rather typical than the person.

2. The^c installing of the high-priest into his office was by the Sanhedrim, who anointed him; or, when the oil failed,—as there was none under the second temple,—clothed him with the high-priestly garments. If he were anointed, he was anointed daily, seven days together; and if he were not anointed [when the holy oil was gone], he was clothed with the eight garments of the priesthood, daily, seven days together; and he was called מרובה בגדים, 'The installed by the garments.'

The garments were these:—

1. כתונת, *The coat*: this^d he wore next his skin: it was made of fine linen, wrought checker work, like diaper; and, therefore, it is called כתונת תשבץ, 'the checkered coat,' Exod. xxviii. 4; as Saul's coat of mail is called^e שבץ, 2 Sam. i. 9. Such a coat as this, had every one of the priests in the service, without any difference: and such a one did the high-priest wear, whilst he was an ordinary priest, before he came to that dignity. When^f these linen coats of the ordinary priests were grown so old, that they were past wearing,—they ravelled them in pieces, and made yarn of them for the lamps in the golden candlestick.

2. מכנסי בד *Linen breeches*; Exod. xxviii. 42.—When it is said, that the checkered coat was next the skin, it is to be understood from the loins upward: and thicker clad were not the ordinary priests there, than with that thin diaper shirt, for so we may call it. But, upon their thighs, they had linen breeches to cover their nakedness: which breeches or drawers, when they were old, they ravelled them, also, to make wick-yarn for candles of light, at the joyful festivity of drawing of water, on the last and great day at the feast of tabernacles: and so they did by their overworn girdles.

3. אבנט *The girdle*; which was as a long linen swaddle, which went many times about them, over their paps and

^a *English folio-edition*, vol. 2. p. 905.

^c *Id.* in Kele Mikdash, cap. 4.

^e *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 681.

^b Maim. in Talmud, Torah cap. 3.

^d *Id.* ib. cap. 8.

^f Talm. Jerus. in Succah, cap. 5.

downward; partly, to keep them warm,—and partly, to strengthen their backs in the hard service, to which they were sometimes put. The high-priest and ordinary priests had of these alike.

4. *מִעֵל* *The coat of the ephod.* This garb the ordinary priests had not, but only the high-priest, and it was called the *coat of the ephod*, because the ephod did gird it to him. It had no sleeves, as his checkered coat had; but it was made of two main pieces; the one whereof hung before him,—and the other, behind him. The collar of this ephod was like the collar of an habergeon whole, and to be put over his head: and from the collar downward the pieces were parted, and his arms came out between them. At the lower end of either of these pieces, were thirty-six little golden bells with clappers, and pomegranates of needlework, between every bell: seventy-two bells in all. This coat was *ἀκρυσίνος*, as both Josephus^g and Philo^h relate; and so render the word *תכלת*, of which [as Maimonides saith] it was all made; which Philo renders also *ἀέρος ἐκμαγέτον*, ‘the colour of the air,’ or sky colour.

5. *אפוד* *The ephod.* The breadth of this was the breadth of his back, from shoulder to shoulder; and it hung behind him, from his arm-holes to his feet. From it there came two pieces under his arm-holes, and met together, and clasped over his paps; and this was called *חשב*, ‘the curious girdle of the ephod,’ because, both it and the ephod were curiously wrought of fine twist and gold. It had two shoulder-pieces, also, which went over the priest’s shoulders, and were fastened to the ephod behind, and to the girdle before: and so the ephod hung low behind, like a woman’s veil,—and came but short before, like some workmen’s aprons, hanging over their shoulders, and coming down but to their breasts. Upon these shoulder-pieces were two beryl stones, set in gold, in which the names of the twelve tribes were engraven,—six in one stone, on the one shoulder,—and six in the other: so equally divided for the letters, that there were twenty-five letters in either stone, and Joseph’s name was written ‘Jehoseph,’ to make the equality; and so he is called and written, Psal. lxxxi. 6.

Upon these shoulder-pieces there were two bosses of gold, near to these stones, into which, two gold chains, which tied

^g Joseph. Ant. lib. 3. cap. 8.

^h Philo de Vita Mosis, l. 3. p. apud me. 519.

the breast-plate to the ephod, were so fastened, that breast-plate and ephod might not be parted: and whoso willingly parted them, was to be whipped.

6. *חושן* *The breast-plate.* This was a rich piece of cloth of gold, a handbreadth square, double; set with twelve precious stones, in four rows, three in a row. These are called, 'Urim and Thummim,' Exod. xxviii. 30; which are eminently mentioned in Scripture, and famous for the inquiring by Urim and Thummim, and God's answering by them: the manner of which we have discoursed elsewhere. In the second templeⁱ, they made a breast-plate, and Urim and Thummim,—that is, set the stones in the breast-plate; but never inquired by them, because the spirit of prophecy was then departed.

7. *מִצְנֵף*^j, *The mitre.* So it is almost Englished in Philo's Greek, when, speaking of the high-priest's garb, he saith, among other things, οὐδέποτε ἀπομιτρώσει "that in the service he never went without the mitre^k." This was called, πῖλος ἄκωνος, οὐ δῦκνούμενος εἰς πᾶσαν κεφαλὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὑπερβεβηκῶς μέσης.—"A bonnet [saith Josephus^l] without a crown, which went not over all his head, but only a little above the middle of it; sitting upon his head, as it were a crown. It was made of linen, and was a long kind of swaddles of a large breadth, which he wrapped oft about his head, and complicated it in and out." The wrapping or warping of it up about his head was after the manner of the Turkish tullibants; only it wanted a crown, but was open on the top, sitting on his brows after the manner of a garland.

8. *פָּתֵל* *The golden plate*^m, Exod. xxviii. 36. This was fastened on the front of the mitre: and in it was engraven, "Holiness to the Lord."—"And between the mitre and the plate he put and wore his phylacteriesⁿ."

Thus was the high-priest dressed, exceeding rich and exceeding gorgeous: and his office eminent, and high in dignity; but the choicest eminency of it, was in what it typified and resembled,—'the great High-priest that was to come;' the explication and application of which type and antitype is so abundantly set forth in the Scripture, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that it is needless to

ⁱ Maim. ubi supr. cap. 16.

^j English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 906.

^k Philo in lib. de profugis, pag. apud me 364.

^l Joseph. Ant. lib. iii. [Hudson, p. 113.] ^m Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 682.

ⁿ Maim. ubi sup. cap. 10.

insist upon it. Let us only, for conclusion, take the testimony of one, that was either a stranger or an enemy to the gospel, and yet, in this point and matter, speaketh exceeding consonant and concurrent to it,—and that is Philo the Jew, whom we mentioned before; who, speaking divers things concerning the high-priest, concludes thus^o; *Λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερέα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῖον εἶναι, πάντων οὐχ ἔκουσίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον*. “We say, that the high-priest meaneth not a man, but the Word of God,—who was free from all sin, both voluntary and involuntary.” And if any one desire to see, how allegorically he applieth the several parts of the high-priest’s garments to the several parts of the world, air, earth, water, fire, &c. he may have him at large discoursing it, according to his accustomed fluency, in his third book ‘*de Vita Mosis,*’ pag. apud me 519—521: where, after he had spent a great deal of time, and words, and fancy, to little profit, he, at last, comes on with this golden saying, worthy a thousand volumes of such stuff as he had produced before: *Ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν ἱερώμενον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ, παρακλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν υἱῷ, πρὸς τε ἀμνηστίαν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθουωτάτων ἀγαθῶν^p*: “It was necessary, that he, setting up a priest to the Father of the world; should use his most absolutely perfect Son for a mediator, or advocate, both for the obtaining of pardon of sin, and supply of abundant good.”

A high-priest, once installed, was high-priest for his life: *οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως γέ τις ἀφηρέθη τὴν τιμὴν ἅπαξ παραλαβών^q*. “For none was deposed from this honour, when he had once obtained it;” that is, not by any legal deposition: but money and power at the last broke this privilege, and the high-priests were frequently thrust in and thrust out by these, according as the one or the other prevailed: as the Gemara, on the treatise ‘*Joma,*’ maketh mention; and Josephus, in divers places, giveth example.

The high-priest, in some things, was nothing differenced from others of the people. “He^r might be a witness in causes, and might be witnessed against as well as any other. He might be a judge as well as any other, and he might be judged.” Nay *כִּגְ שֶׁבֶר עִבְרָה שְׁחִיב עֲלֶיהָ מִלְקוֹת מַלְקִים אוֹתוֹ*

^o Philo ubi supra.

^p Id. p. 521.

^q Joseph. Ant. lib. 15. cap. 3. [Hudson, p. 664.]

^r Sanhedr. cap. 2.

בב"ד של ע"א כאשר מחוייבי וחזר לגדולתו " If he committed an offence which, by the law, deserved whipping,—the great Sanhedrim whipped him, and then he was restored again to his dignity." His shoe was pulled off for not raising seed to his brother; though, by the law, he might not do it, being not permitted to marry a widow: and his wife, so left, might pull off the shoe of the next kinsman. And several other things might be mentioned, in which the high-priest, in point of law or practice, had no privilege above other men, or difference from them,—which are not material to insist upon, to our purpose.

But there were some things, again, in which he was differenced from the rest of the people, and that not only in regard of the dignity of his function (in which he was, also, distinguished from the rest of the priests), but also in regard of some things in civil converse. As, had he any of his that died, he might not follow the corpse to the grave; he might not rend his clothes for the dead; he might not be veiled, if others were veiled,—nor unveiled, if they were unveiled,—but still in a contrary garb to them; whilst others sat on the ground, he sat on a seat; and divers particular differences, which it would be tedious to recite.

His difference from the rest of the priests was especially in his superiority above them, in his anointing or clothing with the rich garments, and in his service on the day of expiation.

CHAP. IV.^t

Of the Succession of the High-priests.

SECT. I.

To the building of the Temple.

THE catalogue and succession of the high-priests, from the first institution of this order, to the last times mentioned in the Old Testament, are thus given us in Scripture:—

1. Aaron, Lev. viii. 7, &c.
2. Eleazar, Num. xx. 28.
3. Phinehas, Num. xxv. 13. Judg. xx. 28. He is tenaciously held by the Jews to be Elias.

^t Maim. in Biath Mikdash, cap. 4.

^t English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 907.

4. Abishua^a,
 5. Bukki,
 6. Uzzi,
 7. Zerariah,
 8. Meraioth, } 1 Chron. vi. 5, 6.
 Here the high-priesthood changed
 from the line of Eleazar into the line of Ithamar.

9. Eli of Ithamar, 1 Sam. i. 9, and ii. 35, 36.

10. Phinehas, 1 Sam. iv.

11. Ahitub, 1 Sam. xiv. 3, and xxii. 20.

12. Ahimelech, or Ahijah, *ibid*.

13. Abiathar, 1 Sam. xxii. 20. He was put out of the high-priesthood by Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 26.

In the time of these high-priests of the house of Ithamar, there were these successions in the line of Eleazar:—

Amariah, 1 Chron. vi. 7.

Ahitub,
 Zadok, } 2 Sam. viii. 17.

Now, whereas it is said, in the place cited last, that “Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests;” it is to be understood, as the like is, in 1 Sam. i. 3, of Hophni and Phinehas, that “they were priests unto the Lord,” chief among the priests, and chief overseers in the constant service and matters of the sanctuary; but their father Eli was high-priest. So, in the beginning of David’s settlement in his kingdom, Abiathar was chief priest, and he was of the house of Ithamar; now the high-priest did not so much attend the ordinary and common service of the sanctuary; therefore Zadok of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of Ithamar, were the chief in that service under him.

SECT. II.

The High-priests, from the building of the Temple to the Captivity.

As soon as Solomon was set upon the throne, he put Abiathar from the high-priesthood, as a man guilty of treason in the conspiracy of Adonijah, and he put in Zadok in his room; and now Eleazar’s line hath the priesthood again.

Zadok’s son was Ahimaaz, 2 Sam. xv. 36: his son, Azariah; and his son, Johanan, 1 Chron. vi. 9.—These six are

^a *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 1. p. 683.

omitted by Ezra in his reckoning up of the line of the high-priests, Ezra vii: and the reason of the omission we may guess to be, because, from the time of Amaziah, the house of Eli began in the function; and, till the time of Azariah the son of Johanan, the service in the temple of Solomon did not begin.

The son of Johanan was Azariah. "He it was, that executed the priest's office in the temple," which Solomon built in Jerusalem, 1 Chron. vi. 10. But the question is, What time it was, when he executed this office; whether at the beginning of the temple-service, when it was new built, or in after-times. The Jews do very generally hold, that this Azariah was he, that withstood Uzziah, when he went into the temple to burn incense, 2 Chron. xxvi. 17. 21: and because he stood so gallantly for the honour of the priesthood against the king, that, therefore, it is said of him alone, that "he executed the priest's office in the temple."

But Kimchi goes yet farther, holding, indeed, that this was Uzziah's Azariah, but that he was born in Solomon's time; and so he makes him to live, at the least, two hundred years,—an age not usual in those times. But, by looking over the times of the high-priests, that succeeded^v him to the captivity, it will be apparent enough, that this Azariah, the son of Johanan, was high-priest in Solomon's time, and was dead and rotten many years before Uzziah was born.

This Azariah begat Amariah, as it is recorded, 1 Chron. vi. 11. Now this Amariah was high-priest in the days of Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xix. 11. Amariah begat Ahitub, 1 Chron. vi. 11. This Ahitub was Jehoiada, 2 Chron. xxiii. 1, &c: and he is called "Ahitub, the ruler of the house of God," 1 Chron. ix. 11. Neh. xi. 11,—because of his great power and sway in the crowning of Joash, and in the work of reformation.

Ahitub begat Zadok, 1 Chron. vi. 12. This Zadok was father-in-law to king Uzziah, 2 Chron. xxvii. 1. Now Zadok was not Ahitub's immediate son, but his grandchild; for Zadok was the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, 1 Chron. ix. 11, which Meraioth may well be supposed to be Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, who was stoned in the temple-court, 2 Chron. xxiv,—and named here 'Meraioth,' in memorial of that great rebellion of the people against

^v *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 908.

God, his prophet, and his temple ; and omitted in the line of the priests, 1 Chron. vi, because he was not used like a high-priest ; his high-priesthood was not long, and he died as a prophet.

Zadok begat Shallum, 1 Chron. vi. 12, or Meshullam, 1 Chron. ix. 11. One of those two it was, either the father or son, that opposed Uzziah, when he would have offered incense : but I rather believe it was Zadok the king's father-in-law, who, in that story, is called Azariah after the king's name ; either^w he or Shallum is called Urijah, 2 Kings xvi. 10.

Shallum begat Hilkiah, 1 Chron. vi. 13. This Hilkiah found the manuscript of Moses in the days of Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14.

Hilkiah begat Azariah, 1 Chron. vi. 13. ix. 11. Ezra vii. 1.

Azariah begat Seraiah, 1 Chron. vi. 14. This Seraiah begat Jozedek and Ezra, Ezra vii. 1. He was slain by Nebuchadnezzar at the destruction of Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxv. 18.

Jozedek, the eldest son of Seraiah, was captived into Babel, 1 Chron. vi. 15 ; and thence he never returned. And thus have we the high-priests till the captivity. And now, if we look back upon these times, that we have observed, it is no hard thing to conclude, that that Azariah, which is said to have executed the priest's office in Solomon's temple, 1 Chron. vi. 10, did do it presently after the temple was built, either at the very first service of it, or at the restoring of the service upon Solomon's repentance after his apostasy.

SECT. III.

The High-priests, under the second Temple.

IT may not be amiss for the entrance into this discourse concerning the high-priests, after the return out of the captivity till the ruin of the temple, to produce a passage out of the Jerusalem Talmud, which speaketh something unto that occasion. " In the first temple [saith the Gemara^x in Joma] the high-priests served, the son still succeeding the father, and they were eighteen in number : but, in the second temple, they got the high-priesthood for money ; and some say they destroyed one another by witchcraft : so that some say that there were fourscore high-priests in that space ;

^w *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 684.

^x *Cap. 1.*

some, fourscore and one; some, fourscore and two; some, fourscore and three; some, fourscore and four; and some, fourscore and five.”

Not to insist upon examination of their number of ‘*eigh-teen*’ before the captivity (which falls something in with what was said before, though R. Solomon^y thinks it is to be read *eight*), it may be as a piece of apology beforehand, if we cannot exactly reckon up the persons after the captivity, seeing the number, by their own confession, is so very various and uncertain, as some to say thus differently one thing,—and some, another.

1. JOSHUA, the son of Jozedek (called also ‘*Jeshua*,’ after the Syrian pronunciation), returned^z out of captivity, where his father had died, with Zerubbabel, and began and forwarded the building of the second temple, and the settlement of the people. He was high-priest all the time of Cyrus and Ahasuerus, and some part of the time of Darius. The high-priesthood, that was now grown poor and low, is restored and beautified to him in a vision, Zech. iii; who, as he bare the name, so he was a figure, of the Lord Jesus.

2. JOAKIM, Neh. xii. 10.

3. ELIASHIB, Neh. xii. 10.

4. JOIADA, Neh. xii. 10. Josephus^a calls him ‘*Juda*.’

5. JONATHAN, or JOHANAN, Neh. xii. 11. 22. Josephus^b calleth him *Ἰωάννης*, or ‘*John* ;’ and relateth how he slew his own brother Jesus in the temple, whom Bagoses, the chief commander for Artaxerxes the younger, would have made high-priest: for which foul fact, Bagoses broke into the temple, and laid a tax of forty drachms upon every lamb, that was sacrificed in the daily sacrifice^c.

6. JADDUA^d, Neh. xii. 11, 12. He had a brother called Manasses, which married Sanballat’s daughter; and, for that, was driven from the priesthood, and went and occasioned the building of the temple on mount Gerizim. This Jaddua met Alexander in the high-priest’s garments, when he marched in fury against Jerusalem; and the very sight of him appeased him^e.

7. ONIAS, the son of Jaddua^f.

8. SIMON, or SIMEON the Just. There is exceeding fa-

^y R. Sol. in 1 Chron. vi. ^z Ezra, ii. 2. Hag. ii. 2.

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 5.

^b Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.

^c Joseph. Antiq. 11. c. 7.

^d English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 909.

^e Jos. Ant. lib. 11. c. 8.

^f Id. ib. prope finem et lib. 12. c. 2. Idem ibid.

ous mention of this man among the Hebrew writers^f, and of him they speak many eminent things: as, that he was the three-and-twentieth receiver of their traditions; that he burnt two red cows to make purifying ashes; that he was the last of the hundred and twenty of Ezra's great synagogue; that he took but one Nazarite's offering all his time; that, every day of expiation, an angel went in with him into the most holy place, and came out with him,—only the last time he went in, the angel went in with him, but came not out, whereupon he knew he should die that year; and that, when he died, the fire on the altar slacked much, &c. and that he left^g behind him Shimei and Onias: he would have had Onias to have been high-priest, but his brother Shimei put him to flee to Alexandria, where he built that famous temple, &c.

Some think this Simeon the Just to have been the same with Jaddua, and to have been the son of Joshua, or Jesus, whom his brother Jonathan slew; but this matter we will not dispute here.

9. ELEAZAR: he was Simeon's brother. This Eleazar was he that sent the seventy elders to Ptolemy Philadelphus, to translate the law into Greek^h.

10. MANASSES, Eleazar's uncleⁱ.

11. ONIAS, the son of Simeon the Just; a covetous wretch; and that brought the displeasure of Ptolemy Euergetes against him by his covetice^j.

12. SIMON, the son of Onias^k.

13. ONIAS, the son of Simon.

14. JESUS, the brother of Onias; for Onias left a son behind him, but very young: this Jesus called himself Jason^l.

15. ONIAS, the brother of Jason or Jesus; he called himself Menelaus. This wretch, quarrelling with his brother Jason, calleth-in Antiochus Epiphanes, and himself forsaketh his country, laws, and religion. And Antiochus^m, coming in, destroyed all laws and religion, and brought-in such trouble, as Israel never had since they were a nation, until that time, Dan. xii. 1: of which read Dan. xi. 30, 31. 1 Mac. i. 44, 45, &c.

16. The desolation, that Antiochus had brought upon

^f Juchasin, fol. 1. et fol. 13.

^g Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 685.

^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2.

ⁱ Id. ib. cap. 32.

^j Id. ib. ad finem.

^k Id. ib. cap. 4. ad fin.

^l Id. ib. cap. 6.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. Id. ib. cap. 8. 1 Mac. ii. 1.

religion and the temple, causeth Mattathias, a priest of the course of Joiarib, which was the first course of the four-and-twenty, he being now old, to stand up for the maintenance of religion, and for the deliverance of his country. The Chaldee paraphrast calls him the high-priest, Cant. vi. 6.

Here began the name and renown of the Asmonæan family, of which there is so frequent and famous mention in all authors. The Chaldee paraphrast applies that speech of Hannah to his family, in 1 Sam. ii. 4: "They that stumbled, are girded with strength." "Hannah (saith he) prophesied of the Greeks' kingdom, when she saith, The bow of the mighty are broken: and of the Asmonæan family, which was weak, and for which signs and wonders were done, when she saith, They that stumbled, are girded with strength."—And so doth the Targum on the Canticles apply the seventh verse of the sixth chapter of that book to the same house: "As a piece of a pomegranate are thy temples:"—"The kingdom (saith it) of the Asmonæan family was full of judgments as a pomegranate," &c.

Not to be inquisitive after the derivation of the word (which we find in Psal. lxxviii. 32, and which is generally interpreted by the Jews to signify 'great dukes and princes'), Mattathias not living long after his first appearing a champion for his distressed country, he left the charge of that war and expedition to his sons after him: amongst whom

17. JUDASⁿ [surnamed Maccabæus, from these four acrostic letters in his ensign, מִי כִמְכָה בְּאֵלִים מְכַבֵּי, which meant מִי כִמְכָה בְּאֵלִים, Exod. xv. 11: "Lord, who is like thee among the mighty?"] undertook the quarrel of his people, and of the law, religion, and covenant, and did very victoriously; but at last was slain.

In these times^o when all things were in a combustion and confusion in the land, and in religion, one ALCIMUS bare the name of high-priest; being, indeed, of that line, but a man, for mischief and impiety, more like a heathen than a high-priest of Israel, doing much evil whilst he lived, and coming at last to a most fearful end.

18. JONATHAN^p succeeded his brother Judas as chief commander: he was made high-priest by Alexander the son

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 9, 10, &c. 1 Mac. iii. iv, &c.

^o Joseph. ubi sup. cap. 15—17. 1 Mac. vii. 12—14, &c. and ix. 1. 5. 55. 1 Mac. ix. x. xi. xxi.

^p Joseph. Ant. lib. 13. ad cap. 11.

of Antiochus; and confirmed therein by Antiochus the son of Alexander; doth many valiant acts, and at last is slain by Trypho.

19. SIMON, his brother^q, succeedeth him: valiant also, and advantageous to his people like his brethren, but slain at last treacherously by his own son-in-law.

20. JOHN^r, called also Hyrcanus, or Hyrcanus Jannai. He sacked Samaria; destroyed the temple at Gerizim; slew many of the wise men at Jerusalem; was high-priest eighty years, and turned Sadducee^s.

21. ARISTOBULUS, his son: he first took upon him to be king^t.

22. ALEXANDER: he bare also the name of a king; made many wars; and at last died of a quartan ague, which had held him three years^u.

23. HYRCANUS, his son, is made high-priest: but his mother Alexandra, by the support of the Pharisees, sways the kingdom^v.

24. ARISTOBULUS, younger brother to Hyrcanus, after the death of their mother Alexandra, maketh war upon his brother, drives him from his kingdom to a private life, and takes both kingdom and high-priesthood upon himself. They both desire help and assistance from the Romans, Scaurus^w and Pompey; Aristobulus, provoking Pompey by some dalliance, causeth the sacking of Jerusalem, and the subjecting of the Jews to the Roman yoke, from under which they were never delivered. Pompey restoreth the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus, and carries Aristobulus and his son Antigonus prisoners to Rome, and his two daughters^x.

25. ALEXANDER, the son of Aristobulus, escaped the hands of Pompey, when he captived his father and his brother to Rome: and he in Judea raised divers stirs and tumults; and, affecting the kingdom, is twice suppressed by the Roman Gabinius^y.

26. ANTIGONUS^z, Aristobulus's other son, escaping from Rome into Judea, first by the help of the king of Tyrus, and after by the help of the Parthians, bustleth for the high-priesthood and power, out of the hands of Hyrcanus; getteth

^q 1 Mac. xiv.—xvi. Joseph. ubi sup. cap. 11—13.

^r English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 910.

^s Joseph. ubi sup. cap. 18. Juchasin, fol. 14.

^t Joseph. ib. cap. 9.

^u Ibid. cap. 22, 23.

^v Ibid. cap. 24.

^w Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 686.

^x Joseph. lib. 14. cap. 4—6.

^y Ibid. cap. 10.

^z Ib. cap. 21. 25.

Hyrcanus prisoner; causeth his ear to be cut off; and by that blemish or maim he maketh him incapable of the priesthood. But as Hyrcanus lost his ears, so at last Antigonus lost his head, by the axe of Antony, at Antioch,—having been first crucified and whipped^a.

27. ANANELUS^b, an inferior priest, sent for out of Babylon, is made high-priest by Herod. Here Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus, and wife of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, took indignity, and so did Mariam, Herod's wife, who was Alexandra's daughter,—that an inferior person should be preferred to the high-priesthood, and Aristobulus, Mariam's brother, and Alexandra's son, be passed-by. These women's shifts and importunities obtain the high-priesthood for Aristobulus, and the deposition of Ananelus^c.

28. ARISTOBULUS, a young man of a rare beauty, is made high-priest, being not much above fifteen years old: after a year's enjoyment of it, or little more, he is drowned by Herod's policy, as he was swimming: and then Ananelus becomes high-priest again^d.

29. JESUS, the son of Favens. Him Herod removed again^e.

30. SIMON, the son of Boethus. He was but a priest before: but Herod marrying his daughter, a woman of rare beauty, he made him high-priest^f.

31. MATTHIAS, the son of Theophilus. Herod deposed his father-in-law Simon from the high-priesthood, because he thought both he and his daughter [Herod's wife] were privy to the counsels of his son Antipater^g.

32. JOZARUS, the son of Simon, Herod's brother-in-law; Matthias being deposed by Herod^h.

33. ELEAZAR made high-priest by king Archelaus, Jozarus being deposedⁱ.

34. JESUS, the son of Sie, shoulders Eleazar out^j.

35. JOZARUS again. He was now in the place, when Judea was taxed under Cyrenius, Luke ii, at the birth of Christ: and, when the people were ready to rebel rather than be taxed, he overcame them with persuasions^k.

36. ANANUS, upon the removal of Jozarus, made high-priest by Cyrenius^l.

^a Joseph. lib. 15. cap. 1. Dion. Cass. lib. 49.

^c Ibid. cap. 2.

^g Lib. 17. cap. 6.

^d Ibid. cap. 3.

^h Ibid. cap. 8.

^k Lib. 18. cap. 1.

^b Joseph. lib. 15. cap. 2.

^e Ibid. cap. 12.

ⁱ Ibid. cap. 15.

^l Ibid. cap. 3.

^f Ibid.

^j Ibid.

37. ISMAEL, promoted by Valerius Gratus, upon Ananus's removal.

38. ELEAZAR, the son of Ananus, promoted by the same Gratus upon Ismael's removal: he enjoyed the high-priesthood but one year^m.

39. SIMON, the son of Kamith, advanced by the same Gratus. The Jerusalemⁿ Talmud calls him *בן קמחיר*, and relates this story of him; that, "on the eve of the day of expiation, he went out to speak with the king, and some spittle fell upon his garments and defiled him: therefore Judah his brother went in on the day of expiation, and served in his stead: and so their mother Kamith saw two of her sons high-priests in one day. She had seven sons and they all served in the high-priesthood; hence came up this proverb, *כל קמחא קמחא וקמחא קמחית סולית*, 'All meal is meal, but Kamith's meal is fine flower.'"

40. CAIAPHAS, who was also called Joseph. He was Gratus's creature too; and all these changes were made by Gratus in eleven years. And now are we come up to the time of our Saviour's death, and to a wretch that had not a small hand in it. Annas, or Ananus, who had been high-priest four changes before him, is said to be high-priest with him, Luke iii. 2^o.

41. JONATHAN^p, the son of Ananus, made high-priest by Vitellius in the room of Caiaphas, whom he removed^q.

42. THEOPHILUS, the brother of Jonathan, upon the removal of Jonathan, by the same Vitellius is made high-priest^r.

43. SIMON, called also Kantheras, made high-priest by Herod Agrippa, Theophilus being removed. This was he, whose daughter Herod married, and who was removed from the high-priesthood so many changes ago^s.

44. JONATHAN, the son of Ananus, restored^t by Agrippa again: but he desires, that his brother Matthias might be put in the place as a fitter man than himself: which was a wonder in the great ambition for the high-priesthood, which commonly was afoot^u.

45. MATTHIAS put in the room of Jonathan.

^m Joseph. lib. 18. cap. 3.

ⁿ In Joma, cap. 1.

^o Joseph. lib. 18. cap. 3.

^p English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 911.

^q Joseph. lib. 18. cap. 6.

^r Ibid. cap. 7.

^s Lib. 19. cap. 5.

^t Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 687.

^u Joseph. lib. 18. cap. 6.

46. ALIONEUS, or Elioneus, placed by Agrippa in the room of removed Matthias^u.

47. JOSEPHUS, the son of Kanei, [*Camus*, Hudson's J. p. 878.] promoted by Herod king of Chalcis^v.

48. JONATHAN, slain by an assassin by the contrivance of the governor Felix^w.

49. ISMAEL, the son of Fabi^x.

50. JOSEPH, the son of Simon^y.

51. ANANUS, the son of Ananus mentioned before. This man was a Sadducee: he put to death James the brother of our Lord: he is called Ananias 'a whited wall;' one whom Paul will not own for high-priest^z, Acts xxiii. 3. 5.

52. JESUS, put-in by Agrippa, king of Chalcis, in the room of Ananus: this Jesus was the son of one Gamaliel^a.

53. MATTHIAS, the son of Theophilus. And here began the wars of the Jews, which at last were their destruction^b.

In which time, the confusion of the times did breed such confusion and jumbling about the high-priesthood, in choosing and counterchoosing, and putting in and out, according to the pleasure of this or that faction that prevailed,—that it would be but confused work to go about to give a catalogue or account of them. Therefore, having led the row of the high-priests thus far, as till all order both in church and state was perished, and the dignity and respect of that order were utterly lost,—we will supersede with this number that hath been related, and pass on to the other ranks of priests, that are before us.

CHAP. V.

The Sagan, Katholikin, Immarcalin, and Gizbarin.

SECT. I.

Sagan.

THE word *Sagan* is rare in the Scripture; but both the name and the dignity are very commonly known and used in the Hebrew writers. It is undoubted, that he was next to the high-priest, or vicegerent to him; but under what notion he came into this deputation is disputable, and ^c Abra-

^u Joseph. lib. 19. cap. 7.

^v Ibid.

^w Ibid.

^x Joseph. lib. 20. cap. 1.

^y Ibid. cap. 8.

^z Ibid.

^a Ibid. cap. 6.

^b Ibid.

^c Juchasin, fol. 57.

ham Zaccuth doth purposely dispute it. One conjecture about this matter is from that tradition, mentioned in Joma;—that against the day of expiation, when the high-priest was to go into the most holy place, *מתקנין לו כהן אחר תחתיו*, *שנא יארע בו פסול*^d they appointed another priest in his stead, who might supply the solemn work of that day, if any uncleanness did befall the high-priest himself. And R. Judah also saith, They appointed him another wife, lest his own wife should have died; because he was enjoined to atone for himself and for his house, that is, for his wife.” Now it is conceived by some, that this priest, that was appointed as a reserve, if any thing had befallen the high-priest to make him unfit for that work,—was called the *sagan*. Josephus^e giveth one example, when the work of the day of expiation was carried on by such a substitute: but this opinion maketh the *sagan* useful but for one week in the year; whereas it appeareth, by the Jewish records, that he was in a continual office all the year through. Some, therefore, again conjecture, that the *sagan* was to be he, that was to be the next high-priest, and, in his *sagan*-ship, was as a candidate for that office. So R. Solomon^f calleth Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the *sagan*. And the Jerusalem Talmud^g observes, that none was high-priest, unless he had been *sagan* first. But there are two arguments, that oppose this opinion: the first is, because the high-priests, after the time of Herod especially, were so made at the arbitrary disposal of the governor; that^h it is not imaginable, that they ever regarded, whether he had been *sagan* before, or no. And another is, because, in all the Old Testament, where the succession of the high-priesthood was fair and legal, and it was still known who should be high-priest next,—yet, there is never mention of the word or of the thing *sagan*, but only in 2 Kings xxv. 18, and Jer. lii. 24: where is mention of “Zephaniah the second priest,” and the Chaldee paraphrast calls him “*sagan*.” Now, unless he were son to Seraiah, which I know not who ever held,—he was in no possibility of the high-priesthood, had the temple escaped the Babylonian fire and desolation.

For the discovering, therefore, what the ‘*sagan*’ was,

^d Joma, cap. 1. ab initio.

^e Joseph. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 8.

^f R. Sol. in Num. xix.

^g Aruch in Sagan. et Juchas. ubi sup.

^h English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 912.

and under what notion he came into his office,—it is observable, that he is most commonly called סגן הכהנים “the sagan of the priests:” so the Chaldee, in the two places cited, titleth Zephaniah. So the Talmud, in two places in the treatise Shekalim, speaketh of ‘Ananias the sagan of the priests¹:’ and in divers places, both in the Talmud² and in other Hebrew writers, the phrase is used in this conjuncture, סגן הכהנים ‘The sagan of the priests.’ By the which it seemeth, his office had relation as much, if not more, to priests below him, as to the high-priest above him: and I know not what fitter conception to have of him than this,—that he was as the high-priest’s substitute, in his absence to oversee, or in his presence to assist in the oversight of, the affairs of the temple, and³ the service of the priests. For, although it is true, that, in some particulars, his attendance did especially respect the high-priest’s person, as in three reckoned by the Talmud of Jerusalem^k; yet did his office also relate to the priests below him: and so saith Maimonides; כל הכהנים תחת יד סגן^l “That all the priests were under the disposal (or command) of the sagan.” For the high-priest having the chief charge and care of the holy things, and that burden and incumbency being of so great a weight,—he was forced to get an assistant to help him to bear the burden [nay, sometime the silliness and weakness of the high-priest did add to this necessity]; and to this his assistant had the inferior priests a respect and observance as to the high-priest himself. This was called^m especially the *Memuneh* or *president*, above all the fifteen that have been named; because upon him lay the great charge of the looking to the service, as the high-priest’s deputy: and of this president we shall have occasion to make somewhat frequent mention, when we come to speak of the service.

In such a sense it was observed before, that Zadok and Ahimelech are said to be priests in the days of Abiathar the high-priest,—he the chief, and they in the chief care and charge and oversight under him. And whether Annas and Caiaphas may not be said to be high-priests together in this sense, Luke iii. 2,—namely, Caiaphas high-priest, and Annas his sagan [the Hananiah, the sagan of the priests, mentioned out of the Talmud before], be it referred to the learned to

¹ Shekalim, cap. 3. et cap. 6.

² Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 688.

^k Talm. Jerus. Joma, cap. 3.

^l Maim. in Kele Mik. cap. 4.

^m Id. ibid.

determine. I was^a once of another mind; I confess; and supposed Annas to be called high-priest, because a priest, and head of the Sanhedrim, in which I was too credulous to Baronius, a man far better skilled in Christian antiquity than in Jewish. But now I find, that never any such man was head of the Sanhedrim at all; and, therefore, I am now swayed to believe, that Annas is called high-priest, as indeed having been so once, but now deposed, and now the *sagan* under Caiaphas.

S E C T. II.

Katholikin.

EITHER Maimonides himself, or his transcriber, hath put a twofold reading upon this word: for in his *Jad Hazakah*^o he reads it קתיקולין *kathikolin*; but, in his comment upon the Talmud text^p, he reads it קתילוקין *kathilokin*; and, with the latter, the Jerusalem Talmud^q, and other Jews agree something near, and utter it קתוליקין *katholikin*, *catholici*. The gloss interprets it, ממונים על אוצרות “The presidents or chief overseers of the treasures:” and so might the use of the word be showed in other authors, sometime to signify ‘chief treasurers,’—and sometime to signify ‘chief favourites’ or officers. Rabbi Tanchuma^r compares Moses and Aaron, in reference to God, to two *kathlikin* [for so he writes it קתליקין] in reference to a king: for speaking of God’s commanding Moses and Aaron to go up into mount Hor and Nebo and there to die, he utters this parable: “To what is this matter like? It is like to a king, that had two *catholici*, who did nothing without the will of the king; one of them had some difference with the king, and the king had need of him. The king saith, ‘Although this man is in my power, yet will I not differ with him but he shall know it.’ So also the holy blessed God saith, ‘These two righteous men never did any thing but according to my mind, and now I will take them away, yet I will let them know it,’” &c. In this comparison, he takes *katholikin* to be ‘chief favourites’ or officers, without designing any peculiar office that they were in: but other of the Hebrew writers^s assign them to the treasuries; as *Bamid Bar Rabba*,

^a In Harm. of Evang. at the notes on Luke iii. 2.

^o Kele Mikd. cap. 4.

^p Gloss. in Talm. Shekal. cap. 5.

^q Ibid. in Gemara.

^r *Jelammedenu*, fol. 83. col. 1.

^s Vid. Buxt. Lexic. Talm. in voce.

that saith, “Kora was catholicus^t to the king of Egypt, and had the keys of his treasures.” Nay, the same Tanchuma, in another parable, putteth that sense upon the word also; for he saith^u, “It is like unto a king, that made his friend his catholicus, and set him over his treasures.” *Katholiciani*, in the terms of the law, of old, signified ‘rationum præfecti,’ ‘the overseers of accounts;’ as is observed by the most learned Buxtorfius.

We need not to be curious in determining these men to a peculiar office: they were two men, that were in the highest office and employment about the temple, and but only two men above them,—the high-priest and the sagan. And whereas there were three common treasurers of the temple-stock, as we shall see by and by, these two were head treasurers^v and overseers over them: much like the constitution of the presidents in the Persian state, where one hundred and twenty princes were set over the hundred and twenty provinces, and three presidents were set over all these to take account of them, Dan. vi. 1, 2. Maimonides gives this short character of these katholikin; that ממונין קתיקולין להיות “לסגן כמו הסגן לס”ג “They appointed the kathicolin, or katholikin, to be to the sagan, as the sagan was to the high-priest:” substitutes and assistants, and next in place and in honour. The business of the temple consisted especially in these two things,—its service,—and the disposal of its treasury, or stock, that came by oblations or otherwise. Now, as there were inferior priests that performed the daily service, and as there were inferior treasurers, or receivers, that received the offerings, and whatsoever was brought in into the common stock,—so these four men especially, the high-priest, sagan, and the two katholikin, were overseers both of the one and the other: that the treasury might be disposed fitly for the temple-service, and that the service might be performed, as was fitting.

SECT. III.

Immarcalin. אמרכלין

WITH these may we join the seven *immarcalin* [for that was their number^x, and they might not be less]; men whose

^t English folio-edition, vol. 2. p. 913.

^u Aruch in voce.

^v Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 689.

^w Maim. in Kele Mikd. cap. 4.

^x Talm. in Shek. cap. 5. Maim. ubi supr.

peculiar office is as hard to find out, as was theirs before: but only that it is agreed upon, that they carried the keys of the seven gates of the court, and one could not open them without the rest. Some add, that "there were seven rooms at the seven gates, for the laying up of the holy vessels, and holy vestments; and these seven men kept the keys of them, and looked to their disposal^y."

The Chaldee paraphrase upon the law [that goeth under the name of 'Jonathan'] useth this word אמרכול, in Num. i. and vii. 11, for the 'princes,' or chief heads of the twelve tribes, that stood with Moses to number the people, and that offered their gifts at the dedication of the altar: and, in Lev. iv. 15, he useth it for the 'elders of the tribes,' who laid their hands on the head of the sin-offering of the congregation. And so, whosoever was the Targumist on the Canticles, he useth it, in Cant. iv. 3, for a 'prince,' or potentate, that was near the king: for that verse,—“Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet, and thy speech is comely; thy temples are like a piece of a pomegranate within thy locks,”—he glosseth thus^z:—“The lips of the high-priest were earnest in prayer, on the day of expiation before the Lord; and their fulness turned the sins of Israel, which were like a scarlet thread, and made them white as pure wool. And the king, which was head over them, was full of judgment, like a pomegranate; בר מן אמרכליא וארכונין besides the nobles and rulers which were righteous, and there was no evil in them.”

And likewise in other places, in the Chaldee paraphrasts, the word is sometimes used to signify only dignity and high place: but sometime again to denote a function and office. And so the Chaldee of Jonathan upon the prophets, renders 'the priests, the keepers of the door,' in 2 Kings xii. 10, אמרכליא כהניא “The priests, the amarcalin.” Whereupon, David Kimchi giveth this comment: “שומרי סף^a The keepers of the threshold, meaneth, the keepers of the vessels of the house: for סף is a general name for the vessels of the service. And Jonathan interprets it *amarcalin*: now these were chief treasurers, which had others under them. And so Onkelos renders that passage, 'Eleazar, the son of Aaron, shall be chief over the chief of the Levites,' Num. iii. 32, אמרכלא דממנא The *amarcal* appointed over the chief of the Levites.”

^y Vid. Tosaph. ad Shekalim cap. 5. et R. Sol. in 2 Kings xii.

^z Targ. in Cant. iv. 3.

^a Kimch. in 2 Kings xii. 10.

It is not much material to look after the various writing and reading of this word; how sometimes it is written *marcol* [and that especially by the Jerusalem Talmud, which useth now and then to take away the first \aleph aleph in certain words; and so it constantly reads Lazar for Eleazar]: and, according to this reading, Aruch doth etymologize it to mean מר על כל “Lord over all:” sometimes *amarcol*; sometimes *immarcol*, or *immarcal*, which, by the Gemara of the Talmud, is rendered, “An appointer of all things,” or one, by whose appointment the affairs of the temple were managed: it is the office of the men we are looking after, which the writing or notation of the word little helps us in.

It^b is agreed on all hands, that their number was seven, and that they carried seven keys, according to the seven gates of the court. But here ariseth a question,—were these seven amarcalin perpetual officers? or did they change every week, as the courses of the priests changed? These several arguments might be used for the several assertion of either part: if they were not perpetual officers, why are they reckoned as perpetual? For, in^c the changing courses, the *head of the course* is reckoned as chiefest; and these are reckoned two steps above him. And if they were perpetual officers, and the unlockers and lockers of the court-gates continually,—what shall we answer to that passage in the treatise Mid-doth^d, which saith, that “the keys of the gates were in the keeping of the seniors of the house of their fathers,” in the changed courses?

Therefore, for a temper between these two, we are to apprehend, that these seven amarcalin were perpetual in their office, as well as were the high-priest, sagan, and katholikin, and that the keys of the court were at their disposal: but that they committed the opening and shutting of the doors of the court to deputies,—namely, to some of the seniors of every course, as it came in: and that they had not only these keys at their disposal, but also the keys of the temple ward-ropes, and of the rooms of the several vessels; and were overseers about them, and disposed of them for the use of the temple.

^b English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 914.

^c Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 690.

^d Cap. 1.

SECT. IV.

Gizbarin. גזברין

It was a fixed tradition, אין פחתין משלשה גזברין That
 “the gizbarin were not to be less than three; and they were
 as substitutes to the immarcalin.”

The word גזבר is used in the Hebrew text, Ezra i. 8, and
 in the Chaldee text, Ezra vii. 21; in both which places our
 English hath rendered it *treasurers*. The scope and sense of
 the former place doth evidently enough justify the transla-
 tion; for, speaking of Cyrus’s restoring the vessels of the
 temple to the temple again, he saith, “He brought them
 forth by the hand of Mithredath the *gizbar*,” which the LXX
 hath rendered Γασβαρηνδς, as if it were some proper name,
 or a name patronymic: but the very place showeth, that it
 meaneth that he was the man, that kept these vessels, or
 was treasurer of them: and so Kimchi expounds it^f, “He was
 overseer and treasurer.” In the latter place cited, the LXX
 renders it, Γάζαις, not ‘treasurers,’ but ‘treasuries:’ but the
 sense of the place showeth, that it meaneth the king’s officers
 and receivers; and so Rabbi Solomon^g glosseth it, המקבלים
 מסימ “The receivers of his tributes.”

Now, as for these officers of the temple that we are speak-
 ing of, which were called gizbarin,—Maimonides, in the place
 cited a little before, gives them this character^h; that “they
 were they that demanded all the hallowed things, and re-
 deemed what was to be redeemed:” which, in his gloss upon
 the Talmud treatise, Shekalim, he speaketh more at large;
 and saithⁱ, that “the gizbarin were those, that were appointed
 over the holy stock and all consecrate things: and they re-
 deemed every sanctified thing [הקדשות Lev. xxvii. 14, &c.],
 and every devoted thing [חרם Num. xviii. 14], and every
 estimated person or thing [עריבים Lev. xxvii. 2, &c.], and the
 second tithes.”

And the Talmudic text itself, in that treatise Shekalim^j,
 speaketh of the gizbarin’ receiving the half-shekel poll money:
 and of the gizbarin’ opening the treasury of the dedicate
 vessels. And, in the treatise Megillah^k, it speaketh of the

^e Maim. in Kele Mikdash, cap. 4.

^g R. Sol. in Ezra vii.

ⁱ Id. in Gloss. in Shek. cap. 5.

^k Talm. in Megillah, cap. 3. Aruch in גזבר

^f Kimchi in Michol, in voce.

^h Maim. ubi sup.

^j Talm. in Shek. cap. 11. et cap. 5.

gizbarin' receiving wood, &c. So that these men that we have in discourse, were the first receivers and treasurers of all things due or dedicate to the temple-treasury; as, the half-shekel money of every Israelite; the vessels that were offered to the service; things that were vowed or devoted; and the thing vowed or devoted, that was to be redeemed with money. These were they, that stated the rate of the redemption, and received the money: now these were but as sub-collectors and sub-treasurers; for what they received, they were accountable for to the seven immarcalin; and both these and the immarcalin, to the katholikin; and all under the oversight of the high-priest and sagan.

And this was properly the 'Beth Din,' or 'consistory of the priests,' of which we spake before, which transacted the business of the sanctuary; not sentencing nor inflicting any penalties, or mulcts, corporal or pecuniary, upon their brethren or any other; but they were בולושי the 'counsellors' for the temple, that took care of the dues, stock, treasury, vessels, vestments, repair and service of the temple, and of ordering of all things tending to these ends: and these were they, that kept their sitting to consult of these things in the chamber of 'Parhedrin' or 'Palhedrin,' of which we have spoken in the survey of that piece of building. And these in the honester times, were called *Βουλευται*, 'counsellors,' because they consulted and contrived really for the good of the temple: but when they grew corrupt and minded their own ends, they were called but 'Parhedroi,' or 'sitters.' Joseph of Arimathea is said to be *Βουλευτῆς τίμιος*, 'an honourable counsellor,' Mark xv. 43: probably a priest of this society, but of more than ordinary integrity^k and goodness. And so the Talmud^l speaks of R. Simeon בוליטה 'the counsellor.'

CHAP. VI^m.

SECT. I. *Of the four-and-twenty courses of the priests.*

IT is a very received opinion among the Hebrew doctorsⁿ, that the courses of the priests were first ordained by Moses; namely [as some of them say], four of Eleazar, and

^k *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 691.

^l *Jerus. in Taanith*, cap. 4.

^m *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 915.

ⁿ *Talm. Jerus. in Taanith*, cap. 4. *Maim. in Kele Mikd.* cap. 4. *Kimch. in 1 Chron.* xxiv. *R. Sol. ibid.*

four of Ithamar; but as others, eight of the one, and eight of the other. They that conceive, that Moses ordained but eight in all, hold that Samuel added eight more, and made them sixteen; and then came David, and added yet other eight, and made them four-and-twenty. But those that hold, that Moses ordained sixteen, conceive, that David and Samuel joined counsels together, in adding the other eight to them. In which intricacy to perplex ourselves to dispute, whether it were this way or that way, is both needless and useless; since the first time the Scripture tells us of any courses, it tells us of the four-and-twenty, and David the ordainer and distributor of them: he, by the Spirit of God, giving them their number,—and a divine lot appointing their order.

For our better viewing and observing of these courses, and service of the priests in them, it may not be amiss to begin with the consideration of their age, when they entered into the service, and their manner of induction to it; and then to see the manner and condition of their courses.

1. We read in the Jewish writers exceeding frequent mention of פרחי כהונה “The springals of the priesthood;” for so I may well render it; or “buds of the priesthood;” for so the word signifies in propriety: as in the treatise Joma it is said, that^o “on the night that preceded the day of expiation, if the high-priest began to slumber, the פרחי כהונה springals of the priesthood filliped with their fingers to waken him:”—where the gloss expounds it, that “they were young men, the hair of whose beards began to bud.”—And in the treatise Tamid^p it is said, that “the ancients of the house of their father lay upon benches; but the פרחי כהונה springals of the priesthood lay on the ground;” where the gloss giveth the very same exposition of the phrase that it did before. But R. Nathan expounds it, “The sons of the priests, that were now fit for the service^q:”—and some others^r do also expound it שהגיעו לעבודה “Such as were new come to the service; which, in the same place in the Misna, are called ריבים ‘youths.’”

2. Now the ages of the priests, at their entrance into the service, we find to be threefold, or held out in the Scripture in a threefold variety. For the first law about the age of

^o Joma, cap. 1.

^p Tam. cap. 1.

^q Aruch in פרח.

^r Vid. Gloss. in Misn. et Gemar. in Tam. in locum citat.

the priests at their entrance into the service, was at thirty years of age, Num. iv. 3; and so the Levites, ver. 23. 30. 35. But another text speaketh of the Levites' going in to wait from twenty-five years old and upward, Num. viii. 24. And a third text speaketh of the sons of Levi, doing the service from twenty years old and upward, 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. 27. In which variety there is not contradiction, but alteration in reference to several respects. The fixed and consistent time was thirty years old initiant [and so our Saviour answered the type at his entrance into his ministry, Luke iii]; but at five-and-twenty they were probationers, and might do some services, saith Aben Ezra, but they might not do all: for they might wait upon the tabernacle, but they might not bear the ark^s. And ^ttherefore when the ark was now settled in the temple and no more to be borne up and down, —David, by divine warrant, warrants their entrance to their function at twenty years old: and then were they but פְּרָחִים כְּחֹנֶה “Springals of the priesthood,” the down of their cheeks but now breaking out. The attendance of Samuel at the tabernacle at Shiloh, from a very child, was a case extraordinary; and ^uhis work there was but a candidate and probationer, to learn the manner of the service and the song.

3. The manner of their instalment and admission to the service was thus^v: The great Sanhedrim sat daily in the room Gazith, to judge concerning the priests that came to age, to enter into the service, to see whether they were of the priests' line rightly descended or no: and if they proved so, then to see whether they were without blemish. If they proved not truly and completely priests born, they were clothed in black, and veiled in black, and so turned away, and no more to do with them: but if he proved of the priests' line rightly begotten, and there were any blemish in him of the hundred and forty blemishes, for^w so many they number,—then he was set to the worming^x of the wood; of which we have spoken in the description of the court of the women. But if he proved rightly descended, and without any blemish, then was he clothed in white, and enrolled among the rest^y of the priests, and he went in and served at the altar, as the others did:—and to these customs that speech

^s Aben. Ez. in Nam. viii. ^t D. Kimch. in 1 Chron. xxiii. ^u Id. in 1 Sam. ii.

^v Mid. cap. 5. Maim. in Biath. Mikd. cap. 6. ^w Id. ib. cap. 8.

^x “Tum præficiebatur separando verminosa ligna.”—Leusden.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 692.

alludeth in Rev. iii. 5; "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life."

And^r here a story, mentioned by Suidas, may not be unworthy to be related, though it be not so worthy to be believed, and that is this:—

One Theodosius^a, a Jew, in the time of Justinian the emperor, related to one Philip, a Christian [who persuaded him to become a Christian also], as a great secret among the Jewish nation, and known but to few neither; that, in the time of the temple's standing, even while Jesus Christ lived as a private person, a certain priest died at Jerusalem, and the heads of the priests met together to choose another in his stead: and while one named one, and another another, a certain priest stood up and named Jesus the son of Joseph the carpenter, as one known to them for a man of most singular wisdom and integrity. But when some objected, that Joseph was not of the tribe of Levi, but of Judah, and so Jesus his son was not capable of the priesthood; and it was answered again, that he was come of a stock that had so mixed with the tribe of Levi that he might be admitted,—he was generally approved of, as one fit to succeed in the room of the priest deceased. Now, because it was the custom to enrol the names of those that were admitted to be priests, and the names of their parents,—they called the mother of Jesus to give them account of his parentage,—for Joseph was now dead; and when she had told them, that he had no earthly father, but was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and that she bare him, as divers could witness which were present at her travail, but that she was yet a virgin: and when they had taken the witness of some, that were with her at her childbirth, and had received testimony from other women, whom they set to search her, that she was still a virgin, they entered the name and parentage of Jesus into their register, in these words; "Such a day such a priest died, the son of such a man, and such a woman; and by the common suffrage there was chosen in his stead, Jesus the Son of the living God, and of the Virgin Mary." And this register book (saith this relater) at the sacking and destruction of Jerusalem, was preserved by the care and industry of some of the chief of the Jews, and is now laid up privately

^r English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 916.

^a Suidas in voce Ἰησοῦς.

at Tiberias : [“and this story (saith Suidas) I had from some that heard it from Philip ; to whom it was related.”

Not to insist upon the examination of this story, but to leave it as we found it, and to return to the courses that we are about ; it is held by the Jews, and that not without some ground, that of all the four-and-twenty courses that served under the first temple, four only returned out of the captivity of Babel ; namely, Jedaiah, Harim, Pashur, Immer. Thus the Jerusalem Talmud, and Tosaph. ad Taanith^b reckon them, from Ezra ii. 36—39. But the Babylon Talmud, instead of *Harim*^c, nameth *Joiarib* ; and the gloss upon it doth justly scruple, how Pashur is now become one of the courses, who was none of them before.

But how shall these four families do, to make four-and-twenty courses, as was the primitive and original distribution, and that by prophetic and divine appointment ? The prophets, therefore, that were amongst the children of the captivity [say the same authors], found out a way to cast them into so many courses ; and their way was this :—

“ They made four-and-twenty lots, and they wrote the names of the heads of the four-and-twenty courses upon them, and put them into the lottery-box. Jedaiah took out five, and himself one,—there is six. Harim took out five, and himself one,—there is six. Pashur took out five, and himself one,—there is six. Immer took out five, and himself one,—there is six. And the prophets that were among them, conditioned with them, that though Joiarib came out of captivity, yet should he not drive out the course that was before him.”

Now the meaning of this tradition is this ; That, in drawing these lots with the names of the heads of the old courses upon them, they only intended to find out, what courses of the old names must be made out of every one of these four families, and they did not intend to alter the order of the courses, but to let them run, as they did, in the ancient round : only the course of Joiarib, which of old was the first, is now put to give place to Jedaiah. And the reason of this was, because Jedaiah was of the high-priest's family, of the house of Joshua the son of Jozedek ; and so they allotted him the pre-eminence, Ezra ii. 36. The gloss, indeed, upon the Babylon Talmud, gives the reason to be, because, “ in^d this their new molding, every one was to take his course, as

^b Talm. Jerus. ubi ante. Tosaph. ad Taanith, cap. 4. ^c Tal. Bab. ib. ^d Gloss, ib.

his lot was drawn, and in the order that the lot came up in the drawer's hand, they served their weeks." But if this were a reason, why should not Joiarib be a drawer of the lots as well as Jedaiah, since the record saith he was present? And if they were so indifferent for the altering of the order of the courses^e, why should they be so punctual for their number, since the one, in the primitive institution, was appointed by divine direction as well as the other? When the evangelist Luke saith, that Zachary, the father of John the Baptist, was "of the course of Abia^f," he undoubtedly referreth to the order of Abia's course, as it is ranked in 1 Chron. xxiv. 10: for the family of Abia was not now extant among the courses; for there is no mention at all of him among the priests, that returned out of captivity; and therefore the evangelist saith, not that Zachary was of his *family*, but of his *course*; that is, of a course that bare^g his name: but, as for the order of the course, he either referreth to the text mentioned, as to a place to be found in Scripture, and so his words to be construed and understood by it; or else there is no order of his course to be found at all.

The courses being thus divided after the captivity anew, but ordered and ranked as of old, and in time increased and grown numerous, על כל משמר ומשמר היה מעמד בירושלים, "Every course" [saith the Misna in the place aforecited] "had a station in Jerusalem;" which the Jerusalem Gemara expoundeth thus; "It is a tradition, that 2400 were the station at Jerusalem, and half a station was at Jericho. And Jericho, also, was able to have produced a whole station; but because it would give the honour to Jerusalem, it yielded but half. And when any course was to go up to Jerusalem, half the course went up to Jerusalem out of the land of Israel, and half the course went up out of Jericho:"—which the Babylonian Gemara wordeth thus, "There were four-and-twenty courses in the land of Israel, and twelve at Jericho."

Not that there are six-and-thirty courses to be supposed, but that the four-and-twenty were thus divided,—that half, or more, of every course, were continually resident in Jerusalem, and about it, that they might unfailingly be ready for the service, when the time of their course came; and the other part, or half of every course, was up and down dispersed through the land. Only at and about Jericho, there

^e Leusden's edit. vol. 1. p. 693. ^f Luke, i. 5. ^g English folio-edit. vol. 1. p. 917.

was a great number constantly of every course residing there, as the others did at Jerusalem; who, when the week of their course came, went up, either to assist their brethren of the course in their service, or to help to cater provisions for them, while they served. מתקנים לאחיכם "They ordered for their brethren," saith one Gloss upon the place: לאחיכם שיספקו מים ומזון "That their brethren might have sufficient of water and provision," saith another. And as for the rest of that course, that were neither at Jerusalem nor at Jericho, but dispersed up and down the country, they and the Levites, and the stationary men, that were appertaining to that course, met together in their synagogues, according as they were near together, and fasted, and prayed, and read the law, and made supplications, that their brethren's service, now in hand at Jerusalem, might be accepted. ישראל שבאותו משמר מתכנסין לעריהן "Israel that was of that course," saith the Misna even now cited, "gathered themselves into their cities and fasted," &c. Where, by the word *Israel*, is not meant the 'Israelites' or 'stationary-men' of that course, as they stood in opposition and distinct to priests and Levites,—but it meaneth all the priests and Levites, and stationary men that were of that course, who were dispersed through the land of Israel, in distinction to those that were then at Jerusalem at the service.

As the courses were, every one of them, thus divided, in regard of place and attendance, so was every one of them also distinguished into degrees.

1. There was ראש המשמר "The head of the course," who was president over them all, and who resembled that eminent person, from whom the course took its name. The most of these heads, no doubt, were of the great Sanhedrim; and, though in the affairs of the temple, the 'Sagan,' 'Katholikin,' 'Immarcalin,' and 'Gizbarin,' of whom hath been spoken already, were above them,—yet in this great council they were all equal, and these altogether are those, that are so frequently mentioned by the Gospels, as members of that judicatory, by the name of *chief priests*.

2. There were ראש בית אב "The heads of the houses of their fathers:" for^b the president of the course divided the course so among the houses of the fathers, that every house or family might serve its day. And those that were in these

^b Maim. in Kele Mikdash, cap. 4.

several families under the head of the house of their father, were called כֹּהֲנֵי הַדְּיוֹטָא, ἱερεῖς ἰδιώται, "private or ordinary priests."

These courses entered on the sabbath, and on the next sabbath they went out, 2 Kings xi. 7. 2 Chron. xxiii. 4; serving only a week at a time; and so their attendance was required twice in the year.

The serving of every course was thus divided:—

The ⁱ course that had five houses of fathers^j in it, three served three days, and two served four days.

The course that had six houses of fathers in it, five served five days, and one served two days.

The course that had seven houses of fathers in it, they served every one their day.

The course that had eight houses of fathers in it, six served six days, and two one day.

And the course that had nine houses of fathers in it, five served five days, and four served two days.

In^k their attendance, the men of the course were permitted to drink wine in the night, but not in the day; because it might be, that the service of their brethren might be too heavy for the house of the father that was to serve, and they might be necessitated to come in and help, which they might not do having drunk wine. But the men of the house of the father that were to serve, might not drink wine either by day or by night. Whosoever knew his course and the house of his father, he was forbidden wine only for that day that his father's house served; he that^l knew his course, but not his father's house" (the knowledge of which in long continuance might be lost) "he was forbidden wine all that week."

In some exigents, the priests might serve, though they were unclean. "Every^m offering, either of the congregation, or of a particular person, the time for the offering of which is fixed" (as all the time-offerings of the congregations be), "they dispense with the sabbath, and with uncleanness; but that is with uncleanness or defiling by the dead only: as, for example, the time fixed for such a sacrifice is come, and the most of the congregation that should offer it, are defiled by the dead, as 2 Chron. xxx. 17; or

ⁱ Talm. Jer. et Tosaph. ubi supr. ^j Leusden's edit. vol. 1. p. 694. ^k Tosaph. ibid. English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 918. ^m Maim. in Biath Mikdash cap. 4.

the congregation is clean, but the priests that should offer it, are defiled by the dead; or both of them are clean, and the vessels of the service are so defiled,—yet must it be offered in this uncleanness, and the clean and unclean may be employed about it alike, and they may all go into the court. But those that are unclean with any other uncleanness, as by fluxes, issues, touching of creeping things, any carcass, or the like, may not be employed about the service, nor may they go into the court.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE LEVITES.

SECT. I.

Of the Porters and Guards of the Temple.

THEⁿ Levites were divided into porters and singers; fixed offices which they might not change^o, one to intrude into another's office, and neither of them into the priests'.

The distribution of porters into four-and-twenty courses, is not so clearly legible in the Scripture, as is such a distribution of the priests and singers; for the courses of both those are both numbered and named, and so are not these. And yet do these two texts, 2 Chron. viii. 14, and 1 Chron. xxvi. 17, 18, hold out so fair a probability of such a thing, that it may almost as readily be concluded upon, as may the other. For, in the former, the porters go in the very same equipage, as to the matter of division into courses, with the priests and singers: "He appointed the courses of the priests, according to the order of David his father, and the Levites to their charges, to praise and minister before the Lord, as the duty of every day required; the porters also by their courses at every gate." And in the latter, the first fathers of the porters are summed up to the very same number, that the first fathers of the other courses were, namely, to four-and-twenty: "Amongst all the porters (saith David Kimchi^p) there were four-and-twenty, according to the rest of the courses; six on the east side, four on the north, four on the south: at Asuppim two and two, four in all; four on the west, and two at Parbar; behold four-and-twenty. And our Rabbins have distributed them into four-and-twenty places," &c.

ⁿ 1 Chron. xxv, xxvi. • Erachin, cap. 2. in Gemar. ^p Kimchi in 1 Chron. xxvi.

The office of the porters was first to open and shut the doors of the Mountain of the House, and of the Court of the Women (for we have observed elsewhere, that the priests took care for opening and shutting the gates of the other court); and to attend in those gates all the day for prevention of any inconvenience, that might come to the prejudice of the purity, safety, or peace of the place or service. Secondly; The Scripture puts some treasurership upon the porters,—as, that they had some treasures and treasuries at the gates, where they attended; of which is spoken at large in our treating concerning the gates and treasuries elsewhere. As for that part of their office and employment, which the Rabbins do sometimes make mention of, under the phrase of *להניף ולתור*, whether it were the brushing of the gates, and keeping of the gilding bright, or their being the turnkeys at the wickets, or little doors within the great gates, when the gates were shut; it was a work so coincident with their attendance at the gates continually, that it is but a piece of that employment, and needs not to be taken for an office by itself.

Now, besides this care of the porters at the gates by day, there was as much or more both at the gates and other places by night in the guards, which were set to watch the temple^q, which were four-and-twenty in all. “The guards of the Sanctuary (saith Maimonides^r) was an affirmative command; although there were not fear either of enemies or thieves: and the command concerning this guarding, was, that it should be by night. And they that warded, were the Priests and the Levites; as it is said, Thou and thy sons with thee, before the tabernacle of the congregation,” &c. Now whether the Levites that were of these guards, were the porters only, and not the singers also of every course as it came in, might^s very well be questioned, if it were worth the labour to examine it: but were they, or were they not, the guards were in number four-and-twenty, and were kept in four-and-twenty places every night, three of priests, and one-and-twenty of Levites. 1. There was a guard at every one of these gates of the Mountain of the House; one at the east gate Shushan; one at the north gate Tedi; two at the two south gates Huldah; and one at the west gate Co-

^q *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 695.

^r *Maim. in Beth habech. cap. 8.*

^s *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 919.

ponius. And there was a guard within every one of the four corners of that great square: so that there were nine in that boundary-wall, that encompassed the holy ground. The three other gates on the west quarter, namely, one of Parbar, and two of Asuppim, had not night-guards at them as the rest had, though they had porters by day; either because the steep descent from them did help their security, or because they found some security for them some other way. 2. About the wall that enclosed the courts, there were two guards at the two east corners, and at the west, and both of them without the wall of the court; and there were five at five of the seven gates. The two gates that had not the Levites' guards upon them, were the Water-gate, over which there was a guard of priests in the chamber of Abtines; and the upper gate of Corban, by which there was a guard of priests in the room Beth Mokadh. And there was one guard more of Levites on the north side, in the chamber of Corban, over-against the holy place; and another on the south side over-against the veil; and another just behind the most holy place. The gate Nitsots had a guard of priests and Levites both at it, very near together. All which places will be easier understood upon sight of them in the map that we have drawn of the temple, and building about it, if it could once find the hap to come to sight.

There^t was one that walked the round through all these guards every night, and him they called, 'The man of the mountain of the house.' "And if he found any one not standing on his feet, he said unto him, Peace be unto thee; but if he found any one asleep, he struck him, and had liberty to set fire on his garments: so that they would say, What noise is yonder in the court? Why, it is the noise of a Levite beaten, and his coat burnt, because he slept upon the guard." Rabbi Eliezer the son of Jacob saith, One time they found my mother's brother sleeping, and they burnt his garments." Now whether this 'man of the mountain of the house' were the sagan [as some have thought, but very unlikely]; or one man of the course that then waited, appointed for this purpose, as is the opinion of Maimonides^u and Bartenora^v; or whosoever he was, methinks his action in burn-

^t Maim. in Beth habech. cap. 8.

^u Maim. ubi ante.

^v Bartenor. in Middoth.

ing the sleeper's garments, giveth light to that place, Rev. xvi. 15, "Blessed is he, that watcheth and keepeth his garments."

SECT. II.

Of the Singers and Temple-music.

NOT to insist upon the ordaining and division of the singers and their courses, of which there is large description, 1 Chron. xxv; nor to search the ground of the temple-music from the law, about which the Gemarists are copiously inquisitive in the treatise Erachin^w; let us take up a little consideration, first, of the persons of the singers themselves; and then, of their song and music.

Maimonides tells us^x, that the singers were Levites and Israelites together, מוזן לוין ומוזן ישראלין מיוחדים לכהונה לכהונה שאין עולה על דוכן אלא מיוחדים He had spoken immediately before, that the song of the temple was properly with voices, and not with instruments, because the ground of that song which was the service, was the voice: עיקר שירה בקול, which is a maxim, that the Talmud speaketh of exceeding oft; yet he concludeth, that others stood with the voices, with instruments. "And some of them (saith he) were Levites, and some of them were Israelites of note, that had married with the priesthood; for none might go up into the desks of the song-men, but men of note."

The Misna, in the treatise Erachin cited above, doth make the like division in this point; and it doth it so, as that the Israelites our Rabbin speaketh of, appear to have their part in the instrumental music only, and not in the vocal. For having made mention of the sounding of the trumpets, and the music of other instruments, and how they were used, it concludeth thus: "Now these" (that played upon such and such instruments, for that was the discourse in the next words before) "were the servants of the priests. The words of Rabbi Meir: Rabbi Jose saith, It was the family of Pagarim, and the family of Tsippariah of מעמקס Emmaus, which were taken to the priesthood. Rabbi Haninah the son of Antigonus saith, They were Levites." The Gloss upon the place^y saith, "These were families of Israelites of note, whose daughters the priests had married."

^w Erachin, fol. 11.

^x Maim. in Kele Mikdash, cap. 3.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 696.

The treatise Succah² speaketh of these very families, and saith, "They were of Ai and Emmaus" (it is written **אמאוס** there): and the Gloss there saith, "They were Israelites of worth, whose daughters and widows were fit to be married to the priests."

So^a that it is a disputed case, whether any one were employed in the music but the Levites only: but if any other, they were to be as near the priesthood as possible, both for alliance and qualifications; and when they were come to the highest they could, they were not admitted to join voices with the vocal music, which was the proper song, and the proper service, but only to join with the instrumental:—which was but thus much, that if any man of worth and piety, or in near affinity with the priesthood, had addicted himself to musical devotions, and to pour out his praises to God that way (as that was then greatly in use), if he came to offer to join his skill and devotion to the temple chorus, they refused him not, but let him put in with his instrument among the instruments; but among the voices he might not join, for that belonged only to the Levites. So it is said in 2 Sam. vi. 5: "And David and all the houses of Israel played on all manner of instruments made of fine wood, even on harps, and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and cymbals."

As for the number of singers, that is, the voices,—they were never to be under twelve; for so was the number of every course, when they were divided into their courses, 1 Chron. xxv: but as many above twelve as might be; and so their tradition^b is express; "There must not be less than twelve Levites in the desks, but they add to the number ever." And whereas the Levites' children might never come within the court, upon any other occasion, nor at any other time whatsoever; yet might they come in, when the Levites were singing, and might sing with them, not going up into the desks, and looking over as the Levites did, but standing upon the ground, between their fathers' legs^c. And the warrant for this they take from those words in Ezra iii. 9: "Then stood Jeshua with his sons, Kadmiel and his sons, &c. And they sang together by course," &c. And they back it also with this reason^d, &c: **דָּהַי קָשִׁי קְלִיָּהוּ וְהַי עַב קְלִיָּהוּ** "Be-

² Succah, cap. 5, in Gemara.

^b Erachin, ubi sup.

^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 920.

^c Glossa, ibid.

^d Gemara, ibid.

cause the voice of those was small, and the others' big, those trebled, and the other sang more bass : and so by this means they made the more full and the more sweet music."

The instruments, that they used, were either wind-instruments, or instruments with strings. The first of their wind-instruments to be looked after were their trumpets, of whose attendance on the altar-service we find mention, 2 Chron. vii. 6. xxix. 26, and in divers other places, where the use of them is ascribed to the priests, and not to the Levites : for, indeed, they were none of the concert, but a music when the concert stopped, as we shall see anon.

The number of the trumpets was to be 'not under two^e,' nor above 'a hundred and twenty.' The reason why 'not under two,' was because of that command, Num. x. 2, "Make thee two trumpets." And why not above a hundred and twenty, was because of that example at the beginning of the temple-service, 2 Chron. v. 12.

The Lord enjoined in Num. x. 10, that "in the day of their rejoicing, and in their solemn feasts, and in the new moons, they should blow with trumpets." This was the warrant and engagement of this trumpet-music; and the manner of it was thus :—

Those that blew with trumpets, were the priests ; for so was the original institution, that "the priests, the sons of Aaron, should blow with them," Num. x. 8. 1 Chron. xv. 24. And their standing, when they were about this piece of service, was not, where the Levites stood in the desks, or near them, but it was clean on the other side of the altar ; and they stood looking down the court when they blew the trumpets, as the Levites stood looking up the court when they sang and played, but both looking on the altar : "Two priests stood by the table of the fat שולחן חלבִים with two silver trumpets in their hand," &c ; as saith the Misna^f of the Talmud in the place cited in the margin. Now it speaketh of two priests, because that was the lowest number of trumpets, that might be used : and if there were more, they stood in the same place in more compass,—namely, on the west side of the rise of the altar : for there, as is observed in the place, the Table of the Fat was placed.

The manner of their blowing with their trumpets was first a long plain blast ; then a blast with breakings and quaver-

^e Maim. ubi supr.

^f Tamid, cap. 7.

ings; and then a long, plain blast again: this the Jews call תקיעה תרועה תרועה תקיעה, and in their short writings they express it thus, ת'ת'ת'. The Misna last cited saith, that the priests, standing in the place there mentioned, תקעו והרעו ותקעו, “sounded, blew alarm, sounded;” for so let me English it, till farther discourse do more fully show its meaning.

The priests did never blow, but these three blasts went together: and hereupon arose that dispute, which occurs more than once or twice in the Talmud,—about how many times the trumpets sounded before the altar every day.

The general tradition ran thus, אין פוחתין מב"א תקיעה: “They^h never sounded less than one-and-twenty soundings in the Sanctuary, and never more than eight-and-forty.” But there were some that express it thusⁱ, “That they never sounded less than seven soundings, nor more than sixteen.” Now the reason of this difference, which, indeed, was no difference at all, was this^j,—because the one party held the three distinct^k blowings to be but one sounding, and the other held them to be three soundings distinct.

The Jews do express these three several soundings, that they made at one blowing, by these words, תרעמה באמצע ופשוטה לפנייה ולאחריה “an alarm in the midst” [for so our English renders תרועה, Num. x. 5, 6: Vatablus, ‘vox infracta,’ ‘a broken or quavering sounding’], “and a plain note before it and after it:”—which our Christian writers do most commonly express by *Taratantara*; though that word seem to put the quavering sound before and after, and the plain in the midst, contrary to the Jewish description of it.

A second wind-instrument that they used, was חליל *chalil*, or אבוב *abub*, a pipe, or hautboy, or cornet, or some such loud wind music: which of these I will not much question. The Jews in this story^m give us some character of it: “Our Rabbins have delivered [say they], that there was an *abub* or pipe in the sanctuary” [the Gemara and the Gloss intimate *chalil* and *abub* were all one]: “it was smooth, it was thin, it was of reed, and it was from the days of Moses. The king commanded, and they gilt it all over with gold; but then the

^g Erachin, cap. 2. in Mish. et Succah, cap. 5. ^h Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 697.

ⁱ Gemara, ib. ^j Talm. Jer. in Succah, cap. 5. et Gemara, Bab. in Erach. cap. 2.

^k English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 921.

^l Talm. Bab. in Succah. ubi sup. in Gemar. fol. 53, et Gloss. ib. et Gloss. in Erach. ubi sup. ^m Gemara in Erach. ib. et Aruch in אבוב.

sound of it was not so sweet as before: they took off the gilding, and the sound was as sweet as ever."

Now this pipe or hautboy, or call it what you will, was not a constant music at the altar every day, as the trumpets were, and the other instruments that we are to speak of; but it was used only twelve days in all the year. "There were not to be less than two Chalils or pipes [saith the Talmudic tradition^a], and there were not to be more than twelve. And on twelve days of the year did they play on the chalil, before the altar, namely, at the killing of the first passover" [or the Passover in the first month], "and at the killing of the second passover" [in the second month], "on the first holiday of the Passover-week, on the holiday of Pentecost [Lev. xxiii. 4], and on the eight days of the feast of tabernacles: and they played not on a pipe of brass but of reed, because the sound of that is sweet. And the close was made with one pipe or hautboy alone, because such a close is most delightful: for one pipe" [saith the Gloss^o] "drew out the close, after the other had done: for this is a better way, than if they should have closed altogether. And this music of the chalil was at the time of the offering: and the Levites sang the Hallel with their voices, all the twelve days mentioned; but on the other days, the other instruments were used, and they sang the ordinary song."

Those other instruments, therefore, that were the constant music, and never failed from attendance, were these three, צלצל, כנור, נבל, *nebhel*, *kinnor*, and *tsettsel*: and these were severally distributed to the sons of the three master-musicians, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, 1 Chron. xv. 19—21. See these three instruments named together [save that instead of צלצל the word מצלתים is used, which maketh no difference] 1 Chron. xvi. 5, and xxv. 1. Neh. xii. 27, &c. 2 Chron. xxix. 25.

In going about to determine punctually and exactly, what kind of instruments these three were, we might spend a great deal of time in showing what this, and that, and the other author saith of them: and when we have done all, we must sit down with a conjecture, that, it may be, one of them was of this fashion, and another was of that, for it will be very hard and daring to be positive in them. And therefore we will only take up with Josephus's character and de-

^a Erach. ubi sup. in Mish.

^o Gloss. ib.

scription of them, who himself was often present no doubt at the temple-music, and whose describing of them will give satisfaction enough to those, that look rather after the time, order, and managing of the music, than at the very concert of the music itself.

1. נבל *he^p* renders *Νάβλα*, and defines it thus; Ἡ δὲ *Νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται.*

2. כנור *he* expresseth by *Κινύρα*, and gives it this character; Ἡ μὲν *κινύρα δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξημμένη τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ.*

3. And צלצל or מצלת *he* translath *Κύμβαλον*; and saith of that kind of instrument, *Κύμβαλά τε ἦν πλατέα καὶ μεγάλη χάλκεια.*

Upon which words we may take up these observations:

1. That נבל and כנור, which our English constantly translates *harps* and *psalteries*, were strung instruments, and not wind instruments; as those were, that we have spoken of before.

2. That though both these were instruments with strings, yet there was this difference between them: 1. That the one was struck with a quill or a bow, as are our citterns and viols; and the other with the fingers, as the pandura and the lute. And, 2. That the notes of the one were made and differed by stops and frets,—and of the other, by the several strings; for so are the words *φθόγγους* and *χορδαῖς* to be understood and distinguished^q. 3. That the נבל *nebhel* had twelve strings, which made twelve several notes; as it is with our harps and virginals, where the several notes are not made by stops, as they are on lutes, but every several string is a several note: and the כנור *kinnor* had ten strings, but the notes were made with frets and stops. I should, therefore, according to Josephus's character, if that be current, translate *nebhel*, a harp; for the several strings made the several notes, and it was struck with the fingers; in both which things our harps^r agree. And כנור *kinnor* I should liken to our citterns or viols, stopped on the frets, and played on with a quill or bow, and should translate it a *viol*. “Rabbi Judah said, The כנור *kinnor* of the sanctuary had seven strings: but in the days of Messiah it shall have eight; as it is said, To him that excelleth upon Sheminith, or upon the eighth string of the world to come^s.”

3. צלצל, which both our English, the LXX. [in Psalm

^p Joseph, lib. 7. cap. 10. [Hudson, p. 319.]

^r *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 922.

^q *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 698.

^s *Gemara in Erach. ubi sup.*

cl.] and Josephus [in his words cited] do render *cymbals*, seemeth to have been neither wind-instrument, nor string-instrument, but some broad instrument of brass, whereon their music was made by beating on it as on a tabor. "They were great and broad cymbals of brass," saith Josephus. And the Talmudics^t tell this story of one of their cymbals; "There was a cymbal צלצל in the Sanctuary, and it was made of brass, and the sound of it was sweet. It became cracked, and the wise men sent and fetched workmen from Alexandria, who mended it; but then the sound was not so sweet as before. They took off the mending, and the sound was as sweet, as it used to be." There^u might not be above one cymbal in the choir at once, and this seemeth to have borne the bass, as being deepest and loudest. To this the apostle alludes in his expression, 1 Cor. xiii. 1.

We shall not be farther curious nor inquisitive about this matter, concerning the form or nature of the music-instruments, since our inquiry is after the song itself; I shall only add this^v,—that of the *nebhels* or harps, there might not be less than two in the choir, nor above six: and^w of the כנורות *kinnor* or viols not under nine, but as many above as possible: and so the least choir that could be, was nine viols, two harps, and one cymbal. And now let us hear the music itself.

1. The trumpets sounded their תת"ת *taratantara* [for so for company will we call it^x] every morning at the opening of the court-gates, particularly at the opening of the east gate, or the gate of Nicanor^y. Now though this practice had not any express and literal command, yet was it grounded upon this necessity and reason, because that the Levites and stationary men might have notice to come to attend their desks and service: and that the people of Jerusalem might hear and take notice, and those that would come to the temple. So that this sounding was, as it were, the bells to ring them into the service: and after this the trumpets sounded not, till the very time of the morning sacrifice.

2. The song and music began not to sound, till the pouring out of the drink-offering. This is a traditionary maxim, exceeding common and received among the Rabbins,

^t Gemara in Erach. fol. 10. et Tal. Jerus. in Succah, fol. 55.

^u Maim. in Kele Mikd. cap. 3.

^v Erach. cap. 2. in Mish.

^w Tosaph. in Erach. cap. 2.

^x Succ. cap. 5. in Mish. Maim. ib.

^y Gloss. ibid.

and they descant upon it thus: *אין אמר שירה אלא על היין*
 “They utter not the song but over the wine of the drink-offering: for^a a man singeth not but for gladness of heart. Therefore^b they utter not the song at the very time of the offering, but over the wine, which cheereth God and man,” as Jud. ix. 13. And so the treatise *Tamid*, describing the manner of the daily service, relateth, that, when the high-priest was minded to offer the sacrifice, he^c went up the rise or bridge of the altar, and the *sagan* on his right hand. When he came to the midst of the rise, the *sagan* took him by the right hand and lifted him up: then the first man, that was to bring up the pieces of the sacrifice, reached him up the head and the feet, and the second reached him the two shoulders, and so the rest reached him the rest of the parts, and he disposed of them, &c. And when he was to go about the altar, to sprinkle the blood upon the horns of it, he began at the south-east corner, and from thence to the north-east, and so to the north-west, and concluded at the south-west. “They give him the wine of the drink-offering to pour it out: the *sagan* stood by the horn of the altar, and a napkin in his hand: and two priests stood by the table of the fat, and two silver trumpets in their hand to sound. They came and stood by Ben Arza, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left: he [the high-priest] stooped down to pour out the drink-offering, and the *sagan* waved with his napkin, and Ben Arza struck up his cymbal, and the Levites began the song.” And so may we understand that passage, 2 Chron. xxix. 27; “And when the burnt-offering began, the song of the Lord began with the trumpets and with the instruments;”—namely, when the drink-offering was poured out; for till then the offering was not perfect, because every burnt-offering was bound to have a meat-offering and a drink-offering, or else it was not right, Num. xv. 5. And this may be the proper cause, whatsoever the Jews descant, why the music began not till the drink-offering; namely, they stayed, till the offering was complete, and then began.

3. The^d constant and ordinary psalms that they sang, were these:—

^a Erachin, in Gemara. ubi sup. fol. 11.

^b Gloss. in Pesachin, cap. 5. fol. 64.

^d Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 699.

^a Gloss. ib.

^c Tam. cap. 7.

On^d the first day of the week, the four-and-twentieth psalm, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," &c.

On the second day of the week, the forty-eighth psalm: "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of God," &c.

On the third day, the eighty-second psalm: "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among the gods," &c.

On the fourth day, the ninety-fourth psalm: "O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth," &c.

On^e the fifth day, the eighty-first psalm: "Sing aloud unto God our strength, make a joyful noise unto the God of Jacob," &c.

On the sixth day of the week, the ninety-third psalm: "The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty," &c.

On the sabbath-day, they sang the ninety-second psalm, which bears the title of "A psalm or song for the sabbath-day."

These were the known, and constant, and fixed psalms, that the singers sang, and the music played to, on the several days of the week: and the reason of the choice of these several psalms for the several days, the Gemara^f on the treatise Rosh Hashanah, and the Gloss upon the treatise Tamid, do give to this purpose:

On the first day of the week, they sang the psalm, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," &c. Because on the first day of the week of the creation, God possessed the world, and gave it in possession, and ruled in it."

On the second day of the week, they sang the psalm, "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised," &c. For, on that day the Lord divided his works, the waters, and reigned over them."

On the third day, they sang the psalm, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty," &c. Because on that day the earth appeared, on which is judging and judges; and by his wisdom he discovered the earth, and established the world by his understanding."

On the fourth day, they sang the psalm, "O Lord God

^d Tamid, ubi sup. Rosh. hash. fol. 31. Maim. in Tamid, cap. 6.

^e English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 923.

^f Rosh. hash. ubi sup. Gloss. in Tamid, c. 7.

to whom vengeance belongeth,' &c. Because on the fourth day he made the sun, moon, and stars, and will be avenged on them, that worship them."

On the fifth day the psalm, "' Sing aloud unto God our strength,' &c. Because of the variety of creatures, that were made, that day, to praise his name."

On the sixth day the psalm, "' The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty,' &c. Because on the sixth day God finished his works, made man, who understands the glory of the Creator, and the Lord ruled over all his works." Thus they descant.

4. Now^s the singers, in singing of these psalms, divided every one of them into three parts, making three large pauses or rests in them; and ceased their music and singing for a while. These parts and pauses the Talmudics call פרקים, and they say thus of them; that " they were בנעימות קול להפסיק pausings or intermissions in the vocal music; and when the voices ceased, the instruments ceased also; and so in every psalm the music made three intermissions."

5. At these intermissions the trumpets sounded, and the people worshipped: על כל פרק תקיעה ועל כל תקיעה השתחויה " For at every pause [saith the Talmud] there was a sounding with the trumpets, and at every sounding there was a worshipping." Their sounding with the trumpets, was, as hath been spoken before, a *taratantara* [as we have chosen to call it], and they never sounded otherwise than so, when they sounded; namely, three strains,—a plain, a quavering, and a plain again. And thus did the trumpets sound one-and-twenty blasts every day; three, at the opening of the court-gate,—nine, at the morning sacrifice,—and nine, at the evening sacrifice:—namely, three soundings at the three pausings of the music, and the three strains named, at every sounding. And so we see, that the trumpets were never joined with the choir in concert, but sounded only, when the choir was silent.

Thus was the song, and these were the psalms, sung ordinarily throughout all the year: but, at some certain days, there were other psalms and songs used, and the trumpets also sounded extraordinary soundings, besides that number now mentioned.

As, 1. On^h the eve of the sabbath, the trumpets sounded

^s Rosh. hash. ubi sup. Gloss. in Tamid, cap. 7.

^h Succ. cap. 5.

two soundings more than they used to do at other days;—namely, one [which consisted of the three strains] to cause the people to cease from work; and another, to distinguish between the common day, and the holy day that was now come in.

2. On the sabbaths themselves, there was an additional sacrifice, besides the daily sacrifice, according to the appointment, Num. xxviii. 9, 10. Andⁱ at the time of this additional sacrifice, the Levites sang Moses's song, in Deut. xxxii, "Hear O heavens, and I will speak," &c: but they sang it not all at one time, but divided into six parts, and sang one part of it every sabbath; and so in six sabbath-days they finished it, and then began again. Thus did they at the additional morning sacrifice: and, at the evening sacrifice, they sang Moses's song in Exod. xv. And the considerations of this [that on the sabbaths they sang both the songs of Moses] helpeth to illustrate that passage in Rev. xv. 3; where the saints are said "to sing the song of Moses, the servant of God," because they were now come to their everlasting sabbath, having gotten the victory "over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, and having the harps of God in their hands." Now^j at the additional sacrifice, and song of the sabbath, the priests sounded their^k trumpets three times more, as they did at the ordinary songs; the singers making their pauses and stops in those songs, as well as in the other.

3. At^l the additional sacrifices which were appointed for the first day of the year, Num. xxix. 1, 2, &c^m. [which was called the Feast of Trumpets, because the trumpets then sounded to give notice of the year's beginning], the Levites sang the eighty-first psalm, "Sing aloud unto the God our strength," &c. And if the first day of the year fell upon the fifth day of the week [for which day this psalm was appointed in the ordinary course], then they said it twice over, once at the daily sacrifice, and once at the additional sacrifice; but beginning at one of the times at the sixth verse, "I removed his shoulder from the burden," &c.

4. At the evening sacrifice of the first day of the year, they sang the nine-and-twentieth psalm, "The voice of the

ⁱ Maim. in Tamid, cap. 6.

^j Succah, ubi sup.

^k English folio edition, vol. 1. p. 924.

^l Rosh. Hash. ubi sup. et Maim. ubi sup.

^m Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 700.

Lord shaketh the wilderness," &c. And if the first day of the year chanced to light upon the sabbath, the psalms of the first day of the year were sung, and took place of the psalms for the sabbath.

5. At the Passover, and at some other times, as hath been related, they sang the *hallel*; which to describe we will refer, till we come to take up the celebration of the Passover in its due place.

SECT. III.

Of the Stationary-men, or Israelites of the Station.

As there were four-and-twenty courses of the priests, and as many of the porters and singers, so also were there four-and-twenty courses of "*Israelites of the Station.*" This, indeed, is a title that is a stranger to the Scripture, and not mentioned there; and yet the thing itself seemeth not to want its ground; nor the men themselves their warrant, from thence.

There were two maxims in reference to their sacrifices, which were as premises, out of which was necessarily deduced the conclusion for 'Stationary-men;' and those were these:—1. A man's sacrifice could not be offered up, unless he himself were present at it, and standing by it; and so is the undoubted tenet in both Talmuds, אין אפשר שיהיה קרבנו, "של אדם קרב והוא אינו עומד על גביו" "A man's sacrifice may not possibly be offered up, if he himself be not present at it." And hence it was, that, although women were, at all other times, forbidden coming into the court of Israel,—yet, when any woman had a sacrifice to be offered up for her, she had admission into the court, and there was a kind of necessity that she should be there; אין נראת אשה בעזר אלא בשעת קרבונה, "בלבר" "A woman might not be seen in the court, but only at the time of her offering:" and then she might be, nay, then she must be, present there. And the reason of this was, because of that command, that whosoever had a burnt-sacrifice to offer up, he^p must bring it to the Sanctuary himself; and if bullock or lamb, he must put his hand upon the head of it, Lev. i. 3, and iii. 2. 8.

2. There were some sacrifices, that were the sacrifices of all Israel, or of the whole congregation: and particularly

^a Vid. Talm. utrumque in Taanith, cap. 4. Maim. in Kele Mikd. cap. 6.

^o Tosaph. in Erach. cap. 2.

^p Ab. Ezr. in Lev. i.

“ the continual daily sacrifice was the offering for all Israel;” and accordingly, the lambs for the daily sacrifice, and other sacrifices, which were offered up for the whole congregation, were provided, at the public charge, out of the temple-treasury.

Now it was impossible, that all Israel should be present at the sacrifices, that were to be offered up for all Israel; and therefore it was needful, that some representatives should be chosen, who, in stead and behalf of all the people, should be present at every sacrifice, that should be offered up for the whole congregation. And because this attendance would be continual, in regard of the daily sacrifice, which was a sacrifice of this nature, and so the service would be very heavy for any one company of men to attend continually,—therefore, they appointed four-and-twenty courses of these ‘ Stationary-men,’ as well as of the priests and Levites, that their attendance in these vicissitudes might be the more easy and portable, even as the others were also divided into the like courses for the same ease. The Jews hold, that these stations were first ordained by the former prophets. “ For the former prophets appointed [saith Maimonides^s] that they should choose, out of Israel, men upright and religious; and that these should be as the messengers of all Israel, to stand by the sacrifices, and these are called *אנשי תמיד* ‘ The men of the Station:’ and they divided them into four-and-twenty courses, according to the number of the courses of the priests and Levites; and over every station there was one made chief or president, and him they called, the President of the Station.”

These men of the station in every course^a, did as the priests and Levites did in their courses: those that were in Jerusalem and near it, when their week came, went and attended upon their station: but those that were at a distance and farther off, gathered together unto their several synagogues, and there fasted and prayed, and read some part of the law: because, though at a distance, yet would they join in service with, and for, their brethren of their course, who were now in their attendance at Jerusalem. They fasted on the second, third, fourth, and fifth days of that week, and read over the story of the creation, in Gen. i. and ii, in the six

^a Tal. Jerus. in Pesachin, cap. 3.

^r Shek. cap. 4.

^s Maim. ubi sup.

^t *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 925.

^u Taan. cap. 4. Maim. ubi sup.

days, every day a portion of it. They would not fast on the first day of the week, because they would not slip out of the joy and delight of a sabbath into a fast; and they would not fast on the last day of the week, because they would not preface the joy and delight of the sabbath with a fast neither. But the four days between they spent in that solemn duty, for the prosperity of their brethren that were at Jerusalem, and of the work that they were about.

The 'Stationary-men' that were at Jerusalem, were to attend constantly upon the temple-service, whilst it was in hand, except at some particular times, when they had a dispensation, of which anon; and their attendance referred especially to two ends:—

First, They stood to be a representative congregation, in behalf of all the people, at the offering up of the daily sacrifice, which was the sacrifice of all the people; and at the use and administration of the public ordinances and service. The Jews were so precise and punctual about this point, of having a competent congregation present, when the public ordinances were administered, that^w, in their synagogues, they would not have public prayers, nor reading of the law, unless ten men were there; much more was there a sitting congregation of the people required to be at the temple-service, which concerned all the people, to be administered unto, besides the priests which were to administer. There was sacrificing there twice a day, and reading of the law at the least twice, and prayers four times, and it had become and behoved [if it had been possible] all the people to have been there present and attending; which because it could not possibly be done, that all the people should be constant there, they ordained and provided these courses of 'Stationary-men,' to be as the deputies of all the people, and a representative congregation in their behalf. It had been a visible contempt of those ordinances, to have had them administered daily, and none of the people to have been attending on them: and it would have been a hazard, that, in time, they would have been neglected by the people, if they had been only left to their own liberty, to come, or not to come to them, as they saw good. Therefore, to prevent this visible contempt, that might have accrued,—and to provide that there might be always a congregation of the people, these 'Stationary

^v *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 701.

^w *Megillah*, cap. 4. *Maim. in Tephillah*, cap. 11.

courses' were ordained, that, if devotion brought no other of the people to the service, yet these their representatives might be sure to be attending: *ועמידתן שם לתפלה ולתחנונה* "And this their standing there, at prayers, supplications, and oraisons, and at the reading of the law, was called the Station."

A second employment that they, or, at least some of them, had,—was to take care, as representatives of the people, that those of the people, that had been under any uncleanness, and being now cleansed were come to have their atonement made,—might be despatched, and the business done for which they came. And so it is intimated by the treatise *Tamid*, when it relateth^x, that, upon the ringing of the *Migrephah* [of which hereafter] by those that went into the holy place to offer incense, the head, or chief man of the station, brought such persons up into the gate of Nicanor, to have their atonement made.

There have been some, who have conceived, that these 'Stationary-men,' as representatives of the whole congregation, were to lay their hands upon the head of the daily sacrifice, which was an offering for all the people. I did once go along also with this opinion; but now I find the Jews, on the contrary, asserting, "That^y there was no laying-on of hands upon the sacrifices of the whole congregation, but only in two cases:—The one was upon the scape-goat; and the other was upon the bullock that was offered for the whole congregation, when it sinned of ignorance, and the thing was hid from the eyes of the assembly. And that it was a tradition delivered even by Moses himself; That for the whole congregation, hands were laid but upon these two sacrifices." And accordingly there were divers sacrifice-times, when the 'Stationary-men' were excused from attendance; though the sacrifice were a sacrifice for the whole congregation: "As they never made a station at the morning sacrifice all the eight days of the Feast of Dedication, nor at the evening sacrifice on those days, when there was an additional sacrifice, added to the daily^z."

These 'Stationary-men' in the week of their attendance, might neither be trimmed by the barber, nor might they wash their clothes, in all that time: and the reason of this was, because they were to do these things, before they entered

^x *Tam.* cap. 5. ^y *Maim.* in *Corban.* cap. 3. ^z *Id.* *ib.* *Tal.* in *Taan.* cap. 4.

their attendance, and to come neat to it, and not to have these things to do, when they were entered.

CHAP. VIII^a.

Concerning their Sacrifices and Offerings.

THE rite of sacrificing had these several ends :—

1. To represent, and to be a memorial of, the great sacrifice of Christ, who should once be offered up in behalf of sinners.

2. To lecture unto them, the desert of sin and sinners, death and fire, in the death and firing of the sacrifice before their eyes.

3. To acknowledge their goods received from God, in offering up unto him something of all they had.

4. To be a matter of worship and religion in those times of ceremoniousness : wherein all did acknowledge their homage to God, and true believers acted their faith on Christ's sufferings.

5. To be signs of repentance, and pledges of expiation.

Their oblations were either of living creatures or of other things :—

Of living creatures, they offered only these five kinds; bullocks, sheep, goats, turtles, pigeons: their offerings of other things, were tithe, first-fruits, flour, wine, oil, frankincense, salt, &c.

Their sacrifices of living creatures were either קדשי הקדשים “the most holy sacrifices,” or קדשים קלים [it is the Jews' own distinction] “sacrifices^b of an inferior alloy.” Those that they call “the most holy sacrifices,” were “burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, trespass-offerings, and the peace-offerings of the whole congregation.” Their inferior sacrifices, were peace-offerings of particular persons, paschal-lambs, firstlings, and tenths.

Some of their offerings were זבחי חובה “sacrifices of duty,” and to which they were bound; and some were זבחי נדבה “voluntary sacrifices,” which they offered of their own free will.

^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 926.

^b Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 702.

SECT. I.

Burnt-offerings. עולה

It is disputed among the learned of the Jews, what should be the occasion of burnt-offerings, and whereupon they became due. And I find the debate concluding in this resolution; that either they were to expiate for the evil thoughts of the heart, as sin-offerings and trespass-offerings were to do for evil actions: or to expiate for the breach of affirmative precepts, as those did for negative. “ Rabbi Akibah questioned^c, For what doth a burnt-offering expiate? For matters whereupon there is a penalty, &c. or, concerning affirmative precepts, and concerning negative precepts, whereunto some affirmative precept doth refer.” And, “ The body of the beast (saith Aben Ezra^d) that is offered to expiate for that that comes up into the heart, is called עולה, as the offering for a sin or a trespass, is called חטאת and אשם.” To which sense the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan also speaketh, when, rendering those words in Lev. vi. 9, “ This is the law of the burnt-offering,” &c. he glosseth thus; “ This is the law of the burnt-offering, which cometh to expiate for the thoughts of the heart.” Upon which the Hebrew marginal gloss giveth this explanation; “ It is so written in Vajikrah Rabbah, that a burnt-offering cometh not, but for the thoughts of the heart: and there is an intimation of this in these words, העולה על רוחכם היה לא תהיה That that is come up into your heart, shall in no wise come to pass.”

Burnt-offerings were of any of the five living creatures named, and the manner of their offering thus:—

If his burnt-offering were a bullock, he might take him^e from eight days old and upward; and so also might he do by a lamb or kid. And it must be a male; because the burnt-offering being the noblest offering (saith Aben Ezra), it required the noblest of the kind that was, to be offered.

1. “ He was to bring it into the court;” for the law was express that he must “ present his offering before the Lord,” Lev. i. 3. Now this phrase, *before the Lord*, was understood from the gate of Nicanor and inward. And the bringing of the sacrifice into the court was of so strict and an inviolable obligation^f, that women, who otherwise were absolutely for-

^c Tosapht. in Menachoth, cap. 10.

^f Talm. Jer. in Sotah, cap. 1.

^d Ab. Ezra in Lev. i.

^e Id. ibid.

^g Tosapht. in Erachin, cap. 2.

bidden to come into the court, yet, if they brought a sacrifice, they were bound and necessitated to go in thither; as was touched but even now.

2. "He must lay his hand upon the head of it, whilst it was yet alive, Lev. i. 4. All^h the sacrifices that any single man offered of beasts, whether it were an offering of duty, or an offering of free will, he must lay his hand upon it, while it is yet alive, except only the firstling, theⁱ tenth, and the passover." This laying on of hands, was a rite of transmission, as it were, of the man's sin unto the sacrifice, that was to die for him; and in his death, which was now ready, he acknowledged his own desert to die: and so it was a figure of the laying of our sins upon Christ, and an emblem of repentance.

About the laying-on of the hands, they had these divers traditions: as, 1. That "it was to be in the court:" and if he laid his hands on him, before he came into the court,—he must do it there again; and if the offerer of the sacrifice stood without the court, and put his hands within, and laid it on the head of the beast within,—it served the turn: as is observed elsewhere about the leper in the gate of Nicanor. 2. "The owner of the beast must lay-on his hands himself," and might not do it by proxy: which is to be understood in reference to particular men's sacrifice; for some of the sacrifices of the whole congregation had their deputies or proxies to lay their hands on them, as was observed even now. 3. "If divers men joined in one sacrifice" [as^j divers might] "every one was to lay-on his hand particularly, one after another." 4. There is some dispute among the Hebrew doctors, whether they laid-on one hand or both, and there are assertors on both sides; but all conclude in this, that, whether one or both, "he must lay them on with all his strength," and all the stress he can. And so the Targum of Jonathan (which holds for one hand only) saith, "He shall lay-on his right hand with all his force:" and Maimonides (which holds for both the hands) saith, "He was to lay-on both his hands, and that with all his might." 5. The place, where he stood to lay-on his hands, was, ordinarily, the place, where the sacrifices were slain, at the place of the Rings; and so, upon this occasion, an Israelite might

^b Maim. in Corbanoth, cap. 3.

ⁱ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 927.

^j Maim. in Corbanoth, cap. 3. et R. Sol. in Lev. i.

and must come within the court of the priests. 6. The manner was thus; The^k sacrifice^l was so set, as that the offerer, standing with his face towards the west, laid his two hands between his horns, and confessed his sin over a sin-offering, and his trespass over a trespass-offering; and over a burnt-offering he confesseth his transgression, both against affirmative and negative precepts; and his confession was in this wise; “I have sinned, I have done perversely, I have rebelled, and done thus and thus; but I return by repentance before thee, and let this be my expiation:”—and, presently after this his confession, was the beast to be slain.

3. The killing of the sacrifice was, regularly and ordinarily, the priests' work and office, yet might it, upon occasion, be done by another: or, if it were done by another, it was allowable: for whereas the law saith, “And he shall kill the bullock before the Lord, and the sons of Aaron the priests shall bring the blood and sprinkle it,” Lev. i. 5, as making a distinction betwixt the ‘he that killed the bullock,’ and the ‘priests that took the blood,’—the Hebrew doctors have observed, not impertinently, from hence, that *מִשְׁחִיטֵת הַקֹּדֶשִׁים כְּשִׁירָה בְּזָרִים אִפִּי קֹדֶשׁ הַקֹּדֶשִׁים* “The killing of the sacrifices was lawful by strangers, yea of the most holy sacrifices, were they the sacrifices of a particular person, or of the whole congregation.” And upon these words, “And the sons of Aaron the priests shall bring the blood;” it is a received tradition, that from thence most properly did begin the priests' office more peculiarly. See 2 Chron. xxx. 16, 17.

4. The flaying of the slain sacrifice was not so inseparably the priests' office, but that a stranger, or one that was not a priest, might do it. And so Maimonides asserteth in the place cited above, that “the flaying of the sacrifice, and the dividing of it into pieces, and bringing wood to the altar done by strangers, was lawful.” This they did especially at the Passover, and other festival times, when the paschal lambs and the other offerings were so many, that the priests could not serve to kill and flay them: but whosoever killed or flayed, the priests ever sprinkled the blood, and none else might do it.

When the number of the beasts to be flayed were not too

^k Tosaph. in Menachoth, cap. 10. et Maim. ubi supr.

^l Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 703.

^m Maim. in Biath Mikdash, cap. 9. et in Corbanoth, cap. 5. et R. Sol. in Lev. i.

many for that receipt,—they hung him by the legs upon the hooks, that were fastened in the lower pillars (which we have described elsewhere), and in the transom over them for that purposeⁿ: but at Passover, when there were more lambs than that room would admit, two men took a staff or bar, divers of which staves stood there for that end; and laying it upon their shoulders, they hung the lamb upon it; and, as he hung thus between them, they flayed him. “Rabbi Eliezer saith, If the Passover fell on the sabbath” (on which day they might not meddle so well with carrying of staves), “a man laid his hand upon his fellow’s shoulder, and his fellow laid his hand upon his shoulder; and upon their arms they hanged up the lamb, and so flayed him.” All the skins of the most holy sacrifices,—that is, burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, and trespass-offerings,—fell to the priests; and the priests of the course salted them all the week, and on the eve of the sabbath divided them: but the skins of the other sacrifices fell to the offerers or owners themselves.

5. The sprinkling of the blood was to be before the sacrifice was flayed; for this was the rule, and that agreeable to the law, אין מפשיטין אותן עד שיזרק הדם “They flayed them not till one had sprinkled the blood:” for in the law there is mention of the sprinkling the blood, before there is mention of flaying, Lev. i. 5, 6. The manner of their sprinkling of the blood upon the altar, and the circumstances about that, were very various:—we will take up the chiefest of them in their order.

First^o, The blood, that was to be sprinkled, was to be taken in a dish or vessel of the service, and not in a common vessel of a man’s own: and that is a constant and rational maxim, קבול דמן בכלי שרת^p “That the taking of the blood of the sacrifices must be in a vessel hallowed for the service.”

Secondly^q, These several sorts of people might not take the blood to sprinkle it; and, if they did, it was polluted:—
1. A stranger, or one that was not a priest. 2. A priest a mourner, אונן that is, he that had one dead in his family that day; for “whosoever had one dead in his house, all that day of the party’s death, he was called a mourner” אונן
3. He that had been unclean; so that he was to wash that

ⁿ Ibid. sect. 9.

^o English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 928.

^p Vid. Zevac. cap. 5. per totum.

^q Ibid. cap. 2. ab initio.

^r Glosse in Misnaioth, ibid.

day, and his sun was not yet down. 4. He that had been under a long uncleanness, and his atonement not yet made. 5. A priest that had not all the holy garments on, that he ought to wear. 6. One uncircumcised. 7. One that was unclean. 8. One that sat or stood on any thing, whilst he took the blood, but on the very pavement of the court: for in the service they might not stand upon any vessel, or beast, or hide, or on his neighbour's foot, but on the bare pavement. 9. He that took the blood with the left hand:—some held it unlawful, but others were of another mind.

Thirdly, Whereas^s there was a red line about the altar just in the middle between the bottom and the top, the blood^t of some sacrifices was to be sprinkled beneath that line, and some above; and if that, that was to be sprinkled below, was sprinkled above;—and if that, that was to be sprinkled above, was sprinkled below,—it was unlawful.

Fourthly, The^u sprinkling of the blood of burnt-offerings, and trespass-offerings, and peace-offerings, went all by one rule and manner, and it was thus: The priest, bringing it to the altar, was to sprinkle it below the red line, “and he was to sprinkle it into the fashion of the Greek gamma,” or into this form Γ . 1. For so is the tradition in the Gemara of the treatise Zevachim^v, cited erewhile; and so is the meaning of Maimonides, when he saith it was to be כָּמִין גַּמָּא . Now the meaning of the thing is this; “He was to go” (as the margin of the Talmud glosseth) “to a corner of the altar, and to cast the blood out of the vessel so, as that it should spread to two sides of the altar at once:” which my last-named author gives more plainly thus, and more at large: “He^w was to sprinkle it out of the vessel, but two sprinklings upon two sides of the altar; namely, at the north-east corner, and at the south-west corner; and he must take care to sprinkle the blood at the corner, so as that it may go on both sides of the altar, like a gamma (thus Γ), so that the blood, at the two sprinklings, may be found upon all the four sides of the altar.” Their meaning is this,—that as he stood on the east side of the altar, near to the north-east corner, he must cast the blood out of the vessel with such a compassed and kimbo cast, that part of it may light on the east side, on which he stands,—and

^s Zevach. ib.

^t Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 704.

^u Maim. in Corbanoth, cap. 5.

^v Zevach. cap. 5. fol. 53.

^w Maim. ubi sup.

part of it on the north side. And the like was he to do standing on the west side, near the south-west corner,—that part of it might light on the west side, on which he stood,—and part of it on the south. And thus they accounted, that they answered the command, which did enjoin them, that they should “sprinkle the blood round about, upon the altar,” Lev. i. 5, and iii. 8. And the rest of the blood they poured upon the foundation of the altar on the south side. By this may that difficult expression be understood, which occurreth exceeding frequently in the Jewish writers, when they are speaking about sprinkling the blood of the sacrifices, that “such and such sacrifices’ blood דמן כזבוע is to have two sprinklings, which are four.” The disposal of the blood in sprinkling, they call מתנה “a giving;” and some bloods were to have ארבע מתנות “four givings,” or sprinklings,—namely, on the four corners of the altar; and others were to have but two, as these mentioned at the two corners of the altar: but these two proved as much as four, because they sprinkled all the four sides of it, after the manner described.

The sprinkling of the blood upon the horns of the altar (as the blood of the sin-offerings was used), shall be observed by and by; and so shall the extraordinary conveyance of the blood of the paschal lambs to the altar be observed, when we come to treat of the Passover.

6. The^x lamb to be slain (for of the daily sacrifice we will take an example) was bound, his fore-legs and hinder-legs together; and laid thus bound with his head towards the south, and his face towards the west; and he that killed him stood on the east side of him with his face westward. He killed him, and one took the blood and sprinkled it; and then he hanged him up upon some of the hooks in the low pillars, and began to flay him. He flayed till he came down to the breast; and when he was gone so far, he cut off his head, and gave it to him that was allotted to take it, and carry it to the altar. He cut off the legs and gave them to another; and so he goes on and flays him out. He then cuts open the heart and brings out the blood there; cuts out the two shoulders, and gives them to him that was allotted for their carriage; cuts off the right leg and with it the stones: opens him quite, and takes out the fat, and lays it at the

^x Tamid, cap. 4.

slaughter-place: he takes out the bowels and gives them some to wash, who first washed them well in the Washing-room, and then washed them a little again on the Marble Tables: then takes he the knife, and parts^y between the lights and the liver, but takes them not out yet: he takes off the breast, and gives it to him that was to carry it; and so goes along the right side and cuts that out; and goes down to the spine-bones, and there cuts out the loins; and so proceeds in other parcels. The manner how is at large related in the treatise and chapter cited above in the margin, but not so very material or necessary to our present pursuit, as^z to spend much time and labour thereupon: the learned reader will peruse it there; and the unlearned, would think it too tedious to peruse it here.

7. The several priests, with the several parts of the divided sacrifice in their hands, come to the rise of the altar^z, and there they lay them down and salt them. For this, the law was very strict, Lev. ii. 13: "With all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt." And their observance of it was answerably strict also; for "nothing^a came on the altar unsalted, but only the wine^b of the drink-offering, the blood sprinkled, and the wood of the fire: and in three places they used salt; in the chamber of the salt, they salted the skins of the sacrifices; upon the rise of the altar, they salted the parts of the sacrifices; and, on the top of the altar, they salted the handfull of flour and oil, and the frankincense, Lev. ii. 2; and the most offerings that were to be burnt, and the burnt-offerings of birds." This typical law our Saviour raiseth, to signify the seasoning of every man with the word of God, which he calleth, "salting with fire," Mark ix. 49; for the word is called *fire*, Deut. xxxiii. 2. Jer. v. 14. xx. 9. and xxiii. 29. 1 Cor. iii. 13, &c. And when he saith, "'Every one shall be salted with fire^c,' Non prædicit aliquid futurum, sed ostendit quid ab omnibus requiratur, nempe ut, Verbo incorrupto conditi, sese Deo consecrent."

The parts of the sacrifice being salted, the priest that was to offer them, took them up, carried them up to the altar, and threw them confusedly into the fire. He first cut out the sinew that shrank, and threw it among the ashes; and then he cast all the pieces on a heap into the fire, without

^y *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 929.

^z *Maim. in Corban. cap. 6.*

^a *Id. in Issure Mizbeahh. cap. 5.* ^b *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 705. ^c *Beza in loc.*

any order. For though the law enjoined, that the pieces should be laid in order upon the fire, Lev. i. 8,—and although their manner was to lay the beast on the fire, as like to his posture whilst he was alive, as they could,—namely, his head before, and his shoulders and foreparts next, and the rest in order; yet, at the first laying of them on, they thought they found some colour in the law of injunction, that they should scatter the flesh, as well as sprinkle the blood; and, therefore, they threw them on at the first, without any order or distinction, and then they ordered them, and so let them lie to burn.

SECT. II.

Sin-offerings. חטאת

THE law concerning sin-offerings doth particularize no more about the occasion of them, but only thus,—that they were to be offered “for sins ignorantly committed against any of the commandments of the Lord, concerning things which ought not to be done,” Lev. iv. 2. 13. 22. 27; that is, that they were offered for sins of ignorance, against negative precepts. But the Hebrew doctors do generally confine them to those sins done ignorantly against negative precepts, that, if they had been done wittingly, had deserved cutting-off: חטאת לא על שודגו לאו וכרת ושגגתו חטאת^b “A sin-offering was not offered (saith Rabbi Solomon) but for a matter, which, if wittingly done against a negative command, deserved cutting-off; but, being ignorantly done, it required a sin-offering.” And so the Talmudic treatise Kerithuth, when it had reckoned up the six-and-thirty offences against such precepts, that bring under the liableness of being *cut-off*, concludeth thus: כל אלו חייבין על זדונם כרת^c “Any of these, committed wilfully, deserve cutting-off; but, if ignorantly done, they require a sin-offering.” “And^d whosoever (saith Maimonides) transgresseth ignorantly against any of the negative precepts, in which there is an action, for which men become liable to cutting-off,—he is bound to bring a sin-offering; and it is an affirmative command, that he offer a sin-offering for his error: and every transgression, for the doing of which wilfully a man deserves cutting-off,—for the doing of it ignorantly he is to bring a sin-offering.” Aben Ezra goeth yet a little farther;

^b R. Sol. in Lev. iv.^c Kerithuth, cap. 1.^d Maim. in Shegag. cap. 1.

but, for aught I find, he goeth alone: for he defineth a sin-offering to be "for a sin of ignorance against a negative precept, which, if wilfully committed, deserved cutting-off, or whipping^a." In the addition of this last word *whipping*, I find not the rest of his nation to agree with him: for divers offences against prohibitions of the law fell under 'whipping,' that fell not under 'cutting-off:' and the Jews do most unanimously apply a 'sin-offering' to a sin of ignorance only, whose wilfulness had incurred 'cutting-off.' And the reason of this their limitation, is in regard of the nature of the transgression, or offence: for whereas they number three hundred and sixty-five negative precepts, according to the number of the days in the year, yet do they bring the number of sin-offerings^b only in reference to three-and-forty of them; meeting^c those sins of ignorance only with sin-offerings, which were most near akin to those of the highest danger, but that ignorance did mitigate, and make the qualification.

It is true, indeed, that there are some sin-offerings appointed by name; which cannot exactly be brought under this predicament, of which we are speaking; as was the sin-offering of Aaron upon his consecration, Lev. ix. 2; the sin-offering of the woman at her purification, Lev. xii. 6; and of the leper at his cleansing, Lev. xiv. 19: for we can hardly ascribe these, as offered for some particular sin of ignorance against some negative precept, the wilful violation of which, had deserved 'cutting-off.' But they seem rather to be offered, that they might make sure work to meet with that danger or offence, that it was possible they might lie under, and not know of it: and^d so they were very near the nature of *trespass-offerings*, as a 'sin-offering' is also called, Lev. v. 6. But where the law doth give the rules for 'sin-offerings,' it nameth not any particular offence, but only this general,—that they were to be presented, in reference to the ignorant offending against a negative command: and, therefore, to reduce them to particulars, it was most pertinent to allot them to that ignorant offending, which, if it had proved wilfulness, had made the sorest breach betwixt God and man; the reconciling of whom was the end of sacrifice. Let us take one or two examples for the better understand-

^a Ab. Ezra in Lev. i. ^f Maim. in præf ad Jad. Chazach. ^g Id. in Shagagah, cap. 1.

^b English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 930.

^c Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 706.

ing of what hath been spoken; and then we will look after the 'sin-offerings' in their several kinds.

It was a negative precept, the wilful and witting violation of which, deserved 'cutting-off;' "Thou shalt do no work on the seventh day. And what is a man liable to for working on the sabbath^j? If he did it of his own will presumptuously, he is liable to cutting-off; and if witnesses and evidence of it came in, he was to be stoned: but if he did it ignorantly, he was to bring the appointed sin-offering, when he knew what he had done.—And all along the treatise of the Sabbath" (they are the words of Maimonides), "wheresoever it is said, He that doth such or such things, is חייב "Eνοχος, guilty; it meaneth, he is חייב כרת liable to cutting-off; and if there be witness and evidence, he is liable to be stoned: but if he did it ignorantly, he is חייב חטאת bound to bring a sin-offering."

Another offence that deserved 'cutting-off,' was 'going into Sanctuary in uncleanness,' which was contrary to that frequent prohibition, that no unclean person should come there. And if any unclean person did, wittingly and presumptuously, go in thither in his uncleanness, he became liable to 'cutting-off;' if witness came in, that he had done this presumingly and knowingly, he was to be whipped or mawled with the 'rebel's beating,' as hath been observed. And, if he did it ignorantly, he was to bring his offering:—which offering, in something indeed, differed from the sin-offerings in other cases (for whereas every one of them was חטאת קבועה an 'appointed sin-offering' of some beast or other, this was קרבן עולה ויורד^k "an offering ascending or descending^l," that is, of a higher or lower value, according to the person's ability that did offer it: if he were rich, he brought some beast; but if he were poor, two turtles, or pigeons, or a tenth-deal of flower); yet was the rise or occasion of this his offering suitable to all the other. By these examples may easily be apprehended the like proceeding in the rest of the six-and-thirty, or three-and-forty (for into so many the six-and-thirty do branch themselves), both concerning the committing the thing wilfully, and suffering for it; or ignorantly, and offering for it.

Now, for the distinguishing sin-offerings, they were either sin-offerings of the whole congregation, or sin-offerings of

^j Id. in Sabbath, cap. 1.

^k Kerithuth, cap. 1.

^l Gloss. *ibid.*

particular persons, Lev. iv. 3. 13. 22, &c. But when we speak of the sin-offerings of the whole congregation, the words admit some scrupling, whether it mean the whole body of the people, or the Sanhedrim only, who were their representatives: and we must answer, that it meaneth both. For,

1. There was the 'sin-offering *goat*,' which was offered on the day of expiation; it was an offering for the whole congregation, Lev. xvi. 15; the disposal of which, we shall observe afterward: and this we may take for the whole body of the people undividedly.

2. There was the 'sin-offering *bullock*' for the whole congregation, whereof mention is made, Lev. iv. 13, &c. which by the Jews is commonly called in their writings העלם דבר "The bullock for the thing hid," because it is said in the text alleged, "And the thing he hid from the eyes of the assembly." In this matter, both the Sanhedrim and the people were included; and so included, that the Sanhedrim was the first transgressor ignorantly, and the people transgressed, also, by their error. Rabbi Solomon^m explains it thus:—"By the 'congregation of Israel' is meant the Sanhedrim; and by the 'thing being hid,' is meant, that they have erred in teaching concerning any of the cuttings-off in the law, that such or such a thing is free, and the assembly have done according to their determination." But Maimonides more largely, and more clearly, thusⁿ:—"In any thing, for which being ignorantly committed, men were bound to bring the sin-offering appointed, if the great Sanhedrim erred in their determinations, and taught to loose what was bound; and the people erred by their determination, and did the thing relying upon their determination, and afterward it comes to the knowledge of the Sanhedrim that they have erred;—behold, the Sanhedrim is bound to bring a sin-offering for their error in their determination, although they themselves did not the thing itself; because the actions of the^o Sanhedrim are not looked after, whether they do so, or do not so; but it is looked after, how they determine. And as for the rest of the people, they are quit from an offering, because they relied upon the Sanhedrim's decree. Now what offering was it that they brought? If they had erred about any of the cuttings-off (except^p idolatry), every tribe was to bring

^m R. Sol. in Lev. iv.

^o *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 931.

ⁿ Maim. in Sheg. cap. 14.

^p *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 707.

a bullock :” and so particular persons were acquitted ; and one bullock for every tribe, atoned both for the tribes and for the Sanhedrim, who were their representatives. And something to this sense looketh the Targum of Jonathan, when he rendereth the fifteenth verse of that fourth chapter of Leviticus thus^q :—“ And twelve elders of the congregation, that are set as rulers over the twelve tribes, shall lay their hands on the head of the bullock :” where his Hebrew marginal Glossary takes Rab and Rabbi Solomon to task for holding a less number of persons laying-on of their hands upon his head. “ I am not of opinion (saith he^r) either with Rab or Rabbi Solomon; the one whereof saith that three, and the other, that five,—laid-on their hands. For the matter is plain from what is written,—‘ And the elders of the congregation shall lay-on their hands,’—that it meaneth elders of *all* the congregation : and it appeareth also from this, because all the congregation have sinned; and why should three or five only lay-on their hands? But they were twelve,—namely, of every tribe one.” Where though he seem to hold, that there was but one bullock,—and the Targumist upon whom he comments, speak but of one neither,—yet is it apparent by other writers of their nation, that the bullocks were twelve: and upon what ground they brought them to that number, whereas the text speaketh but of one, shall be observed within a few lines.

3. If the Sanhedrim erred about the matter of idolatry, and determined concerning it what was not right, and the people upon their determination did practise accordingly, and erred also,—then were there a bullock and a goat to be brought for every tribe, for a sin-offering, when the error came to be known and taken notice of. And this they collect from Num. xv. 24, by this manner of logic; whereas it is there said^s, “ ‘ If ye have erred and have not observed all these commandments;’ what sin is that that breaketh all the commandments? That is idolatry; it breaketh the yoke, violateth the covenant, and discovereth the face,” or is impudent in evil. And whereas it is said at Lev. iv. 14, “ Then the congregation shall offer” הקריבו חקהל; they construe it distributively, both in this case and in that last before^t: “ Every congregation shall offer,” that is, every one of the

^q Targ. Jon. in Lev. iv.

^s R. Sol. in Num. xv.

^r Gloss. marg. ib.

^t Maim. ubi supr.

tribes; and so there were twelve bullocks in the case before, and twelve bullocks and twelve goats in this case in hand. These goats are commonly called in Jewish writers שערי עבודה זרה "The goats for idolatry," and שערים נשרפים "The burned goats;" and the bullocks, called the "burned bullocks." Not but that the bullocks, that were offered in reference to other matters than idolatry, were burnt also; but because by this means a distinction is made between פר הצבור "The bullocks of the congregation for the matter hid," and פרים נשרפים "The bullocks of the congregation for the matter of idolatry."

The blood of these bullocks, that referred both to the one matter and to the other, was brought within the Holy Place; and there the priest, dipping his finger into it, sprinkled of it, seven times, before the veil. And then he came out, and put some of it upon the horns of the altar; and the rest he poured upon the altar-foundation. The fat he burnt upon the altar; but his skin, flesh, head, legs, inwards, and dung, he burnt without the camp". And so also disposed he of the goats.

Christ, our sacrifice, who offered himself for an atonement for sin, is most commonly by the Scripture resembled to the sacrifice of the congregation, because he died for all his people; and to the sacrifice of a sin-offering, because he died to prevent a curse, and 'cutting-off.' He is called the "Lamb of God," John i. 29, in allusion to the lamb of the daily sacrifice, which was an offering of the whole congregation. And he is said to be "made sin for us," that is, a sin-offering, though himself knew no sin, 2 Cor. v. 21; and to resemble those sacrifices, whose blood was brought within the Sanctuary for sin, and whose bodies were burnt without the camp, Heb. xiii. 11. This burning of their bodies without the camp, was not only a figure of his suffering without the gate, as the apostle there applies it; but both that, and his suffering without the gate, were in token of his dying for his people among the Gentiles, who were on the outside of Israel's camp: and the bringing of the blood into the Holy Place, denoted the appearing and presenting of the merit of his blood continually before the Lord, for the atonement for the sins of his congregation.

The sin-offerings of particular persons, were these:—

^u Tosaph. in Corbanoth, cap. 6.

1. The high-priest's sin-offering bullock, on the day of expiation, Lev. xvi. 6; whose blood was brought within the veil, ver. 14, and his flesh burnt without the camp, ver. 27.

2. The high-priest's bullock, for ignorantly committing something, that should not be done, Lev. iv. 3. The blood of this bullock was brought within the Holy Place, and his flesh and skin, &c, burnt without the camp, ver. 11. This bullock is called by the Hebrew writers, פֶּר הַבֵּא עַל כָּל פְּרַיִם הַמִּצְוֹת "The bullock that was offered in reference to all the^w commandments."—"And^x there are some that say, that he was to offer such a sin-offering once every year:" which, as it was for an atonement for himself, so (as Baal Turim applies it) it was for encouragement to others to confess their sins^y. "The law commands (saith he^z) that the sin-offering of the high-priest be burnt publicly in the place of the ashes, that no man might be ashamed to confess his sin: for lo, the high-priest sinned, and confessed his sin, and brought his sin-offering."

3. There was the sin-offering of the ruler, Lev. iv. 22. This was to be a male kid, ver. 23; his blood put on the horns of the altar, his fat burnt on the altar, and the flesh eaten, ver. 25, &c.

4. There was also the sin-offering of any particular private person, Lev. iv. 27. This was to be a lamb or kid, but females,—the blood put on the horns of the altar,—the fat burnt,—and the flesh eaten by the priests.

These were the several sin-offerings, that were to be offered,—some, upon express and singular command,—and some, upon the general rule of seeking atonement upon discovery of a sin unwittingly committed. Now, for the more complete understanding of the manner of the managing and disposing of these sin-offerings, we may observe these several particulars and circumstances about them:—

1. That the place and manner of presenting, killing, and laying hands upon the sin-offering, were the same with the place and manner of these things with the burnt-offering.

2. That the blood of those, that were brought into the holy place, was thus disposed: "The^a bullocks that were burnt, and the goats that were burnt without the camp, be-

^v Maim. ubi supr.

^x Ab. Ezra in Lev. iv.

^z Baal Tur. in Lev. iv.

^w English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 932.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 708.

^a Tosaph. ubi supr.

tween the time of their killing and sprinkling of their blood" (upon the altar of burnt-offering), "the priest went in, and stood between the golden altar and the candlestick. The altar was before him; he dipped-in his finger, and sprinkled the blood seven times towards the Most Holy Place; and, at every dipping and sprinkling, he also put the blood upon a horn of the altar."

3. The blood, that was not brought within the Holy Place, was put upon the horns of the burnt-offering altar; and so was some of the blood, also, that was brought out of the Holy Place again: and the manner of that rite was thus:—

The^b priest went up the rise or bridge of the altar, and went off on the right hand to the circuit of the altar, and first to the south-east horn of it; he dipped his foremost finger of his right hand in the blood which was in the vessel, and dropped it, or sprinkled it, upon the horn; and then wiped his finger on the side of the dish, and got off the blood that remained on it. Then went he to the north-east horn, and did after the very same manner; and so at the north-west corner; and likewise at the south-west. And this was the blood, that was bestowed above the red line, that went about the altar just in the middle: and only the blood of sin-offerings was sprinkled with the finger.

4. Whereas it is said, that the "rest of the blood be poured at the bottom of the altar," it is to be understood upon the foundation, and either upon the south or west side; because, in the south-west corner of it, were the two holes, into which the blood sunk; of which we have spoken in the description of the altar. Some distinguish the pouring of the blood, thus,—that which had been in the Holy Place, was poured on the west side; and that, which had not been there, was poured on the south: but Rabbi Simeon saith^c, "Both the one and the other were poured on the west side; and they fell into an underground channel, and they were conveyed into the valley of Kedron, and sold to the gardeners" to fatten their grounds. "But R. Meir asserteth, that the wise men said, That they were not put to any use at all."

5. Those^d goats and bullocks, that were burnt without

^b Maim. ubi supr. ver. 5. Talm. in Zevac. cap. 5.

^c Tosaph. ubi ante.

^d Maim. ubi supr. cap. 1.

the camp, were cut into pieces, skins and all upon them, and cast into the fire, even as the burnt-offering was laid on the fire upon the altar.

6. These sin-offerings, that were not so burnt without the camp, were eaten by the priests, after the fat was offered upon the altar, Lev. vi. 25, 26. x. 17, and the eating of them was in the court. And in corrupt times it is charged upon the priests, that, in their service, they regarded not devotion, but only to fill their own bellies, making those their god. "They eat up the sin" [that is, the sin-offerings] "of my people, and set their heart on their iniquity," Hos. iv. 8.

SECT. III^e.

Trespass-offerings. אָשָׁם

TRESPASS-OFFERINGS, as to the cause and occasion of their offering up, were so like to sin-offerings, as that they seem brethren; and it is something nice and intricate to distinguish betwixt them. For as sin-offerings came for offences against negative precepts, so did these: and as those were offered for such offences ignorantly committed, so likewise were these: and as those had a reference to the danger of 'cutting-off,' so had these also: and yet a difference is betwixt them; but such a difference, as that these trespass-offerings were but in order to the other.

Now trespass-offerings were of these two kinds: There was אָשָׁם תְּלוּי 'a doubtful trespass-offering^f,' and אָשָׁם וְדָאִי 'a trespass-offering undoubted.' And these were so called, not in regard that there was any doubt^g in the offering, whether it were an offering or no, when it was presented,—but because there was some doubtfulness, or there was undoubtedness, in the cause of its offering.

The אָשָׁם תְּלוּי *doubtful* or *suspensive offering* (for so the word most properly signifieth) is conceived by some of the Jewish writers to be so called, because it suspended the party, that had committed a trespass, from that penalty that was due to him for it; or לְפִי שֶׁתְּלוּהוּ וּמוֹנֵן עָלָיו מִן הַיְסוּרִין ^h "Because it suspendeth and fenceth him against the due castigations." Which though indeed it carrieth a truth with it, yet is the etymology of the phrase more generally given to be, Because there is a 'suspense' and doubtfulness in and

^e English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 933

^g Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 709.

^f Maim. in Corban. cap. 9.

^h Gloss. in Misnajoth in 8.

about the matter, concerning which it was to be offered. There is a story in the treatise Kerithuth concerning Baba Ben Bota, "thatⁱ he offered one of these suspensive trespass-offerings every day in the year, but only on the next day after the day of expiation. And one day he said, 'By this temple, if they had let me alone, I had brought such an offering on that day also; but they said to me, Stay till thou come into some doubtfulness.' And the wise men say, They bring not a suspensive trespass-offering אֲשַׁם תְּלוֹי, but for such an offence, as which, wittingly committed, deserveth cutting-off,—and, unwittingly committed, claimeth a sin-offering."

Agreeable to these last words, there is a passage in another place of the same treatise, where having reckoned the six-and-thirty transgressions that deserve 'cutting-off,' it concludeth, that "any^j of these committed wittingly, deserve cutting-off; and if unwittingly, a sin-offering; and if it be not known, then a suspensive, or doubtful, trespass-offering."

By both which testimonies it is apparent, that 'sin-offerings' and these 'suspensive trespass-offerings' were so near akin, that the latter is not accounted due, unless there be a possibility of the dueness of the other; and the one is offered for a thing committed unwittingly, and the other for a thing committed unwittingly and unknown. The main difference of them lay in this:—A 'sin-offering' was for a thing done indeed unwittingly against one of the negative precepts, and now known to be certainly done; but a 'trespass-offering' was for a thing done indeed, but doubtful whether a precept was violated by the action: and the party, not yet knowing whether he trespassed or not, yet was he to bring a trespass-offering, which (as was said before) might fence him against the penalty of 'cutting-off:' and if he once came to know, that he did offend against a commandment in the action, then he was to bring a sin-offering. The Talmudists give these examples in the case:—

"He^k that eats fat" (namely, that fat of the inwards, which in any sacrifice was to be offered up), "if he did it wittingly, he was to be cut-off; if he did it unwittingly, he was to bring a sin-offering, as soon as he knew what he had done."

ⁱ Kerithuth, cap. 6. sect. 3.

^j Ibid. cap. 1. sect. 2.

^k Ibid. cap. 3. Tosapht. in Kerithuth, cap. 2.

But our case in hand is this; A man is at a table, where there is that fat, that might not be eaten,—and another fat that might (for they might eat beef fat, or mutton, though they might not eat the fat of the inwards): he eateth one of these fats, he knoweth not whether: he supposeth he eateth the fat, that was lawful to be eaten; but it is possible he eateth that, that is unlawful: for this possibility, or probability, that he may be under a guilt,—he is to bring a trespass-offering suspensive אֲשַׁם תְּלוּי, though he knew not whether he offended or no.

“He that wittingly lay with his sister, was to be cut-off: he that did it unwittingly, was to bring a sin-offering, as soon as he knew what he had done.” But here is the case we are about:—A¹ man’s wife and his sister are both in one bed; he lieth with one of them, supposing it to be his wife; it is possible it was his sister: for this he is to bring a doubtful or suspensive trespass-offering, because it is doubtful, whether he be not under a transaction. And this kind of offering was in this regard called ‘doubtful’ or ‘suspensive,’ because it was in suspense, whether he were guilty or no; and it did also suspend that guilt and penalty, which did lie, or might light, upon him.

Divers such particular examples might be produced; we shall only add one or two more in the words of the author of Tosaphta^m. “There are two men together; and the one of them offends, but it is not known which of them. Rabbi Josi saith, That both the one and theⁿ other must bring a suspensive trespass-offering, and make confession. He that eateth the quantity of an olive of fat, or the quantity of an olive of flesh, that hath lain so long, before it be sacrificed, that it stinketh,—or the quantity of an olive of what is left of the sacrifice,—or the quantity of an olive of what is unclean,—unwittingly,—he is to bring a sin-offering; but if it is doubtful whether he eat it or eat it not, then he is to bring a trespass-offering. He that lieth with his sister, or his father’s sister, or his mother’s sister, or his wife’s sister, or his brother’s wife, or his father’s brother’s wife, or a woman in her separation, he is to bring a sin-offering; סַפֵּק בֵּא סַפֵּק תְּלוּי. לא בא מביא אֲשַׁם תְּלוּי. But if it be doubtful, whether he lay with them or no, he is to bring a suspensive or doubtful

¹ Gloss. in Mishnajothe ubi ante.

^m Tosaph. ubi supr.

ⁿ English folio-edition; vol. 1. p. 934.

trespass-offering. A man's wife and his sister are together; and he lieth with one of them, but he knoweth not whether. He hath two wives; the one is in her separation, and the other is not: he lieth with one of them, but he knoweth not whether. There is before him fat, and something left of the sacrifice; he eateth of the one, but he knows not whether. There is the sabbath^o, and the day of expiation; he worketh on the one of them, but he knows not whether. Rabbi Eliezer adjudged him to bring a sin-offering: but Rabbi Joshua acquitted him. Now Rabbi Josi saith, Although that Rabbi Joshua acquitted him from a sin-offering, yet he adjudged him to a trespass-offering suspensive."

By these examples it is reasonably well apparent, of what nature תלו' אשם the *suspensive trespass-offering* was in the repute of the Hebrew doctors: but for the greater clearing of it, we may yet go with them one step farther. A man finds himself in this possibility of having offended, though it be utterly uncertain to him, whether he have offended or no; yet in conscience was he bound to bring this his suspensive trespass-offering, because it is possible he is in the offence; this is the case in the examples given. But this is not the utmost: there comes in witness, that he did undoubtedly eat of the fat that was forbidden; that it was his wife in her separation that he lay withal; or that it was his sister, or the like: he is not yet convinced that it was so, but yet is doubtful; and in suspense he is to bring his 'suspensive trespass-offering,'—because, though it be certain in itself that he hath offended, yet is it not so as yet to him. But whensoever he shall be convinced, that he did commit the offence indeed, then is he to bring his 'sin-offering.' And thus was the 'suspensive trespass-offering' in order to a 'sin-offering,' and in reference to those precepts, whose violation deserved 'cutting-off;' but it being doubtful whether the offence was committed, this 'doubtful and suspensive offering' was to be offered, to keep off the 'cutting-off;' the danger of which, it is possible, he lay under. See Lev. v. 17.

אשם ודאי The certain or *'apparent trespass-offering'*, is so called, because the law doth punctually and determinatively appoint us what is to be offered, so by what persons, and upon what occasions, it was to be offered; and those are five.

^o Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 710.

1. **אֲשָׁם גְּזִלָּה** ^p “The trespass-offering for a thing stolen,” or unjustly gotten, or detained; of which is mention Lev. vi. 2, 3. 6.

2. **אֲשָׁם מַעֲלָה** “The trespass-offering for sacrilege;” of which there is mention, Lev. v. 16.

3. **אֲשָׁם שְׂפָחָה חֲרוּפָה** “The trespass-offering concerning a bond-maid;” about which the law is given, Lev. xix. 20, 21.

4. **אֲשָׁם נֹזֵר** “The trespass-offering of the Nazarite,” Num. vi. 12.

5. **אֲשָׁם מְצֹרַע** “The trespass-offering of the leper,” Lev. xiv. 12.

Now^q the manner of disposing of these sacrifices, when they came to be offered, was according to the disposal of the ‘sin-offering.’ They were killed, flayed,—the inwards taken out, washed, salted, and burnt, like that,—and the flesh eaten by the males of the priests in the court. Only about the sprinkling of their blood there was some difference; for whereas the blood of the sin-offering was put upon the horns of the altar, the blood of these was sprinkled with that sprinkling, which was called **שְׁתֵּי מַתָּנוֹת שֶׁחַן אַרְבַּע** “The two sprinklings, which were four;” that is, at two corners of the altar forementioned, and into the fashion of the letter *gamma*; those were sprinkled above the red line, that went about the middle of the altar; and these below, as was the blood of the burnt-offering. And among all the rest, the Nazarites’ ram of trespass-offering was accounted one of the lesser sacrifices, or **קִדְשִׁים קְלִים**: whereas all the rest went in the rank of **קִדְשֵׁי קִדְשִׁים** “The most holy offerings:” and whereas those were slain on the north side of the court, this was on the south; and those were eaten only by the males of the priests, and in the court,—but this might be eaten by others, and in the city.

The eating of the most holy offerings in the court, is very commonly called by the Jews **אֲכִילַת לַפְּנִים מִן הַקְּלָעִים** “the eating within the curtains:” in which expression they allude to the court of the tabernacle, encompassed with curtains round about. For as within those curtains, there was that space, which was called “the camp of the Lord” (the camp of Levi being pitched without), so from the gate of

^p Tosapht. ubi supr. Tal. in Zevachin, cap. 5. Maim. in Shegag. cap. 9.

^q Maim. in Corban. cap. 9.

^r Zevach. ubi supr.

Nicanor inward only, was reputed the " Lord's camp;" the camp of the Levites being that without to the gate of the Mountain of the Temple. Now it was an express command that " every oblation, meat-offering^s, sin-offering, trespass-offering, should be holy for the priests, and for their sons, and should be eaten in the most holy place," that is, in the court, Num. xviii. 10. Ezek. xlii. 13. David Kimchi^t, upon the latter place cited, hath these words; " The most holy offerings were eaten within the court of Israel more innerly, and that was called emphatically 'the court : ' and that was the holy place for the eating of the most holy things, if they were so minded. But in the court of the priests, which was within the court of Israel, there were chambers of the priests, and there they ate their holy things." In which passage, he both reduceth the eating of the most holy offerings into a narrower compass, than either was needful, or than the rest of his nation do; and also he findeth buildings and chambers for the priests within the court of the priests, which unless they were those chambers joining to the body of the temple, are not imaginable, nor have been discovered by any hitherto. As the command confined the priests within the compass of the court, whilst they were eating these things, —so it may well be supposed, that the place of their eating of them was according^u to the season and the best conveniency,—in warm weather, under the cloisters in open air,—and in colder seasons, in some of the chambers that stood within the court, as Gazith, Mokadh, Nitsots; or what, if in some of the rooms joining to the temple?

It appeareth by the tradition concerning their eating of these things, that they fell not aboard with them till towards the evening,—and made them not their dinner at any time, but their supper, באכלים עד הצות. Hence is the common saying of the Talmudists, " They might eat of them till midnight;" but after that, it was unlawful. And in the treatise Beracoth^v, this is set, as it were the clock, to fix the time for the evening-rehearsal of their phylacteries: " From what time (say they) do they say over their phylacteries at even?" and it is answered, " From the time, that the priests go in to eat their offerings," &c. Whether the priests fasted all day till this time or no; and whether the Christian 'Αγά-

^s English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 935.

^u Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 711.

^t Kimchi in Ezek. xlii.

^v Beracoth, cap. 1. sect. 1.

παι did any whit follow this copy of their temple-feasts; and whether this their feasting before the Lord, were not a resemblance of the blessed society of the glorified in the presence of God;—we shall not argue, but refer it to the reader.

Among these offerings that we have mentioned, of bullocks, goats, rams, and lambs, we must not forget, that there were the like offerings of birds; and, of all birds, there were only two kinds allowed; and these were turtles and young pigeons; and they were ever offered by couples. In the Talmud language, they are called קנין, or ‘nests;’ of which title, and upon which subject, there is a treatise in that code; and they were ordinarily sold in the temple, John ii. 14: and women especially (though not only) dealt in this kind of offering of all other; for the cases concerning their uncleanness, issues, births, abortions (besides their vows and free gifts), were so many, that they multiplied these offerings to an incredible number. Let one example give evidence concerning the rest:—

“ A woman (saith the treatise Kerithuth^w) that hath the doubtfulness of five births” together, “ and five fluxes, she is to bring one offering, and she may eat of the sacrifices, and there is no farther offering due from her. Hath she five births certain, and five fluxes certain, she is to bring one offering, and she may eat of the sacrifice; but there is a due from her for the rest. There was this passage^x, Doves stood one day in Jerusalem at a denarius of gold. Rabban Simeon the son of Gamaliel said, By this temple, I will not sleep this night, till they be at a denarius of silver; he went into the Sanhedrim, and determined thus; A woman that hath five apparent births, and five apparent fluxes, is to bring one offering, and she may eat of the sacrifices, and there is no more due from her upon the rest. And thus doves came that day to half a denarius.”

The manner of offering of these birds was thus: If^y they came for a burnt-offering, the priest went up the rise of the altar, and turned off to the circuit, and there at the south-east corner he wrung off their heads,—opened them, wrung out their blood upon the side of the altar,—salted the head where it was wrung off, and cast it into the fire,—took out the inwards, and cast them to the heap of ashes,—salted

^w Kerithuth, cap. 1.

^x Juchasin, fol. 66.

^y Zevachin, cap. 6.

the birds, and cast them into the fire. And if they came for a sin-offering, he wrung off their heads, sprinkled the blood on the side of the altar, and squeezed out the rest of the blood at the foundation; and there was no more to be done, but the priest to take the birds for his own to eat. Only in the sprinkling of the blood of these birds, either being for burnt-offering or sin-offering, the manner was clean different and contrary to the sprinkling of the blood of beasts: for^z the blood of beasts, in burnt-offerings, was sprinkled beneath on the altar below the red line that went about it, and the blood of sin-offerings above: but as for those birds, their blood, when they were offered for burnt-offerings, was sprinkled above,—and when for sin-offerings, it was sprinkled beneath.

SECT. IV^a.*Peace-offerings.* שלמי

WE need not to go very far, to find out the reason and notation of peace-offerings,—as some have done, concluding, that they were so called, because^b “they made peace in the world, peace for the altar, peace for the priests, and peace for the owners;” but do but set them in antithesis and opposition to those offerings that have been spoken of already, and their name and nature will show itself. Burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, and trespass-offerings, were presented and offered-up under the notion of some offence committed, and some guilt that he, that brought them, either did or might lie under; but peace-offerings came not under any such liability, offensiveness or suspicion, but were presented in reference to the party’s more comfortable and more unguilty condition, as being offered either by way of thanksgiving for good obtained, or by way of vow or free devotion.

And this sense (it may be) the Septuagint looked after, when they translate ‘peace-offerings,’ *Θυσίας σωτηριου*, “Sacrifices of deliverance” or salvation.

The word שלמי, from whence שלמי, which signifieth “peace-offerings” is derived,—doth signify, as it is well known, either *peace* or *prosperity*; and the peace-offerings accordingly may be conceived to have relation to this double signification. For some peace-offerings were offered

^z Kinnim, cap. 1.^a *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 936.^b R. Sol. in Lev. iii.

in way of devotion, as free-will-offerings, to continue or to compass peace with God; some in way of thanksgiving,—and these were for prosperity or good obtained already; and some by way of vows,—and these were offered, that prosperity or good might be obtained for the future. For this division of ‘peace-offerings’ into ‘thank-offerings,’—‘free-will-offerings,’—and ‘offerings for vows,’—is held out by the law, Lev. vii.

We will first begin with some peace-offerings, that were of an extraordinary quality, and heteroclites from the common rule; and these were the ‘peace-offerings of the heathen,’ which even they offered at the temple. The Mountain of the House is very commonly called by Christian writers, ‘The court of the Gentiles,’ as hath been said before; for into that might even heathens come; and they might bring offerings with them; and those offerings were offered up, even as were the sacrifices of the Israelites. And in allusion to this it is, that, in the Revelation, when the angel is measuring the temple, he is bidden not to measure the outer court, but to leave that out, for that was given to the Gentiles, Rev. xi. 2. Concerning these sacrifices presented by the heathen, Maimonides^b gives us this testimony and tradition: “They receive not of the heathen but burnt-offerings only; because it is said, From the hand of the son of a stranger, ye shall not offer the bread of your God. They receive even burnt-offerings of birds from a heathen, yea, though he be an idolater: but they receive not from them peace-offerings, nor meat-offerings, nor sin-offerings, nor trespass-offerings. And likewise for burnt-offerings, they receive them not from the heathen, if they come not by way of free-will-offering, or by way of vow. A heathen that bringeth peace-offerings, they offer them as burnt-offerings, because the heathen’s mind is towards heaven. Doth he vow peace-offerings and give them to Israel, that Israel may be atoned for? the Israelites eat them, as if they were the peace-offerings of Israelites; and if he give them to the priest, the priest eateth them. An apostate Jew that is fallen to idolatry, and that profaneth the sabbath presumptuously (בפרהסיא *Ἐν παρόρησι*), they receive not from him an offering at all, no, not a burnt-offering, which they would receive from the heathen.”

^b Maim. in Corban. cap. 3.

In which relation of his, when he saith, "They do not receive peace-offerings of the heathen," and yet afterward he saith they do, and so seemeth to contradict himself,—these things, observed, will clear his meaning, and show that he speaketh exceeding full and good sense. 1. That they refused not a heathen's offering, because, in tendering of it, he showed that *לבו לשמים* "his mind was something towards God," and that some devotion was in him; yet, 2. They would not receive a sin-offering nor a trespass-offering from him, because he was not under those laws, upon which sin-offerings and trespass-offerings did arise. 3. Nor yet would they receive a meat-offering, or a peace-offering from him, under that notion, or in that latitude of a peace-offering, because bread was to be offered with it; and it was prohibited, that they should offer the bread of their God received from a stranger. 4. But every sacrifice that he offered, must be offered by him under one of those two notions, under which a peace-offering came;—namely, either as a free-will-offering, or a vow: and yet it must not be sacrificed under the notion of a peace-offering, but must be offered up as a burnt-offering, because brought in devotion to God, and not to be eaten by Israelites. But if, 5. Out of love to Israel, and desire of their prosperity, he brought a peace-offering even under that notion, to this end, that it might be for an atonement between Israel and God,—it was now become Israel's peace-offering, and it might be offered^c as a peace-offering, and the Israelites might eat it: or if in love to the priests then serving, he brought it to be a peace-offering for atonement between God and those priests, the property was now altered, and it was become the priests' peace-offering, and so it might be offered-up and eaten.

Now, to return to the peace-offerings of the Israelites, they were either of the whole congregation, or of particular persons. The^d peace-offerings of the whole congregation, were only two lambs, offered at one time of the year, and that was at Pentecost, Lev. xxiii. 19. And these were killed, flayed, their blood sprinkled, their inwards burnt, and the flesh eaten by the males of the priests in the court, even^e as the sin-offerings were: for^f these of peace-offerings only were

^c *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 937.

^d *Id. ubi supr. cap. 1.*

^e *Id. ibid. cap. 9. et Talm. in Zevac. cap. 5.*

^f *Vid. R. Sol. in Lev. xxiii. 20.*

accounted קדשי הקדשים "most holy sacrifices," whereas all the rest were קדשים קלים "sacrifices less holy."

The peace-offerings of particular persons were threefold :

1. "*Peace-offerings that were offered without bread*" with them : such were their offerings that were offered for their Hagigah and Simchah, or for their festivity and rejoicing at the three solemn festivals. Now, although these were offered without bread, and so might seem to have been proper for heathens to have offered, as being clear from that exception of the law, of not offering the bread of a stranger,—yet^g might not heathens offer these peace-offerings, because that they were not under the command of the three festivals, nor of the festivity and rejoicing at them.

2. "*Peace-offerings that were offered with bread,*" of which there is mention in Lev. vii, and where they are described at large : these peace-offerings might be of bullocks, or kine, of lambs, male or female, and so of goats, Lev. iii. The occasion of their offering, as was mentioned before, was either for thanksgiving, or of a free devotion, or for a vow. Rabbi Solomon^b confines the thanksgiving-offering to such occasions as those mentioned in the hundred and seventh psalm, as namely,—for deliverance from tempests at sea, from dangers in travel in the wilderness, from sickness, and from prison, על נס שנועשה לו "for some remarkable and wonderful deliverance or mercy that was wrought for him;" or, as Aben Ezra¹ expresseth it, "because he is delivered out of any strait." In which gloss, they straiten the thanksgiving-offering the rather to such singular and extraordinary occasions, because their offerings of tithes, firstlings, first-fruits, &c. were as thanksgivings for their common and constant mercies. And yet I see not, but these peace-offerings might also come sometime in reference to their common mercies and prosperity, as for their health, comforts in their children, success in their business, or the like. And as for the peace-offerings that came as vows, and those that came of free gift,—as the rise of them was of different ground, the one of pure devotion, the other upon some conditional reference,—so do the Jews observe^j, that if the offerings, that were vowed, died or were stolen, they were to be made good by presenting others in their stead : but if those, that were set

^g Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 713.

¹ Ab. Ezra ib.

^b R. Sol. in. Lev. vii.

^j Kinnim, cap. 1.

apart of free gift, either were stolen or died, the party was not bound to any such reparation.

These^k peace-offerings that we have in mention, were slain in any part of the court, but most commonly on the south side; and their blood was sprinkled, as was the blood of the burnt-offering שתי מתנות שהן ארבע, namely, with two sprinklings in form of the letter Gamma, which two besprinkled the four sides of the altar. The breast of the peace-offering, and the right shoulder, were the priest's due, that offered it,—and so was a part of the bread or cakes that were offered with it; and this is called מורם 'Muram' ordinarily by the Rabbins,—that is, that that was taken of the sacrifice, by the priests and for them. The breast was to be waved before the Lord; and, for this action^l, the offerer was to go into the court of the priest, and to join his hand in the rite. And the manner of waving was thus; the priest laid the fat in the owner's hand,—and upon the fat he laid the breast and right shoulder; and upon them he laid the kidneys and the caul of the liver: and, if it were a thanksgiving-offering, he laid some of the bread aloft on all: then he put his hand under the hands of the owner, and he waved his hands this way and that way, and up and down, and all towards the east: and, after this waving, he salted the inwards, and burnt them upon the altar; and the waved breast and shoulder the priest took for his part, and the owner the rest, and they were to be eaten. It was lawful for the party that brought the peace-offering, to eat his part of it in any part of Jerusalem: and so is the Talmudic expression, which frequently occurreth in this case, to be understood, which saith נאכלין בכל העיר "The remaining parts of it were eaten (not in any city, but) in any part of the city:" and this is one of the privileges of Jerusalem above other cities, because^m the 'lesser holy things' might be eaten in it, and not in any other. They ordinarily boiled their peace-offerings in the temple itself, in one of the corners of the court of the women, where we have observed, in its description, boiling places for this purpose; see 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. And in the like manner they did at Shiloh; upon which business the sons of Eli showed their wickedness, when, instead of contenting themselves with the wave-breast and heave-shoulder, they

^k Zevachin, cap. 5. sect. 5.

^l Pisk. Tos. in Mid.

^m Kelim, cap. 1. sect. 8.

brought up a custom^o to strike a three-forked hook into the caldron, where the peace-offering was boiling, and to take whatsoever it brought up, 1 Sam. ii. 14.

The 'peace-offering of thanksgiving' was eaten the same day; but a vow or free-will-offering might be eaten on the morrow, Lev. vii. 15: and herein the priests and the offerer came under the same restriction for the one, and liberty for the other: and the whole families of the one and the other, wives, sons, daughters, servants, might eat of them: and the offerer, if he would, might eat his part in the temple; and the priests, if they would, might eat theirs in Jerusalem. An accursed imitation of these peace-offerings, and eating of them in the temple, was taken up among the heathens, 1 Cor. viii. 10.

3. There was a third peace-offering of a particular person, and that was אֵיל נֹזֵר, as it is commonly called, *The Nazarite's ram*, of which the law and story is set down, Num. vi. 17. And the manner of its disposal was thus: He was killed, and his blood sprinkled; then were the inwards taken out, and the right shoulder and breast separated; and the rest of the flesh the Nazarite boiled in the corner of the court of the women, in the place called the "Room of the Nazarites." Then took the priest the sodden shoulder of the ram, and a tenth part of the bread that was brought^o with him, and the heave-shoulder, and wave-breast, and the inwards, and put them in the hand of the Nazarite, and put his own hand under his, and waved them as before; and all that was waved, was the priest's portion, but only the inwards that were to be burnt upon the altar; and the Nazarite had the rest.

SECT. V.

Meat-offerings and Drink-offerings. נֶסֶךְ and מִנְחָה

THERE^p were twelve sorts of *meat-offerings*; three of the whole congregation, and nine of particular persons: the three of the whole congregation were these:—

1. "The twelve loaves of show-bread," which were set before the Lord every sabbath, Exod. xxv. 30. Lev. xxiv. 5—7: and, when they were taken away, they were eaten by the priests.

^o *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 938.

^o *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 714.

^p *Maim. in Corbanoth*, cap. 2. *Talm. in Menachoth*, cap. 6.

2. "The sheaf or omer of the first-fruits of their harvest," Lev. xxiii. 9. This was of barley, the corn that was first ripe: and there was but one meat-offering more of barley, of all the twelve; all the rest were of wheat. This sheaf was waved before the Lord, this way and that way, and up and down; and then it was part offered, and part eaten. Rabbi Solomon giveth this reason of the waving of it, if it may be taken^a: "Every waving (saith he) is bringing it this way, and that way, up and down; and the waving it this way, and that way, was for the restraining of evil winds; and the waving it up and down, was for the restraining of evil dews."

3. "The two wave loaves offered at Pentecost," Lev. xxiii. 17.

The nine meat-offerings of particular persons were these:—

1. חביתין "The daily meat-offering of the high-priest."

2. מנחת חנוך "The meat-offering of initiation;" which every priest brought in his hand, at his first entrance into the office.

3. מנחת חוטא "The sinner's meat-offering:" this was the offering of a poor man, that should have brought a sin-offering, and was not able. I here cannot but observe a passage in the Misna, and in Tosaphta, that speak of מנחת חוטא של חכהנים "The sinner's meat-offering of the poor priest," that was so poor, as that he was not able to bring a sin-offering; intimating, in what poor condition some of them lived, though some again of them were as rich and stately.

4. מנחת קנאות "The jealousy meat-offering" of the suspected wife, Num. v. 15: this was of barley-meal.

5. מנחת סולת "The meat-offering of fine flour unbaked."

6. מנחת המחבת "The meat-offering baked in a pan."

7. מנחת המרחשת "The meat-offering baked in a frying-pan."

8. מנחת מאפה תנור "The meat-offering baked in the oven."

9. ריקין "Wafers."

Now, besides these names, we read of מנחת גוים, ונשים, "The meat-offering of the heathen, and of women, and the meat-offering with a drink-offering," which are but names different from some of these that are named; for the things themselves did not differ. When a heathen

^a R. Sol. in Lev. xxiii.

man would present a meat-offering under the limitations forementioned, it was some of these mentioned; and also a meat-offering, that was offered with a drink-offering, was some of these that are mentioned: but they are called by these^r distinctive names, only in regard of these circumstances, and not in regard of the difference of materials.

As for the making and managing of these meat-offerings, these were the main and general rules, by which they went:—

1. That^s no meat-offering should consist of less than the tenth part of an ephah of corn (which was but very little differing from the tenth part of our bushel), and of a log of oil, which was somewhat above thirteen ounces. Now, as many tenth parts might be offered, as the offerer could find in his heart to offer, so that there were not above sixty in one vessel; and to every tenth part he must join a log of oil: but under one tenth part, and under one log, there must be no meat-offering. This tenth part of an ephah was called an omer, Exod. xvi. 36.

2. That^t, when the meat-offering was any of the four sorts baked, they commonly made ten cakes, or pieces of the tenth-deal; and accordingly, if more tenth-deals were offered than one, they make ten cakes of every tenth-deal that was offered: only the High-priest's meat-offering was made into twelve cakes; and, when these cakes were baked, every one of them was broken in two; and twelve halves were offered in the morning, and twelve at even.

3. Some^u meat-offerings required both oil and frankincense; some required oil, but not frankincense; some frankincense, but not oil; and some neither frankincense nor oil. Those that required both frankincense and oil, were these:—the meat-offering of fine flour unbaked,—those four that were baked,—the meat-offering of the high-priest,—that of the priests' initiation,—the omer of first-fruits,—and the meat-offerings of heathens and of women. The meat-offering, joined with a drink-offering, required oil, but not frankincense. The show-bread required^v frankincense, but not oil: and the sinner's meat-offering, and the meat-offering of the suspected wife, had neither oil nor frankincense.

^r *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 939.
^t *Id. ibid.* ^u *Talm. in Menac. cap. 5.*

^s *Maim. ubi sup. cap. 13.*
^v *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 715.

4. All^v the meat-offerings, that were made in a vessel, had three pourings of oil about it: at the unbaked meat-offering of fine flour מִנְחַת סֹלֶת, first oil was put into the vessel, and the flour after it; then oil was poured upon the flour, and they mingled together; then was it put into the vessel of the service, in which it was to be brought to the altar, and oil poured on it again; and frankincense put aloft on all. And so in those meat-offerings, that were baked in the pan or frying-pan, oil was put into a vessel, flour upon it, and oil upon the flour again; these being blended together, it was baked; and being baked, it was broken into its pieces, and more oil put upon the pieces, and frankincense upon all. Only what was made and baked wafer-wise, they were anointed with oil; and their anointing was to be כִּי כִי “after the form of the letter Chi,” as the Talmud expresseth it, which the Gloss explaineth to be, “After the form of the Greek Kappa, or the Hebrew Teth; as is the parting between the thumb and the finger; that is, he poured the oil so upon them, that it went this way, and that way, into two parts.”

5. Of^x some of the meat-offerings the priest took out one handful, and burnt it on the altar, and the rest he had for himself to eat: and some meat-offerings were wholly burnt, and the priest had no part. Now these are they, of which a handful was taken only, and the rest fell to the priests:—the unbaked meat-offering of fine flour, and the four baked; the meat-offering of heathens and of women; the omer of first-fruits, and the sinner's meat-offering, and that of jealousy. But the meat-offering of the high-priest, and of the priests' initiation, and that that was offered with a drink-offering,—the priests had no share in these, but the altar had all.

6. The^y manner of offering these meat-offerings was thus: he brought it in a silver or golden dish, in which it was mingled, and puts it into one of the holy vessels of the service, and hallows it in the holy vessel, and¹ puts the oil and the frankincense upon it: then goes and he brings it up to the south-east horn of the altar, standing on the south side of the horn. He had laid the frankincense on the one side; then takes he his handful from the oily place, and lays

^v Talm. in Menac. cap. 6. sect. 3.

^x Ib. sect. 1, 2.

^y Tosaph. in Menac. cap. 1.

it in the midst of another holy vessel, and hallows it in the midst of the vessel; then gathers he up the frankincense, and lays it aloft, and brings it to the top of the altar; there salts it, and lays it on the fire: and the rest was for the priests to eat.

The meat-offering, that was offered with the daily sacrifice, had also a drink-offering presented with it; and so had divers other sacrifices the like, Num. xv. Now the drink-offering was only such a quantity of wine, more or less, according to the sacrifice, as is there prescribed;—which was neither mingled^z, nor any of it poured into the fire, as the meat-offering was; but it was poured upon the foundation of the altar, as the blood was. And when the wine of the daily meat-offering was poured out, the song of the temple began, as we have observed.

There^a was a meat-offering offered every morning with the morning sacrifice; and yet it is observable, that the time of the evening sacrifice only is called *minchah* (which was the title of the meat-offering), and the time of the morning sacrifice not so, 1 Kings xviii. 29. And again, the time of the sacrifice is called by the name of the *meat-offering*, rather than by the name of the sacrifice itself, Dan. ix. 21: the reason of which is somewhat hard to give, and almost as hard to find any, that have given any guess at it: whether the former were not, because the private meat-offerings, or those of particular persons, were most commonly offered in the afternoon: or whether it were not, because the incense of the evening was offered at the time of the meat-offering, which, at the morning sacrifice, was not: and whether the latter were not, because of the variety of materials in the meat-offering, which was not in the sacrifice itself; or because the sacrifice was not complete, till the meat-offering came on;—be it referred to the learned to judge.

And thus have we a brief account of the nature and manner of their sacrifices: for as for the offering of their firstlings and their tenths, they were not so different from those mentioned, that they need a discourse by themselves; and about the paschals we shall speak anon. There are only two things more concerning their sacrifices to be inquired after, and they are these: first, how these sacrifices of sin and trespass-offerings and burnt-offerings became

^z R. Sol. in Num. xv.

^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 940.

paid; as we have seen, how they became due. For, it may be, the offender had no mind to be at such charges, though he knew he did owe a sacrifice upon such a sin and trespass: but he would spare the cost of a lamb, or goat, and would think it better saved than spent, if he could come fairly off, and keep his money. The provision in this case was twofold, conscience and penalty; and if the first prevailed not, the second took place,—if the offence were known. Those, that had any conscience, or regard of religion, or of themselves^b, needed no other instigation to bring their offering, when they knew they were under an offence that called for it, but their conscience and that regard. And they had a double motive to urge them to it; first, the obedience to God's commandment, which called for it; and secondly, the expiation of their sin, which, they believed, was obtained by the offering. But if the party were not swayed by conscience or religion, but had rather and was readier to save his money, than either regard God's command or his own expiation,—if there were witness found that came forth and said, that he had committed such a sin or trespass,—it was best for him then to think of setting apart an offering, or else he was in danger of a penalty, as he lay under guilt. Had he committed sin ignorantly against any of those negative precepts, the transgressing against which wilfully, had brought him under the danger of cutting-off; and now, when he comes to know that he had done amiss,—he refuseth to bring that sacrifice, that was due for such an offence,—this contempt and refusal heightened the offence, so that now it appeared a wilful sin, when he refuseth to seek his peace for it as for one of ignorance: and if he were called to an account for it, and witness produced of what he had done, and he convented,—he must either clear himself of the action, or^c be challenged his offering; compare Matt. viii. 4. But as far as this matter rested upon their devotion (and where there was true devotion, it needed no farther promoter), the nation was so zealous of their rites, and the sins that deserved '*cutting-off*,' were brought into so little compass and so plain, and not very obvious to be stumbled against through ignorance,—that the failing to the render of these sacrifices, when they became due, was indifferently well prevented, by one or other of these things,

^b *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 716.

^c R. Sol. in Lev. i.

either this zeal, or their plainness; especially this concurring that the people held, that 'ex opere operato' these made their peace: the letter of the law was, that "he should offer of his own voluntary will," Lev. i. 3: "and yet (saith Rabbi Solomon upon the place) it teacheth that they urged him, אָוֵרוֹ כּוֹפֵין, it may be whether he would or no. But the text saith, He must do it of his own free will. How then? They urged him till he said, I am willing."

A second scruple about these sacrifices is, concerning the time of their presenting and offering. A man that lived at a great distance from Jerusalem, was fallen under such an offence, as that a sacrifice was due from him: what must he do? Must he away presently thither to offer his offering? Must he neglect his employments at home, and travel up to Jerusalem, at a charge double and treble, and more to the charge of the sacrifice that he was to offer, and lay all things aside, till that be done? The provision in this case was, that he that became liable to any offering, might stay the paying of it till the next solemn festival of the three came, when all must appear before the Lord at Jerusalem. And so his pains and cost of going up thither did accrue upon that general and comprehensive command for their appearance, and not from his own private and particular occasion. They make this one of the two hundred eight-and-forty affirmative precepts, that they pick up in the law, לְהֵבִיא בָּל הַקִּרְבָּנוֹת שֵׁשׁ, "That a man should bring all his offerings, that are either due from him, or voluntarily dedicate,—at the solemn festival that cometh next^e." And so, as the Lord, by appointing those three solemn times in the spring and summer, did provide for the ease and accommodation of the people in that general service,—so, by this law, was provision made for every man's particular exigent and devotion. And this command and practice they ground upon those words, Deut. xii. 5, 6: "Unto the place, which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes, to put his name there, even to his habitation shall ye seek, and thither shalt thou come. And thither shall ye bring your burnt-offerings, and your sacrifices," &c.—"Eight things" (saith Baal Hatturim^f) "are named here, according to the eight times using the words 'before the Lord,' in the

^a Maim. in Præf. ad Jad.

^e English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 941.

^f Baal Hat. in Deut. xii.

law concerning the three festivals." And so would he construe that text, to the sense that we are discoursing of, by a masoretic arithmetical collection, as it is his common way and use to do: but those that go more seriously to work, conclude their bringing of their particular and occasional devotions, at those general appearances, from that text,—by expounding "the seeking and going to the habitation of the Lord," of the most eminent and singularly commanded going thither. According to this construction and practice, the Chaldee paraphrast understands what is said concerning Elkanah,—that he went up out of his city to Shiloh to worship and to sacrifice **מימים ימימה** 1 Sam. i. 3; for he hath rendered it, **מומן מעד למעד** "From the time of one solemn festival to another." What exceptions there might be in this matter,—and whether, and upon what occasions, the bringing of those their sacrifices might be deferred beyond the next coming festival to another,—and how those that were nearer to Jerusalem, and were so minded, might come with their gifts at other times,—it is not much requisite to insist upon.

CHAP. IX.

The manner and managing of the Daily Service.

ON the north side of the court of the temple, well towards the north-west corner of it, as we have observed in its due place, there was^s a great piece of building, which was called **בית מוקד** *Beth Mokadh*^h, "the fire-room," or "the house of burning." And the reason of the name was, because in that room there was constantly a fire kept in all cold weather, both by day and by night; by day, for the priests to warm themselves by, when they came from the service; and by night, for them to keep their guard by; for this was the chiefest court of guard of the priests, of all the three. Here the elders of the house of their fathers warded, and had the keys of the court-gates hanging by them, being committed to them by 'Amarcalin.' If they had a mind to sleep at any time, there were benches round about the room, on which they laid them down and slept. And the younger priests, that were with them (for such also were there), when they would sleep, they laid themselves down on the ground; and the holy garments, in which they were to serve, they

^s *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 717.

^h *Talm. in Tam. cap. 3. et in Middoth, cap. 1. Maim. in Beth habbeeh, cap. 5.*

wrapped up and laid under their heads, as it were a pillow, and slept in their ordinary wearing garments.

Now betimes in the morning, against the president of the service should come, they had bathed themselves in water, and put on the garments of the service, and made themselves ready against he came. They had this maxim concerning their bathing in water for the service; "אין אדם נכנס לעזרה לעבודה אפי' טהור עד שיטבול" Thatⁱ a man, yea though he were clean, yet might he not go into the court to serve, till he had bathed himself in water." And, for this purpose, they had their bathing-places in several rooms, some for the high-priest, and some for the other priests; which places we have particularly observed in our survey. Having bathed themselves in the morning, they needed not to do that again of all the day, unless, upon doing their easements of nature by siege; but they washed their hands and their feet, upon their making of water; and as oft as ever they came within the court about the service, did they go out and in never so oft. And to this custom our Saviour seemeth to allude, John xiii. 10; "He that is washed, needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." At last the president cometh, and knocketh at the door, and they open to him. What president it was, whether of the lots, or the *sagan*, we will not dispute. Maimonides^k saith, it was the "president of lots:" but the Talmudic dispute about the time of his coming, may be worth our marking. "At what hour (saith the treatise Tamid^l) did the president come?" And it answers thus; "Not at all times alike: sometimes he comes at cock's-crowing, sometimes near unto it, sometimes before it, and sometimes after:" which nominated uncertainty of the time, and yet their readiness for him whensoever he came, is so parallel to those words of our Saviour, Mark xiii. 35,—that if those were not spoken in some allusion to this custom, yet may they be well illustrated by it.

Out^m of the room Beth Mokadhⁿ, they go through a wicket into the court, carrying candles in their hands: and there, as soon as they were all come in, they divide themselves; and half of them go in the cloister walk, about the temple, on the west and south sides of the court; and the

ⁱ Talm. in Joma, cap. 3.

^k Maim. in Tam. cap. 6.

^l Tam. cap. 1.

^m English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 942.

ⁿ Tam. cap. 1.

other half along the north and east sides; and both companies met at the "pastry-man's chamber," which was on the left hand of the gate of Nicanor: and being met there, they asked one another, "Is all safe and well?"—"Yes, all is well."—And then they called the pastry-man up to go about his business, to make the *חביתין* cakes for the high-priest's meat-offering.

SECT. I.

The manner of their casting Lots, for every man's several employment.

THEN did the president call upon them to go and cast lots, to decide and appoint what work every one must go about. The place, where they were to do this, was in the building Gazith, namely, in that room of it, that stood within the court. For some part of it stood within the court, and that part, upon some occasions, was as the chapel of the temple; and some part of it stood out into the *chel* *חל*, and in that there sat the great Sanhedrim.

Being^o come together into the place, they all stand round, and conclude upon a number that they will count, as three-score, fourscore, or a hundred, or what they thought good. Then the president of the lottery takes off some one of their caps, and puts it on again; and "Here (saith he) will I begin to count: now put up your fingers." They put up their fingers, one, or two, or three, as they pleased: and he begins at him whose cap he had taken off, and tells the fingers that were held up round. He, at whose fingers the tale or sum, agreed upon, is up, he is the man on whom the lot is fallen; and to him doth that particular service accrue, for which the lot was cast.

The^p first lotting was to determine, who should first cleanse the burnt-offering altar of its ashes. They had used to run and scramble for this service, and first come to the altar, first do it. But^q, besides the roughness and irreverence this manner of doing carried with it, a special occurrence and inconvenience that befel at one time (which was, that one of the priests thus shuffling for this business, was thrust down by his fellow from off the rise off the altar, and broke his leg), did cause the Sanhedrim to take order, that the work should be done with more reverence and calmness;—

^o Maim. in Tamid, cap. 4. ^p Joma, cap. 2. ^q Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 718.

and therefore they decreed, that the lottery should appoint who should do it; and this was the first employment that they lotted for; and he at whom the number, agreed upon, is up, must have it.

SECT. II.

The cleansing and dressing of the Burnt-offering Altar.

HE^r to whom it was allotted to cleanse the burnt-offering altar (which was the first lot cast, and the first work to be done), leaves his fellows in the room Gazith; and having first washed his hands and his feet at the laver, he goes about the work.

There^s were three fires continually made upon the altar: the first was the great fire, which was made for the burning of the sacrifices:—a second less than it was made upon the side of it, from which they took coals to carry into the holy place to burn the incense:—and a third was made for no other use, but to keep the fire in, that it might burn continually, and not go out. And they give their reason for this number of fires, which I shall not insist upon. Now he that was to dress the altar of its ashes first, he takes a silver chafing-dish, which usually stood on the west side of the altar, and going to the altar top, he scrapes the coals this way, and that way, and takes up his dish full of burnt coals, and comes down with them to the pavement; and, when he comes there, he turns his face towards the north, and goes so along, till he comes to the east side of the altar rise; and there he lays down the coals on a heap, hard by the rise, in a place where they also laid the garbage of the birds, and the ashes that were cleansed off the golden altar.

When his fellow-priests perceived, that he was come down from the altar, they hastened and washed their hands and feet; and taking the shovels and hooks, that were for that service, they turned the pieces of the last night's sacrifice, if any were yet left unburnt, to the sides of the altar; and, if the sides would not hold them, they laid them upon the altar rise. Then do they scrape together the ashes from all the sides, to the middle of the altar, upon a great heap,—and take from thence as much as filled a great vessel of half a homer (this vessel was called פסכתר *Pesachtar*); and this they bring down with them, yet leaving a reason-

^r Maim. in Tam. cap. 1.

^s Maim. in Tamid, cap. 2.

able big heap of ashes still, which they call Tapuahh. When they had brought this great vessel of ashes down, others of the priests in lesser vessels carried them away^t, even out of the city: and laid them in a calm place, that the wind might scatter them as little as possible: and these ashes might not be put to any use.

This cleansing of the altar every morning they began most commonly about the dawning: but, on the three solemn festivals, they began much sooner, and on the day of expiation, they began from midnight. When, therefore, they had thus brought off the ashes, they go about to make the fire. And first they begin with the great fire for the burnt-sacrifices, which they called *מַעֲרֵכָה גְדוֹלָה* "The great pile;" and this they made something towards the east side of the altar. The second fire, which was for the coals for the incense, was made of the wood of fig-tree only, and that was made towards the south-west corner, as that place being nearest to the priest's standing upon the altar rise, and the coals there being the readiest to be taken away. As for the third fire, which was for the keeping of the fire continually burning, it was made indifferently in any part of the altar. Now, besides all the other wood, which was laid on the great fire, they added two singular billets (for which they produce singular tradition) to it, when the sacrifice came on; which, at the morning-sacrifice, was carried and laid on by one priest, but, at the evening-sacrifice, by two. Having thus made the fire, they lay the pieces of the last night's sacrifice, that were not burnt, upon it again; and so they come down, and return into the room Gazith again; and there the president calls them to a lottery again.

There were thirteen particular services more to be assigned to particular men; as killing the sacrifice, sprinkling the blood, cleansing the golden altar, dressing the lamps, bringing the parts of the sacrifice to the rise of the altar, &c. The first of which was appointed by lot in the same manner as before, and the rest fell in order to the persons, as they stood in order beyond him: they, therefore, conclude again upon another sum or number, hold up their fingers, and he counts again. The man, at whose fingers the count is up, 1. He is appointed to kill the sacrifice. 2. He that stands next beyond him, must take and sprinkle the blood.

^t *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 943.

3. The next beyond him must cleanse the incense altar. 4. The next beyond must dress the candlestick and lamps. 5. The next must bring the head and legs of the sacrifice to the rise^u of the altar. 6. The next must bring his two shoulders. 7. The next, the rump and the feet. 8. The next, the breast, weasand, and plucks. 9. The next, the two loins. 10. The next, the inwards. 11. The next, the meat-offering. 12. The next, the high-priest's meat-offering. 13. And the next, the drink-offering. And thus these thirteen several employments were distributed severally to thirteen men, the first by the lottery, and all the rest by the men's standing, and this was the second lot.

There were two lots for two services more used, namely, for the burning of the incense, and for the bringing of the pieces of the sacrifice from the rise of the altar, to the altar top, and laying them on; but those two lots were not cast till a little farther in the day, than the time, that we are now upon. Now the reason, why they counted fingers or hands in their lotting, and not the persons themselves,—was, because they held it not convenient to number Israelites by their persons, but by some other thing:—the reason of which conceit they give; but it is out of the road of our present pursuit, to follow the inquiry after it.

Those who were missed, and were not, either by the lot, or by their standing, appointed to any of these employments, that are mentioned,—they put off their priests' garments, all but their linen breeches, and went about the more servile works; as, to fetch out the vessels, that were to be used, to carry away the ashes, that were fetched off the altars, and the like.

SECT. III.

The Killing of the Morning-sacrifice, dressing the Lamps and Incense Altar.

THEN^v doth the president say to them, "Go and see whether it be time to kill the daily sacrifice." One or another went to the top of some of the buildings about the temple; and, when he sees it fair day, he saith, בריקא "It is fair day.—Aye, but (saith the president) is the heaven bright all up to Hebron? He answers, Yes. Then saith he, Go and fetch the lamb out of the lamb-room:" and so

^u Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 719.

^v Talm. in Tamid, cap. 3. et in Joma, cap. 3.

they do, and though he were searched before, whether he were right and faultless, yet do they now search him again by candlelight, but they may not kill him but by daylight. Yet once (as the Talmud relateth) they were deceived by the moonlight, and thought it had been day; and so slew the morning-sacrifice by night.

He that was allotted to kill the lamb, and had fetched him out of the 'lamb-room,' brought him to 'the place of the Rings,' where the sacrifice was usually slain; and the rest that were to sprinkle the blood and to carry the parts to the altar, go with him thither, and wait for their employment till it come. Others go into the room where the vessels of the service lay^w, and from thence they bring ninety-three silver and gold vessels, which were all to be used that day; in one of them they give the lamb water to drink,—for that, they thought, made him to flay the better.

The seniors, that carried the keys of the gates of the court, when they saw their time, they caused the gates to be opened, and, at the opening of the last gates of the two courts, the trumpets sounded, and gave warning to the 'Levites and Stationary-men,' for their attendance. At last, the gate of the temple itself was opened, for those two to go in at, that were to dress the golden altar and the lamps, who took with them, for that purpose, two golden vessels,—the one they called *תני* *teni*, and the other *כז* *koz*.

As soon as the noise of the opening of the temple-door was heard, he that was to slay the sacrifice, slew him: and as near as might be, he that cleansed the incense altar, cleansed it, while the sacrifice was in slaying. And when they sprinkled the blood, he that was to dress the lamps, dressed some of them at the time of sprinkling.

The manner of cleansing the incense altar was thus:—he took the golden dish *teni*, and set it before the altar, and took his handful of coals and ashes of the altar, put them into it, and brushed the rest into it; left it standing there, and so came out.

The dressing of the lamps was in this manner:—there was a great stone, that lay before the candlestick, in which there were hewed three steps; whereby, he that was to dress the lamps, stepped up. What lamps were out, he took out the yarn and oil, and put in new, and lighted them at some

^w English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 944.

of the lamps that were not out. Only that which they called 'the western lamp,' if that were out, it must not be lighted but by some fire fetched from the sacrifice altar.

'The western lamp' נר מערבי was not that, which stood most westward of all the seven, but the middlemost of all; and it was so called, because it was set bending westward, towards the most holy place, and all the rest of the lamps stood bending towards this.

As for those lamps, that he found burning, he snuffed them, dressed them^x, and supplied them with new oil. And thus he did only by five lamps at this time, for he dressed not all the seven at once: and having thus done, he sets down his golden dish *coz*, on the second step on which he had gone up, and so he came out.

In the mean while, they without were sprinkling the blood, flaying the sacrifice, and dividing it into its pieces: which so divided, the several men, appointed to carry the pieces to the rise of the altar, brought them thither, salted them, and left them there; and now again go into the room *Gazith*, which was as their chapel, to their prayers.

SECT. IV.

Their public Prayers, their Phylacteries.

THEN^y the president calls upon them to go to prayers; which they began thus; "Thou^z hast loved us, O Lord our God, with an everlasting love; with great and abundant compassion hast thou compassionated us, O our Father our king, for our fathers' sakes who trusted in thee, and thou taughtest them statutes of life. So be gracious to us also, O our Father, O most merciful Father, O thou compassionate one, pity us. And put into our hearts, to know, understand, obey, learn, teach, observe, do and perform all the words of the doctrine of thy law in love; and enlighten our eyes by thy law, and cause our hearts to cleave to thy commandments, and unite our hearts to love and to fear thy name," &c.

After this they rehearsed the ten commandments; and, after the ten commandments, they said over their phylacteries.

There is mention of their phylacteries in the Scripture,

^x *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 720.

^y *Tamid*, cap. 4.

^z *Maim. in Tamid*, cap. 6. *Seder Tephilloth*.

Matt. xxiii. 5: and they were four sections or paragraphs of the law, written in two parchments, which parchments they wore about them continually, as memorandums of their observance of the law, and evidences of their devotion: and therefore they were called in the Greek tongue ‘Phylacteria,’ or ‘Observatories;’ and in the Hebrew, ‘Tephillin,’ or ‘Oraisons.’

The portions of the law, that were written in these parchments, were these:—

I. Exod. xiii. 3—10.

II. Exod. xiii. 11—16.

III. Deut. vi. 4—9.

IV. Deut. xi. 13—21.

The manner and curiosity of writing these sentences in their several columns, and in what parchment, and with what ink, is largely discoursed by the author^a cited in the margin, with which I shall not trouble the reader at this time: only I may not omit the reason, why these were used, rather than any other sentences of the law,—which was this, because^b in every one of the sections there is mention, either of “Those words being Totaphoth, or frontlets between their eyes,” or “a memorial between their eyes,” or “that they should bind them upon their hands.” And accordingly the place, where they wore these two parchments, was, the one, upon their foreheads downwards, towards between their eyebrows,—and the other, upon their left arm: whereupon Tanchuma^c hath taken occasion to expound God’s swearing “by his strong arm,” of his swearing by the “Phylacteries.”

I doubt, whether all the nation used these phylacteries indifferently, or only those who were called “The scholars of the wise,” who pretended more knowledge, devotion, and study of the law than the common people. It is recorded by the Jewish^d writers, that the Sadducees, though they could not away with the Pharisees’ traditions, yet that they used phylacteries as well as they, but only that they differed from them in opinion, about the place, where they should wear them. But whether husbandmen, tradesmen, and the rest of the common people, wore them, as well as scholars, and the learned of the nation,—this one passage of Maimonides,

^a Vid. Maim. in Tephillin, cap. 1. et 2. et Buxtorf. Lex. Tal. in 55.

^b English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 945.

^c Tanchuma, fol. 6. col. 3.

^d Juchasin.

amongst other arguments, may give some occasion to suspect: he speaking of those things, for which a man might be allowed to pass by a synagogue, whilst they were at prayers there, and not come in,—among other things he saith thus^d; “Were his phylacteries seen upon him, then that was a sign, that he neglected not the law;” and so, though he had occasion to pass the synagogue at that time, yet his phylacteries, appearing, spake for him, that it was not for want of devotion, that he passed the synagogue, but was called away by some business or occasion.

Howsoever, the common people did not wear these phylactery-parchments, as the learned did; yet both learned and unlearned were bound alike to the rehearsing or saying over the phylactery-sentences, contained in them, morning and evening, every day. “Yea^e, workmen that were on the top of a tree, or on the top of a piece of timber” (rearing or repairing a house), “they were bound to this rehearsal there,” when the time of the day for it was come.

This rehearsal is commonly called by the Hebrews קריאת שמע “Keriath Shema,” “the saying over of Shema,” because one of the sections began with שמע ישראל “Hear, O Israel,” &c, Deut. vi. 4: which though it were not the first of the four, as they stand written in the book of the law, nor the first written in their parchments which they wore, yet was it ever the first in their rehearsal: and the reason is given, because it containeth the first and the foundation of all other duties, and that is, “to love the Lord.”

The time of their Keriath Shema, or rehearsal of their phylactery-sentences in the morning, is thus determined in their^f traditions^g:—“At what time of day do they say over their phylacteries in the morning? Namely, from such time as a man can see to distinguish between blue and white. Rabbi Eliezer saith, Between blue and green, even until sun-rising. Rab. Joshua saith, Until the third hour.—And at what time do they say them over at evening? Namely, from the time that the priests go in to eat their offerings, until the end of the first watch,” &c.

Now, besides this daily rehearsal of these sentences, morning and evening, to which they were all bound by their traditions, they also held it a great piece of piety, to say

^d Maim. ubi sup.

^f Ibid. cap. 2.

^e Talm. in Beracoth, cap. 2.

^g Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 721.

them over at the hour of death. So it is related of one of the ten martyrs of the kingdom (for so let me translate הרוני מלכות), that, as he was saying over his phylacteries, he was slain and cast unto the dogs. And to speak from more later times, Joseph the priest, in his various History of the Turks^h, Jews, and Christians (a book very rare to be had), describing a massacre raised by the red-cross soldiers, that went under Godfrey of Boulogne, and the rest, to the holy war, against the Jews in Germany,—he recordeth it several times over, that, when such and such murdered Jews were ready to expire, yea, even children in their mothers' arms, they said their 'Keriah Shema,' or their phylactery-sentences, over; and, with those in their mouths, they gave up the ghost.

SECT. V.

The burning of Incense, and the rest of their Prayers.

CONCERNING the time of the burning of incense, they have this tradition: קטורת של שחר היתה קריבה בין דם לאיברים לנסכים “That the incense of the morning was offered between the sprinkling of the blood, and the laying of the pieces upon the altar: and of the evening, between the laying on of the pieces on the altar, and the drink-offering.” Now, for this employment of offering the incense, they go to lotting again, to be resolved who should do it; and so there was another lot likewise cast, to determine who should bring the pieces from the rise of the altar and lay them on.

He^j that was allotted to burn the incense, took a silver dish, in which there was a censer full of frankincense; another took another dish, and went to the top of the altar, and thence took some burning coals and came down. These two must go into the temple: now as they go, there was a great vessel, or instrument, or what shall I call it? (they call it מגרפה *Migrephah*;) which, being rung or struck-upon, made an exceeding great sound; and so great, that they set it out by this hyperbole, אין אדם שומע קול חברו בירושלים מקול המגריפה “One man could not hear another in Jerusalem, when the מגרפה *migrephah* sounded:” it was as a bell, that they rung to give notice of what was now in hand. And the

^h Lib. 1. ad ann. 1096.

^j Joma, cap. 3.

^k English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 946.

ringing of it, as saith the treatise Tamid^k, served for these three purposes:—" 1. Any priest that heard the sound of it, knew, that his brethren were now ready to go in and worship; and he made haste and came. 2. Any Levite that heard it, knew, that his brethren, the Levites, were going in to sing; and he made haste and came. And, 3. The head or chief of the station hearing the sound of it, brought up those that had been unclean and had not yet their atonement made, into the gate of Nicanor, to have them there atoned for."

Two men, then, that are going into the temple to burn incense, ring upon this 'migrephah' as they go by it (for it lay between the altar and the porch), to give notice to all, who were to attend, that now the service was in beginning, and to chime them in. As they go up the steps, they two, that had been in before to cleanse the incense-altar and to dress the lamps, go up before them: he that had cleansed the altar, goeth in, and taketh up his dish *teni*, and worshippeth, and cometh out. He that had dressed the five lamps before, dresseth now the other two, and taketh up his dish *coz*, and worshippeth, and cometh out. He that went in with the censer of coals, after a little office done towards the disposing of the incense, leaves the other there, and he also comes out.

Now he that is left there alone for the burning of the incense, he offers not to kindle it, till the president from without, with a loud voice, give him notice, when he shall begin: yea, though it were the high-priest himself, that offereth the incense, yet he begins not to do it, till the president have called to him, "Sir, offer:" and, as soon as he hath given the signal to the incense-offerer, that he shall begin and offer, all the company in the court withdraw downward from the temple, and fall to other of their prayers.

SECT. VI.

The rest of their Prayers.

BESIDES the prayers and rehearsal of the decalogue and of their phylacteries, mentioned before, they had three or four prayers more, which they used at the morning service, and they were these:—The^l first they called אמת ויציב *emeth* and *jatsib*, because it began with those two words, and it referred to their phylacteries, and it was of this form: "Truth

^k Tam. cap. 5.

^l Tam. ubi supr.

and stability, and firm and sure, and upright and faithful, and beloved and lovely and delightful, and fair and terrible and glorious, and ordered and acceptable and good and beautiful, is this word for us, for ever and ever. The truth of the everlasting God, our king, the rock of Jacob, the shield of our salvation, for ever and ever. He is sure, and his name sure, and his throne settled, and his kingdom and truth established for evermore," &c.

The^m second is called by the Talmud text עבודה *avodah*, but by Maimonides רצה *retseh*; yetⁿ they both agree in one as to the prayer itself; only the one names it after the first word in it, and the other after one of the chiefest words in it. The tenor of it was thus; "Be pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and with their prayer; and restore the service to the oracle of thy house, and accept the burnt-offering of Israel and their prayer in love, with well-pleaseness; and let the service of Israel, thy people, be continually well-pleasing to thee." And they conclude thus; "We praise thee, who art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, the God of all flesh, our Creator, and the Maker of all the creation; blessing and praise be to thy great and holy name, because thou hast preserved and kept us; so preserve and keep us, and bring back our captivity to the courts of thy holiness," &c.

A third prayer ran thus; שים שלום "Appoint peace, goodness, and blessing, grace, mercy, and compassion, for us, and for all Israel thy people: bless us, O our Father, even all of us as one man, with the light of thy countenance; for in the light of thy countenance, thou, O Lord our God, hast given us the law of life, and loving mercy, and righteousness, and blessing, and compassion, and life, and peace; let it please thee to bless thy people Israel at all times. In the book of life, with blessing and peace, and sustentation, let us be remembered and written before thee, we and all thy people the house of Israel," &c.

And a fourth prayer was used on the sabbath as a blessing, by the course that went out, for a farewell, upon the course that came in, in these words; "He that caused his name to dwell in this house, cause to dwell among you, love, and brotherhood, and peace, and friendship." Compare 2 Cor. xiii. 11.

^m Ib. et Maim. ubi supr.

ⁿ Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 722.

Now^o whereas there is some seeming doubtfulness among the Talmudical writers, about the time of these prayers, they leaving it somewhat uncertain, whether they were uttered immediately before the offering of the incense, or in the very time of its offering,—the evangelist Luke hath determined the question, and resolved us, that the “multitude was praying at the very time of the incense,” Luke i. 10; and even the Gloss upon the Talmud itself doth tell us, that these prayers were the “people’s prayers,” the last only excepted.

When those prayers were done, he, whose lot it was to bring up and lay the pieces of the sacrifice upon the altar, did that business in that manner, as hath been mentioned before,—namely, first flinging them into the fire, and then taking them up again, and laying them in order.

After which things performed, the priests, especially those that had been in the holy place (with the holy vessels in their hands that they had used), standing upon the stairs that went up into the porch, lifted up their hands and blessed the people. Compare Luke i. 22.

Not to insist upon the large disputes and discourses^p, that are among the Jews about their lifting up their hands, the blessing they pronounced, was that in Num. vi. 24—26; “The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.” And the manner was thus;—they lift up their hands above their heads, with their fingers spread; and one of them saith over this blessing word by word, and they say after him, and they make it all one blessing (but in the synagogues they made it three); and when they have ended it, the people answered, “Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting.”

After this blessing, the meat-offering was offered, and after that the *חבתין* meat-offering of the high-priest, and last of all the drink-offering: and then began the song and music, of which we have spoken before; and upon every stop of the song, the trumpets sounded, and the people worshipped; and having done so, at the last close they departed.

Thus was the ordinary and common service of the tem-

^o *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 947.

^p Taanith, cap. 4. Maim. in Tephil. et Bircoth Cohanim, cap. 14, 15.

ple, morning and evening, save that, at the evening-service, there was some small difference from this rubric, which was not very material: as that then they cast not lots for their several employments, but those that the lot had assigned them in the morning, they retained in the afternoon;—only about the matter of burning the incense, they cast lots anew amongst those of the house of the father that served that day, that had never burnt incense in their lives: but if all of them had, at one time or other, been upon that employment, then he that had had it by lot at the morning-service, did also perform it at the evening. Likewise at the evening-sacrifice, the burning of incense was a little later than at the morning, as was touched before: for it was between the laying on of the pieces of the beast upon the altar, and the offering of the drink-offering: so that then the burning of incense, and the public prayers, fell in just with the time of the minchah, or meat-offering. The priests also lifted not up their hands in blessing the people at the evening-service on some days, as they did in the morning: and the reason why they did not, is given, and the matter discussed, in the beginning of the fourth chapter of the treatise Taanith; but it may seem more tedious to the reader than either useful or delightful to insist upon it.

CHAP. X^a.

The manner of their Worshipping at the Temple.

THE holiness of the place, and the equity of that law, “Ye shall reverence my sanctuary,” did justly challenge all solemn and holy behaviour of them, that came to worship there: for which, as the law had prohibited all uncleanness from that place, so did the great masters of traditions prohibit other things, which the law had not named: in which provision they did, as they did generally in all other things,—they strained at a gnat, and swallowed a camel: not sticking to make and permit “the house of prayer” to be a house of merchandise and a den of thieves; and yet strict in prohibiting what was of far less faultiness and scandal. According to which their punctual preciseness in lesser matters,

I. לא יכנס אדם לחר הבית במקלו. “No man might go into the Mountain of the House with his staff.” It being reputed

^a Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 723.

^r Beracoth, cap. 9. Zavim, cap. 1. Gemara, Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 7.

as a thing unfit, to bring in weapons of striking into that place of peace: or to use that place as a journey, which was to be a rest; or to lean upon any staff there, but only on God. From this custom it was, that our Saviour drove not^s the buyers and sellers out of the temple with a staff, but with a whip of cords, no staff being permitted to be brought in thither. And here it was a strange contradiction in religion, that they might bring cattle to market into the Mountain of the House, but they might not drive them in thither with a staff. Yet did “the man of the mountain of the house,” walk up and down the mountain with his staff, and use it to strike too; for חכט במקלו as Maimonides tells us, he cudgelled or punched with his staff, those Levites, that lay sleeping upon the guards.

II. או במועל שברגליו. “Nor might any man enter in thither with his shoes on his feet.” This prohibition they took from those words of God to Moses and Joshua, “Put off thy shoes from thy feet,” &c. Exod. iii. Josh. v. Under which prohibition and practice was couched that doctrine, which the Targum uttereth on these words in Eccles. v; “Take heed to thy feet, when thou enterest into the house of God.”—“Thou, son of man, take heed to thy feet, when thou enterest into the Sanctuary of the Lord to pray, that thou go not in thither full of thy sins unrepented of, &c. And be not as fools, which offer sacrifices for their sins, and yet turn not from their evil works.”

They might go into the Mountain of the House in their sandals, though they might not in their shoes; but the Levites might not go into their desks to sing, nor their priests into the court to serve, no, not so much as in their sandals, but bare-footed.

III. או באפונדתו. “Nor might any man enter into the Mountain of the House with his scrip or bag-purse about him.” The word אפונדה, or פונדה, is taken by some to signify a ‘little upper garment’ that they wore, which in Greek (from which language, they conceive, this word is taken) is called Ἐπειδεδυμένης John xxi. 7; but I have ventured to render it a *scrip* or *bag-purse*, for the clearer sense of the prohibition that we are about, upon some grounds and reasons

^s English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 948.

^t Beracoth, cap. 9. Zavim, cap. 1. Gemara, Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 7.

^u Targ. in Eccles. v. 1.

^v Erach. cap. 2. in Gemar.

which I shall give, when I have named one or two of their prohibitions more.

IV. או באבק שעל רגליו “ Nor might he come in with the dust upon his feet,” but he must wash or wipe them, “ and look to his feet, when he entered into the house of God.” How under this might be couched the doctrine of shaking-off all worldly thoughts and affections, when they were to go about the service of God, is ready for every one to observe, and needeth no intimation.

V. או במעות הצרורין לו בסדינו “ Nor with money tied to him in his purse.” The words of our Saviour to his disciples, when he was sending them to preach, are so parallel to these prohibitions, that it is more than probability, that he speaketh in allusion to these things: “ Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither shoes nor staves,” Matt. x. 9, 10. And therefore, I have the rather translated אפונדה a *scrip*, and סדין a *purse*, because those two words in our Saviour’s speech do not only fitly translate these two, but that they seem to do so purposely. And for the rendering of the former word so, there is this double warrant: 1. Because the word תרמלה, which the Syriac hath used to render the Greek word Πήρα by in the place cited, is sometimes used by the Talmud in conjunction with the same words that אפונדה is used with here; as במקלו ותרמילו^w “ with his staff and his scrip;” מנעלו ותרמילו^x “ his staff, his shoes, and his scrip:” and, 2. From the signification that Rabbi Nathan giveth of אפונדה in these words^y; “ It was a kind of vesture, which was a little upper garment, in which were many places sewed, in which they put any thing they met with,” that they had occasion to use: so that this was a kind of an apron with divers purses or pockets made in it, in which they put their necessaries, as we do in our pockets; which apron they could readily put on or off, wear or lay aside, as they saw occasion. And as in such an apron they had their pockets, —so in the scarf or girdle, wherewithal they girded their under coats, they had their purses, Matt. x. 9. Their girdles ordinarily were of linen, which the word before us סדין^z meaneth (and it was extraordinary in Elias and John the Baptist, to go in leathern girdles); and in these their girdles

^w Shabbath, cap. 2. fol. 31.

^x Jebamoth, fol. 122.

^y Aruch in אפונדה

^z Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 724.

they had a way to keep the money, that they carried about with them, when they travelled or went upon their occasions; but into the Mountain of the House they might bring no money in it. And thus might they not come thither, with any thing of worldly notion or incumbrance about them, but must lay aside for their time of being there (as a lecture of devotion retired from worldly thoughts or employments) their money, their worldly implements and utensils, and whatsoever in their common employments and occasions they used, and used to carry with them. Sure, then, it will be thought, that the poor cripple, that lay at the Beautiful Gate begging, Acts iii, had but a very poor and comfortless trade of it, to beg there where no money was or might be stirring: and when Peter and John say to him, "Silver and gold have I none," it may seem, that that was the tune of all, that came by him.—But money was brought into the temple in abundance, though they brought it not in their purses; for they gave money to the priests, who helped them to offerings for their money, and they gave money to the treasury for the poor; but they brought their money in their hands. And it may be that phrase, so ordinary in the Hebrew, did allude to this custom, "He shall bring an offering, as his *hand* shall find."

VI. Being^a come into the Mountain of the House, he must be careful of these four things: 1. **אסור לרוק בכל הר הבית** "He may in no wise spit there: but if he be necessitated to spit, he must do it in some corner of his garment." Yet did they not stick to spit in the face of Him, that was greater than the temple; Matt. xxvi. 67. There^c was a street in Jerusalem, which was called the 'Upper street;' and in this street spittle was unclean, and so it was in no street of Jerusalem besides.

2. **לא יקל את ראשו כנגד שער מזורח** "He may not use any irreverent gesture, especially not before the gate of Nicanor;" for that was just before the face of the temple: and this irreverence forbidden was, that they might not laugh, scoff, nor talk idly, much less do any thing of a higher irreverence.

3. **לא יעשה הר הבית קפנודריא** "He may not make the Mountain of the House a thoroughfare^d:" no more might they do one of their synagogues. As, if he had occasion to go

^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 949.

^b Maim. ubi ante.

^c Shek. cap. 8.

^d Maim. in Tephillah, cap. 1.

from one side of the city to another about his occasions, he might not go through the Mountain of the Temple, though that were the nearer way, but he must go about: for thither he might not come אלא לדבר מצוה, "but only upon occasion of religion."

4. הניכנס בעזרה יהלך בנחת. He that went into the court, must go leisurely and gravely into the place, where he was to stand; and there he must demean himself as in the presence of the Lord God, in all reverence and fear.

VII. אין מתפלל אלא מעומד. Being now come in, to pray and to attend the service in the court; 1. "He must stand," and neither sit, nor lean, nor lie: for besides that caution which we shall observe by and by, that none might sit in the court,—it was not only their custom, but they held it their duty, to pray standing wheresoever they prayed. Our Saviour saith, "They loved to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets;" Matt. vi. 5: their own traditions do bear witness to these words, both as to the posture, and to the place. "There are eight things" (saith Maimonides in the place cited above^e in the margin) "that he that prayeth, must take notice of to do them: namely, to stand, to set his face towards the temple, to compose his body, to compose his clothes, to fit his place, to order his voice, to bow and to worship: he is not to pray but standing" (unless sick or weak); "and if he be in a ship, or a cart,—if he can, let him, stand." And in the eleventh chapter of the same book, he speaks of praying in the streets at their fasts and some other days, when the synagogues would not hold them. 2. As for the composure of their bodies in prayer, the rule that their tradition gives, is this; "He is to stand, with his feet, one even by another, and must cast his eyes downward, and his heart upward; and he must lay his hands upon his breast, the right hand upon the left; and he must stand as a servant before his master, with all reverence and fear." Their looking down in prayer, they took from those places in Scripture, that speak of being ashamed to look up towards heaven, and of being unable to look up because of sin. And to this posture of looking down, and laying his hands upon his heart, that demeanour of the publican in the parable seemeth parallel; "He would not so much as lift up his eyes towards heaven, but smote upon his breast;" Luke xviii.

^e Maim. in Tephillah, cap. 5.

13. And even the priests, when they pronounced the blessing upon the people, neither looked up towards heaven, nor level upon the people, but down upon the ground; and the people might not look upon them.

VIII. אין ישיבה בעזרה אלא למלכי בית דוד בלבד. Were they never so weary with standing, or had they stood never so long,—yet might they not sit down in the court, either people or priests. For this is a most known and received maxim amongst the most Jewish writers^f, “That no man whosoever might sit in the court, but only the kings of the house of David.” Though Kimchi^g allege some, that excepted the kings from this privilege, and allowed it only to the high-priest. Midras Tillin^h doth wittily apply this sitting of the king alone, and all the rest standing, to the posture of the congregation in heaven, “where the Great King sits, and all the company there, standeth attending on him.” But some other of the Jews do as unwittingly apply it, when they make this to be one of Jeroboam’s greatest fears for the people’s withdrawing from him, and personate him speaking thus: “It is certainⁱ, that there is no sitting in the court, but only for the kings of the house of David: therefore, as soon as they shall see Rehoboam sitting, and me standing, they will conclude, that, if I were a king, I should sit down,” &c. From^j this received tradition, of “not sitting in the court,” the great Sanhedrim, who sat in the room Gazith, which was in the south wall of the court,—would not presume to sit in that side of the building, that stood in the court,—but they sat in the other side, that stood in the *חל* *chel*. In its due place we have, at large, described the situation of that building, and their sitting there.

IX. לא יעמוד בראש מגולה. “They might not pray with their heads uncovered. And the wise men and their scholars (saith my author) never prayed but being veiled^k.” So Rabbi Nathan^l relating a story of Nicodemus, how he prayed and begged for rain in a great exigent, and mentioning his twice going in to pray upon that occasion, he doth particularly express this circumstance, *התעטף* that “he put on his veil,” and went in, and prayed^m. And the Jews compare the appearing of the Lord upon mount Sinai in a cloud, to the

^f *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 725.

^h *Midr. Till.* in Psal. i. ab initio.

^j *Maim.* in *Beth Habbech.* cap. 5.

^l *Avoth R. Nathan*, cap. 6.

^g *Kimch.* in 1 Sam. i. et Lev. Gersom. ib.

ⁱ *R. Sol.* et *D. Kimch.* in 1 Kings xii.

^k *Id.* in *Tephillah*, ubi sup.

^m *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 950.

'Angelus Ecclesiæ,' or minister of the congregation, "having on his veil," כשליה צבור עטוף". The priests wore their caps or bonnets constantly all the time they were about the service; and yet it seems, they did not account that covering of their heads sufficient, when they went to pray, but they put on some other covering also. This custom and practice of theirs, the apostle taketh to task, 1 Cor. xi. 4.

X. Their bodily gesture in bowing before the Lord, was either כריעה "bending of the knees," or קרה "bowing of the head," or השתאויה "falling prostrate upon the ground." Now this last is most spoken of, and yet, according to its strict propriety, it was least in use. They used indeed sometime to fall down upon the floor in prostration; but ordinarily this was changed among them, from a flat falling upon the ground, to a very low bending of the body towards it: for they had this position; "That prostration was not fit for every man, but only for such as knew themselves righteous men, like Joshua°."

XI. Having^p performed the service, and being to go away, they might not turn their backs upon the altar: therefore they went backward, till they were out of the court: and when they came into the Mountain of the House, they^q might not go out at the same gate at which they came in: about which matter we have discoursed elsewhere.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Appearance of the People at the three Festivals.

THE^r great Sanhedrim was an almanack to all the nation, to give them notice of the new moons, by which they might fix their monthly feasts, and know when to celebrate their solemnities. Now, although the Sanhedrim had the skill to know the night, when the new moon should appear (for from its appearing they began the month),—yet they did not determine of the thing, till they had the testimony of two men, which gave in evidence that they had seen the new moon: and hereupon it was, that very many couples repaired to Jerusalem for this purpose, who, having seen the first new moon, set away thither to give testimony of it, and there were entertained in a place of the city called בית יעזק^s Beth Jaazek, a court walled in with stone,—and examined about

ⁿ Maim. in Josedeh torah, cap. 1.

^o Id. ubi ante.

^p Id. in Beth Habbech. cap. 7.

^q Talm. in Middoth, cap. 2.

^r Maimon, in Kidd. hodesh, cap. 1.

^s Rosh. hash. cap. 2.

the business and feasted^t, that men might be encouraged to come to witness upon so needful an occasion. It is besides our present purpose to inquire curiously after the quality of the persons, whose testimony was to be accepted,—or how, or how far, they came,—or why they should come, when the persons of the great council might see the moon themselves,—and how they of the Sanhedrim, that saw the moon, did witness among themselves about it;—and therefore we will let these disquisitions alone, and content ourselves with observing this,—that^u as that court held itself bound to fix and give notice of the new moons, so they held themselves bound to determine upon this matter by the mouth of two witnesses, as they did also in other judicial matters.

The two first witnesses that came, if their testimony were current, did serve the turn, and they looked no farther: yet had they something to say to all the couples that came, because they would encourage the work:—or if those two did not serve the turn, when any other two did, then they took course, that all the country might know of the day, with what speed might be.

For that purpose, their course at the first was this:—at night (after they had concluded^v by day, by such witness, that the new moon was seen the night before) they caused one to go to mount Olivet, with a bundle of most combustible wood, and other stuff, and there he set it on fire, and waved it up and down, and this way, and that way; and never left, till he saw another do so upon another hill, and so another on a third:—and those that took at him, they waved their blazes up and down, till they were answered with the like from another hill; and so the intelligence was quickly dispersed through the whole land. Nay, saith the Talmud^w, “it went from mount Olivet to Sartaba, from Sartaba to Gryphena, from Gryphena to Chevaron, from Chevaron to Beth Baltin: and he that stood there, never left waving his blaze, till he saw all the place of the captivity full of the like.”

The country, thus seeing these flames and blazes, knew, that the new moon had appeared the night before, and that the Sanhedrim had concluded the day past for the first day of the month; and so they knew how to count forward. But, it seems, experience taught them in time, that by such kind

^t Aruch in pry ^u Gloss. in Maim. in loc. citat.
^v *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 726. ^w Rosh. hash. ibid.

of intelligence, they might be, and sometimes were, deceived by the Samaritans, or profane persons," or some of their enemies, that made such flamings for the very nonce, that they might deceive them^x. Therefore, they fell to a second way of dispersing their intelligence; and that was, by sending messengers up and down the country for this purpose. What a toil would a good almanack have saved, nay, an indifferent one would have given as much or more certainty about this matter, than this way did, or could do, because of the slipperiness of it in several particulars.

These messengers were sent abroad upon this errand only seven months in the year: as,

1. In the month Nisan, that the people might know the right day of the Passover.

2. In the month Ijar, because of the second Passover, or the Passover in the second month.

3. In the month Ab, because of the fast, on the ninth day.

4. In the month Elul, because of the beginning of the year, the next month after: for Elul was most ordinarily "mensis vacuus," or a month of nine-and-twenty days only; and so they, knowing the first day of Elul, might observe the thirtieth day for the first of Tisri, or the beginning of the year. And if, on the thirtieth day, they found not, either by the sight of the moon, or by some intelligence from the Sanhedrim, that that proved the first day of the month; they kept the next after also for it, that they might make sure.

5. In Tisri, because of the day of expiation, and feast of tabernacles.

6. In Cisleu, because of the feast of Dedication.

7. In Adar, because of the feast of Purim.

The knowledge of the certain day of the three festivals, Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, being thus imparted to all the country,—they were, by the law, to resort to Jerusalem, at the times appointed, and to keep the feast, and to rejoice there. Their appearance there was called ראיה *Raiah*, and their festivating and rejoicing was called חגיגה *Chagigah*. Their appearance was made in the court of the temple, the first holiday in the festival week; and they were to bring their sacrifice for their appearance, and peace-

^x *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 951.

^y *Rosh. hash. cap. 1.*

offerings for the Chagigah, or for the solemnity of the festivity, and their peace-offerings for their rejoicing; and these were called שלמי שמחה "Peace-offerings of joy."

There² were some, that were acquitted and excused from this appearance; as, men-servants that were not made free, the deaf, dumb, silly, lame, unclean, uncircumcised, those that were very old, the sick, tender, and unable to travel afoot, and infants till they were able to walk up to the Mountain of the House, holding their fathers by the hand.

And as miraculous Providence did preserve their families in the country, when they were gone up to these solemnities (and had left at home none but women, children, and some men-servants, which were not free), so it was little less than a miracle, that all these vast multitudes of people should find provision and accommodation for them, when they came to Jerusalem. And this the Talmudics do justly take notice of as a special wonder, and remarkable work of God, of which they have this observation:—

"Ten wonders (say they^a) were showed to our fathers at the Sanctuary. No woman ever proved abortive by the smell of the flesh of the sacrifices: and no man ever stumbled in Jerusalem: neither did any man ever fall in Jerusalem: nor was there ever abortion in Jerusalem: nor did any man ever say to his fellow, I have not found a fire where to roast my paschal in Jerusalem: nor did any man ever say to his fellow, I have not found a bed in Jerusalem to lie in: nor did ever any man say to his fellow, My lodging is too strait in Jerusalem," &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of the manner of the Celebration of their Passover.

THE great and mysterious sacrament of the Passover, is so copiously related, and the history of it given, in Exod. xii, that it is needless to speak any thing of it, as to its story. But the celebration of the Passover in after-times, especially in the times of our Saviour, when traditions were come to their height, did so far differ in various circumstances from that, that was ordained in Egypt, and had so various rites put upon it by their traditions above that,—that the discovery of the manner of it, in those times, deserveth some copious discourse and scrutiny from their own traditions

² Chagigah, cap. 1.

^a Aboth R. Nathan, cap. 34.

and antiquities, that put those circumstances upon it. It will therefore not be amiss to trace^b these particulars, step by step, out of such writing and writers, as speak purposely and largely of this matter : and that the rather, because the New^c Testament, in several places and passages, doth refer to some of the circumstances, which we call additional.

First, therefore, we will begin with the difference, which the Jewish doctors hold out, between the Passover in Egypt, and the Passover in succeeding ages ; which Tosaphta^d, on the treatise Pesachin, holdeth out thus :—

“ The Passover in Egypt, the taking of it up, was on the tenth day ; and the killing of it was on the fourteenth ; and they were not guilty for it of cutting-off : the Passover in succeeding generations, they are liable concerning it to cutting-off.

“ Of the Passover in Egypt it is said, Let him and his neighbour next to him take a lamb ; but it is not so said of the Passover in succeeding generations. But I say, saith R. Simeon, it is so said of the Passover in future times ; and that because a man should not leave his neighbour, whose house is near unto him, to keep his Passover with his companion ; for it is said, Better is a neighbour that is near, than a brother that is far off.

“ The Passover in Egypt, was not charged with sprinkling the blood and fat upon the altar ; but it is otherwise with the Passover in after-times.

“ Of the Passover in Egypt it is said, Ye shall put of the blood upon the two posts, and the upper door-post : but it is not so with the Passovers afterward.

“ At the Passover in Egypt it is said, None of you shall go out of the door of his house till morning : but it was not so in after generations.

“ The passover in Egypt was slain by every one in his own house, but the passovers afterward, all Israel slew them in one place.

“ Where they ate the passover in Egypt, there also they were to lodge : but, in after-times, they might eat it in one place, and lodge in another.

“ Yet was the Passover in Egypt, and succeeding Passovers, all one : whosoever had servants that were not cir-

^b *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 727.

^c *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 952.

^d Tosaphta in Pesach. cap. 8.

cumcised, and maidens that were not baptized, they restrained them from eating the passover. But I say, saith Rabbi Eliezer the son of Jacob, the Scripture speaks only of the Passover in Egypt.

“ In these things, the Passover in Egypt, and in succeeding times, was alike :—

“ The passover in Egypt was in three houses ; so also was it with future passovers.

“ The passover in Egypt was of the flock, a male, without blemish, of the first year : after passovers were so likewise.

“ Of the passover in Egypt it is said, Ye shall not leave aught thereof till morning :—the like was it also with after passovers.

“ Rabbi Josi the Galilean saith, I say, that leaven in Egypt was forbidden but for one day.

“ The Passover in Egypt required a song : so did the Passovers in after-times require a song.”

Thus is the Jewish differencing and paralleling the first Passover, and those succeeding : in which passage, before we leave it, these things are observable :—

1. That whereas it is said, that, as to the Passover in Egypt, there was no liableness to *cutting-off*, it is spoken in comparing the relation of the institution of the first Passover in Egypt, Exod. xii, with the renewing of the command of the Passover in the wilderness, Num. ix. For, when God first ordains the Passover, there is ‘ cutting-off ’ mentioned, indeed, in some reference to it ; for it is said, that “ whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day to the seventh day, shall be cut-off,” Exod. xii. 15 : but it is not expressly said, “ he that keeps not the Passover, shall be cut-off : ” but when God comes to renew the command and to give the law for it, for after-times,—he then saith expressly, that “ the man that is clean, and is not in a journey, and forbearth to keep the Passover,—that soul shall be cut-off,” &c. Num. ix. 13.

2. Whereas it is said, that the ‘ passover in Egypt was in three houses, and so also the passover in after-times,’—it is not to be understood, as if the paschal lamb might be so divided, as that part of him might be eaten in one house, and part of him in another,—for that was expressly against the command, “ Ye shall bring nothing of him forth out of

the house," Exod. xii. 46: but it meaneth that several families might join together in one society to the eating of one lamb; and so it was in Egypt, and so also was it in after-times.

The first command towards this solemnity was, "the taking up of the lamb on the tenth day, and so keeping him up till the fourteenth," Exod. xii. 3. 6. Which whether it were a perpetual command, or only for that Passover in Egypt, is disputed. Aben Ezra saith, it is a matter of doubtfulness: but Rabbi Solomon plainly determines, that it was a command of practice only confined to that one time in Egypt;—which, though it may be true in some circumstances, yet may it be questioned, whether it held universally true or no. It is not to be doubted, but every one, in after-times, took up their own lambs, as they did in Egypt; but it is somewhat doubtful, whether they did it in the same manner. It is exceeding probable, that, as the priests took up the lambs for the daily sacrifice four days before they were to be offered, as we have observed elsewhere,—so also, that they provided lambs for the people at the Passover, taking them up in the market four days before, and picking and culling out those, that were fit and agreeable to the command. For whereas the law was so punctual that "they should be without blemish," and their traditions had summed up so large a sum of blemishes, as that they reckon^f seventy-three,—it could not be, but the law and their traditions, which they prized above the law, should be endlessly broken, if every one took up his lamb in the market at Jerusalem at adventure. The priests had brought a market of sheep and oxen, against such times as these, into the temple (for had it not been their doing, they must not have come there), where they having beforehand picked^g out in the market such lambs and bullocks, as were fit for sacrifice or Passover, they sold them in the temple at a dearer rate, and so served the people's turn and their own profit; for which amongst other of their hucksteries our Saviour saith, "they had made the house of prayer a den of thieves." Thus^h he that would, might bring up his lamb with him; and he that did not, might buy a lamb at Jerusalem, when he came there; and whether of these our Saviour did at his last Pass-

^e *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 953.

^g *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 728.

^f *Maim. in Issure Mizbeah*, cap. 2.

^h *Id. in Corb. Pessah.*

over, the gospel is silent; it is most probable he did the latter: see Luke xxii. 8. John xiii. 29.

It is the opinion of some of the Jewish nation¹, that those, that took up the lamb on the tenth day, and kept him till the fourteenth,—did tie him all that while at one of their bed's feet, that he might be in their eye to view him oft, whether he were right and lawful, and to mind them of what they were to go about: but howsoever it was in this, or the other particulars that have been mentioned, it must not be omitted to observe, how the 'Lamb of God,' the true paschal, by whose blood is everlasting deliverance, did answer this figure of the lamb's being taken up on the tenth day; when, on that very day, he rode upon an ass into Jerusalem, and offered himself to be taken up for that sacrifice, which, within six days after, he was made for sin and offered up. See John xii. 1. 12.

SECT. I.

Their searching out for Leaven.

THE next care they were to have in reference to the Passover, was to refrain from the eating and use of leaven at Passover-time; and that, at the time when the Passover was slain, it should not be found within their houses. The law in this point was exceeding strict. "In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one-and-twentieth day of the month at even. Seven days there shall be no leaven found in your houses; for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, even that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel,—whether he be a stranger or born in the land," Exod. xii. 18, 19, and xiii. 7; and so in Lev. xxiii. 6. Num. xxviii. 17.

Now what analogy there was between this law and their redeeming out of Egypt, and what relation the one could have to the other,—Abarbanel disputing, concludeth thus^m; that it lay in this,—because it signified unto them the hastiness of their coming out of Egypt, insomuch that they had not time to leaven their bread, as Exod. xii. 39: and he addeth withal, that "in those hot countries, bread will not keep above a day, unless it be leavened:" so that the command of unleavened bread might read unto them, in that

¹ Vid. Abarbanel in Exod. xii.

^m Abarbanel in Exod. xii. fol. 151.

respect, a lecture of dependance upon Providence,—when they were enjoined to forsake the common and known way of preserving their bread, and to betake themselves to a way extraordinary and unsafe; but only that they had the command of God, and his injunction for that way, and they must learn to live by the word of God.

The Jews, to meet with this command that was so exceeding strict, and to make sure to provide for its observance soon enough, אור לארבעה עשר בודקין את החמץ לאור הנר “didⁿ, on the fourteenth day, while yet there was some light, make search for leaven by the light of a candle.” Thus is the tradition, in which by “the light of the fourteenth day,” their Glossaries tell us, that we must understand “the^o thirteenth day at even, when it began to be duskish and candle lighting.” The rubric of the Passover, in the Hebrew and Spanish tongues, renders it in Hebrew letters,—but in the Spanish language thus; אין אינטראדה די קאטורזי דיל מז די ניסן; “En entrada di quatorze del mez de Nisan,—At^p the entrance of the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, they searched for leaven in all the places, where they were wont to use leaven” (in barns, stables, and such out-houses, they needed not to search), “even in holes and crannies,—and that not by light of sun, and moon, or torch, but by the light of a wax-candle, קון קנריליח די סירה i. e. הנו של שעה con candela di cera.” And the reason why they used a candle rather than any other light, was, because^q it is the fittest for searching holes and corners, and^r because the Scripture speaketh of searching Jerusalem with candles.

After^s the evening of the fourteenth day was come in (which was after sun-setting), they might not go about any work (no, not to the study of the law), till they had gone about^t this search: therefore^u there was not so much as divinity-lectures that evening, lest they should hinder that work.

Before^v he began to search, he said this short ejaculation, “Blessed be thou, O Lord, our God, the King everlasting, who hath sanctified us by thy commandments, and

ⁿ Talm. in Pesachin, cap. 1.

^o R. Sol. et Gloss. R. Alphes in Pesach. cap. 1. Maim. in Hhamets umatsah, cap. 2.

^p Seder Haggadah Shel. Pesach. fol. 1.

^q R. Alphes, ubi supr.

^r Tosaphit. in Pesach. cap. 1.

^s Seder Haggadah, ubi supr.

^t English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 954.

^u Maim. ubi supr.

^v Id. ibid. cap. 3. et Seder Haggad. ubi sup.

hath enjoined us the putting away of leaven." And he might not speak a word betwixt this praying and searching, but must fall to work; and what leaven he found, he must put it in some box, or hang it up in such a place, as that no mouse might come at it. And he was to give it up for null in these words: *כל המירא דאיכא ברשותי דחמיתיה ולא חמיתיה* "All the leaven that is within my possession, which I have seen, or which I have not seen, be it null, be it as the dust of the earth."

SECT. II.

The passages of the forenoon of the Passover-day.

WHEN the Passover-day itself was now come (which the New Testament commonly calleth "the first day of unleavened bread," from their custom newly mentioned, but the Jewish writers do ordinarily call it *ערבי פסח* "the Passover-eve"), some part of the people made it a holiday^w by ceasing from bodily labour all the day long; and others made it but half-holiday, by leaving work at noon. The Talmud^x relates, that, in Galilee, they left work all the day long from morning till night; but in Judea that they wrought till noon, and then gave over:—which may seem somewhat strange, that those farther off were so observant of the Passover, and those nearer hand were so much less: but the reason is this, —because, in Galilee, those that were at home on that day, had nothing else to do towards the Passover, but only to meditate upon it, and rest from labour in honour of it; but those in Judea, it may be, they travelled all forenoon to get up to Jerusalem, or had some work to do towards the forwarding of the Passover, or to despatch, that they might follow their Passover-work the better.

It is in dispute, in the place cited immediately before, concerning resting from labour on this day that we have in hand; and it proves a controversy between the schools of Shammai and Hillel, whether they should not also rest from labour the night before; but at last the determination comes so low, as that it gives liberty to works, that were begun on the thirteenth day, to be finished on the fourteenth;—nay, yet lower, that where the custom was to leave off work for all day, there they should leave work; and where it was the

^w *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 729.

^x *Talm. in Pesach. cap. 4, &c.*

custom to work till noon, there they should do according to the custom.

But whatsoever they did in this case, cease from their labour in the forenoon, or cease not,—one work they must not fail to do, and that was, to cast out and put away leaven out of their houses, this day (as they had searched for it the night before), and that it might not be seen nor found amongst them. The law, indeed, concerning this work, doth pitch upon the fifteenth day for the doing of it, as if it were soon enough to do it on the fourteenth day at even, Exod. xii. 18, 19; but the Jews^y do not impertinently observe, that the expelling of leaven was, by the law, to be before the time, wherein the eating of it was forbidden: “For whereas it is said, On the first day, you shall put leaven out of your houses,—their tradition taught them, that by the *first* is meant the *fourteenth* day. And a proof for this there is from what is written in the law, Thou shalt not kill the blood of my sacrifice with leaven; that is, Thou shalt not kill the passover, whilst leaven is yet remaining:—now, the killing of the passover was on the fourteenth day in the afternoon.”

On this fourteenth day, therefore, for a good part of the forenoon, they might eat leaven or leavened bread, and^z might give it to any bird or beast, or might sell it to a stranger; but the fixing of the certain time is not without some debate. “Rabbi Meir^a saith, They may eat it all the fifth hour^b, and were to burn it at the beginning of the sixth. Rabbi Judah saith, They may eat it all the fourth hour^c, and they were to suspend all the fifth, and at the sixth hour they were to burn it.” Which dispute, Maimonides sifteth into this resolution^d; “It was lawful to eat leaven on the fourteenth day till the end of the fourth hour, but they might not eat it the fifth hour; yet they might use it. But he that eateth it the sixth hour, was beaten with the rebel’s beating; and he that ate it from the beginning of the seventh, was to be whipped.”

Twelve o’clock or thereabouts, therefore, being come, it had been a strange sight to have seen every one of them either firing, or drowning, or scattering, their leaven into

^y Maim. in Hhamets umats. cap. 2.

^a Ibid. cap. 1. in Gemara.

^c “Totis quatuor horis:” Leusden.

^z Pesach. cap. 2. in Mishn.

^b “Quinque primis horis:” Leusden.

^d Maim. ubi supr. cap. 1.

the wind (for any of these ways served for the expelling of it, and this command and practice reached over all the country): and you might have seen them do it with this valediction; "All^e the leaven that is within my possession, which I have seen, or which I have not seen, which I have cast out, or which I have not cast out,—be it null, be it as the dust of the earth."

SECT. III^f.*The time of killing the Passover.*

ABOUT the day of celebrating the Passover, there needeth no discourse to fix it; it is so plainly pointed out to be the fourteenth day of the first month, that nothing can be plainer: therefore, when we speak of the time of killing the Passover, we speak not of the day of the month, which is so well known,—but of the time of the day, which is not so clearly pointed out.

The Tosaphta, indeed, upon the treatise Pesachin, relateth, that^g "the Cuthæans sometimes kept their Passover a day before the Israelites did, and sometimes a day after:" where the word *Cuthæans* might breed some dispute; for, in the Talmudics' language, it means sometimes 'Samaritans,' and sometimes 'Christians;' but we shall not insist upon it. And there have been some Christians, that have held, that Christ and his disciples kept their last Passover one day before the Jews kept theirs,—conceiting this from that, which is spoken in John xviii. 28; where it is related, that, when Christ was brought into Pilate's judgment-hall (which was when he had eaten the passover, as all the other evangelists declare abundantly), the Jews durst not go into Pilate's hall, "lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover." To which mistake I shall only give some words of Maimonides^h at this present for answer; for the ground of the mistake we shall have occasion to look after in the ensuing discourse: "It is an affirmative command (saith heⁱ) to kill the passover on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan in the afternoon: and they kill it not but only of lambs or kids, a male of the first year; and both men and women are alike liable to this command; and he that breaks

^e Seder Haggadah, ubi sup.

^f *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 955.

^g Tosaphta in Pesach. cap. 1. ad med.

^h *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 730.

ⁱ Maim. in Corban. Pesach. cap. 1.

this command presumptuously, and passeth the fourteenth day and offereth not, if he be not unclean or in a long journey, he is guilty of being *cut-off*; but if he transgress the command ignorantly, he is quit. They kill not the passover but in the court, even as the rest of the holy-offerings: yea, even in those times, when high places were permitted, they offered not the passover in a private high place, but in the public" (that is, the temple); "and he that offered it in a private high place, was to be whipped." From which words, it being observed what penalty lay upon him that passed the fourteenth day, and what tie there was to slay the paschal lamb in the court,—it will appear extreme absurd to imagine, that any Israelite should keep his Passover before the fixed day. What the Cuthæans or Samaritans might do at their mount Gerizim, it is no matter; but for any Jews to celebrate the Passover at Jerusalem (for no where else it might be done), before the proper and fixed time, could not have been without evident danger to them, that did it,—it being so diametrically contrary both to the law and to their traditions; and yet we find not, Christ was ever touched with the least accusation about his Passover, as if he kept it on the wrong day.

But to let this pass, which indeed is too plain to be disputed (for the evangelist most plainly tells us, that, "on the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed, Jesus sent Peter and John to prepare his passover," Luke xxii. 7, 8), and now to come to look after the time of the day, when the passover was killed, we must take these two maxims with us^j: 1. "That the passover was not lawful, if it were killed before noon:" and the reason of this is easy to give,—namely, because the law doth expressly appoint, that "they should kill it between the two evenings," Exod. xii. 6.—And, 2. "That the daily evening sacrifice was to be killed, before they began to kill the passover:" and the reason of this is also readily to be given,—namely, because an extraordinary service must not prevent one ordinary and constant. "After^k they had burnt the incense of the evening-sacrifice, and after they had dressed the lamps, then they began to kill the passover, and so continued till the end of the day." The times they divided thus^l; "They slew the daily sacrifice at the eighth hour and

^j Id. *ibid.*^k Id. *ibid.*^l Talm. in Pesach. cap. 5.

a half; and they offered it up at the ninth hour and a half: but, on the eve of the Passover, they slew it at the seventh hour and a half, and offered it up at the eighth hour and a half, whether the day were a common day, or the sabbath:—and if the eve of the Passover fell on the eve of the sabbath, the daily sacrifice was killed at the sixth hour and half an hour past; and offered up at the seventh hour and half an hour past; and the passover after it.”

It was the command both for the passover and for the daily evening-sacrifice, that they should be slain and offered **בין הערבים** “between the two evenings,” Exod. xii. 6, and xxix. 39: **מלה קשה** “A very hard expression,” saith Aben Ezra^m; and he gives as very hard an interpretation of it; for he judgeth the two evenings to be these, the one when the sun sets and goes out of sight,—and the other, when the day closes in, and all the light is clean gone; which (he saith) is ordinarily about an hour and three quarters after sun-setting. And so he will have the daily sacrifice to be offered up at this time; and, though all the passovers could not be killed in this space, yet he conceiveth, that it is commanded they should be killed ‘between the two evenings,’ because most of them were slain in this space, though allⁿ could not. I shall not insist to show the improbability of this tenet; he himself that holds it, is in a manner glad at last to betake himself to the general and common received opinion, which was, that ‘the two evenings’ were these, the first from that time of the day, that the sun began to decline from his vertical or noon-tide point towards the west,—and the other, from his going down and out of sight. And according to this construction did they go, in killing and offering up their evening-sacrifice, taking up an hour for that business just in the middle of the afternoon (counting at equinox time), namely, from half an hour past two, to half an hour past three; and so there were two hours and a half from the sun’s beginning to decline, to the time they killed; and two hours and a half from the time they offered it up, till the sun went down.

Now, occasional sacrifices did sometimes cause an alteration of the time of the daily; for *that* being to be ever offered the first, as being the fixed and appointed service of the day, that the others might have room to be offered up

^m Ab. Ezra, in Exod. xii.

ⁿ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 956.

in due time, that removed out of its place, to somewhat earlier in the day, sometimes an hour, and sometimes two, as in the traditions alleged: and especially this was for the sake of the Passover, when lambs were exceeding many. The common time therefore to begin to kill the passover was, from about half an hour past two o'clock, and little more, and so continued all afternoon: and if the Passover lighted on the eve of the sabbath (that is, on the day preceding the sabbath), they began an hour sooner, that they might the better despatch their business by the time that the sabbath began.

SECT. IV.

The Paschal Societies.

BEFORE the paschal lamb was slain, they first agreed and concluded upon the company, that should eat him: for *אין שוחטין את הפסח אלא למנוי*, "They^p might not slay the passover but for persons numbered before," or a number agreed on before for his eating. And this caution was not unwarrantably taken up, from that command in Exod. xii. 4, "Every man according to his eating, ye shall make your count for the lamb." So that while the lamb was yet alive, it was to be certainly concluded, who, and how many, would join together for his eating; and he might not be slain but for societies so agreed and numbered. If^q any of the society, after the number was agreed on, saw occasion to withdraw from that company, and to go to another,—he must do it before the lamb was slain; for, after, he might not. These societies were called every one of them *חבורה Σύναξις*, or *φρατρία*; and the number of the persons in them was not certain, but sometime more, sometime less, according to their proportionableness of eating, because of the command, "Every one according to his eating." Were there among the company those that were sickly and aged, and little eaters, then they might take the more into the company; but if they were healthy and lively, and like to eat more freely, then was the number less. He that was to eat the least, was to eat as much of him, as came to the quantity of an olive; and if he could not eat so much, they counted not him in the number. And they might number so many in a

^p Maim. in Corban. Pesach. cap. 2.

^p Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 731.

^q R. Sol. in Exod. xii.

society, as if there were the quantity of an olive for every one to eat; for that was enough.

1. Although women were not directly bound to appear three times a year before the Lord, as the males were,—yet were they bound to some particular services, that attended the three appearances, and so that brought them in;—but especially to the Passover, for to the observation of that they were obliged by those express words of the commandment, “The whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it וְזָכַר אִישׁ וְאִחָהּ חַיִּיבֵי בַמִּצְוָה זֶה” And men and women were bound to this command alike.” Now in forming up these societies that were severally to eat the lambs, they suffered not any companies to consist of servants and women only,—nor of servants and children only,—lest there should be some lightness among them, and not that gravity that became so great a solemnity; nor to consist of old or sickly persons only, lest they should leave any of them, and so transgress the command, “Ye shall leave nothing of him till the morning:” nor to consist of proselytes only, or of children only, because they were unlikely to speak of those memorable things, that were to be spoken of at the Passover. But a society might be only of women, or only of servants; but ordinarily they were of whole families, one or more united, husbands, wives, children, servants, all together. Our Saviour’s society was himself and the twelve, Matt. xxvi, 20. Luke xxii. 14.

SECT. V.

The Killing of the Passover.

“THE passovers were slain in three companies[†],” הַפֶּסַח נִשְׁחַט שְׁלֹשׁ כְּתוּבֹת And the ground of this practice and tradition they make to be those words of the institution, “The whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it:” where[‡], because there are three words, ‘assembly,’ ‘congregation,’ and ‘Israel,’ applied to the killing of the passover, they divided the killing of it into three companies, according to that number.

There[‡] were not to be less than thirty men in every company: yet found they out a shift to make fifty men (if there

[†] Maim. ubi sup. [‡] English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 957. [†] Pesachin, cap. 5.

[‡] Vid. Gemar. ib. in Talm. utroque. R. Sol. in Exod. xii.

[‡] Maim. in Corban. Pesach. cap. 1. Gemara Bab. in Pesach. fol. 64.

were no more) to make thirty men three times over, for the three companies; and their way was this:—Thirty of the fifty went into the court, for there only might the passover be killed; and when they had killed their lambs, ten of them went out; and ten of those, that stood without, came in and killed theirs; and then ten others went out; and the other ten that stood without, came in and killed theirs: and so there were thirty in the court continually, while the lambs were killing.

But this was only a provision for a pinch; namely, if such an exigent should occur, as that there should be but fifty lambs presented, or at least but fifty persons present; for ordinarily every one of the numbered paschal societies that have been spoken of, sent their lamb by one of their company only, and under fifty there was no passover-killing: but commonly every one of these three companies we are speaking of, were as many as ever the court could hold.

The first company came in, till the court was filled; and then the doors were locked, and they fell to killing the lambs; and while they were about this work, the Levites sang, and the trumpets sounded. “It is a tradition (saith the Jerusalem Talmud^w), when the daily sacrifice hath a drink-offering, they blew the trumpets at the time of the drink-offering: but, at the passover, which hath no drink-offering, they blew the trumpets at the killing of it.” Which the Gloss upon the Babylon Talmud doth utter more punctually^x, “At the killing of the passover, there were seven-and-twenty soundings with the trumpets: for the passover was killed in three companies, one after another,” &c.

Now the song that was sung at this time, while they were killing the passovers, was called the Hallel הלל; so saith the same Gloss in the same place. “Every company said over the hallel three times: for their paschals were many, and they were bound to the saying over of the hallel at the slaying of them.”—And Maimonides more largely^y; “All the time that they were killing and offering, the Levites said over the hallel: if they had finished the hallel, and the company had not yet done, they said it over again: and if they had finished saying it over again, and the company had not yet done neither, they set to it a third time.” And both

^w Talm. Jer. in Pesach. cap. 5.

^x Gloss. in Succah, fol. 54.

^y Maim. ubi sup.

these speak this, from the Misna, in the treatise Pesachin; where it is said^z, “They said over the hallel; and when they had finished, they said it over a second time; and when they had done that, they said it over a third time.”

The Jews do make exceeding frequent mention in their writings of the hallel, or the hymn,—for so we may translate it from Matt. xxvi. 30. And they distinguish it into the ‘common or lesser hallel,’ and the ‘greater.’ The ‘lesser hallel’ they also call the ‘Egyptian hallel,’ because it was sung more especially in remembrance of their delivery out of Egypt: and it was the 113th, 114th^a, 115th, 116th, 117th, and 118th Psalms. Concerning the choice and use of which it may not be amiss to take up two or three of their traditions.

1. The Jerusalem Talmud, in the treatise Pesachin, hath this relation^b: “R. Jacob Bar Aha, in the name of Rabbi Jasa, saith, Strength was given to Moses’s voice, and his voice went through all Egypt forty days’ journey. And what said he? One company from such a place to such a place, and another company from such a place to such a place.—And wonder not at it: for if, of dust, whose nature is not to go, it be said, It shall become dust through all the land of Egypt (Exod. ix. 9), much more might a voice go abroad, whose nature is to go. Rabbi Levi said, As strength was given to Moses’s voice, so strength was given to Pharaoh’s voice; and his voice went throughout all Egypt forty days’ journey. And what said he? Arise, get ye out from among my people: for as, for the time past, ye have been the servants of Pharaoh, from henceforth ye must be the servants of the Lord. From that hour they said, ‘Praise ye the Lord, praise him ye servants of the Lord’ (Psalm cxiii), and now no more the servants of Pharaoh.”

2. Maimonides^c, in his treatise of Megillah and Chanukah, or of the feast of Purim and of Dedication, saith, “The custom of saying over the hallel in the days of the former wise men, was thus: The chief among them that was to read the hallel, after he had said a prayer, began thus, ‘Hallelujah;’ and all the people answered, ‘Hallelujah.’ He goes on and says, ‘Praise ye^d, the servants of the Lord;’ and all the people answered, ‘Hallelujah.’ He proceeds and says,

^z Pesach. cap. 5.

^a Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 732.

^b Talm. Jerus. in Pesach. cap. 5.

^c Maim. in Megillah, &c. cap. 3. et Gloss. in Succ. fol. 38.

^d English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 958.

‘Praise the name of the Lord;’ and all the people answered, ‘Hallelujah.’ He says farther, ‘Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth, even for evermore;’ and all the people answered, ‘Hallelujah.’ And so at every passage, till they answered ‘Hallelujah,’ a hundred and three-and-twenty times over; and of that number were the years of Aaron.—Now, when he that read it, came to the beginning of any psalm, as when he read, ‘When Israel came out of Egypt,’ the people repeated and said, ‘When Israel came out of Egypt:’ but when he said, ‘And the house of Jacob from a strange people,’ then the people answered, ‘Hallelujah:’ and so forward, till he came to, ‘I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voice;’ and there the people repeated, ‘I love the Lord, because he hath heard my voice.’ And so when he said, ‘Praise the Lord, all ye nations,’ they repeated, ‘Praise the Lord, all ye nations.’ And when he came to, ‘Save now, Lord, I beseech thee,’ the people repeated, ‘Save now, Lord, I beseech thee;’ though it were not the beginning of a psalm. And when he said, ‘I beseech thee, now, send prosperity,’ they rehearsed and said, ‘I beseech thee, now, send prosperity.’ And when he said, ‘Blessed is he, that cometh in the name of the Lord,’ all the people answered, ‘Blessed is he, that cometh in the name of the Lord.’”

3. This saying over of the hallel^e, is acknowledged by the Jews to be an institution of the scribes; and the reason of the picking out of these psalms for that purpose, was^f, because of their beginning or ending with Hallelujah; and partly, because they contain, not only so high and eminent memorials of God’s goodness and deliverance unto Israel; as is intimated by that passage alleged in the Jerusalemy, ‘From that time they said, Praise ye the Lord, ye servants of the Lord, and no more of Pharaoh;’ but, also, several other things of high and important matter and consideration; for “the hallel,” say they^g, “recordeth five things: the coming out of Egypt; the dividing of the sea; the giving of the law; the resurrection of the dead; and the lot of Messias.”

4. “This^h hallel was said over eighteen days in the year and one night; namely, at the killing of the passover, at the feast of Pentecost, on the eight days of the feast of tabernacles, on the eight days of the feast of dedication, and on

^e Maim. ubi sup.

^f Vid. Kimc. in 1 Chron. xvi.

^g Tal. in Pes. fol. 118.

^h Maim. ubi sup. et Talm. utrumque in Succah, cap. 5.

the Passover-night." With the manner of its saying over, the people still answering 'Hallelujah,' compare the redoubled 'Hallelujahs,' in Rev. xix. 1. 3, 4. 6.

Besides this hallel, which they call the 'Egyptian hallel,' there is frequent mention of the 'great hallel' הלל גדולה, as the treatise Taanith telleth a story¹, that "they appointed a fast at Lod" (or Lydda, Acts ix. 35, and this fast was for rain, which they wanted exceedingly), "and rain came down for them before mid-day. Rabbi Tarphon saith to them, 'Go eat, and drink, and keep holiday:' they went and ate, and drank, and kept holiday, and came at even, and said over the great hallel." And we shall observe anon, that, at the eating of the passover, as they used constantly to say over the hallel commonly so called, so did they sometimes add the 'great hallel' to it; and when we come to speak of the time, when this was rehearsed, we will then observe, what this great hallel was.

So that (now to return again where we were) the first company being come into the court, and having filled it, and the doors locked upon them, and they falling to kill the passovers,—this hallel, or these psalms, were begun to be sung, the people answering as hath been related. And when they had sung them over once, and the work not yet done, they set to them again, and a third time; and by that time they had gone over the third time, the work was commonly done, and they began not again. And, therefore, those words, which are very usual with those Jews, which treat upon this subject, אַם שְׁנוֹ שְׁלֹשׁ אָף עַל פִּי שְׁלֹשׁ מִיְמֵיהָ are to be construed,—that "when they had sung it over a second time, they began a third, although they went not through a third time in all their days:" for before they had gone through, the work was done, and then they had done also.

The first company, being thus despatched, went out of the court with their slain and flayed passovers (how they flayed them, was observed erewhile); and they stood in the Mountain of the House. And now there comes in the second company, as many as the court would hold; and while they are killing, sprinkling the blood, and burning the fat, the hallel is begun again, and sung even as it was before; and when that company had done, they went out, and the third came in; and they did as the others before, till all was finished.

¹ Taan. cap. 3.

¹ Pesach, cap. 5. sect. 9.

They did not only slay the passovers, whilst they stood thus in the court,—but the blood was also sprinkled by the priests, they standing in rows from the slaughter-place to the altar, conveying the blood from hand to hand: and so they crowded not, nor troubled one another,—which they would have done, had they run singly from every slain lamb to bring the blood to the altar. The blood, brought thither in such handing rows, was poured at the foundation of the altar. The owners flayed their lambs, the most of them hanging him upon a staff on their shoulders, and he hanging between them, and they helping^k one another. They took out his entrails, cleansed away his ordure, separated his inwards, put them in a dish, salted them, and laid them on the fire on the altar: and when the three companies were so despatched, the priests^l (as there was no small need) did wash the court.

If the passover-killing did fall upon the sabbath, yet did they not abate of any of this work, no, not of washing the court; for they had a traditional warrant, which bare them out, שאין אסור שבוֹרֵת במקדש, which was, that “there was no prohibition concerning resting in the Sanctuary:” and that which was prohibited elsewhere, and obliged others, about resting from work upon the sabbath, did not oblige the priests at the temple: and to this our Saviour speaketh, Matt. xii. 5, “On the sabbath-day, the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are blameless.” Now, although they killed, and flayed, and opened the passovers on the sabbath, yet did they not carry them home to their lodgings at Jerusalem, till the sabbath was out. But when the first company had despatched in the court, they went and stood in the Mountain of the House; and the second, being despatched, went and stood in the *Chel*; and the third continued in the court, till the sabbath ended: and when it was done, they went away with their lambs to their several companies. And the reason of this was, because the killing and offering of the passover was, by the express commandment of the law, bound to its time,—which they might not transgress, but must do it, though it were on the sabbath; but the taking of the lamb home, was not so bound, but that it might very well be delayed, till the sabbath was ended.

^k *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 959.

^l *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 733.

CHAP. XIII.

Their manner of eating the Passover.

It is, indeed, beyond our line and compass to follow the people with their slain paschals from the temple to their own homes, to see what they do with them there; for the verge of the temple confineth our discourse:—yet because the eating of these lambs was so high and holy a rite, and since the story of our Saviour's last passover hath turned the eyes of all men to look at the custom and demeanour used in this solemnity, the reader, I doubt not, will be facile to excuse such a digression, as shall relate the particulars of this great business, which were many; and which we will take up one by one.

I. To omit their curiosities in roasting the paschal lamb^m (which they commonly did upon a spit, or staff of pomegrate tree, running him in with it at the mouth and out behind), the first observable circumstance towards the eating of him, we may take up in this tradition:

ערבי פסחין סמוך למנחה לא יאכל אדם עד שתחשך “Onⁿ the evening of the Passover a man may not eat, from near the Minchah, till it be dark.” In which they inform us of two things; first, That they went not about the passover-meal till it was night; and the reason of this custom is apparently grounded in the law, because that commanded, “they shall eat the flesh in that night,” Exod. xii. And accordingly are these words of the evangelists in the relation of our Saviour's Passover to be understood, “when the even was come,” he sat down with the twelve. Secondly, That they fasted some space before: “Near the time of the Minchah (say the Glossaries^o upon that tradition) meaneth, a little before the evening-sacrifice; and from that time they might eat nothing, that they might eat the unleavened bread, which was commanded, with appetite, for the honour of the command.”

II. They ate not the passover but sitting, עני שבישראל לא יאכל עד שיסב “No^p, not the poorest in Israel might eat it, till he was set down.” R. Simeon (in the Jerusalem Gemara^q), in the name of R. Joshua the son of Levi, saith, That olive-quantity, that sufficeth to discharge a man that he hath eaten

^m Talm. in Pesach. cap. 7.

ⁿ Ib. cap. 10.

^o R. Alphas et R. Sol. et R. Sam. in loc.

^p Talm. ubi sup.

^q In Pesach. in loc.

the passover, he must eat it sitting down, מִיִּסָּב: and so it is said, "Jesus sat down" with the twelve. Now this sitting at their passover-eating, was not after the manner of our sitting at the table, nor after the manner of their ordinary sitting at other times,—but a special posture by itself. And so they themselves used to observe, and to speak of it, as they sat. "How different (said they^r) is this night from all other nights! for, all other nights, we eat בֵּין יוֹשְׁבֵי בֵּין מְסוּבֵי either sitting or leaning; but this night, we all sit leaning:" where the two words יוֹשְׁבֵי and מְסוּבֵי which both signify 'sitting at meat,' are used with so much diversity, as that they are opposed one to another. And they are set in the like opposition in the treatise Beracoth^s, in this passage; הֲיָיָו יוֹשְׁבֵי "Did they sit down to meat? Every one gave thanks for himself. הֲיָיָו מְסוּבֵי Did they sit leaning? Then one gave thanks for them all." Rabbi Nathan conceives, that the difference between the two words consisteth in one of these two things^t; that הֲיָיָו מְסוּבֵי meaneth, that they sat close round^u about their meat; but יוֹשְׁבֵי importeth, as if every one of them had sitten single. "Or this other interpretation (saith he) may be given, That they sat down for some other business" (and not purposely to eat), "and meat was set before them; then every one gave thanks for himself. But הֲיָיָו מְסוּבֵי means, that they sat down purposely to eat, and not for other business; and then one gave thanks for them all." But it appeareth by Maimonides, and by other Talmudists, that the difference lay in the manner of sitting, and not in the occasion of sitting down. His words are these^v: "The kind of sitting called הֲיָיָו מְסוּבֵי, is^w not required of a woman; but if she be a woman of fashion (nobilis), then it is required of her. And this kind of sitting is required of a son (at the Passover) before his father, and of a servant before his master; but a scholar before his teacher must not thus sit down, unless his teacher give him leave. And leaning upon the right side is not this posture, nor leaning on the neck, nor on the face." But it was leaning on the left side; as he intimateth in another place, when he saith, "He must drink off his cups of wine, leaning upon his left side." And the Talmudic Gloss defines that kind of leaning, briefly, thus,

^r Maim. in Nos. Hagg.^s Beracoth, cap. 6.^t Aruch in יִסָּב.^u English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 960.^v Maim. in Hhamets Umats. cap. 7.^w Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 734.

במיטה ועל השולחן “It was upon the bed and upon the table.”

Their sitting at meat was commonly upon beds, or couches made for that purpose, with the table before them. Now, at other meals, they either sat, as we do, with their bodies erect; or when they would enlarge themselves to more freedom of feasting and refreshing, they sat upon the beds, and leaned upon the table on their left elbow; and this or the other posture they used indifferently at other times, as they were disposed. But, on the Passover-night, they thought they were obliged to use this leaning posture; and you may take their reason for it in some of their own words^x: “They used this *היסבה* leaning posture as free men do, in memorial of their freedom.”—“And^y R. Levi said, Because it is the manner of servants to eat standing, therefore, now they eat *מסובין* sitting and leaning, to show that they were got out of servitude into freedom.” And again^z; “In every generation, a man is bound to behave himself at the Passover, as if he himself had been delivered out of the bondage of Egypt, &c. Therefore, at meat, that night, a man is bound to eat, and to drink, and to sit in a posture of freedom.”

Upon this principle and conceit of freedom, they used this manner of discumbency at their meat frequently at other times, but indispensably this night,—so far different from the posture enjoined and practised at the first Passover in Egypt, when they ate it “with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, their staves in their hands, and in haste,” Exod. xii. 11. And as the thought of their freedom disposed them to this leaning, reposed, secure composure of their elbow upon the table, and their head leaning on the hand,—so, to emblem out the matter the more highly, they laid their legs under them, sitting upon them, and their feet lying out behind, as Luke vii. 38; removing and acquitting their legs and feet, as far as possible, from the least show of standing to attend, or readiness to go upon any one’s employment, which might carry the least colour of servitude, or contrariety to their freedom with it. Now, according to this manner of sitting and leaning, are we to construe that passage of the evangelist, about the beloved disciple’s “lean-

^x R. Sol. in Pesach. cap. 10.

^y Talm. Jerus. ibid. in Gemar.

^z Misn. ibid. et Maim. ubi supr.

ing in the bosom of Jesus," John xiii. 23, and "on the breast of Jesus," John xiii. 25. xxi. 20; for so the words are clearly differenced, 'Ανακείμενος ἐν κόλπῳ, and 'Επιπεσῶν, or 'Αναπεσῶν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος' which some translations not having observed, or at least not expressed, they have intricated the reader in such gross conceptions about this matter, "quasi^a in ipsius sinu, contra omne decorum, sterteret, ut ab imperitis pingi accubitus ille consuevit,—as that some have thought, and some have pictured John reposing himself, or lolling, on the breast of Jesus, contrary to all reason and decency." Whereas the manner of their sitting together was only thus; Jesus was leaning upon the table on his left elbow, and so turning his face and breast away from the table on one side: John sat in the same posture next before him, with his back towards Jesus's breast, or bosom; not so near, as that John's back and Jesus's breast did join together and touch one another; but at such a distance, as that there was space for Jesus to use his right hand upon the table to reach his meat at his pleasure,—and so for all the rest, as they sat in the like manner. For it is but a strange fancy, that some have satisfied themselves withal about this matter, conceiving either that they lay along upon the beds before the table, one tumbling upon the breast, or before the breast, of another; or if they sat leaning on the table, that they sat so close, as that one's back joined to another's bosom, which did utterly deprive them of the use of their hands to feed themselves. But their sitting was so, as that, indeed, they sat, the back of one to the breast of another,—but with such distance between, that the right hand of every one of them had liberty to come and go betwixt himself and his fellow to reach his meat as he had occasion. In such a manner and distance did the beloved disciple lean before our Saviour, and yet is said very properly to 'lean in his bosom,' because he leaned before his breast; so as that, whensoever Christ put up his arm, he was, in a manner, within his embrace. But when Peter beckoned to him to inquire, 'Who it was that should be the traitor,' then 'Ἀνέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος, he leaned back so far^b, as that his back or shoulders rested upon Jesus's breast, and he lay in a sitting posture to whisper with him.

III. They being thus set, the first thing towards this Pass-

^a Vid. Bez. in John xxi.

^b English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 961.

over-supper that they went about, was, that every one drank off a cup of wine: so do their own directories and rituals about this matter inform us. “The order of the performing of the things commanded for the fifteenth night (saith Maimonides^c) was thus; they first mingled a cup for every one of them, and one gave thanks, and they drank it off.” And herein he doth follow the Talmud text, which, in the treatise of the Passover in the place cited in the margin before, relateth the very same thing in the very same order.

Among the several viands, or victuals, or concomitants, or what you will call them, which accompanied the paschal lamb at its eating, of which we shall speak in their course, —there were two, which they held to be most eminent, and most honourable; and those were *bread* and *wine*: and amongst other expressions of respect and honour that they showed to these, this was not a small one,—that howsoever they disposed of their posture of sitting all the rest of the meal, they might not fail to betake themselves to the leaning composure (already described, the emblem of their liberty), when they ate their unleavened bread, and drank their wine. And so my author^d last cited holdeth out in this tradition; אימתו צריכין; “When^e is it necessary that they use the leaning posture? Even at that time, that they are eating an olive-quantity of unleavened bread, and drinking their four cups of wine: and as for the time of eating or drinking of any thing else all the meal, if they sat leaning, it was the more commendable; but if they did not, it was not so very material.” Which matter, the Gemarists and Glossaries^f do clear and distinguish upon, thus; “The unleavened bread requires the leaning posture, but the bitter herbs require it not: of the wine it is said, that it doth require the leaning posture, and it is said that it doth not require it, אמרי לה תרי כסי קמאי צריך היסבה תרי כסי. For they say of it, that the two former cups require this leaning composure, but the two latter require it not.”

The eating of unleavened bread at this time, they were enjoined by a special and express command, *Exod. xii. 18*: but as for the use of wine, they took it upon this general ground, “because^g a man must cheer up his wife and child-

^c Maim. ubi supr. cap. 8.

^d Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 735.

^e Maim. ubi sup. cap. 7.

^f Gloss. ibid.

^g Talm. Jer. ubi supr.

ren to make them rejoice at the festival. And what do they cheer them up withal? With wine." And they were so punctual and exact in this matter, that "the^b poorest man in Israel was bound to drink off four cups of wine this night, yea, though he lived of the alms-basket."—"Andⁱ if he had no other way to compass so much wine, or if the almoners gave him not enough for four cups, he must sell or pawn his coat, or hire out himself, for four cups of wine." The Gemarists do debate the matter, why four cups of wine rather than any other number; and the result is held out by the Jerusalem Talmud^j to this purpose; "Whence is the ground for four cups? Rabbi Jochanan in the name of Rabbi Benajah saith, In parallel to the four words, that are used about Israel's redemption, והוצאתי והצלתיו ונאלתי ולקחתי bringing out, delivering, redeeming, and taking. R. Joshua the son of Levi saith, In parallel to the four cups of Pharaoh, in these texts; Pharaoh's cup was in my hand,—and I squeezed them into Pharaoh's cup,—and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand,—and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his hand.—R. Levi saith, In parallel to the four monarchies, Dan. vii.—And our Rabbins say, In parallel to the four cups of vengeance, that the holy blessed God will make the nations of the world drink off" (for which there are these four texts); "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel to me, Take the wine-cup of this fury at mine hand, Jer. xxv. 15: Babel is a golden cup in the hand of the Lord, Jer. li. 7: For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup, Psal. lxxv. 8: And this is the portion of their cup, Psal. xi. 6. And answerably the Lord will make Israel drink four cups of consolation" (in these four texts); "The Lord is the portion of my cup, Psal. xvi. 5: My cup runneth over, Psal. xxiii. 5: I will take the cup of salvation, Psal. cxvi. 13, which was two."—

In these four cups of wine that they were to drink, they were curious about the measure and about the mixture. The proportion^k of wine in every cup might not be less than ריבע רביעית the fourth part of a quarter of a hin, besides what water was mingled with it; for if they did not drink it so mingled, they held they missed of the right performance of that service; ארבע כוסות האלו צריך למזוג "These four cups," saith the author cited in the margin, "must needs be

^b Pesach. cap. 10.

ⁱ R. Sam. ib.

^j Talm. Jer. ubi ante.

^k Maim. in Hhamets umats. cap. 7. et Gloss. ibid.

mingled." And the Talmudic rubric for this night-service, whensoever it speaketh of any of these cups of wine brought to him that officiated in the Haggadah, it useth this expression, *מזוגין לו* "They^l mingled it for him." And it is received among them as a current maxim, what was delivered by Rabh in the Gemara, *שתאן חו ידי יין יצא ידי חירות לא יצא*, that "Whosoever drank these four cups of pure wine, he indeed had done his duty about drinking wine, but he had not done his duty about setting forth their freedom:" for this mingling of their wine, was not so much in reference to sobriety, as it was to make the wine the more delightsome. And that is the reason that Maimonides giveth, when he saith "the wine must needs be mingled, namely, that the drinking of it may be the more delightsome, and all according to the quality of the wine, and the mind of the drinker." Therefore they accounted it somewhat towards the expression of their freedom, which they so much affected to express at this time,—to drink their wine mingled, which heightened the drinking of it to the more delight.

The^m first cup of these four being brought to them as they were now set, one of the company (the master of the family, if there were but one family in the society; or, if there were more, some fit man chosen out for that purpose, whom they called *קורא הגדה* 'the rehearser of the office of the Passover') gave thanks over the wine; and then they drank it off. The thanksgiving was in reference to the wine, and in reference to the day. The schools of Hillel and Shammai differ about the precedency of these two, or whether of them should first take place; but whethersoever went first (for it is not worth labour to trace the dispute), the tenor of his thanksgiving was to this purpose; over the wine he said, "Blessedⁿ be thou, O Lord, who hast created the fruit of the vine:" and as concerning the day he used such words as these, "Blessed^o be thou for this good day, and for this holy convocation, which thou hast given us for joy and rejoicing: blessed be thou, O Lord, who hast sanctified Israel and the times."

IV. Then^p did they, every one of them, wash their hands; over which action, the officiator (for so let us call him) ut-

^l Pesachin, ubi supr.

ⁿ Talm. in Beracoth, cap. 6.

^m English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 962.

^o Maim. in Birk. Mazon.

^p Id. in Hhamets, &c. ubi ante.

tered this ejaculation, "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who hath sanctified us with thy commandments, and hath commanded us concerning the washing of our hands." They used on this night to wash their hands twice; whereas, at other suppers, they washed but once; and this different and extraordinary so doing, it was their course to take notice of, and to speak of as they were at supper, using this passage¹ amongst others that they uttered at that time, "How different is this night from all other nights! for, all other nights, we wash but once; but, this night, we wash twice." They use the word מטבילין to express the washing of their hands by, which betokeneth *dipping*; for in that way they washed them at this time. The treatise Jadajim^r and the Tosaphta there do intimate unto us, that they had a twofold way of washing their hands; Netilah and Tebilah, either by pouring water upon them, or by putting them into the water; and they difference these two washings by these circumstances (besides the different application of the water), that "he that put his hands into the water, needed not to dry them,—but he that poured water on them, needed: he that had water poured on them, must lift up his hands, yet so as the water might not run above his wrist, nor return upon his hands for making them unclean" (but there drop off; Πυγμαῖ νίψαι, Mark vii. 3). "But he that puts his hands into water, needed not to lift them up," &c. He that puts his hands into the water, is said to מטביל את ידיו 'dip his hands;' and he that had water poured upon them, was said to be נוטל את ידיו 'to wash his hands;' and yet both of these kinds of washing were indifferently called נטילת ידים Netilath Jadajim, 'washing of the hands.'

V. They having washed, the table was then furnished with what provision they held requisite for that supper; and that was of several sorts. For besides the passover-lamb, and unleavened bread, and bitter herbs, for the use of which they had an express command,—they had at the least two dishes besides, and sometimes three, which they had taken up the use of, upon tradition. Let us view all their dishes particularly:—

1. There were two or three cakes of unleavened bread^s (for the number is under some dispute): and the eating of

¹ Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 736. ^r Talm. in Jadajim, cap. 2. Tosapht. ib id.

^s Vid. Gloss. ad Maim. ubi ante.

this bread, they held so indispensable a command, that infants and sick persons were to be brought to it: and if they were not able to eat it dry, they had it sopped and macerated in some liquid thing, that so they might eat of it, at least to the quantity of an olive. And as for persons of health and strength, they were to eat very little meat of all day, that they might eat unleavened bread with hungering and appetite at night; and many of them would fast all day for that purpose. Especially they might not eat unleavened bread of all day, because there should be a distinct appetitive eating of it at the Passover; and he that ate any unleavened bread that day before that time, he was beaten with the 'rebel's stripes.'

2. The herbs they used, were of five kinds: חזרת lettuce, עולשין endive, תמכא succory, חרהבינה beets, מרור horehound, or some such herbs as these, some of them sallad herbs, and some bitter; and these either green or dried, but neither boiled nor pickled. And the general and the proper reason, that is given for the use of this rite of eating bitter herbs is, that they might hereby remember the bitter affliction, that they underwent in Egypt. But the fancy of a Spanish Jew, cited by Aben Ezra, is somewhat singular in this point; which let me produce in his words:—

“One^u of the wise men of Spain (saith he) saith, It is well known, that moisture is predominant in the land of Egypt, because of the waters of the river, and because they have no rains there; therefore the air is continually moist. Hereupon it was their custom at all their tables to eat divers kinds of bitter herbs and mustard. And though an Egyptian had but one bit of meat, yet had he ever bitter herbs at his table to dip his meat in, which was a help for their air. But we will adhere to the judgment of our ancients of blessed memory, which have expounded to us, that the bitter herbs were a memorial of that passage, ‘They made their lives bitter,’ ” Exod. i.

3. The body of the paschal lamb was also set upon the table, roasted whole, and so brought up, the^v legs and inwards, as heart, liver, &c, held by some to have been put and roasted within him, but, by others, to have been fastened by some means upon his body, and^w so roasted on the out-

^t R. Sol. in Exod. xii.

^u Ab. Ezr. in Exod. xii.

^v Pesach. ubi supr.

^w English folio edition, vol. 1. p. 963.

side of him. Now besides these three dishes, of bread, flesh, and sallad, so positively appointed by the law,

IV. They used to eat some other meat, before they began to eat of the paschal. And the reason of this was, because they would eat of that to satiety. "For^x it was held a choice command, that a man should eat the flesh of the passover with an eating to satiety: therefore, if he had offered his fourteenth day's peace-offerings, then he ate of them first; and afterward he ate of the flesh of the passover, that he might satiate himself with it. Yet if he ate no more than what amounted to the quantity of an olive, he discharged the obligation of his duty." These 'fourteenth day's peace-offerings' were so called, to distinguish them from the peace-offerings of his 'Hagigah,' or rejoicing at the feast: for those were offerings to which he was obliged of duty, and were to be offered after the eating of the passover most ordinarily; but these were some thanks-offerings, or vows, or free-will-offerings, which being reserved to be offered at their coming up to the festival, they commonly did so offer them, as that, when the altar and priests had had their parts, they had the other ready for this occasion, to begin the meal on the Passover-night. And so here was one dish more than we find appointed for this time by the law. Now, the Talmudics speak of two more, which, if they were used in the time when the temple stood, may well be supposed to have been to supply the want of peace-offerings in such companies as had not offered any, nor had any ready for this occasion. And they call them שני תבשילין "the two boiled meats." The Misna in that chapter of Pesachin that hath been cited so oft, delivering the rubric of the Passover, saith, "They set before him unleavened bread, and bitter herbs, and charoseth, and the two boiled meats" [*in duabus patinis*, Leusden], making^y no difference of time between these and the other particulars named with them, which undoubtedly were in those times, of which we speak. The Gemara thereupon hath these words:—"It is a command to set before him unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs, and the two boiled meats. And those two boiled meats, what are they? Rab. Hona saith, Broth and rice. Ezekiah saith, Fish and eggs. Rab. Joseph saith, Two sorts of flesh were required, one in the memorial of the Passover, and the other in the memorial

^x Maim. in Corban. Pesach. cap. 8.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 737.

of the Hagigah." And with this last doth Maimonides concur, for he useth the very same words; but he useth also the term *בזמן הזה* "At this time they set upon the table two sorts of flesh," &c; as making it questionable, whether this custom were in use, when the temple stood,—or taken up afterward. I shall not be solicitous to dispute the case; it seemeth, for aught I yet see in the Talmuds or their schoolmen, that it was in the temple-times, and that the author, cited, doth not (by the phrase he hath used) so much intimate, that the custom was taken up, after the temple was fallen,—as he doth, that, after the temple was fallen, they were glad to take up with these two dishes only. For whilst that stood, peace-offerings were in use, and served for that occasion on the Passover-night; and these two boiled meats were only in request, where no peace-offerings were to be had, which was but rare: but, after the temple fell, there were no peace-offerings to be had at all; and so they were constrained to take up only with these two dishes. Let the reader scan his meaning from his own words:—"They^z set before him" (the officiator) "bitter herbs and unleavened bread, and charoseth, and the body of the lamb, and the flesh of the fourteenth day's Hagigah. But, at this time, they set upon the table two sorts of flesh,—one in memorial of the Passover, and the other in memorial of the Hagigah." And whether way soever he turneth the scales, it is not much material.

V. They had also a dish of thick sauce, which they called *חרוסת* Charoseth, made^a of sweet and bitter things, ground, and pounded, and mingled together^b, as dates, figs, raisins, vinegar, &c. And^c this was a memorial to them of the clay, in which their fathers laboured in the land of Egypt. "They used Charoseth (saith the Talmud) although it were not commanded. Rabbi Eliezer from Rabbi Zadok saith, It is a command. A command! for what? Rabbi Jochanan saith, It is a memorial of the clay; therefore they make it of all kinds of sweet and bitter things, with vinegar, like clay, in which there is a mixture of every thing." The dish, in which our Saviour dipped the sop, which he gave to Judas, is held, by exceeding many, to have been this dish of the thick sauce Charoseth; which might be very well believed, if it might be

^z Id. in Hhamets, &c. cap. 8.

^b Maim. Corban. Pesach. cap. 8.

^a Aruch in *חרוסת*

^c Haggad. Shel. Pesach.

believed, that that supper was the Passover-supper; which hath been much asserted, but never yet proved.

VI. The table thus furnished, the^d officiator takes some of the salad of the herbs; and after he hath blessed God for the creating the fruit of the ground, he dips it in something (but whether in the thick sauce *Charoseth*, or in wine, or in vinegar, is disputed, and so we will leave it in dispute), and he eateth the quantity of an olive, at the least, of them; and so do all the rest of the company the like. Now^e this dipping and eating of herbs was not under the notion of eating bitter herbs, which the law enjoined, but it was some other of the herbs, as lettuce, endive, or the like; and it was for this and merely, that the children might begin to wonder at this strange beginning of a meal, and might be incited to inquire about the matter. And to put them on to this the more, the company had no sooner eaten of this bit of the salad, but presently the dishes were all removed from^f before the officiator, and a second cup of wine was filled and brought unto him. And^g here the children began to inquire about the matter; and if he had no children, the wife inquired; and if there was no wife, the company inquired one of another: and if none inquired, yet he unasked began thus, "How different is this night from all other nights! For, on all other nights, we eat leavened or unleavened bread indifferently; but, on this night, unleavened bread only. On all other nights, we eat any herbs whatsoever; but, this night, bitter herbs. On all other nights, we eat flesh, either roasted, or stewed, or boiled; but, on this night, we eat flesh only roasted. On all other nights, we wash but once; but, on this night, we wash twice. On all other nights, we eat either sitting or leaning indifferently; on this night, we all sit leaning." And according to the capacity of the child, he would address his speech to him; if he were very young and slender of understanding, he would tell him, "Child, we were all servants, like this maid-servant, or this man-servant, that waiteth; and, as on this night, the Lord redeemed us, and brought us into liberty." But to the children of capacity, and to the rest of the company, he would tell particularly of the wonders done in Egypt, and of the manner of their deliverance, and of God's

^d Maim. in Hhamets ubi supr.
^f *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 964.

^e Gloss: ib.
^g Pesach. ubi supr.

various goodness towards them: and as the Talmud briefly relates it, מתחיל בגנות ומס״ם בשמחה ודורש מארמי אובר אבי עד כל הפרשה כולה “ He began with their disgrace, and ended with their glory; and expounded from that text, ‘ A Syrian ready to perish was my father,’ even throughout to the end of the section:”—which, as the Glossaries give the sense, meaneth thus;—that he began his discourse with the idolatry of Terah, and their fathers beyond the flood; and he led on the story to their bondage in Egypt, and the wonders done for their deliverance, and the Lord’s giving them his law, and making them his people; and particularly he took up that text in Deut. xxvi. 5, 6, &c, and enlarged himself upon it; and the more, the more commendably.

Then are the dishes, that were taken away from before him, set before him again, and then he saith, “ This^h is the passover, which we eat, because that the Lord passed over the houses of our fathers in Egypt.” And holding up the bitter herbs in his hand, he saith, “ These are the bitter herbs, that we eat, in remembrance that the Egyptians made the lives of our fathers bitter in Egypt.” And holding up the unleavened bread likewiseⁱ in his hand, he saith, “ This is the unleavened bread, which we eat, because the dough of our fathers had not time to be leavened, before the Lord revealed himself, and redeemed them out of hand. Therefore are we bound to give thanks, to praise, to laud, to glorify, to extol, to honour, to praise, to magnify him that hath done for our fathers, and for us, all these wonders; who hath brought us from bondage to freedom, from sorrow to rejoicing, from mourning to a good day, from darkness to a great light, from affliction to redemption; therefore, must we say before him, Hallelujah, praise ye the Lord, praise, ye servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord,” &c. And so he said over the hundred and thirteenth, and the hundred and fourteenth Psalms, and concludeth with this prayer; “ Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King everlasting, who hath redeemed us, and redeemed our fathers out of Egypt, and brought us to this night to eat unleavened bread and bitter herbs.” And then he, and all the company with him, drank off the second cup of wine.

VII. And^j now he washeth his hands again, using the same ejaculation or short prayer that he had done at wash-

^h Ibid. ⁱ *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 738.

^j *Maim. ubi supr.*

ing before. And then, taking the two cakes of unleavened bread, he breaketh one of them in two, and layeth the broken upon the whole, and giveth thanks to God, who “bringeth bread out of the earth.” Not εὐλογήσας ἔκλασε first giving thanks, and then breaking (as was the order of our Saviour, Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19. I Cor. xi. 24, for that action of Christ was farther in the supper than we are yet come), but κλάσας εὐλόγησε he first brake, and then gave thanks; and the Jews do make a business of the method. For he might not give thanks, by their tradition, either over both or either of the cakes, whilst they were whole,—but over it, when it was broken. And they give this reason; because it was the bread of poverty and affliction, and the poor have not whole cakes to give thanks over, but are glad to do it over bits and pieces. Hence the phrase and practice of *breaking of bread* seemeth to have its original.

I shall not here follow the dispute, that is taken up by the Hebrew writers, about the number of these cakes, whether they were two or three; for some assert the one number, and some the other; and I believe both the opinions are true applied to different and several times; for before the fall of the temple, or in those times to which our discourse pointeth, there^k were but two used, as may be collected by the best records of those times; but in after-times they used three, either^l in reference to the threefold division of the nation into priests, Levites, and people; or^m parallel to the three cakes, that a delivered captive was to offer for his deliverance, for Israel was delivered out of slavery at a Passover. It is more of import to look a little after that, which they called אפיקומן Aphicomen; about which, one would think, they had two positions, one contrary to another. The Misna of the Talmud hath this tradition; אין מפשירין אחד, אפיקומןⁿ הפסח “they dismiss not the company after the Passover with an Aphicomen^o.” And yet this is a current saying amongst them, אחת פורים לשנים ושאר הציה לאפיקומן. “He^p breaketh one of the cakes in two pieces, and leaveth one half for the Aphicomen.” Now the seeming difference of these two positions is reconciled by referring them to se-

^k Vid. Maim. ubi supr.

^m Gloss. in Maim. in loc. citat.

^o Pesach. cap. 10. halac. 8.

^l Vid. Buxt. Lex. Talm. in אפיקומן.

ⁿ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 965.

^p Gloss. in Maim. ubi supr.

veral times, as the number of the cakes was before. The word *Aphicomem*, in their sense, doth mean the last dishes they used at meals, namely, of nuts, apples, or sweetmeats, wherewithal they closed up their meals when they saw good: but such a closure they might not make at the Passover-supper; and the reason was, because they would eat some of the paschal lamb last, and close up the meal with that as the chiefest dish. “Last of all (saith Maimonides^q), he eateth of the flesh of the paschal, at the least, the quantity of an olive, and he is to taste no other meat after it at all. But now he eateth to the quantity of an olive of unleavened bread, and tasteth nothing at all after that:” that is, while the temple stood, and they had a paschal lamb to eat, that was ever the last meat they ate; but in after-times, when they used no lamb, they closed the meal with unleavened bread instead of it, and, after that, might eat nothing. And so the same author relateth again, when he saith, “It is from the words of the scribes, that they ate nothing after the unleavened bread, nor cracknels, nor nuts, or the like; but if he eat unleavened bread, and eat other meats after, or fruits, he must return and eat unleavened bread last, to the quantity of an olive, and so he concludes.”

Now when they ate unleavened bread for a closure of all, in this manner the cake that was broken in two that we are speaking of, was, half of it, after the breaking of it, given to some one in the company to reserve for the ‘Aphicomem,’ or for the last bit: *וניתנה תחת הכמפה* “and he laid it under his napkin;” but the other half, and (if that were not enough) the other cake also, was reserved. And if they reserved not an aphicomem, the two parts of the broken cake they used thus:—The^q officiator took a bit, and wrapped it together with the bitter herbs, and dipped them into the thick sauce, and gave thanks, and said, “Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King everlasting, who hath sanctified us by thy commandments, and commanded us concerning the eating of unleavened^r bread:” and so he eats, and the rest do likewise. There is some question moved amongst their traditionaries, whether the bread and the herbs were to be eaten apart or wrapped together; and they speak of a difference betwixt Hillel and his fellows about this matter; but the determination is so indifferent, that if he ate them apart, he gave thanks for

^q Maim. ubi ante.

^r Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 739.

them apart,—and if together, the thanksgiving specified was sufficient.

VIII. Then^t fell they to the eating of the flesh, that was before them, having hitherto eaten nothing but bread and herbs: and first he gave thanks; “Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King everlasting, who hath sanctified us by thy command, and commanded us concerning the eating of the sacrifice;” and so they fell to, and ate of the fourteenth day’s hagigah, or those peace-offerings that they had offered on that day; and of these they made the most of the meal. And then giving thanks again, “Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King everlasting, who hath sanctified us by thy command, and commanded us concerning the eating of the pass-over,” they ate of the flesh of the lamb, every one, at the least the quantity of an olive: which when they had done, he washeth his hands again (now after meat), and saith grace after meat (for so let me express it) over the third cup, and so they drink it off. And here comes in the mention of the first action of Christ at his last Passover: Matthew and Mark, indeed, record his words as they were eating, “One of you shall betray me,” &c. “Even one of the twelve, that dip-peth with me in the dish,” &c. Matt. xxvi. 21—25, and Mark xiv. 18—21 (this was most probably at the time, when they dipped the unleavened bread and bitter herbs in the thick sauce *charoseth*): and Luke relateth also those words, “With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you,” &c. Luke xxii. 15. But the first special action that is specified is, that “he took the cup and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide it amongst yourselves,” Luke xxii. 17. This was the third cup at the supper; for there is but one more mentioned after it in that story.

The traditions of the Jews express the passage at this time of the meal thus: *ואחר נוטל ידיו ומברך ברכת המזון על כוס שלישי ושורתו* “And after” (he hath eaten the flesh of the paschal lamb) “he washeth his hands and blesseth the blessing of the meat” (or saith grace after meat), “over the third cup, and drinks it off:” or briefly thus, *מזנו לו כוס שלישי ומברך על מזונו* “They mingle him the third cup, and he giveth thanks over it.”

Now this cup was called by them “the Cup of Blessing,” as appeareth by these and such-like expressions, that we

^t Id. *ibid.*

^u Id. *ibid.*

meet withal in their traditionaries. “Many of our schoolmen נאונים think, that every one of these four cups required blessing or thanksgiving over it; but some again of the schoolmen think, that they were not bound to thanksgiving, but only over the first cup, and over the cup of blessing:” thus the marginal Gloss^v upon Maimonides in the tract we have so much occasion to use in this paschal ritual, on chap. viii, in the beginning; and towards the latter end of the same chapter, he produceth some words of one of their schools, which help to tell, which of the four cups this ‘Cup of Blessing’ was. The words are these, אסור למיכל מידעים אחר, כסא דברכה וכסא דהלילא “It is forbidden to eat any thing after the unleavened bread” (viz. when no lamb was eaten), “but not to drink any thing beside the cup of blessing, and cup of Hallel:” which words he clears somewhat more by these words a little after, שתי ב’ כוסות של “He drinketh two cups after the unleavened bread, the cup of blessing after meat, and the cup of the hallel, and a third cup if he will, of the great hallel.” And so Rabbi Alphesi speaks of כמה מעלות כסא דברכה “divers singular excellences in the cup of blessing:” and^z Rabbi Mordecai צריך שיעור כוס הברכה of “the cup of blessing having its measure.”

Now the reason, why the third cup beareth this name of the ‘Cup of Blessing’ above all the rest, is, partly, because the ברכת המזון ‘the blessing,’ or ‘grace after meat,’ was said over it, as terminating the meal; and chiefly, to distinguish it from the first cup; for over that, and this especially, was blessing or thanksgiving uttered. It is a great dispute among the Talmudical schoolmen, whether there was thanksgiving used over all the four cups alike; and the debate ends most to this vote, that אמברך על כסא קמא ואכסא דברכתא “He gave thanks most especially over the first cup, and over the cup of blessing” (which otherwise is sometime expressed על ראשון ועל שלישי, “over the first cup, and over the third.” The Gemara in the chapter oft cited^b hath this parable^c: “What is written? And the child grew and was weaned: the holy blessed God will make a feast for the righteous in the day, that his mercy shall be showed to the seed of Isaac. After they had

^v Gloss. in Maim. ubi ante.

^w English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 966.

^x Gloss. in Maim. ubi ante.

^y R. Alph. in Pesach. in fol.

^z R. Mord. in Pesach. cap. 10.

^a Pisk. Pesachin, fol. 137.

^b Ibid. fol. 138.

^c The following quotation from the Gemara is omitted in Lensden’s edition.—Ed.

eaten and drunk, they gave Abraham our father the cup of blessing to bless; he said, I cannot bless it, because Ismael came from me. He gave it Isaac to bless; he said, I cannot, because Esau came from me. He said to Jacob, Take it and bless it: he said, I cannot, because I married two sisters, which the law forbids. He said to Moses, Take it and bless it: he said, I cannot, because I was not counted worthy to go into the land of Israel, neither alive nor dead. He said to Joshua, Take it and bless it: he said, I cannot, because I have no son. He saith to David, Take it and bless it: he said to them, I will bless it, and it is fit for me to bless it; as it is said, I will take the cup of salvation, I will call upon the Lord."

The apostle useth this term^d, *the cup of blessing*, concerning the sacramental cup in the Lord's supper, 1 Cor. x. 16; in which he doth not only allude to their custom and expression that we have now in speech; but by this, and by what he speaketh in the next chapter following, it seemeth, that the Judaizing Christians in the church of Corinth did very much imitate this paschal custom at the receiving of the sacrament, as that they had a supper before; and so much wine stirring before, as that some were drunk, 1 Cor. xi. 21, 22. And that for conclusion of the meal, they had the bread and wine of the Lord's supper, as they, at the Passover, had the unleavened bread, and the cup of blessing.

And as the apostle, in this phrase, alludeth to their expression and custom,—so doth our Saviour also speak suitably to their practice, when he, taking this third cup, or *the cup of blessing*, bids them "divide it among themselves." For the four cups, that were used at the Passover-supper, were enjoined to men, women, and children, all alike. "Our Rabbins deliver it for a tradition (say the Gemarists^e), that these four cups ought to have in them a fourth part of a hin, all alike for men, women, and children." And because we are fallen upon mention of their being drunk at their supper, before the sacrament, in the church of Corinth,—let us take notice of a Talmudic passage or two, that may give some light about such a matter, though it seems, in pretence, to be of a contrary tune. They have a tradition that runneth thus; *בין כוסות הללו אם רוצה לשתות ישתה* "If any will drink between these cups, he may; so that he drink not between

^d *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 740.

^e *Pesach. ubi ante in Gemara.*

the third cup and the fourth." The Jerusalem Gemara debating the case, why between the first and second cup, or between the second and third, but not between the third and fourth; it resolves it thus,—that this was "to prevent their being drunk:" but they raise hereupon again a very just objection, what prevention could be in this? And they give this poor answer to it, "Because wine at meat maketh not a man drunk, but wine after meat doth." If religion did not prevail with them to withhold them from trial of the truth of this aphorism, more than the virtue of the aphorism would prevail to keep them from drunkenness,—I doubt not but there were drunken heads to be found at their paschal cups, as well as at the sacramental suppers in the church of Corinth. And the caution, which the tradition giveth a little after those words alleged but now, doth make the matter somewhat suspicious, when they provide thus: "Doth any one sleep at the Passover-meal and wake again? he may not eat again, after he is awaked.—Do more of the company sleep? they may eat again, when they awake.—Do they all sleep? they may not eat. Rabbi Jose saith, If they nod or slumber only, they may eat upon their waking; but, if they have been sound asleep, they may not."

IX. And^g now we are come to the fourth cup, which was called, כסא דהלילא "the cup of the Hallel:" נומר עליו את ההלל "for he finished the Hallel at it, and at it he said the blessing of the song^b." He had begun the Hallel over the second cup; for he concluded the *Haggadah*, or showing forth of their deliverance (as 1 Cor. xi. 26), with the rehearsal of the hundred and thirteenth and hundred and fourteenth psalms. And now he begins with the hundred and fifteenth and rehearseth that, and the hundred and sixteenth, and hundred and seventeenth, and hundred and eighteenth; for these six psalms were the *Hallel*, as was observed even now.

Now the ברכת השיר "blessing of the song," was a prayer or blessing, that they uttered after the Hallel or the hymn was finishedⁱ, about which there is some dispute between R. Judah and R. Jochanan, in the Gemara, what it should be: the one, naming one prayer,—and the other, another. But the scholiasts thereupon do conclude, that the difference

ⁱ Jer. *ibid.* in Gemara.

^b Pesach. ubi ante in Misna.

^g English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 967.

ⁱ Ibid. in Gemara.

between them, is not so much about the prayers themselves, as about the order of them, or which was uttered first. And they determine these two to be them, and that they were uttered in this order:—

“O Lord our God, let all thy works praise thee, and thy saints, and the righteous ones that do thy will, and thy people, the house of Israel, all of them with shouting. Let them praise, and bless, and magnify, and glorify, and sing out the name of thy glory with honour and renown, for remembrance of thy kingdom; for it is good to praise thee, and it is lovely to sing unto thy name. For ever and ever thou art God. Blessed be thou, O Lord the king, who art to be lauded with praises, amen.”

And he concludeth thus: “Let the soul of all living bless thy name, O Lord our God, and the spirit of all flesh glorify and exalt thy memorial for ever, O our King. For, for ever thou art God; and besides thee we have no King, Redeemer, or Saviour,” &c.

And here ordinarily the meal was quite ended, and they ate nor drank no more that night (compare Matt. xxvi. 29). Yet they have a tradition^j, that, if they were minded, they might drink off a fifth cup of wine, upon this condition,—that they should say over the great Hallel over it. But what was the great Hallel? Rabbi Judah saith, from “O give thanks,” to “by the rivers of Babylon,” that is, the hundred six-and-thirtieth psalm.

Rabbi Jochanan saith, from “a song of degrees,” to “by the rivers of Babylon^k,” that is, from Psal. cxx. to Psal. cxxxvii. Rabbi Ahabar Jacob saith, from “for the Lord hath chosen Jacob for himself,” Psal. cxxxv. 4, to “by the rivers of Babylon,” Psal. cxxxvii. 1. Thus they debate it in the Gemara, in the treatise Pesachin; and in the treatise Erachin they seem yet to go farther, and to add the hundred and fifth psalm to this Hallel; and so they make it of a doubtful measure (as is observed well by the learned Buxtorfius), sometimes larger, sometimes less, according as they saw good.

And now to take up the whole rubric of this sacramental supper in a short sum, they sat them down in a leaning posture, began with a cup of wine, over which they hallowed the day; washed their hands: the table is furnished,—they

^j Pesach. ubi ante in Gemara.

^k *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 741.

first eat some salad; have a second cup of wine filled; over which is the rehearsal of the *Haggadah*, and of Psal. cxiii. cxiv; and then the wine drunk off. They wash their hands again; unleavened bread is broken and blessed, and some of it eaten with bitter herbs dipped in the thick sauce; then eat they the flesh of the peace-offerings; and then the flesh of the lamb; after which they wash; have a third cup of wine filled, or the *Cup of Blessing*; over which they first say grace after meat; and then give thanks for the wine; and so drink it off. And, lastly, they have a fourth cup of wine filled; over which they say the Hallel out; and a prayer or two after it; and so they have done.

Thus was the rubric and ritual of this great solemn supper, with which the reader comparing the action of our Saviour at his last Passover, will easily perceive, that the mention of the first thing he did, is coincident with the third cup, or the *Cup of Blessing*, which he biddeth them to "divide among themselves;" and then he taketh some of the unleavened bread again, and blesseth, and breaketh, and giveth to be eaten for his body, from henceforth,—in that sense that the flesh of the paschal lamb, which they had newly eaten, had been his body hitherto. And that which was commonly called the "Cup of the Hallel," he taketh and ordaineth for the cup of the New Testament in his blood; and after it they sang the hymn or the Hallel out; and so he went out into the mount of Olives.

CHAP. XIV¹.

SECT. I. *Of the solemnity and rites of the first Day in the Passover-week. Of the Hagigah, and peace-offering of Rejoicing.*

THE next day after the passover was eaten, was holy, and no servile work to be done in it, but it was accounted and kept as a sabbath; and so it is called, Lev. xxiii. 6, 7, 15. On^m this day all the males were to appear in the court of the temple, and to bring with them a burnt-offering for their appearance, and a double peace-offering,—one for the solemnity, and another for the joy, of the times. The offering for their appearance was called "Corban Raajah;" and they

¹ *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 968.

^m Talm. in Hagigah, cap. 1. Maim. in Hagig. cap. 1.

conclude it due from these words, "None of you shall appear before me empty," Exod. xxiii. 15. Yet if any one failed of bringing such a gift, his shame and his conscience go with it; but there was no penalty upon him, because, though he had broken a negative precept, yet there was no work nor action done by him in it.

The peace-offerings for the solemnity of the time, were called the *Hagigah*, and they were to be of some beast, bullock or sheep. Hereupon, in 2 Chron. xxx. 24. xxxv. 7, 8, there is mention of "bullocks and oxen for the Passover;" and, in Deut. xvi. 2, there is speech of "sacrificing the passover of the herd;" which cannot be understood of the passover, that was to be eaten on the fourteenth day at even,—for that was, punctually and determinately, appointed to be of lambs or kids, Exod. xii. 5; but it is to be construed of these peace-offerings, which were for the solemnity of the time. And this is that which the evangelist John calleth the *passover*, when he saith, "The Jews went not into Pilate's judgment-hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover," John xviii. 28. For they had eaten the paschal lamb the night before.

They held themselves obliged by the law, as to appear at the three solemn festivals, and to pay their offerings and their services then due,—so to make merry and to rejoice, and cheer up one another, because it is said, "Thou shalt rejoice before the Lord," Deut. xvi. 11. 14, &c. And hereupon they took up the use of wine at the Passover-supper, as was observed before; and hereupon they took up other peace-offerings besides the *Hagigah* at the Passover solemnity, and called them, שלמי שמחה "The peace-offerings of rejoicing." And by the offering of these two sorts of peace-offerings, it is like they thought themselves the better discharged, though they brought not the offering of their appearance; for if they brought these, they might the better think they appeared not empty. And so Levi Gershom construeth that passage concerning Elkanah, that "he went up yearly from his city to Shiloh, to sacrifice to the Lord," in application to these sorts of peace-offerings, rather than any other offering; for "it meaneth (saith he) that he sacrificed his peace-offerings of rejoicing, and his peace-offerings for the *Hagigah*."^a

^a R. Lev. Gersom in 1 Sam. i.

The time for the offering of these they accounted the first day of the festival to be most proper; and they strove to despatch upon it, that they might return home the sooner; but, if these sacrifices were offered in any day of the festival, it served the turn.

On this first day of the feast, when these great matters were to be in hand,—namely, their appearing in the court and offering^o these their sacrifices of solemnity and rejoicing at the last Passover of our Saviour,—they showed themselves otherwise employed; for on this day they crucified the Lord of life.

In reference to whose judging, condemning, and executing, though it be somewhat beside the bent of the present discourse, let the reader scan two or three of their traditions:—

1. מאן מתחילין את דינן בלילה^p “They might begin no judgments in the night, nor received they any witness in the night, but the judgments were to be in the day only:” yet were they in the examination and judgment of our Saviour all night long.

2. “The^q judging of a false prophet was only to be by the great Sanhedrim of seventy-and-one:” under this notion they blasphemously accused and arraigned our Saviour, John xviii. 19. Luke xxiii. 2: and unto this, those words of his refer, Luke xiii. 33, “It cannot be, that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.”

3. “They^r put not an elder that transgresseth against the determination of the great Sanhedrim, to death,—neither at the Sanhedrim that was in his own city, nor at the Sanhedrim that was at Jabneh; but they bring him up to the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and keep him till a solemn festival, and execute him at the feast; according to what is said, ‘That all the people may hear and fear,’” &c.

SECT. II^s.

The second Day in the Passover-week. The gathering and offering of the first-fruits’ Homer.

THE first and last days of the solemn festival weeks were called ימים טובים “holy-days,” or “good days;” and the

^o *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 1. p. 742.

^p *Maim. in Sanhedr. cap. 6.*

^q *Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 1.*

^r *Ibid. cap. 1.*

^s *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 969.

observation of them differed little in strictness from the observation of the sabbath. See Lev. xxiii. 7, 8, &c. Now the days between them were called *מועד קטן* "Moed Katon," or the "lesser solemnity;" in which, although there were not the like strictness of observance that there was of the "holy-days," yet was there a distinction made betwixt them and other ordinary times: and divers things were prohibited, especially by their traditions, to be done in them, which were permitted to be done on other days. And as for the service and employment in the temple, there was commonly more work and sacrificing on these days than on other ordinary days, because the peace-offerings, due or reserved to that time, could not all be despatched on the other days, but did take up much of these days, and did find the priests more than ordinary attendance and employment about the altar.

On this day that we have in hand,—namely, the second day of the Passover-week, whatsoever else of extraordinary offering was on it, there never failed to be the offering and waving of the first-fruits' sheaf before the Lord. The law for this is given in Lev. xxiii. 10, 11: "When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, you shall reap the harvest thereof; then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first-fruits of your harvest unto the priest; and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, to be accepted for you: the morrow after the sabbath the priest shall wave it." Where by the word *sabbath* is to be understood, not the sabbath-day in the proper sense, but the first day in the Passover-week, of which we have spoken, which was so solemn a holy-day. And so the Chaldee paraphrast and several other Jews do well interpret it.

The rites about gathering and offering this first-fruits' sheaf are largely described by Tosaphta ad Menachoth to be after this manner: "Rabbi Ismael saith, The homer or first-fruits' sheaf, if it came on the sabbath-day" (properly so called, as it did that very day that our Saviour rested in the grave), "it came in three seahs; but if on another day, it came in five. But the wise men say, Whether sabbath or other day, all was one, it came in three seahs. Abba Saul said, On the sabbath it was reaped by one man, and with one sickle, and in one basket: but on another day it was reaped by three men, and in three baskets, and with three

¹ Talm. in Moed Katon, cap. 1, &c.

² Tosaph. ad Menachoth, cap. 10.

sickles. But the wise men said, Sabbath or other day, it was all one, it was by three men, and in three baskets, and with three sickles: the first-fruits' sheaf came out of the vale of the ashes, by the brook Cedron, &c. The day of waving it lighting on the sabbath, the sabbath was dispensed with for the reaping of it: and how was it done? Those that the Sanhedrim sent about it, went out, at the evening of the holy-day" (the first day of the Passover-week); "they took baskets and sickles, &c. They went out on the holy-day when it began to be dark, and a great company went out with them: when it was now dark, one said to them, On this sabbath, on this sabbath, on this sabbath; in this basket, in this basket, in this basket. R. Eliezer the son of Zadoc saith, 'With this sickle, with this sickle, with this sickle;'—every particular three times over. And they answer him, 'Well, well, well, I will reap;' and he bids them reap. And why do they thus? Because of the Baithuseans" (the Sadducees), "who said, that the reaping of the first-fruits' sheaf is not on the end of the holy-day. They reap it and put it into the basket, and bring it into the court: and pass it through the fire: that they might answer the command about parched corn. The words of Rabbi Meir; But the wise men say, That is not to be meant so; but there was a hollow vessel full of holes, so that the fire might go quite through it in the court, and the wind blew on it" (in which they put the corn suddenly to dry it, that it might grind), "and they put it on a mill to get out a tenth-deal, &c. One takes the tenth-deal, and puts its oil and frankincense on it, and mingles them, and waves it, and takes out a handful and puts it on the altar; and the rest is for the priest to eat. As soon as the homer is offered, they go out and find Jerusalem-streets full of meal and parched corn: which was not according to the mind of the wise men. The words of R. Meir: But the wise men say, That it was according to the mind of the wise men; for as soon as the homer was offered, new corn was permitted."

SECT. III^v.

The Feast of Pentecost, עֲצֵרֶת.

FROM this day and occasion,—namely, from the offering of the first-fruits' homer,—they began to count the weeks to

^v *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 743.

^w *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 970.

Pentecost, even seven weeks forward. This day was the first of the number; and the next day after the expiring of seven weeks, being the fiftieth day from hence, was Pentecost-day, as is imported in the very word. It was dated from the offering of the first corn, because that solemnity and this festival had some relation one to another. The presenting of the first sheaf, was an introduction to harvest, and the feast of Pentecost was a return or offering of their harvest; by that they had liberty to begin to put the sickle into the corn and to reap; and at this they offered an offering of their corn now reaped and inned. Therefore, this solemnity is sometimes called in Scripture “the feast of harvest^x,” and sometimes “the feast of weeks^y,” because of the reckoning of the seven weeks from that day to it; and sometimes “Pentecost^z,” because it was the fiftieth day from that: and so the Jews themselves call it, יום הכושׁוֹם “the fiftieth day,” or Pentecost.

But the Jews, in their writings, do most commonly call this feast by the name עֲצֵרֶת *Atsereth*, and so do the Chaldee paraphrasts use it in Num. xxviii. 26; although Abarbanel^b doth observe, that this feast alone, of all the three, is not called עֲצֵרֶת *Atsereth*, in the Scripture. The word doth properly signify a ‘refraining’ or a ‘shutting-up;’ and from that signification it is taken to signify, a ‘solemn holy-day,’ or assembling, as being interdicted and restrained from work^c. But whether this feast were so called by them in so singular a manner, because that was the time of “the restraining of rains,” it being the very middle of harvest; or because the offering of their “first-fruits was restrained” till this time; or because the festival “joy of harvest was yet restrained,” and not as yet full; or for what cause else, I shall not be much solicitous to determine: but certainly some of the Rabbins give such intimation, as might seem to give some strength to the supposal upon one of the two latter. For Maimonides^d relateth, that “they brought not any first-fruits before עֲצֵרֶת Pentecost, because it is said, ‘The feast of harvest, the first-fruits of thy labours:’ and if they brought any, they received them not from them, but laid them by till Pentecost.” And Baal Hatturim hath this saying^e, “There

^x Exod. xxiii. 16.

^y Deut. xvi. 10.

^z Acts, ii. 1.

^a Maim. in Talmud, cap. 8. R. Sol. in Lev. xxiii.

^b Abarb. in Lev. iii.

^c 2 Kings, x. 20. Joel, i. 14. Amos, v. 21, &c.

^d Maim. in Biecurim, cap. 2.

^e Baal Turim, in Deut. xvi.

is no rejoicing spoken of at the Passover, because the fruits were yet in the field: but at עֲצֵרֶת Pentecost, when corn is now reaped, and wine is now in the grapes, there is one rejoicing spoken of, Deut. xvi. 11: but at the feast of tabernacles, when all is in, then rejoicing is twice mentioned, Deut. xvi. 14, 15.

The solemnity of this day and feast was: 1. That all the males were to appear at it, as at the Passover and Feast of Tabernacles. 2. They^g were to offer two cakes, baked with leaven, of the corn of the harvest now reaped, or of new corn: and if it be questioned, why with leaven now, seeing there were so express commands against leaven at the Passover, some of the Jews do give this pertinent reason^h;—because these loaves or cakes were an offering in behalf of the bread which they were ordinarily to eat, for these were first-fruits of their wheat; but their bread at the Passover was commemorative of their hasty departing out of Egypt, when they could not stay to have their bread leavened: their Passover-bread was for a memorial, their Pentecost-cakes were not. “At Passover they could only say, הֵילֶךְ מֵצָה Here is unleavened bread וּבְעֵצֶרֶת הֵילֶךְ מֵצָה וְחֻמֶּץ. But at Pentecost, Here is unleavened bread” (for the meat-offering), “and leavened too” (for the two cakes), as the Gemaristsⁱ descant upon this matter. These cakes were made square, each cake seven hand-breadths long, four broad, and four high.

3. With these cakes were also offered seven lambs, and one bullock, and two rams for a burnt-offering, a kid for a sin-offering, and two lambs for a peace-offering. And these two lambs were the only peace-offerings, that the congregation offered: and these peace-offerings only were reckoned in the rank of the most holy offerings.

Now these lambs, being “peace-offerings,” were to be waved up and down with the two cakes; for so is the command express, Lev. xxiii. 20. And the manner of that action was thus^j;—the priest first waved the lambs up and down, whilst they were yet alive, and then slew them: and having flayed them, he took out the breast and shoulder of either of them, and laid them close besides the two cakes; and putting his hand under them, he waved them altogether, upwards and downwards, and this way and that way, and all towards

^f Exod. xxiii. 16.

^g Jer. xxiii. 16, 17.

^h Abarb. ubi supr.

ⁱ Talm. Jerus. in Succah, cap. 5.

^j Maim. ubi supr.

the east; and afterward burnt their inwards, and the priest ate^k the rest of the flesh. And as for the cakes, the high-priest took the one; and the other was divided among all the courses, who were then present.

It was not so much the solemnity or multitude of the sacrifices of this day, that challenged the appearance of all the people in the whole land,—though the offerings were many and solemn,—but it was the memorial^l which the feast carried with it, namely, of the law being given to Israel, at that time of the year, from mount Sinai.

On this day was the *hallel* sung, as was intimated before; and on this day was the great gift of tongues visibly bestowed upon the disciples.

CHAP. XV.

Of the service on the Day of Expiation.

THE institution of this solemn day, of which there is a large mention, Lev. xvi, was first occasioned from this,—that Moses on that very day, after three several forty days' fasts, came down from the mount, having obtained Israel's full peace with God and reconciliation, and brought now with him the renewed tables, and a full commission to build the tabernacle, and to set up the solemn worship in the midst of them.

Seven^m days before the day of expiation, they put the high-priest apart from his own house, into the chamber פרחדרין Parhedrin; lestⁿ his wife, proving to be in her separation, should bring upon him an uncleanness of seven days; and so prevent him of being fit for that day's service.

They also appointed another priest as his substitute, to perform the service of that day,—if it should fall out, that any uncleanness did befall him that he could not officiate,—that so the service should not fall to the ground.

Every day of these seven they caused him to sprinkle the blood of the daily sacrifice, to burn the parts of it, to offer the incense, and dress the lambs,—that he might be the better inured to those services on that day, when it came.

On the third day, and on the seventh, they besprinkled him with the ashes of the red cow, for fear he might have been defiled by the dead, and not aware of it.

They delivered to him some of the elders of the Sanhe-

^k *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 961.

^l *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 744.

^m *Joma*, cap. 1.

ⁿ *Maim. in Jom. haccipurin*, cap. 1.

drim, who read before him the rubric and order of that day's service ; and they said unto him, " Sir high-priest, read thou thyself ; it may be, thou hast forgotten ; or, it may be, thou hast not learned."

On the eve of the day of expiation, that is, on the day before, in the morning, they brought him to the east gate of the courts ; and there they made bullocks, and rams, and lambs, to pass before him ; that still he be the better acquainted with every thing, that he had to do.

Afterward the elders of the Sanhedrim delivered him over to the elders of the priesthood ; who brought him into the chamber of Abtines, that there he might learn to hand the incense. And there they gave him this oath : " Sir high-priest, we are the messengers of the Sanhedrim ; and thou art our messenger and the Sanhedrim's ; we adjure thee by Him, that hath caused his name to dwell in this house, that thou alter not any thing of what we have spoken to thee : " and so they part weeping.

Now the reason of this solemn adjuration was, because of the Sadducees, who had vented a doctrine, and some of them had ventured a practice, contrary to the tradition of the elders, namely, to kindle the incense, and to make it smoke without the veil, and to bring it smoking within : " They swore him (saith the Jerusalem Talmud^o), because of the Baithuseans, who said, ' Let him kindle the incense without, and then bring it in.' And there was one that did so ; and when he came out, one said to his father, ' Ye have been searching all your days, yet did ye never the thing to purpose till this man came and did it.' He answered him, ' Although we have been searching all our days, yet have we done according to the will of the wise men ; and I shall much wonder, if this man that hath done so, live long after.' And they say he died shortly : " namely, within three days.

The^p even being come, they suffered him to eat but sparingly, because fulness would make him drowsy : for sleep he might not, for fear of nocturnal pollution ; but, all the night, he, if he were learned, read and expounded the Scripture to them that were with him ; if he were not learned, some other did, especially out of^q Job, Ezra, Daniel, and Chronicles, places that might most affect and prepare him for the service.

^o Talm. Jerus. in Joma, cap. 1. Juchasin, fol. 15. ^p English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 962.

^q Vid. Gloss. in Joma, in Talm. Babyl. cap. 1.

The day being come (which was so strict a fasting-day^r, as that to eat any thing, or to do any work on it, fell under the penalty of being "cut-off"), the high-priest is now to prepare himself for the business. And first he puts off his ordinary wearing clothes, and bathes himself in water^s; his bathing this day was on the roof of the room of Happarbah, a fine sheet hanging betwixt him and the sight of the people; wipes himself dry with a towel, and puts on the rich garments of the high-priesthood; washeth his hands and feet; killeth the daily sacrifice; burns the pieces; offers the incense; dresseth the lamps; and doth all the service belonging to the ordinary daily service. And so he doth by the bullock, and seven lambs, of the extraordinary sacrifice: and when he had done with these, he washed his hands and his feet again.

Then^t put he off his rich robes again, and bathed himself, and put on the white linen garments, appointed Lev. xvi. 4; and performed the peculiar services of that day. As, first, he goeth to his own bullock^u, Lev. xvi. 6, which stood between the temple and the altar, laid his two hands upon his head, and made this confession: "Ah Lord, I have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee, I and mine house. I beseech thee, O Lord, expiate the sins, perversities, and transgressions, whereby I have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed, I and mine house; as it is written in the law of Moses thy servant, saying, For on this day, he will expiate for you, to purge you from all your sins before the Lord, that ye may be clean."

Then^v went he to cast the lots upon the two goats, on the north-east part of the court below the altar. The two lots were ordinarily of gold pieces just of one and the same bigness; on the one of them was written, '*for the Lord*;' and, on the other, '*for Azazel*.' These were put into a box, into which the priest could put both his hands; this box was called *אֲבִיבִי*. The two goats were set before him, one before the right hand, and the other at the left; and on his right hand stood the *Sagan*; and on his left hand, stood the Chief of his father's house. He put his hand in the box and took out the lots: and opening his hands, if the lot for the scape-goat came in his right hand, the *Sagan* said to him, "Sir,

^r Kerithuth, cap. 1.

^s Mid. cap. 5.

^t Maim. ubi supra, cap. 4.

^u *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 745.

^v *Id. ibid.* cap. 3.

lift up your right hand," and so the right hand goat was the scape-goat. And if that lot came in his left hand, the chief of his father's house said to him, "Sir, lift up your left hand;" and then that was the scape-goat, that was on the left hand. And he tied a scarlet list upon that goat's head; and set him there from whence he was to be sent away; and the other goat he sent, where he must be killed.

This scarlet list is called commonly by the Rabbins לשון זוהרית 'lingula coccinea,' the 'scarlet tongue,' because it was broad and fashioned like a tongue. And they expected, that, when it was tied upon the scape-goat's head^w, it should turn white. And so they say it did^x, in the time of Simeon the Just, and that the lot for the scape-goat came still up in his right hand: and this they ground upon Isa. i. 18.

Having thus set the two goats ready against their time comes, he returned again to his own bullock, where he left him standing,—and lays his hands upon his head a second time, and makes a second confession, in the very same words that he had done the former,—save that when he had said, "Wherein I have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee, I and my father's house," he added, "and the sons of Aaron thy holy people, as it is written in the law of Moses," &c.

Then killed he the bullock; took the blood, and gave it one to stir, that it should not congeal. He himself took a censer full of coals from the altar, and set them down upon a bench in the court: and from a vessel, brought him, he took his hands full of incense, and put it into a dish. The censer of coals he took in his *right* hand (because it was hot and heavy, otherwise he should have carried it in his *left*), and the dish of incense in his left hand; and so he went into the Holy of Holies, and came up to the ark; and there he sets his coals down, empties the incense into his hands again, and so lays it on the coals, and stays till all the room be full of smoke; and then comes backward out from within the veil; having his face still towards the ark. Being come out he made this short prayer; "O Lord God, let it be thy good pleasure, that this year may have seasonable rains" (if it have been drougthy): "and let not thy sceptre depart from Judah; and let not thy people Israel want sustenance,

^w Joma, cap. 4. in Gemara.

^x Juchasin, fol. 15. col. 1.

and let not the prayer of wicked transgressors come before thee:”—and so he came out.

Then took he the blood of the bullock, which had been stirred about all this while, for congealing^y; and^z brought it within the Most Holy Place, and sprinkled of it eight times, once upward and seven times downward between the bars of the ark; and having so done, he came out thence, set the rest of the blood in the basin in the Holy Place, and came forth.

Then slew he the goat; took the blood of it into the Most Holy Place, and sprinkled it there eight times, as the other; came forth and set it down in the Holy Place; took up the bullock's blood, and sprinkled it eight times before the veil; and so he did by the goat's blood. Then mingled he them together, and sprinkled therewith the golden altar going round about it: he began first with the north-east corner; so to the north-west; and to the south-west; and ended at the south-east; then sprinkled he the body of the altar itself seven times, and so came out; and poured the remainder of the blood at the foot of the burnt-offering altar, on the west side.

And now he goes about to send the scape-goat away. He first laid his hands upon his head, and made this confession; “Ah Lord, thy people the house of Israel have sinned and done perversely, and transgressed before thee: I beseech thee now, O Lord, expiate the sins, perversities, and transgressions, which the house of Israel thy people have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee; as it is written in the law of Moses thy servant, ‘For this day he will expiate for you, to purge you from all your sins, that you may be clean before Jehovah.’” As soon as the priests and people, that were in the court, heard him utter the name *Jehovah*, they bowed, worshipped, and said, “Blessed be the name^a of his glorious kingdom for ever and ever.” And then they sent the goat a-going.

There^b was from Jerusalem, about some twelve easy miles off, a very steep and high promont, which they express by the name צוק *Tsok*: some^c take this to be the proper name of that hill; some^d, for the common name of any high

^y “Ne concresceret.” Leusd. ^z *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 963.

^a *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 746. ^b *Joma*, cap. 6. in *Misna*.

^c *Ramb. ibid.* ^d *Bartenor. ib. et Aruch in voce.*

rock whatsoever. Between Jerusalem and this hill, there were ten booths, set up at an equal distance one from another, namely, about a mile asunder, and the nearest about a mile from Jerusalem. Having delivered the goat to him, that was to bring him into the wilderness, they accompanied him to the first booth; and from thence there were some ready there to accompany him to the next; and some at that to go with him to the third, and thus through all: and at every booth they asked the man, that led him, whether he would eat or drink.

From the last booth they went not quite through with him to the high rock, but stood at distance to see what he did. When he came there, he took the crimson list from between the goat's horns, and pulled it in two pieces; the one half of it he tied upon the rock, and the other half upon his horns again. Then took he the goat and pushed him backward from off the rock; and by the time he came to the bottom, he was dashed all in pieces. And so the man returns to the next booth; and there stays till it be dark.

In the mean time, the high-priest, after the sending away of the goat, had returned to the service again, and cut in pieces the bullock and goat that he had slain, and whose blood he had brought within the veil; and laid their inwards upon the altar to be burnt; but their pieces he delivered to some, to be carried forth without Jerusalem, there to be burnt; Lev. xvi. 27.

At last they say to the high-priest, "Sir, by this time the goat is gotten into the wilderness." And then he went into the court of the women; and there, in a pulpit, read a section or two in the law,—as, namely, all Lev. xvi. and xxiii. 27—32.

Now, if it be questioned, how they could guess the very time, when the goat arrived in the wilderness, there are three several ways of this conjecture held out by them; and they are these:—1. The Misna of the Talmud saith, There were several high piles or pillars of stone set up in the way thither, and men stood upon them with linen cloths in their hands; and when the goat was got into the wilderness, he that stood on the pillar there, waved his napkin up and down; and the next took at him and did the like; and the next at him; and so they conveyed the intelligence into the city in a trice. 2. Rab. Ismael saith, A crimson list was

tied on the temple-door; and as soon as ever the goat arrived in the wilderness, it grew white.

And that passage in the Gemara of the Babylon Talmud is remarkable;—whether it speak of this list, or of that betwixt the goat's horns, it is not much material, they were both of the same nature and reference;—when it saith*, that, “all the forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, the red list did never turn white:” for, whereas this change of it was a sign of the remission of their sins, as they themselves construe it from Isa. i. 18, they had now so dyed themselves with the blood of Christ, slain just forty years before the destruction of the city, that we may well take their own evidence and testimony for their guilt, and unpardonableness for that fact. R. Judah saith, it was three miles to בית חדרה Beth Haduda, which was the edge of the wilderness that way that the goat went: and for the measuring out of the space of time that the man might be going thither with the goat, some men walked out a mile's space from the city; and walked back that mile again without any stay; and when they were come back, they stayed so much time as one might walk another mile; and then concluded, that, by that time, the man with the goat was come into the wilderness.

The high-priest having read his lessons in the law, and prayed eight several prayers after, he washes his hands and feet; puts off his linen clothes; bathes himself; puts on his rich garments; washes his hands and feet again; offereth a ram for himself, and another for the people, and seven lambs for the additional offering of the day. And then he offered the daily evening-sacrifice.

This done, he washed his hands and feet again; put off his rich garments; bathed himself, and put on the linen garments; washed his hands and feet; went into the Most Holy Place; and fetched out the censer and dish, that he had left there.

After this, he washed his hands and feet; put off those linen clothes; bathed himself in water; put on his rich garments again; washed his hands and feet; went into the Holy Place; offered the evening-incense; mended the lamps; and so came out.

Then washed he his hands and feet again; put off his rich garments, and put on his own ordinary wearing clothes;

* Rosh Hashanah, fol. 31.

[†] English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 964.

and went to his house, all the people accompanying him: and he held it a joyful day, because he was come out of the Most Holy Place in safety.

CHAP. XVI^g.

The manner of their celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles.

THE day of expiation was not so solemn, and serious, and painful, especially to the high-priest, but the Feast of Tabernacles, was as jocund, pleasant, and mirthful, to all the people. It was but five days after that, beginning on the fifteenth day of the same month Tisri, and lasting eight days together^h; in which feast there was more rejoicing than in any of the other, and more parcels and varieties of solemnity.

The first particular of its solemnity and celebration was their dwelling in booths, from which custom the feast took its name: which they began to do on the first day of the feast, and so continued all the time; and out of those booths they might neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, so long as the feast lasted. Their booths were of boughs of trees; in the making of which, for height, and breadth, and place, and fashion, it were endless to trace their curiosity and traditions; and it is somewhat eccentric to our discourse, which is confined to the verge of the temple. Within which confinement we are to take up four remarkable ingredients to the solemnity of this feast; and they are these:—

1. The variety of their sacrifices.
2. Their palm and willow-branches.
3. Their pomelitrons.
4. Their pouring out of water and rejoicing.

SECT. I.

The several sacrifices at the Feast of Tabernacles.

THE Jerusalem Talmudⁱ doth give this brief summary of the progress of their proceedings in the service of the temple every day of this feast. “They went first to offer the daily sacrifice in the morning; then the additional sacrifices; after that the vows and free-offerings; from thence to eat and drink (*or to dinner*); from thence to the study of the law;

^g Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 747.

Lev. xxiii. 34—36. Num. xxix. 12. 35. 2 Chron. vii. 8—10. Neh. viii. 17, 18.

ⁱ Talm. Jer. in Succ. cap. 5.

and after that, to offer the evening-sacrifice; and from thence they went to the joy of the pouring out of the water.”

Now the constant or daily sacrifices of these days of the feast were unalteredly the same, that they were on all other days,—a lamb in the morning, and a lamb at even. But the additional sacrifices for the time, were not only remarkable for their number (they and the daily sacrifices of this time amounting to two hundred and fifteen, the number of the years of Israel’s being in Egypt); but they were most remarkable for this alteration, because a bullock less was offered every day than had been offered on the day before; and yet the very same number of rams, lambs, and goats, retained every day alike. For, on the first day of the feast, were thirteen bullocks offered; on the second^j day, twelve; on the third day, eleven; and so downward, as may be seen in Num. xxix: and yet on every day two rams, fourteen lambs, and one goat, without any alteration, as is apparent in the same place.

The reason of which decrescency of the bullocks, may be better guessed at, than surely given,—and variety of conjecture sooner produced of others, than any certainty determined by ourselves. Whether it were to reduce the whole number of the bullocks to seventy, “in^k parallel to the seventy nations, which should be abating and decaying, while Israel, like the number of the rams, lambs, and goats, remained fixed;” or^l according to the seventy years of man’s age, which is daily decaying; or whether it were to show the decay of sacrifice in time to come; or to match seven bullocks with the seventh day; or to reduce the number of beasts on that day to an equality with the number of the four-and-twenty courses; or whether this abatement were, because the people abated daily, and withdrew to their own homes; or what else was the cause of it, we shall not be solicitous to inquire farther after; only we cannot but observe the manner of offering of these sacrifices, which were so numerous and so various, and the service with them.

The daily sacrifice was offered according to the ritual, that hath been already observed by the course appointed for that week, and according as every one obtained his employment by the lottery. And, at the offering of it, the Levites

^j *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 975.

^k R. Sol. in Numb. xxix.

^l Abarb. *ibid.*

sang the Hallel, of which mention and description hath been made before.

But as for additional sacrifices, they found a way, that every course of the four-and-twenty, who were now all present, should have a share in offering of one beast or other; and they proportionated the business after this manner:—

On^m the first day, there were thirteen bullocks, two rams, and one goat, sixteen beasts in all; and these were offered by sixteen of the courses. There remained then fourteen lambs for eight courses; six whereof offered two lambs a-piece; and the other two courses, one lamb a-piece.

On the second day, there were twelve bullocks, two rams, and one goat, fifteen beasts, offered by fifteen of the courses: and then there remained fourteen lambs for nine courses to offer; five whereof offered two lambs a-piece,—and four, one a-piece.

On the third day, eleven bullocks, two rams, and one goat, fourteen beasts, offered by fourteen of the courses; and then fourteen lambs remained for ten courses; of which four courses offered two lambs a-piece,—and six courses, one a-piece.

On the fourth day, ten bullocks, two rams, and one goat, thirteen beasts, offered by thirteen courses: the fourteen lambs remained for eleven courses; three courses offered two a-piece,—and eight courses, one a-piece.

On the fifth day, nine bullocks, two rams, and one goat, offered by twelve courses: the fourteen lambs remained for the other twelve courses to offer; two courses offered two a-piece,—and ten courses, one a-piece.

On the sixth day, eight bullocks, two rams, and one goat, offered by eleven courses: the fourteen lambs remained for thirteen courses to offer; one course offered two lambs, and twelve courses offered one lamb a-piece.

On the seventh day, seven bullocks, two rams, one goat, and fourteen lambs, four-and-twenty in all, were offered by the four-and-twenty courses, every course offering one beast.

SECT. II.

Their Palm and Willow-branches. ערבה ולולב

It was enjoined by the law, “Ye shall take you on the

^m Suocah, cap. 5. et Maim. in Tam. cap. 10.

first day" (of the feast of tabernacles) "fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook, and ye shall rejoiceⁿ before the Lord your God seven days," Lev. xxiii. 40. Upon which text there was^o a dispute between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, for what end these boughs and branches should be appointed: the Sadducees held that they were for the making of their booths; but the Pharisees determined (and they carried it) that these were branches and fruit of trees, which, at this feast, were to be carried in their hands.

On^p the first day of the feast, therefore, they prepared them branches of palm, willow, and myrtle, and tied them together with gold or silver twist, or with other strings or twigs; and these they carried continually in their hands, all the first day of the feast throughout. In the morning, did a man go out of his house, he had his *lulabb* in his hands; for so they called this bundle of branches. If he went to the synagogue, if he prayed, if he went to visit the sick,—he kept it still in his hand, and he might not leave it out of his hand all that day long. And, all the rest of the days of the feast, they went not^q to the temple without these branches, and every day they went to the temple purposely with them.

There^r was a place a little below Jerusalem, which was called *Motsa*; thither they went and got willow-branches (it seems upon the banks of Cedron); and every one got two, namely^s, one for his 'lulabb,' or to tie up with his palm and myrtle-branches to carry in his hand,—and one for the altar. And once every day of the feast, they went with these in their hands about the altar, and stuck one of them there. At first it was their custom, upon the first day of the feast, to bring their branches into the temple, and there to leave them till the next morning, sticking about the cloister that encompassed the Mountain of the House,—and the next morning to come and take them in their hands again. But this bred scuffling, and scrambling, and difference among them, about which was which; so that the Sanhedrim saw cause to decree, that every one should take his branch with him home, and bring it from home the next day.

Having therefore provided a 'lulabb,' or bundle to hold

ⁿ Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 748.

^o Ab. Ez. Lev. xxiii.

^p Maim. in Succah, cap. 7.

^q English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 976.

^r Talm. in Succah, cap. 4.

^s Tosapht. in Succah, cap. 3.

in their hands, and another willow-branch for the altar, they came once every day into the court, and went about the altar; and set their boughs bending towards the altar, and cried, "Hosanna," or "save now, I beseech, O Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity^t," the trumpets in the meanwhile sounding: and, on the seventh day, they walked about the altar seven times, and this was called the "great Hosanna:" and every day when they went away, they said, יָפּוּ לְךָ מִזְבַּח יָפּוּ לְךָ מִזְבַּח "Beauty be to thee, O altar; beauty be to thee, O altar."

The consideration of this custom giveth light to that passage, John xii. 12, 13. Matt. xxi. 8, 9, 15, and to that in Rev. vii. 9, 10.

SECT. III.

Their Pomecitron Apples. אֶתְרוֹג

THERE seemeth not to be either mention or footing of this matter, that we have now in hand, in all the Scriptures; yet have the traditionaries drawn it into being and practice from that expression in the text alleged even now, "Ye shall take unto you פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר the fruit of goodly trees," as our English renders it, and the Seventy differ but little from it: which the Talmudists descant upon in this variety:—"It" is written פְּרֵי עֵץ הָדָר, that is, a tree whose fruit is goodly, and whose wood is goodly. And what is that, but a pomecitron? And if thou say a pomegranate,—his fruit is goodly, but his wood is not goodly. If thou say a charob,—his wood is goodly, but his fruit is not goodly. R. Simeon Ben Jochai saith, A tree whose fruit is goodly, and its wood goodly; the taste of its fruit like the taste of its wood, its wood like its fruit, and its fruit like its wood, and what is this? a pomecitron. It is called עֵץ הָדָר saith Rabbi Levi, שָׂדֵר because it stayeth upon the tree from one year to another. Rabbi Tanchuma saith, Aquila rendereth הָדָר by הַדִּיר, for it is a tree that groweth by the waters. R. Abhu saith, Read it not הָדָר but הַדִּיר, for so in the Greek tongue they call water הַדִּיר "Υδωρ: now what tree is that, that groweth besides all waters? it is a pomecitron." And according to this received construction doth the Chaldee paraphrast roundly render

^t Psal. cxviii. 25.

^u Talm. Jer. in Succah, fol. 53. col. 2. et Talm. Rab. in Succah, fol. 35. et Aruch in הָדָר R. Sol. et Baal Turim, in Lev. xxiii.

that clause in the text alleged, "Ye shall take unto you the fruit of the pomecitron-tree;" which construction is generally received of all the Jews.

And so generally received, that, as they carried a branch or bundle of branches in the one hand at the Feast of Tabernacles, and held that an indispensable command,—so did they also carry a pomecitron in the other hand, and held that as strict a command and duty as the other. About which ceremonial pomecitron (for so I may well call it), it would be tedious to produce the curiosities that are discussed, about the growth, quantity, quality, and complexion of it. I shall only relate one story about it, which is somewhat remarkable; and that is, of a Baithusean^x, or Sadducee, who failing of the performance of a piece of service at the altar, at the Feast of Tabernacles (of which service we shall speak anon), and not doing it as he should, all the company fell upon him, and pelted him (the Talmudic expression is, they *stoned* him) with their pomecitrons. Whereupon^y king Jannai, being himself a Sadducee, called for a sword, and slew divers of the wise men. Whether this were that king Jannai^z, of whom there is the remarkable story in the treatise Sanhedrim, in the place alleged in the margin (a story that, it may be, hath some reference to this fact), it is not time and place to examine here.

SECT. IV^a.

Their pouring out of Water נישוך המים, and the Rubric of every day's Service.

THE ceremonies and customs used at this feast, which have been mentioned already, were somewhat strange; but the strangest rite is yet behind, and that is, their "drawing and pouring out of water," and their great rejoicing for it: which pouring out of water was used every day of the feast; and their rejoicing upon it, was so great, that in all this feast, nay, in all their feasts throughout all the year, they had not the like. For the fuller view of which and of the whole festivity of this solemn time, having now shown you the men in their festival garb, with their branches in the one hand, and their pomecitrons in the other,—we will now take

^x Succah, *ibid.* Tosapht. *ibid.* cap. 3.

^y Juchas, fol. 15.

^z Talm. Bab. in Sanhedr. cap. 2. in Gemar. hal. 2.

^a *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 749.—*English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 977.

up, in order, the several and particular services and passages of every day, as they did occur.

First, They came with their branches and pomecitrons in their hands to the morning daily sacrifice, and stood so attending, while that was offered. And^b when the parts of this sacrifice were laid on the altar, then was there this pouring out of water upon the altar, but mingled with wine, and the manner thus:—one^c of the priests, with a golden tankard, went to the fountain or pool of Siloam, and filled it there with water: he returned back again into the court through that, which was called the “water gate” (which we have taken the survey of in its place): and when he came there, the trumpets sounded: he goeth up the rise of the altar, where stood two basins, one with wine in it, and into the other he put the water: and he pours either the wine into the water, or the water into the wine, and then pours them out by way of libation: which action whilst he was going about, the people cried to him, “Hold up thy hand:” and the reason of this admonition was, because of that Baithusean or Sadducee that we have newly mentioned, who when he was about this libation, and should have poured the wine clear from him, he poured it upon his own feet; and this caused the multitude to pelt him with their pomecitrons.

At the time of this libation, did the music and the song begin; and, that^d song which they sang all the days of the feast, at the daily sacrifice, was the ‘Hallel’ (which we have described before); “that being renewed daily (saith the Jerusalem Talmud), as their Lulabh [or branches] were renewed daily.” Now^e when they came, in the Hallel, to the beginning of the hundred and eighteenth psalm, “O give thanks unto the Lord;”—all the company shook their branches: and so did they, when they came to these words, “Hosanna,” or “save now, Lord, I beseech thee:” and again at the saying of that clause, “O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity:” and so likewise at the saying of the last verse of that psalm, which was the last verse of the Hallel, “O give thanks unto the Lord,” &c.

After the service of the daily sacrifice was done, then fell they to the offering of the additional sacrifices, which

^b Tosaphta in Succah, cap. 3.

^d Talm. Jerus. in Succah, cap. 5.

^c Talm. ibid. cap. 4.

^e Succah, in Misna, cap. 3.

have been mentioned, of so many bullocks, rams, lambs, and a goat; at which service the songs-men sang again some peculiar and appointed part of a psalm:—

As, on the first day, Psal. cv.

On the second day, Psal. xxix.

On the third day, Psal. l. at ver. 16.

On the fourth day, Psal. xciv. at ver. 16.

On the fifth day, Psal. xciv. at ver. 8.

On the sixth day, Psal. lxxxii. at ver. 6.

On the seventh day, Psal. lxxxii. at ver. 5.

When these additional sacrifices were also finished, the people departed home to dinner (having first sung their Hosanna about the altar, as hath been related, with their palms in their hands), unless there were any that had vows or free-will-offerings to offer, who stayed for that occasion. After dinner, they went severally to the divinity-schools, or to the study of the law, for a while: and, when the time came, to the evening-sacrifice, where the service was much answerable to what was in the morning.

Towards night, they began the שמחת בית תשואבה "rejoicing for the pouring out, or drawing, of the water;" which mirth they continued far in the night every night of the feast: and this their rejoicing was of so high a jollity, that they say, מי שלא ראה שמחת בית תשואבה לא ראה שמחה מימי, "That he, that never saw the rejoicing of the drawing of water, never saw rejoicing in all his life." At the time when the water was drawn or fetched from the pool of Siloam, and poured out upon the altar, they had not the liberty of their jollity, because of the seriousness and solemnity of the service, that was then^b in hand: but when all the service of the day was over, and night was now come, they fall to their rejoicing for that matter, which rejoicing is equally strange both for the manner and the cause of it. The manner was thus:—

Theyⁱ went into the court of the women, and there the women placed themselves upon balconies round about the court, and the men stood upon the ground. There were four candlesticks (or *beacons* rather I might call them), of an exceeding great bigness, and mounted of an exceeding great height, overtopping and overlooking the walls of the court,

^f Maim. in Tamid. in cap. 10.

^g Succah, cap. 5.

^h English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 978. ⁱ Succ. cap. 5. et Maim. in Succ. Velulabb. cap. 8.

and of the Mountain of the House at a great elevation: by every candlestick (which stood on every side of the court one) there was a ladder, by which four young men of the priests did severally go up to the candlesticks with plenty of oil and yarn, which was ravelled of the priests' old coats and girdles, and they set them a-burning.

The pipe of the temple began to play,—and many^j Levites with their instruments in great abundance, standing upon the fifteen steps that went down out of the court of Israel into the court of the women; and whosoever of them and of the priests was musical, either with instrument or with voice, joined his music. In the mean while, the greatest grandees of the people, as the members of the Sanhedrim, rulers of the synagogues, doctors of the schools, and those that were of the highest rank and repute for place and religion, fell a dancing, leaping, singing, and capering, with torches in their hands, with all their skill and might, whilst the women and the common people looked on: and thus they spent the most part of the night. And the more they abased themselves (like David before the ark) in this activity, the more they thought they did commendably, and deserved praise.

At last, far in the night, two priests, standing in the gate of Nicanor, do sound their trumpets; and then they come down to the tenth step, and they sound there again; they come down into the court of the women, and there sound a third time; and so they go sounding all along the court, till they come to the east gate of it; and there they turn themselves and look back up towards the temple, and they say thus; “Our fathers which were in this place, turned their backs upon the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east, towards the sun; but as for us, we are towards him, and our eyes towards him.”

As^k the grandees danced, some of them would say thus, “Blessed be thou, O my youth, which hast not shamed my old age;” אֵילֵי אָנֹשִׁי מִעֵשָׂה these were called “men of performances.” “And others would say, Blessed be thou, O my old age, which hast gainsaid my youth” (these were chasidin and men of repentance). “And both of them would say, Blessed is he that hath not sinned; and he that hath sinned, and his sin is pardoned.”

^j *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 750.

^k *Talm. Jerus. in Succah*, fol. 55. et *Talm. Bab. ibid.* fol. 5.

At length, weariness, sleepiness, and satiety with their mirth, concludes the jollity till another night; and so they part, some to their own homes, and others stay the night out in their places still, **מנמנמי אכתפא דהדר**, nodding and sleeping sometimes as they stood or sat, upon one another's shoulders, even while the sport was in hand.

And now to come to search after the reason of this strange and extraordinary jocundity at this time,—it were no great difficulty to show some cause, why they might be more merry at the feast of Tabernacles than at other festivals,—namely, because they had now inned and gathered all their fruits; and therefore this feast is called, “The feast of ingathering in the end of the year,” Exod. xxiii. 15, 16. But why they should take up so great joviality, upon the pouring out or drawing of the water mentioned, is somewhat strange to observe, and not easy to resolve.

Rabbi Akibah^l giveth this reason of the pouring out the water: “The law saith, Bring a homer of barley at the Passover, for that is the season of barley, that the corn may be blessed. Bring wheat and the first-fruits at Pentecost, which was the season of trees, that the fruit of trees may be blessed to thee. Bring **נסוך המים** the libation of water at the feast of Tabernacles, that the showers may be blessed to thee. And accordingly it is said, That whosoever will not come up to the feast of Tabernacles, shall have no rain.” For now was the time of the latter rains, Joel ii. 23.

Maimonides^m giveth this as the cause of the rejoicing, Because it was the rejoicing for the keeping of the law, to which no joy can be comparable: and therefore, saith he, “The common people, and every one that would, were not actors in this rejoicing;” for they neither sang nor danced, “but were only spectators; but the actors were the great men of wisdom and religion.”

But remarkable is that passage in the Jerusalem Talmud, upon this questionⁿ, “Rabbi Levi saith, Why is the name of it called **בית תשואבה** The drawing of water? **שמעם שואבים** Because of the drawing or pouring out of the Holy Ghost: according to what is said, With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation,” Isa. xii. 3.

Whatsoever^o was the reason, this was the manner of their

^l Tosaphta ubi ante.

ⁿ Talm. Jerus. ubi supr.

^m Maim. ubi ante.

^o English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 979.

carriage at this feast, and upon this occasion : the observation of which helpeth to illustrate that passage in John vii. 37, 38, which seemeth plainly to allude to this custom. For our Saviour in the last and great day of this feast (as ver. 2), when they had, all the seven days, kept this great mirthfulness in reference to the drawing and libation of water, out of the pool Siloam (which, by some of their own confession, referred to the pouring out of the Holy Ghost), “ He stood and cried, saying, ‘ If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink : he that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water :’ speaking this of the Spirit,” &c. As if he had said to this purpose to them in more large expressions ; “ Is it so much rejoicing to you to draw water out of Siloam, and pour it out, which doth but typify the pouring out of the Holy Ghost? I tell you, I am he, that can give you living water ; and on him that believeth in me, shall the Holy Ghost be so abundantly poured out, as if streams of living water were always flowing out of his belly.” And to confirm this his saying by a miracle, he doth presently after give sight to a man born blind, by sending him but to wash in the pool of Siloam, John ix. 7.

Thus was the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles, day after day. Every day they came with their branches to the temple ; had the Hallel sung ; drew water out of Siloam, and poured it and wine upon the altar^p ; encompassed the altar, and sang their Hosanna ; and, at night, had the rejoicing for the drawing of the water. Only there was this difference among the days ; that on the night before the sabbath, that fell within the feast, and on the night before the eighth day, which was a holy-day,—they used not their dancing, singing, and rejoicing ; but on the seventh day they went about the altar seven times, missed their dancing that night ; and on the eighth day had the same solemnities with the days before, ate their pomecitrons, which they might not do before : and at night had the great rejoicing in the court of the women, and so concluded the feast : and therefore this, by the evangelist, is called not only the *last* day, but also the *great* day of the feast, both because it was a holy-day, and because it was the conclusion.

^p *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 751.

SECT. V.

Of the Feast of Trumpets, and Feast of Dedication.

OF the feast of Trumpets and Dedication we have not much to speak, because they had not much peculiar at the temple more than they had all over the land: save that there was, with the sounding of trumpets at the temple, some additional sacrifices the first of Tisri, which was the first day of the year: for which there is the injunction and the story, Num. xxix. 1—3. Only this tradition crept into that practice, That^a whereas, in other places, the beginning of the year was sounded with a trumpet of ram's or sheep's horn,—at the temple, there was that and two silver trumpets also used, and^r the Levites on that day sang the eighty-first psalm.

The 'feast of dedication,' of which there is mention John x. 22, had its original, from the regaining and restoring of the temple-altar and service from the hands of the Syro-grecian tyrants, who had defiled, spoiled, and ruined them. The institution of the feast was by victorious "Judas Maccabeus and his brethren and the whole congregation," appointing it^s from the five-and-twentieth day of the month Cisleu, eight days forward: which fell about the former part of our December. The greatest owning of this feast at the temple in the service there, was by singing over the Hallel every day of the eight; as hath been mentioned heretofore. And^t the greatest ceremony of this feast in all other places was, the lighting of candles every evening, and setting them up at the doors of their houses to burn in the night: and to such supererogation in this point, did some grow in time, that they used to light up a candle for every one, that was in their family. Nay, some yet would go so high, as to double that number every night: as, if there were ten in his house, he lighted up ten candles the first night of the feast, and twenty the second, and thirty the third; and so still increasing, that, on the eighth night, he lighted up eighty candles.

The reason of the celebration of this feast in this manner, is given by the author cited^u next above in the margin, in

^a Maim. in Succah, cap. 1.

^r Talm. in Rosh hashanah, fol. 51.

^s 1 Maccab. iv. 52. 59.

^t Maim. in Chanuchah, cap. 3.

^u Id. ibid.

these words : “ When Israel prevailed against their enemies, and destroyed them, it was the five-and-twentieth day of the month Cisleu ; and they went into the temple, and found not there any pure oil, but only one bottle. And there was no more oil in it, than to keep the lamps burning for one day only : yet, did they light them with it : and^v “ a miracle was showed there withal,” saith his Glossary^w there ; “ for it maintained the lamps burning eight nights : whereupon, the wise men of that generation, did, on the next year, appoint these eight days for days of rejoicing and praise, and for lighting up of candles at the doors of their houses.”

CHAP. XVII.

Certain peculiar parcels of Service.

SECT. I. *The King reading the Law.*

MOSES (Deut. xxxi. 10, 11) had commanded, saying, “ At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law, before all Israel in their hearing.” The circumstances of time, place, and person, for this reading, the Jews do determine thus^x: The reader was to be the king; the place, in the court of the women; and the time, towards the end of the first holy-day in the feast of Tabernacles’ weeks. There was then a pulpit of wood, set up in the midst of the court of the women,—for thither might women and children come to hear (as they were enjoined, chap. xii), which they might not do into the upper court. And the king goes up into the pulpit, and sits him down. ‘The minister of the congregation’ *חזן הכנסת* takes the book of the law, and gives it to the chief of the congregation or head of the congregation, *ראש הכנסת*. The chief of the congregation, or head of the synagogue (for now they were in a synagogue model), gives it to the sagan; the sagan gives it to the high-priest; and the high-priest to the king. The king stands up to receive it; and standing uttereth a prayer, as every one did, that was to read the law in public, before he read: and then, if he thought good, he might sit down and read; but if he read standing, it was thought the more ho-

^v *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 980.

^w *Gloss. ibid.*

^x *Talm. in Sotah*, cap. 7. *R. Sol. in Deut. xxxi. Maim. in Hagigab*, cap. 1.

nourable ; and so it is recorded, that king Agrippa did, when he was upon this employment.

He began to read at the beginning of Deuteronomy, and read to ver. 10 of the sixth chapter. Thence he skipped to the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter, and read to the two-and-twentieth verse of the same chapter. There he skipped again² to the two-and-twentieth verse of the fourteenth chapter, and read to the second verse of the nine-and-twentieth chapter. For they thought it was enough, if he read those portions only, that were most pregnant and pertinent for the stirring of them up to the observing of the commandments, and for the strengthening of their hands in the law of truth. And the Talmud relates of king Agrippa, that, when he was upon this service, and came to read that passage in Deut. xvii. 15, "One from among thy brethren thou shalt set king over thee : thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother,"—his eyes trickled down with tears, in remembrance that he was not of the seed of the Jews ; so that the people were glad to cheer him up, and cried out three times to him, "Fear not, Agrippa ; thou art our brother."

The reading is called, פרשת המלך "The lection of the king ;" and it is reckoned by the Jews to be one of those eight things, that must indispensably be uttered in the Hebrew tongue. Those eight things are these :—

1. The words of him, that presented his first-fruits, Deut. xxvi. 5.
2. The words of the woman, that pulled off the shoe, Deut. xxv. 7—9.
3. The blessings and the curses, Deut. xxvii, and xxviii.
4. The blessing of the priests, Num. vi. 24—26.
5. The blessing of the high-priest on the day of expiation.
6. This lection of the king.
7. The words of the priests encouraging to battle. Deut. xx. 3.
8. The words of the elders over the beheaded heifer, Deut. xxi. 7, 8.

SECT. II^a.

The Priests' burning of the Red Cow.

THE law about burning a red cow to ashes, and the use of

^a *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 752.

^a *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 981.

those ashes for the purifying of those, that were unclean by the dead,—is given and described at large, in Num. xix; and the significancy of that rite and other sprinklings is touched upon, Heb. ix. 13. The manner of their going about and performing this great business (for so it was not unjustly held, because it was for the cleansing from the greatest uncleanness), was exceeding curious, and their circumspection about the matter was so nice and great, that, in none of the ceremonious performances, they showed more ceremony than in this.

Not to trace their great curiosity in choosing out a cow, that was exactly fit for this business, and how many exceptions, and cautions, and scrutinies, they had about her, which are nicely discussed in the two first chapters of the treatise Parah: nor to dispute whether^b this work of burning her, belonged only to the high-priest, or whether another might do it as well as he;—the managing of that business when it came to it, was after this manner:—

Seven^c days before a cow was to be burnt, the priest that was to burn her, was put apart into a chamber of the temple, which stood in the north-east angle of the court of Israel, which was called בית האבן “The house of stone,”—meaning “The house of stone-vessels,”—as we have cleared it, in the survey and description of it. And the reason of this his separation was, that he might be sure to be free, for all that time, from any pollution by a grave or corpse. For since the ashes of this burnt cow was the great and only purger from that defilement, it was their choice, care, and heedfulness, that they should be clear from that defilement, that went about the burning of her, or sprinkling her ashes.

When the day of her burning came, the priest that was to do it, and they that were to accompany him in that work^d, marched out at the east gate of the mountain of the temple, which gate was also called *Shushan*, and went over the valley of Cedron to mount Olivet, to a pitch of the hill just over-against the gate where they had come out, and in the face of the temple. All^e the way over the valley was a causeway made upon double arches, that is, one arch still standing upon two arches, and so levelled on the surface as made a

^b Vid. Juchas. fol. 13. R. Sol. in Num. xix.

^c Talm. in Parah, cap. 3. in Misna, et Joma, cap. in Gemara.

^d Middoth, cap. 1.

^e Maim. in Parah, cap. 3. Shekalim, cap. 4. et Talm. in Parah, ubi supr.

plain and even way all along. And the reason of this great cost and curiosity was, that all the way might be secure against unseen or unknown graves (by which these passengers might have been defiled), the stone-arches not permitting to inter a corpse. The like arches for the like prevention, we have observed in its due place, were all under the courts of the temple; and the like archedness was there on mount Olivet, under the very place, where the cow was to be burnt, for the same security.

The elders of the people marched before the priest and his company all along this causeway, to the place of the burning; and there, when the priest came up, they laid their hands upon him, and called upon him to bathe himself,—for there was a place for that purpose,—and so he did. Then was the pile made of wood, in and on which she was to be burnt; and tying her legs with cords, they lay her on, her head lying towards the south, and^f her face turning to the west. The priest, standing on the east side of her, and his face towards the west, kills her with his right hand, and takes the blood with the left.

Now, it was commanded by the law, that the sprinkling of her blood should be “directly before the tabernacle of the congregation seven times,” Num. xix. 4. For the answering of which command, the priest, having slain her, and taken her blood, did sprinkle it so many times towards the temple, looking directly over the gate Shushan upon the porch of the temple: the battlements of which gate were, for this very purpose, made lower than the battlements of any other of the gates about the Sanctuary; that over it he might see the face of the porch, which through it he could not reach to do.

Having sprinkled her blood, he sets his pile of wood a-fire, and sets her a-burning; and, as she was burning, he takes cedar-wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, and shows them, and saith to the standers-by, “This is cedar-wood, this is cedar-wood, this is cedar-wood,” three times over; and they answer him three times over, “Well, well, well.” So likewise he saith, “This is hyssop, this is hyssop, this is hyssop; this is scarlet wool, this is scarlet wool, this is scarlet wool;” and they answer him as before, three times to either

^f *Deusden's edition*, vol. 1, p. 753.

of them, and then he casts those things into the fire, and they burn altogether.

When all was burnt, they took up the ashes, and pounded and sifted them; and one part^s of them they laid up in some place of mount Olivet for the sprinkling of the people: another part was delivered to the four-and-twenty courses for the sprinkling of the priests: and a third part was laid up in the *Chel*, or enclosure of the court, to be kept for a memorial. Nine of these kine were burnt between the first giving of the law about this rite, and the fatal fall and destruction of the temple: one in the time of Moses; one burnt by Ezra; two by Simeon the Just; two by Jochanan^h the father of Matthias; one by Eliœnai the son of Hakkoph; one by Hananeel Hammizri; and one by Ismael the son of Fabi; and the Jews look for a tenth in the days of the Messias;—where, by the way, we cannot but observe, how their traditions had increased their defilements: for two of these kine served till Ezra's time, which was near upon a thousand years; and the time after, which was not half the space, took up seven.

Now, whereas the law enjoined, that, for the cleansing of the unclean, “these ashes were to be sprinkled by a clean person,” Num. xix. 18,—their tradition strained it to a person, that had never been defiled by a dead corpse in all his life: therefore, that such persons might be had, there were arches wrought in a rock in Jerusalem, after the manner fore-mentioned, and houses built over those arches. And thither, as to a place secure from graves, certain women with child were brought, when they were near the time of their delivery, and there they were brought to-bed. And their children were there brought up continually for this very employment, that they might be ready, as they were capable, and as there was occasion, to sprinkle these ashes. Which when any of them went to do, he rode on a seat on oxen's backs, first to the pool of Siloam, where he lighted in the water,—for there, he might presume, there was no grave to defile him; filled his pitcher, and got up again; rode to mount Olivet; besprinkled the party that was to be cleansed; and rode in like manner to his cell again.

^s *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 982.

^h *Juchasin*, fol. 16.

SECT. III.

The Trial of the suspected Wife.

THE law concerning jealousy, and about the trial of a wife suspected, given in Num. v, was understood and practised by the Jews, according to these constructions and traditions:—

Aⁱ man before two witnesses had charged his wife, saying, “See thou speak not to such a man:” though she did, yet she was still free to her husband. But if she went with that man into private, and there stayed with him such a space, —then she was forbidden her husband’s company; and he was to bring her to the Sanhedrim that was next to him; and they sent, with him and her, two “scholars of the wise,” to the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, lest he should lie with her by the way. Being there, they terrified her with terrible and dreadful words, to bring her to confess her fault. If she confessed that she was defiled, she tore her matrimonial writing in pieces and departed, and so was divorced. But if she stood to justify her innocency, “they brought her, through the east gates (saith the Talmud), which are before the door of the gate Nicanor.” Which Rambam upon the place expoundeth to mean, that “they tugged and toiled her up and down the stairs of those east gates, to bring her, by weariness and faintness, to confession.” If she yet confessed not^j, but still pleaded innocent,—then she was set in the gate of Nicanor, which was the east gate of the court. And the priest that was to put her to her trial, laid hold upon her bosom and rent her clothes open, till he had laid her breasts bare as low as her heart: if she were arrayed in white, black was put upon her; her hair was dishevelled to hang about her shoulders; and if she had rings or jewels on, they were taken from her; and he tied a cord about her, over her paps. And whosoever would, might come and behold her, unless it were her servants. And here the Talmudic observation is not impertinent^k; “With what measure one meteth (say they), they measure to him again. She decked herself to transgress, but God defiles her deckage: she uncovered herself for sin; God discovers her shame: she stood in the gate to show herself; she is now set in the gate

ⁱ Talm. in. Sot. cap. 1.

^j Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 754.

^k Talm. in. Sot. cap. 1. et Rab. Abhubah in Menorah, Per. 1.

to show her reproach: she spread a veil on her head; the priest lays it under her feet: she platted her hair; the priest dishevels it: she girded herself in a fair girdle; the priest girds her with the girdle of affliction: she decked her face; her face is spit on: she decked her eyes; her eyes stare forth: she made signs with her fingers; her nails are pared: her thigh first began to transgress, and then her belly; therefore, her thigh is first punished, and then her belly; and her whole body escapeth not."

Her offering, which was in a wicker-basket, the priest put into her hand according to the injunction of the law, Num. v. 15. 18. Then took he an earthen pot, and put a little water into it out of the laver; and going within the temple-door, he took up some dust from¹ under a stone, that was left loose for that purpose (where it lay, we have observed in its proper place); and this dust he strewed upon the water. Then denounced he the curse, and wrote it in a book, even those words, Num. v. 19—22: "If no man hath lain with thee, and if thou hast not gone aside to uncleanness, &c. But if thou hast gone aside; &c, the Lord make thee a curse, &c. And this water, which causeth the curse, shall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to swell, and thy thigh to rot." And the woman answered, "Amen, amen." Then blotted he the curses out of the book with the bitter water, and gave her the water to drink. If, upon the denouncing of the curses, she were so terrified, that she durst not drink the water, but confessed she was defiled,—the priest flung down the water, and scattered her offering among the ashes; but if she confessed not, and yet would not drink, they forced her to drink; and if she were ready to cast it up again, they got her away, that she might not defile the place. "The operation of these waters (say the Rabbins) followed after, though sometimes it appeared not of two or three years; for she bare no children, she was sickly, languished, and died of that death."

SECT. IV.

The atoning for a cleansed Leper.

IN^m the north-west corner of the court of the women, there was a piece of building which was called, לשכת

¹ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 983.

^m Talm. in Middoth, cap. 2.

המצורעים "the chamber, or room, of the lepers," whither the leper resorted after his cleansing in the country, or at his own house.—And now I am sensible of a mistake and inadvertency,—which fell from me in another place, and which I here retract, and crave the reader's patience;—and that was, in that I asserted (in the notes on John ii. 15), that the lepers were tried in this room by the priests, and had access to the Mountain of the House, and to the public service of the temple. It is true, indeedⁿ, that the lepers had access to the public service in those synagogues, that were not in walled towns, being placed there apart by themselves, so that they came not near others; but their offering to come into the temple did fall under a very sharp penalty, as was showed before, nay, they were excluded even out of walled cities. Their trial, therefore, was in the country, and there they were cleansed by the priest^o, with variety of ceremony in the business: and, on the seventh day of their cleansing, he shaved himself again, for he had done so before, and washed himself in water, and then he might come within Jerusalem. On the eighth day, he came up into the Mountain of the House, and brought three lambs with him, for a burnt-offering, sin-offering, and trespass-offering^p; and bathed himself in that room in the corner of the court of the women, that was from hence called, the "room of the lepers."

When^q the migrephah, or the bell (for so let it be called), was rung by those, that went into the temple to burn the incense,—the president, or chief man of the station, then serving, went and fetched him, and whosoever else had been unclean, and came now for their purifying, and^r set them in the Gate of Nicanor. But^s here two contrary exigents were to be provided for; for neither might the leper tread on the ground of the court, because he yet wanted his atonement; nor might the blood of the trespass-offering, which was to be his atonement, be brought out of the court; and yet it was to be put upon his thumb, great toe, and tip of his ear, Lev. xiv. 14. A temper, therefore, for these two repugnancies was this, that he went into the gate as far as possibly he might^t, so that he trod not within the court. Thither did the priest bring the trespass-offering to him, and he stretched

ⁿ Maim. in Tephil.

^o Id. in Tum. tser. 11.

^p Talm. in Neg. cap. 11.

^q Tam. cap. 5.

^r Ib. et Sot. cap. 1.

^s Maim. in Mechos. capp. cap. 4. et Gloss. in Sotah.

^t Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 755.

out his hands into the court, and laid them upon him. And when he was slain, the priest brought the blood, himself standing within the court, and the leper stretched out his neck, and thrust his head within the verge of the court, and he put some of the blood upon the tip of his right ear; and likewise he stretched out his hand and his foot within the verge of the court, and he put the blood upon his thumb, and his great toe; and so he was cleansed. The cleansing of other unclean persons,—as those that had issues, and women after child-birth,—was in the same place, and much after the same manner; save that the blooding of the ear, thumb, and toe, was not used: so that they need not a particular discourse by themselves.

SECT. V^u.

The manner of bringing and presenting their First-fruits.

NOT to insist upon the several sorts of things, out of which the first-fruits were to be paid, nor upon the manner of setting them apart for first-fruits at their own homes, of which the Talmud doth debate at large; this being somewhat out of the verge of our discourse, because so far out of the verge of the temple;—their custom and ceremony in bringing of them up thither, and presenting them there, cometh nearer within our compass, and that was thus^v:—all the cities that belonged to such or such a station, met together at the chief city of the station, and there lodged all night in the streets. And the reason of this their gathering thus together, was, because they would go together by multitudes, according to what is said, “the multitude of people is the king’s honour;” and the reason of their lodging in the streets was, lest, going into houses, they should be defiled. In the morning, the president, or chief among them, called them up betime with this note, “Arise, and let us go up to Sion to the Lord our God;” and they set away. Before them there went an ox, with his horns gilded, and a garland or crown of olive-branches upon his head; and a pipe playing before them, till they came near to Jerusalem: and they often rehearsed that saying, “I was glad when they said, Let us go up to the house of the Lord.” Compare Isa. xxx. 29. They travelled not all day when they travelled, but only

^u *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 984.

^v Talm. in Bicur. cap. 3. et Maim. ib. cap. 4.

two parts of it, because they would not spoil their solemnity with toiling. When they were come near Jerusalem, they sent in a messenger to give notice of their coming; and they flowered and decked their baskets, and exposed some of the freshest fruits to sight. Upon notice of their coming, the chief men of the priesthood went out to meet them: and when they were come within the city, they rehearsed these words; "Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!" and all the tradesmen in their shops stood up, as they came by, and saluted them, "O our brethren of such a place, you are welcome." The pipe went playing before them, till they came to the Mountain of the House; and when they came there, every one (אפילו אנריפס המלך), yea, "though it were king Agrippa himself" (saith the tradition), was to take his basket upon his shoulder, and so to walk up till he came to the court; and all the way as they went, they said over the hundred and fiftieth psalm, "Praise ye the Lord, praise God in his sanctuary," &c.

Being come into the court, the priests began and sang the thirtieth psalm, "I will extol thee, O Lord; for thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me."

With his basket on his shoulder, the man begins and says, "I profess, this day, unto the Lord thy God, that I am come into the country, which the Lord sware unto our fathers for to give us," Deut. xxvi. 3, and then beginning to say, "A Syrian ready to perish was my father," &c. he takes down the basket from his shoulder, and holds it by the edges; and the priest putting his hands under it, waves it up and down, and he goes on and says, "A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few," &c. even to the middle of the tenth verse; and so he sets down his basket by the side of the altar; and boweth and goeth forth. They used by their baskets, as they brought them, to hang turtles or pigeons, which were to be for an offering; and the fruits themselves went to the priests of the course that then served: and the party that brought them, must lodge in Jerusalem all night after he had presented them,—and the next morning he might return home. They might not offer their first-fruits before the feast of Pentecost (compare Acts ii, and Rom. viii. 23), nor after the feast of Dedication.

SECT. VI.

Their bringing up Wood for the Altar.

It was a singular and a strict command, that the fire of the altar should never go out, Lev. vi. 13: and, as the Jews observe, that Divine Providence did comply with the keeping of it in; for they say^w, “that rains from heaven never put the fire out;” so did the nation provide for the continual burning of it, by a^x penalty of whipping, decreed against him, that should extinguish it; and by a constant supply of wood brought up to the temple for the maintaining of it. Josephus speaketh of their ‘Xylophoria^y,’ or certain set and solemn times, on which the people brought up wood for this purpose: his words are these^z, Τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτῆς οὐσης, ἐν ἧ̄ πᾶσιν ἔθος ὕλην τῷ βωμῷ προσφέρειν, ὅπως μήποτε τροφή τῷ πυρὶ λίποιτο, διαμένει γὰρ ἄσβεστον αἰεί. “It was a feast of the wood-carrying, at which it was the custom for all to bring up wood for the altar, that it might not want fuel for the fire, which might never go out.” The Talmudic treatise Taanith, reckoneth nine special days in the year used for this solemn employment,—and allotteth the work to nine special families of those, that are mentioned to have returned out of captivity^a: “The wood-carrying times (saith it) for the priests and the people were nine. On the first of Nisan, the sons of Arah, a son of Judah. On the twentieth of Tammuz, the sons of David, a son of Judah. On the fifth of Ab, the sons of Parosh, a son of Judah. On the seventh of the same, the sons of Jonadab, the son of Rechab. On the tenth of the same, the sons of Senaah, a son of Benjamin. On the fifteenth of the same month, the sons of Zattu, a son of Judah, and with them the priests and Levites, and whosoever knew not their own tribe, &c. On the twentieth of the same month, the sons of Pahath Moab, a son of Judah. On the twentieth of Elul, the sons of Addin, a son of Judah. And on the first of Tebeth, the sons of Parosh came a second time. And on the first of Tebeth, there was no station” (made by the stationary-men), “because on that day the Hallel was sung, and there was an additional offering, and an oblation” [or bringing up] “of wood.”

^w Talm. in Avoth, cap. 5.^x Maim. in Tam. Umos, cap. 2.^y English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 985.^z Joseph. de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 31. [Hudson, p. 1092.]^a Talm. in Taanith, cap. 4.

The wood thus brought up to the temple, it was first laid up in that building in the north-east corner of the court of the women, which was called לשכת העצים 'The^b Wood-room,' where it was searched by those of the priest's lineage that had blemishes, and so were incapable of serving at the altar, whether it had worms or no in it; for any wood that had any worms in it, was unclean and unfit for the altar-fire: that, that was found free from worms, and so reputed fit for the altar, was brought up into another room, called^c also the 'Wood-room,' and the 'Room Parhedrin,' on the south side of the court of Israel; and there it lay near and ready, when there was occasion for its use. That wood that had worms in it, and so might not touch the altar, was used either for boiling, baking, or frying of the offerings that were boiled, or baked, or fried,—or for keeping fires for the priests and Levites in their attendance and guards in cold weather.

^b Talm. in Middoth, cap. 2.

^c Ib. cap. 5.

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THE
T E M P L E;

ESPECIALLY AS IT STOOD

IN THE DAYS OF OUR SAVIOUR.

CLARISSIMO*
HONORATISSIMOQUE VIRO
DOMINO GULIELMO LENTHALL,
SUMMI SENATUS PARLIAMENTARII
PROLOCUTORI DIGNISSIMO;
HANCCE QUALEM QUALEMCUNQUE
TEMPLI HIEROSOLYMITANI
DESCRIPTIONEM

J. L.

GRATITUDINIS ATQUE
OBSERVANTIÆ ERGO,
HUMILLIME
D. D. D.

* Omitted by Dr. Bright.

TO
THE READER.

I COULD, with as little pains and travail, have journeyed to Jerusalem to have taken a view of the Temple, had it now stood,—as this hath cost me to survey it by the eyes of others in their writings, as I have done. And for all my labour, how I shall speed in the acceptance of the reader, I must leave it to the common doubtful fate of books, being neither willing to beg it, nor to despair of it. If I have come short either of the worth of the matter treated of, or failed the expectation of the reader,—the difficulty of the subject may plead my apology,—and my desire to benefit, may lighten my censure.

There is hardly a harder task in study, than to describe structures and places not seen, and at distance; and the Scripture hath hardly a more obscure description of any thing than of this fabric. In that I have added so much of Jewish intelligence about it, it is because I find not, where better information (after the Scriptures) is to be had. I know they hear as ill as any men for their writings, and that very oft not without very good cause; yet give them leave to tell the story of their own customs and antiquities as soon as another man: and if you will not believe them what they say,—to produce others that speak more credibly in the matter in hand, I believe will be next impossible.

I shall not plead for them in all they write, lest I should be like unto them; in things of historical nature, I cannot but give some credence to them, as being likely to be the best recorders of their own antiquities.

It is well known to the studious, how much light hath been held out by some learned men towards the explication of abundance of difficulties in Scripture, by the discovery of the Jewish customs and antiquities, to which the New Testament speaketh and alludeth exceeding copiously and frequently. I need not go far for examples of learned men, that have been choicely happy in such illustrations; a matchless

pair in our own nation, second to none in any nation whatsoever,—Mr. Hugh Broughton in the last generation, and Mr. Selden in this,—may be instances sufficient. Now, though it is far enough from my thoughts and hopes, to dream of achieving to the least degree and measure of their skill in these studies, and their happiness in such explanations,—yet can I not but, from such encouragements of experience in others, go on with the more delight in the perusal of such monuments myself, not without hope that I may reap some profit by them to myself, and hold out something from them, which may not be altogether useless to others.

What may redound of this kind out of this present volume, I must leave to the reader's censure, and not be my own judge. This, I hope, I may say of it without arrogance or falsehood,—that this subject hath scarcely been so largely handled in our English tongue heretofore; and that what is here produced out of Jewish records, doth, for the most part, carry so fair possibility and probability with it, and is so little dissonant either to Scripture or reason, and so consonant to Josephus, whose credit is commonly reputed above Talmudical,—that if, on the one hand, there is not undeniable ground to believe it, neither is there, on the other hand undeniable ground to gainsay it.

I had undertaken a task of a far larger time, toil, and volume, and the same way of workmanship that I have done this; namely, from Scripture, and from Talmudical and Jewish writers, to have given a description of the land of Canaan; so far am I satisfied of the benefit of these authors, if dexterously managed. And certainly if my judgment do not much fail me, exceeding singular use might be made of them in such a work,—and hundreds, or rather thousands, of learned rarities, as to that subject, produced out of them, not to be found in any authors but themselves, which tend not a little to the illustration of the chorography and story of that land. But when I had spent a good large time and progress in that work, I found that I was happily prevented in that subject by a more learned and acute pen^a; which though it went not the same way in that work that I had done, yet was it so far before me both in progress and in accuracy, that I knew it would be lost labour for me to proceed farther. Hereupon I left off that task, lest I should 'actum agere,' and diverted

^a Mr. Tho. Fuller, B. D.

my thoughts to this survey, because of a promise, which had a tie upon me for something of this nature.

With the working up of this piece, I also drew up a large map of the temple-structures, according to the verbal description of them in this volume; the sight and comparing of which would have made the things here described a great deal more easy and pleasant to be understood, could it have been published; but I have not yet met with the faculty and fortune of bringing it to that issue. And I thought to have suppressed this tract, till that also might have come forth with it; but I have been overcome to let it out,—partly, by the importunity of others, and partly, by this reason of mine own, that it might not be amiss to try what acceptance this treatise will find, before I add more pains and charge for the engraving of the map. If any of my learned friends, upon perusal of this tract, shall think the publication of that may be material, I shall be ready to embrace such animation, and use my best endeavour to effect the thing, if it will be effected.

Much-Mundon, in Hertfordshire,
April 3, 1650.

PROSPECT OF THE TEMPLE,

&c.

CHAP. I^a.

Of the situation of Mount Moriah: חר הבית

MORIAH “the mountain of the Lord’s house^b,” from whencesoever it had its denomination (about which there are various conjectures),—it is certain, it had its designation for that use and honour, to which it was employed^c, by fire from heaven,—and, of old time^d, by Abraham’s offering up his son Isaac there in a figure. Some^e are of opinion, that it was called Moriah from הוראה ‘Instruction;’ because from thence there went forth a law and doctrine for all Israel. Others^f conceive the name to have been derived from the word מור *Mor*, which betokeneth myrrh, and spicery; because it was to be the only place of offering incense:—others^g from מוראה יה *Moreh jah*, “The Lord will be visible;” because the Son of God was to appear there in human flesh. And so they all repute, that it carried a notation predictive, or referring to something, that was to occur there in time to come. But if we will apply the etymology of it to that time present, when it, and the country about it, did first take that name of the ‘land of Moriah,’ we may construe it, “the land of a teacher of God” (as John iii. 2); or “the land of the Lord my teacher,” as being the territory of Sem, or Melchisedec, the great teacher of the ways of the Lord, while the Canaanites round about did walk in blindness, and were led by teachers only of delusion; and the land, which ‘the Lord his teacher’ had designed to him in the prediction of his father Noah.

This^h mount was so seated in the midst of Jerusalem, that

^a *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1049.—*Leusden’s edition*, vol. 1. p. 553.

^b 2 Chron. iii. 1. Isa. ii. 2.

^c 1 Chron. xxi. 26. xxii. 1.

^d Gen. xxii. 2, &c.

^e R. Sol. in Gen. xxii.

^f Onkel. *ibid.*

^g Fuller *Miscel. lib. 2. cap. 15.*

^h Joseph. *Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.*

the city lay *Θεατροειδής*, ‘in form of a theatre,’ round about it. Onⁱ the south, lay Jerusalem itself, built upon mount Acra; and Acra naturally higher than Moriah^k, but much levelled by the Asmonean family in the time of their reign; and the valley betwixt, well raised and filled up with earth, that both the Temple might over-top the buildings on Acra, and that the coming up from the city to the Temple, might be the more plain and easy:—compare Luke iii. 5.—On^l the north side lay mount Sion, furnished with the gallant buildings of the palace, court, and city of David. These two mountains, Acra and Sion, and the cities built^m upon them (the London and Westminster, city and court, of the land of Canaan), did so decline and descend upon their south-east and north-east points, that, on the east and west of the Temple, they met and saluted each other in a valley, having also a deep valley betwixt them, and the Temple on every side, but only on the south,—where it was the less deep, because of the levelling, mentioned immediately before.

Although this mount Moriah were not so high of itself, as the two hills on either side it, yet was it of a great pitch and steepness; *Δόφοςⁿ κάρτερος, απόκρημνος, καὶ κατάντης τὰ περίξ.* “A strong heap, steep, and deep on every side.” And it was a discerning note of a young male child, “That^o he was bound to appear before the Lord, at the three festivals, if he were once come to be able, to go up the Mountain of the Temple holding his father by the hand.”

This mount fell so in the division of the land, that part of it was in the lot of one tribe,—and part of it, in another: “For^p most part of the courts was in the portion of Judah; but the altar, porch, Temple, and Most Holy Place, were in the portion of Benjamin.” And that part, that lay in the portion of Judah, was made hollow under *וכיפין על גבי כיפין היו* *בנויות מפני אהל הטמא* “with arches built upon arches underneath (saith Maimonides^q), because of the tent of defilement.”

Now, this that he calleth “the tent of defilement,” might very well be supposed to be a sink, or common sewer^r, made

ⁱ Vid. Ezek. xl. 2, et Kimch. *ibid.* et Tosaph. ad Kelim.

^k Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 13.

^l Psal. xlviii. 2. Aben Ezra, *ib.*

^m *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1050.

ⁿ *Id.* de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 1225.]

^o Hagigah, cap. 1.

^p Aboth R. Nathan, cap. 34. Zevachin, cap. 5, in Gemara.

^q Beth Habbchirah, cap. 5.

^r *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 554.

under ground, and arched over for the conveyance of all the filth and wash of the courts away,—and that there was such a thing, we shall see hereafter: but he explaineth himself in another place, and saith that כל חר הבית והעזרות תחתיהן היה “All^s the Mountain of the House” (that is, the outmost space), “and all the other courts, were hollow under, because of an abyss or deep grave.” Now the Talmudics do use to call a sunk, unseen, or unsuspected grave, קבר התהום “an^s abyss-grave,”—τὸ μνημεῖον τὸ ἄδηλον, in the gospel-language, Luke xi. 44. And so they call an unseen or unknown uncleanness, טומאת תהום “an^s abyss of uncleanness;” and they oppose to it טומאת ידוע “an uncleanness known of.” Wherefore, that they might be sure, that there should be no graves, secretly made in any of the courts of the temple, by which they might be defiled,—they arched all the courts under ground, so as that there were כיפין על גבי כיפין “arches upon arches,” as my author expresseth it; which he explaineth in another place^v, in another story of the like nature; כיפין על שני כיפין “One arch set upon two arches, so that the feet of an arch stood upon two arches that were under it.” And so it was either impossible to bury above the arch for want of soil; or, if it were possible to bury below the arches, it was deep and far enough from defiling.

CHAP. II.

The measure of the Floor of the Mountain of the Temple.

Ἀνωτάτω χθαρμαλόν.

THE compass of the floor of Moriah^w did increase by time and industry, somewhat, though not much, above what it was, when Solomon first began the Temple there. For^x, whereas David, by divine direction, had built an altar,—and God, by divine fire upon it, had fixed that very place for the place of the altar of the Temple,—the mountain, possibly, in some part of it, might want here and there somewhat upon the edge of it, by bendings and windings in, so that the square, which was intended for all the courts, and which was to be measured from the altar as from the standing mark, could not run even, but did meet with some small hiatus through the want and pinching-in of the hill in certain places.

^s Maim. Parah; cap. 2.^t Talm. Bab. Parah, cap. 3. Gloss. ibid.^u Nazir. cap. 1. et Maim. in Biath Mikdash, cap. 4.^v Id. in Parah, cap. 3.^w Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.^x 1 Chron. xxi. 18. xxii. 1.

Whereupon Solomon, and the succeeding generations, were still increasing the spaciousness and capaciousness of it, by filling up the valley, or precipice, where the want was; inso-much, that the compass and space of it, at the last, under the second temple, was^y חמש מאות אמה על חמש מאות אמה “ five hundred cubits upon five hundred cubits:” that is, a perfect square of five hundred cubits upon every side, two thousand cubits in the whole compass about: and^z this square piece of ground was enclosed with a wall. Not but that there was some more space upon the floor of the mount than barely this measure, for^a החר היה גדול הרבה מ”תק על ”תק אלא לא היה קרוש: “ The mount was far larger than five hundred cubits square; but only so much was taken in for the holy ground.”

This number of five hundred cubits upon every side of the square, is so agreeable to the number of Ezekiel^b, that that helpeth to confirm and justify this proportion and account: and, although his large measure do differ far from this of ours, yet doth his cubit measure and state the cubit, that we have in hand, so well, that it would be very hard, if not impossible, otherwise, among the various sizes of cubits that we meet withal, to determine any thing of it. For we find mention of the common^d cubit of five hand-breadths^e, of the middle of six, of the cubit half a finger’s breadth larger than the cubit of Moses, and the cubit half a finger’s breadth larger than that: but Ezekiel^f hath stinted his cubit to be a “ cubit and a hand-breadth,” that is, the common cubit of five hand-breadths, and one hand-breadth over. And so the Jews conclude upon the same measure in this received maxim: טפחין ו’ ושל כלים ה’ “ The cubit, by which the temple buildings were measured, was six hand-breadths; but the cubit, by which the vessels were measured, was but five.

The hand-breadth, therefore, being^h “ the four fingers’ breadth, as they be laid close together,” which make but three inches,—the cubit of six hand-breadths, which is the cubit we embrace here, ariseth to eighteen inches, or just half-a-yard: and so, by this computation, the five hundred cubits upon every side of the square was two hundred and

^y Mid. cap. 2.

^z Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 5.

^a Pisk. Tosaph. ad Midd.

^b Ezek. xlii. 20. xlv. 2.

^c English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1051.

^d Kimch. in Ezek. xlv. xliii. 13. et R. Sol. ibid.

^e Kelim, cap. 17.

^f Ezek. xl. 5.

^g Kelim, ubi supr. Kimch. in 2 Chron. iii. 3.

^h Kimchi in Michlol in voce טפח.

fifty yards, and the whole compass of the wall was a thousand yards about.

Josephus^l hath allotted a just furlong to every side of the square: *Ἐκάστης γωνίας σταδίων μῆκος ἀπολαμβάνουσης* and so hath made the whole compass to be exactly half-a-mile about, reckoning according to the common cubit, and according to the measure best known among the Greeks and Romans, for whom he wrote.

And now, if any one will take up the full circuit of the wall, that encompassed the holy ground, according to our English measure,—it will amount to half-a-mile, and about one hundred and sixty-six yards^k. And whosoever, likewise, will measure the square of Ezekiel, chap. xlii. 20, he will find it six times as large as this, chap. xl. 5; the whole amounting to three miles and a half, and about one hundred and forty yards,—a compass incomparably larger than mount Moriah divers times over: and by this very thing is showed, that that is spiritually and mystically to be understood.

The description of the Temple and city, that he hath given in the end of his book, as it was a prediction of some good to come, so was that prediction true, thus far according to the very letter,—namely, that there should be a temple and a city newly built: and so it was a promise and a comfort to the people then in captivity, of their restoring again to their own land, and there enjoying Jerusalem and the temple again, as they had done in former time, before their removing and captivating out of their own country. But as for a literal correspondency of that city and temple, to all the particulars of his description, it is so far from it, that his temple is delineated larger than all the earthly Jerusalem, and his Jerusalem larger than all the land of Canaan. And, thereby, the scope of the Holy Ghost in that ichnography is clearly held out to be, to signify the great enlarging of the spiritual Jerusalem and temple, the church under the gospel, and the spiritual beauty and glory of it; as well as to certify captived Israel, of hopes of an earthly city and temple to be rebuilt; which came to pass upon their return under Cyrus.

Yet had this his space of the holy ground its bounds, though they were exceeding large: but when John, in his Revelation, is upon the measure of his temple, this outer court or space is left boundless, and not measured nor enclosed at

Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 702.]

^k Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 555.

all: and the reason is given, because “that court was given to the Gentiles, and they should tread the holy city” (as men trod God’s courts when they came to worship) “two-and-forty months,” Rev. xi. 1—3, &c; still clearing the reason of the prophetic enlarging of the holy ground, which was to denote the abundant and numerous worshippers of God, which should be under the gospel.

The wall, that encompassed and went about the square of the holy ground, was of very fair stone¹; and it was five-and-twenty cubits, or twelve yards and a half, high, that is, as one stood within the compass of it, in the holy ground: for, without, it stood over a very deep and sharp precipice; and so there was an exceeding great height from the bottom of the trench beneath, to the top of the wall; but, within, it was no higher than five-and-twenty cubits, and that height is carried about the whole square.

Now, whereas it is a very common tenet among the Talmudists, that כותל המזרחי גובהו ו' אמות^m “The eastern wall was six cubits high and no more,” it is not to be understood of the whole east-side wall,—for that was five-and-twenty cubits high, as well as the rest; but it is to be understood only of the wall or battlement, that was just over the east gate: and so it is explained by some of them thus, כמוה ראה למעלה לתוך פתח היכל צריך שיהא הכותל של מעלה של שער מושן גמוךⁿ: for whereas the priest, that was sprinkling the blood of the red cow upon mount Olivet, was to look directly by this east gate, upon the gate of the Temple; and whereas^o the floor of the porch of the Temple was two-and-twenty cubits higher ground than the floor of this east gate, and so the priest, looking from Olivet through this gate^p, could not see^q above the eighth step before the porch; “therefore^r it was needful, that the wall, that was just over the east gate, should be low,” that what he could not see through the gate, he might see over it.

CHAP. III.

The east gate of the Mountain of the House שיען Shushan Gate.

The prospect of Mount Olivet, and part of the City before it.

IN the surveying of the gates and buildings, that were in

¹ Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14. ^m Midr. cap. 2. et Kimoh. ubi supr.
ⁿ Midr. cap. 1. sect. 1. ^o Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 6. ^p R. Shem. in Mid.
^q English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1052. ^r Pisk. Tosaph. ibid.

this outmost wall and verge of the holy ground, we will begin at the east quarter, which faced mount Olivet, and in which side of the square there was only one gate:—this, and all the other gates, both in this wall and in the other that encompassed the courts^s, were twenty cubits high, and ten cubits broad, as the Hebrew writers do constantly reckon.

In which account, they and their countryman Josephus, who wrote in another language, do not differ, although that his constant measure that he gives of all the gates, be thirty cubits high, and fifteen cubits broad: but they do, in this diversity, explain the thing the better. The height of the whole gate-house of every gate, or of the pile where the gate was set, was thirty cubits, and so it rose five cubits above the wall; but the very entrance of the gate, or the door of it, was but twenty cubits high. And so the very breadth of the entrance of the doors of every gate was but ten cubits, but the cheeks of the gate on either side were two cubits and a half^u; and so the breadth of the whole pile, was fifteen cubits in all. The height of this east gate only came short of the rest, four cubits; for^v it rose but six cubits above the entry or light, that was passed through, whereas the rest did rise ten; and so it rose but one cubit above the height of all the wall, whereas the rest did five. And the reason was given immediately before; because the priest, that burned the red cow on mount Olivet, might look over it upon the Temple; for so they conceive that command bound him, when he sprinkled her blood; “He shall sprinkle of her blood directly before the tabernacle of the congregation seven times,” Num. xix. 4. Observe Christ and his disciples, having gone out of this gate from the Temple, now sitting upon mount Olivet before this gate, and looking back on the sumptuous building of the temple, and Christ discoursing concerning their ruin, Matt. xxiv. 1—3, &c.

This gate stood not just in the very midst of this eastern wall, as if it had two hundred and forty-five cubits of the wall on either side of it; but it stood more towards the north, because it was to stand directly in the front, or over-against the porch of the temple. Now the altar being

^s Mid. cap. 2.

^t Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

^u Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 556.

^v Maim. in Beth Habbechirah, cap. 6. Gloss. in Mid.

pitched and fixed so by a divine appointment, that the mountain did not allow an equal space of ground on either side it, they were forced to build the temple so, as to stand in its proper parallel with the altar, and to cast the courts so, as that רובו לו מן הדרום ב' לו מן המזרח שלישי לו מן הצפון מיעוטו מן המערב "The greatest space of the mount was on the south, the second on the east, the third on the north, and the least westward."

Upon^x this east gate was portrayed and pictured the resemblance of the city Shushan, the royal seat of the Persian monarchy; and the gate itself, at least some part of it, was called by this name, שתי אמות היו בשושן הבריה The Talmud saith^y, "There were two sorts of cubits in Shushan the palace; one, which exceeded the cubit of Moses half a finger, and this was upon the north-east corner; and the other, which exceeded that half a finger more, and that was on the south-east corner." Now the Gloss explains it thus,—that "Shushan the palace was a room in the east gate, where Shushan was portrayed." And the reason of that picture is given by some to be^z, that "Israel might see it, and remember their captivity in Shushan:" by others^a, "Because, when they came out of captivity, the king of Persia commanded to picture Shushan upon the gates of the house, that the fear of that kingdom might be upon them." But here Abraham Zaccuth doth move a just query: "The kingdom of Persia (saith he^b) and Shushan lasted but a little while after the second Temple was built,—namely, about some thirty-four years; and then, how came it to pass, that that picture continued there all the time of the second Temple? But there are some that resolve it thus, That the children of the captivity made this portraiture, that they might remember the wonder of Purim, which was done in Shushan, Esth. ix. 26; and this is a good resolution:"—so he.

This gate is called "the king's gate," 1 Chron. ix. 18; not for any special or ordinary entrance of the king through it, for his common coming in, was at the clean opposite quarter^c,—namely, on the west side; but it is so called, because king Solomon built it, and the rest of the wall, that way, at an extraordinary pains and charge, fetching up the founda-

^w Mid. ubi supr.

^x Id. cap. 1.

^y Kelim, cap. 17.

^z Aruch in Shushan.

^a Ramban in Mid. cap. 1. Gloss. in Mishnaioth in 8. ib.

^b Juchasin, fol. 65. col. 2.

^c English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1053.

tion, with huge stones, from the bottom of the deep valley, that lay under: of which anon.

But before we part from this gate, let us stand a little in it, and take the prospect that is there before us eastward, for the better understanding of some places of Scripture, that speak of the places thereabout.

Mount Olivet faced Jerusalem, and the Temple, and Sion upon the east, winding likewise northward, so as that it faced Sion also something upon the north. Betwixt Jerusalem and it, was the valley of Hinnom, or Tophet, where was the horrid and hideous practice of their irreligious religion, of butchering their children, in causing them to pass through the fire, or burning them to Moloch. For "Solomon had built a high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in this hill, that was before Jerusalem,—and for Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon," 1 Kings xi. 7,—namely, on the right hand of the hill, as you looked upon it from Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxiii. 13. In this text of the Kings, it is called *הר המשחית* *Hor Hammashchith*, instead of *הר המשחה* *Har Hammischah*,—'The mount of corruption,' instead of "The mount of unction, or of Olives," the Holy Ghost branding the fact, and the place for the fact, with so visible and notable a mark of distaste and displeasure at it. To so great a contrariety to what he once was, when he was himself, had Solomon's idolatrous wives bewitched him,—that, as he had built a sumptuous^d temple on mount Moriah to the true God, so they persuade him to build an idolatrous temple to their abominations on mount Olivet, in the face of the Temple, and affronting it. The valley beneath this accursed Idoleum, was called "The valley of Tophet," and the valley of "the son, or sons, of Hinnom," Jer. vii. 31, 32, and xix. 6, &c. "The valley of Tophet," that is, "the^e valley of drums," or tabors,—from the noise that was made with such kind of instruments to drown the cries and shrieking of the burning children: and "the valley of the sons of Hinnom," that is, "the valley of children of shrieking" and roaring; from the woful cries of those poor children frying in the fire. This was probably that, which is called, the "valley of the carcasses, or the dead bodies," Jer. xxxi. 40; of which name the Chaldee paraphrast in that place hath given this reason, "Because the dead bodies of the camp of the Assyrians fell

^d *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 557.

^e *Vid. Buxt. Heb. Lex. in טו*

there:" and to which Josephus also giveth testimony, when he relateth that a place was called "The Assyrian camp^f." And here may we give a check a little to the peremptoriness of Rabbi Solomon upon the text of Jeremiah, lest he grow too proud, who glosseth the fortieth verse thus^g, "The valley of Dead Bodies is the valley, where the carcasses of the camp of Sennacherib fell: and the Valley of the Ashes, is the place, whither they carried the ashes forth, which was without Jerusalem:—these places they shall bring within the city, even within the walls: and this prophecy is to be accomplished in the last redemption, in despite of the heretics; for it was not accomplished under the second temple." By *heretics* he virulently meaneth Christians, who deny any other Messias yet to come, and that there shall be any more an earthly Jerusalem. For he would construe those words of the prophet strictly according to the letter, as if there should be a time, when these valleys should be walled within Jerusalem, really, and indeed; whereas the prophet, in mentioning of those most defiled and polluted places to be taken into the city, meaneth only the bringing-in of the heathens, who had been polluted with all manner of defilement of idolatry, and other abominations, into the spiritual Jerusalem, which is above, or the church. And yet if we would follow him even in his literal construction, we might show, out of his own authors the Talmudists, how Bethphage, the town that stood even in these places mentioned by the prophet, though it stood out of the walls of Jerusalem, yet, by their own confession, it is reckoned as a member or part of Jerusalem: and so was that prophecy literally fulfilled by their own chorography at the coming of our Messias. But here is not a place for such disputes.

This was the prospect, that you had before you on the right hand, as you stood in the east gate of the Mountain of the Temple;—namely, a part of mount Olivet divided from the city Jerusalem by the valley of Tophet, and by the Valley of Ashes. On the side of the valley, near Jerusalem, stood the town Bethphage; and on the hill on the farther side of the Valley, over-against it, stood Bethany, renowned for the raising of Lazarus from the dead there, and for our Saviour's frequent resort thither, and ascension thence.

Directly before you, was the place upon mount Olivet;

^f Joseph. de Bell. lib. 6. cap. 26. 31.

^g R. Sol. in Jer. xxxi. 40.

where they used to burn the red cow into purifying ashes, when they had occasion to do such a work: and^h thither went a double arched causeway, of the same manner of arching that we have mentioned under the temple-courts; and for the same caution,—namely, for security against graves, by which the priest, that went about that employment, might have been defiled, and so the work marred.

Upon your left hand as you stood, ran mount Olivet still; and the valley betwixt you and it, and all along on the east point, and on the north side of Sion, was called the “Valley of Kedron,” of famous memory and mention in Scripture, 2 Sam. xv. 23. 2 Kings xxiii. 6. John xviii. 1, &c. At the foot of the hill, beyond this valley, you might see Gethsemane, or ‘the place of the oil-presses,’ whither they brought the olives, they had gathered upon mount Olivet, to be pressed, and the oil got out. And there it was, whither our Saviour went after his last supper, and where he was apprehended, having supped that night, as it is most likely, in mount Sion, or the city of David.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two south gates : שַׁעֲרֵי חוּלְדָּה The Gates of Huldah.

As the east quarter of the enclosing wall, did face mount Olivet, so did the south quarter face Jerusalem, the city itself. For, take we the whole city, either built upon seven hills^j as Tanchuma asserts it; or upon three, Acra, Moriah, and Sion, as it is commonly described; or add Bezetha, and Ophla, if you will;—the situation of it will be found thus: הַר הַבַּיִת לְצִפּוֹן יְרוּשָׁלַיִם^k that “the Mountain of the Temple will be found lying northward of Jerusalem,” and Sion northward of the Mountain of the Temple. And thus do the Jews in their antiquities generally seat it, and that not without sufficient warrant of the Scripture. For how can those words of the Psalmist^l, “Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is mount Sion on the sides of the north,” be more properly and plainly^m interpreted, than as Aben Ezra doth interpret them; “Sionⁿ on the north side of Jerusalem.” And those words of Ezekiel, xl. 2, “He set me upon a moun-

^h Maim. in Parah, cap. 3. et in Shekalim, cap. 4.

ⁱ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1054.

^j Jelammed. fol. 52.

^k Toseph. ad Kelim.

^l Psal. xlvi. 2.

^m Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 558.

ⁿ Aben Ezra, in Psal. xli.

tain, by which was the frame of a city towards the south:” who can give them a sense more genuine and proper than Kimchi hath done, when he saith, “The^o mountain is the Mountain of the Temple, and this city is Jerusalem on the south?”

On this side, therefore, that faced Jerusalem, or that looked south, there were two gates that were called, *The gates of Huldah*^p; and they were so placed, as that they were in an equal distance from the two angles of the wall, east and west, and of the same distance one from another. And so is Josephus to be understood, when he saith, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον μέτωπον, τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, εἶχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον^q, “The fourth part of the wall was towards the south, and had gates in the middle;” that is, the gates were so set, as that there was an equal space betwixt gate and gate, and betwixt either gate and the corners of the wall.

From whence these gates did take their name to be called “The gates of Huldah,” is hard to determine; whether from חולדה *Huldah*, which signifieth a *weasel*, of which creature the Hebrews write many stories; or^s from the Syrian word חלך which translatheth the Greek word ἐνδύνειν, *To creep into*, 2 Tim. iii. 6; or from חול דא *this, or hither, is common ground*; or^t from the prophetess *Huldah*, who was of so great esteem in her time among the Jews, as that, they say^u, there was never any buried within Jerusalem, either man or woman (unless of the house of David), but only she;—or from whence else they were denominated, it will not countervail the labour to search, nor is it very hopeful to find.

We shall not need to spend time in describing the form, fabric, and dimensions, of these gates, since these, and the rest of the gates, were all suitable to that in the east quarter, which we have described before,—saving that their gate-house was higher, and that they were not charactered with the picture of Shushan, as that gate was. Let us, therefore, only take the prospect, as we stand in either of these gates before us, towards the south, upon which they opened,—as we did in the other towards the east.

What streets, houses, turrets, gardens, and beauteous buildings, were to be seen in Jerusalem, as it lay before you,

^o Kimchi in Ezek. iv. 2.

^p Talm. in Mid. cap. 1.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 703.]

^r Vid. Aruch in חלך

^s Const. L'Emper. in Midd. p. 1, 2.

^t Vid. R. Solom. in 2 Kings, xxii.

^u Aboth R. Nathan, cap. 54.

in so goodly a city, may better be supposed than described. Only if you will observe the situation of it, or how it lay, you may view it situate thus:—it lay upon the hill Acra, which, rising in the middle, descended with an easy declining towards the east and west, and with a descent also towards the north, or towards the temple. Upon the very highest pitch of the hill, and from whence it had a fall either way, there sprang the sweet and gentle fountain Siloam, without the city, and ran to either end of the city, both east and west, in a contrary channel. As it made towards the east, it left the fuller's field upon the right hand, and saluted the sheep-gate on the left, and so turned eastward, and fell into the pool called 'Solomon's Pool,' which may well be supposed to be 'Bethesda.' As it ran westward, it coasted along the broad wall, the tower of the furnaces, the valley-gate, and dung-gate; and, after a while, fell into the 'Pool of Siloam.'

CHAP. V.

Of the west gates, Shallecheth or Coponius, Parbar, Asuppim.

IN the Talmud's survey of the Temple, there is but one gate mentioned or spoken of upon the west quarter; but Josephus doth mention four, and that agreeably to the Scripture. Not but that the Talmudists did very well know, there were so many gates upon this quarter; but they reckon only those by name^v, that had guards kept at them, whereas Josephus^x reckons all that were in being: his words are these; 'Εν δὲ τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσι τοῦ περιβόλου, πύλαι τέσσαρες ἐφέστασαν· ἡ μὲν, εἰς τὰ βασιλεία τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης· Αἱ δὲ δύο εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, βαθμίσι πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν φάραγα διειλημμένη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν· "On the west quarter of this outmost bound, there were four gates: the first leading to the king's palace, the valley between being filled up for the passage: two others went into the suburbs; and the other into the other city, having many steps down into the valley, and many up again to the pitch or coming up." We will survey these gates particularly, and take them in the order that he has laid down, beginning first with that gate, that led to the king's palace.

^v *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1055.

^w *Mid. cap. 1. et Talm. cap. 1.*

^x *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 703.]*

SECT. I.

The Gate of Shallecheth, or Coponius.

THE gate that led towards the king's palace, was that that stood most north^y in this west quarter, of all the four, being set directly and diametrically opposite to the gate Shushan in the east. In the time of the first temple, this gate was called, 'Shallecheth,' 1 Chron. xxvi. 16; but, in the time of Herod's temple, it was called^z, "The gate of Coponius." The Jews write it קיפוניוס *Kiponus*; about the derivation of which word there are various conjectures. Some deduce it from קופה^a 'a hole,' or 'entrance:' some^b from κηπαία, 'a back-door:' some from קיפנרר 'a thorough passage;' but I should rather derive it from 'Coponius,' the Roman commander. Josephus recordeth, that, when Cyrenius was sent by Augustus to be governor of Syria, "Coponius also, general of the horse, was sent with him for ruler in Judea," Κωπώνιος^c τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται, τάγματος τῶν ἰππέων, ἠγησόμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐξουσίᾳ. Now this was so near about the time of Herod's finishing the building of the temple, that it giveth fair occasion to think, that he named this gate in honour of that great commander Coponius,—as he did a building hard by it, 'Antonia,' in memory and honour of his great friend Antony.

The word 'Shallecheth,' by which name this gate was first called, in the time of Solomon, doth signify a 'casting-up;' and so, saith Kimchi^d, it is rendered by the Chaldee paraphrast in the sense of השלכה. Now this gate is said, in 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, to have been by "the causeway going-up;" which 'going-up' is that renowned ascent, that Solomon made for his own passage up to the temple, 1 Kings x. 5. 2 Chron. ix. 4. And the causeway is that, that Josephus meaneth, when he saith, "A gate led to the king's house from the temple, the valley betwixt being filled up for the passage:" which was a very great work; for the valley was large and deep. Therefore it may very well be concluded, that it was called, 'Shallecheth,' or the 'casting-up,' from the causeway, that was cast up to lead to it from the king's palace,—this being his ordinary way to the temple.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 559. ^z Midd. cap. 1. Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 5.

^a Aruch in voc.

^b L. L'Emper. in Mid. cap. 12.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1. [Hudson, p. 791.]

^d Michol in שלך

This causeway is held by some^e to have been set, on either side, with oaks and teil-trees, which grew up there, and served for a double benefit,—the one, to keep up the causeway on either side, that it should not fall down; and the other was to make the king a pleasant walk, and shade, with trees on either side, as he came and went. And so they render that verse, in Isa. vi. 13, where the word is only used besides in all the Bible: “In it shall be a tenth, and it shall return and be eaten, as a teil-tree, or as an oak by *Shallecheth* ;” that is, as the rows of trees on the sides of this causeway.

SECT. II^f.*Parbar Gate*, 1 Chron. xxvi. 18.

FROM the gate ‘Shallecheth,’ or ‘Coponius,’ that lay most north on this western quarter, let us walk towards the south,—and the next gate we come to, was called *Parbar*; of this there is mention in the Book of Chronicles in the place alleged; where the Holy Ghost, relating the disposal of the porters at the several gates of the Mountain of the House, saith, “At Parbar westward, two at the causeway, and two at Parbar.” By which it is apparent sufficiently, that this gate was in the west quarter,—and reasonably well apparent, that it was the next gate to the causeway, or ‘Shallecheth,’ because it is so named with it; but by that time we have fully surveyed the situation of it, it will appear to have been so plain enough. The word “Parbar” admitteth of a double construction; for it either signifies פלפול בר “an outer place^g,” as many of the Jews do construe it; or it concurs with the signification of the word *Parvar* (which differs but one letter from it, and that very near, and of an easy change), which betokeneth “suburbs,” both in the Hebrew text, 2 Kings xxiii. 11,—and in the Chaldee tongue, as David Kimchi^h averreth there.

And here Josephus’s words, which we produced a little before, may be taken up again; and, out of all together, we may observe the situation of the gate in mention. He saith, that “of the four gates upon this western quarter, one led towards the king’s palace” (that is, Shallecheth, that we

^e Vid. R. Sol. in Isa. vi. ^f *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1056.

^g Gloss. in Tamid, cap. 1. Kimch. in 1 Chron. xxvi. Aruch in voce, &c.

^h Kimch. in 2 Kings xxiii.

have viewed already), “and the two next, εἰς τὸ προάστειον, into the suburbs.” These suburbs that he meaneth, were, indeed, that part of the city, which, in Scripture, is called “Millo,” which was the valley at the west end of mount Moriah, in which Jerusalem and Sion met and saluted each other, replenished with buildings by David and Solomon in their times, 2 Sam. v. 9, and 1 Kings xi. 27,—and taken in as part and suburbs of Sion, and so owned always in after-times.

And to this purpose is the expression of Josephus, in his words that we have in hand, observable,—when he saith, that two of these western gates were into the suburbs, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, “and the other into the other city,” that is, into Jerusalem, which he maketh as another city from the suburbs, of which he spake. Take the word *Parbar*, therefore, in either of the significations that have been mentioned, either for an ‘outer place,’ or for the ‘suburbs,’—this gate that we have in survey, might very properly be called by that name, because it was a passage from the temple into Millo, which was an outer place,—and the suburbs of Sion, distinguished and parted from Sion by a wall, yet a member of it, and belonging to it.

Nowⁱ, whereas the other gate, that stood next to this that we are about, towards the south, did lead also into the suburbs as well as this, as is apparent from Josephus,—yet is it not called by the same name *Parbar*: the reason of this may be given, because it bare a name peculiar and proper, suitable to that singular use to which it was designed, or to that place where it was set, rather than suitable to that place whither it gave passage.

And here, because we are in mention of the suburbs, it may not be amiss to look a little upon that text, that speaketh of the suburbs, and out of which we have taken that signification of the word *Parbar*,—namely, 2 Kings xxiii. 11. It is said there, that “Josiah took away the horses, that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering-in of the house of the Lord, by the chamber of Nathan-melech, the chamberlain, which was in the suburbs.” Whether these horses were given to the sun, to be sacrificed to it, or to ride on to meet and salute the sun-rising, as the Jews suppose,—we shall not trouble ourselves to inquire into; it is the

ⁱ Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 560.

place, that we have to look after at this time, rather than the thing.

These stables of such horses (and, it is like, the king's common stables were in the same place) are said to be in the 'suburbs,' and at the 'entering-in of the house of the Lord;' and we cannot better allot the place, than that whereupon we are,—namely, that they stood here in Millo, before this gate *Parbar*, or thereabout,—and from thence there was a way to bring the horses up to the king's house, when the king would use either those horses, that they had dedicated to the sun for their irreligious use, or their other horses for their common use. As they went out of Millo to rise up into Sion, they passed through a gate, which was in the wall, that parted between Millo and Sion; which wall and gate were but a little below the causeway, that went up to the gate "Shallecheth." And this helpeth to understand that passage about Athaliah's death, 2 Kings xi. 16: "They laid hands on her, and she went by the way, by which the horses came into the king's house, and there she was slain:" that is, they got her out of the Mountain of the Temple, brought her down by the gate 'Shallecheth,' and the causeway; and, when she came near the horse-gate, through^j which the horses went up out of the stables in Millo, to the king's house, there they slew her. There was a 'horse-gate,' indeed, in the main wall of the city, on the east part of it, Neh. iii. 28. Jer. xxxi. 39, but that was distinct from this, which was peculiar for the king's horses; and therefore a distinctive character is set upon this,—namely, that it was the "horse-gate towards the king's house," 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. It should be rendered "*towards* the king's house," rather than "*by* the king's house;" for neither of these gates, either that on the east which was a gate of the city, nor this on the west which was a gate into Millo, was near the king's house, but a good distance off. See the Seventy there.

SECT. III.

The two Gates and House of Asuppim.

IN the story of the designing of the porters to their several places and charges, in 1 Chron. xxvi. 15. 17, it is said thus; "To Obed-Edom southward, and to his sons the

^j *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1057.

house of Asuppim. Eastward were six Levites, northward four a day, southward four a day, and towards Asuppim two and two."

Now there are two things, that have justly moved divers learned men to conceive, that *Asuppim* doth betoken the treasuries of the temple,—or the places, where the offered and dedicate things were reserved and laid up. The one is the signification of the word itself, for it betokeneth "gatherings," or collections; and the other is, because Obed-Edom, whose sons are said here to be at *Asuppim* as at their charge, is said, in 2 Chron. xxv. 24, to have had the keeping of the treasury. For there it is recorded, that "Joash the king of Israel took all the gold and silver, and vessels, that were found in the house of God with Obed-Edom."

Now, if this be granted, that *Asuppim* did betoken and mean the treasuries, yet are we still to seek where *Asuppim* was: and, indeed, there is not a more difficult matter, in all the survey of the temple, and of the buildings and affairs belonging to it, than to determine aright and clearly concerning the porters, treasuries, and treasures, and all their charges; there is so much variety of expressions about these in Scripture, and so little explanation and resolution of this matter in other writers. We shall do the best we can for their discovery, as we come to the view of the several places, that refer to any such thing.

The word *Asuppim* is used again, in speech concerning the porters, Neh. xii. 25, where six men, there named, are said to be porters keeping the ward, בְּאִשׁוֹת הַשַּׁעֲרִים "at the *Asuppim* of the gates." Aben Ezra and Kimchi say, it is but the same with 'Sippim,' the 'thresholds;' and so is rendered in our English text. But if it be taken in that sense in this place of the Chronicles that we have in hand, there can be no difference between the sons of Obed-Edom and the rest of the porters, in this respect; for all of them may be said to be porters at *Asuppim* as well as they, since they were all alike porters at the 'thresholds.'

In the naming of the porters, and placing them in their stations^k, there are the east, west, north, and south quarters mentioned; and *Asuppim* comes in, as if it were out at all. At the east gate, were six of Shelemiah's younger sons; and his eldest son Zachariah and his sons at the north. At the

^k Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 561.

west, were six sons of Hosah and Shuppim, four at Shallecheth, and two at Parbar. And four of Obed-Edom's eight sons at the south, and the other four at the "House of Asuppim," which seems out of square; and who can tell where?

For the searching out of this place, which lies so very covert, and obscure in the text, it may not be impertinent to consider these four particulars:—

1. That there were four gates on the west side, as hath been observed,—namely, the gate Coponius, two gates into the suburbs, and one into the city.

2. That the Holy Ghost, reckoning the porters as they were disposed after the return out of captivity, placeth them only upon the four quarters of this outmost wall, 1 Chron. ix. 23, 24: for the wall, that encompassed the courts, had no gate on the west at all; and, therefore, those verses cannot be understood of that, but of this outmost boundary wall: and why should we hold, that he goeth in a different style here?

3. Those porters lodged round about the house of God, and opened the doors every morning, 1 Chron. ix. 27. Now neither priests nor Levites had any lodgings in the gates of the court, nor did the Levites open those doors, but the priests. And,

4. That though there were four-and-twenty guards, three of priests, and one-and-twenty of Levites every night about the temple, yet was there not any such by day at the court-gates, or at those places by the court-wall, where they were by night. But here the text doth expressly tell, that these porters' attendance was by day.

These¹ things, therefore, considered, 1. We cannot place "the house of *Asuppim*" in any other part, than in some place in this outmost wall, that encompassed the Mountain of the House, even as the rest of the gates and the porters stood. 2. The expression, used in the text, doth argue, that these sons of Obed-Edom, that stood porters at *Asuppim*, attended in two places, or at two gates; for he saith, that, at *Asuppim*, there were "two and two." 3. Since the porters at two of the gates only of the four, that were on the west quarter, are named,—namely, Shallecheth and Parbar,—it cannot be otherwise conceived in reason, but that the other two gates

¹ *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1058.

on that quarter go here under the name of *Asuppim*, and had their porters "two and two." For, 1. Since there were four gates there, why should two of them go without porters, when all the rest were so exactly manned? And, 2. Why should we go place these four sons of Obed-Edom as porters we know not where, and where we never read of any porters at all,—and let these two gates stand void, and none to attend them?

I make no scruple, therefore, to conclude, that *Asuppim* were the two gates in this western wall, which stood most south or nearest to Jerusalem; and "the house of *Asuppim*," was a large piece of building, that ran between them, which was a treasury, or divers rooms for treasuring and laying-up something for the use of the temple. The treasuries of the temple were divers, and in divers places, and committed to divers persons; but the general distinction of them is, into the "treasuries of the house of God," and "the treasuries of the dedicate things," 1 Chron. xxvi. 20.

By the "treasures of the house of God," is meant those things, that were in ordinary use and employment,—as, the vessels, vestments, tithes, wine, oil, and other things which were commonly used; and with these we may join whatsoever was offered to the treasury, either as due, as was the half-shekel,—or voluntary, as money or vessels for the repair of the house and advancement of the service. But by the "treasures of dedicate things," is understood whatsoever the kings, captains, or great men, had consecrated and dedicated; which lay as the stock of the temple, and as the monuments of their devotion. The former treasures were, some of them, under the care and charge of the porters, 1 Chron. ix. 26, 27, &c; and the rest and the latter, under the hand of other Levites, 1 Chron. xxvi. 20. 22. 26, &c. The porters had their treasuries at every one of their gates: and so should I render אֲסוּפֵי שַׁעֲרֵים "The treasuries of the gates," in Neh. xii. 25. Whereas some of them kept vestments, some instruments, some one thing, and some another,—and the sons of Obed-Edom kept the silver and gold vessels, which were the richest utensils of the temple,—therefore, their gates and the buildings between, are called "*Asuppim*," or "treasuries," by an emphatical dignity above the rest.

Before we part with this west quarter, let us take our prospect outward, as we have done from the two sides we

have been upon before. As you stood on the middle of this wall, Milo lay before you; and there might you see, besides the king's stables and other buildings, the pool of Siloam, and the king's gardens. On the left hand was the descent of Acra, and the buildings of Jerusalem upon it. On the right hand, the rising of Sion, and the stairs^m that went up into the city, and by which the king came down to Shallecheth, and so into the temple. And as you rose higher, was the place of the sepulchres of David's family, and another pool, Neh. iii. 15, 16.

CHAP. VI.

The north gate, טדי Tedi, or Tadde.

ON the north side, to which we are now come, there was but one gate (as there was but one on the east quarter) which was situate just in the middle of the wall, between the east and west end of it; but how to give it its right name, there is some dispute. Someⁿ write it טרי Teri, with *r*, which signifieth 'moistness,' or 'purulency,' because that they of the priests, whose seed went from them by night, went through this gate to bathe themselves from that uncleanness. But the reading of old, hath been so resolved טדי, with *d*, Tedi^o, or, as some vowel it, Tadde^p, that Piske Tosaphoth, ad Middoth, goeth about to give its etymology. He mentions a double notation:—namely, that either it betokens הצנע 'obscurity' and 'shamefacedness,' because of its rare use and passage,—and because the priests, that had suffered gonorrhœa by night, went out through it to the bath with some shame and dejectedness:—or that the word refers to actors or poets, and he produceth a sentence, in which, by its conjunction with another word, it seems^q so to signify,—for other sense I know not to put upon it. The sentence is this, טידי ופיטי רגילי בהו קמי ריש גלותא "Tragedians and poets used it before the chief of the captivity." But what sense he would make of this etymology, I do not understand. But be the notation of the word what it will, the Talmud setteth two distinguishing marks upon the gate itself, for which it was singular from all the rest of the gates, that we have mentioned: the^r first

^m Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 562.

ⁿ Misnajoth in Octavo in Midd. L'Emper. ibid. p. 13.

^o Talm. Bab. et Aruch.

^p Buxt. Talm. Lex.

^q English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1059.

^r Talm. in Mid. cap. 2.

is, that it had not so fair a rising gate-house and chambers above it as the rest had, but only stones laid flat over it, and the battlement of the wall running upon it, and no more:— and the other is, **לֹא מִשְׁמַשׁ כְּלוּם** That^s it was not a common and ordinary passage in and out, as the other gates were, but only a passage upon occasion: the uselessness whereof we shall have occasion to look at again, ere it be long.

The mount Moriah did afford some space of ground upon this side, without the wall and compass of the holy ground, which it did upon none of the sides beside: for here was built the large and goodly tower of Antonia, which we shall survey by and by; whereas, on every one of the other sides, the encompassing wall that closed in the holy ground, did stand near upon the very pitch and precipice of the hill. So that looking about you as you stood out at this gate, this tower Antonia stood on your left hand, and spoiled your prospect on that side; and you could see nothing that way but it. Before you was mount Sion, and the goodly buildings of the king's palace, and other houses:—upon the bending towards the east angle, was the place called Ophel, or Ophla, the habitation of the 'Nethinims,' Neh. iii. 26: and when Ophla was turned east, then was there the horse-gate and water-gate, before the Temple.

Thus lay the Mountain of the Lord's House, encompassed with the city round about, and enclosed with a fair and high wall, which separated it from the common ground. On the one side of it lay Sion, the seat of the king; on the other side, Jerusalem, the habitation of the people; and the Temple and its service in the middle between, even as the ministry is in mediation betwixt God and his people. That wall, that encompassed it, had eight gates of goodly structure and beauteous fabric, all of one fashion,—save only that the north and east gates were not topped, the one in height, and the other in fashion, as the other were. At all these gates were porters by day; and, at five of them, were guards by night, as we shall observe hereafter. The access to them on the east and west was by a great ascent, but facilitated by steps or causeways for the people's ease, and for the coming-up of the beasts that were to be sacrificed, of which there were some that came up daily. On the south side, the ascent was not so very great: yet it had its rising in the like

* Talm. in Mid. cap. 1.

manner of access, as had the other. On the north, what coming-up there was, it was more for the accommodation of the residents in the tower Antonia, than for the entrance into the temple,—the north gate *Tedi* being of so little use, as hath been spoken.

At any of the gates as you passed through, the entrance itself, through which you went, was ten cubits wide, twenty cubits high, and twelve cubits over,—six of which cubits were without the holy ground, and six within. And, as you entered in at the east gate, had you seen the ground before any buildings were set in it, or any thing done to it, but only the building of this wall,—you might have seen the hill rising from the east to the west, in such an ascent, that the western part of it was very many cubits higher than where you stood; as we shall have occasion to observe, as we pass along.

This bank was once well stored with bushes and brambles, Gen. xxii. 13; and, afterward, with worse briars^t and thorns,—the Jebusites,—who had it in possession, till David purchased it for divine use and Structure, that we are looking after. Here was then a poor thrashing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, but afterward the habitation of the God of Jacob: a place and fabric as sumptuous and eminent, as it was possible for man, and art, and cost, to make it; the glory of the nation where it was, and the wonder of all the nations round about it; but, in fine, as great a wonder and monument of desolation and ruin, as ever it had been of beauty and gloriousness. Before we step farther towards the survey of it, as it stood in glory,—we must keep yet a while along this wall, about which we have been so long, and observe some buildings and beauties, that joined and belonged to it, besides the gates that we have surveyed in it already.

CHAP. VII^v.

The Tower Antonia. Βάσις.

UPON the north side^v and joining up to the western angle (but on the outside of the wall, that we have surveyed) stood the tower of Antonia; once the place where the high-priests used to lay up their holy garments; but, in after-times, a garrison of Roman soldiers for the awing of the temple.

^t *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 563.

^v *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1060.

^v Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14. et de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 25.

When it served for the former use, it was called *Baris* (it may be from בר 'ad extra,' because it was an outer building); but when for the latter, it bare the name of 'Antonia:' Herod the Great having sumptuously repaired it, as he did the Temple, and called it after the name of the Roman prince Antony. It stood upon the north-west point of Moriah, and was a very strong and a very large pile; so spacious a building with all its appurtenances, that it took up two furlongs' compass. The rock it stood upon, was fifty cubits high, and steep; and the building itself was forty cubits above it: it was four-square, encompassed with a wall of three cubits high, which enclosed his courts, and had a turret at every corner, like the White Tower at London, but that it was more spacious, and that the turrets were not all of a height; for those, at the north-east and north-west corners, were fifty cubits high; but those, on the south-east and south-west, were seventy cubits high, that they might fully overlook the temple. It had cloisters or walks about it, and baths and lodgings, and large rooms in it; so that it was, at once, like a castle and like a palace. There was a passage out of it into the north and west cloisters of the Mountain of the House (of which we shall speak next); and, by that, the Roman garrison soldiers went down, at every festival of the Jews, to take care against tumults and seditions in those great concourses of the people: and the governor of this tower is called, "the captain of the temple," Acts iv. 1. Luke xxii. 52.

Hyrcanus^v, the high-priest, the first of that name, took up this place for his mansion, and for the laying-up of his holy garments, and so did his successors after him. And Herod, when he repaired it and called it Antonia, suffered the high-priests to lay-up, and to have the keeping of, the robes here still; and so did Archelaus his son after him. But when the Romans put Archelaus from his kingdom, they took the custody of these garments into their own power; but yet they let them lie in the same place, till Vitellius, the proconsul of Syria, in the time of Tiberius, coming to Jerusalem, and well pleased with his entertainment there,—upon the Jews' petition, restored the keeping of those robes to them again. Howbeit they enjoyed not that privilege very long; but, in the time of succeeding emperors and

^v Id. Ant. lib. 18. cap. 6.

governors, the custody of them was taken from them again.

And now that we have seen *Antonia* on the outside of the north wall, let us come in again at the north gate *Tedi*, and look a little more upon that, as we come through it. We observed before, the name of this gate to signify 'hiding,' or 'obscurity;' and, as for the nature of it, we saw, that it was, in a manner, altogether unfrequented. Now, two things may be conjectured towards the reason and cause of both these; as, 1. The insolency of the Roman garrison might make the people have but little mind to come that way, and it might be to them, 'porta Tædii,' 'a gate of grievance;' for let us cast out a Latin etymology, so near a Latin garrison. And, 2. A reason why it carrieth 'hiddenness' in its name, Josephus seemeth to give in this passage, Βεζεθὰ λόφος μόνος τῷ ἱερῷ κατ' ἄρκτον ἐπισκότει, "because the hill Bezetha did shadow the temple on that north side," and spoil its prospect,—whereas no other side of the square had any such cloudings.

CHAP. VIII.

Cloisters along this outmost wall within, יטד

THUS hath the outmost verge and bounds of the Mountain of the House been laid before us. Now there is a thing, that deserves our pains and observation again in another survey,—and that is, the walks; or cloisters, that were along the wall within, between gate and gate, round about.

The^z Talmud in one place expresseth it, יטד כפול 'porticus duplicata;' and so Josephus^a, Διπλαῖ αἱ στοαὶ πᾶσαι; which both the Talmud in another place, and also Maimonides^b, כולו היה מקורה ויטד לפניו יטד, "It was floored or roofed over, and one porch was before another."

The word יטד is so plainly the Greek word στοὰ, that I make no scruple to render it by that word in Greek, and by 'porticus' in Latin; but how to translate any of them into our^c English tongue, is of some doubtfulness, because our word 'porch,' by which they are constantly rendered, doth

^x Id. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 15.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 564.

^z Shabbath, fol. 6.

^a Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

^b Shab. fol. 13. Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 5.

^c English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1061.

not reach to their sense in our English use, but is commonly taken in another. For what Kimchi^d saith concerning the word אהל, that "it meaneth the same thing, that, by the language of the Talmud, is called בית השער 'The house of the gate,'" is also most true concerning the proper signification of the English word 'porch:' for that, most ordinarily and commonly, is taken among us, for the building over or before the house-door. But these words that we are about, do signify cloister-walks, or rows, where men used to walk or sit, free from rains and weather,—the one side open, supported with pillars,—and all floored, or covered overhead.

So was this large compass along the wall; it was double-cloistered round about (for give me leave to use that word, till I find a better), having a roof or floor overhead, which lay almost as high as the top of the wall, save what was left for the walls' battlements: and it was supported with a treble row of marble pillars, the inmost row joining to the wall; and it was distinguished by the middle row of pillars into a double walk. We need not go far for a copy; the stately new building (piazza, walk, cloister, call it what you will) at the west end of Paul's, may very well be our pattern. For it was much about that height, twelve yards and a half; it joined on one side to the wall, as that to the church, and was borne up with gallant white marble pillars: it was thirty cubits, or fifteen yards, broad; either walk, half that breadth, pillars and all,—and had battlements above the leads, both at the wall, and on the other side, as that at Paul's is crested on the outside. Where buildings stood out into the Mountain of the House (as we have observed, they did), there these cloisters were carried accordingly: being either cut-off at the building, if it stood thirty cubits out, or the one half or more of the cloister cut-off, if the building were narrower, and the rest of the cloister carried on before it.

Only upon the south side of the square, there was some difference of the walks or cloister from what was in the other parts.

For here was the Στοά Βασιλική, 'the cloister-royal,' as Josephus^e calls it, and of which he makes a very large and eminent description to this purpose:—

1. That it was treble walked or rowed all along from east

^d 1 Kings, vi. 4.

^e Ant. lib. 15. cap. 4.

to west; whereas the cloisters of any of the other sides were but double.

2. That this whole frame was borne up by four rows of pillars, that stood even one against another, the inmost row joining to the wall, as it was on the other sides.

3. The inmost and the outmost walk of these three (that is, that that was next to the wall, and that that was outmost towards the open space of the Mountain of the House), were equal in height and breadth with the walks or cloisters on any of the other sides,—namely, fifteen cubits high, and fifteen cubits broad a-piece: but the middlemost walk was two-and-forty cubits and a half broad, and fifty cubits high; and so the two rows of pillars, that stood on either side of this middle walk, were fifty cubits high; so that the roof of this walk was as high again as the roof of the walks on either side; and these altogether were as the upper and lower leads of a church, and every one of them had a crest or battlement round about. Finally, the whole fabric was so gallant and sumptuous, *ὡς ἀπιστότατα τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσι, καὶ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεατὰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εἶναι*, “that it is incredible (saith my author) to those that never saw it, and an amazement to those that did.”

4. Had one stood at the top of the highest leads, at either end, and looked down, there was so steep a trench or valley under, *ὡς σκοτιδιναῖον, οὐκ ἐξικουμένης τῆς ὄψεως εἰς ἀμέτρητον τον βυθόν*, “that to look down it would make one giddy, and he could hardly see to the bottom:” and Josephus^e proclaimeth this fabric to be *ἔργον ἀξιαφηγητότατον τῶν ὑφ’ ἡλίου*, “one of the goodliest works under the sun.”

Now, though this gallant south-side cloister did, and that very deservedly, bear the name of “The Cloister-royal,” *Στοὰ Βασιλική*, yet is not this the same with that, which, in the Scripture, is called “Solomon’s Porch,” of which there is mention, John x. 23, Acts iii. 11^s: for that (as the same Josephus giveth us intimation) was upon the east side of this square (that we have in hand), and not upon the south; his words are these^h, *Ἐπειδὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἀνατολικὴν στοὰν ἀνεγείραι. ἦν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐξώθεν ἱεροῦ, κειμένη δὲ ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, τετρακοσίων πηχῶν τοὺς τοίχους ἔχουσα, ἐκ λίθων δὲ τετραγώνων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ λευκῶν πάνυ. τὸ μὲν*

^e Hudson, p. 703.

^g Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 565.

^h Ant. lib. 20. cap. 8. [Hudson, p. 899.]

μηκος ἐκάστου λίθου, πήχεις εἴκοσι· τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἕξ· ἔργον Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως, πρώτου δειμαμένου τὸ σύμπαν ἱερόν·
 “The people persuaded the king Agrippa,” the second, “to repair the east porch or cloister: now this cloister was in the outmost space of the Temple, standing over an exceeding deep valley, raised upon a wall of four hundred cubits, which was made of square white stones of twenty cubits long, and six cubits high a-piece, the work of king Solomon, who first built the temple.”

His meaning about the foundation of this east wall and cloister, he tells elsewhere to this purposeⁱ; that Solomon, to find room enough this way, was put to fill and bring up a part of the deep trench with such great stones, and ἐπερέθη στοὰν τῷ χώματι, and, upon this strong foundation, so brought up from the bottom of the valley, he built this porch or cloister, that we have in mention.

Now^j when the temple was destroyed by the Babylonians, and all the buildings ruined, yet this great and wonderful foundation, that Solomon had brought up so high as to equal the floor of the Mount, was not ruined or pulled down, but continued still; and, in after-times, the porch or cloister of that eastern quarter, was built upon the same foundation of Solomon's: and from that it took and bare the name still of “Solomon's porch;” and the east gate here, upon the same occasion, was called the “king's gate,” as was said before.

And now to take a prospect of this place, and wall, and buildings, and cloisters, that we have spoken of, at one view:—by many steps, or at the least by a great rising, you were to come up to any of the gates, that have been mentioned,—let the east gate (or the gate of Shushan) be conceived for our entrance. The^k gate-house or threshold was twelve cubits over, six without the doors, and six within: being got within, you saw the great square within, most stately, double-cloistered round about on every side, but only on the south, where the cloister was treble. On the west side, were four gates; on the south, two; on the north, one; and one on the east, where you came in: and, at all these gates, more or less buildings. In^l five of these gates (namely, in the east gate ‘Shushan,’ the two south gates ‘Huldah,’ the north gate ‘Tedi,’ and the west ‘Shallecheth’)

ⁱ De Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

^k Ezek. xl. 6.

^j English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1062.

^l Mid. cap. 1. 1.

was a guard kept of the Levites by night, for the safety and honour of the Temple; and so there was in every corner of this great square within.

These gallant and sumptuous walks, thus round about the whole compass, were for the people to stand, walk, or sit under, in heat or rain, according as they had a mind or occasion: and so it is said that our Saviour walked here, John x. 23; the apostles James and John stood here, and the people about them, Acts iii. 11. And there were benches set by the walls round about, for people to sit down, when they thought good. And therefore D. Kimchi^m interprets ספסל to be שישבים בו "a bench, on which men sit:" and R. Nathanⁿ makes it to be the same with אצטוחה, which, he saith, "is benches, on which men set down their wares, and on which they sit themselves."

CHAP. IX.

Tabernæ, Shops: the great Sanhedrim sitting thereabout.

THERE is very frequent mention, in the Talmuds and Talmudical writers, of a place in the Mountain of the House which was called, חנוית Hhanoth, or Hhanijoth, which the learned in these antiquities do commonly render by the Latin word *Tabernæ*: which though, in that language, it be a proper expression of the Hebrew word, yet cannot we so properly in English render it *taverns*: because that, in our usual acceptation, that word is taken for houses, where wine only is sold; whereas these were shops, where wine, oil, salt, meal, and such-like things, were sold, which were in constant use for sacrifices and offerings in the temple. And Rabbi Nathan relateth, that^o there were clerks of that market appointed to look to the weights and measures of these shops, and to see the shopkeepers did not sell too dear.

But the most famous thing concerning these 'Tabernæ,' that the Jews speak of, is, that the great Sanhedrim sat here, having removed hither from the room 'Gazith,' the place of their common sitting. The story hereof is dispersedly mentioned in the Talmud in several places; particularly, it is thus at large in the Gemara of the treatise Rosh hashana, cap. 4:—

"Rabbi Jochanan^p saith, The divine glory had ten flit-

^m Kimch. in 2 Kings, xi. 14.

ⁿ Aruch in אצטוחה

^o Aruch in אגרותין

^p Tal. in Rosh hashan. fol. 31.

tings:—1. From the mercy-seat to one of the cherubs. 2. From that cherub to the other. 3. From the cherub to the threshold. 4. From the threshold to the court. 5. From the court to the altar-side. 6. From^p thence to the altar-top. 7. From thence to the outmost wall. 8. From that wall to the city. 9. From the city to mount Olivet. 10. From mount Olivet to the wilderness, and from the wilderness it went up. So, also, the great Sanhedrim had ten flittings:—From the chamber Gazith to Hhanoth” (the Tabernæ, or place of the shops); “from Hhanoth to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to Jabneh; from Jabneh to Osha אושא; from Osha to Shepharaam שפרעם; from Shepharaam to Beth Shaaraim; from Beth Shaaraim, to Tsipperis in Galilee; from Tsipperis to Tiberias.”

Now whereas there are but eight removes here mentioned, yet they speak of ten,—it is to be understood, as the Gloss gives us notice, that from two of these places they removed forward and backward and forward again; as, from Jabneh to Osha, from Osha back to Jabneh, and from Jabneh to Osha, a second time.

Their^q first coming to Jabneh was in the days of Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai^r; from Jabneh to Osha, in the days of Rabban Gamaliel the last; and to Jabneh back again, in the days of Rabban Simeon. To Shaaraim and to Tsipperis in the days of Rabbi Judah: and to Tiberias, in the days of Antonius.

These their flittings, by their own confession, began forty years before the destruction of the Temple. מ”שנה ער שלא “Forty^s years (say they) before the destruction of the temple, the Sanhedrim flitted, and betook itself to sit in Hhanoth,” or the Tabernæ. And the reason is given, “Because^t there were then many thieves and murderers, and they judged not of capital matters;” which meaneth to this purpose: they held, that, while they sat in the room Gazith, they were bound to judge and determine of all matters, that came before them, and that all their determinations were obliging; but now, when, beside the curb of the Roman power that was upon them, by which their power was abridged, villany and insolency were also

^p *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 566.

^q *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1063.

^r *Gloss. ibid. Rab. Simeon.*

^s *Shabbath*, fol. 51.

^t *Ib. et Aruch* in דמרת

grown too strong for them, they thought, as the Gemara in Avodah Zarah speaks their mind, "It" is good for us to rise and flit from this place, of which it is written, 'And thou shalt do, according as the men of that place shall show thee.'"

Now in what part of the Mountain of the House, Hhanoth or the Tabernæ were placed, may be best conceived, by observing the place of the great Sanhedrim's sitting, before they came to sit in the room Gazith: and for this purpose a text of Jeremiah doth give us light, which is in chap. xxxv. 4, where it is said thus; "I brought the Rechabites into the house of the Lord, into the chamber of the sons of Hanan, the son of Igdaliah, a man of God; which was by the chamber of the princes, which was above the chamber of Maaseiah, the son of Shallum, the keeper of the door." Now, by the *princes* we cannot understand the princes of the blood; for what had Jehoiakim's sons to do here? Their residence was in the palaces of Sion; and their way into the Temple, was at the gate on the west quarter, which was called, 'Shallecheth' and 'Coponius;' whereas this gate, whereof the son of Shallum was keeper or porter, was the east gate, as is apparent from 1 Chron. ix. 17, 18.

By the *princes*, therefore, are to be understood, the great men of the Sanhedrim, Ἀρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ, Acts iv. 8, who sat in council and judicature in a chamber near the east gate, or the gate Shushan,—namely, over the porter's lodge. Here they sat in the time of the first Temple; but, under the second temple,—namely, from the times of Simeon Ben Shetah, they removed farther inward, and sat even by the side of the court of Israel, in the room called Gazith, which we shall survey in its due place.

Now when they were put to remove and flit out of Gazith, and to sit there no more, whither should they betake themselves, but to some room near to the east gate again, where the place of the Sanhedrim's sitting had been of old? It is observable in Jeremiah, that, in his time, they sat in two east gates of the Temple, sometimes in the one, and sometimes in the other,—namely, in this east gate of the Mountain of the House, as appeareth by the text produced: and in the east gate of the court, which was also called, "The New Gate," Jer. xxxvi. 10; of which hereafter.

Now in after-times, when they sat in the room Gazith,

^a Avodah Zarah, fol. 8.

there was a Sanhedrim of three-and-twenty judges sat in either of these gates, as is copiously testified by the Jewish records and antiquities. By the east gate, therefore, of the Mountain of the House may we best conclude, the 'Hhanoth' or 'Tabernæ' to have been seated,—namely, that they were as shops in the lower rooms of the buildings, that stood on either side of the gate Shushan: and the rooms over-head were employed for some other use, and, among the rest, one for the sitting of the great Sanhedrim, when they were removed from Gazith; and when they sat in Gazith, for a Sanhedrim of twenty-three.

And whereas Maimonides speaketh of מדרש "A divinity-school" in the Mountain of the House, where the Sanhedrim sat upon holy-days, we know not where better to place it than hereabout, where their sitting was in the first and last times of the Temple. All the gates, that we have viewed, were beautified with gallant buildings on either side them; but the east^w most eminent, because the greatest and commonest entrance into the Temple. And whereas there is mention, in Scripture, of women lodging in the Temple,—as, 2 Chron. xxii. 11, Jehoshabeath, and Joash, and his nurse, lodged many years there: and, Luke ii. 37, Anna is said not to have departed from the Temple for many years more;—their lodgings were in the buildings near some of the gates of this outmost wall, but which undeterminable: for that all within this enclosing was called "the Temple," in the Scripture and the common language, is so apparent, that it needeth no demonstration.

CHAP. X^s.

The dimensions and form of Solomon's Temple, and of that built by the returned out of Captivity.

HAVING thus gone through and observed the compass of the Mountain of the Temple, and the wall that did enclose it in so large a square, with the cloisters, gates, and buildings, that were in that wall and affixed to it; before we can come to cast out the courts, partitions, and buildings, that were within, and speak of their places and uses particularly,—it will be necessary, in the first place, to take a survey of the measure and situation of the Temple itself, that, from it, and

^v Maim. in Sanhedr. cap. 3.

^w Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 567.

^x English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1064.

from this outer wall, as from standing-marks, we may measure all the proportions, fabrics, and distances, that we are to go through.

The floor of the Mountain of the House was not even, but rising from east to west, so much in the whole, that the floor of the porch of the Temple was two-and-twenty cubits higher than the floor of the gate Shushan, or the east gate in the outmost wall: which in equality was cast into several levels one above another; and the outmost wall accordingly did sometime run level, and sometime rise from level to level, even as the evenness or risings of the floor itself did call for it.

The measures of the Temple, built by Solomon, are said to have been, "by the first measure" (2 Chron. iii. 3); that is, by the same cubit, that measured the first tabernacle, which is the same that we fix upon; and by this measure to have been seventy cubits long (1 Kings vi. 2. 2 Chron. iii. 3), in these several spaces; the Most Holy Place, twenty cubits; the Holy Place, forty cubits; and the Porch, ten:—and the breadth of all these was twenty cubits.

About the height there is some obscurity; for the Book of Kings saith, it was thirty cubits, but the Book of Chronicles nameth no sum at all; only it saith, that the porch was one hundred and twenty cubits high. Now^z David Kimchi doth dispute it, whether this was the height of the porch only, or of the whole house throughout: and he shows, how it may be construed of the whole house; namely, that the height of it to the first floor was thirty cubits (according to the reckoning of the Book of Kings), and then the chambers over in several stories did rise to ninety cubits more. Yet both he and R. Levi Gershom^a could well be persuaded to think, that the Temple itself was but thirty cubits high; but are somewhat swayed by the opinion of some of their Rabbins, which runneth another way: "For from their words it appeareth (say they), that there were chambers over the Temple and over the porch:" and this they hold from 1 Chron. xxviii. 11.

The words of that text are these; "David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the porch, and the houses thereof, and the treasuries thereof, and the upper chambers thereof,

^y Maim. in Beth Habbechir, cap. 6.

^z Kimch. in loc. allegat.

^a Rulbag. in 1 Kings, vi. Aben Ezr. in Ezr. vi.

and the parlours thereof, and the place of the mercy-seat :” where all these particulars are so couched together (except the last), as if they were all within the porch. But the Holy Ghost speaketh of the porch, as the first part in sight, as you came up, it being the front of all, and the rest of the parcels mentioned, are to be conceived of, not as all crowded in it, but as distributed and disposed in other parts of the fabric, as the Holy Ghost relateth and layeth down elsewhere. And as for the upper chambers, here spoken of, we need not to confine them so, as to set them all either over the porch (though there were some), nor over the body of the Temple, but to place them also, as the text doth elsewhere, round about the house without, in several stories.

The careful considering the measures of the Temple, built by the children of the captivity, will reasonably help to put us out of doubt about the matter, that we have in dispute. The measures they brought along with them out of Persia, in Cyrus’s commission, are these ; “The^b foundations to be strongly laid, the height sixty cubits, and the breadth sixty cubits, with three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber, and the expenses to be given out of the king’s house.”

Where we may observe,—1. That^c the length is not mentioned, because that was to be of the former measure. 2. That the breadth doubled the breadth of Solomon’s building, the side-chambers and all taken in. And, 3. That the height was double^d to the height of Solomon’s, as it is expressed in the Book of Kings, and as, indeed, the height of the temple was, though the porch were higher. For it seemeth utterly against reason, that Cyrus should offer to build the house as broad again as it was before, and yet not so high as it was before by half. It is no doubt, but Cyrus had consultation with some of the Jews about the building, and that either they, counselling him, should advise the abatement of so much of the height,—or he, enlarging the breadth and the house one way, should^e cut it short of the height, and lessen it, the other way, is exceeding improbable. The length could not be doubled, because that would have lessened the measure of the courts before it, which might not be endured ; but the two other ways of dimension, which could be allowed, he allowed double to what they were before.

^b Ezr. vi. 3, 4.

^d Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 568.

^c Aben Ezr. in loc.

^e English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1065.

Therefore, the two texts, in Kings and Chronicles, are to be taken properly as they there lie before us,—namely, that the porch was one hundred and twenty cubits high, and that the rest of the Temple was but thirty;—and the form of the whole house was thus:—it stood east and west; the Most Holy Place westward; and the porch or entry eastward; and the length of all, from east to west, was seventy cubits; the breadth twenty cubits, besides the breadth of the side-chambers: the height of the Holy and Most Holy Place thirty cubits; and the porch stood at the east end, like one of our high steeples, one hundred and twenty cubits high. And, indeed, Solomon's Temple did very truly resemble one of our churches, but only that it differed in this,—that the steeple of it (which was the porch) stood at the east end.

Now round about the sides thereof, north and south, and the west end, Solomon built chambers of three stories high; and five cubits was the height of every story, the whole being fifteen cubits high in all; and they joined to the wall of the house without. The highest story was a cubit wider than the middle, and the middle a cubit wider than the lowest; and yet the outmost wall of them was even and straight, and juttet not over at one story or other, any whit at all. But the reason of this different breadth of the stories was this,—the wall of the Temple, for five cubits from the ground upward, was thicker by a cubit than it was from thence above. At the height, therefore, of those five cubits, there was a bench of the wall of a cubit breadth left outerly round about the house, on which they laid one end of the beams and timber, which was the roof of the lowest rooms, or the floor of the second story. And then again, for five cubits above that, the wall was thicker by a cubit, than it was above; and, at the height of those five cubits, there was such another bench left again; and, on that, they laid the beams for the roof of the second story, which was the floor of the third. And so likewise for five cubits above that, the wall was yet thicker by a cubit, than it was above; and there the like bench was left again; and there were laid the beams of the roof of the third story, and of the whole building.

And this is the meaning of that verse, 1 Kings vi. 6; “The nethermost chamber was five cubits broad, the middlemost six cubits broad, and the third was seven cubits broad; for he made abatings to the house on the outside round

about, that the beams should not have hold of the very walls of the house."

And thus did these chambers take up half the height of the house, being as the lower leads of our churches to the higher :—the use of the chambers we shall observe hereafter.

Now above these chambers in the wall of the Temple, and in the outer wall of these chambers themselves, there were windows to let in light, which, the text saith, were שקופים אטומים "open and shut," or broad and narrow; which the Chaldee paraphrast^e, and Theodoret^f have well interpreted, "wide within and narrow without:" namely, narrow without to receive the light, and wide within to disperse and dilate it. Though there be some Jews^g, that construe it the clean contrary way,—viz. "broad without and narrow within," different from all other windows שאינו צרין לארה "for God (say they) had no need of such light."

The people, that returned out of captivity, were^h forty-and-six years in building their Temple, before they could complete it, and bring it to perfection; and yet when all was done, it proved so far inferior in beauty and stateliness to that of Solomon's, as that to those, that had seen both, it was as nothingⁱ. The dimensions made not the difference; for it was, two ways, as large again as his, even as his was every way as large again as Moses's tabernacle; but this wanted that sumptuousness and bravery of building, that his had. And it wanted those five things, which were the glory and excellency of the former,—namely, "The ark, Urim and Thummim, fire from heaven, the cloud of glory upon the mercy-seat, and the spirit of prophecy^j." The weeping^k, therefore, of those persons that had seen the former house, at the laying of the foundation of this, was not^l as if they saw any lessening of the house in comparison of the former, in compass and measure (for the foundations promised a larger),—but it was upon remembering the glory of the former, both in its magnificence, and in these five excellences, and to think of the burning of that; and it was also in comparing their present servile and poor condition, with the liberty, state, and gallantry of the nation, when the other stood.

^e Chald. Par. in 1 Kings, vi. 4.

^g Vid. R. Sol. et Kimch. in loc.

^j R. Sol. in Hag. i. 18.

^k Ezra, iii. 10.

^f Vid. Nobil. in LXX. in loc.

^h John, ii. 20.

ⁱ Hag. ii. 8.

^l Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 569.

¶ Their measures were prescribed by Cyrus, not because he would curb the building, but enlarge it; for whereas Solomon's temple was but thirty cubits broad, chambers and all, he gave liberty of sixty cubits' breadth; and whereas Solomon's was but thirty cubits high all the body of the house, he doubled the measure to sixty.

And^m, therefore, those words of Josephus are cautelously to be understood, when he saith, thatⁿ “ they brought up the roof of Solomon's fabric, of white stone, the height sixty cubits, the length as much, and the breadth twenty.” In which account of the height of it, he differs both from Scripture and from all other of his own nation: and by what measures or counters he reckons it, is hard to understand. And so it is also to construe that which follows; *κατὰ τούτου δὲ ἄλλος ἦν ἐγηγεμένως, ἴσος τοῖς μέτροις· ὥστε εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ὕψος τῷ ναῷ πενήκων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι*: which I English thus, “ And by this there was another piece raised of equal measures: so that the whole height of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits:” by which ‘piece’ I conceive he means the porch; and his own words clear it; but how to apprehend, that it was of equal measure with what he had spoken of before, I acknowledge, I do not understand. And whereas he saith, that “ the whole height of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits,” his own context shows that he cannot mean, that it was so high throughout; but it is to be construed of the porch, of which he is speaking,—namely, that the temple, in some part of it, rose to a hundred and twenty cubits high.

And so are those words of Herod to be understood in the oration, that he made to the people, when he tells them of his resolution to build the temple. “ Our^o fathers (saith he) built the temple to the great God, after their coming-up again from Babylon, Ἐνδεῖ δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εἰς ὕψος ἐξήκοντα πήχεις· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπερεῖχεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν Σολομῶν ἀνφικοδόμησε; but it wanted as to the greatness of it, sixty cubits in height: for so much did the former temple which Solomon had built, exceed it.” Which is not to be understood of the whole house, but of the porch only: for the children of the captivity either built no porch at all; and

^m English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1066.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2. [Hudson, p. 342.]

^o Id. ib. lib. 15. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 700.]

then their temple was a perfect cube, length and height and breadth exactly equal: or, if they did, yet did not the height of it exceed the rest of the house, as Solomon's did, but only equal it,—the whole being sixty cubits high, all alike, according to the dimensions that Cyrus had prescribed.

Now in his patent for the building of the temple, there are these words, which are of no small difficulty to be understood, *נִדְבָכִין דִּי אֲבָן גַּלְלָא תִּלְתָּא וְנִדְבָךְ דִּי אַע קַדְתָּ* Ezra vi. 4^p. Josephus renders this passage thus, *Δίξου μὲν ξέστοῦ τρεῖς δόμους καὶ ἓνα ξύλινον ἐγχώριον*. “Three^a houses of hewn stone, and one house of wood within:” by the ‘three houses,’ seeming to mean the three parts of the temple, Porch, Holy, and Most Holy Place; and by the ‘one wooden house,’ the ceiling of the house within. And in this sense Rabbi Solomon seemeth also to understand it, who renders the words to this sense, “The^r walls were of marble; and there was a wall of wood within, like the building of the house, which Solomon built.” The Septuagint have translated *נִדְבָכִין* ‘houses;’ and Josephus followed them in so rendering it: but the Chaldee paraphrast doth use the word, to signify ‘ranks’ or ‘rows’ of stone or timber; as, Hag. ii. 15, “Before a stone was laid upon a stone,” he utters it *נִדְבָךְ עַל נִדְבָךְ*, and so he renders *טוֹר* by the word *נִדְבָךְ*, Ezek. xlvi. 23, &c. And, in this sense, doth Aben Ezra understand the word; and so hath our English translated it, “Three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber.”

But we are yet to seek for the meaning of the clause, though we be satisfied with this sense of the word: “Three rows of stone, and one of timber.” Is this to be understood of three rows of stone pillars, and one of wood, all standing up;—or of three rows of stones laid in the walls, and one row of timber lying upon them? And is this meant in the body of the temple itself, or in some other walls, that were about it? If we look into 1 Kings vi. 36, I suppose, some resolution of these doubts may arise thence; for there it is said parallel to what is spoken, Ezra vi. 4, “That Solomon built the inner-court with three rows of hewn stone, and one row of cedar-beams.” And it is almost past peradventure, that Cyrus gave his commission after that pattern, having learned it from some Jews, that were about him. Having,

^p Duncan's Hebrew Bible, p. 503.

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 1. [Hudson, p. 469.]

^r R. Sol. in Ezra, vi.

therefore, prescribed the dimensions of the temple itself, in ver. 3, he giveth also warrant and platform for walling-in the court, even after the fashion^s that Solomon had used; namely, three rows of great stones to bring up the wall, and a row of cedar-beams, either to crest it, or to lie between as the wall rose. And so do Levi Gershom and D. Kimchi expound these words, in 1 Kings vi; "The walls were three rows of hewn stones, and one of timber of cedar upon them."

The Jews, upon their return out of captivity, did first build the altar, before they set upon the building of the house, Ezra iii. 3: for their necessity and occasions did call upon them to sacrifice, and the very place did warrant their sacrificing, though the temple were not yet built. In the second year after their return, in the second month of the year, which was the second year of Cyrus, they lay the foundation of the house; but, in the next verse, the work is hindered, and so continues forlorn till the second year of Darius, Ezra iv. 24. On the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of that year, they begin to prepare for the building again; and, on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, they set to work.—Compare Hag. i. 15, and ii. 18.

The^t fashion and pattern, which they followed in the particular structures and fabrics about the house, was, as the authors of their own nationⁿ assert, the temple which Ezekiel hath described, chap. xl. and xli, &c. "The children of the captivity (say they) made the building according to the form, that they saw in the building of Ezekiel, in divers things:" which although they could not imitate to the full, especially in the spaciousness of his measures, and sumptuousness of his fabric (that pattern of his being as well a figure of a temple not earthly, and not built with hands, as it was an earnest and promise of an earthly temple, to be built by them upon their return), yet did they lay that copy before them, and did, in very many things, imitate that fashion and form, and platform their buildings and courts thereafter. And so did Herod by the counsel of the wise men, that were in his favour (as, Hillel, Shammai, and Menahem, &c), when he repaired, or rather rebuilt, the temple,—though he did, in divers things, exceed the dimensions of the children's of the captivity, yet did he observe their platform and fashion, as

^s *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 570.

^t *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1067.

ⁿ Midr. cap. 2, and 3. Kimch. in Ezek. xl.

they had done Ezekiel's. And so (as to the form and composure of the things and places themselves), there is so little difference betwixt the buildings of the returned captives, and the buildings of Herod, that the Talmudics do still account both but one temple; and account that, that stood to the destruction of Jerusalem, to be but בית שני 'the second temple,' to Solomon's first: and so indifferently shall we take it up.

CHAP. XI.

The measures and platform of the Temple, as it stood in the time of our Saviour.

HEROD (surnamed 'the Great')^v, when he was a young gallant, before he came to be king, had slain one Ezekias, and some others with him; for which he was called before the Sanhedrim, to be judged for killing a man:—where some of the council fearing him, and some favouring him, and not executing justice as he had deserved,—Shammai, the vice-president of the council, did boldly and plainly tell them, before his face, that “whereas they were so favourable and partial to him now, the time would come, when he would not show them such favour, but should kill them.” And so Herod did, when he was king afterward, destroying the whole Sanhedrim, unless it were two men, Hillel the president, and Shammai the vice-president, who had been so plain with him. And afterward, as it were in way of expiation of this horrid fact^w, he was persuaded by Baba Ben Bota to repair the temple, which he did so thoroughly, that^x he made it *Μεῖζω τε τὸν περίβολον καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἀξιοπρεπέστατον*, “larger in compass, and most glorious in height, taking down the old foundation, and laying new.” This work he began in the eighteenth year of his reign; and in eight years he finished it, some nine years before our Saviour's birth: in all which time, if you will believe the Jews, they will tell you^y, that it never rained in the day-time, lest the work should be hindered. The sumptuousness of this building the same authors, in the treatise 'Succah' in the Gemara^z, do magnify in these expressions: “He that never saw Jerusalem in her glory, never saw lovely city. And he that never saw the Sanctuary with its buildings, never saw goodly buildings. Rab. Hasda

^v Jos. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 17.

^y Juchasin, ubi sup.

^w Juchasiu, fol. 19.

^x Jos. Ant. lib. 15. cap. 14.

^z Succah, cap. 3. in Gemara.

saith, It was Herod's building. And of what did he build it? Rabba saith, Of goodly stone and marble. And some say, כחבני שש מליא of marble painted," or full of curious veins and divers colours. "אפק שפה ועיל שפה" one border or edge went in, and another out:"—which the Gloss expresses thus, מתחאזי ארוחא בימא "It seemed like^a the wavings of the sea, —one row of stones did so curiously go in, and another come out."

The measures of this temple, as it stood in our Saviour's time, and till the destruction of Jerusalem, were מאה על מאה מאה ב'ררים "a hundred cubits long, a hundred cubits broad, and a hundred cubits high:" and yet not an exact cube, but very far from it, as we shall show ere long; for it narrowed so behind, saith the Talmud and Maimonides^c, that it did carry the proportion of a lion.

The form and fashion of this pile on the outside (for of that only we will take a survey as yet), was thus:—it was built of white marble (as Josephus saith^d), in which were such veins and colours, as are spoken of before; the stones of a size and bigness unto admiration, and the walls rose to that great height of a hundred cubits, by these distinctive measures:—

1. האוטם שש אמות "The foundation six cubits high:" not in the ground, though there was also a foundation laid deep enough,—but from the ground six cubits upwards. As it is commonly seen in stone buildings of a great pile, that, near the ground, the fabric is made^e thicker than the wall above, to support the whole weight the better,—even so was it here for six cubits' height.

2. גובהו מ' אמה "The height of the wall forty cubits." That is, from this foundation the wall rose forty cubits plain, without any juttings, borderings, or standings-out, as there were elsewhere. And then was,

3. כיור אמה "A carved and curiously wrought border, of a cubit broad." I translate כיור 'a curious wrought border,' upon the warrant of R. Nathan^g, who, partly out of the Talmud, and partly out of the Chaldee paraphrast^h, renders it ציור 'picturing,' or 'pourtraying:' with which there is the

^a Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 571.

^b Mid. cap. 4.

^c Mid. ibid. Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 4, and 5.

^d Jos. ubi sup.

^e Mid. ibid.

^f English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1068.

^g Aruch in כיור

^h Chal. Par. in 2 Sam. vii. 2.

concurrency of Bartenoraⁱ, who saith, "It was called **בִּיָּר**, because it was gilt with gold, and graven with curious engravery." It may be, along the length of the building the stones were so laid in and out as to resemble the waving of the sea, as the Talmud speaks; but there was no crossing border (as it may be called) till the wall came to this height. Above this embroidered border was,

4. **אמתים בית דלפה** A ledge or gutter to take off the rain, and to carry it clear from dropping upon the wall below: **גובה**: **נב' אמות פנוי שיכנס בו הדלף** "The height of two cubits was prepared for the droppings to come in there:" for so doth sense and necessity cause the word to be interpreted, though Baal Aruch tells us, that there be some that gave it another construction: when we have observed the two next particulars above this, we shall understand what this was the better.

5. **אמה תקרה** "The timber or place for the laying-on of the roof, a cubit."

6. **אמה מעזיבה** "The roof itself, a cubit." The word **מעזיבה** is of some difficult construction: it seemeth to be derived, as R. Nathan^k giveth intimation, from that word, Neh. iii. 8, **ויעזבו את ירושלים** which our English hath rendered, "They fortified," and R. Solomon^l, "They raised with earth." And there Aben Ezra speaks of this very word, that we have in hand; and saith that **עזב** there, and the word we have before us, are both of the same sense: and so the same word **עזב** is used again, Neh. iv. 2. And he telleth us withal, that there are some, that do render that clause **עזב רעזב עמו** Exod. xxiii. 5, according to this construction: "If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee, lying under his burden, thou shalt surely raise him with him."

But as for our word **מעזיבה**, which is not to be found in Scripture, but used by the Talmudic writers, we must have recourse to the Talmud for the meaning of it: and there, as Aruch pointeth us to the places, we find it spoken of and handled in the treatise *Baba Mezia*, and *Baba Bathra*. In the former tract are these words^m; "Is a house and a chamber over it in two men's possession? And the chamber over goes to decay: if the owner of the house" (below) "will not help to repair it, let him that owes the chamber, go and

ⁱ R. Obad. de Barten. in Mid. in loc.

^j Maim. ubi sup.

^k Aruch in voce.

^l R. Sol. et Ab. Ezr. in Neh. iii. 8.

^m *Baba Mezia*, cap. 10.

dwell below, till he do repair. R. Jose saith, The owner of the lower room is to lay on the roof timber, and the owner of the upper room the *מעניבה*” And in the other tract are these words^a; “A man shall not set up a furnace” (or oven) “within a house, unless there be the space of four cubits over it” (namely, for fear the flame should catch in the roof, or floor above): “and if he do set up a furnace in an upper room, it is necessary that there be a *מעניבה* of three fingers’ thick under it.” And the reason is also given for fear of danger of fire.

Now the Gemara upon the former place, in explanation of the word, and Aruch, in explanation of the Gemara, say, that it was a crustedness made of divers materials, as reeds, chalk, stones, and such-like plastering; which, it seemeth by the former place cited, was laid on the top of the house instead of leads to keep out wet; and by the latter, to be made under their furnaces in upper rooms, to prevent fire burning downward. And the determination of R. Jose, “that the dweller below should lay on the roof, and the dweller above the *מעניבה*,” seems to result to nothing else but this,—that the one should lay on the timber of the roof, and the other a cover of plaster, to be laid on the roof upon reeds, of such materials^o tempered together, as should keep out the rain from dropping through. And so do I understand the word in our work that we are viewing; that this was a thick well wrought plaster of materials, so compact, that, being once grown hard, was as a stone; and this was as leads on the roof to keep out wet;—the use of sheets of lead being either unknown to them, or lead being scarce and not to be had. And thus are we come up to the ‘lower leads;’ for so let me call them, as being an expression best known among us.

And here let us take-in a passage of Josephus. He, speaking of the measures of the temple, and of the stones of which it was built, saith^p, “That they were twenty-five cubits long, eight cubits high, and twelve broad, *καὶ παντὸς αὐτοῦ*, saith he, *καθότι καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς στοᾶς, τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ταπεινότατον, ὑψηλότατον δὲ τὸ μεσαίτατον, ὡς περίοπτον ἐκ πολλῶν σταδίων εἶναι, &c.* It was made after the fashion of the royal cloister, lower on either side, and highest in the middle, so

^a Baba Bathra, cap. 2.

^o Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 572.

^p Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 701.]

that it was to be seen many furlongs off," &c. Now the Cloister-royal was so built (as was observed before), that, three walks running along together, roofed over, and borne upon pillars, the roof of the middle was raised far higher than the two of either side it.

And^d so we are, by Josephus, to understand accordingly of the Temple. It was, indeed, of a hundred cubits high, but not so as rising in an equal square, from the bottom to the top,—but rising square fifty-one cubits, as hath been proportioned out. The main foundation six cubits high: the wall plain about it, forty cubits; a carved border above that, one cubit; the place for casting off the rains, two cubits; above that the floor laying on one cubit thick, and the plaster-cover one cubit thick. But then the rise of the building grew narrower; for from thence it was carried up so towards the middle, as that there were left 'leads,' as one may call them, on the north and south sides all along, from the east unto the west. A familiar example of this for the better understanding of it we have in the building of exceeding many of our churches: the pile riseth of a like breadth to the lower leads, and then it riseth only in the middle, to the height or roof of the church. And so was it with the Temple: go either to east or west end, and stand in the middle and look up, and it was one hundred cubits; but go any whit like towards the right or left hand, and it was but half so high, for there were the lower leads. *Leads* I cannot but call them, for that language is best understood amongst us, though they were not covered with lead, a covering not so well known in those times as now,—but with a plaster or parget of a cubit thick, and so strongly wrought and tempered, as that it differed not from the hardness of stone.

We must not forget *בית דלפה*, that we passed over even now, but must look back upon it a little, before we leave these leads, or this first rising that we are now upon. For the passing away of the rains that dropped off this roof, that they should not run down along the wall, and so both moulder and deface the stones,—there was immediately above the embroidered border, that was spoken of, a row of stones that jutted out of the building more than their fellows, which were neatly and artificially guttered or rigged, and as artificially jointed together in the guttering (that no rain should

^d *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1069.

drop through), the rigget laid just under the edge of the leads (or spouts from the leads), that cast off the rains, that the droppings, falling therein, were conveyed away to either end of that side on which they were, and so sent to the ground, either in pipes, or in a great fall from these gutters.

And now to follow the building up still to its perfect height; conceive it to be narrowed now to half the breadth, and so to rise in the middle of the pile, as that the leads, on either side, were twenty-five cubits broad.

1. אמה מ' עלייה של "The height of the room above," or the rising above the leads in a straight wall, "was forty cubits:" this is called עלייה, or 'an upper room,' because it was directly over the Holy and Most Holy Places.

2. אמה כזר "Another carved or engraven border;" such a one as was mentioned before, the breadth of one cubit.

3. בית דלפה "The gutter two cubits," as before, for putting off rains; not that this gutter was two cubits deep, but that it was two cubits from these gutters to the laying-on of the roof.

4. אמה מקרה "The floor or roof, a cubit."

5. אמה מעזיבה "The plaster-cover, a cubit."

6. ג' אמות מעקה "The battlements, three cubits;" this word is used, Deut. xxii. 8, and not elsewhere in Scripture; and yet, saith Aben Ezra^r, "is the sense of it plain enough from the text." And so, indeed, it is: for the Lord there enjoineth, that when a man buildeth a new house, he should make מעקה 'battlements,' lest any one should fall off, and so bring blood upon his house. The roofs of their houses were flat in those countries, Josh. ii. 6, 2 Sam. xvi. 22, Acts x. 19, &c; and there they used to walk, 1 Sam. ix. 25: and, therefore, lest any should fall off, they were to make battlements round about, "ten^t hand-breadths," or "two common cubits, high at the least," lest any one should fall off, and be slain or maimed. So, howsoever it may be well supposed, that they walked not upon the Temple-roof so ordinarily as they did upon their own houses (nor was the Temple-roof altogether so flat as their roofs); yet were battlements also made to it, partly, because it should not come short of the beauty of other buildings,—and partly, because there was occasion sometimes to go upon the roof of it.

^r Aben Ezra, in Deut. xxii.

^s Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 573.

^t D. Kimoh. in Mid.

7. כולה עורב. "The scarecrow, one cubit." What this was, let us first take R. Nathan's^u information for it: "Because (saith he) of the holiness of the first Temple, and the Divine Glory dwelling there, birds flew not on it at all: but as for the second Temple, they feared, that the holiness of it should not be as the holiness of the first; and lest birds should fly over it, and leave some defilement upon it, therefore they set up a picture, to cause birds to keep off the roof of the Temple; and they called it, כולה עורב 'the scarecrow,' as meaning, that it keeps the ravens from flying upon the Temple-roof; and this image or picture was such a one as they use to set upon corn." But by other of the Jews it is defined to be כוון של ברזל כמו סיף גובהו אמה על גבי המעקה סביב "A pike of iron, like a rapier, of a cubit high, upon the top of the battlements round about, made that birds might not light upon" it." And by some again concluded, that there was no such thing as either the one or other, "but^x only that the battlement was four cubits high." But, however it may be a fancy not to be fancied, that there was, or could be, any such course taken as to keep birds off the roof of the Temple (see Psal. lxxxiv. 3, 4),—yet upon the so concurrent testimony of the Hebrew writers, as is to be found, joined with the thought of what an ornament it would add to the building itself, it may very well be concluded, that there were pinnacles upon the battlements round about: as King's College Chapel in Cambridge is decked in the like manner, to its great beauty. Πτερυγίον ἱεροῦ is construed according to this sense by divers expositors, Matt. iv. 5. The roof was not a perfect flat, as was the roof of other houses, but rising in the middle, כושפע ועולה עד שלוח גובהו של מעקה "till^y the very crest of the middle came up as high as the height of the battlement;" as King's College Chapel may be herein a parallel also. And the like battlements and pinnacles are likewise to be allotted to the lower leads.

CHAP. XII.

The Breadth, Chambers, and Stairs, of the Temple.

THUS were the risings of the Temple to its height, in the parcels named: it is now equally requisite to take notice also

^u Aruch in כל

^v Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 4.

^w English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1070.

^x R. Judah, in Mid. cap. 4.

^y Semajah, in Mid.

of the length and breadth of it,—and to observe into what lesser measures those dimensions were divided.

The^z length of it was from east to west, and it was a hundred cubits; and so was the breadth from north to south, in some part of it, but not in all. That part of it, that bare this breadth, was only the porch; for the building behind it was only seventy cubits broad. And the porch stood before it as a cross building, reaching fifteen cubits south, and fifteen cubits north, farther out than the breadth of the Temple: which spaces on either side were thus taken up; “The^a thickness of the wall of the porch, at either end, was five cubits; and from that wall to the wall of the Temple, on either side, were ten cubits.”

So fair a front there was at the entering; a hundred cubits broad, and a hundred and twenty cubits high; for so is Josephus to be understood, when, speaking of the Temple built by Herod, he saith, it was *Μήκει μὲν ρ' πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος κ' περιπτόν*. “A^b hundred long, and twenty cubits above a hundred high:” not all the house throughout so high; for that the Talmud denies, giving so particular and exact account of a hundred only, as we have observed: but the porch of this height, rising twenty cubits above the height of the rest of the house.

Just in the middle of this fair front^c was the gate of the porch, forty cubits high, and twenty cubits broad. It^d had no doors to it at all; but^e it was an open gate, into which, whosoever stood in the court, might look and see the space of the porch within. *Κεχρῦστω δὲ τὰ μέτωπα πάντα, &c.* “All this front was gilt with gold, and through it all the first house” (that is, the porch within) “might be seen; and that glittered with gold also.” Now, by “all this front,” Josephus (for they are his words) meaneth not the whole face of the porch, or all the hundred cubits long, and hundred and twenty^f high, but the very front of the gate, or entrance only, which he showeth to have been seventy cubits high, and twenty-five broad. And herein the Talmud and he do not clash, though the Talmud says, that the height was only forty cubits, and the breadth but twenty: for it speaks only of the

^z Mid. cap. 4.

^a Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 4.

^b Joseph. Ant. lib. 15. cap. 4.

^c Mid. cap. 3.

^d Maim. ubi sup.

^e Joseph. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

^f Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 574.

very hollow entrance,—but he speaks also of the posts and head or front of the whole gate-house, as we observed about the other gates before.

The^s Talmud likewise speaks of five מלתראות beams of some choice wood (the learned Buxtorfius translates it *quercina*), that were laid over this gate, curiously wrought with knots and flowers, and a row of stone still laid between beam and beam. The lowest beam, that lay on the head of the gate, was a cubit on either side longer than the gate was broad: then was laid on that, a row of stone: after that, another carved beam, a cubit on either end longer than the other: and then a row of stone: then another beam; and so of the rest; every beam being a cubit at either end longer than that, that lay below it. These were thus laid over the gate to bear the weight, that was above; they rose to a great height, were curiously engraven, and gilt; and from the highest there was a neat descending border, gathered at either end of the beams, still inward and inward, as the beams shortened; and, at last, it ran down by the cheeks of the entry two cubits and a half broad, on either side the gate. And this was the front, that Josephus meaneth.

And now turn behind this porch, at whether end you will, and look westward:—there ran the body of the Temple itself, pointing exactly upon the middle of the porch, or^h just upon this entrance, that we have been speaking of, the breadth of it between wall and wall, just equal with the breadth of this entrance; but the walls and chambers built on either side, of such a breadth, as that the whole came to seventy cubits broad: and thus doth Ariel, or “the lion of God,” as the Jews interpret it, represent the proportion of a lion, broad before in the large front the porch, which was of a hundred cubits breadth,—and narrow behind, in the buildings of the house, reduced in breadth to seventy cubits; which breadth to take up in its several parcels, we will begin at the north side; and thus we find these particular measures:—

1. כותל המסיבה ה' אמות. “The wall of the gallery, five cubits thick.” This was the outmost wall of all, and it rose to the battlements, or first leads, mentioned before; where the foundation for six cubits high, was said to be six cubits thick: but that odd cubit is not here reckoned, because they

^s Mid. ubi sup.

^h English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1071.

ⁱ Mid. cap. 4.

count it not from the very foundation, but from the wall above, as any one would count in such a building.

2. מסיבה שלש "The gallery, three cubits broad."
3. כותל התא המש "The wall of the chambers, five cubits thick."
4. התא שש "The chambers themselves, six cubits broad."
5. כותל ההיכל שש "The wall of the temple, six cubits thick."
6. תוכו עשרים "The breadth of the Temple within, from wall to wall, twenty cubits."
7. כותל ההיכל שש "The other wall of it, six cubits thick."
8. התא שש "The breadth of the chambers, six cubits."
9. כותל התא המש "The wall of the chambers, five cubits thick."
10. בית הורדת המים שלש "The place of the coming down of the water, three cubits broad."
11. כותל המש "The outmost wall, five cubits."—Seventy in all.

Now^j the chambers were in number eight-and-thirty; fifteen upon the north side, fifteen upon the south, and eight at the west end. They were in three stories,—five in the lowest stories, and five over them, and five over those; thus on the north and south sides: but at the west end, there were three on the ground, and three over them, and two over those. Every chamber was six cubits broad, and twice as long (only the two highest chambers at the west end were of a greater length). And^k there was a space between the chambers on the same floor, in manner of an entry, of some seven cubits and a half broad, that you might pass in it betwixt chamber and chamber, to every chamber-door, which was upon the side.

Before these chambers there ran a gallery from the east end of the building to the west (but at the west end there was none such), of three cubits broad; by which you were carried along to any of these entries between the chambers, and so to any chamber-door. In the outmost wall of the fabric, towards the north and the south, there were four doors on either side, into four entries (for so many there were between five chambers); but as soon as you were come within

^j Mid. sect. 3.

^k See Ezek. xl. 21.

the doors, there ran a gallery¹ along on your right hand and left, over which you stepped into the entry, that was before you. Or if you went not in at the door, that was just opposite to the entry that you would go to, you might go in at any door you thought good; and this gallery would lead you to that entry.

Thus was it with the lowest chambers, and the like gallery and entries were also in the middle story, and in the highest. Now the way to go up into them, was by a large pair of turning stairs, in a turret, at the north-east corner of the north side; by which stairs you went up to the first floor; and there, if you would, you might land in the gallery, and go there to what entry or chamber you would. Or if you would go higher, you might do so likewise into the gallery in the third story; and if you had a mind, you might yet go higher up these stairs, up to the leads, to walk over the chambers, on the roof, round about their whole pile.

But besides this staircase-turret, which thus conveyed to the roof of the buildings, there was such another, at the farthest end of every one of the entries that have been spoken of, which carried up to the first and second floor, or to the upper chambers, but went not so high, as to convey to the roof. And so, had you gone in at any of the four doors to the ground-chambers, either on the north side of the house, or on the south, stepping over the gallery, you came into the entry between two chambers, one on your right hand, and another on your left, and their doors opening into the entry, and facing one another; but before you, towards the Temple-wall, there was a round, large, turret-like staircase, into which you might go out of either chamber, and so go up stairs into the chambers over-head: and from thence up stairs again, into the chambers over them. And thus are we to understand that Talmudic passage, of no small difficulty at the first sight: "There^m were three doors to every one of the chambers, אחד לתא הימין ואחד לתא מהשמאל ואחד לתא שעל גבי: one to the chamber on the right hand, and another to the chamber on the left" (that is, one door to the entry on the one side, and another to theⁿ entry on the other), "and one to the chamber over-head," that is, into this staircase, that carried^o up to the chambers above. And thus "one^o

¹ *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 575.

ⁿ *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1072.

^m *Mid. ubi sup.*

^o *Ezek. xli. 7.*

went up from the lowest story to the highest by the middle : for^p they went up with winding stairs into the middle story, and out of the middle into the third.”

The west-end chambers had no gallery at all before them, but you stepped immediately through the doors, that were in the outmost wall, into the entries ; and at the end of the entries, there was such a staircase as this, which conveyed and carried you up from story to story. On the south, there were such galleries in the three heights, as there were on the north ; and such staircases at the end of the entries, joining to the Temple-wall ; but that space where the galleries were, was called by another name ; not מסיבה ‘ Mesibbah,’ as it was called on the north side, but בית הורדת המים “ the place of the coming down of the water.” Not as if here were the gutters to carry off the rains from the whole house ; but because in this space were laid the pipes, that brought water down from the fountain Etam, to the cistern or well, in the Well-room, that was made to receive them. They were so laid, as that they hindered not the access or passage in the galleries, to any of the chambers ; and, it may be, they were not to be seen at all, but lay under ground in the ground-gallery : but they were glad thus to distinguish between the north and south sides, by these different names, as that they might the easier and quicker be understood, when they spake of a chamber ‘ in the Mesibbah,’ or of a chamber ‘ in the conveyance of the water.’

These chambers, which were of this number, measure, posture, and composure, that hath been spoken,—and whose floor and roof-beams rested upon benches in the Temple-wall, as was observed before,—were for the laying-up some choice treasures and utensils, as also for corn, wine, and oil, and whatsoever was brought-in of tithes and first-fruits, for the sustenance and subsistence of the priests that attended upon the altar : and they were as treasuries or storehouses for that purpose ; Neh. xii. 44, Mal. iii. 10.

And now let us go up the stairs of the great turret, in the north-east corner on the north side (for there was none such on the south), that will carry us to the roof of this building, or on the leads. At the top of the stairs “ he went out at a wicket,” and his face was then towards the west. “ He^q walked upon the leads along upon the north side, till he

^p 1 Kings, vi. 8.

^q Mid. ubi sup.

came to the west corner: when he came thither, he turned his face towards the south corner: when he came to the south, he turned his face eastward, and went all along on the south side," till he came up a good way; and there was a door through the Temple-wall into the rooms over the Holy and Most Holy Places. In this room over them (which was fifty cubits from the ground, and so were the leads) there were these three things worth taking notice of:—

1. That as soon as a man was stepped within the door, there were two cedar-beams or trees laid close together, sloping still upward, and lying along the wall, by which (they were laid so handsomely slope^r, and steps were either cut in them, or nailed upon them) one might go to the very top of the Temple: and this was the way to the higher leads.

2. Just over the parting between the Holy and Most Holy Places, there were some little pilasters set, which showed the partition.

3. In the floor over the Most Holy Place, there were divers holes like trap-doors, through which, when occasion required, they let down workmen by cords, to mend the walls of the Most Holy Place, as there was need. And they let them down in chests, or close trunks, or some such things, where they could see nothing but their work before them; and the reason of this is given by the Jews, שלא יזנו עיניהם, מביית קדשי הקדשים that "they might not feed their eyes with looking upon the Most Holy Place^s." Once a year, between Passover and Passover, they whited the Temple-walls within: and for this, and other necessary work about the house within, it was desired and endeavoured, that priests or Levites should do the work: but if such were not found to do it, then other Israelites were admitted; and they were admitted to go through the doors into the Most Holy Place, if chests or trunks were not to be found, in which to let them down.

CHAP. XIII^t.

The Porch.

SECT. I. *The Steps up to it.*

IN taking particular account of the length of the building, from east to west, which was a hundred cubits,—we will

^r Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 576.

^s Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 4.

^t English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1073.

first begin at the porch, which was the beautiful front eastward,—and view severally every special place and parcel, till we come to the west end.

The^v spreading of the porch in length was a hundred cubits, and, in height, a hundred and twenty cubits higher than the height of the Temple. And this porch, which was a cross building to the Temple itself, and so high above it, may not improperly be conceived to be that place, whither Satan brought our Saviour in his temptation, when he is said to have brought him *εἰς πτερύγιον ἱεροῦ*,—properly, to “the wing of the Temple.”

There were several things at this front, before we stir from it, that were very remarkable, and cannot be passed without observation. And the first that we will look upon, shall be the steps, that rose up out of the court into this entrance,—which were^v twelve in number, every step half a cubit rising, six cubits in the whole rise; and so much was the floor of the porch higher than the floor^v of the court. And here we meet with a passage in the treatise Middoth, in the place cited in the margin, which is exceeding hard to be understood,—and the very same also in Maimonides, in whom it is harder: The words are these:—Having spoken of the steps that went up to the porch, that they were twelve, and that the rise of every step was half a cubit, and the breadth of it to stand upon a cubit,—it comes on and saith, *אמה אמה ורובד שלש ואמה אמה רובד שלש והעלינה אמה אמה רובד ארבע* which, applied to the steps and their rising, I should translate to this sense; “At every cubit’s rise, there was a half pace of three cubits broad,—and at the highest cubit’s rise, there was a half pace of four cubits broad.” The meaning is this, ‘That as you had gone up two steps (which, being half a cubit high a-piece, made but a cubit’s rise), at the third step, the space you tread upon, was enlarged, and was three cubits broad; whereas the steps themselves, that you had come up, were but one cubit’s breadth: and so from this enlarged breadth, or half space, step two steps farther, and there was another; and after two steps more, another: and after two steps yet more, there was the highest, which was a half space or enlargement of four cubits breadth: and so every third step of the twelve was a half pace, or such an enlargement, which made the ascent exceeding beautiful and

* See chap. x. p. 245, of this volume.

^v Mid. cap. 3.

stately.'—And this helpeth to understand a passage in the treatise Joma, which, at the first reading, is not easy to be understood: where relating, how, when the high-priest, on the day of expiation, had slain his own bullock, he gave the blood to one to stir it, to keep it from congealing, it saith, שבהיכל ממרס בו על הרובד הרביעי שבהיכל “That” he stirred it about, upon the fourth half pace of the Temple:” which Maimonides expresseth, “מנרנדו על הרובד הרביעי של היכל מבחוץ” “He stirred it about, that it should not congeal, upon the fourth half pace of the Temple without;” that is, upon the very top of these twelve steps, that went up into the porch. The word רובד Baal Aruch^y (after the production of many examples of it) renders by מצבות ‘standings,’ or ‘pillars,’ or ‘benches;’ I find not a fitter word for it here to express it by than *half pace*.

Now Maimonides^z, in Beth Habbechirah, or in his ‘Treatise of the Temple,’ having to deal with these words of the Talmud, that we have been speaking of,—doth utter them thus, סביב לכותלי האולם מלמטה עד למעלה כך היו אמה אחת חלק ורובד שלש אמות ואמה חלק ורובד שלש אמות עד למעלה Round about the walls of the porch from below upward they were thus: one cubit plain, and then a half pace^a of three cubits; one cubit plain” (or an ordinary rising of steps), “and then another half pace of three cubits, and so up; so that the half paces did go about the walls of the porch.” His meaning is the same with what was said before; but he addeth somewhat more, and that is,—that these twelve steps, thus beautifully spreading, every third step, into a half pace, did not only go up to the entrance into the porch, but, also, there were such steps all along the front of the porch eastward; and also such steps at either end of it, north and south; and the reason of this was, because the floor of the porch was so much higher than the floor of the court; and there then were doors in the buildings besides the great door, that gave passage into the Temple; and into these doors you could not get without such steps.

^w Joma, cap. 4.

^x Maim. in Joma Habbech. cap. 5.

^y Aruch in רבד

^z Cap. 4. versus finem.

^a Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 577.

SECT. II^b.*The two Pillars, Jachin and Boaz.*

OF the gate or entrance into the porch, and so into the Temple, and of its dimensions and beauty, hath been spoken before; and therefore, as to that particular, we need say no more here, but may be silent. But one main part of the ornament and beauty of it was there omitted, and reserved to this place,—and that is, the two famous pillars, that, in Solomon's Temple, stood at the cheeks of the entrance or passage in,—*Jachin* and *Boaz*. I find not, indeed, mention, among the Jews' antiquities, of any such pillars set at the entrance of the Temple, that we are surveying (which was the Temple built by Herod, the Temple that was in the days of our Saviour), though Ezekiel speaks of such pillars at the door of his Temple, chap. xl. 49: yet, because we desire to give account chiefly of what we find recorded in Scripture concerning the Temple in general, we cannot pass over two such memorable monuments as these two pillars, of whom the story and relation is held out by the Scripture so largely and exactly.

1. These two pillars (which were of brass) consisted, either of them, of two parts,—the pillar itself,—and the boll, or chapter, that was set on the head of it. The pillar itself was hollow, the circle encompassing the hollow four fingers thick, and the compass of that circling twelve cubits about, Jer. lii. 21, 1 Kings vii. 15^c; the whole thickness or diameter of either pillar four cubits, or three cubits, and four fifth parts of a cubit, as is the reckoning of Levi Gershom: The chapter, or boll, likewise, of either pillar, was hollow, and was a huge piece of brass boll, of oval fashion, which had a very large hole in it, into which the top of the pillar was let, and so this chapter sat upon it.

2. The length or height of either pillar was eighteen cubits, besides the chapter; for the text doth clearly reckon the height of pillar and chapter distinctly. Now the Book of Chronicles summeth the length of both pillars together, and saith, "they were five-and-thirty cubits" high, 2 Chron. iii. 15; in which it cometh short a cubit of that account and sum, that is given in the Book of Kings and Jeremiah,

^b *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1074. ^c R. Sol. in 1 Kings, vii. R. Lev. Gers. ib.

which says, that “either pillar was eighteen cubits,” and so the whole of both was six-and-thirty. But half a cubit of either pillar was taken up and hid in the hole of the chapter, that sat upon it: and so that text in the Book of Chronicles measures them, as they stood with the chapters upon them; two-and-twenty cubits and a half high,—pillar, and chapter, and all.

3. The chapter, or oval, on the head of either pillar, is called in Hebrew כותרת, which Rabbi Solomon renders in the vulgar פומלים, ‘pumels,’—Kimchi, ‘a crown;’ with which the Chaldee agrees, who expresseth it by קרונתא ‘corona;’ but Levi Gershom more exactly saith, “it was like two crowns joined together.” It was a huge great oval of five cubits high, and did not only sit upon the head of the pillars, but also flowered or spread them, being larger about a great deal than the pillars themselves.

4. Whereas it is said, both in 1 Kings vii. 16, and Jer. lii. 22, that “the height of either chapter was *five* cubits,”—and yet, in 2 Kings xxv. 17, it is said, that “the height of the chapter was *three* cubits;” it is generally and well answered by the Jews, that the lowest two cubits of the chapter were plain, and without any graving or embroidering,—but the three upper cubits were of such embroidery. To which may be added, and some of them do add it, that the two lower cubits were but the rising into the spreading or belly of the chapter, and that they there are not reckoned in that place, but only from the belly upward the account is taken.

5. The engravery or embroidery of both of these chapters is thus described by the Holy Ghost in various particulars; as,

1. שבנים מעשה שבכה I Kings vii. 17; which our English renders, “nets of checker-work:” and so the Seventy useth the word *nets* also. The original word doth properly signify the enwrapping and enfolding of the branches of trees one within another, as, Neh. i. 10, Gen. xxii. 13, Jer. iv. 7, Isa^d. x. 34: “As vines or thickets” (saith Kimchi^e, explaining the word), “that are caught and enfolded one within another.” And so some others express this clause; כמין לולבין של דקל; “That the embroidery was like the branches of palm-trees:” or like the handful of branches, they used to carry in their hands

^d Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 578.

^e Michlol in ספר

at the feast of Tabernacles. This I conceive to be the proper meaning of the words,—that the chapiters were curiously wrought with branch-work, seven goodly branches standing up with their feet from the belly of the oval, and their boughs and leaves curiously and lovelily intermingled and inwoven, one with another. And the words might not improperly be translated thus, for the clearer understanding of their meaning, and of the manner of the work itself,—“With thickets of branch-work, and wreaths of chain-work.”

2. גדילים מעשה שרשרות, “Wreaths of chain-work.” The word גדילים, in Deut. xxii. 12, signifies the *fringes*, that they wore upon their garments for memorials of the law; כרספדין, κράσπεδον, in the Chaldee paraphrast. And according to such a sense is it to be taken here,—that, about the belly of the chapiter, was a curious fringe or border of wreathen and entwined work, upon which border stood the feet or root of the branch-work spoken of before; and those branches from thence went upward, spreading upon the swelling of the chapiter, and bowing towards the top of the oval, as the oval bowed, and they there growing into their contracted tops.

3. שני טורים סביב “Two rows of pomegranates” were wrought artificially below the boughs of these branches, as if they had been the apples, that those branches bare; but only that they were not scattered dispersedly among the branches, as apples used to be in their trees, but were ranked into two several rows or borders severally below them.

But here we had need to look upon the text with much seriousness; for in two things about this very thing it speaks obscurely and with much difficulty. For, first, in speaking of these rows it saith, that “the chapiters were above or upon the pomegranates,” 1 Kings vii. 18. Now it is so harsh to hear of the chapiters’ being upon the pomegranates, whereas it is most undoubted, that the pomegranates were upon the chapiters,—that some copies, as David Kimchi tells us, have been so bold as to change the word;—and, instead of על ראש הרמונים “upon the head of the *pomegranates*,” to read העמודים “upon the head of the *pillars* :” but, as he well observes, the Masoreth, by putting a כותיה לית בותיה upon it, or a note that it is not-read so any where else, doth conclude, that it is, and must be, read so here, “upon the head of the *pomegranates*.” Now the construction of this may be fetched from

¹ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1075.

2 Chron. iii. 16, where it is said, that "he put the pomegranates upon the chains;" that is, the two rows of the pomegranates were close above the fringe or border of chain-work, which was, as it were, the bottom and basis of the embroidery: and so the bulk and body of the chapter, where the embroidery was, was above these rows of the pomegranates; and though the stalks of the branches rested upon the fringe or chain-work, yet did they not spread into their leaves and branches, till their stalks had carried them above the pomegranates. Therefore the construction and sense of that verse,—viz. 1 Kings vii. 18,—is to be taken thus; "Thus he made the pillars: and there were two rows round about by the branch-work, which branch-work was for to cover the chapter, even that of the chapter, that was above the pomegranates." Secondly, There is no small scruple about the number of the pomegranates, because the text doth sum them up in several countings; for, in 2 Chron. iii. 16, there is mention only of a hundred; in 1 Kings vii. 20, of two hundred; and, in 1 Kings vii. 42, of four hundred. In all which diversity the main difficulty rests in the count of Jeremiah; for there were a hundred pomegranates in every row, according to the reckoning of the Book of Chronicles; and so there were two hundred upon either chapter, as is the account of the Book of Kings, in the former place cited, that is, four hundred upon both chapters, according to the sum of the latter quotation. But what to make of Jeremiah's ninety-six, is somewhat intricate at the first sight:—his words are these, ויהי הרמונים תשעים וששה רוחה, where the last word is hard to translate, and breeds all the scruple: the Chaldee and Seventy render it, "The pomegranates were ninety-six on a side," and so doth the Italian, and our English. But this is of a very hard construction, since the rows of pomegranates were in circles, the chapter being round: and whereas there were but a hundred in a row, how could ninety-six of them be upon one side? The word is more easy to paraphrase, than 'verbatim' to translate. The meaning of the clause is this, "That whereas there were a hundred pomegranates in every row,—when the pillars were set to the wall, four of every row could not be seen, but ninety-six might,—the other four being hid behind the pillar, as it stood close up to the wall: and^s so the pomegranates were

ninety-six only in sight." Therefore the word רוחה may well be translated in the clause thus, "And the pomegranates were ninety-six on the open sides, or towards the open air:" for in this sense I conceive רוח to stand here.

4. It is said, moreover, in the text in the Book of Kings, וכותרות מעשה שושן באולם ארבע אמות 1 Kings vii. 19, "And the chapiters, which were on the top of the pillars, had lily-work in the porch four cubits;" for so should I rather translate it, than were of lily-work; and that upon these grounds:—1. Because the work^h of the chapiters is so exactly described before to be of branch-work and pomegranates, and that but for three cubits or thereabout, that I cannot possibly imagine, how they should be said besides, "to be of lily-work four cubits." 2. The text expressly telleth afterward, that "the lily-work was on the top of the pillars," ver. 22, and not on the top or sides of the chapiters. 3. The word באולם 'in the porch,' or 'by the porch,' hath its special emphasis and intention: for it is not said at all, that either the chapiters or the pomegranate-work were 'in the porch,' but the thing is referred only to the lily-work.

The meaning, therefore, of the verse appeareth to be this,—That, at the head of the pillar, even at the setting-on of the chapter, there was a curious and a large border or circle of lily-work, which stood out four cubits under the chapter,—and then turned down, every lily or long tongue of brass, with a neat bending, and so seemed as a flowered crown to the head of the pillar, and as a curious garland whereon the chapter had its seat. And that particular expression, that it was *in* or *by the porch*, intendeth to show, that these long tongues of brass, which were made like lilies, did not suddenly decline, and lie down upon the sides of the pillars, nor suddenly ascend and stick upon the sides of the chapter,—but stood out into and along the porch a four-cubit circle, after the manner of a spread lily; and then the tongue bended downward, as the lily doth.

And this construction of that verse, helpeth to clear and explain the next verse, that follows after it, which, otherwise, would cost some pains to translate it out of the original, or to make facile sense of it being translated. In consonancy and contexture to the verse before, so understood as hath been held out, this verse may be interpreted and paraphrased

^h English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1076.

thus: "And the chapters upon the two pillars were also above this lily-work, for they sat upon the growing out of it, even from over-against the belly, which was by the branch-work;" for the lily-work wrought out, as far as the belly of the chapters wrought out, with an accurate bowing or swelling upwards towards the belly, where the stalks of the branch-work, and the rows of the pomegranates, were; even as a lily gently swelleth up, before the tongue, or utmost point of it, turneth down again.

5. The place, where these pillars stood, is somewhat uncertain: the text, indeed, saith, they stood "before the house," 2 Chron. iii. 15, and "before the Temple," ver. 17: but yet it is to seek, whether within the porch at the entering in, or without the porch, or within the porch at the Temple-door; which last is the opinion of Rabbi Solomon upon the text cited. Upon these four reasons, I am induced to conceive, that they stood within the porch, even at the very entering into it, joining or standing up to the very cheeks of the gate or entrance:—1. Because Ezekiel hath so placed his two pillars in the porch of his Temple,—namely, at the top of the steps, by the posts or cheeks of the entrance itself; Ezek. xl. 49. 2. Because, as we observed before, it is said, that the lily-work under the chapters was four cubits in the porch. 3. Because the Book of Kings saith, That Solomon set up the pillars, לְאֵילֵי "for the porch," as the word properly signifies,—though David Kimchi and our English translate it *in*. The expression seemeth to intimate these two things,—First, That the pillars were set up for the porch-door, and not for the Temple-door, as was the opinion of Solomon Jarchi cited before: and, secondly, That they stood for the porch, or very entrance into the building, as door-cheeks or posts at that entrance: κατὰ τοῦ προπυλαίου παραστάδα, "At the door-cheeks of the porch," as saith Josephusⁱ. 4. That obscure passage of Ezekiel, chap. xl. 48, "The breadth of the gate was three cubits on this side, and three cubits on that side," cannot be so understood, as if the entry or passage into the porch were but six cubits broad (and why, also, should he speak of 'this side, and that side,' if he meant but one entire breadth?); but it is well understood by Kimchi to mean, that, on either side of the entry, there was something standing out into the

ⁱ Jos. Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2.

breadth of the entry, three cubits, which made the passage itself but fourteen cubits broad: which measure of three cubits, though it fell short one cubit of the thickness of these pillars cast by Solomon, yet, suiting with the measure of Ezekiel's pillars, it may do this for us, as to show us how these pillars that we have in hand, were placed, by the disposing and placing of those of his,—namely, on your right hand, and on your left, as soon as ever you were stepped within the porch.

The names of the two pillars (to omit the fancies of some Jews^l about them) were *Jachin* and *Boaz*, 1 Kings vii. 21, which words denote, “establishment and strength;” *Jachin* signifieth, *he will establish*,—from God's promise to establish the throne of David, and his people Israel: and *Boaz* denoteth *herein is strength*; namely, alluding either to God's promise, in which was all their strength and settlement; or to the ark which was within, which is called, “The strength of the Lord,” Psal. lxxx. 2, and cv. 4.

SECT. III^k.

The Closets for the Butchering-instruments. בית החילפות

YET before we enter into the porch, and so into the Temple, there is one thing more calls for our observation, and that is, certain closets or places, that were in this pile of the porch,—in which were laid-up the knives and instruments that were used by the priests, about the killing, and slaying, and cutting up the beasts to be sacrificed. The treatise Middoth giveth intelligence and account of these places in these words, האולם עודף עליו טו' אמה מן הצפון וטו' אמה מן הדרום “The porch was broader than the Temple, fifteen cubits on the north, and fifteen cubits on the south, and that that exceeded was called Beth Hachillapoth, where they laid-up the knives.”

The word מוחלפים doth signify ‘the butchering knives of the Temple,’ Ezra i. 9; from חלפ, saith Aben Ezra^m, as it betokeneth *cutting-off*, which it doth, Isa. ii. 18, Prov. xxxi. 8. Andⁿ so saith Kimchi on the same place; מוחלפים “are knives: and of this sense is Beth Hachillapoth; for because they laid-up the knives there,—therefore, the place was called, ‘The chamber of the laying-up of the knives’ לשכת בית החילפות”

^l Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 580.

^k English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1077.

¹ Mid. cap. 4. sect. 7.

^m Vid. Aben Ez. in Ezra, i.

ⁿ Kimch. ib.

There was, therefore, on either end of the extent of the porch, for that space that it stood out farther than the buildings of the Temple,—a chamber; one at the end towards the north, and another at the end towards the south: in which two large chambers were four-and-twenty little closets, wherein the knives were laid-up severally for the four-and-twenty courses of the priests. And these and such-like little closets the Jews call חלונות ‘Fenestræ,’ or ‘windows;’ because they were closets or boxes joining to the wall. And besides these that we are speaking of, where the butchery-instruments were laid-up,—Maimonides reckons fourscore and sixteen more, for the laying-up of other things, four for every one of the four-and-twenty courses. “There were (saith he^o) ninety-six closets חלונות in the Temple, wherein to lay-up the vestments, four closets for every course. And the name of every course was written upon their closets, and they were all shut: and when the men of any course came into the service upon the sabbath, they opened their closets, and took out the utensils: and, when they went out of the service, they restored their vestments to their closets again, and shut them up. And why made they four closets for every course? namely, that the utensils might not be jumbled together; but all the breeches were in one closet, and upon it was written, *Breeches*; girdles in another closet, and upon it was written, *Girdles*; all the bonnets in another closet, and all the coats in another.”

Now he neither telleth, where these closets were, nor speaketh he among them all, of these for the knives, that are before us: and the reason of this latter, is easily given, because in the place, where he hath the words that are produced, he is only speaking of the installing and arraying of the priests: but where to find these ninety-six closets, he hath left us at uncertainty. Were they in the rest of the building of this porch? It is not like they were; because the priests usually came ready with their vestments on, into the court, and especially so high as the porch, and came not thither for their vestments to put them on. There was room enough in the other buildings about the courts to lodge all these closets in; but where to point them out, we must suspend.

But what became of the other rooms of the porch, be-

^o Maim. in Kele Mikd. cap.

sides the entrance; and these two at either end of the building? for there were five-and-twenty cubits between the entrance and these chambers on either side upon the ground, and there were divers chambers and several stories over-head, the building being so very long, and so very high. There is not express intimation to be had, either in Scripture, or in the Jews' antiquities, as far as I can find, how these several parts were disposed of; and, therefore, we can assert nothing, but leave it to censure.

A renowned monument the Jews speak of^p,—namely, 'crowns,' that were laid-up *בבלינות* *in closets*, for a memorial: as it is said in the prophet Zechariah (for they take that literally), Zech. vi. 14, "And the crowns shall be to Helem, and to Tobiah, and to Jedaiah, and to Hen, the son of Zephaniah, for a memorial in the temple of the Lord." And they say, that the young men, or candidates of the priesthood, did use to climb up golden chains, which were fixed to the roof of the entry of the porch, that they might look up into the closets, to see these crowns.

SECT. IV^q.

A Golden Vine in the Porch, and a Golden Candlestick: and a Marble, and a Golden Table.

AND now let us go in at the entrance of the porch. And there Josephus's prospective doth represent it to us in these colours; *Θύρας οὐκ εἶχε τοῦ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀδιὰ κλειστον ἐνέβαινε κεχρύσωτο δὲ τὰ μέτωπα πάντα, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ὅ, τε πρῶτος οἶκος ἔσωθεν ἅπας κατεφαίνετο, μέγιστος ὦν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν εἴσω πύλην πάντα λαμπόμενα χρυσῷ, &c.* "That it had no doors, because it did represent the open heaven, and all the front of the gate was gilt with gold; and through the gate you might see all the porch within, which was large" (for it was twenty cubits long, and eleven over), "and all about the inner-door shining with gold."

Over this inner-door (which meaneth the door of the Temple), there was a great golden vine, of so vast a bigness, that (as^s the same Josephus relateth) it had *βότρυας ἀνδρομήκεις*, "bunches of grapes as big as the proportion of a man." And like a true natural vine, it grew greater and greater, till

^p Mid. cap. 3. sect. 8. Kimch. et Jarch. in Zech. vi.

^q *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1078.—*Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 581.

^r Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 1227.]

^s Id. *ibid.*

it came up to so great a bigness by time and degrees; for *מי שהוא מתנדב עליה או גרגיר או אשכול מניא ותולה בה* "men would be offering, some, gold to make a leaf,—some a grape, some a bunch: and these were hung up upon it, and so it was increasing continually."

Over the Temple-door also, there was a golden candlestick, which was given thither by Helena, the queen of Adiabeni, a woman of famous renown, and of great benefactorship towards the Jews; of whom, and of whose sons, Izates and Monobazus,—Josephus hath a large story, *Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2*, whither I refer the reader. Of this candlestick of her bestowing, there is mention in the Talmudic treatise *Joma*^t, in this passage: "Ben Kattin made the twelve cocks for the laver, whereas, before, it had but two; he also made the engine for the laver" (of which hereafter), "that the water of it might not be unclean, by staying in it all night. Munbaz" (Monobazus) "the king, made all the handles of the vessels, which were for the service of the day of expiation, of gold. Helena, his mother, made the golden candlestick over the Temple-door: she also made the golden table, whereon was written the section about the suspected wife," &c.

In^u the porch, on either side of the Temple-door, there was a table. On the right side, a table of marble; and on it they set down the show-bread, as they carried it new into the temple. And, on the left side, was a table of gold, on which they set the whole bread down for a while, when they fetched it out. And the reason why they began on the marble table, and ended on the golden, was, *שמועלין בקודש ולא מורידין* "Because they rose higher and higher with holy things, and went not lower and lower."

CHAP. XIV.

The Holy Place.

SECT. 1. *The Temple-door.*

THE entrance out of the porch into the Temple was through two gates, and either gate had two doors or folding leaves: for the better understanding of which, let us first look upon the dimensions of this passage, as we have done upon the others.

^t *Joma*, cap. 3.

^u *Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 3.*

The Talmud and Josephus do seem, at the first sight, exceedingly to differ, about the measure of this gate; the Talmud^v reckoning it but twenty cubits high, and ten broad; and he^w, five-and-fifty cubits high, and sixteen broad. In which diversity, if we take the proper meaning of either party, the difference between them will not be so vast, as, at the first scanning, it doth seem to be. It is the manner of the Talmud, in measuring of the gates, to speak only of the open space, through which the passage was; but Josephus, as hath been observed before, measures *παραστάδας καὶ ὑπερδύρα*, the whole front of the gate, both above the open space and spreading of the posts on either side it: and, after this their usual manner, they, both of them, measure this gate through which we are going. The very open space, that gave the passage, was but twenty cubits high and ten broad; and of this measure were the two doors: but the front of the^x gate was three cubits (curiously wrought and richly gilt) on either side, and thirty-five cubits above the gate to the roof or first floor of the entry of the porch: and this is the meaning of Josephus, as it appeareth plainly enough by these his two passages. For, as to the first, he saith, *ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ οἴκου πύλη κεχρύσωτο μὲν πᾶσα, καὶ ὅλον περὶ αὐτῆς τεῖχος*, “That the gate of the house” (meaning this that we are about) “was gilt all over, and so was the wall all about it.” And, as to the second, he hath this saying, somewhat difficult, but, well understood, resolving the matter, according as hath been spoken; *Ὅντος δὲ ἤδη τοῦ ναοῦ διστέγου, ταπεινότερα τῆς ἔξωθεν ἦν, καὶ δύρας εἶχε χρυσᾶς πεντηκονταπέντε πήχων τὸ ὕψος, εὖρος δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα*. “But the Temple having two floors, or being double-roofed, that within was lower than that without, and had gilded doors of fifty-five cubits high, and sixteen broad.”

Now by what he saith, that the Temple was *διστέγος*, or ‘double-floored’ or roofed, his meaning is, that, as you stood in the Temple, there was a first floor over^y your head,—and a room above that, which was called *קלל*, of which we have spoken before,—and above that, there was the roof. Had all the house been open to the very roof, as our churches are, there could have been no difference between the height of the Holy and Most Holy Places to the roof, but both had

^v Mid. cap. 4. sect. 1.

^w Joseph. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

^x English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1079.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 582.

been alike. * But both places being floored over, and having an upper chamber above them, there was a difference made in the height of this first floor: for, in the Holy Place, it was five-and-fifty cubits from the ground; but, in the Most Holy Place, it was but twenty, as shall be showed. Now the porch had its floor, lay at the least, as high, if not higher, than the floor of the Holy Place: and so the space above the gate to the first floor was a goodly space, and made a fair front. It seemeth by our author, that the first floor of the porch was ninety cubits high; yet doth he reckon the height of the gate but five-and-fifty, because he reckons only to the height of the floor of the Holy Place, and the height of the front of the gate of the oracle; for he speaketh of them both alike.

Thus much being observed concerning the height and breadth of this gate, it is also to be remembered, that the wall of the Temple was six cubits thick, as was observed, when we measured the breadth of the building. The² two leaves of the gate, therefore, which were five cubits broad a-piece, were hung up a little within the thickness of the wall from the porch; so that, when they were opened, they covered the whole thickness of the wall on the right hand, and the left, that, as you passed through, you could not see it.

Now, at the very farthest of the thickness of the wall, towards the Holy Place, there was a two-leaved door likewise paralleled to this, that we have surveyed; which, when the leaves opened, they fell back to the wall, which was at the lower end of the house, and covered a place, which was un-gilded: for all the walls were gilded, but only the places where the leaves of the doors fell back. And thus had you two several doors of two folding leaves a-piece to go through between the porch and the Temple, the one standing within a cubit of the porch, and the other at the very edge of the wall within; and so, when they were both shut, there was a five-cubit space between them, which was so much space in the thickness of the Temple-wall.

The outer-door is called commonly by the Jews, "the great door of the Temple," not but that the inner-door was as big, but because of the great front that this gate had, which the other had not. And of this outer-door there are these memorials, or remarkable things, recorded among them:—

* Mid. ubi supr. Ezek. iv. 14.

First, That the morning-sacrifice was never killed, till this door was opened: and so it is recorded in the treatise Tamid^a, or concerning the daily-sacrifice, לא היה השוחט פוחש עד ששומע, קול שער הגדול שנפתח "that he that was to slay the sacrifice, killed him not, till he heard the noise of the great gate opening." And there they relate, the noise of this gate might be heard to Jericho; and so the noise of divers other things there mentioned, in which they do hyperbolize for the glorifying of the matters of the Temple. And a second thing, for which this door is renowned among them is, for that it had two wickets in it, in either leaf one, one in the north leaf, and another in the south: and that through that in the south no man passed; but that that was it, of which Ezekiel saith, "This^b gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it," &c.

Now for the opening of these doors every morning, the way was thus:—one took a key, and opened the wicket in the north leaf of the door, and went in, into the five-cubit space between the two doors: and there he went in at a door into the very wall, where there was a hollow passage into the Holy Place, coming forth in the place, where one of the leaves of the inner-door fell to the wall.

Being^c come in, he opened that inner-door; and then he came, and opened the outer-door, at the noise of the opening of which the killer of the morning-sacrifice went about that work. In^d this five-cubits' space between the two doors, even behind the leaf of the door on the right hand, there was a marble flag, of a cubit square, lay loose in the floor with a ring fastened in it to pull it up: and when the priests tried the suspected wife, they came hither and pulled up this stone, and took dust from under it, to put into the water to make her drink, as was enjoined, Num. v. 17, &c.

SECT. II.

The Veil.

BETWEEN these two doors also in this five-cubit space, there hung a veil answerable to the veil at the door of the tabernacle, Exod. xxvi. 36. And so it is testified by Josephus^e, who speaks of two veils, one at the entering in to the

^a Tamid, cap. 3. Maim. in Tamid, cap. 6.

^b Ezek. xliiv. 2.

^c English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1080.

^d Sotah, cap. 2.

^e Joseph. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

Holy Place, and another to distinguish betwixt the Holy and Most Holy. And he describes the veil to have been of the measures, that he had newly spoken of before,—namely, five-and-fifty cubits deep, and sixteen cubits broad (yet the gate, where it hung^f, was but ten); and that it was *πέπλος Βαβυλώνιος* (שַׁנִּית בָּבֶלֶת Josh. vii. 21), ‘ Babylonian tapestry-work,’ of blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen, which he resembles to the four elements.

Other Jews, likewise, give us intimation of such a veil hanging at the entrance into the Holy Place. For the Talmudic treatise *Tamid*^g, mentioned but a little before, speaking of the high-priest’s going into the Holy Place to worship, saith, “ There were three that held him, one by his right hand, and another by his left hand, and a third by the precious stones in the breast-plate. And when the president heareth the sound of the high-priest’s feet coming out, he lifteth up the veil for him: and then himself goeth in and worshippeth; and after him his brethren the priests go in and worship.”

There^h were thirteen veils in all about the Temple:—namely, seven for the seven gates of the court; one, at the gate of the porch; one, at the gate of the Temple; and two, betwixt the Holy and the Most Holy Places; and two, just over them in the room above. And there was an overseerⁱ of the veils, that took care for the supply and the right ordering of them; and if they were defiled by any common uncleanness, they were taken down, and washed, and hung up in the *כֶּלֶת Chel* to dry. And when new veils were made, they were hung up on the gallery in the Court of the Women, that they might be viewed by all the people, to see, that they were right.

SECT. III.

The Holy Place itself.

THIS place was forty cubits long and twenty broad: and, in Solomon’s Temple, it was thirty cubits high^j, having no floor at all on this side the roof; but^k, in Herod’s Temple, it was sixty. For the children of the captivity building their Temple sixty cubits high, they floored it not over, but left it

^f *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 1. p. 583.

^g *Maim. in Kele Mikdash*, cap. 7.

^j *1 Kings*, vi. 2. 17.

^g *Tamid*, cap. 7.

ⁱ *Shekalim*, cap. 5.

^k *Joseph. ubi supr.*

open to the roof in the Holy Place, as Solomon's Temple had been; and according to the same height was the floor laid, when it was floored-over, in the time of Herod.

And here two things are to be remembered; 1. That whereas the lower leads of the building, which were over the side-chambers, were but fifty cubits high, as hath been described,—there was a passage off those leads into the upper chamber over the Holy Place, and it was by steps of ten cubits high, partly without the wall, and partly within the thickness of the wall itself. 2. That there was an inequality of the height of the floors in the three parts of the house, the porch, the Holy Place, and the Most Holy. The first floor of the porch was ninety cubits high, the Holy Place sixty, and the Most Holy but twenty. And, therefore, whereas there was a floor over the Most Holy Place, even with the floor over the Holy Place, viz. at sixty cubits' height, that was not the first floor over it, but there was another floor forty cubits beneath that.

The beauty and richness of this place was exceeding great. The floor of it, upon which they trod, was planked with fir-boards, and they gilt with gold; and the walls were also ceiled or wainscotted with cedar, and that gilt likewise. This gilding was from the ground-floor, even to the floor over-head, all the sixty cubits high up the walls; and this is meant when the text saith, עַד קִירוֹת הַסָּפֵן, “He built the walls of the house within with boards of cedar, from the floor of the house to the walls of the covering:” that is, up to the very walls of the floor over-head, as it is well expounded by the Rabbins upon that place.

For¹ fifty cubits' height of the walls was the embroidery of branches and open flowers, &c, and for the ten cubits above, it was the place of the windows: for the side-chambers without the house, in three stories, did take up the height of fifty cubits high; so that for so high no windows could be made into the house; but the space of ten cubits above, was the place for the windows, which were made narrow without, and broad within.

The deckage or carving of the wainscot of the walls, is said to be מְקֻלָּעַת פִּקְעִים וּפְטוּרֵי צִצִּים “The carving of knops and open flowers,” as our English renders it; but the Hebrew doctors are somewhat nice about the construction of

¹ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1081.

these words. The Chaldee expounds it, “the engraving of the likeness of eggs” (ovals) “and wreaths of lilies:” as if he meant, that he wrought the walls with the work of lily garlands, and an oval in the midst of a garland. Levi Gershom^m understands פקעי *ovals*, as the Chaldee doth; but he takes them to be such ovals, as are the buds of flowers, and that, out of them, came פטורי צצי “the flowers spreading and opening,” as in their maturity. David Kimchiⁿ takes פקעי for ‘wild gourds;’ and so our English hath it also in the margin. And this I take to be the proper construction of the words, and this the embroidery of the walls: that there was the carving of cherubims and palm-trees, and the carving of gourds and open flowers interchanged thus:—first, a border of gourds or pompions, or such-like apple-fashioned sculpture, intermixed with marigolds, gilliflowers, and such opening flowers, and this border or wreath went round^o about the house: upon this wreath, as upon a base, were set the feet of cherubims, and the rooting of palm-trees, both which stood up from this wreath^p, a cherub and a palm-tree, a cherub and a palm-tree, round about. Above the heads of the cherubims and palm-trees was such another wreath, and cherubims and palm-trees set upon that again, and so interchangeably to the top. By all which was signified the attendance of ministers, Heb. i. 14,—and flourishing condition (Psal. xcii. 12, 13) of those, that serve the Lord and wait upon him. Every one of the cherubims was pictured with two faces, one of a man, that looked towards the palm-tree on one hand,—and the other of a lion, that looked towards the palm-tree on the other.

Whereas it is said, that “*twenty cubits* were built on the sides of the house with boards of cedar from the floor to the walls,” 1 Kings vi. 16,—the Jews do expound these *twenty cubits* by way of breadth, and not of height; as thinking that they mean, that besides the sides of the house on either hand, which were forty cubits long, he also made the like work upon either end of the room, which was twenty cubits broad. But the text doth speak it more peculiarly of the Most Holy Place, and showeth what was the height of that, which was different from the outer-room, or Holy Place; as we shall see hereafter.

^m Levi Gers. in 1 Kings, vi.

ⁿ Kimchi, ib.

^o Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 584.

^p 1 Kings, vi. 29. Ezek. xli. 18, 19.

SECT. IV.

The Candlestick.

THERE were three remarkable and renowned things in the room of the Holy Place, which next come to our observing; and those were, the candlestick,—the table of show-bread,—and the altar of incense: the first of gold, and the other two gilded; so that here, in this room, could nothing be seen but gold. Josephus^a sets out these three things, with this encomium; Εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῷ τρία θαυμασιώτατα καὶ περιβόητα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔργα, λυχνίαν, τράπεζαν, θυμιατήριον. That “they were three most wondrous workmanships, and to be renowned amongst all men: and that the seven lamps in the candlestick resembled the seven planets: and the twelve loaves upon the show-bread table, the twelve signs in the zodiac, or the year: and the incense-altar, whereon incense was offered, which came partly out of the sea, and partly from land, denoted, that all things are of God and to him.”

The candlestick was eighteen hand-breadths high, which, according to the cubit of six hand-breadths, was a yard and a half. It had three feet, which almost lay flat upon the ground. At three hand-breadths' height, there was a flowering of a coronet-work, curiously spreading out: then went the shaft up, two hand-breadths high; and there was a dish, a boss, and a flowering above the boss, and all in a hand-breadth compass. Thence the shaft went up again, plain, for two hand-breadths; and then was there a boss of a hand-breadth, and there went out two branches, which were carried out, bowed on either side, till they were to be brought up straight to an equal height to the top of this middle shaft, out of which they proceeded. Then was there a hand-breadth of the shaft plain, and a boss of a hand-breadth; and then came out two branches more on either side. And again, one hand-breadth of the shaft plain, and a boss again of a hand-breadth; and then came out two branches more. Above them were two hand-breadths of the shaft plain; and, for the three hand-breadths above, there were three cups, and three bosses, and three flowerings, in that space, and so the lamp stood in a flowering.

^a Joseph. [Hudson, p. 1228.]

^r Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 3.

In^s every branch, that came out of this middle shaft, there were three cups, at a handsome distance one from another; and above the highest, a boss; and above that, a flowering; and in that flowering the lamp stood. And, before the candlestick, there was a stone with three steps cut in it; on which he that mended the lamps, stood,—and on which he set down his dishes, whilst he was about that work.

This candlestick of seven branches (to which allusion is made, Apoc. i. Zech. iv. 2, Apoc. xi. 4) was set on the south side of the house, but so as that the arms or branches of it spread north and south. All the lamps or lights, that were set in the six branches that came out of the shaft, were turned bending and looking towards the lamp, which was in the middle in the shaft itself; and the lamp in that, was turned bending towards the Most Holy Place; and, therefore, it was called נר המערב 'the western lamp.' These seven lamps (which denoted 'the seven spirits of God,' Rev. iv. 5, and v. 6, which the Jews call, the 'seven spirits of Messiah,' from Isa. xi. 1—3) did burn continually; or, if any of them were gone out, every morning and evening they were lighted again. And their perpetual light resembled the word and doctrine of salvation, the light of the Lord, in which we see light.

These lamps were called, the "candle of the Lord," 1 Sam. iii. 3; where it is said, "Before the candle of the Lord went out," the Lord called to Samuel, &c; upon which words David Kimchi^t giveth this gloss; "If this be spoken concerning the lamps in the candlestick, this was somewhat before day: for the lamps burnt from even till morning; yet did they sometimes, some of them, go out in the night. They put oil into them by such a measure, as should keep them burning from even till morning, and many times they did burn till morning; and they always found the western lamp burning. Now it is said, that this prophecy came to Samuel, before the lamps^u went out, while it was yet night, about the time of cock's crowing, for it is said afterward, that Samuel lay till morning. Or, allegorically, it speaks of the candle of prophecy; as they say, The sun ariseth, and the sun sets. Before the holy blessed God cause the sun of one righteous man to set, he causeth the sun of another

^s English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1082.

^t 1 Sam. iii. Vid. Lev. Gers. *ibid.*

^u Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 585.

righteous man to rise. Before Moses's sun set, Joshua's sun arose; before Eli's sun set, Samuel's sun arose: and this is that which is said, Before the candle of God went out."

The Lord needed no light of candles, no more than he needed bread, which was set upon the show-bread table: nor the priests needed no candles in this room neither; for the windows, though they were high, yet did they give light into the room abundantly:—but God, by these candles, did, as it were, enlighten the people to teach them spiritual things by these corporal, and to acquaint them with the necessity of the light of his word, and the bread of salvation, which came down from heaven. And, therefore, when Solomon^v did make ten candlesticks, and ten tables, and set them intermixedly, by five and five, on either side the house, he added nothing to God; but he added only more splendour to the service, and more lustre to the doctrine of the necessity of the light of the word, and of the bread of life. "Our wise men say (saith Baal Hatturim^w) that the western lamp" (which never went out) "was a testimony, that the divine glory dwelt amongst Israel."

SECT. V.

The Show-bread Table.

ON the north side of the house, which was on the right hand, stood the show-bread table, of two cubits long, and a cubit and a half broad^x, in the tabernacle of Moses; but^y wanting that half cubit in breadth, in the second Temple; the reason of the falling short not given by them, that give the relation. It stood lengthways in its place, that is, east and west,—and had a crown of gold round about it, towards the upmost edge of it, which the Jews^z resemble to the crown the kingdom.

Upon this table there stood continually twelve loaves; which because they stood before the Lord, they were called לֶחֶם הַפְּנִי "Ἀρτοι προσθέσεως", "The bread of setting before," for which our English hath found a very fit word, calling it the "show-bread." The manner of making and placing of which loaves, was thus:—

Out^b of four-and-twenty סַטָּא sata (three of which went

^v 2 Chron. iv.

^y Maim. ubi sup.

^a Matt. xii. 4.

^w In Lev. xxiv.

^z Vid. Baal Hatturim in Exod. xxv.

^b Maim. in Tamid, in cap. 5.

^x Exod. xxv. 23.

to an ephah), that is, out of eight bushels of wheat being ground, they sifted out^c four-and-twenty tenth-deals^d or omers of the purest flour; and that they made into twelve cakes, two omers in a cake; or, the fifth part of an ephah of corn in every cake. They made the cakes square,—namely, ten hand-breadths long, and five broad, and seven fingers thick. They were made and baked in a room, that was in the great building ‘Beth Mokadh,’ on the north side of the court, as we shall show anon; and they were baked on the day before the sabbath.

On the sabbath, they set them on the table in this manner: Four priests went first in, to fetch away the loaves, that had stood all the week; and other four went in, after them, to bring in new ones in their stead. Two of the four last, carried the two rows of the cakes,—namely, six a-piece: and the other two carried, either of them, a golden dish, in^e which the frankincense was to be put, to be set upon the loaves. And so those four, that went to fetch out the old bread, two of them were to carry the cakes, and the other two the dishes. These four, that came to fetch the old bread out, stood before the table with their faces towards the north; and the other four, that brought in the new, stood betwixt the table and the wall, with their faces towards the south: those drew off the old cakes; and these, as the other went off, slipped on the new; so that the table was never without bread upon it, because it is said, that “they should stand before the Lord continually.”

They set the cakes in two rows, six and six, one upon another; and they set them, the length of the cakes cross over the breadth of the table (by which it appears, that the crown of gold about the table, rose not above the surface of it, but was a border below edging even with the plain of it, as is well held by Rabbi Solomon^f); and so the cakes lay two hand-breadths over the table on either side; for the table was but six hand-breadths broad, and the cakes were ten hand-breadths long. Now, as for the preventing that that, which so lay over, should not break off,—if they had no other way to prevent it (which yet they had, but I confess that the description of it in their authors I do not understand), yet their manner of laying the cakes one upon another, was such,

^c Lev. xxiv. 5.

^d Exod. xvi. 36.

^e *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1083.

^f Exod. xxv.

as that the weight rested upon the table, and not upon the points that hung over.

The lowest cake of either row they laid upon the plain table: and, upon that cake, they laid three golden canes at distance one from another; and upon those they laid the next cake; and then three golden canes again; and upon them another cake; and so of the rest; save only that they laid but two such canes upon the fifth^s cake, because there was but one cake more to be laid upon. Now these, which I call *golden canes* (and the Hebrews call them so, also), were not like reeds, or canes, perfectly round and hollow through; but they were like canes or kexes slit up the middle. And the reason of laying them thus betwixt cake and cake, was, that, by their hollowness, air might come to every cake, and all might thereby be kept the better from mouldiness and corrupting. And thus did the cakes lie hollow, and one not touching another; and all the golden canes being laid so, as that they lay within the compass of the breadth of the table, the ends of the cakes, that lay over the table on either side, bare no burden but their own weight.

On the top of either row was set a golden dish with a handful of frankincense, which, when the bread was taken away, was burnt as incense to the Lord, Lev. xxiv. 7: and the bread went to Aaron and his sons, or to the priests, as their portions, to be eaten.

What these loaves did represent and signify, is variously guessed. The number of twelve in two rows seem to refer to the twelve tribes, whose names were so divided into six and six, in the two stones on the high-priest's shoulders. And, as bread is the chief subsistence and staff of our mortal life, so the offering of these might denote an acknowledgment of the people, of their receiving of all their subsistence from the Lord, to whom they presented these as their tribute; and these, as well as the lamps standing before the Lord, might show, that their spiritual and temporal support were both before him. But our pursuit is, to look after the things themselves, leaving the allegorizing of them unto others: for in such things men are most commonly more ready to give satisfaction to themselves, than to take it from others,—forasmuch as the things themselves may be bended and swayed to various application.

SECT. VI.

The Altar of Incense.

THE candlestick stood on the one side of the house, and the table on the other, and this altar in the middle; not just betwixt them, but somewhat higher in the house towards the Most Holy Place than they were. These three ornaments and furnitures of the Holy Place, *יהו מונחין משליש ההיכל* "were set in a third part of the house:" that is, whereas the house (meaning the Holy Place) was forty cubits long,—when you had gone up six-and-twenty cubits, and two third parts of a cubit into the room, there stood the table and candlestick; and, somewhat farther higher towards the veil, stood this altar.

Itⁱ was a cubit square, and two cubits high: had four horns at the four corners of it, and a crown about the brim or edge of it, which, the Jews say, denoted "the crown of the priesthood." It stood not so nigh the veil of the Most Holy Place, but that one might go about it; and so, how the priest did on the day of expiation, and besprinkled the horns of it with blood, we observe elsewhere.

On this altar (commonly called the 'Golden Altar') incense was offered morning and evening every day: a figure, if you apply the action to Christ, of his mediation; and if to man, a resemblance of the duty of prayer. The twelve cakes, which resembled the sustenance and sustentation of the twelve tribes, which were ever before the Lord, were renewed only once every week; but the lamps dressed, and the incense offered, twice every day^j; for we have more need of the light of God's word and of prayer, than of our daily food. And if we will apply all the three to Christ,—the kingly office of Christ provided bread for his people,—his prophetic office provided the light of his word,—and his priestly office, the incense of mediation.

CHAP. XV.

*The Most Holy Place.*SECT. I. *The Partition Space.* *Τάραξις.* *טרקסין*

THE Holy and the Most Holy Places were divided asunder by a threefold partition,—namely, by a cubit space, and

^b Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 3.

ⁱ Exod. xxx. 1, 2. Maim. ubi sup.

^j English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1084.

by two veils, on either side of that space. The partition space, which^k was a cubit broad, and no more, by the Jews is called *טרקסין*, which Rabbi Nathan^l confesseth to be a Greek word, and he saith, it signifieth *within* or *without*; as meaning, בלחץ אי בלפנים לרו אי מספקא “that it was doubtful to them, whether it were within or without:” and thus it is interpreted in the Jerusalem Talmud^m. Maimonidesⁿ helps us to their meaning thus; “In the Temple, there was a wall, which parted between the Holy and Most Holy Places, a cubit thick. But when they builded the second Temple, they doubted, whether the thickness^o of that wall belonged to the measure of the Holy Place, or to the measure of the Most Holy Place: therefore, they made the Most Holy Place twenty cubits long complete; and they made the Holy Place forty cubits long complete. And they left a space betwixt the Holy and Most Holy Places, of a cubit breadth: and, in the second Temple, they built not a wall there, but they made two veils,—one, at the end of the Most Holy Place” (eastward), “and the other at the end of the Holy Place” (westward); “and between them, there was a cubit’s breadth, according to the thickness of the wall, that had been in the first Temple; but, in the first Temple, there was but one veil.”

The word *טרקסין*, therefore, is well conceived by the learned L’Empereur^p to be the Greek *Τάραξις*, which signifieth a disease in the eye, distempering the sight, and hindering it: and so were the eyes of the understanding of the builders of the second Temple at a stand about this place, whether it should belong to the Holy or Most Holy Place; and thereupon they called the place itself *Τάραξις*.

The wall, that Solomon built for the parting of the Holy and Most Holy Places, being a cubit thick (instead of which this space was left), had these things regardable and considerable in it, and not easy to be understood:—

First, “For the entering of the oracle, he made doors of olive-tree,” האיל מוזות הכמישית 1 Kings vi. 31^q. These latter words are very difficult of construction; and, if we go to Glossaries for the explication of them, they will give us variety of senses, but little facility of understanding. The Chaldee renders it only, “Their posts with the linte were

^k Mid. cap. 4.

ⁿ Beth Habbech. cap. 4.

^p In Mid. p. 164.

^l Aruch in voce.

^m Cap. 5.

^o Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 587.

^q Duncan’s Stereotype Bible, p. 478.

orderly set," taking the word *חמישית* in the sense of *חמישים* ranked in order, and giving but very little light unto the obscure place. David Kimchi and Rabbi Solomon seem to understand it, that the posts of the doors were not four-square, but *five-square*, if we may use such a word,—or wrought into five ribs, as their own words are. But Levi Gershom hath a far fetch for it; for he thinks *חמישית* meaneth the 'fifth gate,' that was in the Temple, as you went forward; the Temple-door, the fourth,—the porch-door, the third,—the door of the inner court, the second,—and of the outer court, the first.

To me, the words seem to bear this construction; "The post, which was the door-cheeks, was at the fifth cubit;" meaning, from either wall of the house, come inward five cubits, and there was the door-cheek; and so, the house being twenty cubits broad, the door hereby is concluded to be ten. And this may the rather be so interpreted, because the text had been taking notice of the breadth of the house immediately before; as when it was speaking of the cherubim's wings, it saith, The wing of the one touched the one wall, and the wing of the other touched the other wall; and speaking of the adorning of the house, it saith, All the walls of the house were carved, and the floor gilt; and then he comes on to speak of the partition betwixt the one house and the other, and saith, That the oracle had a two-leaved door of olive-tree, and the fifth cubit from either wall was the post, which served for the cheeks of the door. And so it is said in ver. 33, "He made, for the door of the Temple, posts of olive-tree, *from the fourth cubit*;" that is, four cubits from either side-wall, he set up an olive-beam for a post on either side of the door, of a cubit thickness; and so the door came to be ten cubits broad.

A second thing of difficulty to be understood about this partition-wall in Solomon's Temple, is that, which is spoken, in ver. 21 of the same chapter, *ויעבר ברתיקות זהב לפני הדביר*, "And he made bars in chains of gold before the oracle, and he overlaid it with gold." All the difficulty lies in the first word; for it is generally agreed by the best skilled in the language, the Chaldee and the Rabbins, that *רתיקות* signifieth *chains*; but, what is meant by *יעבר*, is the question. The word properly signifieth, "He caused to pass over;" but in this place, R. Solomon and D. Kimchi take it in a Chaldee

propriety, as signifying "to make bars," because בַּרְחִים bars, in the Hebrew, is translated עֲבָרִין in the Chaldee. The sixteenth verse of 2 Chron. iii, giveth some light to this obscurity; for there it is said, "He made chains as in the oracle, and put them on the heads of the pillars;" by which he means the flower wreaths, that we spake of before, that went about the chapter; and the like is to be understood here:—that, upon this wall, which was before the oracle, and divided betwixt the Holy and Most Holy Places, he made borders, or chained wreaths, with a swelling in the border like a bar in it, carried from the one side of the house to the other, upon this wall.

SECT. II.

The Veil.

THE veils were two, as was observed before, and the reason given why^s; and these two veils were renewed every year, the old ones taken away, and new ones put in their room. It was woven of four colours,—blue, purple, scarlet, and fine white linen yarn,—every one of these threads twisted six double, and woven upon hair for the warp, of seventy-two hairs twisted into every thread. These two veils rent at our Saviour's death from the top to the bottom, Matt. xxvii. 51, and gave demonstration of the laying open and common of those ceremonious things, which had hitherto been reserved in such recluseness and singularity. The evangelist, indeed^t, calleth it by the name of *one veil*; and so also doth Josephus^u, when he saith, Διείργετο δ' ὁμοίως καταπετάσματι, "It was parted by a veil." For, 1. Though they were two, yet hung they up to be but as one partition. 2. Had they known, where the proper place of one veil had been, there had been but one in this second Temple, and no more.

Imagine what an amazement it would prove to the two priests that were, that evening that our Saviour suffered, to mend the lamps, and to burn the incense,—to see, and for the rest of the people to hear, that the veils rent of their own accord from the top to the bottom, and no hand upon them. Had not a veil been upon the eyes of that nation, they might have seen more in this matter than they did, and

^s Maim. in Kele Mik. cap. 7.

^t Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 588.

^u De Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

made a better use of it than they made. Whether that story, that is both in Josephus and in the Talmudics, about the gate of the Temple's opening of its own accord, which we shall relate ere long, refer not to this story in the gospel, be it referred to the reader to judge. The apostle himself gives us the typical application of this piece of the Sanctuary, Heb. x. 19, 20; "Having boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil,—that is to say, his flesh."

SECT. III.

The Most Holy Place itself.

THE Most Holy Place, in Moses's tabernacle, was a perfect cube of ten cubits long, and ten cubits broad, and ten cubits high. And the like was it in the Temple, that was built by Solomon, of twenty cubits every way, 2 Chron. iii. 8. For though the Temple itself were thirty cubits high, yet did he floor-over the Most Holy Place at twenty cubits' height; and to this sense is that verse to be understood, in 1 Kings vi. 16; "He built twenty cubits on the sides of the house, both the floor and the walls, with boards of cedar; he even built them for it within, even for the oracle, even for the Most Holy Place."

The beauty of the walls of this place was agreeable to the other; decked with cherubims and palm-trees, and some precious stones intermixed; floor and walls, and roof and all, gilded with gold. It is said, in 2 Chron. iii. 9, העליות הופה זהב that "he overlaid the upper chambers with gold;" which may move a just query; for over the Holy Place there was no upper chamber at all, that is, in the Temple built by Solomon, for of that we are speaking; but it was all open to the roof, being but thirty cubits high; and, over the Most Holy Place, there was, indeed, an upper room, of ten cubits high; but why this should be called *chambers*, in the plural number, and why it should be gilded at all, since there was no coming into it, nor no way to come there,—is not easy to apprehend. And as for the side-chambers, that were set on the outside of the house, is there warrant or reason to suppose them overlaid with gold, where they were to lay-up corn and wine, and such other things of tithes and first-

fruits? Therefore, by *why* might be understood, not “the upper chambers” in the common sense in which the word is used, for there was none over the Holy Place; but “the upper floor,” or the roof of the Holy and Most Holy Places: and so the text showeth, that the rooms were all overlaid with gold every where, both the floor on which they trod, and the walls and the floor or roof over-head.

But another text in the Book of Chronicles helpeth to resolve this doubt, and that is, 1 Chron. xxix. 3: “Moreover, because I have set mine affection on the house of my God, I have, of mine own proper good, of gold and silver which I have, given to the house of my God,—over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house,—even three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seventy thousand talents of refined silver, to overlay the walls of the houses withal.” Where these two things are remarkable: first, That he saith this preparation was above what he had prepared for the holy house; and yet, he saith, he had prepared it for the house of God. And, secondly, That here is mention of silver to overlay the walls withal; whereas it is plain, that, within the Temple itself, all the overlaying was of gold. Therefore, it is thus to be understood, that, beside the store of gold that David had provided for the gildings of the house within, in the Holy and Most Holy Places,—he had also laid-by a stock of gold and silver both, to gild and overlay the chambers over the porch (for there were upper chambers diverse in it, the height of it being one hundred and twenty cubits), and to beautify the side-chambers, and the other chambers, that were about the courts.

Now, in the Temple, after the captivity, we do not find, that they were so curious to reduce the compass of the Most Holy Place to a cubic form; but that the height of it did exceed the breadth, it being twenty cubits long, and twenty cubits broad, like that of Solomon’s; but the height far more, for aught I find determined to the contrary.

SECT. IV.

The Cherubims and Ark.

As there were two cherubims upon the ark itself, so also did Solomon cause two cherubims besides, to be made to stand over the ark, it standing between them. They are so

plainly and facilely described, in 1 Kings vi. 23, that I shall refer the reader thither for the story of them, and say no more concerning them but only this,—that, as the two cherubims upon the mercy-seat^w, may very well be resembled to Christ's two natures,—so these two, that stood by, to the two Testaments; which, in their beginning and end, reach the two sides of the world, the creation, and the last judgment; and, in the middle, do sweetly join one to another.

The ark (“the strength and presence of the Lord,” Psal. cv. 4, and “the glory of Israel,” 1 Sam. iv. 22, the most pregnant and proper resemblance of our Saviour, in whom God dwelleth among men), described Exod. xxv. 10, &c, xxxvii. 1, &c^x, was set upon a stone, up towards the west end of the Most Holy Place, even under the middle wings of the two tall cherubims, that stood beside it: “For the cherubims spread forth their two wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubims covered the ark, and the staves thereof above. And they drew out the staves, that the ends of the staves were seen out in the Holy Place before the oracle; and they were not seen without;” 1 Kings viii. 7, 8; 2 Chron. v. 8, 9. For, before the Temple was built, while the ark was in a moving posture^y,—the staves, whereby the ark was borne, were of an equal length on either side it, ready for the priests' shoulders, when there was occasion for the ark to flit: but now, when they had brought it into Solomon's Temple, where it was to fix and remove no more,—they drew out the staves towards that side, that looked down the Most Holy Place. Levi Gershom^z is of opinion, that these staves were not the same, that were made by Moses, but of a longer size; and that they raught down to the very door; and that though there were doors betwixt the Holy and Most Holy Places, yet those doors could not shut because of these staves. And Kimchi and Jarchi^a come up very near to the same supposal, conceiving that the ark stood not up near the western wall of the house, but more downward, towards the door, and that the staves raught down to the door; and, on the day of expiation, when the high-priest went into the Holy Place, he went up to the ark between these staves, and could not go off to one hand or other.

^w *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 589.

^y “*Dum Arca desultoria erat.*” *Leusd.*

^a *Kimch. ib. et R. Sol. ib.*

^x *Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 4.*

^z *In 1 Kings, viii.*

But that, that hath strained from them this conception, is, 1. Because they have strictly taken the word קדש, in the text in the Book of Kings, for the *Holy Place* without the veil; whereas the Book of Chronicles doth expressly render it by the word ארון, "The ark:" for, whereas the one place saith, "that the heads of the staves were seen," מן הקדש, the other hath^b it מן הארון. And so the word הקדש meaneth not the whole room, either of the Holy or Most Holy Place,—but that singularly Holy Place, that was under the wings of the Cherubims; for of that place had the text spoken immediately before, when it said, "The priests brought the ark into the Most Holy Place, under the wings of the Cherubims; for the Cherubims spread forth their wings over the place of the ark," &c; and then he comes on and saith, "And they drew out the staves, so that the ends of the staves appeared out of that Holy Place,"—meaning, under the wings of the cherubims. And, 2. The authors alleged have strictly taken על פני to mean so, as one, standing at the door betwixt the Holy and Most Holy Places, had the Most Holy Place before him; whereas it signifieth in the same sense that it doth in that clause, in Gen. i. 20, "Let the fowl fly upon the earth," על פני רקיע השמים, which our English hath well rendered, "in the open firmament of heaven." And so is it to be taken here:—and the verse in hand may be properly understood thus; "And they drew out the staves at length, so that the ends of the staves were seen from that Holy Place in the open face of the oracle: but they were not seen without." The staves were the same, that were made by Moses; and their length not great, but only so much as to fit a man's shoulder on either side of the ark: and now, when they had set the ark between the two standing cherubims on the floor, the cherubims' inner wings covered the ark, and the staves that were above at the ends of the ark; but the rest of the staves, drawn out downward towards the oracle-door, shot out from under the cherubims' wings, and appeared in the open face of the Most Holy Place: and the high-priest, when he came to offer incense at the ark on the day of expiation, he stood before the ark between the staves.

It is fancied by the Jews^c, that Solomon, when he built the Temple, foreseeing that the Temple should be destroyed,

^b *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1087.

^c *Maim. ubi sup.*

caused very obscure and intricate vaults under ground to be made, wherein to hide the ark, when any such danger came; that howsoever it went with the Temple, yet the ark, which was as the very life of the Temple, might be safe. And they understand that passage in 2 Chron. xxxv. 3, "Josiah said unto the Levites, Put the holy ark in the house, which Solomon the son of David did build," &c^d, as if Joah, having heard by the reading of Moses's manuscript, and by Huldah's prophecy, of the danger that hung over Jerusalem,—commanded to convey the ark into this vault, that it might be secured; and with it, say they, they laid up Aaron's rod, the pot of manna, and the anointing oil. For while the ark stood in its place, upon the stone mentioned,—they hold that Aaron's rod and the pot of manna stood before it; but, now, were all conveyed into obscurity,—and the stone, upon which^e the ark stood, lay over the mouth of the vault. But Rabbi Solomon, which useth not, ordinarily, to forsake such traditions, hath given a more serious gloss upon the place; namely, that whereas Manasseh and Amon had removed the ark out of its habitation, and set up images and abominations there of their own,—Josiah speaketh to the priests to restore it to its place again. What became of the ark, at the burning of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, we read not; it is most like, it went to the fire also. However it sped, it was not in the second Temple; and is one of the five choice things, that the Jews reckon wanting there. Yet had they an ark there also of their own making, as they had a breast-plate of judgment; which though they both wanted the glory of the former, which was giving of oracles, yet did they stand current as to the other matters of their worship, as the former breast-plate and ark had done.

And so having thus gone through the many parts and particulars of the Temple itself, let us but take account of the several parcel measures, that made up the length of it a hundred cubits, and so we will turn our eye and survey upon the courts.

1. The^f wall of the porch was five cubits thick.
2. The porch itself eleven cubits broad.
3. The wall of the Temple six cubits thick.
4. The Holy Place forty cubits long.

^d Kimch. in 2 Chron. xxxv.

^e Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 596.

^f Mid. cap. 4.

5. The space between the Holy and Most Holy Places one cubit.
6. The length of the Most Holy Place twenty cubits.
7. The Temple-wall six cubits thick.
8. The breadth of the chambers at the end six cubits.
9. The wall of the chambers five cubits thick.

CHAP. XVI^g.*The Courts of the Temple.*

THE dimensions and platform of the Temple itself being thus laid out, we may now the better observe the form and situation of the courts, that were before it, or about it. Where, in the first place, it will be needful to remember that again, which was spoken before,—which was, that the Temple and all the courts about it, were not pitched so just in the middle of the Mount of the House, as that they lay in an equal distance from the four sides of the encompassing wall^h; but they were situate more towards the north side and west, in such manner, as that they left less space betwixt them and the west, than betwixt them and the north; and less betwixt them and the north, than between them and the east; and less betwixt them and the east, than betwixt them and the south.

There were three, which we may call “courts,” belonging to the Temple, besides that space in the Mountain of the House without them, which was very large, and which is ordinarily called by Christian writers, “Atrium Gentium,” or, “the court of the Gentiles.” And these three were, ‘The Court of Israel, and the Priests,’ ‘the Court of the Women,’ and ‘the Chel,’ חל; but, properly and ordinarily, the two former are only called *Courts*. That word in Hebrew is עזרה, used in the text, 2 Chron. iv. 9, and in the Chaldee paraphrast, Isa. i. 12, 1 Sam. iii. 3, Ezek. xliii. 1; and by the Rabbins most constantly, when they speak of these places. David Kimchiⁱ gives the etymology of it, שהיו נעזרים שם בהתפללים שם that “it was called עזרה” (which signifies *help*), “because that every one, that came to pray there with a good heart, was helped by the Lord his God.” And much to the same purpose Rabbi Nathan^j, when he saith, “They

^g English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1088.

ⁱ Kimch. in 2 Chron. iv. et in Michlol.

^h Mid. cap. 2.

^j Aruch in עזר.

prayed there to the Lord to help them," &c; that being their last resource for help in all exigents, as 1 Kings viii. 31, &c: the word is used, in Ezek. xliii. 14, in another sense, namely, for a border or half pace at the foot of the altar, on which the priests that sacrificed stood, as Kimchi^k expounds it upon that place, and which we shall meet with afterward.

These two courts are sometimes so spoken of in Scripture, as if they were three; for there is mention of the Court of the Priests, and the Great Court, 2 Chron. iv. 9, and the Court of the Women, as we shall observe by and by: and yet they were, indeed, but two; for though the Court of the Priests and the Court of Israel were distinguished, yet were they not divided, but the Court of the Women was divided from them both.

The measure^l of the Court of Israel and the Priests (which is sometime called emphatically, "The Court," and sometime, "The Court of Israel"), was one hundred eighty-and-seven cubits long,—that is, from east to west; and one hundred thirty-and-five broad from north to south. The Temple stood just in the middle of the breadth of it; so that the front of the Temple or the porch being one hundred cubits broad, this court breadth lay seventeen cubits and a half on either side of it; and the body of the Temple itself being but seventy cubits broad, this court lay thirty-three cubits and a half broad on either side it. Now behind the west end of the Temple it extended but eleven cubits: so, measure from the utmost west side^m of it there, and you have eleven cubits behind the Temple,—one hundred cubits the length of the Temple; and then it extended eastward, before the Temple, seventy-six cubits.

The Court of the Women lay just before this Courtⁿ, joining to it, being of equal breadth with it,—namely, one hundred thirty-five cubits from north to south, but not so long as it from east to west; for it was only one hundred thirty-and-five cubits that way also; and so it was a perfect square.

^k Kimch. in Ezek. xliii.

^m *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 591.

^l Mid. cap. 5. sect. 1.

ⁿ Mid. cap. 2. sect. 5.

CHAP. XVII°.

The Enclosure. חל *Chel.*

ABOUT both these courts, thus laid, there was another enclosed space encompassing them in; and this, by the Jews, is called the חל *Chel*. The word is used by Jeremiah, Lam. ii. 8, in that sense (as some Jews^p do interpret), that we are to understand and describe here: "Both the חל *Chel* and the Wall mourn:" by the *Wall*, being meant the wall of the court,—and, by the חל *Chel*, the space that encompassed it round about; and so translated by the Chaldee, מקפנא the 'encompassing,' or 'enclosure.' The Scripture frequently useth the word חל for "a wall, trench, or rampart," as 2 Sam. xx. 15, 1 Kings xxi. 23, Obad. ver. 20, Neh. iii. 8; and it is rendered variously by the Hebrew expositors there: but of the sense of the word, and nature of that place at the Temple that we are looking after, they give us this unanimous account^q; "that it was a place or space of ten cubits broad, encompassed with a wall, between the Mountain of the House and the courts." I cannot find a better name for it, than "the enclosure," or "outer verge of the courts."

The words of Rabbi Nathan, in Aruch, in two several places, may move two several doubts about this place; for, in one place^r, he saith, that the חל *Chel* was מקום מוקף חמה בין הר הבית לעזרת הנשים "a place encompassed with a wall, between the Mountain of the House and the Court of the Women." And, in another place, he saith, that החיל כותל גבוה "The חיל *Chel* was a wall higher than the wall called סורג *Soreg*." Out of which words he seemeth to hold out these two opinions; the one, that the חיל *Chel* did not encompass all the court, but only the Court of the Women; and the other, that the חיל *Chel* was not a space of ground, but a wall; but these two doubts we shall clear as we go along.

And first to evidence that this חיל was a space of ground, and not a wall, we have not only the testimony of the Talmud, and divers other Jews, that measure out the breadth of it to be ten cubits; but we have mention abundantly in them of people's coming into it, and standing and sitting in it; as

^o English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1089.

^p Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 5.

^q Mid. cap. 2. sect. 3. Maim. ubi sup.

^r Aruch in חל

^s Id. in סורג

R. Nathan^t himself giveth one instance, when he speaketh of a great מדרש divinity-school in the חיל Chel. And Abraham Zaccu^h speaketh of R. Jochanan Ben Zaccai having a Sanhedrim there. And Rambam^v relates at large, how those that brought their passover lambs into the court, when they were despatched, went and stood in the חיל Chel. Divers of the like examples might be added, which prove evidently enough, what kind of thing this חיל Chel was,—namely, not a wall, but a space of ground. And so R. Nathan meaneth, even when he saith, “It was a wall higher than the wall סורג;” for so the word חיל, when it is taken at large for other places than this in the Temple, and is joined with the word חומה, is defined by the Jews to mean^w, שורא ובר שורא “a wall, and a son of wall,” or an inner and outer wall; that is, “a lower wall before a higher,” as Rabbi Solomon construes it, not close joined together, but some space of ground between: and so our author understands it, though he speak so short.

The wall that enclosed the חיל, is called סורג *Soreg* in the Talmuds and Rabbins' language; which Nathan rendereth plainly a *wall*: but^x some other expound it for “a wall curiously latticed, and made of wood.” But Josephus comes and speaks farther, somewhat like to both their senses; and tells us, that it was of stone, but curiously wrought. Let us a little examine what he saith^y upon this place: *Διὰ τούτου προϊόντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἱερόν, δρύφακτος περιβέβλητο λίθινος, τρίπηχυς μὲν ὕψος, πάνν δὲ χαριέντως διειργασμένος. Ἐν αὐτῷ δ' εἰστήκεσαν ἐξ ἴσου διαστήματος στήλαι, τὸν τῆς ἀγνείας προσημαίνουσαι νόμον· αἱ μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασι, Μὴ δεῖν ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου παριέναι· τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἱερόν ἅγιον ἑκαλεῖτο· καὶ τισσαρεσκαῖδεκα μὲν βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου.* “As you went through this” (that is, the Mountain of the House) “into the second Temple, there was a stone wall, that went about, of three cubits high, of very curious work: wherein stood pillars at an even distance; some in Greek, and some in Latin letters, giving notice of the holiness of the place; that no stranger must enter within the Holy Place: for the second Temple was called Holy: and they went up fourteen steps into it out of

^t Id. nbi ante.

^u Juchasin, fol. 21.

^v Pesach. cap. 2.

^w R. Sol. in Lam. ii. 1.

^x R. Semajah in Mid.

^y Joseph. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 1226.]

the first." And a little after, *Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς δεκατέσσαρας βαθμοὺς, τὸ μέχρι τοῦ τείχους διάστημα πηχῶν ἦν δέκα, πᾶν ἰσόπεδον.* "And, above the fourteen steps, it was ten cubits to the wall" (of the court) "and all² even." Out of which relation, we may observe these things remarkable:—

1. That the outmost space of all, that lay within the great encompassing wall (that which the Jews distinctively call, "the Mountain of the House") was also commonly called "the first Temple." And in this very sense doth the gospel speak very oft, using the word *Temple* when it meaneth but this outmost space; as John ii. 14, "Jesus found in the Temple those that sold oxen," &c. John viii. 2. 20, Matt. xxi. 14, 15.

2. That, within this *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel, no strangers might come, but Jews only; and for this purpose there were pillars, in which there was so much written, in Greek and Latin sentences. And so the Jews say³, "that the *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel was more holy than the Mountain of the House, because no^b stranger might come into it, nor none polluted by the dead." And upon this very thing we may conclude, if we had no other ground to conclude it by, that the *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel did encircle or encompass all the courts, and not the Court of the Women only: for if the ground along that court for ten cubits next to it, were so holy, that a stranger might not come upon it, certainly we must hold the ground along by the upper court as holy and as unaccessible for strangers every whit. And therefore, whereas R. Nathan, in what was alleged before, saith that the *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel did enclose the Court of the Women, and speaketh of enclosing no more,—he doth not exclude the other, but speaks according as the *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel lay to one, that came in at the east gate.

3. That into the *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel there was the first rising, all being level from the east gate thither; and the rising into the *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel was fourteen steps, or seven cubits, or, as the Talmud^c more truly reckons, but twelve steps, or six cubits, for every step was half a cubit rise; and the *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel being ten cubits broad, it was level to the wall of the Women's Court.

The wall that encompassed the *לִּיָּהוָה* Chel, was not high, as were the other walls about the Temple, but it was only, as it were, bars before the higher wall of the court, but of

² *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 592.

^b *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1090.

³ Talmud, in *Kelim*, cap. 1.

^c *Mid.* cap. 2.

three cubits high; the fashion or work of it being very curious, wrought into paves or lattices, or such open work, that one might look through it, as well as over it.

The passages into the חיל Chel through this wall were many,—namely, one before every gate that went into either of the courts; and there, on either side the passage, was a pillar set up with the inscription mentioned, advising strangers to beware of the coming upon the holy ground.

Now, in the Syro-grecian kings' times, when the Jews and Jerusalem lay in subjection to those kings^d, יג" פרצות היו בו, שפרצום מלכי יון, this wall, that was the bar against strangers going any farther, was broken by those kings in thirteen places, they scornfully, and disdainfully, and impiously breaking upon the holy ground, חזרו וגדרום וגזרו כנגדן השתחויות יג" But the Jews made up the breaches again, and ordained thirteen adorations and oraisons to be made against the heathen kingdoms, upon any one's coming to any of the places, where breach had been.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Court of the Women.

THE courts of the Temple (to the surveying of which we are now come) were properly two, "the Court of Israel," and "the Court of the Women." For though there was, indeed, a distinction between the Court of Israel, and the Court of the Priests, as that the one was not the other,—and they, that came into the one, might not come into the other,—yet was the one so within the other, and the partition between the one and the other so small, and but one boundary that enclosed them both, that they were, indeed, not so very properly two courts, as two several places for the priests and for the Israelites to stand in, in one court. But the 'Court of Israel,' and the 'Court of the Women,' were so truly and apparently two different courts, that they lay one before another: and they were parted and divided one from another, with a very high wall.

The 'Court of the Women' is not mentioned in Scripture, by that express name and title in any place, but yet it is spoken of there under two or three other epithets, or denominations:—1. It is called the 'New Court,' 2 Chron. xx. 5,

^d Id. *ibid.*

where it is said, that “Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem in the house of the Lord, before the New Court;” that is, he and all the congregation stood in the Mountain of the House, eastward, before the ‘Court of the Women.’ Now David Kimchi^e upon the place, though he speak not out so much, yet he concludeth, indeed, that that ‘new court’ meaneth the ‘Court of the Women,’—and he giveth two reasons, why it is called *New*: either because it had gone to decay, and they had newly repaired it; or, because they had made some new laws concerning it, ואמרו טבול לא יכנס במחנה ליהיה “and had appointed that none that were defiled, so as they needed to wash themselves the same day, should come within the camp of Levi:” which is a peculiar prohibition in the Talmud^f, as concerning this Court of the Women:—but rather^g it was called *New*, because it was not made, when the other court was, by Solomon, but added in aftertime.

There is mention, indeed, of the “inner court,” built by Solomon, 1 Kings vi. 36, which inferreth^h an *outer*; but that *outer* meaneth the whole Mountain of the House, which lay without the Court of Israel, as is well observed by some of the Hebrew doctors; and that is it, which is also called the Great Court, in contradistinction to the ‘Court of the Priests,’ 2 Chron. iv. 9. And in that there is mention only of Solomon’s building the inner court, it is an argument that he built but that court; and that this, that we are speaking of, was not extant in his time, but taken-in and built afterward, either by Asa or by Jehoshaphat, before that time and occasion, that the text, mentioned in the Book of Chronicles, speaketh of:—and so there came to be two “courts in the house of the Lord,” 2 Kings xxi. 5.

2. Itⁱ is called “the outer court,” Ezek. xlvi. 21, as that text is generally and truly understood by the Jewish writers^j, which we shall have occasion to examine anon:—and the reason of the name doth easily appear,—namely, because it lay on the outside of the Court of Israel, and farther off from the Temple.

3. It is also called, “the Treasury,” John viii. 20; the reason of which name we shall observe, before we have done with the survey of this court.

^e Kimchi in 2 Chron. xx.

^f C. L’Emper. in Midd. fol. 62.

^g English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1091.

^h Kelim, cap. 1.

ⁱ Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 593.

^j Mid. cap. 2. et Kimch. in loc.

But, by the Jewish writers, it is generally and ordinarily called עזרת נשים "The Court of the Women;" and the reason of that name was, because the women might go no higher or farther, than into this court^k: Ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἰδίου προῶς θρησκείαν χώρου, "This being the proper place for them to worship in," and ἐσωτέρω δὲ καὶ κείνου γυναιξὶν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερόν· "farther than this towards the Temple was inaccessible to them:" only when a woman brought a sacrifice, she might go into the Court of Israel, as we have observed in another place.

This court lay at the east end of the Court of Israel, and was parted from it by a high wall; so that whosoever came to worship here, could see nothing of the service in the other court, and, indeed, hear but little, unless they went up the steps of the gate, and looked in. For till you came to the middle of the entry of the gate, that went up into the upper court, it was but of the same holiness with the Court of the Women; but beyond the middle, it was holier.

The floor of this court was even and level throughout^l, and it was a perfect square of a hundred and thirty-five cubits long, and a hundred and thirty-five cubits broad; and it was curiously flagged with marble, as, indeed, was all the space, both courts, *Chel*, and the other space that was within the wall that encompassed the holy ground. And they have this tradition^m about the pavement of the court, where the altar stood, "That all the court was flagged with fair stones; and if any flag were loosed, although it lay still in its place, yet was it not lawful to stand upon it to do any part of the service, till it were fastened again."

The entering into the Court of the Women was by three gates,—one on the east, one on the north, and one on the south: and there was a fourth on the west, which went up out of this court into the upper court, or that of Israel. All these gates, as also all the other that went into the upper court (of which hereafter), wereⁿ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκαλυμμένοι πανταχόθεν, ὁμοίως τε παραστάδες καὶ ὑπέρθυρα, "gilt all over both posts and lintels," one only excepted,—of which instantly:

We will go up, at the east gate, out of the *Chel*, out

^k Joseph. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14. et Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 704.]

^l Mid. ubi ant.

^m Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 1.

ⁿ Joseph. de Bell. ubi supr.

of which there were five steps, that rose up to the gate to land you in it. The gate itself was exceeding sumptuous, and exceeding beautiful: and this was that which was called "the Beautiful gate of the Temple," Acts iii. 2, at which the cripple lay begging of alms, both of men and women, that went into the Temple. At this gate began τὸ ἔνδον ἱερόν, "the inner Temple," as Josephus doth often call it,—distinguishing between that space, that was enclosed within the boundary wall that encompassed the whole holy ground,—and that space, that was enclosed within the wall that encompassed the courts: the former of them was called, "the Outer Temple," and the latter was called, "the Inner;" and both of them bare the name of the Temple: and so, in the Scripture, whosoever went but within the compass of the holy ground, is said to have gone into the Temple.

Now this gate being the very front and entrance into the inner Temple, or into that space, within which the choicest sanctity and bravery of the Temple was,—it was built and decked with such sumptuousness and singular gallantry, as was fitting for the frontispiece of so brave a place. And hence it came to bear the name of "*Beautiful*;" and that the rather, also, in comparison of the gate "*Shushan*," or the outmost east gate, that entered into the Mountain of the House; for that was but a low and homely gate-house,—for a reason that hath been observed heretofore: but this was goodly and lofty, and stood bravely mounted upon the far higher ground.

This gate Josephus^o calleth the "*Corinthian Gate*," because it was of Corinthian brass; whereas the rest of the gates were gilt with gold. And here occurreth a difference betwixt him and the Talmudical writers; for they do unanimously hold the brazen gate to be the gate of Nicanor (which we shall survey anon), which was the gate that went out of the Court of the Women into the Court of Israel: but he doth as confidently affirm on the other hand, that it was that, that went out of^p the 'Chel' into the Court of the Women. His words are these; Μία δ' ἡ ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεῶ Κορινθίου χαλκοῦ "There was one gate without the Temple, of Corinthian brass, which exceeded in glory those of gold or silver." Now where this gate stood,—namely, in that place that we are upon, appeareth by this passage of his a little

^o Joseph. ubi supr.

^p Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 594.

after; "The gate above the Corinthian gate, which opened east, over-against the gate of the Temple," &c.

It is not much material to determine, whether of these eastern gates were of brass: it is only needful to be resolved, which of them was that, that was called the Gate of Nicanor; because upon the knowledge of that there are divers things depending; and, in the next chapter but one, shall be showed, that it was that gate, that went out of the Court of the Women into the Court of Israel. But if I were to moderate between the differing parties, I should say, their difference in this matter is not real, but only apparent: Josephus calls the gate, that came into the Court of the Women, 'the Brazen Gate,' because it was all so, posts and lintel and all, overlaid with brass, which shone above gold: but the Talmudists say, the doors of the 'Gate of Nicanor' were only of brass, but the whole front of the gate beside, all of gold: and so that was not the brazen gate, but only brazen doors, but the other was properly the 'Brazen Gate.'

When Peter and John had healed the cripple at this gate, the text saith, that "he went with them into the Temple," that is, into the Court of the Women, which was the common and ordinary place of worship for those, that brought not a sacrifice,—and from thence he went back again with them through this gate into Solomon's porch, or the eastern cloister of the Mountain of the House,—and there they preach and convert five thousand. And now let us go up through this gate into the Court, and survey it itself.

ארבע לשכות היו בארבע מקצעותיה של מ"מ" אמה ולא היו מקורות
 "In the four corners, of the Court of the Women, there were four rooms of forty cubits, and they were not floored over; and thus they shall be in time to come," say the Talmudics, from Ezek. xlv. 21, 22. Now these four rooms were, every one, forty cubits long from east to west, and thirty cubits broad from north to south; for so may we best interpret it, according to the place alleged in the prophecy of Ezekiel; his words are these, "Then he brought me forth to the outer court, and caused me to pass by the four corners of the court; and behold, in every corner of the court there was a court. In the four corners of the court were courts קטורות of forty cubits long, and thirty broad." The word קטורות is of doubtful signification, and diversely interpreted: the Se-

^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1092.

^r Mid. ubi sup.

they read it קטורה 'little,' for so they render it, Ἀλλη μικρά, 'A little court,' and it is easy to see how they mistook ק for ר: some understand it according to the Chaldee transmutation of ~~ק~~ changed into ר, and think it meaneth קטורת 'joined,' and so our English hath it; and so Rabbi Nathan^o produceth some instances of the word in this sense, but concludeth, that קטורת קטורת אלא אין קטורת 'the word קטורת meaneth nothing but that these buildings were not floored over;' and in the very same opinion doth the Talmud^o, Rabbi Solomon^o, and David Kimchi, join with him, and in the very same words. But how to understand this is somewhat difficult: if we should conceive that they were clearly open on the top without any covering at all, the constant works that were done in them, and the things that were laid-up in them, will deny that; and if we shall say they were roofed over, how shall we answer to the general testimony of the Hebrew doctors, which holdeth otherwise? We will, therefore, look first to what use these several rooms were constantly put; and then we shall be the better enabled to judge of this matter.

1. That^o in the south-east corner was a room for Nazarites דרפית מורחית חית לשכות ששם הנזיריִם מבשלין את שלמיהן ודפית מורחית חית ומגחין את שערין ומשליחין תחת הדון "For there they boiled their peace-offerings, polled their hair, and put it under the pot," according to the law, Num. vi. 18. Nazarism^o was, most ordinarily, for thirty days: though sometime it was for years, and sometime for term of life. He whose vow was expired, was to bring three beasts, one for a burnt-offering, another for a sin-offering, and a third for a peace-offering. If^o he polled his head in the country, as Paul did at Cenchrea, he was to bring his hair, and burn it under the caldron, where his peace-offering was boiling,—which was in this place, that we are speaking of: and if he polled it here, it was the readier.

The Jews, in the treatise alleged in the margin above [*Nazir.*], speak of נזיר עולם and נזיר שנים "A Samson Nazarite" and "an everlasting Nazarite:" not but that Samson was a Nazarite always; but they use this distinction in reference to the manner of the vow-making. He that took on him to be a Nazarite like Samson, as saying, "Behold, I will

^o Aruch in קטור

^u R. Sol. et Kimch. in Ezek. xlvi.

^w Nazir. cap. 1.

^t Mid. ubi supr.

^v Mid. ubi supr.

^x Ibid. cap. 6.

be a Nazarite like Samson, or like the Son of Manoah, or like the husband of Delilah, or like him that carried away the gates of Gaza, or like him whose eyes the Philistines put out;”—such^y a one might never cut his hair, but it must ever grow upon him: and such a Nazarite did Absalom take upon him to be; but he was forced to cut his hair once every year, it was so heavy. But he that was a “Nazarite everlasting” (that is, that took upon him Nazarism upon other terms,—as he that said, “I will be a Nazarite according to the number of the hairs of my head, or the dust of the earth, or sand of the sea-shore”), he might poll his head once in thirty days: but his hair was not to be thus burnt, because his vow was not out. But he whose vow was expired, wheresoever he polled his head, was to come to this place, and here to boil his peace-offering, and to burn his hair; and the priest took the shoulder as it boiled, and a cake, and a wafer of unleavened bread, and put all upon the hands of the Nazarite, and waved them; and then was the Nazarite at liberty to drink wine, and to be defiled^z by the dead. But R. Simeon saith, that as soon as any of the blood of any of the lambs was sprinkled on him, he was at this liberty. The same tract also speaketh of ‘Women Nazarites;’ “as^a queen Helena, who was a Nazarite, first, by her own engagement seven years,—and by coming into the land of Israel seven years more,—and by a defilement, seven years more,—one-and-twenty in all: and^b Mary of Tarmud, who whilst the blood of her offerings was sprinkling on her, word was brought her, that her daughter was in danger of death; and she went away, the sprinkling half done, and half undone, and found her daughter dead: and came again and was sprinkled out.” Now to inquire whether these women cut their hair at the expiring of their vow, is not much to this place and purpose; and therefore we shall not trouble ourselves, at present, to hearken after it. But methinks, that passage of Simeon the Just^c was to purpose, who, in all his lifetime, would take a sin-offering but of one Nazarite only; and his reason was, “because he thought they made their vows in some passion,—and repented of it, when they had done.”

2. “The^d north-east room מִזְרְחֵית צְפוֹנִית הִיא הַיְתָה לְשֵׁכֶת דֵּיר

^y *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 595.

^a *Nazir. cap. 3.*

^c *Juchasin*, fol. 15. trac. 1.

^z *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1093.

^b *Ibid. cap. 6.*

^d *Mid. ubi supr.*

העצים was the place of the wood, where the priests that had blemishes, did search the wood for worms; for any wood that had worms in it, was unclean for to burn upon the altar.—The^e great Sanhedrim sat in the building Gazith, and a main work of theirs continually, was that they judged of the priesthood, and tried the priests, as concerning their genealogy” (whether they were truly of the priestly line or no), “and concerning blemishes” (whether they were fit to serve or no); “every one that was found failing of the right pedigree, was clothed with black, and veiled with black, and got him out of the court. But whosoever was found right and perfect, was clothed with white” (compare Rev. iii. 4, vii. 9), “and went in, and served with the priests his brethren. Whosoever was found of the right blood of the priests, but some blemish was found in him, he went and sat him down in the Wood-room, and wormed the wood for the altar, and had his portion in the holy things, with the men of the house of his father, and ate with them. And when a priest was found without blemish, they made holiday and great rejoicing, and blessed God for it, with a solemn prayer.”

3. “The^f north-west room צפנית מערבית היא היתה לשכת מצורעים was the room of the lepers.” After the many rites for the cleansing of the leper abroad in the country, at his own house^g, as killing a sparrow and besprinkling him with the blood mingled with water, sending another sparrow flying in the open air, shaving himself with a razor every hair off, &c,—on the seventh day he was to shave himself again, and to wash himself in water; and then he was clean from defiling, and might come within Jerusalem. On the eighth day, he brought three lambs, for a sin-offering, trespass-offering, and burnt-offering; טבל בלשכת המצורעי בא ועמד בשער, “He bathed himself in the leper’s room^h, and went and stood in the gate of Nicanor, and there the priests besprinkled him,” &c. The manner of which we have observed elsewhere.

4. “Theⁱ south-west room was called, לשכת בית שמוניה The house of the oil.” “For^j there they laid-up the wine and the oil,” whereof there was so frequent and constant use

^e Maim. in Biath Hamikdash, cap. 6. Mid. cap. 5.

^f Mid. ubi sup.

^g Maim. in Tumeach Tsorech, cap. 11.

^h Talm. in Negain, cap. 11.

ⁱ Mid. ubi sup.

^j Ibid. et Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 5.

by the appointment of the law in their meat and drink-offerings. See Num. xv.

And now that we have seen the use and employment, to which these rooms were put, it is the more seasonable to consider of that, which we mentioned before,—namely, whether these four rooms, in the four corners of the Court of the Women, were quite open to the skies, or roofed over, and in what sense to take the word קטורות.

Two things do here meet us, which are considerable:—
1. That these places, in Ezekiel, are called *Courts*. 2. That he saith, in every one of them there were boiling ranges, to boil the sacrifices of the people, Ezek. xlvi. 21, 22. And yet doth the Talmud allot them to these particular uses. All which, and what is said moreover, that “they were not roofed over,” may^k very well consist together. For grant every one of these spaces to be built within with chambers round about; there might be very fair chambers, and yet a good handsome open court in the middle,—at either end, chambers of ten cubits broad; and yet an open space of twenty cubits between:—and on either side, chambers of seven or eight cubits broad; and yet an open space of fourteen or sixteen cubits between. Thus, therefore, doth the building in these places seem to be; that there were fair chambers round about, which were roofed-over as other buildings; and, in the middle, was an open court, round about which were boiling ranges, whose chimneys went up in the inner walls of the chambers or the walls to the open place: and so the word קטורות to be rendered ‘Caminata,’ as it is by some,—and as by our English-Bible’s margin, “made with chimneys.” And thus were these places roofed, but not as the rest of the buildings about the Temple, with a continued roof; for here was a void place or even quadrangle in the middle; and thus did the inner court serve for boiling-places, and the rooms round about for other uses.

Such was the platform of the Court of the Women; it was a perfect square: in the midst of every one of the walls of it, was a gate: in every corner of it, was one of these buildings: and now, what was between these buildings along the wall, till it came to the gate^l? was it cloistered all along, as were the other walls about the Temple? The Talmud^m

^k *Leusden's edition* vol. 1. p. 596.

^l *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1094.

^m Piske Tosaph. ad Mid.

answers, that at first, it was not עורת הנשים לא היתה מקורה
 “The Court of the Women was not cloistered about, but
 עורתה ברצונה it^a was all plain at first,” and nothing but pave-
 ment and bare walls; but upon some experience of inconve-
 niences that they found, they made cloisters, and balconies,
 or galleries, within the cloisters, upon three sides of it, east,
 north, and south, all about. The inconvenience (R. Nathan^s
 tells us) was this, היו באין לידי קלות ראש שהיו נכסין בין הנשים
 “That men and women being promiscuously mingled toge-
 ther, it was occasion of lightness and irreverence. There-
 fore, they made a balcony” (גומטרא in Nathan and Maimo-
 nides, but בציצרה in the Talmud), “round about the court,
 which came out from the wall, and was roofed over-head.
 And so the women stood in those galleries, and men stood
 in the court below: and it is a tradition, that, at the first,
 when they looked on the festivity of pouring out of water,
 the men were within, and the women without,—which caused
 some irreverence: whereupon they made three galleries in
 the court, upon three sides of it, that they might behold from
 above.”

So that, at first, there were neither cloisters nor balconies
 in this court, till this inconvenience put them upon making
 of such: and then they were but galleries or balconies, with-
 out any cloistering with the support of pillars, as there was
 in the other court:—but in the sumptuous buildings that
 Herod made of and about the Temple, this court was clois-
 tered with as much state and bravery as was the other, or as
 was the Mountain of the House which we have surveyed;
 only whereas that was a double cloister all about, but on
 the south, where it was treble, the cloisters of both the courts
 were only single. Take the testimony of Josephus^p about
 this matter: Αἱ στοαὶ δὲ μεταξύ τῶν πυλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους,
 ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι πρὸ τῶν γαζοφυλακίων, σφόδρὰ μὲν καλοῖς καὶ
 μεγάλοις ἀνείχοντο κίοσιν. Ἦσαν δ' ἀπλᾶι, καὶ πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους
 τῶν κάτω κατ' οὐδὲν ἀπελείποντο. He had been speaking imme-
 diately before concerning the gates and passages into both the
 courts; and it may not be amiss, for the better understand-
 ing of the passage before us, to take up his words a little at
 large. Ἐνθεν ἄλλοι πάλιν πεντέβαθοι κλιμακες ἀνῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς
 πύλας, &c. “From thence” (out of the ל'ח Chel) “five steps

^a Mid. ubi sup.

^s Aruch in ארש"י Talm. in Succah, cap. 5.

^p Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 1226.]

brought you up unto the gates, which, on the north and south, were eight in number,—namely, four on either side: and two necessarily on the east; for the court, appropriated to the women to worship in, being walled on that quarter, there must needs be a second gate, which opened just opposite to this first. And as for the other sides” (of the Court of the Women), “there was one gate on the south, and another on the north, by which they entered into the women’s court: for through the other gates” (of the Court of Israel) “women might not enter, nor go beyond the enclosure of their own court. And that place was permitted for the Jews, that dwelt in the land, and that dwelt in foreign countries, to worship in. Now the west quarter had no gate at all; but the wall there was built continued” (without any opening of a gate in it). And then he comes on with this saying, Αἰσολαὶ δὲ μετὰξὺν, &c. “Now the cloisters, which ran between the gates along by the wall, turning inward before the treasuries, were borne up with exceeding fair and great pillars: but they were single, and they wanted nothing, in their exceeding greatness, of those that were below.

Now in that he saith, these cloisters were ἀπὸ τείχους ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι, “along by the wall turning inward,” his meaning is, that they were joining to the wall, and stood within the courts and not without; and so they ran along the courts within, from gate to gate: and they wanted nothing of the greatness of the pillars and cloisters, that were below along the wall of the Mountain of the House, but only that those were double, and these^a single. And as for the cloister in the Court of the Women, it had this difference, both from those in the Mountain of the House, and those in the Court of Israel,—that this had a gallery made in it for women to stand in and to look down into the court, whereas the others had no interposition, but were uninterrupted to the roof.

This Court of the Women was the place, where both men and women did ordinarily worship, that either came to pray at other times than the hours of prayer, or that, at the hours of prayer, came and brought no sacrifice with them. In this court it was, where Paul was laid hold upon, as a violater of the sanctity of the place in the people’s repute, who thought he had brought Gentiles in hither, Acts xxi. 26, 27, &c, who

^a Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 597.

might not go so much as into the Chel. In this court did the high-priest, once a year,—namely, at the Feast of Expiation,—read a portion of the law, and the king once in seven years,—namely, at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the year of release: and here, every year, at the Feast of Tabernacles, was the great dancing, singing, and rejoicing, for the drawing and pouring out of water: of which and of the other particulars named, I have given the full account, in the treatise of “The Temple-Service.”

CHAP. XIX^r.*Of the Gazophylacia, or Treasuries.*

BEFORE we part out of this Court of the Women, those words of Josephus, which were cited even now, which say the “cloisters of the court were ἐνδον ἱστραμμέναι πρὸ γαζοφυλακίων, turned inward before the treasuries,”—may justly challenge us to stay here a little, and look about us, whether we can find any treasuries hereabout,—or what may be said to the Gazophylacium of the Temple, the name and mention of which is very well known and ordinary both in Scripture and other writers, but the situation thereof about the Temple, something difficult to find out. Now, in these two words of Josephus, Πρὸ Γαζοφυλακίων, two main things are observable, and to be looked after towards that search, that we are now about; the one is, the number, importing more treasuries than one;—and the other is, the situation of these treasuries in reference to the cloisters mentioned, “The cloisters were before them.”

The treasuries of the Temple were of a twofold nature and capacity,—namely, treasure-chests and treasure-chambers; the former were called *Shopheroth*, the latter *Lesacoth*, and both bare the general name of *Corban*.

There^s were thirteen treasure-chests at the Temple, which, by the Jews, are commonly called שופרות *Shopheroth*, which signifieth properly *trumpets*^t: because, trumpet-like, they were wide in the bottom, and narrow in the top: that money that was put in, might not easily be got out.”

Two^u of these chests, were for the half-shekel, that every Israelite was to pay for the redemption of his soul or life,

^r English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1095.

^t Maim. in Shekal. cap. 2.

^s Talm. in Shekalim, cap. 6.

^u Id. ibid.

for which the law is given, Exod, xxx. 31 : the one chest for the payment of the last year, if he had missed to pay at the due time; and the other, for the half-shekel, for the year present. On^v the first day of Adar, which answereth in part to our February, there was general notice given throughout the country, that they should provide to pay their half-shekel: and, on the fifteenth day of that month, the collectors sat in every city to gather it: and they had two chests before them, as were at the Temple; and they demanded the payment calmly, and used no roughness or compulsion. On the five-and-twentieth day of the month, the collectors began to sit in the Temple, and then they forced men to pay; and if any one had not wherewith to pay, they took his pawn, and sometime would take his very raiment perforce. They had a table before them to count and change the money upon, from whence they were called שולחני׳ם ‘Trapezitæ,’ or ‘Mensarii,’ and two chests before them to put into.

A man that brought a shekel to change, and must have half a shekel again, the ‘Mensarius,’ or collector, was to have some profit upon the change: ואותה התוספה נקראת קולבון: “And^w that addition or profit is called *Kolbon* (κόλλυβος): and how much profit did he require for change? The twelfth part of a denarius, and never less.” Nay, if two came together and paid a shekel for them both, so that there needed no change, yet the receiver was to have some profit from them both. The Talmud and the authors cited in the margin do discourse exceedingly large about this קולבון *Kolbon*,—and who was to pay it,—and who to be quit from it,—and how much to be paid,—and to the like purpose; but the general conclusion is still for some profit, which exaction was that, that caused our Saviour to overthrow τραπέζας κολλυβιστῶν, “the tables of these Colbonists,” John ii. 15, at the first Passover he came up to at Jerusalem after his baptism; and, Matt. xxi. 12, at his last: for these receivers began^x to sit in the Temple for that purpose, but eighteen or twenty days before the Passover, and continued for that time, when the concourse of the people was greatest; and after it was over, they had done.

And so the market, that was in the Temple of sheep and oxen, it is like it was not constantly there, but for such times

^v Talm. ubi an. cap. 1.

^w Maim. ubi sup. cap. 3. et Aruch in קולבון

^x Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 598.

of concourse, when the multitude of people and sacrifices was so exceeding great; though, indeed, there were merchandising of other things there, all the year long, in the Tabernæ, or shops, that we have spoken of before. The place, where the marketing of the sheep and oxen was, was the great space of the Mountain of the House, that lay upon the south side of the courts; for on the west and north sides, the room was too strait for such a matter; and on the east side was the most common entrance of the people, and so these cattle would have stopped up the way: but, on the south, there was a place exceeding roomy and spacious, and it they had taken up for a market at such times, making the house of God a house of merchandise.

Amongst those authors, that spake of these two half-shekel chests, I find not any, that doth inform us, where they stood, or where these collectors of the poll-money did sit in the Temple to receive it: nor, indeed, is it of any great import to inquire after it, since their sitting there was but for a short space,—as, a month, or such a matter,—and so they had done. It is most probable, they sat about the east gate Shushan, as being the chiefest and commonest entrance.

Besides^v these two treasure-chests, that were in use but for a certain time every year, there were eleven more, that were of constant and continual use, and that stood in their places all the year long; and, upon every one of them was written, what use and employment they were put unto.

1. One^z was for them, that were to offer two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, the one for a burnt-offering, and the other for a sin-offering: they cast-in their price hither.

2. A second was for them, that were to offer a burnt-offering of birds only.

3. A third, for whosoever offered money to buy wood for the altar, he put his money into that chest.

4. A fourth, for whosoever would offer money to buy frankincense.

5. A fifth, for whosoever would offer gold for the mercy-seat.

6. A sixth, for the residue of a sin-offering, that is, if a man had set apart a sum of money for a sin-offering, and i bought a sin-offering and there was to spare,—that which was to spare, was put into this chest.

^vEnglish folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1096.

Maim. cap. 3.

7. A seventh, for the residue of a trespass-offering.
8. An eighth, for the residue or surplus of an offering of birds, of men and women that had issues, and of women after childbirth.
9. A ninth, for the surplus of a Nazarite's offering.
10. A tenth, for a surplus of a leper's trespass-offering.
11. The eleventh, for whosoever would willingly offer a sacrifice of the herd, the money wherewith to buy it, he cast into this chest.

These many chests stood continually in the Temple, with every one its title written upon it, that told its use, that whosoever would offer any one of these things mentioned, he could readily go by those directions, where to put the money of his offering. And these are those 'Gazophylacia,' or 'treasuries,' that Josephus saith, "the cloisters were before:" that is, whereas the courts were cloistered round about, and those cloisters were, on the side towards the court, supported with pillars, these chests were set in the court before those pillars: as if such chests should be set in the quadrangle before the pillars, that bear up the cloister-walks in the Royal Exchange, London.

But in whether of the courts were these chests disposed of, in the Court of Israel, or the Court of the Women, or in both, some in the one and some in the other?

Ans. These considerations do evince, that they were placed in the Court of the Women:—1. Because thither was the access freer than it was into the Court of Israel; and it is no doubt, these chests would be set in a place most commodious for every one to come unto them. Women might not come into the other court at all, nor men neither, so ordinarily as they might into this; and these treasuries, in all reason, were to be set, where men and women did both resort. 2. In the upper court, if these chests stood before or on the outside of the cloister, they stood in the Court of the Priests; and thither might not an Israelite, that was come into the upper court, enter, unless it were upon three singular occasions, when he had a sacrifice, which we have mentioned elsewhere,—and putting money into the treasuries was none of them. 3. It is said, in Mark xii. 41, that "Jesus sat over-against the treasury, and saw the people cast-in money^a, and he saw a widow throw in two mites." Now

^a *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 599.

into the Court of Israel, this widow might not come, and in that court Christ might not sit; for they had a tradition, that “none might sit in that court, but only the kings of the house of David:”—but the meaning of the place is, that Jesus, sitting in the cloister of the Court of the Women, saw the people cast money into these chests, according as they were minded to offer for this or that occasion: and there came a poor widow, and threw in “two mites, which make a farthing.” It is the ordinary expression, that the Hebrew authors use to signify the people’s giving to the treasury by, to say מְשַׁלְכִין לְתוֹכָהּ “They cast-in their money:” which phrase the evangelists also follow in this story. And since we are upon this poor widow’s offering, let it be without offence, to digress so much, as to give in this rateable of the Jews, for the understanding of the value of her two mites, and how they made a farthing; and, it may be, it will be useful on other occasions: “The^b shekel, or piece of silver mentioned in the law, the weight of it was three hundred and twenty barley-corns: but the wise men added to its weight, and made it of the same weight with the coin called סֵלַע selaa: and what is the weight of the selaa סֵלַע? Three hundred eighty-and-four middling barley-corns: the selaa is four denarii: the denarius is six מֵיָעָה meahs: now the meah is that, which, in Moses’s time, was called a gerah: the meah was two pondions: the pondion was two אִסָּרִין issarin ἀσσάριοι: and פְּרוּטָה, a mite, was the eighth part of an issar” (so two mites make a fourth part); “and the weight of a meah, which was the gerah, was sixteen barley-corns: and the weight of an אִסָּר issar” (Assarius) “was four barley-corns: the weight of פְּרוּטָה, a mite, was half a barley-corn,” &c.

The place, then, of these treasure-chests was in the Court of the Women, before the cloisters, some here and some there, on the several sides of the court; and, therefore, this place is also called “the treasury,” John viii. 20; where it is said, “These things spake Jesus in the treasury, as he taught in the Temple.” And so the people, both men and women, had access^c to them, and offered, as their hearts or their occasions moved them, and the inscriptions of the chests did give them direction.

^b Maim. ubi sup. cap. 1.

^c *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1097.

As there were these treasure-chests, so also were there treasure-chambers, besides those that have been mentioned before, at the gates of the Mountain of the House, and besides those that joined to the body of the Temple. Besides the chambers, where tithes, first-fruits, vessels, and vestments were treasured up, as they were in the chambers by the gates, and by the sides of the Temple, there were three chamber treasuries of remarkable note; but the place where they stood, is something difficult to discover.

1. There was the chamber, or treasury, of the half-shekel poll-money, into which the two chests, that have been spoken of, were emptied when they were full, and the chamber locked and sealed up. Now, at three set times of the year, they took the money out of this chamber again: the Talmud and Maimonides, in the treatise Shekalim^d, do give the story and the manner of that action thus: "At three times of the year, they emptied this chamber; namely, fifteen days before the Passover, fifteen days before Pentecost, and fifteen days before the feast of Tabernacles: or, as Rabbi Akiba, the son of Azai, saith, on the nine-and-twentieth of Adar, the first of Sivan, and the nine-and-twentieth of Ab. He that went in to fetch out the money, must not go in in any garment, in which it was possible to hide money, nor in his shoes or sandals; no, nor with his phylacteries on, because it was possible to hide money under them. When he went in, a watch stood at the door without; and all the while he was within, they talked to him, and he again to them, that so he might be prevented for putting any money into his mouth. He began not to empty out any money, till he gave them without notice, by saying, 'I empty;' and they answered him, 'Empty, empty, empty,' three times over. The money that was in the chamber, was put up, when it was first brought in, into three great chests, containing nine seahs, or three bushels a-piece: and if there were more brought in than would go into these three chests, it was laid by somewhere in the chamber. He that went in, took three chests of three seahs a-piece, or every one containing a bushel; and he filled them out of the great chests within. His three that he brought in, had these three letters א ב ג written severally on them, for distinction's sake: for one he filled in the name of the Jews of the land of Israel,—and another in the name of

^d Shekalim, cap. 3.

those that were in towns and countries nearer hand,—and the third, in the name of those in Babel and Media, and farther off.” And thus having filled these three at one time, they were brought out, and the money bestowed to buy the daily sacrifices, and additional sacrifices, and show-bread, and salt for the sacrifices, and wood for the altar, and other things that were necessary for the service: and thus they laid out the money, as long as those three bushels would run; and, at the next appointed^e time, he went into the chamber again, and did the like.

2. There were two other treasure-chambers, in one of which was laid-up what was offered towards the repair and service of the Temple; and another, in which was laid-up what was offered for charitable uses. The Talmudics^f speak of them thus, שתי לשכות היו במקדש אחת לשכת השאים ואחת לשכת הכלים “There were two treasure-chambers in the Temple,—one the chamber of the silent,—and the other, the chamber of the vessels. The chamber of the silent was, where religious men did, silently or secretly, put-in their offerings; and poor children of honest parents, were brought up by them secretly. The chamber of the vessels was, where any, that willingly offered any vessel, cast it in there. And once, in thirty days, the treasures opened the chamber, and fetched out what they found fit for the supply of the Temple; and what was not of itself fit, they sold, and turned into some thing that was fit,” &c.

Now, whereabouts these chambers stood, it is something difficult to discover: we shall guess at their place, when we come to survey the upper court: the mention of the Gazophylacia, which we have found in this Court of the Women that we are about, hath led us thus far aside as to speak of these chambers also, though they were not in this court, but in the upper: we shall have so much the less to say of them, when we come to their own place.

And now let us look over this court, that we have been so long about, at one view:—as you were entered into it at the east gate, you saw, in every corner of it, a piece of building, that had a quadrangle in the midst of it: on the north and the south sides, there was a gate, just in the middle between these buildings: and, from the buildings on either side, there ran a cloister, supported with goodly marble pillars

^e *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 600.

^f *Ibid.* cap. 5. et Aruch in משא

unto the gates: and the like cloister there was at the east quarter, at which you entered. These cloisters had benches within them for the people to sit down, when they thought good,—as there were in the cloisters, that ran along the outmost wall, that encompassed the Mountain of the House. Before these cloisters on the east, north, and south sides, stood the treasure-chests, and then you were come into the open court. Before you, as you went up towards the Court of Israel, was a goodly rising of steps up to the gate of that court, called the ‘Gate of Nicanor,’ which we are now to survey the next:—and, upon this quarter, there was no cloister at all.

CHAP. XX^g.

Of the Gate of Nicanor, or the East Gate of the Court.

THE “Court of the Women,” which was of the platform that hath been described, was parted from “the Court of Israel” by a high wall; namely, of thirty-two cubits and a half high from the floor of the Court of the Women; yet but only twenty-five cubits high from the floor of the Court of Israel itself; for so much higher was the ground in that court, than in the other.

Just in the middle of this wall, was the gate, that conveyed out of the one court into the other^h: to which gate there was a rising of fifteen steps, every step half a cubit high, the whole rising seven cubits and a half in all; so high was the Court of Israel above the Court of the Women.

“These fifteen steps (saith the treatise Succahⁱ) were answerable to the fifteen psalms of degrees, in the Book of Psalms, שְׁעֵלִיחַן הַלְוִיִּם עֹמְדִים בְּשֵׁר, because upon these the Levites stood and sang:” not in the daily service, or in the ordinary course of the Temple-music, for their place of standing in that, was in the court (as shall be showed); but only on that solemn festivity, at ‘the feast of Tabernacles,’ which was called שְׂמֵחַת בֵּית הַשּׂוֹאֵבָה “The rejoicing at the drawing and pouring out of water:” of which we give account in its due place.

These^j steps, that rose up to the gate, were not laid in a square, or strait, as steps are ordinarily laid, but they were

^g English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1098.

^h Mid. cap. 2. Josephus de Bell. lib. 8. cap. 14.

ⁱ Succah, cap. 5.

^j Mid. ubi supr.

laid in a semicircle: and one reason of that may be for the gaining of room on either side them: for^k, on either side of the gate and of the steps, there were under-ground chambers in the wall, whose roof was even with the floor of the Court of Israel, the doors opening into the Court of the Women; in which rooms the Levites used to lay-up their musical instruments, when they had done singing in the daily service in the Court of Israel. They came down the fifteen steps out of the court; and, at the bottom, stepping off either on the right hand or the left, there were doors in the wall into chambers, where they laid their instruments up.

This gate, that we are now entering, or the gate between the Court of the Women and the Court of Israel^l, is held by some of the Jews to have been called by seven several^m names, besides 'the Gate of Nicanor,' which, in Herod's Temple, was the most common and known name of it: of some of which the matter indeed is clear, but of other there is doubting.

1. It was called "the upper gate of the Lord's house," 2 Kings xv. 35, 2 Chron. xxvii. 3: and so the treatise Succahⁿ, in the place cited before, doth expressly call it, "The upper gate, that goeth down out of the Court of Israel, into the Court of the Women." And the east gate, that went out of the Court of the Women into the Chel, was called^o "the lower." Now, whereas it is said, that Jotham built 'the upper gate,' it inferreth not, that there was no gate before; but it meaneth, that he repaired it, or that he added some buildings to it.

2. It is called, "the new gate," Jer. xxvi. 10, and xxxvi. 10; in both which places the Chaldee paraphrast expressly calleth it, "the east gate of the Sanctuary of the Lord." It is apparent, by that latter place in Jeremiah, that it was the gate, that went into the upper court, or the Court of Israel; and so it both appears, that it was the gate that we are about; and, also, the reason of the title of "the new gate," may be collected from what was spoken a little before,—namely, because it had been repaired by Jotham. Some^p give this reason of the title, לפי שחסופרים חדשו חלבה, namely, "That it was called new, because the scribes did there de-

^k Mid. ubi supr.

^l Vid. Kimchi in Jer. xix. 2, and in 2 Kings, xi, and R. Sol. in 2 Chron. xxiii.

^m Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 601.

ⁿ Succah, ubi supr.

^o Maim. in Kel. Mikdash, cap. 7.

^p Kimch. in loc.

liver new traditions;” for there sat the Sanhedrim : but this derivation is far fetched.

3. “The gate *Harsith*,” Jer. xix. 2, is understood, by some, to mean this east gate of the Court of Israel that we are upon, though both the very text of Jeremiah himself, and also the Chaldee paraphrast, and other Jews with him, do not clearly allow of such a construction, but place the gate *Harsith* in another place.

1. The text of Jeremiah doth place Tophet at the entry of that gate *Harsith*; which how improper it is to apply to the east gate of the Court of Israel, is easy enough for any one to judge, that doth but know, that there were two gates betwixt this court-gate, and the valley that lay before the Temple, if that valley had been Tophet. But, 2. ‘Tophet,’ or ‘the valley of the sons of Hinnom,’ lay a good way upon the right hand, as you stood in the east gate of the Temple, as was observed before, and faced the city Jerusalem, and not the Temple; and so the gate *Harsith* must be one of the gates, that went out of Jerusalem into that valley, and not out of the Temple. 3. The Chaldee paraphrast doth call it תרע קלקלתא, which David Kimchi expoundeth, *the dung-port*; and believeth it to be the same dung-gate, that is mentioned in Neh. ii. 13; though, I believe, Nehemiah’s dung-port^a was in another quarter. The word *Harsith* is of a two-fold construction; namely, either as derived from Heres חרס which signifieth the *sun*, and so our English in the margin hath rendered it, “the sun-gate,” having translated it “the east gate,” in the text: or, from Heres חרס, which signifieth a *potsherd*; for “there (saith Rabbi Solomon) they cast out their broken potsherds.” We shall not need to be inquisitive from whence this gate did bear its name (whether from the sun rising upon it, or from some idolatry committed to the sun near to it, or from the potters’ house hereabout, or from casting out of broken pitchers at it), since it is not that gate that we are about, in the Temple,—but a gate of the city Jerusalem, which we have not now to do withal.

4. Some of the Hebrew writers^r do understand שער איתון *“the gate of entrance,”* spoken of Ezek. xl. 15, to mean the gate that we are about,—namely, the east gate of the Court of Israel: for which reason, it may be, the Chaldee paraphrast hath translated it תרעא מציעאה *the middle gate*, as being

^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1099. ^r Kimoh. in Jer. xix. R. Sol. in Ezek. xl.

between the gate, that cometh into the Court of the Women, —and the gate of the porch of the Temple itself.

5. Among the seven names, that are given by the Rabbins to this gate, that name of “the middle gate” was one, as appeareth by the authors in the places alleged; and this was the reason of the name, and we need to seek no farther for it.

6. They also conceive, that it was called “the gate Sur,” 2 Kings xi. 6, or “the gate of departure,” because, there, those that had been unclean, were separated and put aside, and might go no farther, till their atonement was made.

7. And likewise “the gate of the foundation,” 2 Chron. xxiii. 5: but of these two we shall have occasion to speak afterward; and shall there examine, whether this gate have those names or no.

8. But the name, by which it was most famously known in the last days of the Temple (and which it carried to its grave, or till the Temple and it were buried in ruin) was “the gate of Nicanor.” “The upper gate (saith Maimonides^t) is the gate of Nicanor: and why is it called ‘the upper gate?’ Because it is above the Court of the Women.” And to the same purpose, and in as plain terms, speaketh the Gloss^u upon the treatise Sotah; “The gate of Nicanor was the upper gate, which was between the Court of Israel, and the Court of the Women.” And so the treatise Middoth^v, whensoever it reckoneth the gates of the Court of Israel, it still^w maketh the gate of Nicanor to be the east gate: and that maxim in the Jerusalem Talmud^x, “כל מקום שנאמר לפני” “זה שער ניקנור,” “Every place where it is said, ‘Before the Lord,’ it meaneth the gate of Nicanor,” confirmeth the same things; as appeareth by the cleansing of the leper, and the trial of the suspected wife,—both which were set in this gate, and are said to be set “before the Lord,” Lev. xiv. 11, Num. v. 18.

And to take up, what is copiously said by the Talmudists concerning this gate, and concerning the reason, why it was so called, from the mouth of one man, to save more labour,—let us hear the author of Juchasin concerning this matter, speaking thus at large:—

“Nicanor^y was in the time of the second Temple: and I

^s Id. in 2 Chron. xxiii. ex Hierus.

^a Sotah, cap. 1. Gloss. *ibid.*

^w *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 602.

^y Juchasin, fol. 65. vid. etiam Talm. Jerus. in Joma, cap. 3. Tosaphta *ibid.* cap. 2. et Mid. cap. 3. Aruch in voce *Nicanor*.

^t Maim. in Kele Mikdash, cap. 7.

^v Mid. cap. 1. et cap. 6.

^x Talm. Jerus. in Sotah, cap. 1.

wonder at Rabh, that he did not mention him in the catalogue of those men, that are upon record for religiousness; as he mentioneth Hananiah, the son of Ezekiah, the son of Garon, in the beginning of the treatise Shabbath, into whose chamber the scholars of Shammai and Hillel came: and so Aba Saul Ben Batuith, in the end of the treatise Shabbath. Now this Nicanor, that is often mentioned in the Misna, was one of the chasidim" (or religious); "but the common people are not so. He is mentioned in the first and second chapters of Middoth; as, that there is a gate in the court on the east, which is the gate of Nicanor, and that it had two wickets,—one, on the right hand,—and another, on the left. And so it is said in the sixth chapter of Shekalim, and that it is set over-against the Most Holy Place, which was westward, where the divine glory dwelt. And, therefore, in the end of the treatise Beracoth, it saith, 'Let not a man use irreverence before this gate of Nicanor, or the east gate.' And so, in the first chapter of Sotah; 'In the gate of Nicanor, they make the suspected wife drink the bitter water, and they purify women after childbirth, and lepers.' And in the end of the chapter כִּי־צִוִּיָן (or the seventh chapter of the treatise Pesachin), "it is said, that the gate of Nicanor was not holy" (as the court), "because lepers stood there, and put-in their thumbs and great toes into the court. And so, in the third chapter of Joma, and the second chapter of Tosaphta, there it is said, There were wonders wrought with the doors of Nicanor; and they mention it renownedly: and if so, then had it been fit to have recorded him. The story is thus:— This Nicanor was one of the chasidim, and he went to Alexandria in Egypt, and made there two brazen doors with much curiosity, intending to set them up in the Court of the Temple; and he brought them away by sea. Now a great storm happening, the mariners cast one of the doors overboard, to lighten the ship; and intended, also, to throw over the other also. Which when Nicanor perceived, he bound himself to the door with cords, and told them, that if they threw that in, they should throw him in too. And so the sea ceased from her rage. And when he was landed at Ptolemais, and bemoaned the loss of his other door, and prayed to God about it, the sea cast up the door, in that place where the holy man had landed. But some say^z, a great fish cast it up.

^z *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1100.

And this was the miracle, that was done about his doors; and they set them up on the east side of the court, before the Temple. But, in the books of Joseph Ben Gorion, he saith, That the gate of Nicanor was so called, because a wonder was done there; for there they slew Nicanor, a prince of the Grecians, in the time of the Asmoneans; and so it seemeth in the latter end of the second chapter of the treatise Taanith."—Thus Juchasin.

I shall not insist upon it, to dispute it out, whether of these things alleged were the cause of the name of this gate, or whether something else. Some other conjectures might be added,—as, whether Nicanor, that sent the doors from Alexandria, were not he, that was the king's chief master of the ceremonies there; of whom Josephus maketh mention^a, and relateth how he provided chambers and diet for the Septuagint translators:—or whether this gate were not so called in honour of 'Seleucus Nicanor,' the first king of Syria, who was a great favourer of the Jewish nation, as the same Josephus^b also relateth. But I shall leave the searching after the etymology and original of the name to those, that have mind and leisure thereunto. It sufficeth to know the gate by its name, which was so renowned and famous in all Jewish writers:—only as to the story about Nicanor, a Grecian prince, being slain here, compare 1 Macc. vii. 33, 34, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 17.

Before we part from this gate, we must remember to say something about the gate *Sur*, and "the gate of the foundation," of which there is mention, 2 Kings xi. 6, and 2 Chron. xxiii. 5; because that these are held by some, as was showed before, to have been but names of this east gate of the court, that we are about.

The texts, where these names are mentioned, do speak to this purpose, in our English translation:—

2 KINGS XI.

Ver. 5. "A third part of you, that enter in on the sabbath, shall even be keepers of the watch of the king's house.

2 CHRON. XXIII.

Ver. 4. "A third part of you entering in on the sabbath, of the priests and of the Levites, shall be porters of the doors.

^a Jos. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2.

^b Ibid. cap. 3.

6. And^c a third part shall be at the gate Sur: and a third part at the gate behind the guard, &c.

7. And two parts of you, that go forth on the sabbath, even they shall keep the watch of the house of the Lord, about the king," &c.

5. And a third part shall be at the king's house, and a third part at the gate of the foundation," &c.

The two courses of the priests and Levites now present,—namely, that course, that came in on the sabbath, and the other that had served their week, and were now going out,—Jehoiada divides, either of them, into three parts; into six in all. They that came in on the sabbath, were to be, 1. A third part of them for the altar and service, the priests for the sacrifices, and the Levites for singers and porters, as in the constant duty and attendance. For it was now the sabbath-day; and, had it been any other day, it is not to be imagined, that Jehoiada would neglect the affairs of God, though he went about the affairs of the king: but he provides for both, so that the Temple-service may have its due attendance, as well as the king's coronation. And, therefore, ver. 5 of 2 Kings xi, is necessarily to be rendered thus, "A third part of you shall be those, that come in on the sabbath:" that is, A third part of you shall be as those, that come in on the sabbath to attend the service, as at other times. And so is 2 Chron. xxiii. 4 to be translated; "A third part of you shall be those, that come in on the sabbath, for priests, and Levites, and porters;" that is, to attend the altar, song, and gates, as in the constant service.

2. Another third part, for keepers of the watch at the king's house.

3. And another third part at 'the gate Sur,' which is also called 'the gate of the foundation.'

Thus the texts in the two books, laid together, do plainly distribute the course, that was to come in on the sabbath; as he will see, that will carefully compare them together in the original.

The course, that was going out on the sabbath, was disposed, 1. One third part of them to the gate behind the

guard. 2. Two third parts to keep the watch of the house of the Lord, for the safety of the king.

Now the very disposal of these guards will help us to judge concerning the gates, that we have in mention,—and will resolve us, that they were not any gates of the Temple at all; but that they stood in some place else. For the gates of the Temple were guarded by the porters of the course, that came in as in the ordinary manner: and there was an extraordinary guard added besides, throughout all the Mountain of the House, and in the court, of that course that was going out, 2 Kings xi. 7, 8. 11. Therefore, ‘the gate Sur,’ or ‘the gate of the foundation,’ which was guarded by a third part of those, that came in on the sabbath,—cannot be supposed for any gate of the Temple; since the Temple was guarded^d by two parts of those, that went out. So that were I to describe the city, as I am now about describing the Temple,—I should place ‘the gate Sur’ somewhere in Sion; and there also should I place ‘the gate behind the guard:’ and it would not be very hard to gather up fair probability of their situation there. Now, though so strong guards were set both in the Temple and in Zion,—yet Athaliah, for whom all this ado is made, comes up into the Temple, so far as to see the young king at his pillar in the court before the east gate; and no man interrupts her, partly, because she was queen,—partly, because she came alone,—and chiefly, because they knew not Jehoiada’s mind concerning her. But when he bids, “have her out of the ranges,” they laid hold upon her, and spared her till she was down the causeway Shallecheth; and then they slew her.

If by the *ranges*, the ranks of men, that stood round about the Mountain of the House, be not to be understood,—I should then think, they mean either the ranks of trees, that grew on either side that causeway, or the rails that were set on either side it, for the stay and safety of those, that passed upon it. And to this sense Levi Gershom doth not improperly expound those words in 1 Kings x. 12: “Of the almug-trees the king made מסעך for the house of the Lord, and for the king’s house.” The word מסעך doth properly signify, a *prop* or *support*: yet is expressed, in 2 Chron. ix. 11, “The king made of the almug-trees מסלות highways to the house of the Lord.”—“And I think (saith the Rabbin^e) that, in the

^d English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1101.

^e Ralbag in 1 Kings x.

ascent, that he made to go up to the house of the Lord from the king's house, he made, as it were, battlements" (that is, rails on either side) "of the almug-trees, that a man might stay himself by them, as he went along the highway of that ascent. And so in other ascents of the house of the Lord, or of the king's house, where there were not steps,—as, the rise of the altar," &c.

SECT. I^f.

A credible Wonder of the Brazen Gate.

WE will leave the belief of that wonder, that hath been mentioned about the brazen door of Nicanor in its shipwreck, to those that record it: but we may not pass over another wondrous occurrence, related by Josephus, of the brazen gate (whether this of Nicanor, or the other, which he calleth 'the Brazen Gate,' as by its proper name, we will not be curious to examine), which is a great deal more worthy of belief, and very well deserving consideration. He treating of the prodigies and wonders, that presaged the destruction of Jerusalem, amongst others he relateth this^g: 'Ἡ δὲ ἀνατολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου, χαλκῆ μὲν οὔσα καὶ στιβαρωτάτη, &c. "The east gate of the inner Temple, being of brass, and extreme heavy, and which could hardly be shut by twenty men,—being barred and bolted exceeding strong and sure,—yet was it seen, by night, to open of its own accord: which the simpler and more foolish people did interpret as a very good omen, as if it denoted to them, that God would open to them the gate of all good things: but those of a deeper reach and sounder judgment, did suspect, that it presaged the decay and ruin of the strength of the Temple."

And with this relation of his, do other writers of his own nation concur^h, who report, that, "forty years before the destruction of the city, the doors of the Temple opened of their own accord: whereupon Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai" (after chief of the Sanhedrim) "cried out, 'Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour.' And, from that time, the great Sanhedrim flitted from the room Gazith, and so removed from place to place."—The like saith Rabbi Solomon on Zech. xi. 1: "Open thy door, O Lebanon: he prophesieth

^f Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 604.

^g Jos. de Bell. lib. 6. cap. 31. [Hudson, p. 1281.]

^h Juchasin, fol. 10.

(saith he) of the destruction of the second Temple: and, forty years before the destruction, the Temple-doors opened of their own accord. Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai rebuked them: and said, ‘O temple, temple, how long wilt thou trouble thyself? I know thy best is to be destroyed, for Zechariah, the son of Iddo, prophesied thus of thee,—Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars,’” &c.

There are three remarkable things, which the Jews do date from forty years before the destruction of the Temple:—namely, this of the Temple-doors’ opening of themselves, and the Sanhedrim’s fitting from the room Gazith, and the scarlet list on the scape-goat’s head not turning white; that are as testimonies against themselves about the death of Christ, which occurred exactly forty years before the Temple was destroyed. Then the Lord showed them, by the Temple-doors’ opening, the shaking of their ecclesiastical glory,—and, by the fitting of the Sanhedrim, the shaking of their civil,—and, by the not whitening of their scarlet list, which had denoted pardon of sin, their deep dye of sin and guilt for the death of Christ. Compare this self-opening of the Temple-doors with the renting of the veil of the Temple of its own accord, and they may help the one to illustrate the other. And methinks the words of Rabban Jochanan upon the opening of the doors, “O Temple, how long wilt thou disquiet thyself,” do seem to argue, that, before that opening, there had been some other such strange trouble in the Temple as that was,—which might be the renting of the veil.

SECT. IIⁱ.

A Sanhedrim sitting in this Gate.

THIS gate of Nicanor, or the east gate of the court, was the place where the suspected wife was tried by drinking of the bitter waters, and where the leper cleansed stood to have his atonement made, and to have his cleansing wholly perfected; the rites of both which things we have described in their places. In this gate also did women, after childbirth, appear for their purification; here it was that the Virgin Mary presented her child Jesus to the Lord, Luke ii. 22.

In^j this gate of Nicanor (not in the very passage through

ⁱ *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 1102.

^j Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 11.

it, but in some room above or by it), there sat a "Sanhedrim of three-and-twenty judges." Now, there were three ranks of judicatories among the Jews: a judicatory or consistory of three; a judicatory of three-and-twenty; and the great Sanhedrim, of seventy-one. In smaller towns, there was a triumvirate, or a consistory, set-up, consisting only of three judges: these^k judged and determined about money matters, about borrowing, filching, damages, restitutions, the forcing or enticing of a maid, pulling off the shoe, and divers other things that were not capital, nor concerned life and death, but were of an inferior concernment and condition. In greater cities, there were Sanhedrims of three-and-twenty, which judged in matters of life and death in some cases; but raught not to all. And there was the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, which was to judge of the greatest matters. Now a Sanhedrim of three-and-twenty was not set up in any great city, but only in such a one, as in which were a hundred and twenty men fit to bear office. כמה יהא בעיר ותהא ראיה לסנהדרין מאה ועשרים "How many are to be in a city, that it may be fit to have a Sanhedrim set up in it?" It is a question of the Talmud's own proposing, and it giveth this answer, "That there are to be a hundred and twenty." Compare Acts i. 15. —And into what offices or places these^l are to be distributed, might be alleged out of the Gemarists and Maimonides, if it were pertinent to this place: only these many let us name of them: "Every^m Sanhedrim of three-and-twenty had three forms of probationers of three-and-twenty in every form: and when there was need of a man in the Sanhedrim, the highest in the first form was fetched in, and made judge: and the highest in the second form came in, and sat lowest in the first form: and the highest in the third form came up, and sat lowest in the second: and some other man was found out from abroad, to sit lowest in the third form: and so the Sanhedrims and the forms were still kept full."

Now as the great Sanhedrim sat in the Temple, so also did two lesser Sanhedrims of three-and-twenty a-piece; the one, in the gate Shushan, or the gate of the Mountain of the House; and the other, in this gate of Nicanor, or the gate of the court. And their rising to be judges in the highest court of seventy-one, was first by degrees through these two. "Who-

^k Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 1.

^l Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 605.

^m Maim. in Sanhedr. cap. 1.

soever^a was found a man of fit and competent qualifications, he was first made a judge in his own city: and thence he was promoted into the judicatory in the gate of the Mountain of the House, and from thence into the judicatory in the gate of the court; and so at last into the great Sanhedrim. In some of these judicatories in the Temple, our Saviour showed his wisdom at twelve years old, Luke ii. 46. And some of these judges were they, that tempted him with the question about the woman taken in adultery, which was brought to be judged before them, John viii. 4, 5.

In the times before the captivity into Babylon, the great Sanhedrim itself sat in these two gates, sometimes in the one, and sometimes in the other, as they thought good, Jer. xxxv. 4, xxvi. 10, and xxxvi. 10: but, in after-times, when the room Gazith was built, and the great Sanhedrim of seventy-one betook itself thither, these two gates were furnished, either of them, with a lesser Sanhedrim of three-and-twenty. The place of their sitting was in some room over the gate: for as it was not possible for them to sit in the very passage, through which people went and came, so was it not lawful for them to sit in the gate of Nicanor, in that part of the gate that was within the court; for, within the court, might no man sit but the king only. Yet might they sit in the upper rooms, though they were within the compass of the courts; for they held them not of so great a holiness, as was the space below.

This is the gate, of which Ezekiel speaketh, chap. xlvi. 1, 2: "The gate of the inner court, that looked towards the east, shall be shut for the six working-days: but, on the sabbath, it shall be opened, and in the day of the new moon it shall be opened: and the prince shall come by the way of the porch of that gate without, and shall stand by the post of the gate," &c. Before this gate within, had Solomon pitched his brazen scaffold, on which he kneeled and prayed at the consecration of the house,—2 Chron. vi. 13, compared with 1 Kings viii. 22: and, in after-times, the kings, entering-in at this gate, had their station within it, as he had given them example; and there stood the king's pillar, as it is called, 2 Chron. xxiii. 13^o; that is, his seat was set within this gate in the court by one of the pillars, that bare up the cloister. For as this east quarter of the court was the most

^a Maim. in Sanhedr. cap. 2.

^o English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1103.

proper place for the people to worship in,—so most especially in that place of it, which did most directly face the door of the Temple and the altar before it, and that was in the very entrance up from this gate itself: and here was the king seated by one of the pillars. Something according to this disposal of the king in his place in the court doth Ezekiel speak, though, in his description, there is some kind of difference for mystery's sake. You may observe in him, that the east gate of the outer Sanctuary was continually shut, and the east gate of the inner was shut all the six days of the week, which were not, indeed, so in the common use of the Temple as it stood, for both the gates were daily opened; but he hath so characterized them for the higher magnifying of that glory, which (he saith) was now entered into the Temple. And whereas, indeed, the king, in his worshipping, did go within the court, or within the gate, and there worship, and there sit down in the time of divine service,—he hath brought in the prince but to the posts of the gate, and there standing whilst his sacrifice was offering. By his description, every one that came up to this gate, must either enter at the north gate or south gate of the Court of the Women, because the east gate was shut, chap. xlv. 1: and hereupon is that injunction, that “when the people of the land come before the Lord in the solemn feasts, he that entereth-in by the way of the north gate to worship, must go out by the way of the south gate; and he that entereth by the way of the south gate, must go forth by the way of the north gate: he must not return by the way of the gate, whereby he came in,” chap. xlvi. 9. Whereas, in the common access to the Temple, as it stood either before or after the captivity,—the east gate of the Court of the Women was constantly open, and their most ordinary coming-in was at that gate; and so they went up, through the Court of the Women, to the gate of Nicanor, yea, and oftentimes within it into the court. Yet did they imitate and follow this pre-script of the prophet, under the second Temple, in not returning and going out^p at the same gate, at which they had come in. The Talmudists have this tradition about this matter, כל הנכנסין לדרך הבית נכנסין דרך ימין ומקיפין ויוצאים דרך שמאל “All^q that come to the Temple according to the custom of the place, come in at the right hand, and fetch a compass,

^p *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 606.

^q *Mid. cap. 3.*

and go out at the left:" which meaneth not (as the Glossaries do explain it) that a man was always to go out at the gate opposite to that gate, at which he came in; but that he may not go out at the same gate, at which he came in, but at some other: as, came he in at the east gate, he must not go out at the east gate again, but at the north or south. Only they give exception in two sorts of persons: *דוץ ממי שארעו דבר* "to whom particular occurrences had befallen; for they went about still to the left hand. What is the matter with thee, that thou goest that way? Because I am a mourner. Now he that dwelleth in this house, comfort thee.—Or, because I am excommunicate: now he that dwelleth in this house, put into thy heart that thou mayest hearken to the words of thy fellows, and they may receive thee."

So that the common and ordinary way of coming into the Temple to worship, was to come in at the east gate of the Court of the Women, and up to the gate of Nicanor, and there to worship; and so back again, and out at the north or south door of that court. The Pharisee, in the parable, went up to this gate, as far as he could go, because he would put his seeming devotion to the farthest; but the poor publican stood afar off: Luke xviii. 13. Even the king himself, though he came in on the west quarter of the Mountain of the House, yet came he down hither to go into the court of the Women, and so up, through the east gate of the court, to his seat, which was before that gate. The stationary-men, of whom we have spoken in due place, they went within the gate into the Court of Israel; and so did other Israelites at the solemn festivals, when there were abundance of sacrifices, especially at the Passover; and he that brought a single sacrifice, went into the court at one of the north gates of it, of which we shall speak, when its course comes: but ordinarily a man that came into the Temple to pray or to worship, and brought not a sacrifice, he worshipped before the gate of Nicanor, which faced the gate of the Temple, and so returned.

CHAP. XXI^r.

Of the Gates and Buildings in the Court-wall on the East and South Sides.

AND now are we come within the court; where having

^r English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 1104.

very many things to survey and take notice of, let us first begin with viewing the gates and buildings that were in the wall, which did enclose it. And first of all, let us observe the east quarter of the wall, in which the gate of Nicanor was, which we have newly surveyed, and at which we entered. There was never a gate but this in all this east quarter; nor were there any buildings in the wall in this quarter, but only two, which stood on either side of the gate one, and near to the gate, on your right hand and on your left as you entered-in.

That^s on your right hand was called, לשכת פנחס המלביש, “The chamber of Phinehas, the wardrobe man:” of whom there is mention in the treatise ‘Shekalim,’ among the chief officers in the Temple: “These are the chief officers in the Sanctuary (saith the Talmud there),—Jochanan the son of Phinehas, over the seals; Ahijah, over the drink-offerings; Matthias, the son of Samuel, over the lots; Pethaiah, over the birds” (for sacrifice); “this Pethaiah was Mordecai, &c. Phinehas, over the wardrobe,” &c. Now the Gloss upon that place saith, that these men, named, were the eminentest and worthiest men, that ever were in these several offices, and that they were not all in one, but in several generations. Bartenora^u conceiveth, that the office of this Phinehas was, “to array the priests, when they were to go in to serve,—and to disarray them again, when they had done, and to keep their clothes.” Which we are not to understand of his helping them on and off with their vestments every day, when they went to and came from the service; for they put them on and off themselves; but he provided vestments for them at their first entering into the service; and when they were old, he took them into his custody again and provided new. Now^v this provision was at the public charge; he only took care for it; and the garments being overworn, they were returned again, for the public use. For we have observed elsewhere, that they were ravelled into wick yarn for the lamps and for the great lights at the Feast of Tabernacles, at the “rejoicing for the pouring out of water.”

On the left hand of the gate, was לשכת עשה הביתין “The chamber of the pastry-man,” for so let us call him,—a man that took care for the providing and preparing of the high-

^s Mid. cap. 1.

^u Barten. in Mid.

^t Talm. in Shekalim, cap. 5.

^v Maim. in Kele Mikd. cap. 7.

priest's daily meat-offering, which, in the Talmud language^w, is commonly called, שתי הלחם הבית כ"ג "The two cakes of the high-priest," of which we have spoken in due place; and this his daily offering was one thing, whereby^x he was differentiated from an ordinary priest.

There^y is much diversity of opinion among the Jews, yea, even in the Talmud itself, about the number of the gates into this court: in some places it reckons seven^z, which, indeed, was the right number; but, in some other places, there is mention of thirteen^a: nay (saith the Gloss^b upon one place), "some there are that reckon seven, some five, some three, some thirteen, but the generality hold for seven." Now the reason of this difference is in regard, that some of them reckon only the gates of most constant and frequent passage, which were, especially, three,—namely, the gate of Nicanor on the east, and one on the north, and one on the south, of which we shall speak ere it be long. Others reckon only the gates which were guarded, which were only five. Some, it seems, count what doors went out of the court, into buildings by it, as well as gates to pass through, and so they raise the number thirteen. But the number that we fix upon, is *seven*, as most generally and most properly entertained, both by the Talmudics and by Josephus, in the second Temple: and how many were in the first Temple, we shall say something to, before we have done with the court. On the south sides^c were these three gates:—1. שער מים 'The Water-gate,' which was most east of all the three: 2. שער בכורות 'The Gate of the Firstlings,' called, also, sometimes שער הקרבן 'The Gate of Offering;,' this was in the middle: and, 3. שער הדלק 'The Gate of Kindling,' which was most west.

Now, besides these three gates on the south side, there were also three other buildings in the wall, which bare these names. 1. לשכת גזית 'The Room Gazith:,' 2. לשכת נולה 'The Room of the Draw-well:,' and, 3. לשכת העץ 'The Room of the Wood.' And so we have the materials or subject of our survey on this south side before us:—let us now fall to work, and observe the situation and use of these several places.

And^d first Josephus^e, as he giveth testimony to this num-

^w Menacoth, fol. 96.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 607.

^a Mid. cap. 2. et Shekalim, cap. 6.

^c Mid. cap. 5. et Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 5.

^d English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2005.

^x Maim. in Biath Mikd. cap. 4.

^z Mid. cap. 1. et Joma, fol. 19.

^b Gloss. in Tamid, cap. 1.

^e Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 15.

ber that we fix upon, when he saith, that *ὁ ἐντὸς περιβόλος, κατὰ μὲν τὸ νότιον καὶ βόρειον κλίμα, τριστίχους πυλῶνας εἶχε* “this inward bound had three gates, north and south;” so doth he also give us good light for the situation of them when he saith, “they were *ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας*, equidistant one from another.” He had said much the like concerning the gates, that were in the outmost wall or bound (namely, that that enclosed the Mountain of the House), “that the gates in it, on the south side, were *κατὰ μέσον^f*,” that is, so set, as that there was an equal space betwixt gate and gate, and betwixt either gate and the corners of the wall. And so doth symmetry and the rules of the best proportion, engage us to understand his expression about these gates in the like sense; namely, that they both stood at an equal distance one from another; and that the two outmost stood at the same distance from those corners towards which they stood.

Now the length of the court (and so of this wall) being a hundred and eighty-seven cubits, the situation of the gates, according to the symmetry, will fall into these proportions:—from the east corner of the wall, forty-six cubits and three quarters upwards, towards the west, was the very middle of ‘the water-gate:’ as much forward still, was the very middle of ‘the gate of the firstlings:’ the same measure still forward, was the middle of ‘the gate of kindling:’ and as much yet forward, raught to the west angle of the wall: and so may we, best and most uniformly, conceive of the situation of the gates. And, therefore, whereas the Hebrew writers^g do most ordinarily, when they speak of these gates, say, that they were *למערב סמוכים* “near the west,” it is not to be so taken, as if they were all crowded towards the west corner; but it is spoken in comprehension of both courts together, the Women’s and this.

As for the three several buildings, that were also on this side intermixed with the gates, these things may be observed towards their posture and situation:—1. That “the water-gate and the draw-well room” do seem, by their very names, to refer one to another, as that it is not proper to part them; and howsoever there was something else in the reason of the name of ‘the water-gate,’ besides its standing so near the draw-well, yet shall we observe hereafter, that this might be also one reason of the name of it, and that those two did, in-

^fAntiq. lib. 15. cap. 15. [Hudson, p. 704.] ^gVid. Maim. ubi supr. et ib. Mid.

deed, stand joining together. 2. The Talmud^h saith, the roofs of these three pieces of building were even; by which it seemeth, that they stood not at distance one from another, but conjoining, but only that a gate interposed between them. 3. We shall see anon, out of the Jerusalem Talmud, that the water-gate and the wood-room stood joining together. 4. The Talmud, Maimonides, and other of the Jewish writers, speaking of and naming these three rooms, do ever set Gazith first or last; and thereby they show, that it stood on the outside one way or other, east or west, and stood not in the middle. 5. If we set it farther west, it will then stand in the lot of Benjamin, whereas the great Sanhedrim, which sat in itⁱ, are held by the Jews, and that upon good ground, to have sitten in that part of the court, that was in the tribe of Judah, Gen. xlix. 10. Therefore, in most propriety (these things considered); must it be concluded, that Gazith did stand below the draw-well,—the draw-well below the water-gate, or more towards the east^j corner of the court; the water-gate below the room of the wood,—and all these joining together, as their situation will be confirmed in our farther progress. We will first begin at the east corner, where was the room or building Gazith.

CHAP. XXII.

The Chamber or Room Gazith, the Seat of the Great Sanhedrim.

THE building Gazith (so called^k, because it was made of stone neatly wrought, as the word is used 1 Kings v. 17) appeareth, by the author of Juchasin^l, to have been built by Simeon Ben Shetah^m, who was the vice-president of the Sanhedrim, when Judah Ben Tabbai was Nasi, in the sixth generation from Ezraⁿ, even in the time of Hyrcanus Jannæus, the Asmonean. It was חצייה קודש חצייה חול “half of it holy, and half of it common;” that is, half of it stood within the court, and half of it within the חיל Chel, and it had a door into either place. And^p in that half of it that stood in the חיל Chel, did the great council or Sanhedrim sit, of seventy-one judges. Now, a special reason why they sat on that side of the house,

^h Mid. cap. 5.

Talm. in Zevachin, fol. 54.

^j Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 608.^k Aruch in נזר^l Juchas. fol. 16.^m Avoth, cap. 1. sect. 8.ⁿ Juchas. ubi supra.^o Joma, cap. 2. in Gemara, fol. 25.^p Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 5.

which was in the חֵל Chel, was, because it was not lawful for any man whosoever to sit within the verge of the court, unless it were the king: אֵין יְשִׁיבָה בְּעִזְרָה אֵלָא לְמַלְכֵי בֵּית דִּוִּי: “There is no man may sit in the court, unless it be one of the kings of the house of David.” In the other part of^r this building, which stood within the court, the priests used to cast lots daily for the distribution of the service amongst them; of which we have spoken largely elsewhere.

We cannot come so near the great Sanhedrim, as to survey the room in which they sat, but that we must take some notice of them before we go, and look a little into their constitution, sitting, power, and story:—they will not take it well, if we pass by them, and take no notice of them at all.

The^s number of the judges in this high court was seventy-and-one, answering to Moses, and the seventy elders chosen by him, when God, in the wilderness, did first ordain this great judicatory, Num. xi. They were to be indifferently chosen of priests, Levites, and Israelites (the New Testament often expresseth the distinction, by ‘chief priests, scribes, and elders’), אֵפִי הָיוּ כֻלָּם יִשְׂרָאֵל חֲרִי זֶה מִוֹתֵר, but if priests and Levites fitly qualified were not to be found, “if^t all the council were men of other tribes, it was good and lawful.”

Their^u qualifications must be, that they must be religious and learned both in arts and languages; must have some skill in physic, arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, yea, to know what belonged to magic, sorcery, and idolatry, that so they might know to judge of them. They were to be without maim or blemish of body; men of years, but not extreme old, because commonly such are of too much severity; and they must be fathers of children, that they might be acquainted with tenderness and compassion.

Their manner of sitting was thus; the eminentest among them, for worth and wisdom, they appointed to be the chief in the council; and him they called the *nasi*, or *president*; and him they took to represent Moses. Then the next eminent, they chose to be his second, and him they called *abh beth din*, ‘the father of the council,’ or ‘vice-president.’ He sat upon the right hand of the ‘nasi’ (compare the phrase of “sitting on the right hand of power,” Matt. xxvi. 64): and

^q Vid. R. Sol. et Kimoh. in 1 Kings xii. et Midr. Tillin, in Psal. i. ab initio.

^r English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2006.

^s Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 1.

^t Maim. in Sanhedr. cap. 1.

^u Id. ibid. cap. 2.

then the whole Sanhedrim sat on the one hand and on the other, in a semicircle. On the right hand before them and on the left, there were two clerks of the council; one registered the acquitting votes and testimonies, and the other the casting: compare Matt. xxv. 33.

The^v proper and constant time of their sitting, was from the end of the morning-service, to the beginning of the evening-service, and so their sitting and the divine service did not clash one with another. Yet, sometime, did occasions, that came before them, prolong their session even until night: and then they might determine the matter that they had been debating on by day: but they might not begin a new business by night. They violated their own custom and tradition in judging of Christ by night.

It was in their power and cognizance to judge all persons and all matters (yet, inferior matters they meddled not withal, but referred them to inferior courts); insomuch, that they judged a whole tribe, a prophet, the high-priest, nay, the king himself, if there were occasion: "If the high-priest did any thing that deserved whipping, they whipped him (saith Maimonides^w), and restored him to his dignity again. And although they admitted not the king of the house of David to be a member of the Sanhedrim (saith the same author^x), yet did the kings judge the people, and the Sanhedrim judged them, if there were occasion." They had these two traditions clean contrary to one another, and yet both of force and took place in their several seasons; המלך דן ודנינו אותו "The king judgeth, and they judge him:" and המלך לא דן ולא דנינו אותו "The king judgeth not, and they judge not him." The former was in vigour, till king Jannai was convented before them^y; and then, because partiality could not be prevented, they enacted the latter.

Of^z capital^a penalties, in which kind of matters they especially judged, they had four sorts: stoning; burning; slaying with the sword; and strangling. In reference to which the Targum on Ruth^b hath this gloss in the first chapter, ver. 16: "Naomi said unto her, We are commanded to keep sabbaths and holy-days, so that we may not walk above two thousand cubits. Ruth saith, Whithersoever thou goest,

^v Maim. in Sanhedr. cap. 3.

^w Id. *ibid.*

^x Id. in Sanhedr. cap. 2.

^y Sanhedr. cap. 2. in Gemar.

^z *Ibid.* cap. 7.

^a *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 609.

^b Targ. in Ruth, i. 16.

I will go. Naomi saith, We are commanded not to lodge together with the heathen. Ruth saith, Where thou lodgest, I will lodge. Naomi saith, We are commanded to keep the six hundred and thirteen commandments. Ruth saith, What thy people observe, I will observe, as if they were my people. Naomi saith, We are commanded not to worship strange gods. Ruth saith, Thy God shall be my God. Naomi saith, We have four judicial deaths for offenders,—stoning with stones, burning with fire, killing with the sword, and hanging on the tree. Ruth saith, As thou diest, I will die.”

1. Those^c whom they burned, they used thus:—they set them up to their knees in a dunghill; and two with a towel about his neck pulled and strained him, till he opened his mouth wide; and then they poured in scalding lead, which ran down into his bowels.

2. Those that were strangled, they also set up to the knees in a dunghill, and two with a towel stifled and strangled him, the one pulling at the one end, and the other at the other, till he died.

3. Those whom they slew with the sword, they did it by beheading them.

4. Whom^d they stoned, they stoned naked^e: first one of the witnesses threw him or pushed him, that he might dash his loins against a stone: if that killed him, there was no more ado: if it did not, the other witness took a great stone, and dashed it on his breast as he lay on his back. If that killed him, there was an end; if not, all the people flung stones at him. This helps us to understand, what is meant by the witnesses' laying down their garments at Saul's feet, at the stoning of Stephen, Acts vii. 58; namely, because they were to be employed, first, in his stoning; and they laid-by their upper garments, that they might not trouble them. And this illustrates that passage of our Saviour, which, indeed, alludes to this manner of stoning; “Whosoever shall fall upon this stone, shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder,” Matt. xxi. 44; for he that was stoned, was first flung upon a stone; and then a stone was dashed upon him. These that were stoned, were also hanged: there is some dispute among the Talmudists, whether all were hanged that were stoned: but howsoever, they conclude that blasphemers and idolaters were. And this helps

^c Sanhedr. ubi supr.

^d English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2007.

^e Sanhedr. cap. 6.

us still to understand the usage of Stephen, whom they condemned and stoned for blasphemy, for so they made it: he was first dashed upon a stone by one of the witnesses; and then a huge stone dashed upon him by the other,—yet died he not by either of these, but recovered his knees again, and died kneeling and praying, all the people flinging stones at him; and afterward he was hanged upon a gibbet, and that night taken down and buried: for so was the law, that he should not hang upon the tree all night. Now his burial was different from the common burial of those, that were executed; as Christ's was also, being begged by Joseph of Arimathea: for whereas the Sanhedrim had two burying-places for executed malefactors, one for those that were stoned and that were burnt, and the other, for those that were slain with the sword and that were strangled,—it appeareth that some devout Christians took down the body of Stephen, and made a solemn burial for him in some other place.

Although the Sanhedrim did sit in the Temple, yet were the executions without the city: as Lev. xxiv. 14, Deut. xvii. 5, Heb. xiii. 12, Acts vii. 58. Whipping and stocking was executed often in the Temple, as Deut. xxv. 2, Jer. xx. 2: and for this purpose they had their שוטרים 'serjeants' or officers ready attending them continually for the execution of such a penalty. שוטרים הם על מקל ורצועה "The Shoterim (saith Maimonides^f) were such as carried rods and whips: and they stood before the judges: they went about the streets and inns to look to measures and weights, and to beat every offender: and all their doings were by the appointment of the judges: and whomsoever they saw offending, they brought him to the judges, and they judged him according to his offence."

"This great Sanhedrim in Gazith הם עקר תורה שועל פה was the foundation of the traditional law, and pillar of instruction" (compare the phrase, 1 Tim. iii. 15); "and from them decrees and judgments went out for all Israel. And whosoever believed Moses and his law, was bound to rest upon them for matters of the law:" thus Maimonides in the place cited in the margins^g. Therefore, in all doubts, about judicial matters, the ultimate recourse was hither, as to a determiner not to be doubted of^h or varied from. The

^f Maim. ubi supr. cap. 1.

^g Id. in Mamrim, cap. 1.

^h Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 610.

manner was thus¹:—had a man occasion to inquire about any such matter, he went first to the judicatory, that was in his own city: if they could resolve it, well and good: if they could not, one of them went to the next Sanhedrim: if that could not resolve it, he went to the Sanhedrim of the three-and-twenty in the gate of the Mountain of the House: if that could not, he went to the other Sanhedrim of three-and-twenty in the gate of Nicanor: and if that could not, he went to this in the room Gazith, and there he received a positive determination: which for him, being a judge, to transgress against, it brought him under the notion of *קן מורה* ‘a rebellious elder,’ and in danger of trying for his life.

SECT. I.

The Presidents of the Sanhedrim, from the Captivity to its Dissolution.

HAVING digressed thus far in viewing the judicatory that sat in the room Gazith, let it be excusable yet a little farther to interrupt our farther survey so far as to take a catalogue, and notice also particularly, of all the heads or presidents of this court, in the generations, from the return out of the Babylonian captivity, till city, Temple, and Sanhedrim came to nothing: as their names and order are recorded in the Jewish writers: as, in the Talmudic treatise *Avoth*; in *Avoth Rabbi Nathan*; in the Preface of Maimonides to *Jadh*; in the author of *Juchasin*; and in dispersed passages in the *Talmuds*.

1. The first was EZRA, of whom there is so renowned mention in the Scripture. The Sanhedrim of his time, is ordinarily called by the Jews *בית גדול*, ‘the great synagogue,’ and those eminent persons are reckoned of it, which are named, Ezra ii. 2; Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, &c. He is said to have come up to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Darius, Ezra vii. 8, which was four-and-twenty years after the people’s return out of Babylon;—and how the Sanhedrim was disposed of before that time, is hard to determine. His Sanhedrim, or Great Synagogue, is ordinarily reckoned of a hundred and twenty men (compare Acts i. 15); but whether all at once or successively, it is not much important to dispute here. He lived, by the computation of some chroniclers of his own

¹ Talm. in Sanhedr. cap. 11.

² English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2008.

nation, till that very year that Alexander the Great came to Jerusalem, and then died on the tenth day of the month Tebeth: and so, by their account, he wore out both the Babylonian and Persian monarchies. They hold, also, that Haggai, and Zechariah, and Malachi, died the same year with him, and then prophecy departed. Compare Acts xix. 2.

2. SIMEON THE JUST. Some Hebrew writers, that doubt not that he was head of the Sanhedrim, do yet question, whether he were high-priest, or an ordinary priest; but Josephus, who wrote in Greek, asserteth him for high-priest. And some again, that hold him to have been high-priest, can find in their hearts to think, that he was the very same with Jaddua; but Josephus doth clearly distinguish them, placing Simeon after Jaddua, and Onias between. The times of his government may be discovered by observing, that Eleazar his brother, who succeeded him in the high-priesthood, was he, to whom Ptolemy Philadelphus sent for the Septuagint, to translate the Bible. There are exceeding high things spoken of this Simeon, by his countrymen, some of which, we have mentioned elsewhere; to which I shall only add this record of him; "That, in his time, the scarlet list on the scape-goat's head, turned white: that the lot for the scape-goat ever came up in his right hand: that the western lamp never went out, and the fire on the altar ever burnt pleasantly; but when he died, its force abated." This adage is ascribed to him: "The world standeth upon three things; upon the law, upon religion, and upon showing mercy." He was surnamed, 'the Just,' *διὰ τε τὸ πρὸς Θεὸν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους εὐνοῦν*, "both because of his piety towards God, and his good-will towards his nation^k."

3. ANTIGONUS OF SOCO. He was the master of Sadoc and Baithus, who, mistaking and misconstruing his good doctrine, vented the heresy against the resurrection. His doctrine was this; "Be not as servants, that serve their master because of receiving a reward; but be as servants that serve their master, not because of receiving a reward, but let the fear of Heaven be upon you:"—which his crooked disciples construed into this impious sense,—that 'there was no reward at all to be had for the service of God;' and so they denied the world to come. But his scholars, Joseph Ben Joezer and Joseph Ben Jochanan held orthodox.

^k Joseph. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 2. [Hudson, p. 512.]

4. JOSI, or Joseph, Ben Joezer of Zeredah (Jeroboam's town, 1 Kings xi. 26). He had JOSI, or Joseph, Ben Jochanan, of Jerusalem, for his vice-president. Here the Talmudic records begin to reckon them זוגות 'by couples,' that is, the president and vice-president both: not but that there were vice-presidents before, but they be not named; and so were there after¹ the times of Hillel also, though they be not named then neither.

This Joseph Ben Joezer had children so untoward, that he would not leave them his land, but bequeathed it to pious uses.

5. JOSHUA, the son of Perahiah, president: NITTAI, the Arbelite, vice-president. This Joshua is recorded to have lived in the time of king Jannai, called also Alexander, the son of Hyrcanus. This Hyrcanus was likewise called 'Jannai;' he affected the kingdom, and thereupon, the wise men, or great ones of that time, would have put him from the high-priesthood: but he maintained his station by the sword; for he slew divers of the wise men, which caused Joshua, the son of Perahiah, to flee to Alexandria; but he was recalled, upon the mediation of Simeon Ben Shetah.

6. JUDAH, the son of Tabbai, president; SIMEON Ben Shetah, vice-president. A gallant pair for integrity and justice. Were their lives to be written, most eminent actions of theirs might be related, which are recorded of them: as, that they hanged fourscore witches in one day: judged king Jannai: the one of them wept daily for an error of judgment, that he had committed; and the other preferred the execution of justice, before the safety of his own son. This Simeon Ben Shetah is he, whom we suppose the builder of this room Gazith, that we are surveying.

7. SHEMAIAH, president; and ABTALION, vice-president. These were kinsmen, and of the posterity of Sennacherib, but their mother was an Israelite.

8. HILLEL, president; and SHAMMAI, vice-president. At first it was Hillel and Menahem, but Menahem departed to the service of Herod. Hillel was one of the eminentest, that ever was among the Jewish doctors, both for birth, learning, rule, and children. He was of the seed of David by his mother's side, being of the posterity of Shephatiah, the son of Abital, David's wife. He was brought up in Babel, from

¹ Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 611.

whence he came up to Jerusalem at forty years old, and there studied the law forty years more, under Shemaiah and Abtalion; and, after them, he was president of the Sanhedrim forty years more. The beginning of his presidency is generally concluded upon to have been just a hundred years before the Temple was destroyed: by which account, he began eight-and-twenty years before our Saviour was born,—and died, when he was about twelve years old. He is renowned for his fourscore scholars; one among which, was Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Chaldee paraprast, &c.

9. RABBAN^m SIMEON, Hillel's son. This man was first dignified with the title Rabban: he is supposed to be the Simeon, mentioned Luke ii, that took Christ in his arms; and for that, it is conceived, that he is not of so frequent and honourable mention among the Jewish writers, as others of the same rank with him are, they not well relishing his confession of Christ, whom they deny. He began his presidentship about the thirteenth year of our Saviour's age, if the date and account of Hillel's rule, mentioned before, be current: and how long he sat president, no one mentions, but some assert that his rule was not long. The author of Juchasin relateth, that he is never mentioned in the Misna, or in the code of the Jewish traditions; it may be his embracing Christianity made him cool towards their traditions, so that there is none to father on him, as there are on the other doctors. It is like, he was a secret professor of Christ, as Nicodemus was, and kept both his place and profession.

10. RABBAN GAMALIEL, Simeon's son. This was he, under whom Paul was brought up, Acts xxii. 3, and see Acts v. 34. He was president of the council, when Christ was arraigned: and lived two-and-twenty years after. Onkelos, the Targumist of the law, did solemnly celebrate his funeral. He is commonly stiled "Rabban Gamaliel the old," either because he was the first of that name,—or, because he was of a long life. Of him they have this saying, in the last chapter of the treatise Sotah; "From the time that Rabban Gamaliel the Old died,—the honour of the law failed, and purity and pharisaism died."

11. RABBAN SIMEON, Gamaliel's son: he was slain at the destruction of the Temple: and so should his son also have been, had not Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai, being in

^m *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2009.*

favour with Cæsar, begged his life.—And thus have we followed the succession of the presidents of the Sanhedrim, till the Temple and city fell: but the Sanhedrim fell not as yet, but continued in a flitting and languishing condition for a good space still, and had its presidents till it fell also; which were these:—

12. RABBAN JOCHANAN Ben Zaccai: he was not of the blood of Hillel, but he was his scholar. He came to be president upon the death of Rabban Simeon last mentioned; his Sanhedrim sat at Jabneh.

13. RABBAN GAMALIEL of Jabneh. This was Rabban Simeon's son, whom Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai begged from death, of the hands of Cæsar, at the slaughterⁿ of his father. His minority made him unfit for the presidency, when his father was slain; therefore, Rabban Jochanan Ben Zaccai bare that place; and, after his death, this Rabban Gamaliel succeeded.

14. RABBAN SIMEON, the son of Gamaliel, of Jabneh.

15. RABBI JUDAH, the son of this Rabban Simeon. He is eminently called 'Rabbi,' and 'Rabbenu Haccadosh.' He collected and compiled the Misnaioth.

16. RABBAN GAMALIEL, the son of Rabbi Judah. Here the title 'Rabban' expired: and the Sanhedrim was gone.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Draw-well Room. לשכת הגזית

AT the west end of this famous room Gazith, there was the house, which was called, לשכת הגזית the "house or room of the draw-well:" and the reason of the name was, ששם היה "Because^o there was a well sunk there, with a wheel over it; and from thence they fetched up water, to serve all the court."

It was not a little water, that was used and spent at the Temple for the filling of the lavers, boiling the offerings, washing the sacrifices, nay, for washing of the court, and filling cisterns for the priests to bathe in: it was not a small quantity of water that did serve these turns,—and yet the Temple never wanted, but had it always in great abundance. The place itself was dry, rocky, and without water; but^p

ⁿ Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 612.

^o Mid. cap. 5.

^p Maim. in Biath Mikdash, cap. 5.

they conveyed their water, in pipes, thither, from a place at some distance, where there was a spring-head, that lay convenient for such a purpose, which was called, עַמָּוּיָא "The fountain Etam." Of this the Babylon Talmud discourseth in the place alleged in the margin, and to this purpose⁹; "The house of the Sanctuary was higher than the land of Israel, and the land of Israel was higher than other lands: they knew not the like: as they produce in the Book of Joshua; it is written throughout, 'The border went down, and the border went up, and the border reached,' &c. But of the tribe of Benjamin it is written, 'The border went up;' but it is not written, 'The border went down.' Learn from hence, that this was a place thought fit to build the Sanctuary in, by the fountain Etam, because it was high. But they said, Let us bring it a little lower, because it is written, 'And he shall dwell between his shoulders,' Deut. xxxiii. 12. Their meaning is this; that, whereas the Sanctuary was to be higher than the rest of the land, and whereas the tenor and scope of the Scripture holdeth out the tribe of Benjamin to be highest, because all ascending and no going down is mentioned in the chorography of his tribe,—therefore, they thought of building the Temple by the fountain Etam, which was the highest ground of Benjamin: but when they considered upon Moses's prophecy, that God should dwell between the *shoulders* of Benjamin, and not upon his *head*,—they thereupon chose Moriah, a lower ground, and brought their water from Etam thither. "An^s aqueduct came from Etam," saith the Jerusalem Talmud in the place quoted in the margin. It is scarce within the bounds of the subject that we have in hand, to go about to search where this Etam was:—there is a place in the tribe of Simeon, that is called by this name, 1 Chron. iv. 32. Now, though it is true, that Simeon and Judah lay intermixed in their habitations, yet, I believe, this intermixture was not so near Jerusalem as our Etam was. There is mention of "the rock Etam," Judg. xv. 8, and of "the city Etam," 2 Chron. xi. 6: let the reader be his own chooser, whether of these he will take for the place, that we are upon, or whether he will refuse both: I only mention them; it belongeth rather to a survey of the land, than of the Temple, to debate the matter to a determination. The

⁹ Zevachin, cap. 5. fol. 54. fac. 2.

^r English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2010.

^s Talm. Jerus. in Joma, cap. 3. fol. 41.

Gloss upon the place of the Talmud^t cited above, saith, "It seemeth, that the fountain Etam was the well of the waters of Nephtoah, of which there is mention, Jos. xviii. 15." And to the like purpose speaketh Kimchi^u, in this comment upon that place of Joshua; "They say (saith he) that the well of the waters of Nephtoah was the well Etam, which is mentioned by our Rabbins." This place appeareth to have lain westward of the Temple, and the pipes from it to have come down upon that quarter, and to have passed along on the south side of the house itself, in the place called "the coming down of the waters," of which we have spoken before,—and so to have been disposed of into the several offices about the court: and that in such abundance, as that it ran continually, and yielded water and to spare, upon all occasions. We shall have occasion to look after it again, when we come to speak of the molten sea.

Of this conveyance of water, Aristeas, an eye-witness and spectator of it, giveth testimony, in these words, "Υδατος^v δὲ ἀνέκλειπτός ἐστι σύστασις, ὡς ἂν καὶ πηγῆς ἔσωθεν πολυῶν τοῦ φυσικῶς ἐπιρρέουσας, &c." "There was a continual supply of water: as if there had sprung an abundant fountain underneath. And there were wonderful and inexpressible receptacles under ground, as appeared five furlongs' space about the Temple: each one of which had divers pipes, by which waters came in on every side; all these were of lead, under ground, and much earth laid upon them. And there were many vents on the pavement, not to be seen at all, but to those that served; so that, in a trice and easily, all the blood of the sacrifices could be washed away, though it were never so much. And I will tell you how I came to know of these under-ground receptacles: they brought me out^w more than four furlongs' space out of the city, and one bade me stoop down at a certain place, and listen what a noise the meeting of the waters made."

Now whereas it seemeth, by this testimony, that water came to the Temple from several other places about Jerusalem, as well as from Etam,—we shall not be much scrupulous about it, though among the Talmudics I meet with no such intimation: but since they name Etam as the most emi-

^t Gloss. in Zevachin ubi supr.

^u Kimch. on Josh. xviii.

^v Aristeas Hist. LXX. interp. in Biblioth. patr. tom. 2. Græco-Lat. p. 866.

^w Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 613.

ment, and from whence the chiefest vessels in the Temple were continually supplied, it may suffice to look after that only; and this may be enough to have spoken of it.

The Draw-well, which and whose room we are now surveying, is^x said to have been sunk or digged by the children of the captivity, upon their return and building of the Temple. But whether to a spring that was in that place, or whether as a cistern to receive the water from Etam, if it shall be questioned,—there might be several reasons given to prove, that it was for the latter purpose: as, 1. Because it is not easy to conceive a spring in that rocky place as mount Moriah was, especially there having been none there looked after under the first Temple. 2. Because both the Talmudists and Aristeas cited before, do bring all the supply of water from other places. 3. Because the laver is said in the testimony alleged out of the Jerusalem Talmud, to be supplied from the well Etam,—which, that it was supplied from this Draw-well, we shall see hereafter. And, 4. Because there is mention of בית הורדת מים “The place of the coming down of the water” on the south side of the Temple; which hath been showed, in its due place, not capable of any construction so proper as this, that the pipes from Etam came down along there.

The waters, then, from that fountain Etam being gathered into this well or great cistern, were from hence dispersed into the several offices and places, where water was necessary (as the new river from the water-house into London), a wheel being used to raise it and force it up into the pipes or conveyances, that were to carry it into the several receptacles and uses. For, in some places, there were baths on the very top of the gates, and buildings, as we shall observe as we go along; and, to keep them full and in a continual supply of water, was required some enforcing of the water up; which was done by the use and activity of this wheel.

Now^y over this well there was a fair building, suitable to the rest of the buildings about the court; and it had a door into the court, that the priests might, readily and without going about, step out of the court into it, when they had occasion to fetch up water for any use. And so are we to understand of that passage in the treatise Tamid^z, where speak-

^x Gloss. in Mishnaioth in octav. in Mid. cap. 5.

^y English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2011.

^z Talm. in Tamid, cap. 1.

ing of him, to whose lot it had fallen to cleanse the burnt-offering altar in a morning, it saith thus; "He that had it allotted to him to cleanse the altar, must cleanse it: and they say to him, Take heed, that thou touch not the vessel until thou hast washed thy hands and thy feet:—Now the dish, into which he was first to take up the ashes, was set between the rise of the altar and the altar in a corner on the west side of the rise.—No man went into the court with him" (for all the rest of the priests stayed still in the lottery-room); "nor had he any candle in his hand, but he went by the light of the fire on the altar: and they saw him not, neither heard they his voice, until they heard the noise of the engine that Ben Kattin made,—namely, the engine of the laver: and then they said, He is about washing his hands and feet at the laver." Now, whatsoever this engine of Ben Kattim's making was, which we shall inquire into afterward,—it is undoubted, that the water, in which he washed at the laver, was drawn out of the draw-well and conveyed into it, after what manner we shall see anon;—for the water might not stand in the laver all night. And so it is apparent, that this priest, that thus washed his hands and feet, was got into the Well-room out of the court, when the gates of the court were not yet opened; but went into it through a door, that went into that room out of the court.

This helpeth to understand that passage of Ezekiel of the 'living waters,' Ezek. xlvii. 1, which are said there to come down on the right side of the house, on the south side of the altar; alluding to the coming of the water into the Temple from Etam, a spring shut up and a fountain sealed for that purpose. For the pipes, that brought the water from it, came down on the south side of the Temple, in the place that was called, הורדת המים "The coming down of the water" (of which we have spoken already), and so into this cistern in the Well-room, just over-against the altar, on the south side of it; and so was carried into the several offices of the Temple, &c.

CHAP. XXIV.

*The Water-gate שער המים and the Room of Abtines,
עליית בית אבטנים*

AT the west end of the Draw-well Room, was a gate, that opened directly upon the altar; which was called "the

water-gate^a." The reader will readily conceive the reason of the name to have been, because it joined so close to the water-house; and this etymology might be very current and allowable, but the Talmudists give other reasons of the name besides. The Misna^b, in the treatise of Shekalim, hath this speech upon it:—"Why^c is the name of it called the Water-gate? Because through it was brought the tankard of water, which was for the pouring out of water at the Feast of Tabernacles. Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, saith, Because the waters ran out thereby, which came from under the threshold," Ezek. xlvi. Of these two reasons, the former is more generally entertained for current; and it is, indeed, the more reasonable in itself. I have showed in the treatise of 'The Temple-service,' chap. xvi. sect. 4, how high and how strange a solemnity the Jews had at the Feast of Tabernacles, of pouring out of water upon the altar, and rejoicing after it. For, whereas all the year besides, their libation, *קרבן* or 'pouring out the drink-offering,' was of wine alone, they now added and mingled water with it; and took such joy and rejoicing upon that action, as the like was not used at any other occasion. The manner and reason of which is fully discoursed in that place: "Now how was this libation of water (saith the Talmud in Succah^d)? There was a golden tankard, that contained three logs: one filled it at Siloam, and brought it in at the water-gate: and the trumpets sounded," &c. Siloam-fountain lay south of Jerusalem, although the pool of Siloam lay on the west; and from thence the next way, possibly, to the altar, was through this gate, it facing the altar and the rise to it; and it was no marvel, if, seeing the Pouring out of Water in Libation was reputed so high a matter,—the gate, through which it was brought, did take its name from the bringing of that water through it. And it is not to be passed without observation, that they fetched their water for this solemn libation from Siloam a great way off, when the Draw-well was so near at hand to have supplied it.

There is mention of a water-gate in Neh. viii. 3; where it is said, that Ezra read in the book of the law, "before the street, that was before the water-gate:" but this was a gate of the city, and not of the Temple, as is apparent in the same

^a Mid. cap. 5. et Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 5. et Shekalim, cap. 5.

^b Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 614.

^c Shekal. ibid.

^d Succah, cap. 4.

book of Nehemiah, chap. iii. 26^e; and whether it took that name from the waters issuing out of Solomon's pool and running that way,—or from the waters running that way from the Temple, as Ezek. xlvi. 2,—it is not a place here to discuss.

Over^f this gate of the Temple that we are about, which was called the Water-gate, there was a room, or chamber, which was called עלית בית אבטנים “The chamber of the family of Abtines.” This Abtines was one of the chief men, that gave denomination to the office of which they were, to succeeding generations (as we observed erewhile also about Phinehas, ‘the man of the wardrobe,’ or vestry); and he is mentioned in the treatise Shekalim, where all those chief officers are reckoned up; which record let us here take out at large. These^g were chief officers, which were in the Temple: “Jochanan the son of Phinehas over the seals” (what these seals were I have showed in the Temple-service, p. 20). “Ahijah, over the drink-offerings: Matthia, the son of Samuel, over the lots” (see there, p. 107, &c.): “Pethajah, over the birds” (ibid. 92). “This Pethajah is Mordecai: and why is his name called Pethajah? because he opened and expounded matters, and he understood the seventy languages. Ben Ahijah, over the diseased in their bowels. Nechoniah, the digger of cisterns” (ibid. p. 20): “Gevini Kerroz, the son of Gebber, over the shutting of the gates: Ben Bechi, over the correction” (to cudgel the priests or Levites, that were found asleep upon the guards, ibid, p. 19): “Ben Arza, over the cymbal” (ibid.): “Hagros Ben Levi, over the song: Beth Garmu, over the making of the show-bread: Beth Abtines, over the making of the incense: Eliezer, over the veils: and Phinehas, over the wardrobe.”

So that this Abtines was one, that had the oversight of the making of the incense: and all that succeeded in this office, were called ‘Beth Abtines,’ or, the family of Abtines, and this room or chamber over ‘the Water-gate,’ was the place, where they did their work in this employment.

Their traditionary receipt for the compounding and making of the incense was this: “They^h had eleven aromatic simples, of which they took these quantities: of stacte, onycha, galbanum, and frankincense, of every one seventy

^e English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2012.

^g Shekalim, cap. 1.

^f Talmud Jerus. in Joma, cap. 1.

^h Maim. in Kele Mikd. cap. 2.

pound weight: of myrrh, cassia, calamus, crocus,—ana, sixteen pounds; of costus, twelve pound,—of cinnamon, nine pound,—of cloves, three; in all, three hundred sixty-eight pound. All these they pounded very small in a mortar (which was called “the mortar of the Sanctuary,” and which mortar was carried to Rome^j at the sacking of Jerusalem); and they added to it some Sodom salt, amber of Jordan (rarities not rarely spoken of in Jewish writers), and an herb of an odoriferous smoke, which very few were acquainted with. Every year, they made this quantity of incense, and, every day in the year, there was a pound of it offered; and so, of the three hundred sixty-eight pound, there was three hundred sixty-five pound gone. Of the three pound that remain, the high-priest took his handful on the day of expiation: and the rest was called, מותר הקטורת “The residue of the incense:” not that the yearly stock was spent at the day of expiation; for it was not spent till the beginning of the month Nisan; but that this was the account of the expense of it. On the first day of the month Nisan, or on their new-year’s-day, they began upon a new stock: and^k the two^l pounds and odd, that remained of the old, was given to workmen that repaired the Temple, towards their pay; and then was bought of them again, and used as of a new stock. Every single spicery was pounded by itself; and all the while that he that pounded it, was about it, he still said, הידק היטב הידק היטב “To be pounded well, to be pounded well,” &c; and then they mingled all together.

It was a caution, that כל מעשה בקודש בתוך העזרה “All^m the making and compounding of the incense should be in the Sanctuary, in the midst of the court.” By which whether the very open place of the court be meant,—or that part of this room of Abtines that stood in the court,—it is not much important to dispute. This was the room, in which the incense, when it was made, was reserved; and likely it is, that this also was the place, where it was made. And here it was pounded again twice a year, and aired and looked-to, that it might take no hurt.

Intoⁿ this room the high-priest was brought, for a certain time, against the day of expiation, that he might learn

ⁱ Erach. cap. 2. Aruch in מכתוש

^k Maim. in Shekalim, cap. 1.

^m Maim. ubi ante.

^j Avoth R. Nathan ad fin.

^l Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 615.

ⁿ Talm. in Joma, cap. 1.

to take his handfuls of incense against that day, as was required, Lev. xvi. 12: "For this was the place (saith Aruch^o) where the incense was prepared: and they brought him hither, that they might teach him to take his handfuls of it."

In this room also the priests kept a guard every night, as it is related in the Talmud^p, in the treatise Tamid, and Middoth, in these words; "In three places, the priests kept guards in the Sanctuary,—namely, in Beth Abtines, and in Beth Nitsots, and in Beth Mokadh. Beth Abtines and Beth Nitsots were upper rooms, and there the younger priests kept," &c; which nightly guarding was intentionally as much for the honour of the Sanctuary as for its security; and these two guard-chambers, Abtines and Nitsots, were both over-against the altar, the one on the one side of the court, and the other on the other: and here the younger^q sort of priests watched; but the grandees in Beth Mokadh, in the farthest end of the court westward,—as we shall see, when we come thither.

On the roof of this water-gate, and of the roof Abtines, there was a bath, in which the high-priest did wash himself the first time of his washing on the day of expiation. For although the bathing-place, on the top of the room of Happarvah (which we shall survey in its place) was the place, where he washed ofttest on that day, yet here he washed first: for here had he spent some time in the chamber of Abtines before the day came,—and here was the fittest and readiest place for him to bathe, when the day was come. Here he had been all the night before; and when the morning was come, and he is to go about the service, he first goeth to the top of this gate, and there batheth himself in water. And this the treatise Joma^r intendeth, when it saith thus; "Five bathings of his body, and ten washings of his hands and feet, did the high-priest use on that day,—and all in the holy ground, on the top of the room of Happarvah, but only the first," &c. This was a place most convenient for a bath, it being so near the Draw-well Room, as joining to it; and this, it may be, helped forward the naming it 'the Water-gate.'

^o Aruch in ארבעים

^p Tamid, cap. 1. et Mid. cap. 1.

^q English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2013.

^r Joma, cap. 3.

CHAP. XXV.

The Wood Room לשכת עץ, *and the Room Parhedrin,*
לשכת פרהדרין

THE pile of building, that we are now about, joined to the water-gate on the west side of it; and it carried a double name: for it was called either לשכת העץ “the Chamber or Room of the Wood,” or לשכת פרהדרין “the Room of Parhedrin.” It was called, “the Room of the Wood,” because that after the blemished priests had wormed the wood, in a room of the same name in a corner of the Court of the Women, as we have observed,—they brought that, that they found fit for the altar, into this room, that it might be near, and ready to be carried to the altar, when there was occasion.

As for the other name, that this building carried, it is written two ways; the Babylon Talmud^s, Maimonides^t, and some others, read it with *ר*, and call it לשכת פרהדרין “the Chamber of Parhedrin:” but the Jerusalem Talmud^u, Mishnaioth in Octavo, &c. read it with *ל*, and call it לשכת פלהדרין “the Chamber of Palhedrin:” about which difference we shall not controvert. Now, though the two Talmuds do thus vary one letter in this matter, of the name,—yet they both agree upon another matter, and say, that, in old time, it had been called לשכת בולוושץ Παστοφόριον τῶν βουλευτῶν^v, “the Chamber of the Counsellors.” I observe, also, from Maimonides, that it was called, “the High-Priest’s Chamber,” by a singular propriety: for, speaking of putting of the high-priest apart for seven days before the day of expiation, into this room (for so the Talmuds, in the place cited in the margin, inform us), he expresseth it thus; מפרישין כג' מביתו ללשכתו שבמקדש “They” put him apart from his own house into this chamber in the Sanctuary.” And so the Jerusalem Talmud^x doth also call it, though it do not express it by the proper name, when it saith^y, בעליית בית אבטינס על גבי שער המים, היתה סמוך ללשכתו היתה that the high-priest was put for a certain time “into the Chamber of Abtines, which was over the water-gate, and which joined to his own chamber.” And here, by the way, you may observe, that this Wood Room, and Room of Parhedrin, did join to the water-gate, as we

^s Joma, cap. 1.^t Beth Habbechir, cap. 5.^u In Joma ubi sup.^v Talm. uterque in Gemar.^w Maim. in Jom. hachipp. cap. 1.^x Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 616.^y Tal. Jerus. ubi sup.

have seated it: the one room being over the other, the Wood Room below, and Parhedrin above.

Now it was called "the High-Priest's Chamber," not so much for that he was put apart hither for a few days in the year, as for that it was ordinarily employed by the high-priest to call his brethren of the priesthood together in it, to consult about the affairs of the Temple and the service: so that it was as the vestry, or, as I may so express it, "the dean and chapter room," where they met together in consultation about such matters. We have observed elsewhere^z, that, besides the high-priest, there was the sagan, two katholikin, seven immarcalin, and three gizbarin, which were principal officers in the Temple for the receiving, disbursing, and taking care of the stock of it, and providing for the repairs of the buildings and the due administration of the service. These were the בלויטין βουλευται, 'counsellors,' of the Temple,—that advised and took care for the welfare of it; and this was the room where they sat constantly in counsel for that purpose: and hereupon it was called "the Chamber of the Counsellors." The reason of the change of its name into "the Chamber of Parhedrin, or Parhedrin" (read it whether way you will), the Gemara of the Talmud, in the place cited above, giveth in these words; "It was called 'the Chamber of the Counsellors,' till the high-priesthood began to be bought and sold for money, and came to be changed often: these counsellors were then also changed often, and then it was called, 'the Chamber of Parhedrin.'" The meaning seemeth to be this;—that, whilst the high-priesthood stood and^a remained in its beauty and integrity, the high-priest and his brethren kept a solemn and grave council-table here, for the benefit and advancement of the Temple; but when money and prowling did make and change high-priests, money and silver did also make members of this council, and they sought themselves rather than the public; the people, therefore, could not find in their hearts to call them 'counsellors,' but called them 'Parhedrin,' or 'sitters,' only. Yet were they also called 'counsellors,' even while they were called 'Parhedrin,' to distinguish them from the great council: Joseph of Arimathea was one of these, Mark xv. 43.

The word *Parhedrin* is as like the Greek word Παρέδριον, as *Sanhedrim* is like Συνέδριον: and it may very well be con-

^z Temple-Service, chap. 5.

^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2014.

jectured, that since the great Sanhedrim and society were both counsellors, this company was called Parhedrin, to distinguish it from the Sanhedrim: especially considering how near they sat together, there being but the water-gate and the well-room between this room and Gazith. There sat the great council of the nation, and it was called 'Sanhedrim;' and here sat the council of the Temple, and it was called 'Parhedrin:' that is, 'Assessores,' or 'the council that sat near the Sanhedrim.' And thus were there four councils in the Temple: three of them not only councils but judicatories; namely, the great Sanhedrim of seventy-one, and the two lesser Sanhedrims of twenty-three: and this of priests, which was not so properly a judicatory as merely a council.

The Jerusalem Talmud expoundeth the word Palhedrin פלחדרין (for so it readeth it) by the word פריארתיך, a word of as much obscurity as the other. It is like, it is some Greek or Latin word of *priority*, but not easily pitched upon particularly. Baal Aruch^b renders Palhedrin by a word as hard as itself too,—namely, by אגראדמין *Agardemin*: but he facilitates it by this interpretation,—namely, that it signifies, "The overseers of the weights and measures, that were to look to the ephah and the hin, that they were right, and sealed them; and they smote those, that kept shop in the Mountain of the House, if they sold too dear, and they bade them sell cheaper."

CHAP. XXVI.

The Gate of the Firstlings.

THIS gate, which was next beyond the buildings last mentioned, westward, was called by two names; sometimes שער הקרבה 'the^c Gate of Offering;' so some read it: but most commonly שער יבכורות 'the^d Gate of the Firstlings:' both which names redound but to one and the same sense; for the gate took its denomination, from^e the bringing of the firstlings, through it, to be offered up.

The law concerning consecrating to the Lord whatsoever first opened the womb and matrix, Exod. xiii, was intricated by the Jewish tradition with a world of difficulties; but, for an ultimate resolution of what firstlings were fit to

^b Aruch in אנרדמין

^c Vid. C. L'Emp. p. 17. in Mid.

^d Mid. cap. 1 et 2. et Shekalim, cap. 6.

^e Barten. in Mid.

be offered and what not, there was one appointed whom they called מומחה 'Mumcheh,' who did determine it. Of this title, the Glossaries^f give this interpretation and account:— "Mumcheh is derived from the word *Machah*, as it signifieth in that clause ומוחה אל ים כנרת And it reacheth to the sea of Cinnereth (Num. xxxiv. 11), which betokeneth *going straight*: and this word *Mumcheh* means, that he was skilful: and he received authority from the president of the Sanhedrim, or from a Sanhedrim in the land of Israel, of men ordained." The^h head of the Sanhedrim, gave him power for this office, saying to him התר בכורות מומין "Loose firstlings concerning blemishes:" that is, 'take thou power to bind and to loose, as concerning blemishes of firstlings, to determine what blemishes do hinder them from being offered, and what not.' The Talmudists do use the phrases "of binding and loosing," in reference to things prohibited or permitted: as התירו שאלת שלום בשבת מרוחק "Uponⁱ necessity they loosed salutation on the sabbath," that is, they permitted it. "The school of Shammai אסר bound working on the eve of the Passover," that is, prohibited it; "but the school of Hillel התיר loosed it," that is, permitted it, or held and taught that it was lawful. "The^k scribes have bound leaven:" and^l "the wise men have loosed all fat things," &c. It were not a very hard task to produce hundreds of examples out of Jewish writers to this purpose, wherein their use of this expression of "binding and loosing" doth most ordinarily refer to things, and to things lawful or unlawful, as they were so held out by the law and by their doctors: and particularly "the binding and loosing of firstlings," and "the binding and loosing of vows," were of singular note and notice among them. "And the loosing of firstlings (saith Abraham Zaccuth^m) was a matter of moreⁿ difficulty than loosing of vows:" where, by 'loosing of vows,' he meaneth not that any one had power to absolve and acquit from lawful vows once made; but that there were some appointed to judge of vows, and to determine concerning them, whether they were lawful or not lawful, and whether they bound or bound not.

No firstling must be killed or offered, till it had been

^f Gloss. in Becoroth, cap. 4.

^h Maim. in. Becor. cap. 3.

^j Talm. in Pesachin, cap. 4.

ⁱ Tanch. fol. 74. col. 3.

ⁿ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2015.

^g Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 617.

^l Tanch. fol. 1 Cor. iii.

^k Maim. in Hamets, &c. cap. 1.

^m Juchasin, fol. 50.

first viewed by the Mumcheh^o: "And he that was not a Mumcheh" (appointed by the Sanhedrim), "and yet would take on him to view a firstling, and so it was killed upon his approval,—he was to make it good: and he that received a reward, or was hired to view a firstling, it was not current, unless he were authorized by the Sanhedrim so to do; as Ailah, a wise man of Jabneh, to whom the wise men permitted to take four אסרוֹת *Assarii* for viewing a lean firstling, and six for viewing a fat," &c.

A firstling lamb or calf, approved by the Mumcheh as fit for sacrifice, and brought to the Temple for that purpose, was slain on the south side of the altar, or, at least, on the south side of the court. The Talmudic tract *Zevachin*, in the fifth chapter, doth purposely discuss what sacrifices were to be slain on the north side of the altar,—and what, otherwise: and, having nominated particularly what on the north side, it saith, "That a sacrifice of thanksgiving, the Nazarite's ram, the ordinary peace-offerings, the firstlings, tithe, and passover, were slain in any part of the court:" where, by 'any part of the court,' it meaneth the south side, in opposition to the north, of which it had spoken before; and it meaneth the south side in such a latitude, as not only just over-against the altar, but in a larger extent; as we shall show more fully, when we come to survey the sides of the court itself.

The firstlings, then, being to be slain on this south side of the court, on which we are surveying the gates and buildings, they were brought-in at this gate, which we are upon; and from thence it took the name of "the Gate of the Firstlings." The Water-gate, indeed, was nearer the altar, and a more direct way to it; but to have killed the beasts thereabout would have hindered the passage to the altar, from the Draw-well, Water-gate, and Wood Room, unto which places there was very frequent recourse from the altar. And therefore the firstlings and other sacrifices, that were to be slain on the south side of the court, were brought-in at the gate above, as more out of the way, and slain thereabout as in a place of less interruption. Now, whereas the tradition mentioned, doth allot the south side of the court for the proper place of slaying those particular sacrifices that it nameth, yet doth it speak it in this latitude, שחיטתן בכל מקום בעזרה

^o Talm. in *Becoroth*, cap. 4.

“That their killing might be in any part of the court:” because that, though, ordinarily and regularly, they were to be slain on the south side of the court, yet if they were numerous, and could not conveniently be slaughtered in that place, they might be slain on the other side, as the passovers were killed on both the sides, because of their number: whereas the sacrifices, that were to be slain on the north side, must be slain there, and there was no dispensation to remove them thence.

The presenting of the firstlings at the gate that we are about, may put us in remembrance of presenting the first-born. All the males of Israel were to appear before the Lord, thrice every year, Exod. xxiii. 17. Now, this command did not take in children (as their tradition^q did interpret it), till they were able to walk up out of Jerusalem to the Temple in their fathers' hand: and the presenting of the first-born to the Lord, was not enforced by that command, but by that, Exod. xiii. 12, and xxii. 29; where both the Targums of Jonathan and Onkelos do expound the setting apart of the first-born to “be before the Lord,” or at the Temple: and so doth the text of Scripture itself, in Num. xviii. 15, Luke ii. 23. The place, where they were presented, was in the gate of Nicanor; for that was both the most peculiar place of appearing before the Lord; and there women, that had borne children, did stand to have their atonement made for them. And there it was, where the Virgin Mary presented our Saviour, Luke ii; and there she paid five shekels for his redemption, Num. xviii. And Hannah did the like at Shiloh, 1 Sam. i. 24; only she had kept her son longer than ordinary, because, when she did present him at the sanctuary, she meant to leave him there for ever; and, for that reason, she redeemed him not neither, but gave him to the Lord.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Gate דהלק Hadlak, or of Kindling, or of the Burning Fire.

It is easy to justify and assert the translation of דהלק by *kindling*; but it is not so easy to give a reason, why this gate, which stood most west on the south side, did bear this name. The common opinion of glossaries upon it is plausible enough,

^q Id. in Nagiga, cap. 5.

^r Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 618.

^s English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2016.

but only for ~~the~~ objection that may be made against it. They hold, that it was called, "the Gate of Kindling or Burning," because, through it, wood was brought to the altar, to keep the fire continually burning, according to the law, Lev. vi. 12. But why this way? Since they might have gone a nearer way to the altar by far, either through the Water-gate, or the Gate of the Firstlings, seeing the Wood Room was between them two, as hath been showed: and it is probable enough, that the wood out of the Wood Room was not brought through any of the court-gates at all to the altar, but out at a door, which went out of the room itself into the court.

To find out, therefore, a reason of the name, I cannot but look over to the other side of the court, from this gate that we are about, to that gate there, that was over-against it; and there I observe the gate to be called, 'Beth Mokadh,' or 'the Gate of the Burning Fire,' as well as this is called, 'the Gate of Kindling.' And the reason of that name was, because a fire was kept there continually for the senior priests,—as shall be showed anon,—and so it may be well conjectured, a fire was kept here for the Levites. And though I find not mention, either in the Talmud or Josephus, of any building that joined to this gate,—yet, since there is mention, in the treatise Middoth^u, of the Levites' keeping a guard, בלשכת הפרוכת "in the chamber of the veil," I find not where to allet that place better than to this gate we are about. For when it speaketh of 'the chamber of the veil,' it meaneth not either any chamber joining to the body of the Temple itself, nor any chamber in the court,—for the Levites kept not their guards within the court, but without,—but some chamber without the court, which was over-against the place of the veil, which divided betwixt the Holy and Most Holy Places. And as there was a long building, that ran along from that opposite north gate up towards the west to the very corner of the wall of the court that way,—so, from this gate westward, there ran a long building to the corner of the court on this side; in which large piece of building, having partitions within, there were two guards of Levites almost joining together. So there were three of those guards very near together: one joining to the gate on the east side^v (for at five of the gates of the court the Levites

^t Bartenor. et C. L'Emp. in Mid. et Gloss. in Shekalim, cap. 6.

^u Mid. cap. 1.

^v Ibid.

guarded, and this was one of the five); another joining to the gate on the west side, which was called 'the guard over against the veil;' and the third, at the corner of the court. Now, as there was a common fire kept for the priests on the other side of the court, in a large building opposite to this, from whence the gate, joining to it, took the name,—so is it very likely, there was a common fire kept for the Levites, which gave this gate the denomination of "the Gate of Kindling."

Thus have we surveyed the gates and buildings on the south side of the court, their order thus, coming up from the east towards the west:—First, The room Gazith at the south-west corner: then the room of the Draw-well: joining to that, the Water-gate,—and over that, the room Abtines: joining to that gate, on the other side, the Wood Room,—and over that, the council-chamber: then the Gate of the Firstlings, with a Levite's ward joining to it on one side: then the Gate of Kindling, and a Levite's ward on either side it, and that building on the west side of it running up to the west corner of the court. Now, Aba Jose, a spokesman in the Talmud, nameth yet one gate more, and more west than these that we have named, on this same side, which he calleth the Upper Gate; and over-against it, on the north side, he nameth a gate more than the common account, and calleth it, 'the Gate of Jechoniah.' But he goeth alone in his opinion as to the number of the gates of the court: yet thus far do other of his nation go with him, that they say there were three gates on the north side of the court,—and that there was, besides them, a passage through Beth Mokadh, a large building out of the Chel into the court; which, I suppose, is that which he calleth 'the Gate of Jechoniah:' and the reason of the name is given, because Jechoniah went out at that gate into his captivity: and so^w it may be, that, in this large building on this side, which ran between the Gate of Kindling and the west corner, there was a passage through, which he styles with the title of "the Upper Gate."

But howsoever it was in his account in the second Temple, the very title of 'the Upper Gate' may not undeservedly call upon us, to look after that which is called 'the Upper Gate of Benjamin in the house of the Lord.' In the times of the first Temple, Jer. xx. 2, it is said^x there, that "Pashur

^w *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 619.

^x *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2017.

smote Jeremiah, and put him in the stocks, that were in the high gate, or upper gate, of Benjamin, which was *in* the house of the Lord." Our English hath made it shy to render it "*in* the house of the Lord,"—it may be, because they thought it improper to have a pair of stocks in the Temple: and, therefore, they have translated it, "which was *by* the house of the Lord," as reputed it not a gate of the Temple, but some other: but the words in the original are so plain, and the consent of translators so unanimous, that it meaneth, "*in* the house of the Lord,"—that to swerve from it, were but to strain a plain and a facile text, and to obscure a place, which is not obscure of itself. The Mountain of the Temple lay in the lot of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, as hath been observed before,—and the line that divided between the lots, came along at the south-east corner of the altar, as we shall observe anon,—so that the Temple and altar were in the tribe of Benjamin, according to Moses's prophecy, that "God should dwell between Benjamin's shoulders:"—and so was the south wall of the court, till you came down over-against that point of the altar, and then came in the lot of Judah. It appeareth, therefore, that there were but two gates on this side of the court in the times of the first Temple; and they were called 'the Upper' and the 'Lower Gate of Benjamin,' because they stood in his lot. And there were two gates on the north side of the court, and they were called, "the Gate of the Altar, which was northward," and "the Gate of the Lord's House, which was northward;" as we shall show by and by.

And for this place or engine of correction (were it a dungeon, as the LXX seems to hold it,—or a pillory, as David Kimchi's father,—or a pair of stocks, as our English), it is no solecism to hold, that it was *in* the house of the Lord,—namely, in that part of this gate, that stood out of the court in the Chel; since there was judging, scourging, mawling, and stoning, even in the Temple itself, as hath been touched before.

And now, to be going over from the south side to the north, along the wall of the court at the west end, there was no gate upon that quarter at all; but the wall was plain without any gates or openings in it. And so Josephus^y makes it clear, when he saith, τὸ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος οὐκ εἶχε

^y Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 1226.]

πύλην, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὲς ἐδεδόμητο ταύτη τὸ τεῖχος: "That part that was on the west, had no gate at all; but the wall, that way, was an entire, continued building:" which relation is also agreeable to the general consent of the Hebrew authors, Aba Jose only excepted, whom we mentioned even now,—who speaketh of two gates here, but neither nameth them, nor telleth for what use they served: and, indeed, what needed any gate here at all, so far from the service, and behind the Temple? There was, indeed, at the back of the court-wall, in the middle betwixt the north and south corners of it, a building standing in the *חֵל* *Chel*, where the Levites kept a guard, which was called *בֵּית הַכַּפֹּרֶת* "The guard behind the mercy-seat:" but there is no evidence that there was any door out of it into the court; and if there had been, it was but a door, and not a gate. Of the guards of the priests and Levites about the Temple, the record is thus²; "In three places, the priests kept guards in the Temple; in the chamber of Abtines,—in Beth Nitsots,—and in Beth Mokadh. And the Levites, in one-and-twenty places: five, at five gates of the Mountain of the House: four, at the four corners of it within: five, at five gates of the court: and four, at the four corners of it without: one, in the chamber of Corban: one, in the chamber over-against the veil; and one, behind the place of the mercy-seat."

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Gates and Building in the Court-wall on the North Side.

WE are now come to the north side of the court, where, before we fall to surveying of the gates and buildings, that were there, in the times of the second Temple,—it will not be amiss to look what we find there, in the times of the first, in that passage of Ezekiel, chap. viii. 3. 5. 14: "He brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem, to the door of the inner court-gate, that looketh towards the north, where was the seat of the image of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy. And he said unto me, 'Son of man, lift up now thine eyes the way towards the north.' So I lifted up mine eyes the way towards the north, and, behold, northward of the gate of the altar, this image of jealousy in the entry.

² Mid. cap. 1.

And he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north,—and behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz." Here are two gates specified on the north side of the court, and they are called 'the gate of the altar,' and 'the gate of the Lord's house towards the north:' because the one was over-against the altar,—and the other, over-against the body of the Temple. To that over-against the altar is the prophet^b first brought in his vision,—and there he seeth "the image of jealousy;" not in this gate of the altar, but in the Mountain of the House northward of this gate, and of the prophet, as he stood in it. For the prophet is not brought within the court at this gate, but is set without it; and there he is bidden to look northward, and there he seeth that image. This was not any picture or image to represent jealousy by; but it is called "the image of jealousy," because it provoked the jealous God to jealousy, it being set even in his sanctuary, and before his altar. What idol this was, is but lost labour to go about to determine: I should as soon conjecture Moloch as any other, because that was the highest idolatry and most provoking,—namely, their burning of their children in the fire; and because they were exceeding taxable and taxed for this idolatry. Whether there were this idol in the Temple at this very instant, when Ezekiel had the vision, which was in the sixth year of Zedekiah,—or whether the vision represent to him the idolatry, that had been in the Temple at any time,—is not much easier to determine neither; but be the idol what it would, and mean he the time when he will, it was no small abomination, when an idolatrous chapel or mansion is erected in the Mountain of the Lord's House, even facing the very gate, that opened upon the altar. This gate was the lower north gate, which, in the times of the second Temple, was called the gate 'Nitsots,' or 'of the song.'

Before the prophet is brought to the upper north gate, the text saith, he was brought to "the door of the court," ver. 7; that is, to the east gate, which was the commonest way of entrance,—and in that gate the Sanhedrim used to sit in those times; and there he seeth their council-chamber painted all about with imagery, and the seventy members of the Sanhedrim themselves offering idolatrous incense. Then is he brought to the upper north gate, which opened upon

^a *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 620.

^b *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2018.

the body of the Temple, and there he seeth women weeping for Tammuz. What Tammuz was, or what their weeping meant, it is not to our subject to insist upon here: I will only leave the gloss of David Kimchi upon this matter with the reader, and trouble him with no more discourse about it: “Some interpret it (saith he), that they kept a feast to the idol, in the beginning of the month Tammuz. Others interpret the word *Tammuz* to signify burnt, from לָמוּז לְאַתּוּנָא Dan. iii. 19,—meaning, that they wept for him that was burnt, because they burnt their sons and daughters in the fire. Others, that they had a trick to convey water into the idol’s eyes, which was called Tammuz, so that he seemed to weep and to beseech them, that they would serve him. But our great wise man Rabbi Moses Bar Maiemon writes, that it is found in the books of the ancient, that there was a man of the idolatrous prophets, whose name was Tammuz; and he called to a certain king, and commanded him to worship the seven planets and the twelve signs; and the king slew him: and, on the night of his death, all the idols from all parts of the earth were gathered into the temple at Babel, to the golden image, which was the image of the sun,—which image hung between heaven and earth, and it fell into the midst of the temple, and all the images about it. It told them, what had happened to Tammuz the prophet; and all the idols wept and lamented all that night; and, when it was morning, they flew to their own homes. So this became a custom to them, on the first day of the month Tammuz, every year, to bewail and lament Tammuz. But some interpret *Tammuz* to be the name of a beast, which they worshipped.”

Thus may we suppose, upon this text of Ezekiel, that, in the Temple, before the captivity, there were but two gates on the north side of the court; or, at least, there is not mention of any more;—but, in the second Temple, there were three. The names of them going from west to east, were these:—1. שַׁעַר קֶרְבָּן “The gate of Corban.” 2. שַׁעַר נָשִׁים “The gate of the women.” And, 3. שַׁעַר שׁוֹר “The gate of the song.” Now every one of these gates is owned by a double name: for ‘the gate of Corban’ is also called בֵּית מוֹקֵד ‘Beth Mokadh:’—‘The gate of the women’ is also called שַׁעַר קֶרְבָּן ‘The gate Corban:’—and ‘the gate of the song’

is also called שַׁעַר נִיטְסוֹת 'The gate Nitsots.' And thus are those Talmudic passages to be understood, which carry difficulty with them, because they seem to carry contradiction: whilst one reckons the north gates thus, "On^d the north was the gate of Corban, the gate of the women, and the gate of the song;"—and another thus, "On^e the north was the gate Nitsots, the gate Corban, and Beth Mokadh;"—the former, reckoning their order from west to east, and the latter from east to west. The reason of these doubled and differing names, we shall look after,^f as we go along.

There were also other buildings on this side the court, besides the gates, as well as there were on the south side, which we have surveyed already. And those were, לשַׁבַּת לְשַׁבַּת הַמְדִיחִין, ולשַׁבַּת הַפְּרוּה, ולשַׁבַּת הַמְּלָחָה "The^g Room for Salt,—the Room for Parvah,—and the Washing Room,"—besides other rooms, which we shall find out in our progress.

CHAP. XXIX^h.

Beth Mokadh. בֵּית הַמּוֹקֵד

OUR survey is to begin at the north-west corner of the court-wall; and there we meet with the building called "Beth Mokadh," a place of remarkableness for several particulars.

1. It was a building so large, thatⁱ it raught from the north-west angle of the wall to the gate below, of the same name; and so it took up a fourth part of the length of that side of the court: and^k it contained four several rooms in the four corners of it; that room, which was properly called the room Mokadh, being in the midst of them as the centre. And this the treatise Middoth^l uttereth in these expressions; "There were four rooms in Beth Mokadh, בְּקִיטוֹנוֹת פְּתוּחוֹת, לְשַׁבַּת לְשַׁבַּת הַמְּדִיחִין ὡς κοιτῶνες ἀνεφγμένοι εἰς τρικλίσιον. Like bed-chambers opening into a dining-room:" two of which chambers stood within the court and two without, and marks were set within to show where the two grounds parted.

2. The four rooms in the four corners of it, were these:—

The south-west room^m was called לְשַׁבַּת טְלָאִים "The lamb room;" becauseⁿ there they lodged the lambs, that were appointed for the daily sacrifice. And^o the room was never without six lambs in it, a day together. For no lamb was

^d Ibid. et Shekalim, cap. 1. ^e Mid. cap. 1. ^f Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 621

^g Mid. cap. 6. ^h English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2019. ⁱ Tamid, cap. 3.

^k Mid. cap. 1. Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 5. ^l Mid. cap. 1.

^m Mid. ibid. ⁿ R. Sol. in 1 Chron. xxiii. 25. ^o Maim. in Tamid, cap. 1.

offered but which had been taken up four days before : and so this necessitated, that, if two of the six were taken out to-day for the morning and evening-sacrifice, other two must be brought in before night : and by this means it was never without six in it, a whole day together.

2. The south-west room^p was “ the room of those that prepared the show-bread,” which God had appointed to be set before him on the golden table every sabbath. בית גרמו. “ The^q family of Garmu” was for this work. These two rooms mentioned stood either wholly, or some part of them, within the court.

3. The north-west room^r ביה גנוז השמנת את אבני המזבח “ was the place, where the Maccabean family laid-up the stones of the altar, which the Grecian kings had defiled.” For^s when Antiochus Epiphanes had made such miserable havoc at Jerusalem, as that he had laid religion, laws, liberties, altar, sacrifice, and all, waste, and had defiled the altar with abominable sacrifices,—Judas Maccabeus and his brethren, getting a little ground of their enemies and of their miseries, began to purify and restore the Temple ; and consulting what to do with the altar-stones, which were profaned, and which Mattathias their father had therefore pulled down (1 Mac. ii. 25), they laid them up in this room, till a prophet should come, that might resolve what to do with them, 1 Mac. iv. 44, &c.

4. The north-west^t room was a room, through which they went to a bathing-place, out of the middle room, which was properly called *Beth Mokadh*, whosoever had received any nocturnal pollution in their sleep. Now, where this bathing-place was, it is controverted, whether under ground, or whether on the outside of the outmost wall. The treatise *Tamid*^u gives account of it in these words : “ Doth a nocturnal pollution by gonorrhœa happen to any of them ? He gets out and goes along in the gallery, that goeth under the Temple, and candles burn on either side, till he came to the bathing-place. There was a closet and a stool : and if he found the door locked, he knew there was some one there ; but if open, he knew there was nobody there : so he goes down and bathes himself, wipes himself, warms himself in the closet, and comes again, and sits among his brethren.”

^p Mid. ubi supra, et *Tamid*, ubi sup.
^q Jos. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 7. 1 Mac. i. &c.

^r Shekalim, cap. 6.
^t Mid. ubi sup.

^s Mid. ubi sup.
^u *Tamid*, cap. 1.

5. The room Mokadh, which was in the midst of these four, they being, as it were, parlours in the four corners of it, is said to be בוני כיפה^v “built archwise:” not that the surface, or utmost part of it, was like an arch of stone without any other roof,—but that being raised and roofed, like the other buildings about the court, it was only in this lower room made archwise, because there was a passage through it out of the *Chel* into the court. And there were two gates to this room of passage, one towards the *Chel*, and the other towards the court; and that into the court had a wicket in it, through which they commonly went in and out, the great gate standing shut: and so, it is like, had that also into the *Chel*. And this passage, I suppose, is that, which Aba Jose calleth “the gate of Jechoniah,” of which we made mention before.

6. This room was called “Beth Mokadh,” or ‘the place of the burning fire,’ because a fire was kept here continually, all the cold time of the year, for the priests, both by day and by night: by day, to warm themselves at, when they came from the service,—for upon that they attended barefooted and very thin clad; and in the night, to keep them warm as they kept their guard: for in this room was^w a guard of the priests, as was observed before^x, and this was the chiefest guard of all. Beth Mokadh (saith the Talmud^y) was a great arched room, and it was set about with stone benches: on which the elders of the house of their fathers slept, and the keys of the court were in their keeping. But the young men of the priesthood slept in their garments on the ground: they slept not in the holy garments, but put those off, folded them up, and laid them under their heads, and lay in their own wearing clothes.” So that this room was both a thorough-pass, and a great hall, where was kept a common and a constant fire: and the gates on either side of the arch being shut, it was as a close room, and as if it had not been a thorough-passage at all.

7. In this room there was a box, or cabinet, as we may call it,—in which were laid-up the keys of the court, and taken out and in, as the doors were locked or to be unlocked. The Talmud^z describes it thus; “There was a flag of marble, and a ring was fastened in it, and a chain, at which the keys

^v Maim. in Beth Habbech. per. 5.

^w Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 622.

^x English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2020.

^y Tamid, ubi supra.

^z Mid. ubi sup.

of the court were hung. When the time of locking the gates came, he took up the flag by the ring, and took the keys off the ring, and locked the gates within; and when he had done, he put the keys on the chain, and the flag in its place again." Now this marble flag, which in Hebrew is called **טבלא** "a table," on the upper or outside of it, had a ring, by which to take it up,—and, on the inner side, a chain so wrought, as that the keys might, fitly and readily, be hanged on, or taken off, as there was occasion. And this box appeareth to have been in the ground, partly, because we have mention of such another flag with a ring in it, and that lay upon the ground, and dust was taken from under it for the trial of the suspected wife; and partly, because the tradition saith, **נתן כסותו עליה** that, after the priest had laid-up the keys, and laid down the flag, "he laid his pillow upon it, and there slept."

8. If any in their sleep suffered gonorrhœa, they were to bathe, as was said before; and the way to the bathing-place is expressed in these words: **הלך לו במסובה הולכת תחת הבירה** "He goeth down a turning stair-case, that went under the Temple. The word **בירה** doth generally signify all the body and buildings of the Temple, as the whole stood like a sumptuous and goodly palace,—for so the word doth properly signify; and so it is used, 1 Chron. xxix. 1. 19. Therefore, it is hard to tell, which way this passage to the bathing-place lay; since the word will enlarge it to any part of the Temple. It appeareth, that it was some vault under-ground, through which they passed; into which vault they went down by a turning pair of stairs, out of the north-west room of Beth Mokadh. And from thence whither they went, whether under the Chel, as Rabbi Eliezer conceiveth,—or under some part of the court, or Mountain of the House,—it is but in vain to search. It seemeth the bath was under-ground, and a room by it, with a fire in it to warm themselves at, when they had done bathing.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the gate Beth Mokadh, called the Gate of Corban: and of the other gate of Corban, called also the Gate of the Women.

WE need not inquire, why the upper of these two gates was called Beth Mokadh; the considering that it joined to

the east end of that piece of building that was so called, which we have newly surveyed,—will resolve that question: but why the lower was called “The gate of the women,” and why both of them “the gates of Corban,” will cost more labour to find it out.

I shall tender, about the former, these two conjectures:

1. Because, at this gate, the women, in the former Temple, did weep for Tammuz; as was observed out of Ezekiel even now. And, 2. Because, at this gate, the women, that brought sacrifices, went into the court to see them offered. For although it was not lawful for women to go ordinarily into the court as it was for men, but they were confined to their own court,—yet, as I have observed elsewhere out of Tosaphta, women, when they brought sacrifices, might and did go into the court of Israel, as well as men. It is true, indeed, that נשים ילדות “women after childbirth” appeared in the gate of Nicanor for the making of their atonement, and came but up into the gate, and not into the court at all,—because they came thither for their full purification: but those women, that were clean, and came not upon any occasion of purification, but brought burnt-offerings, or sin, or trespass-offerings,—they presented them, and themselves with them, at this gate. There was a gate nearer to the altar than this, namely, the gate Nitsots, which we are to survey by and by; but the place of the rings, or slaughter-place, being between it and the altar, it was not a place of^a that clear and uninterrupted access, that this was of,—and therefore, the sacrifices, both of men and women, were presented here. Yet did the gate bear the name of the women rather than of the men,—as from the rarer matter of the women’s going into the court, which was more commonly done by men.

And^b this helps us to one reason, why this gate was called “the gate of Corban,” or of “the offering,”—namely, because the sacrifices, to be offered up, were brought up in this way. And this very reason Bartenora^c giveth, saying, שם מכניסין קדשי הקדשים ששהיטתן בצפון “Here they brought-in the most holy sacrifices, which were to be slain on the north side of the altar.” Over-against this gate, on the other side of the court, there was a gate, that bare two names as well as this. It was called שער הקרבה “The

^a *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2021.

^b *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 1. p. 623.

^c *Bart. in Mid.*

gate of offering;" because the sacrifices, that were to be slain on the south side of the altar, were brought-in at that gate: and it was also called "the gate of firstlings," because those were the chiefest of those offerings. So, also, this gate where we are, it was called "the gate of Corban," or "of offering," because the sacrifices, to be slain on the north side of the altar, were brought-in by it: and it was called, also, "the gate of the women," because their passage through it with their sacrifices was more rare and remarkable than men's. Now, these were the sacrifices that were slain on this north side of the altar: "The most holy sacrifices, the bullock and goat of the day of expiation, the bullocks and goats that were burnt, all sin-offerings, whole burnt-offerings, and trespass-offerings."

Only the lambs of the daily sacrifice, though they were slain on the north side of the altar, yet is it like they were not brought into the court at this gate, but at that, that joined to Beth Mokadh; for in that piece of building the "lamb room" was, where they were kept, as hath been showed. And so we have one reason, why these two gates bare the name of "Corban." The upper was so called, because the daily sacrifice or Corban was brought through it; and the lower, because other sacrifices were brought through that.

But there was something more in the name besides. As there were several treasure-chests in the Temple, which have been named,—and several treasuries in the gate-houses of the Mountain of the Temple, and in the chambers that joined to the Temple itself, of vessels, vestments, tithes, first-fruits, &c:—so, on this side of the court, was the treasury of the poll-money, and for the poor, and for the repair of the Temple; which more especially was called 'Corban.' The word, as, at the first and most properly, it signified *an offering* (and so is it frequently used in Leviticus, and that is the sense that we have newly parted with), so, in the Jews' common language, it came also to signify the "treasury of the Temple," as Matt. xxvii. 6: "The priests took the money and said, It is not lawful to cast εἰς κορβαν̄, 'into the Corban.'" And so Josephus saith^e, that Pilate occasioned a tumult among the Jews, ἐξαναλίσκων τὸν ἱερόν θησαυρόν (καλεῖται δὲ κορβωνᾶς) εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων. "By consuming the sacred treasury, which was called Corban, upon making an aqueduct." And so

^d Zevachin, cap. 5.

^e Joseph. de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 14. [Hudson. p. 1066.]

the treatise Middoth^f; reckoning the guards that were in the Temple, nameth "one at the chamber of Corban; one, at the chamber of the veil; and one, behind the mercy-seat." From which last passage, laid to this consideration that we are about, namely, that there were two gates on the north side of the court, which were called Corban,—there is some ground and probability to place the Corban, or chiefest treasury of cash or money, there where we do. It appeareth, by the distribution of the guards in the tradition cited, that the guard at the chamber over-against the veil, and at the chamber of Corban, were on the several sides of the court; or else there were no proportion or conformity in their stations. All the seven gates of the court were guarded, two with priests, and five with Levites: all the four corners of the court were also guarded; and there was besides (saith the tradition) "a guard at the chamber of the veil,—and another, at the chamber of Corban,—and another, behind the mercy-seat;" that is, one on the one side of the court over-against the body of the Temple,—and another, on the other side,—and another, just behind, which was called "the guard behind the mercy-seat." Now, where can we so properly look for the chamber Corban, as between those two gates, that both bare that name? And the matter here seemeth somewhat nearly parallel to the case, that we observed about the gates and house of Asuppim, upon the west quarter of the Mountain of the House: for, as there was a piece of building that ran between two gates, which itself was called "the house of Asuppim," and gave occasion to the gates, on either end of it, to be called "the gates of Asuppim;"—so here was a piece of building, that ran between two gates, which itself was called 'Corban,' and gave occasion to the gates on either end of it, to be called 'the gates of Corban' likewise.

To come down, therefore, from the gate of Beth Mokadh, towards the east,—there was, first, a piece of building joined to that gate, which was a treasury, and was called Corban: and then was there a room, where the Levites kept their guard; and, joining to that, there was another treasury or Corban; and joining to the east end of that, a gate called by the same name 'Corban,' but called also "the gate of the women."

Now^g, to distinguish these treasuries, whether the one of

^f Mid. cap. 1.

^g English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2022.

them was the treasury^b for the half-shekel poll-money, and the other for money and vessels, offered for the use and repair of the house;—or whether one of them was the treasury for the Temple and the other for the poor, which distinction we observed before;—it is but in vain to inquire after, since it is not possible to resolve, when we have done all we can: only this, I suppose, may not impertinently be observed, that the treasuries, wherein they put money (whether chambers or chests), were those that most properly were called ‘Corban,’ rather than the treasuries, where they laid-up other things: and according to the several places where these chambers and these chests stood, the place was called ‘the treasury,’ and ‘the house of the treasury.’

And here let us look after a place of Scripture, which speaketh something in relation to the treasury, and may not improperly be taken into consideration, before we part with this subject.

The place is in 2 Kings xii. 9, and 2 Chron. xxiv. 8, about the treasure or collection-chest, that was made by Jehoiada, for the gathering of money for the repair of the Temple, which had been decayed and defaced in the days of Athaliah. And because there appeareth a visible contrariety between the two texts, that handle that matter, it may not be amiss to lay them together, and then to see how they may be reconciled.

2 KINGS XII.

Ver. 9. “Jehoiada the priest took a chest, and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it besides the altar, on the right side as one cometh into the house of the Lord.

13. Howbeit, there were not made for the house of the Lord, bowls of silver, snuffers, basins, trumpets, any vessels of gold or vessels of silver, of the money, that was brought into the house of the Lord.”

2 CHRON. XXIV.

Ver. 8. “And, at the king’s commandment, they made a chest, and set it without, at the gate of the house of the Lord.

14. And when they had finished, they brought the rest of the money before the king and Jehoiada, whereof were made vessels for the house of the Lord, even vessels to minister with, and to offer withal, even vessels of gold and silver,” &c.

^b *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 1. p. 624.

To heal the contrariety that seemeth to be in these texts, the one saying the chest was set *beside the altar*, and the other, that it ~~was set~~ *without the gate*; the one, that there *were no vessels* made of the money, that was offered, and the other that there *were vessels* made;—it is to be observed, that, though the chest might be the same, yet the stories concerning it, and concerning the money coming to it, are to be understood not of the same time. The zeal of Joash the king and the dulness of the priests towards the repair of the house of the Lord, are here compared and laid together; though good Jehoiada did always the utmost in him towards it. Joash had urged the repair of the Temple, and that the priests should get up all the money accruing to it for the use of it, and bestow it to that purpose: namely, the half-shekel poll-money of “every one that passeth the account;” the money that any one was set at to redeem him from any singular vow (Lev. xxvii),—and all the money that any offered of his own free-will; every one of the priests to take it of his acquaintance: yet, in the three-and-twentieth of the king’s reign, there was nothing done towards repairing. Thereupon the king, seeing either the slackness or falsehood, or both, of the priests, requires them to meddle no more with receiving money, nor with repairing, since the business under their hands went on no better: which they irreligiously and surlily are content to do, not caring whether the Temple be repaired or no. But good Jehoiada slacketh not, but sets a chest with a hole in it besides the altar, that what money might be had, might be put in there for the use appointed.—But when that did not avail to do the work, nor to buy any vessels for the house and service of the Lord, for the money went still through the priests’ fingers, the chest being in their court,—Joash the king, either removes that chest, or makes another, and sets it without the court at the coming-in, whither every one might have access to it; and proclaims, through all the country, that they should bring-in the money appointed by Moses. The princes and people come readily and joyfully, and bring it in: so that there was enough to perfect repairs, and withal to make those vessels for the Temple that were wanting.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Room of Salt, of Parvah, and of the Washing.

As there were three rooms between the middle gate Corban, which was also called 'the gate of the women,' and the more westward gate 'Corban,' which was also called 'the gate Beth Mokadh,' namely, two treasuries and a Levite's ward between the two,—so were there three rooms^j also between the same middle gate Corban, and the gate more eastward, which was called the gate 'Nitsots;' and those were 'the^k room of the Salt;' 'the room of Parvah;' and 'the room of the Washers.' The room of the Salt was the most westward of the three, and joined to the 'gate of the women;' and it was so called, because they there laid-up the salt for the use of the Temple. For, howsoever salt, and wine, and oil, and such things, were sold in the tabernæ, for the use of particular persons' offerings,—yet, for the public offerings and service, these things were stocked up, at the public charge, in several rooms appointed for them.

The use of salt at the Temple was exceedingly much; for^l nothing was laid on the altar unsalted, but only the wood, the blood, and the wine of the drink-offering: and how much salt might be spent upon all their sacrifices, let any one imagine: for this was the law, "with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt," Lev. ii. 13. And they had not this way only for the spending of salt; but they also salted the skins of all the sacrifices, when they had flayed them off. For the skins belonged to the priests, as their fee: the course, therefore, of the priests that was in serving, did still salt the skins of what sacrifices they offered, that they might not be offensive, and kept them till the end of the week of their service: and, on the eve of the sabbath, towards night, they divided them to every one his share.

The place, where they salted and laid-up the skins till that time, was in the room of *Parvah*, which joined to this room of the salt, on the east; and which is the next piece of building that we are to survey. The reason of the name is somewhat doubtful: the Gemarites, in the treatise Joma^m, debating it, conclude in this tradition: פרוה אמושא "What is meant by Parvah? Rab Joseph saith, Parvah was a magi-

^l English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2023.^j Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 625.^k Mid. cap. 5. ^l Maim. in Issure Mizbeah, cap. 5. ^m Joma, cap. 3. halac. 6.

cian.”—The meaning of אֲמוּנָה (saith Rabbi Nathan^a) is to this purpose: *Parvah* is the name of a man, who was a magician; and there are some of the wise men that say, that he digged a vault under-ground, till he could come to see, what the high-priest did on the day of expiation. And the wise men were aware of this vault, that he had made; and they found him in it, and they called this chamber by his name.” The short Gloss upon the Mishnaioth in Octavo goes yet farther:—“A conjurer (saith he), whose name was *Parvah*, built this room by magic: and some say, that he digged through the wall to see the service of the high-priest, and there he was slain.” Magic was a matter more in use at the Temple among some of the grandees there, than one could have possibly thought, that it could have been: for the Jerusalem Talmud^o relates, that some of the high-priests used to destroy one another with it. But others^p deduce the reason of the name *Parvah* from *Parim*, which signifies *bullocks*, because of the many hides or skins of bullocks, that were laid-up there. About which matter we shall not be curious to sway the balance one way or other, but shall leave the reason of the name to be disputed by them, that have a mind to such a business: it is enough to our survey to take notice of the place, and name and use of it, without more circumstances.

At the east end of this building of *Parvah*, there was another piece of building, which was called לשכת המדיחין “The room of the washers.” And the reason of the name was, ששם מדיחין את קרבי קרשים “Because^q, in this room, they washed the inwards of the sacrifices” according to the law, Lev. i. 9. It hath been a very general conceit, of washing the beasts that were to be offered in the pool of Bethesda, of which there is mention, John v. If that opinion mean, ‘the washing of the beast, whilst he was alive,’—I know not where the least footstep of any such custom is to be found, either in Scripture, or in Jewish monuments of antiquity. And if it mean, the washing of the inwards, after the beast was slain,—the room that we are about, was the place where that was done; and they went no farther: and when they had first washed them here, they did it again upon the marble tables; of which we shall speak, ere it be long.

^a Aruch in פרוה

^p R. Shemaiah in Mid.

^o Talm. Jerus. in Joma, cap. 3.

^q Mid. ubi sup.

Out^r of this room of washing, there was a pair of winding stairs, to the top of the room 'Parvah,' and^s on the top of that room there was a bath, where the high-priest did bathe himself on the day of expiation, the several bathings that he was to bathe on that day, but only the first, which was in the bath on the top of the room Abtines, as hath been observed before. It appeareth, that here was a great issue, or running-cock, of water, in this Washing Room, which served for the washing of so many entrails, as there was^t occasion to wash continually: and that there was a conveyance of water to the roof of the adjoining room, where also a cock ran to supply the bath.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Gate and House Nitsots נִצוֹט, The House of Stone Vessels.

WE are now come to the gate, that was most east of all the three on this north side; and it bare the double name of 'the^u gate Nitsots,' and 'the^x gate of the song.' The word *Nitsots* נִצוֹט betokeneth, properly, *sparkling*, as Isa. i. 31, Ezek. i. 7, &c; and so it signifies the beams of the sun, which, as it were, sparkle^y at his rising or going forth. But sometimes it is used by the Rabbins to signify *drops*, which are, as it were, the sparks of water; and sometime, as Baal Aruch observes, *froth* or *foam*. Now, to what sense of all these to apply the name of this gate, and to give the reason of its denomination in that sense, will prove more labour than profit, though the pains be put to the best improvement. I shall leave it upon these two conjectures in the sense of *sparkling*:—that it was called "the sparkling gate," either because the fire or flaming of the altar shone upon it, it standing in most opposition to the altar of all the gates on this north side: or because the south sun did give a great dazzling light upon the gilding of this gate, which it did by neither of the other on this north side, the height of the Temple interposing betwixt the sun and them:—but this gate lay clearly open to the south sun; and so, the leaves of the gate being gilt, they gave a sparkling and dazzling reflection into the court.

But why it is called "the gate of the song," for aught I

^r Ibid.

^s Joma, cap. 3.

^t English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2024.

^u Mid. cap. 1.

^x Ibid. cap. 2.

^y Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 626.

can find, is left also only to conjecture: and I shall only offer this; because they, that came in at this gate, came in the very face of the Levites, as they stood in their desks singing, or playing on their instruments and making the Temple-music.

Joining to the east side of this gate, there was a building called from the gate, "The^z house Nitsots,"—in which the priests kept a guard in the upper room, and the Levites in the lower. And, between this building and the gate, there was, as it were, a cloister passage, by which passage there was a way out of the very gate into the room below, where the Levites kept; and there was also a passage out of the cloister into the Chel חיל. And so is that clause in the Talmud's survey of the Temple^a to be understood, when it saith, כמין אכסדרא היה והעליה בנויה על גבי "That this gate was like a cloister, and a chamber was built over it, where the priests kept ward above, and the Levites below, and it had a door into the חיל Chel." The meaning of which passage may be conceived to be this: that, as you went through this gate Nitsots out of the court into the חיל Chel, upon your right hand there was not a plain wall for the side of the gate, as the other gates had,—but that side was open with pillars (as the cloister sides were, of which we have spoken); and, within those pillars, there was a little cloister, or walk, which was almost as long, as the passage through the gate was broad. So that when you were in the hollow of the gate, you might step in between the pillars into this cloister,—and so into the room, where the Levites kept their guard: and over this cloister and that room, and over the gate, was there a place, where the priests kept their ward; and this was one of the three places, where they warded. Out of the Levites' room there was a door into the Chel.

These buildings ran thus from this gate of Nitsots eastward a pretty way; and then there joined to them another building, which raught to the very corner of the court-wall. And it was called בית האבן "The house of stone:" not as if it were built of stone, and the other buildings of wood,—for the rest were of stone also; nor as if this differed in manner of building from the rest; but because all the vessels, that were used in it, were of earth or stone. And so the Gemara^b upon the treatise Joma explaineth it, על פני בירה לשכת בית

^z Mid. cap. 1.

^a Ibid.

^b Joma, cap. 1. in Gemara.

האבן “ Before the Temple, at the north-east corner, was the chamber of the house of stone; and thither they put the priest apart, that was to burn the red cow, seven days before. And it is called ‘the house of stone,’ because the work of it was in vessels of dung, earth, or stone.” In which passage they do not only give the reason of the name; but they also give an evidence of the situation of this place, when they say it was על פני בִּירָה “ Before the Temple at the north-east corner.’ And as for the putting of the priest apart into this room that we are about, who was to burn the red cow,—there is the like record in the treatise Parah^c, in these words; “ Seven days before the burning of^d the cow, they put apart the priest that was to burn her, out of his house, into the chamber which was before the Temple in the north-east, which was called the ‘house of stone;’ and they besprinkled him all the seven days,” &c.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Court of Israel, and of the Priests: and the Levites’ Desks, where they sung.

THUS having passed round about the wall that enclosed the court, and observed every particular gate and building in it, we are now to enter into the court itself, and to survey that; and there we shall find much variety.

The^e whole length of the court from east to west was one hundred eighty-and-seven cubits; and the breadth from north to south one hundred thirty-and-five. The^f parcels of the total sum of the length were these, from east to west:—

The breadth of the Court of Israel, eleven cubits.

The breadth of the Court of the Priests, eleven cubits.

The breadth of the altar, two-and-thirty cubits.

Between the altar and the Temple, two-and-twenty cubits.

The length of the Temple itself, a hundred cubits.

Behind the west end of the Temple to the court-wall, eleven cubits.

The^g parcels of the breadth were these, going from north to south:—

From the wall of the court to the pillars, eight cubits.

From the pillars to the marble tables, four cubits.

^c Parah, cap. 3. in Misna.

^d English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2025.

^e Mid. cap. 1.

^f Ibid. cap. 8.

^g Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 627.

From the tables to the place of the rings, four cubits.

The space of the rings itself, four-and-twenty cubits.

From the rings to the altar, eight cubits.

The altar and the rise to it, sixty-two cubits.

From the foot of the rise to the south wall of the court, five-and-twenty cubits.

Of all these particulars we shall give account, as we go along. And, first, it will be needful to clear the terms of "the Court of Israel," and "the Court of the Priests." Now, these are to be understood in a stricter acceptation, or in a larger. In the strictest sense, they were taken for the first ground you passed over, as you went up from the east wall of the court, or where the gate of Nicanor was, unto the altar, and they are said to be eleven cubits broad a-piece. But, in the larger acceptation, "the Court of Israel," was a space of ground, upon which the *laymen* of Israel,—for so let me call them,—might stand, along within the wall that enclosed the court, on the north, south, and west quarters of the court, as well as on the east.

The court was cloistered along the enclosing wall of it within, even as we have observed of the Mountain of the House and the Court of the Women already. And so not only reason itself doth evince unto us, which will tell, that, if the inferior places, and of less veneration, were so beautified, much more was this, which was of the chiefest honour and highest worship; but both Josephus and the Talmudists do also give testimony to such a purpose: for Josephus^b, in those words that we had occasion to cite a good while ago, *Αἱ στοαὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἔνδον ἐστραμμένα, &c.*: "Cloisters ran along the wall within from gate to gate, borne up with fair and great pillars," &c,—doth intimate no less: for though he doth particularly, in that sentence, speak of the cloisters before the Gazophylacia, or treasure-chests, which we placed in the Court of the Women,—yet doth the scope of this discourse in that place, refer to both the courts. The Talmudic treatise Tamid, likewise, speaking of the priests' first coming every morning into the court, it saith, Theyⁱ came out, through a wicket, of Beth Mokadh,—and being come into the court, they parted into two companies; and one went one way,—and another, another, *באנסדרה* 'per exedram,' 'along the cloister,' round

^b Joseph. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14. [Hudson, p. 1226.]

ⁱ Tamid, cap. 1.

about the court, to see whether all was well and safe there. And you had mention even now of pillars eight cubits distant from the north wall of the court; which though indeed, in their very name, they speak that they were low pillars, and not such as bare up the roof of the cloisters^j, as we shall observe when we come to speak of them, yet were there higher pillars by them, that were such supporters.

On the north and south sides, therefore, and at the west end of the court, there was a cloister like unto those that we have spoken of already,—borne up with pillars, and roofed over-head, that people might stand under, unannoyed of rain and weather;—and this was the Court of Israel, that went round about the court. For in this might laymen stand; and so they did, when there were great multitudes at the Temple, as there was at the three festivals, when they were enjoined to appear before the Lord. In the Rubric of the Passover, which is given by the Talmud in the treatise *Pesachin*^k, it is said, “The passover was killed in three companies: and the first company went in, and the court was filled,” &c. Now, by ‘the filling of the court with people,’ is not meant all the parts of the court within the wall, that did enclose it; but this “Court of Israel,” or cloister, where the laity might stand, round about, and all inward, or what was enclosed by this cloister, was in the large acceptation “the Court of the Priests.” This cloister did not retain the same space of liberty of standing or walking, in every part of it; for here and there were buildings, that stood out something into it, as part of Beth Mokadh did at the north-west corner, and part of the building Gazith at the south-east, &c.: yet was there such passage by them made, more or less, that the buildings did not thrust him that would pass, into the Court of the Priests,—but that there was a space to pass, sometimes larger, and sometimes narrower, even all the court round about.

Now, at the east part or quarter of it, as you came up out of the “Gate of Nicanor,” you entered upon that, which was called, in the strictest sense, the “Court of Israel,” which was eleven cubits over, as you went up towards the altar; and then was that, which also, in the strictest sense, was called “the Court of the Priests,” and that was eleven cubits over likewise. These two spaces were double-cloistered,

^j *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2026.

^k *Pesachin*, cap. 5:

being roofed over, and the roof supported with a double row of pillars: the one row standing out to the opening of the open court,—and the other row standing, where the two spaces parted the one from the other. These were more peculiarly called “the Court of Israel,” and “the Court of the Priests,” upon these two or three reasons:—

1. Because hither was the most ordinary access of Israelites and priests in their most solemn worship, it being just in the face both of Temple and altar.

2. Because in that, which was called “the Court of Israel,” the stationary-men did constantly stand, in their attendance on the service in representation of all the people, as we have showed them such representatives, in another place¹: and in that^m which was called “the Court of Priests,” did those priests stand, that had not employment in the present service (as all of them had not always); and waited upon the worship and service, which their brethren, now in employment, were about.

3. That part of the room Gazith, which stood within the court, opened into both these courts; and as that was the room, where the priests cast lots for the dividing of the service amongst them,—so it was the chapel (as it were) where they said a good part of their daily liturgy; and so the people and priests, in these courts, were ready to hear it. The one court was distinguished from the other by some grates or bars, or such-like things, which the Jews call *רשת* *רשתות* which stood between pillar and pillar in that middle row of pillars, that bare up the roof of the cloister. Into the Court of the Priests, whether largely or strictly taken, the Israelites or lay-people might not come but upon special occasion. And that occasion was threefold;—namely, either to lay his hand upon the beast that he offered; or to kill him; or to wave some part of him; and then his coming into the Court either of Israel, or of the Priests, or both, was ordinarily, at the north or south side of the court, according as his offering was to be slain on the north or south side of the altar, as we have observed before.

Theⁿ Court of the People was level with the floor of the east gate, or the gate Nicanor; but the floor of the Court of the Priests was two cubits and a half higher, and the rising

¹ Temple-Service, chap. 7. sect. 5.

^m *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 628.

ⁿ *Maim. in Beth Habbechirah*, cap. 6.

thus:—Imagine you came up from the gate of Nicanor: or rather imagine the Levites coming up from it with their musical instruments in their hands (which, we observed before, they laid-up in rooms just under the Court of Israel, but the doors of those rooms opening into the Court of the Women): when they were risen the many steps into the gate of Nicanor, and were come through it,—they had, on either hand, a fair passage into the cloister or Court of the People (such another as he hath, that cometh upon the Royal Exchange either out of Cornhill or Bartholomew-lane,—he may step into the cloister-walk on whether hand he will); and they walked upon even ground, till they came over the breadth of ‘the Court of the People,’ or to the pillars, which were on the farther side of that court which bare up the cloister, and distinguished the Court of the People and the Court of the Priests one from another. Then was there a rising of two cubits and a half, but stepped up thus:—First^o, there was a step of a cubit high; and then three^p steps of half a cubit high a-piece. Thus it was, as you went directly up from the gate of Nicanor forwards. But if you would turn on either hand, there were the desks or standings of the Levites, where they stood to sing and to make their music, made with steps, as even as that middle rising just now mentioned: first, a rising of a cubit height; and that ran along at that height all along before the rails and pillars, that parted betwixt the Court of the Priests and Court of People: and then were there three steps up, of half a cubit high a-piece; and, on the highest step, stood the Levites, with their instruments and their song: their feet even with the floor of the Court of the Priests, and a desk before them.

Elias Levita (it seems) observed not this rising both into the court and in the Levites’ station, when he saith^q, that their דוכן *Dukan* (which was the name of their desks, and which the learned render, *Suggestus*, or *Pulpitum*) was nothing else but a bench or form, whereon they stood: for their feet stood even with the floor of the court, and were not raised above it at all. His words are these:—“I wonder at this Targum” (on Psalm cxxxiv), “Lift up your hands, O ye priests, upon the holy דוכן: for behold, דוכן was אצטבא the bench, on which the Levites stood, when they

^o Maim. in Beth Habbechirah, cap. 6. et Mid. cap. 2. sect. 6.

^p English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2027.

^q Elias in Tishbi in דוכן

sung, and it is called דוכן *Dukan* in the Arabic: but, in the Dutch and Vulgar, *Banca*." In this construction of it by אֵצְטַב *estab*, and owning it for an Arabic word, he followeth Aruch^r, verbatim; but I confess I do not very well understand the cause of his wonder, especially considering what he saith before the words cited, namely, this:—"We call the place where the priests lifted up their hands, when they blessed the people, דוכן *Dukan*; and so is the Targum, Lift up your hands, O ye priests, on the holy דוכן; and at this I wonder." Now if he wonder, that the Targum hath brought in the priest blessing the people from the דוכן *desk* or *pulpit*, in that psalm,—he might have found the like in other places. For the Chaldee of Jonathan^s upon the law doth thus render the twenty-third verse of the sixth of Numbers; "Speak to Aaron and his sons, saying, Thus shall ye bless the children of Israel, spreading their hands upon the דוכנא *Dukana*, and they shall speak to them in this manner:" where the Hebrew Gloss^t in the margin interprets it, "by spreading their hands in the place called דוכנא *Dukana*;" and a little after, מקום אֵצְטַב נקרא דוכן "The benched place called דוכן *Dukan*." And so the large Chaldee^u paraphrase upon the Canticles, glosseth the seventh verse of the third chapter,—“Behold his bed, which is Solomon’s: threescore valiant men are about it,”—thus; “When Solomon the king of Israel built the house of the sanctuary of the Lord in Jerusalem, the Lord said by his word, ‘How beautiful is this house of the sanctuary, which is built to me by king Solomon, the son of David; and how beautiful are the priests, when they spread forth their hands, and stand upon their דוכן *Dukan*, and bless the people, the house of Israel, by the threescore wonders, that were delivered to Moses their master!’”

But (it seems) his wonder is at this,—that the Jews so generally, and the Chaldee paraphrase particularly, should hold, that the priests^v, when they blessed the people, stood upon the דוכן *Dukan*; whereas the *Dukan*, or these desks, were for the Levites, and not for the priests. And if I did conceive, that they meant these very desks of the Levites, when they say, “the priests stood in the דוכן *Dukan*, and blessed the people,”—I should wonder with him also; but

^r Aruch in דוכן ^s Targ. Jonath. in legem, in Num. vi. ^t Gloss. marg. ibid.

^u Targ. in Cant. iii.

^v Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 629.

I suppose, they meant some other desks, appropriate to the priests for this purpose, or the place of the priests' standing when they blessed the people, and, as by a name best known, they call it *Dukan*.

The words of the Talmud^w in description of these desks, where the Levites stood to sing and to make their music, are these:—" Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Jacob, saith, There was a rising" (viz. out of the Court of the People into the Court of the Priests), " and it was a cubit high, and the דוכן *Dukan* was set above it; and in that there were three steps of half a cubit high a-piece: so that the Court of the Priest is found to be higher than the Court of Israel by two cubits and a half." So that it appears, indeed, that the Levites stood upon raised steps in their desks; but it is plain withal, that the highest step was no higher than the floor of the court before them,—and that that step, whereon they stood, was not called the *Dukan*, but the whole place of the three steps rising.

And thus were the eleven cubits of the Court of the Priests, at this east quarter of the court, taken up and divided: namely, two cubits and a half taken up by the desks of the singers (for as was the height of the steps, so was their breadth); and eight cubits and a half for the priests' standing:—the Court of Israel parted from the Levites' desks, by pillars and rails:—the Levites' standing parted from the priests by a wainscot desk, or some such thing:—the Court of the Priests open to the altar, but only that the pillars, that supported the cloisters, stood in a row before it.

And so we have the dimensions and platform of the court, and of the buildings and the cloisters that stood about it. But before we proceed to observe the particulars that were within it, I cannot but think of a piece of structure, that, in its story, looks something like to some of the cloisters, that we have described either in the mountain of the house^x, or in one of the courts,—though I believe it was none of them,—and that is, " The Covert of the Sabbath," of which there is speech and mention, 2 Kings xvi. 18: where it is said of Ahaz, " The Covert of the Sabbath, that they had built in the house, and the king's entry without," &c. How to frame the verb to this sentence, is somewhat

^w Mid. cap. 2.

^x English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2028.

doubtful: whether to say “he turned it *from*” the house of the Lord, and so doth our English,—or “he turned it *to*” the house of the Lord, and so doth the Chaldee paraphrast and some others with him: for the word in the original doth not determine it. Were that the question before us, I should adhere to the sense of our English, for the king’s entry without was turned to the house of the Lord from its first making; but our question is, what this “Covert of the Sabbath” was? The Seventy have rendered it, *Σεμέλιον καθέδρας*, “The foundation of the chair” or seat; upon what mistake in their unpricked Bible, a mean Hebrician will easily discover, namely, that they read *Musadh* for *Musach*, dalet and caph final being alike,—and for *Shabbath* they read *Shebeth*. The most received opinion about this matter is^y, that this was some special piece of building, that was purposely made for the course of priests that went out every sabbath, to repose themselves in, till the sabbath was out, or till they might go home. And the reason of this conception is, because of the word *sabbath*, which they suppose to refer rather to the change of the priests’ courses, who came in and went out on the sabbath,—than to the service, or the people’s attending, whose concourse was greater at the festivals than on the sabbath. I should rather take it to mean some court of guard, that was made on the top of the causey Shallecheth, up towards the gate Coponius, where the king’s guard stood on the sabbaths, having attended the king into the Temple, till he came out again, there to receive him again, and to guard him home. And I should understand and construe the word *the king’s*, in conjunction with both particulars named, namely, that it meaneth the king’s Covert of the Sabbath as well as the king’s entry without. And my reason for this opinion I should fetch, partly, from the mention of these gates, that we had in speech before, namely, “The gate of the foundation,” and “the gate behind the guard,” 2 Kings xi. 6: and, partly, from the passage in Jer. xxxviii. 14, where it is said, that “king Zedekiah sent and took Jeremiah the prophet unto him into the third entry, that was in the house of the Lord;”—where Solomon Jarchi doth ingenuously confess, that he knows not what this “third entry in the house of the Lord” was: “but perhaps (saith he) it meaneth the Court of Israel; the Court of the Women

^y Vid. Kimch. et Lev. Gersom in loc. et Nabil. in LXX. ibid.

and the Chel being the two other." Kimchi doth well conceive, that this entry was, as they came from the king's house into the Temple; but more of it he hath not determined. I should say it meaneth the gate *Coponius*: and conceive the king coming to the Temple, through these entrances or passages. First, at the bottom of the stairs or descent of Zion², much about his turning to come upon the causey, there was "the gate of the foundation:" then, being come up the causey towards the Temple, he passed through "the gate behind the guard," and walked through the Court of Guard, which, I suppose, was called "the king's covert for the sabbath,"—and so through the gate Coponius, which was his third entrance or gate he passed through. These gates, we said before, were gates of Sion; meaning that they were in the way from the Temple thither, and not gates of the Temple itself.

According, therefore, to this supposal, I apprehend, that Ahaz, becoming a renegado to religion, did deface and defile the Temple within, and did clean cut off the way of the king's access thither without, as if he and his should never have more to do there. And, according to this supposal, I apprehend also, that Zedekiah having garrisoned himself in the Temple, while the Chaldeans were now lying in siege about the city, he sends for Jeremiah from his prison in Zion, and he comes up to the gate Coponius or Shallecheth; and there the king and he confer together. And now let us turn our eyes and observation upon what is to be found in the court, from which we have thus far digressed: and, first, we will begin with the altar, which is not only the most remarkable thing to be observed there,—but which must also serve us as a standing mark, from whence to measure the place and sight of other things.

CHAP. XXXIV^a.

Of the Altar of Burnt-offering.

THE altar that Moses made in the wilderness, because it was to be carried up and down, was of light materials and of small dimensions; for^b it was of shittim wood, and but

^a *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 630. ^a *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2029.

^b *Exod.* xxvii. 1.

five cubits square, and three cubits high, with a grate of brass hanging within it for the fire and sacrifice to lie upon. And, therefore, when it is called "the brazen altar" (2 Chron. i. 6), it is, because it was plated over with brass, Exod. xxxviii. 2. But when Solomon came to build the Temple, and there was to be no more removing of the tabernacle of the congregation, as there had been before^c,—he made the altar far larger and weightier than that of Moses;—namely, of brass, and of twenty cubits square and ten cubits high.

I shall not be curious to inquire, whether Solomon's altar were of brass indeed or no; or whether it is said to be of brass, though it were of stone, because it succeeded instead of Moses's brazen one,—as some Jews^d conceive; or as others^e, because, though it were of stone, yet it was overlaid with brass. I see no reason, why it should not be properly and literally understood, that it was of massy brass indeed: for why may we not well conclude by the plating of Moses's altar over with brass, that it was made of wood only for lightness; and had it not been for that, it had been all of brass as well as the outside: and that that outside plating, might be a warrant to Solomon to make his altar of massy brass. It is true, indeed, that there is a command of making an altar of earth or stone, Exod. xx: but it may very well be questioned, whether these altars meant not such, as were made upon special and emergent occasions,—namely, upon the Lord's singular appearing to particular persons, as to Gideon, Manoah, and others,—who, upon such appearances, built altars and sacrificed, Judg. vi. 26, xiii. 19, 1 Kings xviii. 30, 31.

There is but little to be discovered about the exact fashion and fabric of Solomon's altar, because the Scripture speaketh very concisely of it: for it saith only thus; "He made an altar of brass, twenty cubits the length thereof, and twenty cubits the breadth thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof," 2 Chron. iv. 1. So that it was four times as big in its square, as was the altar made by Moses, and three times as high, and a cubit over: but whether it were exactly of the fashion of that of Moses,—as whether the middle space, within its square, were hollow like his, or made up with stone,—and whether it had a grated hearth, like his, or a solid,—and what was the manner of the ascending and going up to it,—may

^c 2 Chron. iv. 1. ^d Vid. Kimch. in 1 Kings, viii. 64. ^e Vid. Lev. Gers. ibid.

be rather apprehended by supposal, than certainly known by any scriptural description or demonstration.

The sacrifices that are recorded to have been offered sometimes at once, both upon the altar of Moses and that of Solomon, are exceeding wonderful,—and may cause a man to marvel, how so vast numbers should be laid and burnt in so little a space, as even the larger of them was of, though a very large time should be allowed for it: as Solomon's thousand sacrifices upon Moses's altar, 1 Kings iii.4; and the people's seven hundred oxen and seven thousand sheep upon Solomon's, 2 Chron. xv. 11, &c. Moses's altar was but five cubits square; and how long a time might be required for a thousand beasts' whole burnt-offerings,—for so they are called,—to be burnt in so small a compass? David Kimchi upon that place and story glosseth thus; “He offered not all these sacrifices in one day, but before he returned again from Gibeon to Jerusalem; yet it seemeth by our Rabbins, that they took it to be done at one time.” The greatest solemnities, that ever were at Jerusalem, lasted ordinarily but seven days; or at the utmost but fourteen^f, when they would double their festivity, as at the dedication of the temple, 1 Kings viii. 65. Now, grant Solomon fourteen, nay, twice fourteen, days' stay at Gibeon; yet will it seem difficult, that he should despatch so many sacrifices even in that time. And at his own altar at Jerusalem how vast is the number of sacrifices, that is mentioned, 1 Kings viii. 63: “And Solomon offered a sacrifice of peace-offerings, which he offered to the Lord, two-and-twenty thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep: so the king and all the children of Israel dedicated the house of the Lord; the same day did the king hallow the middle of the court,” &c.

Allow the whole fourteen days, that are spoken of in ver. 65, unto this business; and yet the text seems to limit it to a shorter time; and for all that, a man may rather stand amazed at such a thing as this doing, than find out any satisfactory apprehension, how it should be done. Sure, the divine fire upon the altar, was of a more singular quickness of despatch than ordinary fires: or else I know not, what can be said to these things. The Jews do reckon several wonders, that were continually acted at the Temple,—as, that^g no flies infested that place, though there were so much slaugh-

^f *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 631.

^g *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2030.

tering of beasts there,—and that the smoke of the altar always went straight up, and was never blown aside by the wind, &c: which, though it may be, they are the less believed for the relaters' sakes,—yet, certainly, well weighed in themselves, they carry very good sense and reason in them. For who would have been able in the summer to have stood in the court near the altar, where there was so much blood shed, and flesh stirring,—if the slaughter-place there had been troubled with stink, flies, and wasps, as our common slaughter-houses are? And how reeky and smoky a place would the Temple and all the places about it have been; and how would those, that attended the service, have been choked and stifled, and no man able to have endured in the court, if the smoke from off the altar had been blown up and down with every puff of wind, as we ordinarily see smoke to be? So that for the prevention of such inconveniences as these, which would have made the service intolerable and inaccessible, we cannot but acknowledge a continual miraculous providence and dispensation. And so in this particular that we have in hand;—that multitudes of sacrifices, such as were especially at the three festivals, should be despatched by the fire within the time allotted for the offering of such sacrifices, is rather to be ascribed to miracle than to any thing else. The altar is called 'Ariel,' *the Lord's lion*,—as we shall observe by and by; and it was a lion of a very quick devouring.

Now, whereas it is said, that "Solomon did hallow the middle of the court that was before the house of the Lord; for there he offered burnt-offerings and meat-offerings and the fat of the peace-offerings, because the brazen altar that was before the Lord, was too little to receive them:" lay this also in too,—and yet it will be difficult enough to apprehend the despatch of so many thousand sacrifices in so short a time, if this consideration be not also laid in therewithal. But the question, that is most ordinarily raised out of these words, is, in what sense to understand this 'hallowing of the middle of the court:' whether he burnt the sacrifices upon the very pavement, as is the opinion of Rabbi Judah; or whether he set up Moses's altar by his own altar, and offered on it; or whether he built an altar of stone by his brazen one;—for these opinions are also held. But, methinks, the greater question is about the place, and what

is meant by “the middle of the court?” Upon which query, these two things, may, first, be taken into observation:—

1. That fire from heaven in the time of David, had appointed out the exact place of offering sacrifice, or of the altar, 1 Chron. xxi. 1: and to go about that piece of service in any other place of the court, required either a prophetic warrant, or a dispensation through mere necessity, both which dispensers concurred here. 2. That this place, which Solomon hallowed in the court, was hallowed by the very service performed upon it. The altar of Moses was hallowed at its first setting up, by being anointed; and so do the Jews, not without good ground, assert, that Solomon’s altar was hallowed likewise: but this *necessitated* place,—for so let me call it,—which Solomon was constrained to set apart for that service, was not so served [*dedicatus*, Leusden], but his very sacrificing there did hallow the place,—namely, for such a present employment, but not for future. And so the current of the text may be interpreted;—he hallowed the middle of the court, for there he offered burnt-offerings; so that whereas the other altar, being anointed, sanctified the gift,—this extraordinary altar did not so much sanctify the offering at the first, as was sanctified by it. And so the Temple, after the return out of the Babylonian captivity, and all the utensils belonging to it, were sanctified by the very service; for there was neither divine fire, nor any cloud of glory, nor any anointing oil, to sanctify them.

“The middle of the court,” which Solomon hallowed, I suppose, is to be expounded in the largest acceptation of either of the words, both *the middle*, and *the court*: for the word *the middle* of a thing, in the Scripture-language, is not always taken for the very centre of the thing mentioned, but for any part within that thing, be it in whatsoever it will; as, “in the middle of the land,” and “in the middle of the congregation,” meaneth but “within the land,” and “in the congregation.” So is the phrase to be understood here, that Solomon hallowed the court in any part of it for the burning of the sacrifices, though the precise compass of the altar, was fixedly pointed out as the only place for such a purpose, by fire from heaven. And as^h for the word *the court*, the present occasion doth seem to extend the sense of it to the whole compass of the holy ground: for if we look upon the

^h Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 632.

vast and infinite number of sacrifices, that were to be slain and offered,—we can do no less, and all little enough too, than allow the whole compass of the holy ground for it. And the word *the court*, standeth not in opposition to the Mountain of the House; but both the Mountain of the House, and the court itself, are both called by that general name *the court*, in contradiction to the very body of the Temple.

Ezekiel's altar is said to be “twelve cubits long, and twelve cubits broad, square in the four squares thereof,” Ezek. xliii. 16; which the Talmudicsⁱ do reckon up to four-and-twenty cubits, upon every side of the square: for they suppose, that the account is not as measuring^j from corner to corner on every side, but measuring from the very midst or centre of the altar to any of the sides, and thither was twelve cubits; and the reason of this their construction is, because it is said, אל ד' רבעו “Towards the four squares of it. It might seem (say they) that the whole altar was but twelve cubits square in all: but when it is said אל ארבעת רבעו towards the four squares thereof, it showeth, that he measureth from the middle, twelve cubits every way.” And of this square,—namely, of four-and-twenty cubits on every side, they hold the altar to have been after the captivity, and so they describe it. “R. Jose saith, At the first the altar was but twenty-eight cubits on every side: and according to this measure it narrowed in its rising, till the fire-place was but twenty cubits square: but when the children of the captivity came up, they added thereunto four cubits on the north, and four cubits on the west, like the fashion of the letter Γ, Gamma.”

As Solomon's altar was ten cubits high (2 Chron. iv. 1), so also was the altar at the second Temple; and so the Jerusalem Talmud^k doth witness, saying, גובה המזבח 'אמרת “The height of the altar was ten cubits.” And of that height is Ezekiel's altar, whose copy the children of the captivity did very much follow. Now as it was impossible for the priests, when the altar was so high, to stand on the ground and to serve upon it,—so had they an express prohibition against going up to the altar by steps, lest their nakedness under their loose coats should be discovered, Exod. xx. 26. Therefore, as a temper between these two exigents, there was a

ⁱ Zevachim, cap. 5. R. Sol. in Ezek. xliii. et Mid. cap. 3.

^j English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2031.

^k Talm. Jerus. in Erubin, cap. 7.

gentle rising made from the ground to the top of the altar, whereon the priests might go up to the altar to serve upon it; and this rising was called כֶּבֶשׁ *Kebesh*, which may well be Englished "The rise of the altar."

The Gloss upon the Misna, in the treatise Zabim, and R. Nathan from thence, hath taught us to understand the manner of this rising, by that instance and description that they give of the word כֶּבֶשׁ, that¹ it is "a great plank that mariners have, that when they will come down out of the ship, they descend, or come down upon it, to save their feet from touching of the water: and this plank is called כֶּבֶשׁ *Kebesh*." And so, in the treatise of the sabbath^m, they have a case, about a כֶּבֶשׁ *Kebesh*, or such a plank: "Doth an idolater make a כֶּבֶשׁ descent for himself, to go down by? an Israelite may go down after him. But doth he make it for the Israelite? it is not lawful for him to go upon it. There is an example of Rabban Gamaliel and the elders; they were to come out of a ship, and an idolater had made כֶּבֶשׁ a descent for himself; Rabban Gamaliel and the elders came down upon it." So that, by this parallel, we may observe the manner and nature of this כֶּבֶשׁ *Kebesh*, or rise to the altar; that it was a sloping gentle rising, but made of stone, whereby the priests might go up to the altar, without danger of discovering their nakedness. We might call it "a rising causey to the top of the altar;" for so doth Maimonidesⁿ call the arched causey over the valley of Kedron to mount Olivet, by which the red cow was brought to her burning by this very name כֶּבֶשׁ *Kebesh*.

Now, as for the manner and form of the altar, and of this rising up to it, and for the right understanding of all, which is not very facile,—divers things are to be observed: as,

1. There are reckoned these several parts of the altar. First, the foundation, יָסוֹד which also in Ezekiel is called חִק "The bosom or bottom upon the ground," Ezek. xliii. 13, 14. This was one cubit high from the ground, and one cubit broad: and the length of this foundation, upon every side of the square, was two-and-thirty cubits. And therefore, whereas it was said before, that the breadth of the altar and its rise was sixty-two cubits from north to south,—it is to be taken, as that the rise is to be accounted a thing

¹ Zabi. cap. 3. Aruch in כֶּבֶשׁ ^m Shabbath, cap. 16. sect. 8.

ⁿ Maim. in Shekalim, cap. 3.

different from the altar itself, and lying a great space farther out than the compass of the altar did, as we shall see anon. Now this foundation, which is said to be two-and-thirty cubits square every way, did not hold the complete measure of a cubit broad in every part of it; but in the south-east corner of it, it wanted somewhat to make the corner a perfect angle answerable to the other corners. And this is that which the Talmud^o meaneth, when it saith, *היה מזהלך על פני כל הצפץ ועל פני כל המערב ואוכל בדרום אמה א' ובמזרח אמה א'* "The foundation was a perfect walk, all along on the north side, and all along on the south: but, on the south, it wanted one cubit,—and on the east^p, one cubit: that is, were a man upon the foundation, he might walk upon all the length of the north side, and might turn at the north-west corner, and so walk on the west quarter: but would he do so, to go off from the south quarter to the east, he could not; for when he was to turn at the south-east angle, there was no such angle there, as there was at the other corners, for it was broken off, and wanted a cubit on the south side, and a cubit on the east; which two cubits should have met to have brought the corner into a sharp point like the others. Now the reason of the defect is given by them elsewhere, to be, because that very corner only of all the altar was not in the tribe of Benjamin, but in the tribe of Judah. For they held it necessary, that all the altars should be in the lot of Benjamin, because of those words of Jacob^q, "Benjamin shall raven as a wolf; in the morning, he shall devour the prey; and in the evening, he shall divide the spoil:" which how they understood of the sanctuary and altar being built within Benjamin's lot, appears by the gloss, that the Jerusalem Targum and Jonathan put upon it: "Benjamin (say they) is likened to a devouring wolf, because he was a strong tribe. In his country the divine majesty of the Lord of all the world was to dwell, and in his possession was the house of the sanctuary to be built. In the morning, the priests shall offer the daily lamb, till it be the fourth hour of the day; and, between the evenings, they shall offer the other lamb; and, at even, they shall divide what remaineth of the rest of the sacrifices; and every one shall eat his portion." But more copiously in the treatise Zevachin, or 'concerning

^o Mid. ubi sup.

^p Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 633.

^q Gen. xlix. 27.

^r English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2032.

sacrifices,' where this very point, about the want of this corner of the altar, is copiously discussed. The fifth chapter of that book, setteth itself purposely to describe the several places, where the several sacrifices were slain beside the altar: and, after other things, it falls upon the question that is before us, about this deficient angle of the altar, and it handles and determines it thus:—"The south-east corner had no foundation: what was the reason? Rabbi Eliezer saith, Because it was not in the portion of the ravener: as Rab. Samuel, the son of Rabbi Isaac, saith, מִזְבַּח אוֹכַל בְּחֶלְקוֹ, The altar took up one cubit in the portion of Judah: Rab. Levi Bar Chama saith, R. Chama Bar Chaninah saith, there went a line out of the portion of Judah, and entered upon the portion of Benjamin. And righteous Benjamin was troubled at it, as it is said, חֹזֵף עָלָיו כָּל הַיּוֹם" (the Glossers render it, *He was careful for it every day*): "yet righteous Benjamin obtained to become אוֹשֵׁפֵיכֶן host to the holy blessed God, as it is said, 'And he shall dwell between his shoulders.'" The meaning of which passage is to this purpose;—that the line that parted the lots or portions of the two tribes Judah and Benjamin, came just over at this point of the altar; that if this angle of the foundation had been made like the other, a cubit of the altar would have been in the lot of Judah, which they had no Scripture warrant for: for the altar was to be in the lot of 'the ravener,' that is, of 'Benjamin that should raven as a wolf;' therefore, they chose rather to make no angle at all at this point of the foundation, than to make it, since it would fall in the portion of Judah.

As this south-east point of the foundation was remarkable for this, that it had no corner,—so was the south-west corner of it remarkable for another thing, and that was, for two holes, that were in it near to the angle's point,—one, upon the west foundation,—and the other, upon the south; into which the blood, that was poured upon the foundation, did run,—and so into a sink or common-sewer under ground, which emptied itself into the valley of Kedron.

2. The base, or foundation, having thus risen one cubit from the ground, and carried a cubit breadth round about, but only in the angle that hath been mentioned,—the square of the body of the altar, was grown then, a cubit narrower

* Talm. Bab. in Zevachin, cap. 5. in Gemara.

on every side; and so it was but thirty cubits upon every side of the square: and thus it held for five cubits high; and then it narrowed one cubit more; and this narrowing was called סוּבֵב “the circuit of the altar:” and there the square was but eight-and-twenty cubits on every side. But here the Talmud’s measure differeth from the measure of Ezekiel; which though Rabbi Solomon observeth, yet he concludeth, that the measure in the Talmud was the true measure in the second Temple. Ezekiel saith, that “from the bottom upon the ground, to the lower settle were two cubits;” whereas the Talmud saith but *one*; and from the lower settle to the higher, Ezekiel reckoneth *four* cubits, but the Talmud *five*: in which difference in the particulars yet there is agreement in the main sum, and both of them do raise the circuit of the altar six cubits high: and therefore we shall not spend time to reconcile them here, but leave them to be taken up by and by. Only we cannot pass over the word, that Ezekiel useth, for both the ‘foundation’ and the ‘circuit,’ and that is עֲזָרָה *Azarah*, which is the common word that is used for the *court*: because that, as the people did tread in the court at the time of the service, so did the priests upon these ledges of sides of the altar: especially upon the higher, which was called ‘the circuit of the altar,’ when they went about it to besprinkle the horns of it with the blood of the sacrifices: the manner of which action the Talmudic chapter lately cited, giveth us the relation of, in the Misna^u, in these words;—“The sin-offering of the congregation, or of a private person, and the goats, offered at the beginnings of the months, or at the solemn times,—their slaughter was on the north side of the altar; and the taking of their blood in some of the vessels of the service was on the north side; and it required a fourfold putting on the four horns. How was this done? He went up the מִשְׁבֵּט rise of the altar, and turned off to the סוּבֵב circuit of it. He went to the south-east horn,—and then to the north-east,—so to the north-west,—and, lastly, to the south-west; and the blood that was left, he poured upon the foundation on the south side.” Either of these ledges the Rabbins sometimes call מַלְבֵּן *Malben*^v; either because they were as floors whereon the priests trod, for so the word is sometimes taken;—or because

^t Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 634.

^u Zevachin, ubi supr. sect. 3.

^v Vid. R. Sol. in Ezek. xliiii. et Aruch in voce.

they were often rubbed to keep them white, since there was so much blood sprinkled on them:—"For^x the whole altar was whited over twice a year,—namely, at the Passover and at the Feast of Tabernacles. Rabbi saith, that it was rubbed with a map, on the eve of every sabbath."

3. A^y cubit height above this upper ledge, which was called *the Circuit*, there was a narrowing again, a cubit breadth; and there began the horns of the altar; and now the square was but six-and-twenty cubits upon every side. The horns were, at every corner, a cubit square, being hollow, and rising a cubit upward: for it is a usual saying among the Jews, that גובה כל קרן וקרן ה' טפחה "The^z height of every horn was five hand-breadths," or a common cubit; which is to be taken so as that the horns rose but one cubit straight up from their foundation or first beginning, abating by degrees from a cubit square in the bottom, into a pyramidal sharp,—but so as that for one cubit height it rose straight, and then pointed outward like the tip of a horn. The lowest part of these horns, was seven cubits from the ground; and, therefore, these words, "bind the sacrifice with cords to the horns of the altar," Psal. cxviii, can hardly be taken in propriety, as if the sacrifice stood tied to the altar till it was offered; but, as the Chaldee paraphraseth it, it meaneth, "Tie the lamb, that is to be offered, with cords, till ye come to offer him; and sprinkle his blood upon the horns of the altar." Joab, in fear of his life, is said to have fled to the altar, and to lay hold upon the horns of it, 1 Kings ii. 29: in which passage the Hebrew doctors say he was doubly deceived, first, in that he thought to have refuge and escaping, for wilful murder; and, secondly, in that he looked for safety by taking hold of it, whereas the refuge of the altar, was on the top of it: א"רזל לא היה קולט המזבח אלא על השגגה ועל גגו "Our Rabbins say (saith David Kimchi^a), The altar was no refuge but for manslaughter committed unawares, and but on the top of it." But whether Joab or they were the likelier to be deceived in this thing, I leave to them to discuss between them: but this certainly cannot go unobserved,—that God, in giving of the pattern of the altar, was so punctual for the making of horns to it, in the corners of it, as that that is a

^x Mid. cap. 3.

^y English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2033.

^z Maim. in Beth Habbechir. cap. 2.

^a Kimch. in 1 Kings, ii.

special charge, both about the altar of burnt-offering, Exod. xxvii. 2, "Thou shalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof;"—and also about the altar of incense, Exod. xxx. 2, "The horns thereof shall be of the same." Now, what the Lord intended to signify by this so exact a prescription, it is not good to be too bold to go about to determine; yet we may not unprofitably look upon them as a lesson for instruction,—reading to us, that as the altar signifieth Christ, who offered himself upon himself, the manhood upon the altar of the God-head,—and as the double altar, of sacrifice and incense, typified the offering up of Christ at his death, and the continual incense of his mediation,—so the horns of both altars may well be conceived to signify the dignity, vigour, and merit of his death and mediation: upon which whosoever layeth hold by assured faith, shall escape condemnation: and unto which (as the priests to these horns at every sacrifice mentioned) a sinner, in every service, is to make his address and application.

It is not an improper conception of Rabbi Solomon^b, about the law concerning the cities of refuge, Exod. xxi. 13, that, as God enjoined them, when they should come into the land of Canaan, to appoint a place for the man-slayer, that had killed a man at unawares, to flee unto,—so that, while they were in the wilderness, God appointed them a place for refuge, upon such occasion,—and that was the camp of the Levites. Now, the addition that follows in the next verse, that "they should take a wilful murderer from his altar, to put to death," doth not only confirm that his supposal, but it doth give some intimation, that, even in the land of Canaan, and when their refuge-cities were set out, yet the altar was then a sanctuary for those, that fled to it in such or such cases:—a very eminent figure of deliverance from condemnation by laying hold upon Christ's merits.

The Jews^c dispute, why Joab, whom they hold to have been president of the Sanhedrim, and knew the law well enough, that "a wilful murderer^d should not escape by the altar," why he should flee thither. And they answer, that it was either to save his estate, which, had he been slain elsewhere, had been forfeit; or to obtain his burial, which, had he been judged and condemned judicially, he had lost and

^b R. Sol. in Exod. xxi.

^c Vid. Kimchi *ibid.*

^d *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 635.

been cast away unburied. But it seemeth rather, that the occurrence, which is mentioned immediately before, and which occurred immediately before,—namely, about Abiathar,—did give him occasion to do what he did: for though Abiathar were in the same fault with Joab, in the matter of Adonijah, yet had he escaped death (being only put from his office) upon these two reasons,—because he had borne the ark and was high-priest, and because he had been afflicted and partner with David in his afflictions. Under this latter predicament Joab fell as well as he, and might hope for favour in that respect equally with him: and as for the former, Joab, indeed, was not, nor could be, a priest,—yet, thought he, “I will do as much towards that as I can, that is, lay hold on the horns of the altar, and there devote myself to God and his service by that solemn ceremony; and, it may be, for these two considerations, Solomon will spare me, as he did Abiathar.” For that the laying hold of the altar in this kind had a vow in it for the future, as well as a present safety, might be argued from the nature of the altar, which made holy what touched it, and from the very circumstance of laying hold upon it. But Joab, to the wilful murder^e of Abner and Amasa, had added contempt and opposal of the king upon David’s throne, which figured him that was to reign over the house of Israel for ever; and was, therefore, unfit to escape, and incapable to be any such votary.

4. A^f cubit above the first rising of the horns of the altar, the square narrowed a cubit again, and so was now but four-and-twenty cubits every way; and so held on to that flat of it on the top where the fire lay. The cubit’s ledge, that the abatement made to be as a bench round about, was הילך the place whereupon the priests went, and stood about the altar to lay on the pieces of the sacrifice, or to stir them as they lay in the fire. And this helpeth us to judge concerning the manner and fashion of the horns spoken of last;—namely, that they did not rise directly upright higher than the altar itself,—for then it had been impossible for the priest to go about the altar upon this ledge, for the horns would have hindered if they had risen a full cubit square up hither;—but their form is to be conceived as was said before,—namely, that they rose, indeed, up even with this ledge, but they so sharpened and bended outward, when

^e *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2054.

^f Mid. ubi supr. Maim. ubi supr.

they came level with it, that the priests had passed between them and the altar.

From the סוּבֵב 'circuit of the altar' upward, which was four cubits,—was that part which more peculiarly was called *Harel*, and *Ariel*, Ezek. xliii. 15; "And Harel was four cubits, and from Ariel upwards were the four horns." He had described the gradual risings of the altar hitherto in the verses before, in these characters and descriptions:—

Ver. 13; "The bottom shall be a cubit, and the breadth a cubit." This was the foundation, of which we have spoken, a cubit high, and a cubit broad.

"And the border thereof by the edge thereof round about a span." The edge of this foundation was not sharp, as are the edges of stone steps; but it was wrought, as are the stone borders of our chimney-hearths, with a border of a span over: and so the blood that was poured upon this foundation, could not run off to the pavement, but was kept up that it might run down at the holes forementioned, into the common-sewer.

וְזֶה גֹב הַמִּזְבֵּחַ "And thus was the top of the altar:" the top of the altar was also finished with such another bordering.

Ver. 14: "And from the bottom upon the ground even to the lower settle, two cubits." Not that the foundation, called here 'the lower settle,' was two cubits thick in the flatness of it, as it lay upon the ground,—for the verse before saith, "that the bottom was but a cubit;" but that from this foundation, there arose a slope rising a cubit height, which was somewhat thicker than the body of the altar presently above it; and so from the ground to the top of this rising, where the square narrowed, were two cubits: and from the top of this sloping where the square narrowed, to 'the circuit,' was properly but four cubits, but from the foundation five. And so, though the Talmud speaketh differently from the prophet (when it saith, the *foundation* or lower settle was but *one* cubit high, and he, *two*: and when it saith "the height from the lower to the higher settle, or from the foundation to the circuit, was *five* cubits," and the prophet saith but *four*), yet do they both mean but one and the same thing, but understood as hath been spoken:—namely, the one taketh the foundation or lower settle, barely as it lay flat upon the ground,—and the other takes it with this cubital slope rising from it, made leaning a cubit height to the body of the altar.

And this interpretation helpeth^g to understand that, which David Kimchi professeth he cannot tell what to make of; and that is, why the upper settle, which was narrower by two cubits in the square, is called the ‘greater,’—and the lower, which was larger in the square, is called the ‘lesser:’ the reason whereof is this,—because the upper, though it were less in compass, yet was larger in breadth,—because this leaning slope rising, that we speak of, took up a good part of the breadth of the lower; and so the walk upon it was not so clear and large, as it was upon the other.

And then the prophet tells us, that when the body of the altar was thus risen six cubits high to the upper settle, which the Talmudics call the ‘circuit,’ that thence “Harel was to be four cubits, and from Ariel and upward, the four horns.”

There^h are some that conceive that Harel and Ariel are, indeed, but one and the same word, though so diversely written: from whom I cannot much differ, as to point of grammar, because the letters א א do admit of such alternancy in the language; yet methinks the difference of the words should hold out some difference of the sense: and ‘Harel’ to signify the ‘Lord’s mountain,’—and ‘Ariel’ the ‘Lord’s lion’ upon the mountain; the lower part at the horns more properly ‘Harel,’ and the upper more properly ‘Ariel.’ But since the text gives theⁱ name *Ariel* to all that part, that was from the root of the horns upward, we shall not much stick upon it. The word ‘Harel,’ if you will construe it the ‘Mountain of the Lord,’ David Kimchi tells you, that “it is as much as to say, The house of the Lord, and because they served other gods in every place upon high hills, this, which was the hill of the Lord, was but four cubits high.” And if you will take the word *Ariel*, “Our Rabbins of happy memory (saith he) say the altar was called Ariel” (or the Lord’s lion), “because the holy fire, that came down from heaven, couched on it like a lion.”

The^j word *Ariel* doth also signify “one exceeding strong,” 2 Sam. xxiii. 20: and so doth *Arel*, Isa. xxxiii. 7. But take it whether way you will here, either for *a strong thing*, or for *the Lord’s lion*, the altar was very properly so called, either because of the devouring of many sacrifices, lion-like,—or

^g Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 636.

^h Kimch. in loc. Const. L’Emp. in Mid. p. 97.

ⁱ Vid. R. Sol. *ibid.*

^j English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2035.

because of the great strength and prevalency the people had by sacrifice, the Lord owning them wonderfully in that service, whilst gone about according to his will;—or because of the strong lion Christ, whom the altar and sacrifices did represent. Jerusalem, and especially “Zion, the city, where David dwells,” is also called “Ariel, the strong one; or the lion of the Lord,” because of its prevalency against all enemies whatsoever, whilst it continued to be the Lord’s, through the strength of those promises, that were made unto it; but when it forsook the Lord, and became profane, it is threatened that it shall become as the other *Ariel*, or the *altar*, where was continually abundance of shedding of blood and slaughter, Isa. xxix. 1, 2.

The very top of the altar was four-and-twenty cubits square, and this was called *מַעֲרֹכָה* *Maaracah*, or the *Hearth*; where, as we observe elsewhere, there were fires continually burning, but especially one very great one for the sacrifices. And thus was the bulk and platform of the altar; it was a large pile of ten cubits high rising by degrees, so as that, at the foot, it was two-and-thirty cubits on every side of the square,—but, at the top, came to be but four-and-twenty.

The rising thus: 1. The base one cubit rising,—and then the square lessened a cubit. 2. The body of the altar rising plain five cubits,—and then lessening one cubit in the square. 3. A cubit rising again, and the square lessening a cubit; and at the bench, where it narrowed, there stood the four horns out at the four corners. 4. A rising again one cubit, and a narrowing one cubit; and there was the bench, where the priests stood to serve. 5. And then a rising two cubits; and there was the *Hearth*.

Thus stood the altar, and thus stood the priests upon the highest bench to serve: but how came they up thither? If they could have gone up the steps that we have mentioned,—namely, where the square still descended,—yet was it unlawful, because of that command, Exod. xx. 26. But they could not go up that way neither; for we have seen, that, between the first bench and the second, there was five cubits rising, which is a measure far beyond any man’s stepping up: the way, therefore, for them to go, both to the top of the altar, to their bench two cubits below the top, and to the other benches, as there was occasion, was thus provided:—

There^k was a gentle rising causey (for so let us call it, they called it כַּבֵּשׁ) on the south side of the altar sixteen cubits broad, that began two-and-thirty cubits from the altar foot, and rose easily to the head of it in a gentle descent,—made of the same materials that the altar was, of which hereafter. So that this causey lay out from the altar two-and-thirty cubits on the south side, leaving, on either side it, four cubits breadth, which it wanted of the breadth of the altar.

On^l the west side of it, there stood two tables, one of silver, on which they set and laid the vessels of the service; the other, of marble^m, which was called the “Table of the Fat,” on which they laid the pieces of the sacrifice, when they were to be brought-up to the altar. And there was also onⁿ the same side of it, and (as it is probably conjectured^o) made in the very side of the causey or rise itself, a place, into which those birds, that, being present to be offered, did prove unfit,—were cast, till some convenient time to convey them away. This place was called רִבּוּבָה *Rebubah*; for so we may conclude upon R. Nathan’s credit^p, who so readeth, though others differ: וַשֵּׁם נֹתֵינִן פְּסוּלֵי הַטְּמֵאָה הָעוֹף^q “And there (saith the general consent) they laid-up the birds unmeet for offering.” On^r the east side of it, was the place, where they laid the guts and garbage of the birds, that were offered,—and where he that cleansed the incense altar, poured down the ashes he brought forth; and he that brought the first ashes from off the burnt-offering altar, did the like. But these things continued not long there, after they were laid down, but were speedily, by some or other, conveyed away. By^s the marble table, which was called the “Table of the Fat,” the priests stood, when they sounded their trumpets at the time of divine service.

The^t ordinary way of going up this causey, or bridge, or call it what you will,—was on the right side of it, that is, on the east, and to come down on the west;—only upon three occasions mentioned in the place cited in the margin, he came down the same way he went up, but backward. And this helps us somewhat to understand a story (which we shall

^k Mid. cap. 3. ^l Gloss. in Tamid, cap. ult. Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 2.

^m Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 637.

ⁿ Middoth, ubi supra.

^o C. L’Emp. in Mid. p. 112.

^p Aruch in רִבּוּבָה.

^q Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 2.

^r Tamid, cap. 1.

^s Tamid, cap. 7.

^t Talm. in Zevach. cap. 6.

have occasion to look after elsewhere), related in Joma^u, of two priests going a strife, who should first get up to cleanse the altar of its ashes,—which was the first work done in the morning: the one of them thrust the other off the bridge and broke his leg, because they went so near the sides, though they had room enough to have gone up in the middle without danger; but the manner was not to go up that way.

As^v a man went up^w, first, there was a little causey on the east side, that brought him, from the first beginning of this great causey, to the foundation of the altar, if he had occasion to go thither. And as he went up higher, when he was come as high as the circuit, there was another to carry him off thither, if he had occasion to sprinkle blood upon the horns of the altar. But above that I read not of any such come off: not that the priests had not constant occasion to step off to the uppermost ledge or bench (for there they used to stand continually, when they were turning the pieces in the fire, or the like), but because, by the time that the rise was come up thither, the step off was so easy, that a less matter than what deserved the name of כַּבֵּשׁ, a *bridge*, would serve the turn.

Thus was the form of the altar and the ascent to it: but I must mention here, before I have done with the form of it, somewhat that was visible upon it, that had some reference also to the form of it, and that was^x, “A red line that went round about it in the just middle between the bottom and the top, to be a direction to the priests, that they might sprinkle the blood above or beneath” (for sometime they did the one, and sometime the other, as we shall show, when we treat concerning sacrifice), as the occasion called upon them to do, and not mistake. For whereas some blood was to be poured or sprinkled at the bottom of the altar, and some upon the horns of it,—some below, some above,—to make sure that either of these should keep its right place and not transgress, they set this line to be a bound between them.

The materials and manner of working up this renowned pile, let the reader take in the Talmud's and in Maimonides's own words and expressions^y: “When they built the altar (say they), they built it solid like a pillar, and they made no

^u Joma, cap. 2. ^v English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2036. ^w Maim. ubi sup.

^x Middoth, cap. 3. ^y Maim. ubi supr. Talm. in Zevach. fol. 54.

hollow in it: but one brought whole great stones and little" (for an iron tool might not be used upon them), "and he brought mortar, and pitch, and lead, and mixed all, and poured all into the great base, that he had laid according to his measure, and so he built on upwards: and he put in the midst of the building a piece of wood or of stone, at the south-east horn, according to the measure of the foundation; and so he put in the midst of every one of the horns, till he had finished the building: then he took away those pieces, that were in the midst of the building; and so the south-east horn was left without a foundation, and the rest of the horns were left hollow."

These^v stones, that made the altar and the rise to it, are recorded to have been gotten in the valley of Beth-haccerem, a place mentioned in Neh. iii. 14, and Jer. vi. 1. And the same record tells us, "That twice a year the altar was whited,—namely, at the Passover, and at the Feast of Tabernacles: and the Temple whited once a year,—namely, at the Passover. Rabbi saith, On the eve of every sabbath they rubbed the altar with a map, because of the blood. They might not plaster it with an iron trowel, lest that, touching, should defile it; for iron was made to shorten man's days, and the altar was made for the prolonging man's life: and it is not fit, that that, which would shorten, should be lifted up upon that, that would lengthen."

Thus was the fashion and proportion of the altar, "the Lord's table," Mal. i. 7. The holiness^a of it was such, that it "sanctified the gift," Matt. xxiii. 19; that is, whatsoever came upon it, being fit to be offered: *המזבה מקדש הראוי לו*: "The altar sanctified whatsoever was fit for it:" it is a Talmudic maxim in the treatise Zevachin, the very beginning of the ninth chapter. And at the seventh Halacah of the same chapter, they say, "That as the altar sanctified what was fit for it, so also did the rise of the altar:" and there they discourse at large what things, if they were once brought to the top of the altar, might come down, and what might not;—which we shall not insist upon.

Before we part from the altar, we have yet one thing more to take into observation about it, and that is, the base and wretched affront, that ungodly Ahaz put upon it, in not only setting up another altar by it, but also in removing the Lord's

^v Mid. cap. 3.

^a Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 638.

altar out of its place, and out of its honourable employment, to give place to his. The story is in 2 Kings xvi. He sends the pattern of an idolatrous altar from Damascus, and Uriah the priest maketh one according to that pattern; and when the king came home and saw the altar, he offered upon it his burnt-offering, meat-offering, drink-offering, &c. "And he brought also the brazen altar, which was before the Lord, from the fore-front of the house, from between the altar and the house of the Lord,—and put it on the north side of the altar," ver. 14. Rabbi Solomon, expounding this place, conceiveth, that, by the 'altar of the Lord,' is not meant the altar properly and indeed, but some appurtenances, that related and belonged to the service of the altar; and this conclusion he produceth from two or three traditional premises. His words are these; "This altar, that he removed, cannot be the brazen altar, that Moses made,—for that was laid-up; and it cannot be the altar of stone, which Solomon made, which indeed is called the 'Brazen altar' in the Book of Chronicles,—for that could not be removed from place to place, but by pulling down. And behold, we have a tradition, that the fire that came down from heaven in the days of Solomon, went not off the altar, till Manasseh came and caused it to go off,—for he pulled the altar down. So that I cannot interpret the 'altar' here but of the 'layers and bases of brass,' which served for the altar, and stood beside it; them Ahaz removed," &c.

You^b need not marvel, if he go alone in his opinion, when you look upon it, and how it is strained, and especially from this pinch,—because, though the altar of Solomon is called *brazen*, yet he holds it to have been of *stone*, and overlaid. Were it of brass or were it of stone, Ahaz's modesty was not so much, but that he would pull it down to serve his turn, as well as remove it. It appeareth by the text alleged, that Uriah's modesty was a little more than Ahaz had; for he had set his altar behind the altar of the Lord, betwixt it and the east gate, so that the Lord's altar was betwixt that new-found one and the Temple:—for it seemeth, the space at the entering-in from the east gate, was more open in the times of the first Temple than it was in the second. But when Ahaz comes, he removes Solomon's altar towards the north, and brings up his own, and sets it in the place of it;

^b *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2037.

and so does, as it were, supplant the Lord of his possession, and usurp upon it, putting the Lord's altar out of use as well as out of its place, and giving his own the greatness, because it was the greater,—in the employment for all the sacrifices that were to be offered, both ordinary and extraordinary, both of the king and the people: while the altar of the Lord must stand by as a cipher, only with this dignity, which was less than none at all, “The brazen altar shall be for me to seek to, when I think good.” As for the departure of the divine fire from off the altar, which had come down in the days of Solomon, of which our Rabbin speaketh,—it is not unworthy some of the readers' thoughts. For the Temple was so oft profaned, yea, and sometimes shut up, before the captivity into Babel, as 2 Chron. xxiv. 7, and xxviii. 24, &c, that it is hardly to be imagined, but that the fire, which had been continued from the descent of that divine fire, was, at some of these times or other, extinguished. And then, query, how Hezekiah and Josiah, in their reformation, did for fire again upon the altar.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Contents of the Court betwixt the Altar and the North Side of it; and betwixt the Altar and the South Side.

THE most ordinary and universal slaughter of the sacrifices was on the north side of the altar; and so is it declared at large in the Treatise Zevachin^c, through the fifth chapter, of which we have had occasion to speak before. “The most holy offerings (say they) are slain on the north side; the bullock and the goat of the day of expiation, their slaughter was on the north, and the taking of their blood in a vessel of the service, was on the north. The bullocks that were to be burnt, and the goats that were to be burnt, were slain on the north, and their blood to be taken on the north. The goats of the beginning of the months and of the solemn feasts, were slain on the north, and their blood taken on the north. The whole burnt-offering most holy was slain on the north, the peace-offerings^d of the congregation and trespass-offerings were slain on the north,” &c. And, generally, the greatest number of sacrifices were slain on that side the altar: on that side of the altar, therefore, were necessaries

^c Talm. in Zevach. cap. 5.

^d Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 639.

and accommodations for that purpose and convenience; and those were especially these three, 'the Place of the Rings,' 'the tables,' and 'the hooks in the pillars.'

Eight^e cubits from the altar northward was 'the Place of the Rings;' and that place was four-and-twenty cubits over towards the north still. חזו י סדרים של ד ד "Now^f the rings were in six rows, four in a row: but some say, they were four rows, and six in a row; and there they slew the sacrifices." These rings, or staples rather, were fixed down in the stones of the pavement; and either a bending hook was fastened to these staples, that they might bring the neck of the beast under and hold him fast; or they drew down the necks of the beasts to be slain, with cords to these staples, and there fastened them; and so they had them at command to slay them with facility. It is not much to be controverted, whether there were six rows of these rings, four in a row, or four rows with six rings in a row: this doth not much break the square, since the same number of rings and the same compass of ground remaineth still.

Here was the place, where they tied the sacrifices, till they were killed, and where they killed them: and this place is commonly called בית טבחים 'the place of the slaughter.' And to these rings "they tied the sacrifice with cords, till they were to offer him, and to sprinkle his blood on the horns of the altar," as the Chaldee paraphrast renders the twenty-seventh verse of the hundred and eighteenth Psalm.

Now^g, although the command was strict and express, that such and such sacrifices should be slain on the north side of the altar, Lev. i. 10, 11, &c; that is, in propriety, just between the altar and north wall of the court;—yet where there were many such sacrifices to be slain at once, so that this place of the rings was not able to contain them, then they killed them higher up in the court,—namely, in that space, that was between the altar and the porch;—but on the north side of it, as near as might be in the place parallel to this place of the rings. This matter is handled and decided in Tosaph^h, on the treatise Corbanoth, in these words: "Which is the north side of the altar, where it was fit to kill the most holy sacrifices? It was from the north

^e Mid. cap. 5.

^f Ibid. cap. 3.

^g English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2038.

^h Tosaph^h in Corbanoth, cap. 6.

side of the altar, to the north side of the court, even just over-against the altar, which was thirty cubits breadth. The words of Rabbi Meir; Rabbi Eliezer from Rabbi Simeon addeth the space from the altar to the porch, even to over-against the closets of the butchering-knives, which was twenty-two cubits. But Rabbi addeth the place, where the feet of the Israelites trod, which was eleven cubits broad, and one hundred eighty-and-seven cubits long; and the place where the feet of the priests trod, which was eleven cubits broad, and one hundred eighty-and-seven cubits long: מִקֵּי הַכּוֹתֵל הַצְּפוֹנִי וְעַד כּוֹתֵל הַדְּרוֹמִי from the side of the north wall, to the east wall of the court;" that is, along the north wall, from the west end of the court to the east; for so both the measure of one hundred eighty-and-seven cubits, which was the just length of the court, confirmeth,—and the same author, in the next following chapter, doth also illustrate in these words: "Rabbi Josi saithⁱ, All the altar may be understood for northward: as it is said, And he shall kill it on the side of the altar, northward, before the Lord. Rabbi Josi from Rabbi Judah saith, From the midst of the altar northward was as the north, and from the midst of the altar the other way was as the south. And so Rabbi Josi from Rabbi Judah saith also, There were two wickets in the house of the butchering-knives, opening towards the west, and eight cubits from the ground, so that the court might be fit for eating of the most holy things, and for the killing of the lesser holy sacrifices, even behind the oracle." From both which allegations taken up together, we may observe, 1. That the Israelites had a standing on the north side of the court as well as on the east; which though it was not, nor indeed could be, exactly eleven cubits broad, as was their station at the east end,—yet was it a station for them as well as that. And our author, when he speaketh of "the place, where the feet of the Israelites trod, of eleven cubits broad,—and of the place, where the feet of the priests trod, of eleven cubits broad,"—he meaneth not, that there was such a space for the Israelites and the priests to stand in, all along the north side of the court, as there was in the east;—but his meaning is this, that, when the sacrifices, to be slain on the north side of the altar, were exceeding many indeed, that rather than want room to kill them, they should

ⁱ Tosaphta in Corbauoth, cap. 7.

not only slay them in the Place of the Rings, but even in the standing of the priests and Israelites at the east end,—namely, so far on that ground, as lay even with that space, that was on the north side of the altar: and so might they use the like space all along the north side of the court for the same purpose, even to beyond the west end of the Temple. 2. That the house of the butchering-knives, called בית חליפות, was in that end of the porch, that pointed northward,—and that the doors thereof were behind the porch westward, even where the wing of the porch stood out more northerly than the breadth of the Temple and extended^m:—and there the going-up to these doors was by steps, even eight cubits high; and the reason why the doors were there, rather than in the front or the end of the porch, was, because the passage to them there, took up the least room, and was the least hinderance in the court.

Fourⁿ cubits from the north side of this place of the rings, there stood marble tables, upon which they washed the inwards of the sacrifice, and cut it up into pieces:—and four cubits farther north, there were the pillars, on which they hung up the sacrifice upon hooks, that so they might flea it. These pillars the Jews call נוסין which Aruch^o interprets עמודים קצרים “Pillars low or shorty:”—it may seem the word is taken from the Latin *nanus*; and so the treatise Parah^p speaketh of a red cow נוסת “low and small,” “*nana et minuta*.” Now these pillars were not those, that supported the cloister on this north side of the court;—but low pillars, set by these or joining to them, eight^q in number; over the heads of which were laid transom-beams of cedar, and hooks of iron fastened both in these beams and in the pillars, on which hooks they hanged up the beast slain for sacrifice, that they might the better come at him to flea him. The pillars had, every one of them, three hooks in them, one above another, that they might be fit for beasts of several bignesses and sizes. And before these pillars, or, rather, before the space that was between the pillars (so that one might easily pass between), stood the marble tables, on which, after that they had given the entrails of the beasts their first washing, in the Washing Room mentioned before, they

^m *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 640.

ⁿ *Midd. cap. 5.*

^o Aruch in נוס

^p Parah, cap. 2.

^q *Mid. cap. 3. Tamid, cap. 3. Pesachin, cap. 5.*

washed and dressed them a second time, and made them fit and fair for the altar; and on which, after they had flayed the beast as he hanged upon the hooks, they cut him in pieces, according as he was to be cut and divided for his laying on the altar to be offered up.

From^p these low pillars to the north wall of the court, were eight cubits; and this was the place and space for Israel's standing on this side the court: for though these pillars, spoken of, did not bear up the cloister, under which the people stood,—yet did they stand so even or close to those pillars that did,—that from these pillars we may, and the Jews do, count and measure the space of the Israelites' station on this side, and it was three cubits narrower than their standing at the east end. Thus was the space taken up, that was between the altar, and the north side of the court. Now let us come to view the space on the other side of the altar towards the south: where first the *כַּבֵּשׂ* *causeway* or *rise*, that went up to the altar, took up two-and-thirty cubits: even just as much space on this side, as there was betwixt the altar and the farther side of the place of the rings on the other. But here a question may not improperly be moved out of the arithmetic of the Talmudics about the measure of the altar, and the *rise* of it, which they hold out: for they say expressly, that^q the altar was two-and-thirty cubits square, and that^r the rise on the south side was two-and-thirty cubits long; and yet summing up both together, they say that^s the altar and the rise were but sixty-two cubits: whereas, according to the two particulars named, they should be sixty-four. But the reason of the account is from this,—either because they reckon the length of the Causeway or Rise, not from the outside of the foundation of the altar, but from the narrowing of the altar above the circuit: for thither did the causeway bring them and land them there, as the ordinary place of their service, when they went to besprinkle the horns of the altar with the blood of the sacrifices:—or else, because they reckon not the two first cubits of the rise, or the very entrance upon it, it being so flat and near to the ground, as that there was so much of the rise gone, before there was any stepping off to the bridge, that went to the foundation of the altar. And yet, though they do sometime

^p *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2039.

^q *Mid. cap. 3.*

^r *Ibid.*

^s *Ibid. cap. 5.*

account thus of the altar and the Rise, that they took up but sixty-two cubits, yet, in distributing the one hundred thirty-and-seven cubits of the court's breadth into particular spaces, they then allow, as they cannot do otherwise, thirty cubits to the altar, and as many to the rise: for the particulars are thus (that we may sum them again):—

From the north wall to the pillars	8 cubits.
The place of the marble tables	4 cubits.
From these tables to the space of the rings	4 cubits.
The space of the rings itself	24 cubits.
From the rings to the altar	8 cubits.
The altar itself	32 cubits.
The rise or causeway	32 cubits.
From the rise to the south wall	25 cubits.
In all, 137 cubits.	

Now these five-and-twenty cubits, which were between the foot of the *rise* and the south wall, is given account of by the treatise Middoth, in these words: והמותר בין הכבש והמזבח “ And the residue of space, which was between the rise and the fall, was also a place of low pillars.”

There were some sacrifices slain on the south side of the altar, as well as these that have been mentioned, were on the north. There were sacrifices, which were^t called קדשי הקדשים ‘The Holy of Holies,’ or ‘the Most Holy Sacrifices,’ and those were the burnt-offering, sin-offering, and trespass-offering, and others reckoned before; and these were indispensably tied to be slain on the north side of the altar, or at least on the north side of the court, as hath been spoken. And there were offerings, which were called קלים קדשים “The Lesser Holy things;” and these might be slain in any part of the court, and were not bound to that side: as, תודה ואיל נזיר קדשים קלים “Thanksgiving-offerings and the Nazarites’ ram, which were lesser Holy offerings, were slain in any place of the court. Peace-offerings, which were of the lesser Holy things, were also slain in any part of the court,—and so were the firstlings, the tenths, and the Passover, which were also reckoned as lesser Holy things.” Now, although they speak of any part of the court, as permitted to slay the sacrifices in,—yet most especially have they reference to the south side of the altar in opposition to the north,—and the south side understood in that

^t *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 641.

^u *Zevachin*, cap. 5.

latitude, as the north side was, when extremity and multitude of sacrifices put them to it. For when the sacrifices were no more, than what could be killed within the very compass between the north side of the altar and the north wall of the court, they were slain there; but when numerousness of sacrifices urged^x, all the north side of the court from east to west ends, and as far south as to the middle of the altar, was used to slay the beasts in,—and all that, was accounted as the north. So on the south side of the altar, there were marble tables and low pillars for the very same use, that there were on the other side of the altar, namely, for the flaying, and cutting-up and washing the entrails of the sacrifices; but when^y greater store came, than that very space just between the altar and the south wall would contain,—then all the south side of the court was permitted for that use, even as far as the middle of the altar betwixt north and south.

The five-and-twenty cubits' space, therefore, that we are to give account of, between the south wall of the court, and the foot of the rise of the altar,—were thus parcelled:—1. There were eight cubits from the court wall to the pillars, as there were on the north side; and this was the breadth of the cloister, and the standing of Israel, on that side the court. 2. The disposal of the tables, as on the other side before the pillars, took up four cubits. 3. And then the thirteen cubits, between these and the foot of the altar-rise, was partly (as is probable) taken up with some rings, as on the north side, though not so many,—for they needed not; and partly, with some plain pavement next to the rise, that the priests might have access to it the better.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Space between the Altar and the Porch.

THE altar stood before the gate or entrance of the porch, that gave access into the Temple, and the space between the foundation of the altar and the foundation of the porch^z, was two-and-twenty cubits. But there was not so much clear ground or plain pavement and passage between them; for the stairs of the porch being in number twelve, and every

^x Zevachin, cap. 6.

^y English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2040.

^z Mid. cap. 3.

step a cubit broad, besides the half pace or enlarging at every third step, caused that these steps lay down a great way in the court towards the altar : and took up a good space of these two-and-twenty cubits. Every one of these steps was half a cubit high ; and thereupon the whole rise ariseth to be six cubits from the ground to the landing in the porch ; so that he that stood in the porch-gate, his feet stood even and level, with his feet, that stood upon the circuit of the altar : upon^a these steps of the porch the priests stood, when they came out from burning incense, and blessed the people.

As concerning the space betwixt the porch and altar, these things are remarkable about it :—

1. That^b “ no man might come upon this space, that had any blemish upon him, nor any man might come here bare-headed.” The reason of the former restraint is easy to be apprehended, because of the holiness of the place, being so near both to the altar and the Temple : and the reason of the latter is, because, in their greatest devotions, they used to cover their head ; and, therefore, none might come bare-headed into so devout a place.

2. That no man might stand upon this space, or stay within it, while the priest was burning incense in the Holy Place. “ For^c whilst they burned incense in the Temple every day, all the people departed from the Temple ; so that, between the Temple and the altar, there was not a man, till he that burned incense, came forth. And so at the time that the high-priest went in with the blood of the sin-offering, which was to be sprinkled within, all the people withdrew from between the altar and the Temple, till he came forth again.” And because they might know the time when to withdraw from this space at the daily incense, the sagan, or president of the service, called to the priest that was within the Holy Place, with a loud voice, and gave him notice, when he should begin with the incense, saying to him, “ Offer the incense ;” and as he spake thus, the people withdrew. The reason of this custom I shall not be curious^d to look after : but whether the ceremony did not fitly resemble, how far distant all men are from having any share with Christ in his intercession, which the offering of the incense resembled, be it left to the reader to consider.

^a Tamid, cap. 7.

^b Kelim, cap. 1.

^c Maim. in Tamid, in cap. 3.

^d Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 642.

3. In this space between the Temple and the altar, was the murder committed upon Zacharias the son of Barachias, as our Saviour mentioneth, Matt. xxiii. 35.

Now there are various conjectures, who this Zacharias should be: some think of Zechariah the prophet, whose book of prophecy we have in the Old Testament:—some suppose it might be John Baptist's father: and some conceive, that Christ speaketh there predictively, foretelling that they should slay Zechariah, the son of Baruch, in the Temple, the story of which Josephus giveth, in lib. 4. de Bell. cap. 19. But the Talmudists do help us to understand it of Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, who was stoned by the people in this place in the days of king Joash, 2 Chron. xxiv. Why he is called 'the son of *Barachias*,' and not 'the son of *Jehoiada*,' is not a place here to dispute: the Jerusalem Talmud hath this story concerning his slaughter, which may give us cause to think, that our Saviour spake according^e to the common received opinion: and was understood to mean Zechariah the son of *Jehoiada*, though, for special reason, he calleth him the son of *Barachias*; " Rab. Jochanan saith^f, Eighty thousand young priests were slain for Zacharias's blood. R. Jordan asked R. Aha, Where slew they Zacharias? in the Court of the Women, or in the Court of Israel? He saith to him, Not in the Court of Israel, nor in the Court of the Women, but in the Court of the Priests, &c. And seven transgressions did Israel transgress that day: they slew a priest, a prophet, a judge, shed innocent blood, and defiled the court, and the sabbath, which was also the day of expiation. And when Nebuzar-adan came thither, he saw the blood bubbling. He saith to them, What meaneth this? They said to him, It is the blood of bullocks, and rams, and lambs, which we have offered upon the altar. Presently, he brought bullocks, and rams, and lambs, and killed them; and as yet the blood bubbled or reeked above theirs. And when they confessed not, he hanged them up. They said, The Lord is pleased to require his blood at our hands. They say to him, It is the blood of a priest and prophet and judge, who prophesied to us concerning all that thou hast done to us, and we stood up against him and slew him. Presently, he brought eighty thousand young priests, and slew them: and still the blood bubbled: then he was angry at it, and said to it, What

^e English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2041.

^f Talm. Jerus. in Taanith, fol. 69.

wouldest thou have? that all the people should perish for thee? Presently, the holy blessed God was filled with compassion and said, What! is this man, that is but flesh and blood, filled with pity towards my children, and shall not I be much more? Of whom it is written, For the Lord thy God is a merciful God, he will not forsake thee nor destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers. Presently, he gave a sign to the blood, and it was swallowed up in the place. R. Jochanan saith, The eighty thousand young priests fled to the midst of the chambers of the sanctuary, and they were all burnt; and of all them, none was left but Joshua the son of Jozedeck: as it is written, 'Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?' Zech. iii. 2."

In this space between the altar and the porch, there stood the laver, but not directly before the altar, but removed towards the south, so that it stood betwixt the rise of the altar and the porch; as we shall observe in the viewing of it by and by. But the Talmud speaketh of a vessel, which by its relation appeareth to have lain directly betwixt porch and altar, which it calleth Migrephah; but what to English it, is not very ready.

The treatise Tamid^s speaketh thus of it: "They" (that were to go into the Temple to burn incense, and to dress the lamps) "came between the porch and the altar; one of them taketh the Migrephah, and rings it between the porch and the altar; one man could not hear another speak in Jerusalem, because of the sound of the Migrephah. It served for three things: the priest, that heard the sound of it, knew, that his brethren the priests were gone in to worship, and he ran and came. A Levite, that heard the sound of it, knew that his brethren the Levites were gone in to sing, and he ran and came. And the chief of the Stationary-men brought them that had been unclean, and set them in the gate of Nicanor." Now what kind of thing this Migrephah was, I find but little light towards an exact resolution. Some^h say it was a great vessel, which they rang to make a sound; but of what fashion, and whether for any other use also, they leave uncertain.

The Chaldee renders יעים by מגרופיתא, in Exod. xxxviii. 3, &c. which seemeth to be the same word with this that we are about; and so he understands it to mean some of the

^s Tamid, cap. 5.

^h Gloss. in Mishnaioth, ib.

fire-shovels, that belonged to the altar,—which, being either rung upon, or shoved upon the pavement, would make a loud noise, being of brass, and very big.

The Jews, upon the sound of this, and divers other things at the Temple, do hyperbolize thusⁱ:—“ Even from Jericho^j they heard the noise of the great gate of the Temple, when it opened. From Jericho they heard the ringing of the Migrephah. From Jericho, they heard the noise of the engine, that Ben Kattin made for the laver. From Jericho, they heard the voice of the crier, that called them to their services. From Jericho, they heard the sound of the pipe. From Jericho, they heard the sound of the cymbal. From Jericho, they heard the sound of the song. From Jericho, they heard the sound of the trumpets. And some say also, The voice of the high-priest, when he uttered the name Jehovah, on the day of expiation,” &c. The truth of which things is not to be pleaded, seeing it is apparent that they are uttered by way of hyperbole: only it may not be improper to observe, how common the phrase was, “ From Jerusalem to Jericho,” which is also used in Luke x. 30.

CHAP. XXXVII^k.

Concerning the Vessels and Utensils of the Temple.

SECT. I. *The Laver.* כִּיֹּר

THE first command of making the laver, and the end of its being made, is related in Exod. xxx. 18—20, &c, in these words; “ Thou shalt make a laver of brass and his foot of brass, to wash withal; and thou shalt put it between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar; and thou shalt put water therein; for Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat, when they go into the tabernacle of the congregation; they shall wash with water, that they die not, or when they come near the altar to minister,” &c.

And the making of it is related in Exod. xxxviii. 8; “ He made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the looking-glasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.” The measures and the receipt of it are not at all described: the Holy Ghost hath left it undetermined, what was the form or the size of it; but hath given notice only of the materials of

ⁱTamid, cap. 3.

^j Leusden's edition, vol. 1, p. 643.

^k English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2042.

it and the end: it was made of the brazen looking-glasses of the women, that assembled at the door of the tabernacle. The Septuagint expresseth it, "of the fasting-women, which fasted at the door of the tabernacle;" reading אֲבֹתָיִם for אֲבֹתָיִם: the Jerusalem Targum, with which also Jonathan's agrees, reads it, "of the looking-glasses of the modest women, which were modest at the door of the tabernacle:"—which Aben Ezra's gloss upon the place helps us to understand thus; "It is the custom of all women (saith he) to look at their faces in looking-glasses every morning, either of brass or glass, that they may see to dress their heads: but behold, there were women in Israel that served the Lord, that departed from this worldly delight, and gave away their glasses as a free-will-offering; for they had no more use of them; but they came, every day, to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to pray and hear the words of the commandments." The end of it was to wash the hands and feet of the priests; but the most ultimate end was to signify the washing and purifying by the Spirit of grace, which is so oft called *water* in the Scripture. And so the sprinkling of the blood of the sacrifice, and the washing in the water of the laver, did read the two great divinity lectures, of washing by the blood of Christ from guilt, and by the grace of God from filthiness and pollution.

The size and measure of the laver, at the second Temple, is not described neither; only we have these things recorded of it in the antiquities of the Hebrew writers:—

1. That it stood between the altar and the porch, as the primitive appointment was, Exod. xxx. 18, but not just and directly between them, but כּוּשָׁן בְּלַפֵּי הַדְרֹמָה "a little aside towards the south¹." And the reason given for the placing of it there, is this^m;—"Because it is said, And the altar of burnt-offering at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation: meaning, that the altar was to be before the tabernacle of the congregation, and the laver not to be before the tabernacle of the congregation, but it was set a little aside towards the south."

2. That, at the first, it had but two spouts, or cocks, out of which the water ran, at which they washed; but that, in after-times, "Ben Kattin" made twelve spouts or cocks to

¹ Mid. cap. 3. sect. 6.

^m R. Sol. in Exod. xxx. ex Zeyachin.

ⁿ Joma, cap. 3.

it," דר"ב as the Misna recordeth in the treatise Joma: it calleth the cocks דר"ב *paps*, "because (saith Aruch^o) they were as the paps of a woman, and water ran out of them, at which they washed their hands." And so Rabbi Solomon^p, charactering the laver, saith, "It was like a great caldron, and it had paps" (or cocks), "that voided water out of their mouths." Now the Gemara of the Babylon Talmud upon the Misna cited, disputing the case why Ben Kattin should make twelve spouts to it, they resolve it thus;—"That the tradition was, that he made so many, that the twelve priests his brethren, which had to do with the daily sacrifice, might wash themselves at it altogether." We observe in its due place, that there were so many priests employed about the offering-up of the daily sacrifice, some for one part of the service, and some for another: therefore, this Ben Kattin, being a priest himself, did so provide, that these many priests, that were to be employed together, might also stand and wash together:—and by this, that so many might wash together at the several cocks of it, it appeareth to be a vessel of great reception and capacity.

3. There^a is frequent mention, among the Talmudics, of an appurtenance^r to the laver, which they call מוכני כיוור, which before we can English, will cost some inquiry. The Misna, even now cited, recordeth, that as Ben Kattin made the cocks for the laver, so also that "he made מוכני לכיוור the *mukene* to the laver, that the water of it might not be unclean by standing all night." And so in the treatise Tamid^s, where it is discoursing of the priest that should cleanse the altar, going to wash his hands and feet at the laver, it saith, "That his fellows heard the sound of the wood, which Ben Kattin made, the *mukene* for the laver." The Gemara upon the former place disputes "מאי מוכני, what^t is the mukene? Rabba saith, It is a wheel." And so saith Aruch, "פירוש הוא מוכני גלגל הוא The^u meaning of mukene is a wheel." Now, in what place and to what use this wheel was, is now all the question: some^v say, "it was to let down the laver into the well," to fill it with water, or to let it lie in the well all night: and so there is speech in the treatise Zevachin^w, of "drawing

^o Aruch in דר"ב ^p R. Sol. ubi supra. ^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2043.

^r Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 644.

^s Tamid, cap. 1. sect. 4.

^t Joma, fol. 37.

^u Aruch in מכנה

^v Gloss. in Mishnaioth in Tamid. vid. Maim. in Biath Mikd. cap. 5.

^w Zevach. cap. 2. fol. 18.

and fetching up the laver out of the molten sea, which Solomon made; for it was let down into that all night, lest the water of it should be polluted by standing all night in it."

But when we observe, the greatness of this laver, that we are speaking of, under the second Temple, at which, as hath been related, twelve men might stand round and wash together;—and when we consider, that there was no well near to the place, where the laver stood, by divers paces;—it will appear a thing unimaginable, that one priest should let down the laver into the well, and fetch it up again full of water: for the treatise Tamid makes the dealing with the *mukene* of the laver (be it what it will) to be but one priest's work. I do not remember that I have read of what matter the laver of the second Temple was made, whether of brass, or stone, conduit-like: for to hold it of wood is very unsuitable to the exceeding great stateliness of the Temple in other things. Yet were it of wood, it would have been a very hard task for any one man to manage it in that manner, as they do a bucket in a well,—be the engine of Ben Kattin's making never so active, and cunningly contrived. And therefore Maimonides^x leaves it as a thing of doubtfulness, about letting it down into the well; "for (saith he) they let it down into a gathering of waters, or into the well, and on the morrow drew it up, or they filled it every day in the morning."

Therefore, by the *mukene* of the laver, I see not what else can be understood, than some contrival either found out, or at least the cost of it discharged, by Ben Kattin the priest,—whereby water was drawn up, and forced by the wheel in the well-room, in some singular conveyance to fill the laver, when there was occasion. Not that the laver was stirred out of its place, or needed any such removal; but, as it is known by common experience, water by the working of a wheel was carried in pipes into it at pleasure. So that whereas the standing of the water in it all night, did make that water useless and unlawful for that end, that the water of the laver was to serve unto,—it either was evacuated over night, when the work of the day was done; or, if it stood all night, it was let out in the morning by the priest, that was to do the first work of the day,—namely, who was to cleanse the burnt-offering altar of its ashes: and he had no more to do to fill the laver again, but only to go into the well-room, and there to

^x Maim. ubi sup.

draw at the wheel a while, and that brought up water by conveyances into it. So that now to give an English translation to the word מִקְנֵה *mukene*, we may very well call it the *engine* of the laver; and so doth Rabbi Nathan^y give us some encouragement to do, when he tells us that it is a Greek word; and I suppose he means the Greek word Μηχανή, ‘*Machina*,’ an engine.

4. There was never to be so little water in the laver, but that it might be sufficient to wash four priests a-row; and the reason of this tradition Baal Turim^z would derive from this, because the word מְצַוָּה, which is used for this washing, Exod. xxx. 18, is observed, by the Masoreth, to be used in all four times. But a reason something more rational is given by others^a, and that is this; “Because it is said, ‘And Aaron and his sons shall wash thereat;’ now these were four, Aaron, Eleazar, Ithamar, and Phinehas.”

5. Their manner of washing at the laver, was thus^b:—He laid his right hand upon his right foot, and his left hand upon his left foot,—and the cock or spout running upon them, he thus stood stooping, and washed hands and feet together. And he that went about the service with unwashed hands and feet in the morning, was liable to death by the hand of Heaven. And none might enter into the court to do the service there, till he hath bathed, yea, though he were clean. And, in the service, he must stand upon the bare pavement; so that here was exceeding hard and bitter service all the winter, when he must bathe his body in cold water before he enter,—and wash hands and feet in cold water, being entered,—and stand in thin linen and on the cold stones all the while he was there.

SECT. II^c.

Solomon's ten Lavers, 1 Kings vii.

It is not much important to question and search, whether the laver, made by Moses in the wilderness, escaped the fate of time, and survived to be set up in Solomon's Temple, as some Jews assert^d; but^e it is pertinent to observe, that were it, or were it not, Solomon made exceeding great provision

^y Aruch, ubi sup.

^a Masim. ubi sup.

^c *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2044.

^z Baal hatturim in Exod. xxx.

^b Id. ibid. R. Sol. in Exod. xxx.

^d Vid. D. Kimch. in 2 Chron. iv.

^e *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 645.

in that case, and to that end, for which the laver was ordained; and as in all other particulars of the Temple, he showed and provided for magnificence, as well as he did for necessary use and for conveniences,—so in this provision for water for the occasions of the Temple, he did not only take care for abundance, but he did it with that cost and sumptuousness, that only himself, in the other things he did, can show a parallel. I believe neither any story, nor any founder's art, did, or will, ever show such master-pieces of workmanship in that skill and in that metal, as were his lavers and his molten sea: and the Holy Ghost hath been as copious and precise in the description of these two, but especially of the former, as in any piece of art or workmanship, especially of that bigness, in all the Scripture.

The great addition that Solomon made to the first pattern, in the number of candlesticks, show-bread tables, and lavers, was not only in state neither,—but something in figure seemeth to have gone along with it; namely, that there might be signified the abundance of light, bread of life, and purifying, that was to be exhibited in and by him, whom the Temple did represent: and as Moses's single parcels did hold out a signification of these things themselves,—so his decuplated number did hold out the happy abundance of them to be found in Him that is all light, life, and holiness.

The lavers, ten in number, and all of one mould, size, and fashion, were for the washing of the parts of the sacrifices, that were to be washed, as the sea was for the bathing of the priests. Their situation was five, on either side of the court, over-against the altar and place of slaughtering, as evenly and conveniently as they could be set. For howsoever some of the Hebrew doctors have been of a mind, that all the ten tables of show-bread that Solomon made, stood on one side of the house, and the table that Moses made just in the midst of them, and the like by the ten candlesticks and the ten lavers,—yet is the text so plain about the lavers, that they were placed five on the one side of the house, and five on the other, 1 Kings vii. 39, that it doth not only put the matter out of all doubt for them, but it doth confirm the like for the two other sufficiently, if there were no other confirmation.

The fashion of every one of the lavers (for, by any one of

^f Vid. D. Kimch. in 2 Chron. iv.

them, you may view all the rest) is described by the Holy Ghost to this purpose:—

First, There was a flat piece of brass, of a very great size for length, breadth, and thickness, borne upon four wheels: such pieces are not to be seen in these our days; and it is great odds, that no days have showed such but only these: for every piece is said to be “four cubits long, and four cubits broad, and three cubits high:” and since in the world we cannot find a piece of brass to parallel them withal, we must compare them to something of another material; and so let us liken them, for proportion, to a stone or marble table of these dimensions. The Septuagint (by what misprision, it is hard to tell) have made the length of every one of them five cubits, and the height six; and so Josephus^g, who constantly followeth them, hath followed their error.—Upon which mistake we shall not spend time: that, that Rabbi Solomon^h giveth occasion to scruple at, is better worth looking after, and that is,—whether, when the text saith, that ‘the height of every piece was three cubits,’ it mean that it was so thick;—or that the upperside of it was so far from the ground, as it lay upon the wheels. Of these two things the latter seemeth to be the more probable, upon these two considerations:—

1. Because it is not said, the *thickness*, but the *height*, of it was three cubits; as showing that it meaneth not the massy thickness of the piece, but that, as it stood supporting the laver, the surface of it was so high from the ground.

2. There was no need of so vast a thickness, either for the weight that it was to carry, or for the sumptuousness that it was to bear; but half such a thickness would more than abundantly discharge both the one and the other. And therefore the conception of our Rabbin is very probable, and not unfit to be entertained, and that is,—that whereas the wheels are said to be a cubit and a half high, ver. 32, it is not to be understood of the full height of the ring of the wheel, but of the height from the ground to the axle-tree, or laying-on of this massy piece of brass; and that this piece was a cubit and a half thick itself; and so the surface of it lay three cubits high from the ground.

Theseⁱ huge pieces of brass are called by the original

^g Jos. Antiq. l. 8. cap. 2.

^h R. Sol. in 1 Kings, vii.

ⁱ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2045.

מכונות (which word the Seventy and Josephus reserve in the Greek, and write it Μεχωνῶθ); which our English hath well rendered, a *base*,—and so hath the Chaldee בסיסא by the very Greek word Βάσις. For as, when Moses was commanded to make the laver, he was also commanded to make את כנו *his base*, Exod. xxx. 8 (which our English hath translated, his *foot*; not to be conceived a long leg or shank, whereon the laver stood, but some flat massy piece of brass whereupon it was to sit),—so, for the setting and settling of these lavers, this base, of this size and description, was מושב כיר, as the Rabbins^k style it, a *seat* or *settle* for the laver to rest upon.

Now, whereas it is said, that every base had four brazen wheels, ver. 30,—it is not to be so taken, as to apprehend that they stood two and two on a side, as our coach-wheels or waggon-wheels do; but, as the base was square, so there was a wheel on every side the square. And this appeareth at ver. 32; where it is related, that the wheels were under the borders: and we shall observe by and by, that the borders were on every side. The wheels, that Ezekiel saw in his vision, chap. i, were placed in the like posture, namely, standing square, and not one edging before another.

Thus lay the base upon his wheels. And now, for the working of it unto its completeness,—we are, first, to observe two rows of brazen staves or bars, but not very long, molten of the same piece with the base, standing up, one row upon the very edge of it round about, and the other standing a little more inward, and that but a very little, upon it. These are those, that the text calleth שלבים, and which word almost all the learned in the language, both Jews and Christians, do say doth signify בדים כמין חונקי סולם “staves or bars set in rows, like the staves of a ladder;” and which, if I may make so homely a comparison, I may resemble to the staves of a cart standing on either side it, save that this had staves all about, and these too in a double^l row, whereas a cart hath but single.

Between this double row of staves, there was a border or board of brass, if I may so term it, put between, and stood up between them all about upon every side of the square, upon which border were engraven the representations of oxen, lions, and palm-trees. This border, in the original, is

^k R. Levi Gerson et D. Kimch. in 1 Kings, vii.

^l Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 646.

called *מסגרות*, and that in the plural number; not because the row of the bordering was doubled, as the row of staves; but because the one border went about upon every side of the square: and under the border on every side stood a wheel.

At the foot of the staves and border,—namely, upon the very edge of the base outward, there were large shelves of brass laid round about, not level, as our shelves, that we set any thing upon, stand against a wall, but sloping and descending much after the manner as weather-boards are laid over windows to put off the rains. The Hebrew text calleth these *מסגרות מעשה לוי* “appendices made in a descending manner,” rendered by the Italian, our English, and some of the Rabbins, “additions made of thin work.” The use of these shelves or additions, was, that upon them the priests might wash what they had to wash,—and the filth, by reason of the slopiness of the shelves or benches, might still run off. For the washing of the parts of the sacrifice, was not in the laver itself, but in water running out of the laver in cocks and spouts, which ran upon these benches or shelves; and they cast the water, both from off the edges of the base, and from off the wheels, which stood under them as under a covert.

At the head of the rows of the staves, there was *בן ממעל* a “base above,” ver. 29; that is, some rest or settle edging inward, upon which the sides of the laver did rest, as it sat down into its base. David Kimchi conceiveth, that it may mean a *bench*, or rest, *שהוא מושבין בו קצתו* “whereon to set a tankard,” or some lesser vessel, by which they took water out of the laver: but if it be considered, how high it was to the top of the laver, this will be found a very improbable way for getting of water out of it; and necessity itself will enforce us to conclude, that the water, they had out of it, they had at cocks. This “upper rest,” or base, was gathered into a circle or coronet, which is called a *chapter* in our English, and *כתרת* in the original,—of a cubit and a half over: and about this circular edge, as near as it would bear a square, a square bordering was set, engraven as those below; and so the laver bottom being set in this coronet, it stood raised two degrees, or ascents of bordering, above the base. This bordering above the coronet was a cubit high, and the laver bottom for height was but of the breadth of a cubit and a

half over; but then it flowered over and dilated itself so, as that it lay over the upper bordering, and that it sat upon and over the lower bordering and the staves, and came out even with the edges of the base; and this spreading of it out is called its *mouth*, ver. 31. And so we may observe, that the laver was round in the bottom and square in the top (we shall observe the just contrary in the molten sea); and at the four corners of the base, with which the four corners of the laver pointed and flowered even, there were square brazen pillars, molten with the base itself, and of one piece with it,—the feet of which stood upon the ground, and their heads stood under the points of the laver to bear it up, and to^m keep it steady. These pillars are called כְּתוּפֹת, 'shoulders' in the text; and they are said to be מַעְבְּרֵי אִישׁ לְיָמָא "at the side of every one of the sloping shelves," because, at their joining to the base, these shelves joined to it also; and, at every corner of it, these shelves were jointed to these pillars, and their ends rested upon them. Now, the feet of these pillars stood not upon the very ground; but there was a square of brazen planks cast also with the rest, which lay on the ground, upon which these pillars and the wheels stood; and these the Hebrew calleth סָרְנִים, which the Chaldee and the Rabbins do explain by another word of the very same letters, but transposed, נִסְרִים *boards*, or *planks*.

And now let us take up the text, that containeth this story about the lavers, in a paraphrase, verse by verse along with it, and as near the words of it as we can, for the better understanding of the description,—which is as copious as the description of any so little a piece in all the Bible, and as abstruse as the description of any piece whatsoever, great or little.

1 Kings, vii. 27: "And he made ten bases of brass; four cubits was the length of every base, and four cubits the breadth, and three cubits the height of the surface of it from the ground.

Ver. 28: And this in the work of every base: they had borders, and the borders were within rows of staves

Ver. 29: And upon the borders, that were within the rows of staves, there were lions, and oxen, and cherubims: and upon the head of the rows of staves, there was another base or settle: and at the foot of the staves, or below the

^m English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2046.

lions and oxen, there were additional boards set in a slope and descending fashion.

Ver. 30: And every base had four wheels of brass, and planks of brass; and the four corners of it had shouldering pillars; the pillars were cast to be under the laver, at the side of every one of the additional boards.

Ver. 31: And the mouth of the laver, that is, the spreading and dilating of itself into its full square, was from within the circular coronet that the upper base made, even from a cubit above it: and the mouth of that coronet was round like a base, a cubit and a half over: and also about the mouth of it, engravings and borderings stood up a cubit high, but set about it in a square, and not in a circle.

Ver. 32: And the four wheels were on the four sides under the borders: and the axle-trees of the wheels were joined to the baseⁿ, and the height of a wheel to the base, was a cubit and a half.

Ver. 33: And the work of the wheels was like the work of a chariot-wheel: their axle-trees, and their naves, and their felloes, and their spokes all molten.

Ver. 34: And there were four shouldering pillars at the four corners of every base; these shouldering pillars were of the base itself.

Ver. 35: And on the top of the base, even at half a cubit height above the surface of it (so high were the rows of staves), there was the round compass of the coronet of the upper settle: and on the top of the base, the staves and the borders that were there, were of one piece with itself.

Ver. 36: And he graved upon the plates of the staves and upon the borders thereof, cherubims, oxen, and palm-trees, according to the proportion of every one: and there were so on the sloping shelves round about.

Ver. 37: And he made ten lavers of brass: one laver contained forty baths, and every laver was four cubits square: and upon every of the ten bases was one laver."

SECT. III.

The Molten Sea.

It was an equal wonder of art, that so great and vast a vessel as the molten sea should be cast,—and that, when it

ⁿ *Leusden's édition*, vol. 1. p. 647.

was cast, it should be got up from the plain of Jordan, where it was cast, to the Temple. Being brought thither, it was set upon twelve brazen oxen, at the east end of the court of the priests, towards the north-east corner.

The dimensions and contents of it are thus accounted by the Book of Kings; "It was ten cubits from the one brim to the other, it was round all about, and his height was five cubits, and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about: and it contained *two thousand baths*," 1 Kings vii. 23. 26: with which account the Book of Chronicles doth agree exactly in every point but only in the last, and there it differeth exceedingly, for it saith, "it contained *three thousand baths*," 2 Chron. iv. 5. Now, that difference breedeth no small difficulty how to reconcile it: and that is not all the difficulty in this story of the molten sea neither; for it is not easy to cast, how so small a compass (though it was indeed a huge compass for one vessel) should contain so great a quantity of water. The *bath* of the Hebrews, which was the greatest liquid measure that they^o had in use, was, within a very little (a pint or such a thing), even and equal with the receipt of our English bushel, or eight gallons. Now, how a vessel of but five cubits deep and of ten cubits from side to side, should contain three thousand baths, or near upon twenty-four thousand gallons of water,—is of some difficulty to imagine. The cubit in this vessel, is to be taken parallel to its measure in other vessels and parts of the Temple; and so that particular will help nothing to a resolution. The Jews have deservedly taken this scruple into their consideration and dispute; and the conclusion that they have made upon the doubt and debate, is this; that^p "this sea was square in the bottom for three cubits high, and every side of the square was ten cubits broad; and so the whole was forty cubits about:" and this squareness they go about to prove from the oxen's standing in a square facing under it,—in which opinion they are far different from their countryman Josephus^q, for he saith, that the sea was *εις ημισφαίριον εσχηματισμένον*, "fashioned in form of a hemisphere," or half a globe;—which, if I understand aright, doth augment the scruple that we are upon. And they say withal, that the

^o English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2047.

^p Talm. in Erubim cap. in Gemar. et R. Sol. et Kimoh. in 1 Kings, vii.

^q Joseph. Ant. lib. 8. cap. 2.

upper part of it, namely, for the height of the two upper cubits, it was round, and they, contracting into the round and circular form, did so much take-in the compass which lay out in the four corners of the quadrangle below, that now it was but thirty cubits about, according as the text saith, that "a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about." In which assertion, although they speak that which is uncouth, and not ordinarily apprehended upon this matter,—yet is their dispute so rational, if it should particularly be given at length, that if it be not found on the sudden worth the believing, yet certainly is the matter very well worth the considering, and so be it left to consideration.

Now as for the difference, which is between the Book of Kings and the Book of Chronicles, about the contents of this vessel (which is a doubt more obvious and conspicuous to the eye), whilst one saith, it contained *two* thousand baths, and the other, *three* thousand,—the answer that is given generally by the Hebrew writers, may be some satisfaction,—which is, that of liquid it contained but two thousand baths, but, of dry things, that would lie heaped above the brim, it would hold three; though, I believe, there is more in it. The molten sea was for the priests' washing themselves in it against they went about the service, 2 Chron. iv. 6. Now their washing being twofold, either of their hands and feet, or of their whole bodies, this vessel served for both, but in diverse manner. Their hands and feet they washed in the water, that ran out by some cocks and spouts out of it; but for the washing or bathing of their bodies, they went down into the vessel itself. Now had it been always full of water to the brim, it had been too deep for them to stand in, and would hazard their drowning; therefore there was such a gauge set by cocks or pipes running out continually, that the water was kept at such a height, as should serve for their purpose abundantly, and yet should not at all endanger their persons. And so may we very well reconcile the difference in question by supposing, that the text, that saith that "it contained *two*^p thousand baths," meaneth, the common and constant quantity of water that was in it, that was fit and served for their washing;—and the other, that saith, "it contained three thousand baths," meaneth, that it would hold so much being filled up to the brim.

About the body of this huge vessel, there were two borders of engraving, the work of which the Book of Kings calleth פקיעים; which the Chaldee and the Jews interpret *ovals*, but the Book of Chronicles calleth them *oxen*: not in their full proportion, but the heads only, and the rest in an oval, instead of the body. And it is conceived by some, that, out of these heads, or out of some of them, the water issued forth, they being made as cocks or conveyances for that purpose.

The supply of water to these huge vessels (and that so abundantly that they were not only always full, but continually ran out, and yet were full still) was from the well Etam, of which we have spoken before. And the Jerusalem Talmud, in the treatise Joma, speaking particularly of this molten sea, and how it was for the priests to bathe their bodies in, against they came to the service,—it proposeth this question^a: “But is it not a vessel? Yes, but Rabbi Jehoshua the son of Levi saith, אמת המים מושבת לו מעין עיטם, A pipe of water cometh into it out of the well Etam.” The meaning of the dispute is this; it was not lawful to bathe for purification in a vessel, but in a gathering of waters upon the ground; and how then might the priests bathe in the molten sea, which was a vessel? To this Rabbi Joshua giveth this satisfaction, That the sea was, as it were, a spring of water; for water ran into it continually out of the well Etam; and accordingly water ran continually out of it.

SECT. IV^r.

Basins, Chargers, Dishes, &c. King Ptolemy's and Queen Helen's Tables.

It is not to be imagined, that either the numbers, or the names, or the several fashions, or the several uses, of all the vessels in the sanctuary should be given: it is odds there were but a very few priests, though they waited there, that were able to give a precise distinct account about these things: therefore, our going about to speak of them, it is rather because we would not say nothing, than from any hope or possibility we have, to give an estimate or description of them, any whit, near unto the full.

^a Talm. Jerus. in Joma, cap. 3. Aruch in מנחה מאי. in Beth Mikd. cap. 5.
^r English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2048.

Their number was so great, that they were reckoned to five thousand and four hundred in Ezra, i. 11; and ninety-and-three are averred by the Talmud^s to be used every day about the daily sacrifice. And, in the treatise Joma, it appeareth that there^t were special vessels for the service of the day of expiation, and that king Monobazus made golden handles to them. And so other peculiar services had their peculiar vessels, insomuch that, partly, because of the multitude of employments of vessels at some certain times,—and partly, because of the change of vessels at special times, the number could not but be very great, nor is it to be supposed certain: the piety of one or other still offering one vessel or other in devotion.

The several fashions and sizes of them are rather to be guessed at, than determined; and the uses to which they were put, must help us better towards such a conjecture, than either their names do, or any description we can find of them.

1. There were basins, in which the blood was taken, when the beast for the sacrifice was slain, as Exod. xxiv. 6: and these the Jerusalem Talmud thinketh to be those, that are called אַגַּרְטָלִין ‘Agartalin,’ Ezra i. 9. “Thirty” agartalin of gold. R. Samuel Bar Nachman saith, שאַגַּרְטָלִין בּוֹ דָמוֹ של טלה In it they gathered the blood of lambs. A thousand agartalin of silver: R. Simeon Ben Lachish saith, It was that, wherein they took the blood of bullocks.”

2. There were dishes, out of which the blood was sprinkled on the altar; and these are held to be called כַּפּוֹרִים ‘Kephorim’ in the place alleged out of Ezra: and to be the same with מִזְרָקִים ‘Mizrakim,’ of which word there is frequent mention in the Scripture. “Kephorim (saith Solomon Jarchi^v) are Mizrakim, and they are called Kephorim, which betokeneth cleansing; because he that took the blood in this vessel, wiped off the drops and blood that stuck on his hand, on the side of the dish:”—which action we have taken notice of, in handling the manner of sprinkling the blood on the horns of the altar. So that, in these Jews’ construction, Ezra reckoneth by name but the two sorts of vessels that were first and most certainly used in the service,—namely, the great chargers or basins in which

* Tamid, cap. 3.

^t Joma, cap. 3.

^u Talm. Jerus. in Joma, cap. 3.

^v R. Sol. in Ezra, i.

they took the blood, and the lesser dishes out of which they sprinkled it. And it may be the קערה and the מורק, that every one of the twelve princes offered at the dedication of the tabernacle, Num. vii, were these two sorts of vessels. The 'Mizrakim' are said to be "before the altar," Zech. xiv. 20.

3. There were great voiders, or trays, as I may call them, of gold or silver, in which the inwards of the beasts were taken and brought to washing, and brought when they were washed to the altar:—and dishes, in which salt was brought for the salting of all the sacrifices: and dishes, in which the meat-offering was mingled^w, and other dishes in which it was offered. And, it may be, these that brought the inwards or the meat-offering, were those that העלות meaneth, if that word meaneth any vessel at all, as it is thought it doth, in 2 Chron. xxiv. 14. "Some think it meaneth *pestles* (saith Kimchi), wherewith they pounded the spices for the incense: but, in mine opinion, it was a little vessel, wherewithal they took wine out of the hin for the drink-offerings. And so it is used in the words of the Rabbins; The maids of the house of Rabbi, as he was teaching them in the language of wisdom, said, הכי עלת נפקת בכך Doth the עלת go into the tankard? That is, the little vessel wherewithal they drew wine out of the tankard," &c. I shall not trouble myself nor the reader about this word nor about his opinion; the translation that our English hath made of it, is not only very facile, but also very warrantable.

4. There were vessels, out of which they poured the drink-offering; it may be, those are they, that Josephus calls *phialas, vials*^x, as he reckoneth the holy vessels upon the place of Ezra before alleged, but nameth more kinds than he doth: let the reader draw among all the names he useth, ψυκτῆρες, θηρίκλεια, κάδδοι, σπονδεῖα, φιάλαι, which may be the title of these drink-offering vessels that we are about. I should choose between the two last, and take *phialæ* the rather of the two: and the pouring out of the vials in the Revelation may chance receive some illustration, by the reader's reflecting upon the pouring out of the vial of the drink-offering.

5. There^y were chafing-dishes to take coals from the altar for the burning of the incense; and dishes wherein to

^w *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 649.

^x *Jos. Ant. lib. 11. cap. 1.*

^y *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2049.

take ashes from the altar, and from the altar of incense; and dishes for frankincense; and the dishes *Teni* and *Coz*, which they used about the candles and incense altar; and censer or perfuming pans for the incense; dishes about the show-bread; and such variety of dishes, basins, vials, cruises, tankards, and such-like vessels, that it were an endless labour to speak of them, or seek after them, particularly. To which may be added, the axes, knives, flesh-hooks, forks, fire-pans, tongs, snuffers, pots, caldrons, the vessel *pesachtar* (a word used by the Chaldee paraphrast, Exod. xxvii. 3, &c), and the instruments of music, of which we have spoken elsewhere,—the mortars for making the incense. And when we have reckoned all we can, we are sure we cannot reckon all; and, therefore, must leave them to supposal and conjecture. And to the discourse of them, which I must leave thus imperfect, let me add two utensils more, which, indeed, were not of the like nature with these that have been spoken of, yet may well come in mention with them, because they were all furniture of the same house,—and those were two golden tables, but of several natures and uses, bestowed by Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, and Helena, mother to Monobazus.

Aristeas², and Josephus after him, relating the story of Ptolemy's sending for the Septuagint to come to him to translate the Bible, they tell what sumptuous bounty and gifts he bestowed upon the Temple, and presented thither; and, among other things, that they spake of (as, a great sum of money, certain golden and silver goblets, and certain golden vials, χρυσᾶς φιάλας), they mention and describe a golden table, of that richness, cost, and curious workmanship, as the like hardly to fellow it in any story; as the reader may peruse them in the places cited in the margin,—for I shall not spend time upon their description.

There is relation also, in the Talmudic treatise *Joma*, of a golden table of queen Helen's bestowing and devoting; but it was not of the fashion and nature of any tables, that we have mentioned hitherto, but it was of a form and quality far differing from them. It was not *ἰσὴν mensa*, but *טבלא tabula*; and the tradition concerning it is thus^a: “Queen Helena, mother to king Monobazus, made the golden candlestick, that was over the Temple-door; and she also made the

² Arist. in Hist. LXX. Jos. Ant. l. 12. cap. 2.

^a *Joma*, cap. 3.

golden table, on which was written the section of the law concerning the suspected wife;” Num. v. So that this was a written table hanged upon a wall,—and not a table with feet standing upon the ground, as those were, of which we have spoken. The Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud informs us about ~~an~~ these words^b: “She made the table of gold, on which was written the section of the suspected wife; and when the sun rose, the beams sparkled on it, and so they knew that the sun was risen. And what was written on it? R. Simeon Ben Lachish, in the name of R. Jannai, saith, Aleph Beth was written on it. But behold, the tradition is: As was the writing on the one side, so was the writing on the other:—it was not thick nor thin, but a mean between both. As was the \aleph that was on the one side, so was the \aleph that was on the other. As \beth on the one side, so \beth on the other. R. Hosaiah saith, All the section of the suspected wife was written on it, and out of it he read and interpreted the whole section.”^c It seems, this table hung upon the wall of the gate of Nicanor; for in that the trial of the suspected wife was made, the manner of which we have observed elsewhere. As there were tables and candlesticks of gold, 2 Chron. iv. 7, 8, in the Holy Place, so there were tables and candlesticks of silver, which were used in other places, 1 Chron. xxviii. 15, as in the courts and in the priests’ chambers.

SECT. V^c.*The Priests’ Garments.*

It will not be much necessary to spend large discourse upon this subject about the garments of the ordinary priests, which they wore in the service, since we have described the vestments of the high-priest at large in another place, who wore all the same garments that the other priests did, but he wore other also: we shall, therefore, but briefly touch these particulars concerning them:—

1. That the garments, wherewithal the priests were arrayed, when they were about divine service, were peculiar for that place and occasion, and differing from the garments that they used in their ordinary wearing. Some Jews think, there were such priestly garments before the law, and they speak of such, bequeathed from father to son in the holy

^b Talm. Jerus. ibid. fol. 41.^c Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 650.

line even from Adam to Isaac; and they think the vesture, in which Jacob obtained the blessing, was of this nature:—but about this we shall not be inquisitive.

2. The priests, when they were come up in their courses to the service, put off their ordinary wearing clothes, washed themselves in water, and put on the holy garments: see Lev. viii. 6. Yea^d, whilst they were at the Temple, and attending there on the service, any^e of them that would sleep by night, he slept not in the holy garments, but in his own wearing clothes; and in the morning, when he was to go to his service, he put off his own clothes, bathed himself in water, and put on the garments of the priesthood. These expressions in Scripture, “Put off the old man, and be renewed, and put on the new,” Ephes. iv. 22—24; “Put on the Lord Jesus Christ,” Rom. xiii. 14; “Baptized into Christ, and putting on Christ,” Gal. iii. 27; “Washed from our sins, and made priests,” Rev. i. 5, 6; “Not unclothed, but clothed upon,” 2 Cor. v. 4,—seem to allude to this custom.

3. The holy garments of the priests were of white linen, and they consisted of four parcels; whereas the high-priest's garments were of eight parcels, and they were of other colours as well as white. And, as hath been observed elsewhere, every priest was first tried by the Sanhedrim, whether he were right and fit; and being so found, he had his white garments put upon him, all which garments were found at the public charge. “The man clothed with linen, with a writer's inkhorn by his side,” Ezek. ix. 3; “Walking with Christ in white,” Rev. iii. 4; “Arraying in white robes,” Rev. vii. 9, &c,—do seem to refer to this holy garb and colour of the priests.

4. Upon^f their feet they wore nothing at all whilst they served,—but stood in the court barefooted, were it never so cold; nay, though they were barefooted, yet might they not stand upon any thing to keep their feet from the cold pavement, but must stand barely upon that, were the service never so long, and the season never so sharp. The reason of their barefootedness was, because of the holiness of the ground, as Exod. iii. 5, Josh. v. 15; and the reason of their standing only on the bare stones, was to show their fervour and zeal to the service.

^d Tamid, cap. 1.

^e English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2050.

^f Rab. Sol. in Exod. xxviii.

5. Upon their thighs and loins they wore linen breeches, to prevent the discovery of their nakedness, Exod. xxviii. 42,—either when they stood upright aloft upon the altar, or when they stooped down to any work of the service, either there or in any other place. And here I cannot but think of that ridiculous passage in Martial^s, which such a provision as this might have prevented: and of that passage in the treatise Tamid^h, where some of the priests are said to be delivered to the Chazanim, or overseers, “and they stripped them of their garments, and left nothing upon them but their breeches.”

6. Upon their bodies they wore a linen coat, or surplice, which was called תשבץ כתורת, Exod. xxviii. 4,—by the Seventy, χιτώνα κοσσυβωτόν upon which Nobiliusⁱ maketh this comment: “Græcam dictionem retinet S. Hieronymus ad Marcell.—S. August. q. 114. habet cum cornibus,” &c. “Jerome retaineth the Greek word, *Cosymbotus*: Austin, in quest. 114, translates it, *with horns*; and addeth, that the Latin interpreters thought it better, to call it *the coat with horns*, than if they had said, *with tufts*. But others interpret it *strait* and *girt*: which interpretation seemeth not impertinent, seeing that afterward, in this same chapter, ‘Cosymbi’ and ‘Cosymboti’ do signify *knots*. But others translate it out of the Hebrew, *ocellatam*, or *checkered*.” And so it might be showed from the original of the Hebrew word used, that it so signifieth; and this linen was wrought, diaper-like, with checker or diced work, or some such kind of workmanship, which set it out with neatness as well as it was white.

7. This coat was girt to them with a long scarf, which went divers times about them like a swaddle, which was called אבנט; and which both helped to keep them warm in their thin clothing, and to strengthen their backs in their hard service, which sometime they met withal, tugging with the beasts that they were to slay, and lifting at them when they were killed.

8. Upon their heads they had a bonnet, or a mitre, which was a linen scarf often wrapped and wrapped about their heads, after the manner of the Turkish tullibants, as is more fully described in the Temple-Service, chap. 4.

In these four parcels of vesture, the high-priests and the other priests were alike, for the high-priest wore these as

^s Martial, lib. 3. Epig. 24.

^h Tamid, cap. 5.

ⁱ Nobil. in LXX in Ex. xxviii.

well as they; but he had four other parcels over and above, which they might not wear, and by which he was singularly distinguished from them: and these were, 1. כַּעֲלִי “The coat of the ephod:” this the Seventy call Ποδήρη. 2. אֶפֶד “The ephod itself,” which he put upon that coat, and clasped it together, over his paps, with a curious girdle. This helpeth to understand that in Rev. i. 13; ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς. 3. חֹשֶׁן “The breast-plate;” in which were put the Urim and Thummim, Exod. xxviii. 30; which, in the apostle’s application, seem to signify *faith* and *love*, 1 Thess. v. 8. 4. צִיץ “The golden plate” upon^k his forehead; in which was written קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה “The holy one of the Lord” (compare Luke iv. 34); which have been particularly spoken to in the tract and place cited a little above.

As the priests’ garments were provided at the public charge,—so, when they were overworn, they returned to the public again; for their coats and breeches, &c, were ravelled to make yarn for the lamps, and for the lights at the solemn nightly festivity in the Feast of Tabernacles, and, it is like, for the priests’ candles in their chambers.

SECT. VI.

The anointing Oil.

THE appointment and composition of anointing oil is laid down, in Exod. xxx. 23, &c; where the Lord commanded thus, “Thou shalt take unto thee principal spices, of pure myrrh five hundred shekels, and of sweet cinnamon half so much, even two hundred and fifty shekels: and of sweet calamus, two hundred and fifty shekels; and of cassia, five hundred shekels after the shekel of the sanctuary; and of oil-olive, a hin: and thou shalt make it a holy anointing oil,” &c. The simples need not to be disputed of; only I cannot but observe and wonder at the conception of Rambam about one of them, who holdeth מֹר *mor*, which our English hath very properly translated *myrrh*, to be the^m congealed blood of an Indian beast: whereupon, one of his Glossaries takes him up thus; “Itⁿ cannot enter into my head, that they would put the blood of a beast into any holy composi-

^k Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 651.

¹ English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2051.

^m Maim. in Kele Mikdash, cap. 1.

ⁿ Gloss. *ibid.*

tion, much less of a beast unclean. But מור *mor* is that that is spoken of in the Canticles, 'I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse, I have gathered my *myrrh*.'"

For the making up of these simples into the compound of the anointing oil, the way and manner is recorded^o to have been thus;—they were bruised every one apart, and by themselves, and then were they mingled and boiled in clean water, till all their strength was come out into that decoction: which decoction strained, and having oil put to it, was again boiled to the height of an ointment, and so reserved.

This anointing oil was only in use in the times of the tabernacle and first Temple, and with it were their vessels sanctified, according as was appointed in the place of Exodus even now cited, and described Lev. viii; but there was no such ointment under the second Temple,—for there the vessels were sanctified by their very use and serving in them. And so indeed was the Temple itself: for there was neither cloud of glory, to sanctify the house,—nor divine fire, to sanctify the altar,—nor holy oil, to sanctify the vessels,—nor Urim and Thummim, to honour the priests; and yet was the place and service then as holy, as it was before. God, by this abatement of those external advantages and excellences, and yet by the continuance of the honour of his worship and service, making way to the dignifying of the spiritual worship under the gospel,—when such external and visible appearances of his presence were not to be looked for, and when all ceremoniousness in holy things should be abolished and laid aside.

With the holy oil, whilst it was in use and employment, was the high-priest anointed, as well as other things; and when the use of the oil ceased, then was he consecrated by the arraying of him in the garments appointed for the high-priest's wearing, and he was said to be מרובה בגדים "consecrated by the vestments,"—as we have observed in another place. The manner of his anointing while that was used, is described by the Talmudists^p to have been כמין כי יניית "after the form of a Greek X: they anointed the kings (say they) after the form of a crown; but the priests after the form of a X. What means, After the form of a X? R. Manasses^q, the son of Gada, saith, After the form of a Greek X. But

^o Gloss. *ibid*.

^p *Ibid*.

^q Talm. in Kerithuth, cap. 1.

what means this? R. Solomon saith^q, It was first poured on his head, and then put between his eyebrows, and drawn this way and that way with the finger of him that put it there:—which others express thus; “One^r poured the oil upon his head, and it ran down this way and that way, like two pearling droppings upon his beard, as Psal. cxxxiii. 2.”

The oil and anointing, wherewith the priests and the vessels of the Lord’s house were sanctified, did denote the Word and the Spirit of God, whereby he sanctifieth the vessels of his election, even persons of his choice, to his service, and acceptance: oil and anointing do sanctify the Word as well as the Spirit. And in that sense should I interpret the anointing, in 1 John ii. 20. 27, “Ye have an *unction*,” that is, the word, “from the Holy One, and ye know all things by it, And the *anointing*,” that is, the word, “which ye have received of him abideth in you: and ye are not to seek for teaching from any man, for the same word hath taught you abundantly of all things,” &c.

CHAP. XXXVIII^s.

The Emblem of the Divine Glory at the Temple, Ezek. i.

Isa. vi. Rev. iv. &c. explained.

THE prophet Ezekiel saw the visionary glory that he hath described, chap. i, and chap. x, four times over:—1. At the river Chebar among the captives of his own captivity, chap. i. 1; that is, that captivity which was carried away with Jehoniah, for then was he himself captived. 2. In a plain among the captives of the other captivity, that is, Jehoiakim’s, Dan. i; who dwelt indeed upon the coasts of the same river, but at some distance from the other, chap. iii. 15. 20. 23. 3. In the Temple, chap. viii. 4. And, 4. at the renewed Temple again, chap. xliii. 2, 3.

The^t vision and glory that he saw, was thus:—

Ezek. i. 4: “Behold a whirlwind out of the north,” &c. Out of the north appeared a stormy cloud, with fire wrapped in it, which flamed into a brightness all about, and in the middle of all was as a glowing fire. For out of the north, namely, from Babel, was a storm to rise and fire to come, that was to destroy both city and Temple, and that should cause the glory of the Lord which dwelt there, to

^q R. Sol. in Lev. viii.

^r Aruch in כ

^s *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2052.

^t *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 1. p. 652.

come out thence as out of burning, as this glory that he saw, which represented that, came out of this fire.

Ver. 5: "Four living creatures, and this was their appearance, they had the likeness of a man." That is, in stature and proportion of body, thighs, and legs, they had the likeness and erect shape of a man; only their head and feet and some particulars elsewhere different, of which he giveth account in the following verses.

Ver. 6: "But every one had four faces," &c. I render the conjunction *but*; because (the particle bearing it) it being so translated, giveth the clearer and the readier sense. They had the likeness of a man, "*but* every one had four faces."

And in ver. 7, the same particle *ו* in *וְכַף* being translated exegetically, *for*, doth also clear the sense, "their feet were straight feet, *for* the sole of their feet was as the sole of a calf's feet."

"And they sparkled," &c. That is, their feet sparkled like burnished brass; for the brightness of their bodies is described at ver. 13.

Ver. 8: "And the hands of a man were under their wings on their four sides; so had they four their faces and their wings." That is, they had their faces and their wings on their four sides: namely, a wing on their breast, and a face that way; a wing on the back, and a face that way; and a wing on either shoulder, and faces likewise; and under their wings every way was a man's hand and arm.

Ver. 9: "Their wings were joined one to another." This is explained at ver. 11.

"They turned not about when they went, they went every one straight before his face." Which way soever they were to go, they needed not to turn their bodies, to set their face that way, as men and other creatures do, who when they are to go this way or that way, they turn their bodies, till their faces stand the way they are to go:—but these did not, nor needed they to do so; for go which way they would, they had a face that led them that way.

Ver. 10: "As for the likeness of their faces," &c. Every one had the face of a man before, and the face of an eagle behind, the face of a lion towards the right hand, and the face of a bullock towards the left.

It is not much important to dispute, whether they had

four heads as well as faces, or only one head faced on every side: I should rather hold for the former, and could give some reasons that sway me to that opinion, but I shall not insist upon them here.

Some there have been, that have conceived that the quarters of their faces are named in reference to their standing towards Ezekiel; as that the face towards Ezekiel was a man's; the face which was upon Ezekiel's right hand (which was the left hand of the cherub) was a lion's; the face on Ezekiel's left hand (which was the cherub's right) the face of a bullock; and the face of an eagle behind: but they that have been of that opinion, have not observed, that the four living creatures stood not in a straight line all facing Ezekiel, but in a square posture, as shall be showed by and by.

These living creatures are called cherubims by this prophet very often, chap. x; and by that name, laid to this description, he teacheth us, how to conceive of the form of the cherubims that we read of so oft in Scripture,—as, the cherubims upon the mercy-seat, and the^u cherubims that overshadowed the ark in Solomon's Temple, and the cherubims wrought in the tabernacle-curtains, and carved upon the Temple-walls, &c. namely, of this four-fold feature, or having so many faces; saving that, in the embroidery of the curtains and sculpture upon the walls, only two of the four faces could be made to appear. And it is evident, in Ezek. xli. 19, where he saith, there were cherubims and palm-trees carved upon the walls, “so that a palm-tree was between a cherub and a cherub, and every cherub had two faces: so that the face of a man was towards the palm-tree on the one side, and the face of a young lion was towards the palm-tree on the other side.” Their other two faces were to be conceived obscured in the wall, as if they were looking into it. But it may not pass unobserved, that these two faces of a man and a lion, were not the cherub's opposite faces, that is, that before and that behind,—but they were his face before and his face on the right side. And hence I have one reason to conjecture, that they had four heads as well as four faces; because it will otherwise be very harsh to imagine, how his fore-face and right side-face should be set to look before and behind. Now, these two faces of a man and a lion were the faces, that the cherub, that stood upon the right hand of the ark as it stood

^u English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2053.

facing the people, looked upon the ark and the people withal,—his human face towards the ark,—his lion's towards the people. And we shall observe afterward, how those, whom the cherubims represented, had in office to look mutually towards God and his people, and were mediators between them.

The prophet, in chap. x. 14, reckoning the four faces of these cherubims again, begins with the face of a bullock first, which was a left-hand face, and instead of the face of a *bullock*, he calls it the face of a *cherub*. Was not the face of a lion or eagle the face of a cherub, as well as the face of a bullock? It seemeth strange, therefore, that he should call the bullock's face, the face of a cherub rather than any other. But the reason seemeth to be taken from this consideration;—the high-priest when he went into the Most Holy Place up to the ark, the cherub that stood by the ark upon his right hand, whither he was more ready to look than on his left, stood facing him with the face of a bullock. Now the prophet, in this place, is speaking of God's glory flitting from the Temple, where it dwelt especially on the ark between the cherubims; and as, if he looked at that right hand cherub, which was now flitting from his station and removing, so he nameth that face that looked upon him: and he calleth the face of a bullock, 'the face of a cherub,' because that was the face of a cherub, that was most looked on and observed by him, that went into the Most Holy Place.

Ver. 11: "Thus were their faces: and their wings were parted upward." Though their wings joined one to another at the setting-on, yet they opened and parted upward, as also do the wings of other flying fowls: who though they grow near together at the roots, yet they spread and part wider and wider towards the points. And the like, in some parity, may be conceived concerning the parting of their faces, that they grew upon one root, as it were, but parted upward, into so many heads: and so the construction of the verse seemeth to carry it, ופניהם וכוּפיהם where the particle ו, in the beginning of the verse, is not ordinary, and requireth observation: it may very well be rendered, "Both their faces and their wings were parted upward."

"Two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies," &c. The description of the living creatures, in Isa. vi,—and the parallel to them,—and

these in Rev. iv,—must help us to interpret this eleventh verse, about their wings. The Apocalyptic calls them “living creatures,” and numbereth them four; and nameth their four faces punctually as this prophet doth, but reckoneth their wings to be six a-piece, Rev. iv. 8. Isaiah nameth, indeed, the living creatures, that he saw, by another name, than either John or Ezekiel does; yet he meaneth the very same, both for number and form; for he saw the very same glory of God that these describe, that is, God’s glory at the Temple, as the very first verse of that chapter doth explain it. And in this sense is the word ‘*his glory*’ to be understood, John xii. 41. He saw four living creatures, with four faces, and in all things like to these described here, as to their form and proportion, and he saith, “every one of them had six wings,” Isa. vi. 2.

The prophet Ezekiel saith no less as to that matter, although he speak it not so very plainly out: for, laying ver. 11; and ver. 23, together, we shall find the account of their wings to be to this purpose, and the same number. “They had wings, that were parted above:” these were the two wherewithal they flew. And they had other “two, which joined one to another,” over their heads; these are parallel to those wherewithal Isaiah saith they covered their faces:—and they had “two, wherewithal they covered their bodies;” those are they, that, he saith, “covered their feet.” Thus is the eleventh verse to be understood: which the twenty-third speaketh parallel to, and something explaineth. It is said there, that “under the firmament” (which was over their heads) “their wings were straight one towards another: and they had two wings, which covered on this side,—and two wings^v, which covered on that side:” and the meaning thereof is this, that they always carried two of their wings straight upright, joining together over their heads; and when they stood still, they covered their bodies with four wings, two on back and belly, and two on either side. Whereas it is said, in ver. 24, that “when they stood, they let down their wings,”—it is to be understood only of those two wings, wherewithal they flew; for they had, every one of them, two wings, that they never let down,—and they were those, wherewithal they covered their faces: and they had two other, which they never lifted up; and they were those, where:

^v *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2054.

withal they covered their back and belly, or secret parts before and behind. For that expression of Isaiah, "They covered their feet," meaneth, "they covered their secret parts:" for in that sense is *feet* sometimes taken in Scripture; as "The hair of the feet," Isa. vii. 20, &c.

And thus are we to reconcile those two verses in this first chapter of Ezekiel, which seem to be dissonant; the one whereof,—namely, ver. 11, saith, that with two of their wings they covered their bodies;—and the other, which is ver. 23, speaks of four, that covered their bodies; which mean distinctly thus,—that two of their wings continually covered their secret parts before and behind, and they never lifted them up; and when they stood still, they let down their wings wherewith they flew; and, with them, covered their sides. And so it appeareth, that their two wings grew out at their shoulders,—and the wings, wherewith they covered their faces, grew out at their breast and back,—and those grew out below them, that covered their secret parts.

Ver. 12: "And they went every one before his face, whithersoever their mind was to go," &c. Went they backward, forward, side-way, any way, they had every one a face to go that way, and needed no turning about to set their faces that way, they would go.

Ver. 13: "Their appearance was like burning coals of fire," &c. Hence Isaiah calleth them *seraphim*, or *burning ones*: and that the rather, because fire is there threatened to the Temple.

"It went between the living creatures," &c. *It*, that is, *fire*. Every one^x of the living creatures was of a glowing and flaming brightness, glowing like coals of burning fire, and flaming like lamps; and yet, besides this fieriness that they carried every one with them, there was fire also in the midst of them, of a great brightness, and flashing as lightning. So in Rev. iv. 5, "Out of the throne went lightnings, and thunders, and voices."

Thus was the appearance of these cherubims, one thing more being added out of Ezek. x. 12; that "their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, were full of eyes." The like is said, Rev. iv. 6. Now their posture, or manner of standing, was such, that, standing still or moving, they were in a square form, as if four men should stand so,

^x *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 654.

as to make a square space or a quadrangle in the midst between them. Their quadrangular standing was (as I may so express it) lozenge-wise, or after the diamond square; one looking towards the south with his human face, and another with his human face towards the north,—a third with the same face towards the east, and the fourth with the same towards the west. Thus they stood, when they stood; and in this quadrature, they moved, when they moved: and to this sense is that passage to be understood, in chap. x. 6, 7, where it is said, that fire was between the cherubims, and one of them raught fire from *between* them,—that is, out of the square space, that was in the midst of them as they stood. And so is Ezek. i. 15, which is the next verse that comes to be explained, to be understood.

Ver. 15: “And behold a wheel on the earth by the living creatures *לְאַרְבַּעַת פָּנֵי* on his four faces;” that is, on the four sides or faces of the square body as it stood;—namely, a wheel before every one of the living creatures on the outside of the square: a wheel before him, that stood with his human face looking east; and a wheel before him, that stood with his human face looking west; and so before them, that stood looking north and south. Or if you will apprehend this whole body as it stood in its square, in the form of any of the living creatures as he was single,—do but conceive, that one stood looking east with his face of a man,—and another, west, with his face of an eagle,—another looking south, with his face of a lion,—and the fourth looking north, with his face of a bullock: and so you have the four several faces on the outside of the square, and the four several faces on the inside of it, and the four wheels standing before the outside staves.

Ver. 16: “As it were a wheel within a wheel.” The fashion of every wheel was so, as it were one wheel put cross within another, so that they could run upon either of these crossing rings as there was occasion: were they to go eastward, they ran upon the one ring, but were they suddenly to turn south, then they ran upon the cross ring: and so, as the living creatures had faces to lead them any way, so had these wheels, rings or rims to go on any way. And this is meant in ver. 17, when it is said, “they went upon their four sides, and turned not, when they went.” Not but that they turned about as wheels do when they go,—but when they were to

change their way,—as, to go from east to south or north, or from west to either of these quarters,—they needed not to fetch a compass and wind^y about to set themselves to go that way,—but they readily turned upon the crossing ring, and needed no more ado.

And thus did the living creatures stand in one square, and the wheels in another square about them. And let us take a pattern of their motion; supposing the living creatures to stand with their human faces looking severally to the four quarters of heaven. Were they to move east,—he that stood east, his human face led him, and his wheel ran before him; he that stood west, his eagle's face led him, and his wheel followed him; he that stood south, his face of a bullock led him; and he that stood north, his lion's face led him, and their wheels ran beside them. Were they to turn suddenly south;—he that stood south, his human face led him,—he that stood north, his eagle's,—he on the east, his lion's,—and he on the north, his bullock's; and now the wheels ran upon the other ring.

Ver. 18: “Thus were their rings;” that is, one cross within another: “And they were high, and they were reverent,” ויראה להם. It were an easy sense, if the clause were translated, “And they were dreadful;” that is, wheels had their dreadfulness as well as the living creatures. But since the word ראה doth, most properly and most generally, signify the inward affection of fear or reverence,—it seemeth, in this place, to mean the reverential and attendant posture, in which the wheels stood, ready to move or stand according to the motion or standing of the living creatures,—and both they and the living creatures observant of that presence and glory, upon which they waited. Had it been ויראה מהם it might very well have carried it into that construction; but being ויראה להם, it may the better countenance this that is produced; and R. Solomon speaketh of some, that did so interpret it.

Such was the fashion of this divine chariot, of living creatures and wheels,—the creatures drawing, as it were, and acting the wheels, whithersoever they moved,—and the wheels moving or standing together with them in all voluntariness and compliance. Now the Lord's riding upon this glorious carriage, is described in the verses following; an

^y *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2055.

azure sky just over their heads, borne up as it were with the points of their wings, which they held upright over their heads, covering their faces with them:—above that sky a throne, on which sat the resemblance of a man all fiery;—from his loins upward, like fire glowing,—and from his loins downward, like fire flaming: and a brightness in the form of a rainbow round about him. Compare Rev. iv. 2, 3.

And now, to take up the moral or signification of this emblem, we will, first, begin with the consideration of the general intention of it, and then descend to the application of particulars.

That it intends in general to signify and character out unto us, the Lord's glory and presence dwelling at his Temple, and among his people, these observations will make it past doubting or peradventure:—

1. The Temple is very commonly, in Scripture, styled by the name of God's *throne*; as Jer. xvii. 12, "A glorious high *throne* from the beginning is the place of our sanctuary," Ezek. xliii. 7, "The place of my *throne*, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children² of Israel," &c. Which the Lord proclaimeth, when his glory was returned to the renewed Temple, as is apparent in the verses immediately preceding. And so the prophet Isaiah saith, "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high, and lifted up, and his train filled the Temple, &c. And the house was filled with smoke," &c. Isa. vi. 1. 4; where he charactereth the Lord's sitting parallel to his dwelling in the cloud of glory upon the ark, and from thence filling the whole house with the train of his glory. And so, in the Book of the Revelation, where the Lord is enthroned, with such living creatures attending him as are described here, there are so plain intimations, that it meaneth his glory at his Temple, that nothing can be plainer: for when there is mention of a sea of glass before the throne, and of seven lamps, Rev. iv. 5, 6, —and of a golden altar of incense, chap. viii. 3,—and of a voice from that altar, chap. ix. 13, &c.—the allusion is so clear to the molten sea, seven lamps of the golden candlestick, the altar of incense, and the oracle given from beyond it, which all were before the ark, where the Lord's glory dwelt in the cloud,—that the matter needeth no more proof than only to observe this. And that the throne and glory of

² *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 655.

God, throughout all that description, meaneth in this sense, there is evidence enough in that one clause in chap. xvi. 17; "A voice came out of the Temple of heaven from the *throne*."

2. Ezekiel himself showeth, that this glory referred to the Temple, because he hath showed it pitched there, flitting thence and returning thither again. 1. He saith, That the glory of the God of Israel was at the Temple, namely, that, that he had seen and described in the first chapter, chap. viii. 4. Though he be there in numbering-up the abominations, that were committed in the Temple, which were great and many,—yet doth he relate, that this glory was there still, because the Lord had not yet withdrawn his presence thence. But, 2. At the last the provocations in that place do cause it to depart; and^a that departure he describeth in chap. x: and there he setteth forth the very same glory, and almost in the very same terms, that he doth in chap. i. He telleth that this glory of the Lord departed "from off the cherub," that is, from off the mercy-seat, where it had always dwelt between the cherubims, and went out, first to the threshold, ver. 4; then to the east gate, ver. 19; then to the city and to the mount Olivet, and so departs, chap. xi. 23. But, 3. When he speaketh of and describeth a new Temple, then he showeth his glory returned thither again, chap. xliii. 2—4. And upon these three particulars of its pitching at the Temple, flitting thence, and returning thither again,—we may take up these observations for the farther clearing of this signification.

1. That the prophet maketh some distinction betwixt the glory of the Lord dwelling upon the cherub, that is, on the mercy-seat, over the ark,—and the glory of the Lord upon these cherubims: for he saith, "The glory of the Lord went up from the cherub, and stood over the threshold of the house,"—these cherubims then standing on the right side of the house, chap. x. 3, 4; and then, that the glory of the Lord departed from off the threshold of the house, and stood over the cherubims, ver. 18. The glory of the Lord, in the representation that the prophet describeth in the first chapter, was upon the cherubims already; for he saith, "The glory of the God of Israel was there according to the vision that I saw in the plain," chap. viii. 4: and yet he mentioneth another glory now added to it; namely, the cloud of glory, that dwelt upon the mercy-seat; for he saith, "that, upon the

^a *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2056.

flitting of that glory from off the cherub to the threshold, the house was filled with the cloud :”—the meaning of this we shall look at afterward.

2. As to the flitting of this glory from the Temple, the prophet saith, “ He saw it when he came to destroy the city,” chap. xliii. 3; that is, when he came to foretell that the city should be destroyed. And he dated the time of his first seeing of this glory, in the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiakim, chap. i. 2, which was the fifth year of the reign of Zedekiah, 2 Kings xxiv. 8. 17, 18; in which very year Zedekiah did rebel against the king of Babel,—which action was the very beginning of Jerusalem’s ruin.

3. As to the returning of this flitted glory again to the new-built Temple, chap. xliii, it is observable, that the cloud of glory, which had descended and filled the tabernacle, and had done the like at Solomon’s Temple, did never so at the second Temple, or that built after the captivity, as the Jews themselves confess, and that not without good reason. Yet doth the prophet as clearly bring that glory into his new Temple, as ever it had come into them: but only that this was in a vision; and so it showed, visionarily, the Lord’s dwelling in his ordinances and presence among his people under the second Temple, unto which the people returned out of Babel, and in the spiritual temple or church under the gospel (for Ezekiel’s new Temple promised a bodily temple to the returned, and promised and typified a spiritual temple under the gospel), even as he had done visibly in his cloud of glory, in the tabernacle and first Temple. And secondly, he addeth farther, that, when that glory was entered,—the east gate, at which it came in, was shut and never opened after, chap. xliv. 2; to denote the everlasting dwelling of the Lord in the church of the gospel among his people, and never^b departing, as he had done from Jerusalem Temple.

This, then, being the signification of this appearance and glory, in general, we are next to look upon the particulars of it, which will more fully also confirm and clear this matter; and, first, we will begin with the ‘living creatures,’ or ‘cherubims.’

For the better discovery of them, what they were, and what they meant, these things do deservedly challenge special considering and observation:—

^b *Leusden’s edition*, vol. 1. p. 656.

1. That they are plainly distinguished from angels: for, in Rev. v. 11, there is mention “of many angels round about the throne, and about the living creatures; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands:” and, in Rev. vii. 11, “All the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders, and the four living creatures.” So that here is apparent difference between angels and living creatures both in their names and in their placing: for the living creatures were about the throne,—the twenty-four elders, about the living creatures,—and the innumerable multitude of angels, about all.

2. That they were such, as Christ redeemed from the earth. For observe, in Rev. v. 8, 9, “The four living creatures, as well as the four-and-twenty elders, fall down before the Lamb, &c. saying, Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred and tongue, and people and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests,” &c. So that the living creatures were redeemed, and were of every people and nation, and were made kings and priests as well as twenty-four elders,—which cannot be applied to angels.

3. That these ‘living creatures’ or ‘cherubims’ are never mentioned but in vision or hieroglyphic; in vision, as in these places, that have been cited of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the Revelation; and in hieroglyphic, as the cherubims covering the ark, and wrought in the tabernacle-curtains, and on the Temple-walls. It is true, indeed, that it is said, in Gen. iii, “God placed *cherubims* at the gate of Eden,” which is only for the fuller and more feeling apprehension of the thing; the cherubims being such forms, as with which the people were best acquainted, seeing them in the tabernacle-curtains.

4. They, therefore, being thus constantly held out in a doctrinal and significative tenor, as visions and hieroglyphics are, they are to be expounded to such a doctrinal and figurative sense; and so is the whole body of glory, as I may so call it, the whole visionary theatre or spectacle that is before us, to be taken.

And, first, to begin with the quadrature or four-square posture of the whole appearance, which was touched before, and now a little more to be considered on. There is intimation enough in Ezekiel, that the four living creatures

^c *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2057.

stood square, with a fire in the midst of them, and the wheels in a square on the outside of the square of the living creatures: but, in the Revelation, it is yet more plain; for there it is said, "the four living creatures stood round about the throne;" which could not be but in a quadrature, one before, another behind, and one on either side; for how else could four stand round about it? The throne, then, meaning the Temple, as was showed before,—this double quadrature about it, doth call us to remember the double camp, that pitched about the tabernacle upon the four sides of it, east, west, north, and south.

When the Lord did first platform and order the encamping of Israel in the wilderness,—1. He pitched his own tabernacle in the middle, as that being the very centre, heart, and life of the congregation, and they being all to attend upon it; and God thereby declaring himself to be in the midst of them, Lev. xxvi. 11, 12. 2. He pitched the tribe of Levi in four squadrons on the four sides of the tabernacle next unto it: for they being the ministers that attended upon the public service, and that drew near unto the Lord, and were mediators betwixt God and his people, the Lord caused them to encamp next unto his sanctuary, and betwixt the camp of the people and himself. 3. The outmost of all, in four main bodies on the four sides of the tabernacle, and of the Levites' camp, did the whole congregation pitch; and so there were two quadratures, the Levites about the sanctuary, and the congregation about the Levites. See Num. ii.

Answerable is the platform here, and the quadrangular posture is in reference and allusion to that, and from thence must we explain it. In the midst was a quadrangle of fire: and upon every side of that quadrangle a cherub, and on the outside of the cherubims, even before every one of them, was a wheel. And in the Revelation,—a throne in the middle, four living creatures next about it, and the twenty-four elders about them.

So that, by this parallel to Israel's camp, from whence the platform both in the prophet and the Apocalyptic is taken, the four living creatures did signify the priests and ministers of the Lord; and the wheels in the one, and the twenty-four elders in the other, did represent the people or the congregation. And this will arise clearer and clearer still to our

observation, as we go along to consider their place, actions, and descriptions.

1. I know it is conceived by some, that the twenty-four elders, in the Revelation, were nearer the throne than the cherubims (and that opinion must needs conclude the like in Ezekiel): but the contrary is apparent by these observations.

First, That (besides what hath been said upon ver. 15), in Ezek. x. 6, a man clothed in linen, being bidden to take fire from between the wheels, from between the cherubims, he first goeth in within the compass of the wheels, and then a cherub taketh fire from the midst of the cherubims and reacheth it to him.

Secondly, It is said there again, at ver. 9, that “the four wheels were by the cherubims;” whereas, if the wheels had been inmost, it had been proper to have said, the cherubims were by the wheels.

Thirdly, And at ver. 18, it is said, the glory of the Lord stood over the cherubims; and, chap. i. 22. 26, &c, it is said the throne of God was just over their heads, and there is no mention of being over the wheels; which shows it very unlikely, that the wheels were in the middle of the cherubims.

Fourthly^d, In Rev. v. 6, the platform is named thus; “In the midst of the throne, and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders:” the throne in the midst,—the living creatures next,—and the elders outmost: and so again in ver. 11, &c.

Fifthly, In chap. iv. 4, it is said, that “about the throne were four-and-twenty seats, and on them four-and-twenty elders sitting; and, at ver. 6, *καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα* which is a hard piece of Greek to construe, because there is an ellipsis of a particle,—which, not observed, hath produced but harsh interpretations of the place. The Syriac hath rendered it, “In the midst of the throne, and about it, and before^e it:” the most translations, “In the midst of the throne, and about the throne;” which how to make a smooth exposition of, is hard to find. The particle *τοῦ* seemeth to be understood, which expressed, the sentence would run thus; *ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ τοῦ κύκλῳ θρόνου* that is, “between the throne and the encom-

^d Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 657.

^e English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2058.

passing that was about it" (of twenty-four seats and elders on them) "there were four living creatures."

Thus, then, was the place of the 'living creatures,' next the throne; and that being the place of the Levites next the sanctuary, it showeth that these cherubims, or creatures, did represent the ministers and the wheels,—and twenty-four elders did represent the congregation.

And this will yet appear the clearer by observing, that the living creatures were the first agents and movers continually in any expedition or employment, as the ministers were in the public service. In Ezek. i, and x, the wheels moved or stood, according as the living creatures did first. And, in the Apocalypse, the living creatures first praise and worship, and then the elders; chap. v. 14, "The four living creatures said, Amen, and the twenty-four elders fell down and worshipped," &c: chap. iv. 9, 10, "When the living creatures give glory and honour, &c. the twenty-four elders fell down," &c.

2. And now to come to the consideration of their figure and resemblance,—and, first, to begin with their four faces. The Jews acknowledge, that these four faces were severally pictured in the four standards of the squadrons of Israel's camp, as they pitched in the quadrangular form, that hath already been spoken of. "There were figures (saith Aben Ezra^f) in every standard and standard: and our ancients do say, that in the standard of Reuben, there was the picture of a man, and in the standard of Judah the picture of a lion, in the standard of Ephraim the picture of a bullock, and in the standard of Dan the picture of an eagle; so that they were like the cherubims which Ezekiel saw:" with which assertion Rambam also agreeth, and Targum Jonathan doth not much dissent; and this opinion was entertained as an ancient tradition of the nation:—upon what ground, and upon what references of these pictures to the tribe and standard to which they belonged, it is not much material to insist upon, to debate here.

Upon the observation that these representations were severally in the standards of Israel's camp, some have concluded, that therefore the four living creatures, which bare these representations, did signify the congregation or people, and not the Levites or ministers: which is improper to con-

^f Aben Ezra in Num. xxii.

ceive, because such a construction alloteth all the four figures to every standard; whereas all the four standards did but make up and carry these four figures amongst them all. But it is not improper to allot all these four figures to every one of the squadrons of the Levites; for every one of them, nay, every particular one of the priests and Levites, had interest in, and relation to, the whole congregation, as being ministers in their behalf. And as Aaron carried all the tribes upon his shoulders and breast, so are the ministers, in these emblems of the living creatures, deciphered as carrying the faces of all the standards of the whole congregation,—because of their reference to the whole congregation, they serving at the Temple for it. What allegorical interpretations are made of these four faces, I shall not trouble the reader to produce; every one may find one such application of them or other, as his conception upon them shall lead him to it.

As for the rest of the proportion of these living creatures, they are especially remarkable for their wings and feet; for the rest of their bodies was like the body of a man. Two of their wings were always erect over their heads covering their faces, from under which they spied, as it were, at their way they were to go, and at the glory they attended on: which pertinently denoteth the reverential respect, that the ministers of the Lord have to his glory and to the mysteries of his counsel;—compare 1 Pet. i. 12. With two other wings they covered their secrets, in sign of humble sensibleness of their own deformity; and with two they flew, in signification of ready activity and attendance for and upon the Lord's service. Their feet were, in fashion, like to the feet of a bullock, and in colour like to burnished brass: according to which latter character the feet of our Saviour are described, Rev. i. 15, "His feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace." Every one will be ready to frame an allegorical application of these circumstances, according to his own conception: it may be, some (if they take those living creatures to represent the ministers, as I suppose they do) will, when they read of "their feet like to the feet of bullocks," apprehend that it is, because they trod out the corn of the word for the people; and as that was also done with a wheel, so there are wheels here in the like manner. It may be, they will think they are described thus footed for the

fitter setting them forth as the drawers of this divine chariot. It may be, they will suppose the beauty and shining brightness of their feet, may signify the holiness of their ways, shining in sanctity and burning in zeal. It may be, they may think of the priests' feet red for cold, as they stood upon the bare stones in their service, and they seeming insensible of it, as are the feet of bullocks :—and such variety of apprehensions will be ready to be taken up upon^s these things, that a man may speak his own thoughts^h and opinion in this matter, but not readily bring another to be of his mind.

The likeness of these living creatures all over their bodies, was “ as burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of lamps,” Ezek. i. 13: for the faithful ministers of the Lord are as a flame of fire, as Psal. civ. 4: shining in life and doctrine like lamps and lights, John v. 35, Matt. v. 14—16; and by the word of the Lord even devouring the disobedient, as Jer. v. 14, “ I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them.”

The fire, that was in the midst of these creatures, which went up and down among them, and out of which proceeded thunderings and lightnings, Ezek. i. 14, Rev. iv. 5,—may draw our thoughts to the altar and fire there, and to observe the priests standing on the four sides of it in their attendance on it. And so Isaiah saith, one of the seraphims took a fiery coal from the altar, and touched his lips with it, Isa. vi. 6, 7, as these living creatures stood on the four sides of a quadrangle of fire, which was in the midst of them. Or, rather, it so plainly denoteth the word of God among his ministers,—and the thunderings, and lightnings, and voices, do so clearly relate to the giving of the word at Sinai,—that so to allegorize it, is without any straining at all, especially considering, how commonly the word of God is compared to fire in the Scripture; as, Deut. xxxiii. 2, Jer. v. 14, xxiii. 29, and xx. 9, 1 Cor. iii. 13.

Thus were these living creatures, which did resemble and emblem the Lord's ministers. The emblem of the people, or the congregation, was twofold; in Ezekiel, *wheels*; in the Revelation, *four-and-twenty elders*; and these latter help to understand the meaning of the former. As the ark and cherubims upon it, and by it, are called “ the chariot of the cherubims,” 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, the Lord there riding, as it

^s English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2059.

^h Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 658.

were, in his glory and presence, in the cloud that dwelt upon it,—even such another composure doth Ezekiel describe here, the divine chariot of the Lord, of his glorious and triumphant riding and sitting among his people in his word and ordinances, and his presence in them. And it is remarkable what is spoken by Ezekiel, in chap. x. 4. 18; of which mention was made before, when he saith, “That the glory of the Lord went up from the cherub, and stood over the cherubims:” which meaneth but this,—that that glory, which had dwelt upon the ark in the Most Holy Place, did now depart, and came to dwell upon this other chariot, which he had described, of living creatures and wheels; denoting this,—that, though the visible presence of the Lord, which had appeared in the cloud of glory upon the ark, were now departed,—yet was his presence still among his people, in that manner which he emblemed in that scheme,—namely, his ministers and people attending him in his word and ordinances, and acting and moving according thereunto. And, in the description of this divine chariot, you may observe, that the living creatures, or ministers, are charactered out, as both the body of the chariot and they also that acted the wheels: for the Lord rideth upon their ministry (as it were), and his name is thereby carried, where he pleaseth: and they are those whom he useth, by that ministry, to draw and move the people to obedience, and conforming to his word: and there the Lord doth ride triumphantly among a people, as Psal. xlv. 4, where ministers and people, in joint and sweet harmony and consent, do agree and concur to carry up the word, name, and glory, of the Lord, and both do act in the power of the word and ordinances: the ministers ministering, and the people moving or standing according to the direction and influence of that word.

What the Apocalyptic meaneth by the four-and-twenty elders, he himself giveth some explanation of, in chap. xxi. 12. 14; where he speaketh of the gates and foundations of the New Jerusalem, parallel to the twelve tribes of Israel, and the twelve apostles of the Lamb. And as these twelve and twelve, were the beginnings, as we may call them,—the one number, of the church under the law,—and the other number, of the church under the gospel; so, under the sum and number of both these united together, or under the notion of these four-and-twenty elders, he intendeth the whole

church or congregation both of Jews and Gentiles. Both wheels and living creatures are described full of eyes, in Ezek. i. 18, Rev. iv. 8, because of the great measure of knowledge the Lord vouchsafed to his people, and to denote the heedfulness of the saints in their walking before him. The Lord himself is described dwelling upon them and among them, in bright, glorious, and majestic representations, but withal encircled with the likeness of the bow, that is in the cloud in the day of rain, Ezek. i. 28, Rev. iv. 3; which was the emblem of the Lord's covenant with his people, as Gen. ix. 13—15.

CHAP. XXXIXⁱ.

The Motions and Stations of the Ark and Tabernacle.

THE tabernacle (which, in its time, was as a moving Temple) being brought into the land of Canaan by Joshua^j, was first pitched and set up at Gilgal, the famous place of their first encamping, Josh. iv. 19: but the ark and it were parted asunder, immediately after the pitching of it: for that was carried into the field and marched with them in the wars of Canaan, Josh. vi. 12, viii. 33, &c,—while the tabernacle stood without it at Gilgal; and there the Sanhedrim sat near unto it, with a strong camp as a guard for defence of both, Josh. ix. 6. 15, x. 43.

The time of the tabernacle's standing there, was till the land was conquered, and Judah and the sons of Joseph were seated, Josh. xviii. 1,—which was seven^k years: though some^l of the Jews do allot it fourteen: in which time, as they also assert, high places were lawful, and it was permitted to offer sacrifices elsewhere than at the tabernacle: because in that time they were abroad in the wars, and their condition was unsettled. “Before the tabernacle was first set up (say they^m) high places were permitted, and the service was done by the first-born; but, after the tabernacle was erected, high places were prohibited, and the service was performed by the priesthood. The Most Holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the less Holy in any part of the camp of Israel. When they came to Gilgal, high places were permitted again: and

ⁱ *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2060.

^j Maim. in Beth Habbech. cap. 1. et Ralbag in Josh. iv.

^k *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 659.

^l Maim. ubi sup. et Seder Olam.

^m Talm. in Zevachim, cap. 14.

the Most Holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the less Holy in any place."

The memorable monuments, that had been at Gilgal, did leave it as a place of honour and renown, and did prove occasion, in after-times, of exceeding much superstition, will-worship, and idolatry, there: for there "they sacrificed bullocks," Hos. xii. 11; and "all their wickedness was there, and there the Lord hated them," Hos. ix. 15, "either" because they renewed the kingdom in Gilgal," 1 Sam. xi. 12, "and refused the Lord to reign over them; or, because the tabernacle had been first set up at Gilgal, and that was a choice place; thereupon the prophets of Baal persuaded them there to worship Baal."

When the land was conquered and now at peace, they removed the tabernacle from Gilgal to a town of Ephraim, for his birthright's sake, and set it up there, and called the place 'Shiloh' or 'peaceable;' because the Lord had given them rest from their wars and from their enemies round about. Here was built a house of stone for the tabernacle^o, as the Jews suppose, but only it was not roofed over with any thing, save with the curtains with which it had been covered from its first making: and this they ground from 1 Sam. i. 9, because it is called a *temple*, and, 1 Sam. iii. 15, because it is said to have doors.

The time of the abode of the tabernacle at Shiloh (Ephrata, or in the tribe of Ephraim, Psal. cxxxii. 6), was, from the seventh year of the rule of Joshua to the death of Eli, three hundred forty-and-nine years; in which time occurred all the story of the Book of Judges, and the translation of the high-priesthood from the line of Eleazar, to the line of Ithamar, which is not there mentioned, and the cause of which alteration is not recorded.

"In^p this time, high places were prohibited: and, at Shiloh, there was no roof, but a house of stone below, and curtains above: and it was a place of rest: the Most Holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the less Holy and second tithe without," &c. In these times there is mention of "a sanctuary at Shechem," Josh. xxiv. 1. 25, 26; which meaneth only the house, where the ark was lodged for that present time: for all the tribes meeting at Shechem, and being to make a covenant with the Lord, they fetch the ark

^o Kimchi in Hos. ix.

^o Talm. et Maim. ubi supr.

^p Zevachin, ubi supr.

of the covenant thither, that the presence and dread of the Lord might be more visible among them; and the place, where the ark was set for that time, was called "the sanctuary:" as Moses's tent was called "the tabernacle of the congregation," because the glory of the Lord rested upon it, before the tabernacle of the congregation itself was built, *Exod. xxxiii. 7.*

From Shiloh, upon that fatal blow that Israel received by the Philistines, *1 Sam. iv*, the ark was captived, into the land of these uncircumcised, and the tabernacle removed into another tribe; and they so parted, that they never met again, till they met together at Solomon's Temple.

The tabernacle was removed to Nob, a city of priests, *1 Sam. xxii. 19*, in the tribe of Benjamin, *Neh. xi. 31, 32*; and, by the Jews' chorography, within the sight or prospect of Jerusalem. The Chaldee^a paraphrast glosseth, *Isa. x. 32*, where there is mentioned of this town,—thus; "He came and stood in Nob, a city of priests, before the wall of Jerusalem: he answered and said unto his army, Is not this the city of Jerusalem, for which I have^r mustered all my army, and for which I have levied all my province? Behold, it is less and weaker than any of the cities, that I have subdued.—He stood, and nodded his head and waved his hand against the Mountain of the House of the Sanctuary. For (saith Kimchi) from Nob he might see Jerusalem; and when he saw it from thence, he shook his hand at it, as one despising it."

I shall not be curious to inquire, whether Nob were any of the four cities, that were allotted, at the first division, to the priests out of the tribe of Benjamin, *Josh. xxi. 17, 18*; or whether it were of a later possession (as Ramah was to the Levites of the stock of Samuel, *1 Sam. i. 1*); or if Nob were one of those four cities (and the same with Almon, for the other three are clearly distinguished from it, *Isa. x. 29, 30, 2 Chron. i. 30*); whether it were Bahurim, which the Chaldee paraphrast constantly rendereth Alemeth, the same with Almon, *1 Chron. vi. 60*:—I shall only observe this, that when the tabernacle had left the tribe of Joseph, one of the sons of Rachel,—it betakes it to Benjamin, another son of the same mother.

The warrant of its conveyance hither I doubt^s not was

^a *Chald. Par. in Isa. x.*

^r *English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2061.*

^s *Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 660.*

divine, by some prophetic direction, though it be not expressed: I dare aver, that the removal of it from hence to Gibeon was so, though that be not expressed neither, and I judge of the one by the other: and my reason is this; because, when David brings up the ark to his own city, and there settles the priests and Levites in their attendance upon it, he also settles priests and Levites in their attendance on the tabernacle at Gibeon, 2 Chron. xvi. 39—41, &c. Now what reason can be given, why David should not rather have fetched up the tabernacle to his own city, as he did the ark, than thus divide the service of the priests and Levites; but because he knew the tabernacle was placed in Gibeon by divine warrant and direction, and he would not alter it?

If the tabernacle, removed to Nob, presently upon the capturing of the ark from Shiloh, resided there about thirty-seven years, all which time Samuel is alive, and seeth both the fall of Shiloh and the fall of Nob, it may very well be, that he was the director of the tabernacle from Shiloh to Nob, and from Nob to Gibeon. "In the time of its residence in both these places, high places were permitted" (as the Talmud conceiveth in the place cited even now), "and the Most Holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the less Holy things in any city of Israel."

At Gibeon, another place of the tribe of Benjamin, did the tabernacle stay from its first pitching there, till Solomon brought it up to the Temple when it was built: and whilst it stood here, a memorable piece of divine justice against Saul cannot but be observed (to omit all other particulars); for as he had slain the priests of the Lord, and had ruined the tabernacle at Nob, so his sons are hanged up before the tabernacle in Gibeon, 2 Sam. xxi. 9.—And now let us trace the ark, as we have done the tabernacle, till we bring them together.

The ark, being captured by the Philistines in the battle at Aphek, was detained in their land seven months, rather because they knew not what to do with it, than for any comfort or happiness they found in it; for it was a plague to their gods, people, and country. At last it was restored: and first to Beth-shemesh, a city of priests, Josh. xxi. 16; but there it proved also the destruction of the people. The Hebrew commentators do scruple both at the cause of the slaughter, and at the number slain: the cause is not so very

abstruse; for the text saith, it was "because they looked into the ark;" though their various construction of the words hath bred their doubting. But it is something strange, that Beth-shemesh, a town of no great note, should lose fifty thousand and seventy inhabitants at one time (beside what escaped), a number of people answerable to the greatest cities. The commentators, spoken of, having observed this improbability, will heal the matter with as improbable a gloss: "Seventy men (say they) which were valuable, every one to fifty thousand." And others, retaining the scruple still, do raise it higher by their interpretation; for "the fifty thousand men (say they) were, every one of them, valuable to the seventy men in the Sanhedrim." The text doth plainly distinguish of the persons; for it saith, "That he smote of the men of Beth-shemesh," because they looked into the ark, "and he smote of the people." For the return of the ark had occasioned, no doubt, the concourse of the people all about, besides the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh (it was now upon the time of the Feast of Tabernacles when the ark came up to them, and, it may be, that might cause the more conflux to the ark, when it was come); and the Lord, for the boldness of priests and people that would be looking into the ark, breaketh out upon them with the plague, and destroyeth so many thousands of them.

The priests of Beth-shemesh, that had escaped, sent to the men of Kiriath-jearim to fetch up the ark to them, and so they do. It is equally questionable, why they that were priests, should send about such a matter as this, to the men of Kiriath-jearim, which were not,—and that the men of Kiriath-jearim should venture to fetch up the ark, when they had seen the speeding of Beth-shemesh by it. But the Lord had now forsaken the tribe of Ephraim^t, in which tribe Shiloh stood,—and had made choice of the tribe of Judah, Psal. lxxviii. 67, 68, of which Kiriath-jearim was a chief city. And whether he used the counsel of Samuel to the people for a means to accomplish his determination, or what other way, is not determinable; but it is brought to pass, and the ark now seated in the tribe of Judah, out of which it never unsettled again, whilst it was in being.

A long time whilst it stayed in Kiriath-jearim, it was under the curb of a Philistine garrison, which was in that city,

^t *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2062.

1 Sam. x. 5: which might much damp the people's seeking and resorting to it, especially in this looseness and lukewarmness, or rather utter coldness, of religion, that was amongst them. However, at the end of twenty years, a general reformation doth begin amongst them; and they begin to hearken after God, the ark, and religion, and put away the strange gods that were among them; and God, at that very instant, doth grant them a miraculous victory against the Philistines, 1 Sam. vii.

We^u read once of the ark's being within the compass of the tribe of Benjamin, before David fetched it up to Jerusalem; and that was with Saul at Gibeah, 1 Sam. xiv. 18: but it was restored from thence to Kiriath-jearim at the place appointed for it as yet, by divine direction; for otherwise it might as easily have been set up in Nob, where the tabernacle was now standing.

David, about the second year of his reign in Jerusalem, fetcheth it up from Kiriath-jearim thither, and there pitched a habitation for it in Sion, where it resided till it was translated into Solomon's Temple, save only that once it was taken out to have flitted with David in his flight from his son Absalom, but soon restored to its place again, 2 Sam. xv. At this tabernacle, in which the ark was lodged in Sion, David sets up an altar, 1 Chron. xvi. 2, for the offerings at that present time of the ark's bringing up thither, but not for continual sacrificing. And there he appointed a constant music to attend, of the Levites,—but the priests waited at Gibeon, where the tabernacle was and the daily sacrifice.

CHAP. XL.

The State and Fate of the First Temple.

AT Naioth in Ramah, where Samuel and David spent some time together, they platformed the buildings of the Temple and the manner of the service. It was an unlikely time for David to think and contrive for such a thing at that time, when he knew not where to hide his own head from the fury of Saul; yet so sure was the promise to him, and so assured was his faith in it, that even from that time, he laid the foundation of his thoughts towards the building of a Temple, settling of a service, and, even all his time after, was preparing towards it. In all his wars and victories, he

^u Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 661.

still remembered to dedicate something of his spoils for that purpose, 2 Sam. viii. 10, 11, 1 Chron. xviii. 8, &c ; so that, at his death, he left the greatest sums of silver and gold, and stock of brass and iron and such materials, that is recorded in any story. And as he had his first instructions from Samuel, so did he ripen them by the prophetic directions of Gad and Nathan the prophets, 2 Chron. xxix. 25 ; and so settled the priests and Levites in their courses, and carpenters and masons to work, and had described the platform of all things so exactly, that he left to Solomon, in a manner, but the care to see the work done ; for he had prepared all things before.

About eleven or twelve years' space was the work of the Temple in hand, before it was finished, namely, four years in hewing stone and framing timber, and seven years and a half in bringing up the building. For David, in the last year of his reign, had gathered all the proselytes in the land to the number of one hundred fifty-and-three thousand, and had set them to work ; and so they continued framing and preparing materials till the fourth year of the reign of Solomon, in the second month of which year the foundation of the house was laid, and in the eighth month of the eleventh year the work was finished, 1 Kings vi. 38 : and so it was seven years and a half in building, which the text, for roundness of number, doth count but seven.

It was a year within a month after it was finished, before the dedication of it ; in which time, it is likely, they were getting away the rubbish, and preparing for its consecration, it lying useless all the while ; for the providence of the Lord disposed, that it should be dedicated at such a time, as that the time should carry a mystery and type with it, as well as the Temple itself. In the eleventh year of Solomon's reign, in the month^v Bul, which is the eighth month, it was finished, 1 Kings vi. 38 ; and in his twelfth year, in the month Ethanim, which is the seventh month, it was consecrated, even at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, 1 Kings viii. 20, 2 Chron. v. 3 ; or the fifteenth day of that month. Concerning the title *Ethanim*, by which this month was named, the Jews have these glosses :—The Chaldee renders that verse in the Book of Kings thus ; “ And all the men of Israel were gathered to the king in the old month,

^v *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2063.

which they called the first month, but now the seventh." Some^w of the Rabbins say, "it was called Ethanim" (which signifieth *strength*, or strong ones) "because the fathers were born in it, which were the mighty ones of the world." And others^x, "because in it were the greatest feasts:"—or^y as others, "because in it the fruits were gathered, which are the strength of man's life," &c. But whatsoever was the notation of the name, certainly the remarkableness of that month was singular, in regard of many eminent occurrences that befel in it, of which we have spoken elsewhere; the most renowned of all which was, that our Saviour in that month was born into the world (and what if on that very day that the Temple was consecrated,—namely, the fifteenth day of the month?) of whose incarnation and birth how lively a type the Temple and its dedication were,—I need not to illustrate. Thus was the Temple dedicate and the service of it began, Anno Mundi 3001.

At the dedication of it, both the Books of Kings and Chronicles inform us, that the tabernacle of the congregation, and all the holy vessels, that had been in the tabernacle, were brought up thither, 1 Kings viii. 4, 2 Chron. v. 5. But^z the question is, What became of them there? were they used? or were they laid-up?—There are that assert either way: and the latter seemeth the more probable,—namely, that these things of Moses, upon the rising of a greater and more eminent glory, did decay and were laid aside, as all his ceremonies were to do upon the rising of the gospel.

The Temple, though it were of a heavenly resemblance, use, and concernment, as figuring Christ's body, John ii. 19, —enjoying God's presence, 2 Chron. vii. 16,—and Israel's worship, Psalm cxxii. 4, &c,—yet being but an earthly building, it was subject to the universal condition of earthly things, casualty, and changing. Nay, there is hardly any state or place in any story, of which may be found more vicissitudes and alterations of condition, than of this: and there is hardly any king's time of all those, that reigned in the time of the Temple, in which it received not some remarkable alteration of estate or other. In the time of Solomon, that built it, it received that vile affront of an idol-

^w Aruch in voce מְנַחֵם^x Levi Gersh. in 1 Kings, viii.^y Kimch. *ibid.*^z Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 662.

temple, built by him in the face of it; and what became of the service of the Temple in these times, may be shrewdly suspected. In his son Rehoboam's time, it was first forsaken by the ten tribes; and, afterward, by Judah itself, who fell to idolatry,—and then it was plundered by Shishak. How oft the treasures of it were plundered, sometimes by foreigners, sometimes by their own kings; how oft itself profaned, as by Athaliah, Ahaz, Manasseh; how the service of it either totally slighted, or slightly performed; how idols set up in it, and altars to strange gods; how the blood of the high-priest shed, and the manners of the priests corrupt, and the house of prayer made a den of thieves; as, also, how sometimes again it was repaired, the service restored, the priests reformed, and matters amended with it;—is so plainly and copiously described in the books of Scripture, that it were but transcription of the text to recite them in particular. At last it had run out its date, and itself fired, and all its precious vessels were captived by the Babylonian. What became of the ark, the Scripture doth not mention; the Jews conceive, that it was hid in some vault, that, they say, Solomon had purposely made against such a time, where it escaped the conqueror's fury:—but this we leave to their own credit.

The time of the standing of this first Temple, from its finishing in the eleventh year of Solomon, to its firing by Nebuzar-adan, was four hundred and twenty years.

SECT. I.

The State of the Second Temple under the Persian Monarchy.

ALTHOUGH, between the return out of the Babylonian captivity, and the final desolation of Jerusalem, there might seem to be strictly and literally two Temples, that of Zerubbabel, and that of Herod (for Herod began his Temple from the very foundation),—yet do the Scriptures, and all Jewish writers, so unanimously and generally own them but for one Temple, calling it the *second Temple*, all the time there was a Temple after its first building under Cyrus;—that it would be but needless labour and unwarrantable curiosity to take up any other notion or distinction of it. For though the Temple, built by Zerubbabel, were pulled down to the very ground by Herod, when he built that fabric, that stood to

the last fate of Jerusalem,—yet, since that demolition was not by destruction^a and ruin, but for reparation and for its bettering,—there is no reason to reckon these as two several Temples, but as one Temple, first built, and then repaired, to a more excellent and glorious condition.

From the first year of Cyrus (in which he proclaimed redemption to the captives, and gave commandment to restore and build Jerusalem) to the death of Christ, were four hundred and ninety years, as they be summed by an angel, Dan. ix: and, from the death of Christ to the fatal and final destruction of Jerusalem, were forty years more, five hundred and thirty years in all: In all which time it were endless to show every particular occurrence and change of condition, that befel the Temple, and it would require a large story and volume: I shall, therefore, only touch upon the chiefest, distributing the times into those several and remarkable periods that they fell into, and applying the stories to the times accordingly.

The first parcel of this time was taken up by the Persian monarchy; which how long it continued, and for how many kings' succession, is a thing of as disputable and controverted a nature, as any one thing in chronology. I will keep to the number and names of the kings of that throne, that we find in Scripture.

In Dan. xi. 2, there are these words; “Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Græcia. And a mighty king shall stand up, &c. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity,” &c. It is observable concerning this prophecy and account about the Persian monarchy,—

1. That this was told Daniel in the third year of Cyrus, chap. x. 1, and so when he saith, “There shall stand up yet three kings, and the fourth^b,” &c, he meaneth four besides Cyrus, the first beginner of the kingdom: and therefore some of the Jews do make but a cross reckoning upon this place, who will have Cyrus, which was the *first*, to be meant by this that is called the *fourth*.

2. The prophecy speaketh of the length of the Persian

^a English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2064.

^b Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 663.

monarchy, till it brings it up to Alexander the Great, the destroyer of that monarchy, of whom it speaketh plainly, ver. 3, 4, and of his successors afterward, ver. 5, &c.

3. There were, therefore, by the account of the angel here, but five kings of Persia,—namely, Cyrus, and four more.

4. These four are thus named in the Scripture,—1. Ahasuerus (Ezra iv. 6): 2. Darius (Ezra iv. 24, and vi. 1, &c): 3. Artaxerxes (Ezra vi. 14): 4. Darius (Neh. xii. 22). To which may be added for the confirmation of this account,

5. That Nehemiah lived quite through the whole length of the Persian monarchy, being at man's estate the first year of it, Ezra ii. 2,—and seeing Darius its last king, and probably his last times, Neh. xii. 22. Nay, Ezra, who was born either before, or in, the first year of the Babylonian monarchy, yet liveth near the expiration of the Persian: by which it is easy to conclude, how far the heathen histories are out, who reckon fourteen kings successively in the Persian throne, and two hundred years of their rule, before its fall.

In the first year of Cyrus, the returned captives out of Babel built only an altar, and sacrificed thereon for seven months together, having yet no Temple: but in this second year, the second month of that year, they lay the foundation of the house, Ezra iii. 8, &c; the progress of which work is soon opposed, and endeavoured to be made frustrate by the Samaritans all the time of Cyrus, Ezra iv. 5; but, in this time, they prevailed not.

In his third year, Artaxerxes cometh to the kingdom, who is also called Ahasuerus, Ezra iv. 6, 7: he is persuaded, by evil counsellors, to interdict and prohibit the Temple building, and so it lay intermitted all his time; Dan. x. 1—3, Ezra iv. 23, 24.

Darius succeeded him, called also 'Artaxerxes,' Ezra vi. 1, vii. 1, &c. In his second year, the building goes on again, and is finished in his sixth, Hag. i. Ezra vi. 14. And thus had the Temple lain waste and desolate just seventy years, from the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, in which year it was fired, to the second of Darius, when it began to be wrought upon so, as that it came to perfection, Zech. i. 12, iv. 3. 5.

In the seventh year of this Darius, which was the year after the Temple was finished, Ezra cometh up, Ezra vii. 8; and thirteen years after,—namely, in the twentieth year of

this Darius (called also Artaxerxes), Nehemiah cometh up to Jerusalem, Neh. i. 1, and both help to repair, settle, and rectify, Temple, city, and people, as their story is at large in their own books.

In the two-and-thirtieth year of this Darius, Nehemiah having finished what he had to do, about the building, beautifying and settling of city, Temple, and people, he returneth again unto the king, Neh. xiii. 6. And here ends Daniel's first parcel of his seventy weeks,—namely, seven weeks, in which street and wall should be built, and that in troublous times, Dan. ix. 25. By *seven weeks* he meaneth seven times seven years, which amounts to nine-and-forty: and so there were hitherto;—namely, three of Cyrus, fourteen of Ahasuerus, and thirty-two of Darius.

After Darius there reigned Artaxerxes, commonly known in heathen stories by the name of Xerxes, the invader of Greece with his huge army, &c. He was a favourer of the Jews, at the least, for a while, as it appeareth by that passage, in Ezra vi. 14; “They builded and finished according to the commandment of the Lord, and according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes:” where this Artaxerxes is set in parallel equipage with Cyrus and Darius for favouring the Temple. It is true, indeed, the work was finished in the time of Darius, as to the very building of the house, yet were the buildings about it still coming on and increasing, and this Xerxes did favour the work, as well as those princes had done before him.

Yet did there an unhappy occurrence befall in this king's time in the Temple itself, which if it did not alienate and change his affection from well-willing to it, yet did it prejudice the Temple in the affection of him, that was chief commander under this king in those parts, whose name was Bagoses. The occasion was this;—Jochanan^d, who was then high-priest, upon some displeasure against his own brother Jesus, did fall upon him and slay him in the very Temple. Bagoses favoured this Jesus, and intended to have made him high-priest; and it is like, that Jochanan smelt the design, and, out of jealousy of such a thing, thought to prevent it by his brother's despatch. Whatsoever was the cause of this his murder, the fruit of it was this;—that Bagoses violently presseth into the Temple, which he might not have done,

^c *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2065.

^d Joseph. Ant. lib. 11. cap. 7.

and layeth a mulct upon the people,—namely, forty drachms upon every lamb, that was to be sacrificed. Ezra and Nehemiah were both now alive; and do but imagine, how their piety would digest a thing so impious.

The next in the throne, after this Artaxerxes, mentioned in Scripture, was Darius, Neh. xii. 22; the man with whom the empire fell under the victorious sword of Alexander the Great. In his time, another occasion from another brother of a high-priest occurreth, which accrued not a little to the prejudice of the Temple and nation; and that was this;—Manasseh^f, one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high-priest, had married Nicasso the daughter of Sanballat; for which being driven from the altar and priesthood, he betaketh himself to his father-in-law to Samaria: and they, betwixt them, obtain a commission from Darius, and get it confirmed also by Alexander the Great, to build a temple upon Mount Gerizim, John iv. 20; which being built in affront to the Temple of Jerusalem, it proved no small disadvantage to it, and the service there: for it not only caused a faction and defection in the nation,—but also it became the common refuge and shelter of all lawless and irregular despisers of discipline and government.

In this Darius was the end of the Persian state and kingdom, having continued for the succession of these kings; but whether any more, and how many precise years, is not easily determinable. What times went over the Temple in their reigns besides what is mentioned here, may be observed in the books of Nehemiah, Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

SECT. II.

The Occurrences of the Temple under Alexander.

ALEXANDER^g the Great, the conqueror of Darius, and overthrower of the Persian kingdom, did, in his own person, visit Jerusalem and the Temple, coming towards it like a lion, but he came into it like a lamb. He had taken indignation at Jaddua the high-priest (Neh. xii. 22), because he denied him assistance at the siege of Tyrus; for Jaddua had sworn fealty to Darius. Hereupon he cometh up towards Jerusalem, breathing fire and fury against it, till he

^e Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 664.

^f Ibid. cap. 8. Neh. xiii. 28.

^g Jos. Ant. sup.

came within the sight of the city: there he was met by Jaddua in the high-priest's garments, and by all the priests in their vestments, and the people in white: whom, when he came near, instead of offering them violence, he showed reverence to the high-priest, and courteously saluted all the people.

When his commanders wondered at such a change, he told them, that, in a dream in Macedon, he saw one in the very same attire, that the high-priest was in, who encouraged him to invade the Persian empire, and promised to lead his army and to make him victorious. So he goeth with them into the city,—offereth at the Temple,—is showed Daniel's prophecy concerning himself,—granteth favourable privileges to the Jews about their religion,—and so departeth.

It^b is held by some of the Jewsⁱ, that, in the very year that Alexander came to Jerusalem, Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi died, and the spirit of prophecy departed from Israel: which, if we follow, the computation of heathen stories is a thing of utter improbability,—they prolong the Persian monarchy to so large a time. But if we follow the account of Scripture, it makes the improbability a great deal less, as might be showed, if we were following the pursuit of chronology. And if it be questioned, how it should be possible, that all heathen stories, that handle the succession of the Persian kings, should be so far wide, as to double, nay, almost to treble, the number of the kings more than they were,—these three things may be produced as those, that, either severally, or rather jointly, might be the reasons of such a mistake:—

1. Because every one of the Persian kings had a double, nay, some a treble, name; and this multiplicity of names might deceive the heedless historian into an assertion of numerousness of persons.

2. The Persian kingdom was a double kingdom, Media and Persia, the two arms and shoulders in Dan. ii:—now the king of Persia and the viceroy of Media might be likewise misconceived, in after-times, for two differing Persian monarchs.

3. It was the manner of the Persian kings, when they went into the wars, to create a king to rule at home, while they were absent; and this might cause the accounting of so

^b *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2066.

Vid. Juch. fol. 15.

many kings and of so long a time. And so Herodotus beareth witness, thatⁱ Δεῖ μιν ἀποδείξαντα βασιλῆα κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι “when the king went to war, it was the law of the Persians that he should appoint a king, and so go his way on his expedition.” And this custom was that, that made Cyrus’s third year to be accounted for Artaxerxes’s first,—though Cyrus was yet alive,—because he left him king at home, whilst he himself went to wars abroad.

Alexander dying in the flower of his age and victories, his large dominions, obtained so suddenly by the sword, were divided as suddenly again, in a manner by the sword, amongst four of his chief commanders, according as was prophesied, Dan. viii. 8, xi. 4. Two of them were Seleucus Nicanor, who obtained Syria,—and Ptolemy Lagus, who obtained Egypt; whose families (“the house of the north and the house of the south,” Dan. xi.) being ill neighbours one to another, did both of them prove ill neighbours to Judea; and, through and under them, the people and Temple did undergo divers varieties of fortune, but most commonly the worst.

The kings of these countries are reckoned these:—

<i>Kings^k of Syria.</i>		<i>Kings of Egypt.</i>	
	Years.		Years.
1 Seleucus Nicanor	32	1 Ptolemy Lagus	40
2 Antiochus Soter	19	2 Ptol. Philadelphus	18
3 Antiochus Theos	15	3 Ptol. Euergetes	26
4 Seleucus Callinicus	20	4 Ptol. Philopator	17
5 Seleucus Ceraunos	3	5 Ptol. Epiphanes	24
6 Antiochus Magnus	31	6 Ptol. Philometor	36
7 Seleucus Philopator	12	7 Ptol. Euergetes	29
8 Antiochus Epiphanes	11	8 Ptol. Physcon	17
9 Antiochus Eupator	2	9 Ptol. Alexander	10
10 Demetrius Soter	22	10 Ptol. Lathyrus	8
11 Alexander	11	11 Ptol. Dionysius	30
12 Demetrius	3	12 Cleopatra	22
13 Antiochus Sedetes	9		
14 Demetrius <i>iterum</i>	4		
15 Antiochus Grypus	12		
16 Antiochus Cyzicenus	18		
17 Philippus	2		

ⁱ Herod. Polymn. vel lib. 7.

^j Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 665.

^k Vid. Euseb. in Chron. Strab. Geog. l. 17.

SECT. III^m.*A Brief of the State of the Temple in the Times of these Kings.*

IF we were to write a story of the city and people, as we are of the Temple, here were a very large field before us; for exceeding much of the story of Jerusalem and Judea hath to do with the story of these kings: but since our confinement is to the Temple only, we shall make a shorter cut, because the peculiar relations, that we find about that, are but few in comparison of the general story of the city and nation.

SELEUCUS NICANORⁿ (or NICATOR, as some do call him), the first of these kings of Syria, was a great favourer of the Jewish nation; for he enfranchised them in his Syrian cities, yea, even in Antioch, the metropolis itself; and^o he bestowed benevolences upon the Temple, to an exceeding liberal and magnificent value.

BUT PTOLEMY LAGUS, king of Egypt, his contemporary, was as bitter to the nation as he was favourable: he, having his army in the country, took advantage, one sabbath-day, of the Jews' strict resting on that day; and pretending to come into the city to sacrifice, he surprised the city, and, it is like, the Temple sped but indifferently with him, and he carried exceeding many thousands away captive.

HIS^p son and successor, PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, was again as favourable to the nation, as he had been mischievous. He sent for the seventy elders to translate the Bible, and sent exceeding great munificence to the Temple, which we have had some cause to speak of before.

IN the time of PTOLEMY EUERGETES, the successor of Philadelphus, the covetise of Onias the high-priest, had provoked the displeasure of that king, and was like to have brought mischief upon the place and people, but that it was wisely appeased by Joseph Onias his sister's sons.

From the time that PTOLEMY LAGUS had so basely surprised Jerusalem, it was under homage to the crown of Egypt, till Antiochus the Great released it, or changed it rather into subjection to Syria. Whether it were of his goodness and devotion, or whether rather out of his policy to make sure the Jews to him^q in the great wars that he had, especially

^m English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2067.

ⁿ Jos. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 3.

^o Id. in lib. Maccab. cap. 3. 2 Mac. iii. 3.

^p Aristeas et Jos. ubi ante.

^q Appian. in Syriac.

with the Romans, he bestowed many favours upon the people, and liberal donations and privileges upon the Temple; and, particularly, this edict in its behalf, "That no stranger should come into the verge of the Temple prohibited;" which, it may be, first occasioned those inscriptions upon the pillars at the entrance into the Chel, that we have spoken of, that "no stranger should come there upon pain of death."

After him succeeded ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES (save only that SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR reigned twelve years between), a man, or a monster, shall I call him? Of whom, and of whose cursed actings, are those prophecies, in Dan. vii. 21. 25, viii. 10—12. 24, 25, xi. 28, &c. xii. 1, &c. and Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix; and who performed according to those predictions to the utmost of wickedness.

He began his reign, by the account of the Book of the Maccabees, in the one hundred thirty-and-seventh year^r of the reign of the Seleucian family, 1 Mac. i. 10: and, in the one hundred forty-and-third year, as both that book and Josephus^s reckon, he came up to Jerusalem, being invited thither by a wretched faction of Onias, who was also called Menelaus, the high-priest; and he taketh the city by their means, and slew many of the contrary party, and took away many of the holy things and much spoil, and so returned to Antioch. This was the beginning of those two thousand and three hundred days, mentioned in Dan. viii. 13, 14; or the Days of Desolation, when the host and the sanctuary were both trodden under foot. Two years and some months after,—namely, in the year one hundred and forty-five, he cometh up again; and, under colour of peaceableness obtaining entrance, he sacketh Jerusalem, plundereth the Temple, fireth the fairest buildings of the city, pulls down the walls, slayeth even some of those, that had invited him, taketh many thousand prisoners, and setteth a Syrian garrison for a curb to the city and Temple. Here was the beginning of those one thousand two hundred and ninety days, mentioned Dan. xii. 11: "The time that the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of desolation was set up:" which space is called "a time, times, and half a time:" which was three years and a half, and some twelve or thirteen days.

The mischief, that this tyrant and persecutor wrought to the Temple, nation, and religion, is not expressible: how he

^r Leusden's edition, vol. 1. p. 666.

^s Jos. Ant. l. 12. c. 6. 1 Mac. i. 21, &c.

forbade circumcision; abolished religion; burnt the books of the law; persecuted the truth; murdered those that professed it; and defiled the sanctuary with all manner of abomination;—insomuch, that the Holy Ghost hath set this character upon those sad times, that “that was a time of trouble, such as was not since they were a nation, even to that same time,” Dan. xii. 1. And here began the story and glory of^t Mattathias, the father of the Maccabean family, who withstood this outrage and villany, but^u died in the next year,—namely, one hundred and forty-sixth of the Seleucian kingdom.

Judas Maccabeus succeeds him in his zeal and command, and prevaileth so gallantly against the commanders appointed by the tyrant, Apollonius, Gorgias, and Lysias, that, in the year 148, he and his people return and purify the Temple, erect a new altar, restore the service, and keep the feast of dedication for eight days, and ordain it for an annual solemnity: “And from thence even till now (saith Josephus) we keep that feast, and call it *φῶτα*” (*Candlemas*, if I may so English it), “naming the feast as I think from this,—because such a restauration shone upon us unexpected.” There is mention of this feast, and it was honoured with Christ’s presence, John x. 22; and what was the manner of its solemnity, especially by lighting abundance of candles at it, I have showed in another place.

Both Josephus and the Book of Maccabees make it but exactly three years between the time of Antiochus’s defiling of the altar, with abomination, and Maccabeus’s restoring and purifying it again. Only the one^v of them saith, its defiling began on the fifteenth day of the month Cisleu, in the one hundred forty-and-fifth year of the Seleucian kingdom;—and the other saith, it began on the five-and-twentieth day of the same month in the same year: but both agree, that it was purified on the five-and-twentieth day of the same month, in the year 148, which teacheth us how to distinguish upon that passage of Daniel forementioned, in chap. xii. 11, namely, that the time the daily sacrifice was taken away, was one thousand two hundred and ninety days, or three years and a half, and some few days over; but the time that the abomination that maketh desolate, was set up,

^t *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2068.

^u 1 Mac. ii. 70.

^v 1 Mac. i. 54. Jos. ubi sup.

—that is, idols in the Temple, and an idol-altar upon the Lord's altar,—was but three years.

ANTIOCHUS died in Persia, within forty-five days after the restoring of the Temple, as Dan. xii. 12 seemeth to intimate, when it pronounceth him blessed, that cometh to one thousand three hundred thirty-and-five days; for then he should see the tyrant's death. His^w son ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, who succeeded him, was invited into Judea, by some apostate Jews, to come to curb Judas Maccabeus, who was besieging the Syrian garrison, that was in Jerusalem. He cometh with a mighty power, forceth Judas into the Temple, and there besiegeth him: but being straitened for provisions, and hearing of stirrings in his own kingdom, he offereth the besieged honourable conditions, upon which they surrender. But he entering and seeing the strength of the place, and suspecting it might be troublesome to him again, he breaketh his articles and his oath, and putteth down the wall that encompassed the holy ground, to the ground. And thus poor Judas and the Temple are in a worse condition than before; for the Antiochian garrison in Jerusalem, that was ready upon all occasions to annoy it, is not only removed, but now is the Temple laid naked to their will and fury.

This^x Antiochus put Menelaus the high-priest to death (and he rewarded him but justly for calling the tyrant this man's father in), and he made Alcimus high-priest in his stead, one that was not of the high-priests' line at all:—which made Onias, who was next to the high-priesthood indeed, to flee into Egypt, and^y there, by the favour of Ptolemy Philometor, he built a temple parallel to that at Jerusalem. And thus hath Jerusalem temple two corrivals, a temple on mount Gerizim in Samaria, on the north,—and a temple in Egypt, on the south. Of this temple, built by Onias in Egypt, the Talmudical writers do make frequent and renowned mention. They speak in the treatise Succah^z, of a great synagogue or Sanhedrim here in the time of Alexander the Great, in which, they say, there were seventy golden chairs, and a congregation belonging to it of double the number of Israelites that came out of Egypt: and that Alexander destroyed them, to bring upon them the curse denounced by Jeremiah against their going down to Egypt, Jer.

^w Jos. *ibid.* cap. 15.

^y *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 667.

^x *Ibid.*

^z *Succab*, cap. 5.

xliv,—and the curse due to them for the violation of the command, “Ye shall return thither (*to Egypt*) no more.”

Yet^a would Onias venture to build a Temple here again, —and that the rather, building upon that prophecy, Isa. xix. 19: “There shall be an altar to the Lord in the land of Egypt,” &c. Upon which passage take the gloss of R. Solomon^b: “We learn in Seder Olam, that, after the fall of Sennacherib, Hezekiah stood up, and let go all the multitudes, that he had brought with him from Egypt and Cush; and they took upon them the kingdom of heaven, and they returned to their own place, as it is said, ‘In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt,’ &c. They went and built an altar to the Lord in the land of Egypt, and offered upon it an offering to God to fulfil what was spoken; ‘In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the land of Egypt,’ &c. But some of our doctors, in the treatise Menacoth, do understand it of the altar of the temple of Onias, the son of Simeon the Just, who fled to Egypt, and built there an altar.”

In the last chapter of the treatise Menacoth, the tract which our Rabbin citeth, the Talmudists have speech concerning this temple of Onias, and particularly these passages: “A^c man saith^d, ‘Behold, I undertake to offer a burnt-offering;’ he must offer it at the sanctuary; and if he offer it at the temple of Onias, he is not discharged. If he say, ‘I undertake for an offering in the temple of Onias,—he is to offer it at the sanctuary; but if he offer it at the temple of Onias, he is discharged. If he say, ‘I undertake to be a Nazarite,—he is to poll his head at the sanctuary; and if he poll it at the temple of Onias, he is not discharged: but if he say, ‘I will poll at the temple of Onias,’ let him poll at the sanctuary; yet if he do poll at the temple of Onias, he is quit. The priests that serve at the temple of Onias, shall not serve at the sanctuary at Jerusalem.” So that it appeareth, that there were sacrifices offered, and other temple-rites used, in this temple in Egypt, as were in the temple at Jerusalem; “and it so stood in great glory two hundred years, according to the opinion of Rambam: but it seems” (they are the words of Juchasin^e) “that it stood all the time

^a Jos. Ant. lib. 13. cap. 6. Juchas. fol. 14.

^c *English folio-edition*, vol. 1. p. 2069.

^e Juchas. ubi supra.

^b R. Sol. in Isa. xix.

^d Menacoth, cap. 13.

of the sanctuary: for Joshua the son of Perahiah fled thither, and so in the time of Hillel: and they were obedient to the wise men of Jerusalem, and brought offerings; and so they brought their wives' espousal writings to Hillel (for they said they were bastards), and he allowed them: and there was there a great congregation, double to the number that came out of Egypt, till after the destruction of the second Temple, when Adrian the emperor came up against them, and slew them all at the time of the destruction of Bitter." Think of this great plantation of Jews in Egypt, when ye read Matt. ii. 13, 14,

But let us return from this temple in Egypt to the Temple at Jerusalem, where our business lies. Alcimus the high-priest (whose illegal induction to that office, had occasioned this act of Onias), as he was the creature of the Antiochian family, so was he serviceable to it to his utmost, even to the mischief of that religion and people, in and among which he took on him the high-priesthood. He assists Demetrius (though he had slain Antiochus, who had so favoured him) in the invasion of Judea, and attempteth to pull down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary^e: but is suddenly struck with a divine stroke from heaven, and so dieth.

Nicanor, a commander of this Demetrius, forced Judas Maccabeus to betake himself to a garrison in Jerusalem: and he himself going up into the Temple, and there entertained fawningly by the priests, who clawed him by showing him the sacrifices which (they said) they offered for his lord the king,—he taunted them, and threatened mischief to the place, if Judas were not delivered to him: but ere long the proud boaster and threatener was overthrown and slain.

Jonathan the brother, and successor, of Judas Maccabeus in his command, proved to be so in favour with Alexander the successor of Demetrius, and Demetrius again the successor of Alexander, and Antiochus that succeeded him; that though there were now and then some stirrings among them, yet the Temple, which is our scene that we are upon, did suffer little alteration or prejudice all his time. No more did it in the times of Simon his brother and successor: nay, he, in his first year, obtains the people's liberties, dismantles the Antiochian garrison in Jerusalem, purifies the place, and ap-

^e 1 Mac. ix. Jos. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 17.

points that day for a yearly rejoicing, and restores the land to entire peace and prosperity.

Hyrcaus, the son and successor of Simon, being straitly besieged in Jerusalem by Antiochus, — at the Feast of Tabernacles^f, desires a cessation, for the time and solemnity of the feast: which he not only obtaineth, but many and costly sacrifices also from Antiochus: which nobleness causeth Hyrcanus to seek for an agreement, and so the siege is raised. He is reported to have heard a voice in the Temple, whilst he was offering incense there, which told of the victory of his sons, who were then in battle with Antiochus Cyzicenus, and when he came out, he told so much to the people. Josephus sticks not to style him a king, priest, and prophet: or, at least, he speaketh but little short of so much, when he saith, that^g “God vouchsafed him the three greatest honours, the rule of the nation, the honour of the high-priesthood, and prophecy.” He cast off the Syrian yoke and homage.

Alexander, his son, proves an unhappy scourge to his own nation; so much scorned and despised by them, that at the Feast of Tabernacles they pelted him with their pomeci-trons; whereupon he slays six thousand of them, and troubles the land with a six-years’ civil war. He railed in the Court of the Priests, that none but the priests might come in there, for fear of the people’s disturbance.

Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the sons of this Alexander, quarrel about the rule, and call in foreign aid; as, first, Aretas, king of Arabia, who besiegeth Aristobulus in the Temple; and then Pompey, who cometh in, taketh the city and Temple, bringeth the nation under the Roman yoke, from under which it never delivered its neck, till city and Temple, by that power, was raked up in ashes.

SECT. IV^h.

The State of the Temple under the Romans.

So sad were the beginnings of the Temple under the Roman power, that an omen might have been taken from them, what would become of it, ere this nation had done with it. Pompey, coming up to Jerusalem, had the gates shut against

^f Leusden’s edition, vol. 1. p. 668.

^g Jos. Ant. lib. 13. cap. 18.

^h English folio-edition, vol. 1. p. 2070.

him; so that he presently begirt it with a siege. “ But the taking of the city cost him not much labour (saith Dion Cassiusⁱ), for he was let in by the party of Hyrcanus: but the Temple, which Aristobulus’s party had possessed, cost him some work. It was seated on a high pitch, and fenced with a wall of its own. And if the defendants had guarded it all days alike, it had not been taken: but they intermitting to stand upon their defence on Saturdays” (being their sabbath), “ on which days they do no work, the Romans had opportunity on that day to batter the wall. And when they had discovered this custom of the besieged, they did no great matter all the week long, till Saturday came again, and then they set upon them again: and so, at the last, the Jews, not resisting, were surprised and subdued.” Great slaughter was made upon the Romans’ entrance, to the number of twelve thousand Jews, as Josephus^k reckoneth; and yet even whilst the conqueror was killing as fast as he could, the priests at the altar went on in the service as insensibly and fearlessly, by the same author’s relation, as if there had been no such danger and destruction at all, till the sword came to their own sides. Pompey being thus victor, he and divers other with him, went into the Temple, even into the Most Holy Place, and saw all its glory and riches; and yet was sparing of offering any violence to it, but caused the place to be purged, and the service to be set a-foot again.

But what Pompey had spared, Crassus ere long seized upon, plundering the Temple of exceeding much wealth, as he went on his expedition into Parthia. That Parthian war was undertaken by him, as Dion^l tells us, more upon his covetousness than upon any other warrantable or honourable ground; and he sped accordingly, coming to a miserable end, answerable to such principles and beginnings.

In the beginning of the reign of Herod (which was not very long after) the city and Temple were again besieged and taken by him and Sosius, and the Temple in danger again to be rifled, but prevented by Herod as much as he could: and now Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, the last of the Asmonean rulers, is cut off by Antony.

Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign, beginneth to repair the Temple, taking it down to the very foundations, and raising it again in larger dimensions than it had been of

ⁱ Dion. Cass. lib. 36.

^k Jos. Ant. l. 14. c. 8.

^l Id. ibid. c. 12.

before, and in that form and structure, that hath been observed and surveyed in the foregoing discourse.

About some nine or ten years after the finishing of it, the Lord came to his own Temple, even the messenger of the covenant whom they desired, Mal. iii. 1, being presented there by his mother at forty days old, and owned by Simeon and Anna, Luke ii. Twelve years after that, he is at the Temple again, set among the doctors of one of the Sanhedrims, either in one of their consistories or in their Midrash, and showeth his divine wisdom to admiration. It is needless to speak of the occurrences, that befel in the Temple, about Christ and his apostles,—as, his being on a pinnacle of it in his temptations,—his whipping out buyers and sellers at his first and last Passover,—his constant frequenting the place whensoever he was at Jerusalem,—and his foretelling the destruction of it, as he sat upon mount Olivet in the face of it, a little before his death; the apostles' resorting thither to the public service, and to take opportunity of preaching in the concourse there,—their healing a cripple there, and converting thousands; Paul's apprehension there upon misprision of his defiling it by bringing-in of Gentiles^m; and other particulars, which are at large related by the Evangelists, that it is but unnecessary labour to insist upon them, since any reader may fetch them thence.

As for the passages there, that are not mentioned in the Scripture, but by Josephus and others,—as Pilate's embezzling the holy treasures of the Temple upon an aqueduct,—Petronius's going about to bring-in Caligula's image thither,—a tumult caused there by the base irreverence of a Roman soldier,—Agrippa's sacrifices there, and anathemata,—Vitelius's favour to it and the people,—a base affront and abuse put upon the place by the Samaritans,—the horrid confusions there in the time of the seditious,—the slaughter of one Zacharias in it,—and, at the last, the firing of it by the Romans, and the utter ruin of it and the city;—they would require a larger discourse, than one chapter or paragraph will afford. It may be, they will come to be prosecuted to the full in another treatise, and therefore I shall but only name them here.

^m *Leusden's edition*, vol. 1. p. 669.

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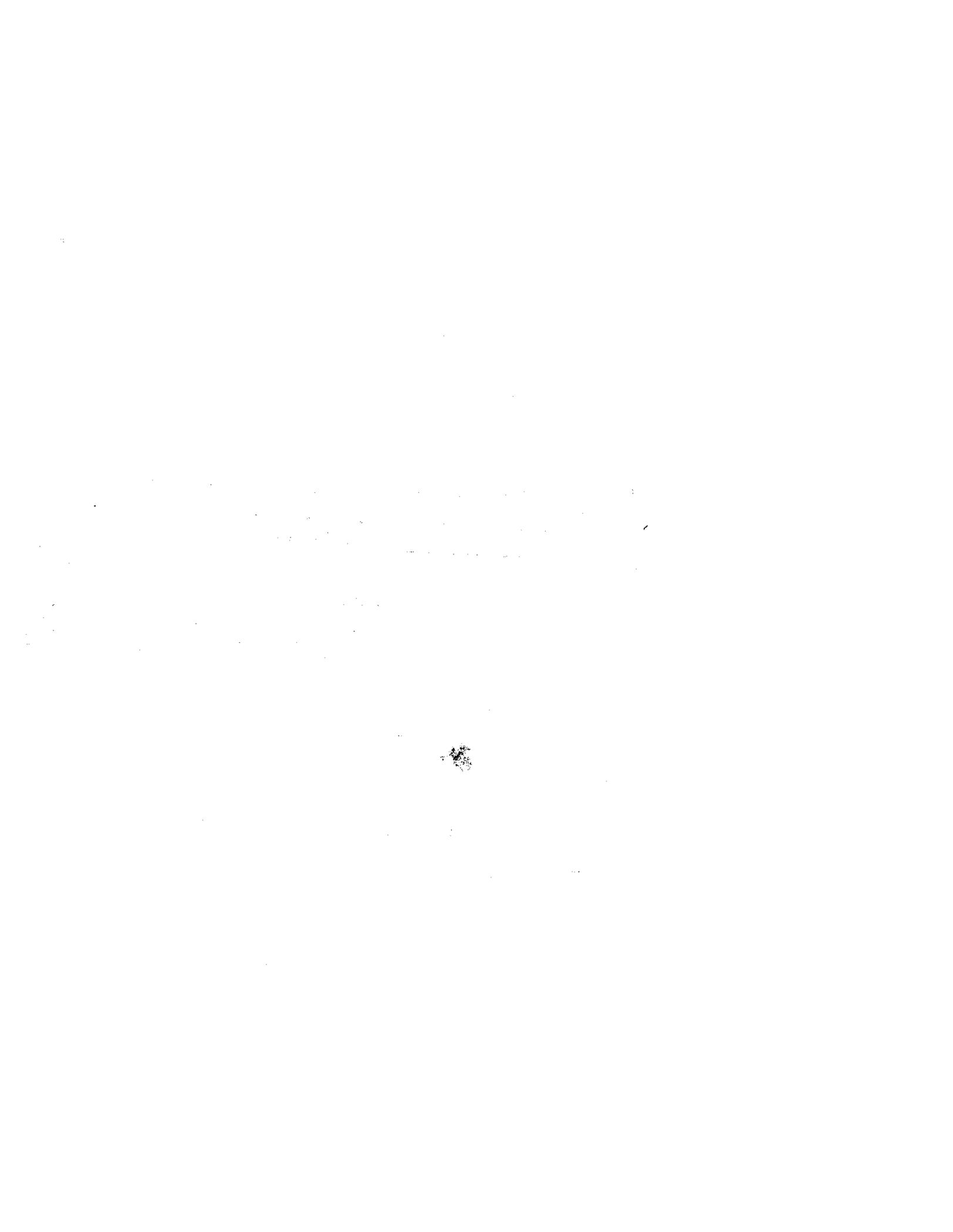
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